

**AN IU MIEN GRAMMAR:  
A TOOL FOR LANGUAGE  
DOCUMENTATION AND REVITALISATION**

by

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| A                   | agent role  |
| ABL                 | ablative role   |
| ADD                 | additive, e.g. TOP <sub>ADD</sub> for additive topic marker |
| ADJ, Adj            | adjective, adjectival                                       |
| ADVRS               | adversative   |
| ADV, Adv            | adverb  |
| ADVZ                | adverbialiser   |
| AFC                 | affectionate particle (preposed to kinship term)            |
| ALL                 | allative role   |
| ASST                | assertive aspect particle                                   |
| <i>bf.</i>          | bound form  |
| CESS                | cessative aspect  |
| CL                  | clause  |
| CL <sub>MAIN</sub>  | main clause   |
| CL <sub>SUB</sub>   | subordinate clause  |
| CLF                 | classifier  |
| CMPL                | completive aspect   |
| CONSUME             | consumptive aspect  |
| CONT                | continuous aspect   |
| COP                 | copula  |
| CvC                 | coverb construction   |
| CvP                 | coverb phrase   |
| DEM                 | demonstrative   |
| DEM <sub>DIST</sub> | distal demonstrative  |
| DEM <sub>MID</sub>  | mid-range demonstrative                                     |
| DEM <sub>PRX</sub>  | proximal demonstrative                                      |
| DIST                | distal, e.g. DEM <sub>DIST</sub> for distal demonstrative   |
| DPCL                | dependent clause marker                                     |
| EX                  | experiencer role  |
| EXP                 | experience aspect   |
| G                   | goal role   |
| HAB                 | habituated aspect   |

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| HEST            | hesitation  |
| IGT             | interlinear glossed text  |
| IMPR            | imperative  |
| INCHO           | inchoative aspect   |
| INTJ            | interjection  |
| INTSF           | an intensifier for adjectival verbs                               |
| L, Ls           | a line and lines of text, document or MSS                         |
| MSS             | manuscript(s)   |
| MVC             | multi-verb construction   |
| N <sub>HD</sub> | head noun   |
| NEG             | negative, negation, negator                                       |
| NSIT            | new situation aspect  |
| NUM             | numeral   |
| ONOM            | onomatopoeia  |
| PDP             | pending particle  |
| PFTV            | perfective aspect   |
| PL              | plural  |
| PLEN            | plenary aspect  |
| PLT             | polite, polite particle   |
| PN              | personal name   |
| POSS            | possessive  |
| R               | recipient role  |
| PRX             | proximal, e.g. DEM <sub>PRX</sub> for proximal demonstrative      |
| RECP            | reciprocal  |
| REL             | relative particle, relative use of particle <i>nyei</i>           |
| REPET           | repetitive  |
| Rg              | region role   |
| RPOT            | sentence-final particle indicating reported/repeated speech       |
| S               | source role   |
| SBCP            | subordinate-cum-possessive particle <i>nyei</i> (Court 1986:107). |
| SEQ             | sequential marker   |
| SFP             | sentence-final particle   |
| SG              | singular  |
| SR CvC          | semantic role coverb construction                                 |

|                    |                                     |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ST                 | sentence                            |
| TH                 | theme role                          |
| TELIC              | telic aspect                        |
| TOP                | topic marker, topic particle        |
| TOP <sub>COP</sub> | copulative topic marker             |
| TOP <sub>AD</sub>  | additive topic marker               |
| V                  | verb                                |
| V <sub>ADJ</sub>   | adjectival verb                     |
| V <sub>ASP</sub>   | aspectual verb                      |
| V <sub>AUX</sub>   | auxiliary verb                      |
| V <sub>DIR</sub>   | directional verb                    |
| VOC                | vocative, vocative particle         |
| CCD                | The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary |

## CONVENTIONS USED IN TEXT TRANSCRIPTION

Transcription conventions have been adapted from some predecessors: particularly Chafe (1994), De Stefani (2012), Enfield (2008), Hellwig (2003), Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) with some modifications.

| Symbols               | Conventions   |
|-----------------------|---|
| /                     | a mark for the border between left position (i.e. dislocation) of a constituent (e.g. topic) and the main clause (Cf. Enfield 2008:98)  |
| \                     | a mark for the border between right position of a constituent (e.g. afterthought) and the main clause (Cf. Enfield 2008:98)   |
| .                     | a sentence-final mark whether the intonation contour is falling or high pitch depending on the presence/absence of sentence final particle.   |
| ..                    | a brief intonation break (Cf. Chafe 1994)   |
| ...                   | a typical intonation break longer than two seconds, that is holding floor of narration (Cf. Chafe 1994)   |
| (00 <sup>-1-5</sup> ) | Language example numbers are in parentheses (00). The superscript numbers indicate the lines of the example sentences that run over more than one line. They are a connected discourse.                         |
| (11a-b)               | Language example numbers with ‘a’ and ‘b’ etc., where the examples (11a) and (11b) are contrasted to highlight a difference or in terms of acceptable-unacceptable criterion. They are not connected discourse. |
| (.40ms)               | a measured intonation break (Cf. Chafe 1994)  |
| (...)                 | If the beginning of a sentence is omitted, the example starts with a small letter after three dots (...) (Hellwig 2003). Otherwise, a sentence initial letter in the Iu Mien orthography is a capital letter.   |
| ,                     | a grammatical, rather than phonological, break before juxtaposition of NPs or VPs, parenthetical insertions, and a break after topic presentation or non-final clause   |
| : or ::               | lengthening of the preceding vowel or consonant   |
| ↗                     | global rising intonation for question and interjection in IPA. It is placed before a sentence-final word that rises in pitch. In Iu Mien orthography it is expressed ‘?’ and ‘!’, respectively.                 |
| ↖                     | high rising intonation (modified IPA) for certain sentence final particles to show emphasis, excitement, frustration etc. e.g. <i>↖niv!</i> ‘You see!’  |

## Symbols

|        | Conventions   |
|--------|---|
| ?      | question with rising intonation contour. The symbol is used for both a yes-no question with the question particle [fai1] ( <i>fai</i> ) for polar interrogative and the content question (i.e. supplement-question) with the question word /ha:iɿ/ ( <i>haaix</i> ) ‘what/which/who/how’ since the both types have the same final pitch contour.  |
| ↘      | falling intonation in IPA. This contour is used for a few different ways with corresponding orthographic representations: when used for interjection, ‘!’ (in Iu Mien orthography), when used for falling question intonation, ‘᳚’ (in this study only).  |
| ᳚      | question with falling intonation contour. The inverted question mark is adapted from Bloomfield’s (1933: 92, 114-5, 171) description of the final-pitch that is falling. In Iu Mien this intonation occurs in a polar interrogative, a question with the final particle /sa:ɻɿ/ ( <i>saah/saaqh</i> ) and a certain tag-question with the final particle /ɔɻɿ/ ( <i>orqe</i> ) expecting a positive answer. Note, however, that in the ‘Unified (Roman-based) Script’ of Iu Mien, the regular question mark /?/ is used for both questions with rising and falling pitches. |
| --↘    | a prolonged high pitch followed by global falling intonation contour. It is a modified IPA and is expressed as ‘!’ in Iu Mien orthography.  |
| →      | a sustained high level (i.e. flat or horizontal) intonation.  |
| --→    | a prolonged high pitch followed by short falling intonation contour. It is a modified IPA and is expressed as ‘!’ in Iu Mien orthography.   |
| !      | prosodically emphasised and often prolonged word regardless of position in the sentence. It is a part of the Roman-based Iu Mien orthography. Its prosodic equivalent in IPA (modified for Iu Mien) is “--↘” and “--→”.   |
| ¡      | mirativity falling intonation contour   |
| @      | laughter  |
| ©      | cough or clearing throat  |
| (h)    | inbreath (Cf. De Stefani 2012:456)  |
| (h`)   | outbreath (Cf. De Stefani 2012:456)   |
| ( )    | (1) transcriber’s comments, explanation to supply clarity to English free translation, and example source. (2) When used in the middle of transcribed example sentence, they indicate dubious hearing (cf. De Stefani 2012:456).  |
| (cm.t) | code mixing with Thai. Hence code mixing with Chinese is (cm.c).  |

| <b>Symbols</b>          | <b>Conventions</b>   |
|-------------------------|--|
| (frg)                   | fragment. If the speaker started saying a word but stopped without completing it, the transcription uses ‘x~’ (where the beginning sound is x) with the (frg) in the gloss line.   |
| (file;00.12.08-10)      | If hour.minute.second is indicated after the semi colon (;) in an example source, audio data is available. Otherwise, an example is from written documents.  |
| (var: )                 | a phonological or spelling variant of. Variants indicated by this in most cases are regional, dialectical, and idiosyncratic ones. As for the difference between spoken and written language, see [Q, K] below.  |
| <b><i>boldface</i></b>  | an example word primarily discussed in the body text   |
| <u><i>underline</i></u> | an example word or phrase secondarily discussed in the body text   |
| [ ]                     | (1) phonetic value. (2) constituent breaks in language example presentation. (3) Word-for-word grammatical gloss after a language example quoted in the prose text; this is followed by translation in ‘...’, e.g., <i>ninh njiec daaih</i> [3SG descend COME] ‘S/he came down’.   |
| [ ] <sub>TOP</sub>      | a constituent with grammatical function in small capital, for example TOP for topic.   |
| / /                     | phonological value   |
| ([ ])                   | phonetic value different from dictionary form but realized by a speaker.   |
| [Q, K]                  | A form that is pronounced is marked by ‘Q’ ( <i>quere</i> ‘read aloud’ adapted from textual critique convention in Classical Hebrew). What is/should be written is marked by ‘K’ ( <i>ket<sup>h</sup>eev</i> ‘written’). E.g. “ <i>hai</i> v [=Q, K= <i>haaix</i> ]” means that the native speaker’s pronunciation in the audio recording is <i>hai</i> v ‘what’ but in the written form or in a dictionary it is expressed as <i>haaix</i> .  |
| (lit.)                  | literally  |
| { }                     | (1) an Iu Mien constituent or word-for-word translation expressed in English representing Iu Mien word order, e.g. {fall}{rain}{big}{SFP} is representation of an exact word order <i>duih mbiungc hlo nyei</i> ‘It is raining hard’. (2) a schematic representation of conventionalised grammatical constructions or pattern, e.g. {Top – Adv <sub>TEMPORAL</sub> – V – SFP} stands for a grammatical construction composed of topic, temporal adverb, verb, and sentence final particle. |
| < >                     | a complement clause (after Dixon 2006)   |
| <                       | ‘A < B’ means ‘A is derived from B’ or ‘A is a contracted form of B’.  |
| >                       | ‘A > B’ means ‘A becomes B’ or ‘B is composed of A’.   |

| <b>Symbols</b> | <b>Conventions</b>   |
|----------------|--|
| ‘ ’            | (1) gloss of quoted Iu Mien word or words from other languages presented in the body texts. (2) free translation of example and gloss in English   |
| “ ”            | quotation of other authors   |
| word-word      | A hyphen shows tone sandhi of the first member of compound in the Roman-based Iu Mien orthography and the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography.  |
| word.word      | (1) A dot between words in this study shows that the connected words form a compound word following Chao's Chinese grammar (1968). Glossing for such combination may have different numbers of English words than or less than two, e.g. <i>nqoi.nzuih</i> [open mouth] 'permit'. (2) a phrase conventionally composed of several words are connected by dots to save a space in presenting language examples, e.g., <i>ninh.mbuo</i> [3 PL] 'they'. Both (1) and (2) are not a convention in the Roman-based Iu Mien orthography. |
| x~             | x is an incomplete word. Speaker started saying a word but stopped halfway for self-correction   |
| xxx            | inaudible segment (Cf. De Stefani 2012:456)  |
| x_y_           | In the audio file name if the recorder/researcher is unknown "x" is designated; "y" indicates an unknown speaker.  |
| ±              | optional   |

## ABSTRACT

This is a grammar of Iu Mien language, spoken by some 46,000 Iu Mien people in Thailand, which has been derived from the data collected by the author whilst living among the villages of Chiang Rai and Phayao provinces between 1994 – 2015. The thesis comprises three parts: (i) the onomastics found in Chinese-written documents, literature review, Thailand's National Language Policy draft, (ii) the grammatical descriptions in seventeen chapters, (iii) the representative text and metalanguage in the appendices.

The data have been collected through cultural immersion method, the grammar analysed through judicious monolingual discussions with the native speakers to secure description on its own terms, and presented with occasional forays into information structure, Construction Grammar and Cognitive Grammar; occasionally addressing matters of typology.

A grammatical description of Iu Mien is momentous because the existing literature is (i) heavily inclined toward historical linguistics, (ii) a grammar written in English is dated, (iii) many published grammars are sketchy, only written in Chinese, (iv) a recent reference grammar written in Chinese mostly presents the parts-of-speech and sentence patterns with no analyses.

The grammar establishes seven operational principles found in the structure of Iu Mien:

- (1) Topic-Focus orientation,
- (2) multilayered focus structure with prominence on the sentence final position,
- (3) verb-medial word order, not necessarily SVO,
- (4) versatility of verbs used for aspect, modality, multi-verb constructions, etc.,
- (5) vague distinction across “parts-of-speech”,
- (6) sentence final particles as epistemic grounding elements,
- (7) culturally affected argument structure, i.e. the relationship between verbs and noun phrases in a sentence.

The goal of this thesis is to describe Iu Mien making the grammar accessible both to linguists and also to those in Iu Mien-speaking communities in Thailand, the US, and elsewhere; thus all example sentences are interlinearised tri-scripturally, i.e. IPA, the Romanised script, and the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography.

## **STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP**

Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution.

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# Chapter 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Overview

This is a grammar of Iu Mien /iu˥ mien˥/ (ອົມ-ເມື່ນ)<sup>1</sup> (优勉), formerly called Yao.<sup>2</sup> Its language code is “ISO 639-3 ium”. The speakers of this language are called “the Iu Mien”, so is the name of the language, that is, the Iu Mien speak Iu Mien language. Particularly, the grammar describes the language according to the old speakers in Thailand. Iu Mien is a tonal, predominantly monosyllabic, analytic, isolating language, belonging to the Hmong-Mien language family, spoken by some 50,000<sup>3</sup> people in the northern provinces of Thailand. Outside Thailand, almost the same dialect of Iu Mien is spoken in the northern part of Lao PDR, and similar varieties in the northern part of Vietnam, the southern provinces of China, namely Húnán (湖南), Guǎngdōng (广东), Guǎngxī (广西), Guìzhōu (贵州) and Yúnnán (云 南). There are also speech communities in France, Canada and the west coast of the USA including Alaska. The total population in all these areas is estimated around 1.6 million (Pourret 2002:12) to 1.8 million (Court 1991:142).

The purpose of this thesis is to describe the grammar of Iu Mien as spoken by adults aged from their late forties up to mid-nineties, including those adults whose age was around forty and fifty in the 1960s now deceased but were fortunately recorded in some open reel tapes from that time. Nine of the important Iu Mien language consultants/teachers of mine passed away before this grammar was

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<sup>1</sup> The orthography issue will be discussed in relation to phonology in Chapter 3. Two major systems of orthography for Iu Mien, after a few decades of trials on other kinds, are a Romanised script and Thai-based script. “Iu Mien” is written *Iu Mienh* in the Roman script, and ອົມ ເມື່ນ or ອົມ-ເມື່ນ in Thai-based script, both pronounced [?iu˥ mien˥].

<sup>2</sup> Recently the dialect in focus of this thesis has been called in China “Mien dialect of the Yao people” (瑶族勉语方言). A problem of the name of the people will be discussed in Chapter 2.

<sup>3</sup> The 2002 census by the Department of Social and Welfare Development, Ministry of Social Development and Human Security reports there are 45,571 Iu Mien in ten provinces of Thailand, i.e. Chiang Rai, Nan, Phayao, Lampang, Kamphaeng Phet, Chiang Mai, Sukhothai, Tak, Kanchanaburi and Phechabun. After this there has not been census among the hill minority peoples (personal communication with the curator Thaworn Foofuang, the Tribal Museum, Chiang Mai in August 2009). Though we do not have an accurate annual population growth rate of each ethnic group, an increase tendency is obvious from a comparison of various sources: the population of the Iu Mien in Thailand were 3,000 in 1930 (Kacha-Anant 1980:n), 22,652 in 1973 (Kunstadter 1982:17), 23,801 in 1979 (Kacha-Anant 1980:n), 36,000 in 1988 (Yoshino 1995), 38,000 in 1991 (Court 1991).

finished.<sup>4</sup> All of them were competent speakers with clear pronunciation, natural sentence structures, ability to discern different nuances of words, proper use of social registers, arts of storytelling and traditional singing, full of cultural and historical knowledge. They were proud of their ethnic identity and their mother tongue.

The paramount value of this heritage, however, does not seem to be appreciated by the Iu Mien of the younger generation. A main reason for this seems to be their increasing contacts with the dominant language of Standard Thai, the national language of the country, in such major spheres as education, the economy, mass communication and IT. Nonetheless, there are, indeed, a sizable number of people in their twenties and thirties, even some teenagers, who take pleasure in speaking and re-learning it. Some significant members of this speech community, among whom my wife and I have lived for the past twenty years (1994 – 2014), urged us to encourage their children and grandchildren not to forget it.

Thus, this grammar has been born with a practical intention of converting itself from English to Iu Mien in various forms of pedagogical materials in the future while primarily it is a descriptive study of the language from functional and typological perspectives.

## 1.2 Typological Characteristics

Awaiting Chapter 4 to present detailed typological characteristics, this section gives an overview. Many common areal (i.e. regional) features of languages in Southeast Asia are observed in Iu Mien (Enfield and Comrie (eds.) 2015:7-9). That is, Iu Mien is characterized by phonemic tone, a strong tendency toward monosyllabicity, isolating morphology and therefore the importance of word order. It is a discourse dependent and topic-focus language. Versatility<sup>5</sup> of lexical verbs being used as various functional words manifests in aspect and modality markings, and multi-verb constructions or serial verb constructions.

Iu Mien has six tones (Purnell 1965:31, 2012:xxiii) in open syllables, two of which occur in checked syllables (Downer 2003 [1961]:132). These six are 1) high-mid level, 2) mid-falling, 3) high rising-falling, 4) low rising-falling, 5) low rising, and 6) low level. When tones 3 and 6 occur with a stop final (i.e. checked syllable), they

<sup>4</sup> I would like to commemorate these teachers of mine with profound gratefulness and respect: Faam Ciang in Klong Lan, Dangc Meix Daqv, Dangc Wuonh Yunh, Bienh Fux-Hin, Muangz in Ci Gueix village, Dangc Zanx-Seng, Zeuz Fux-Dornh, Bungz Cun-Fouv, and Zoih Zou in Thammajarik village.

<sup>5</sup> The term “versatility” is borrowed from Matisoff (1991:403) and is used in Iwasaki and Ingkaphirom (2005:18) regarding Thai: “Versatile verbs are those verbs with extreme general semantic content. Besides being used as main verbs, they are also used as auxiliary verbs and components of various idiomatic expressions. Versatile verbs are a testimony of the high flexibility and fluidity of Thai grammar”.

are realised as 7) high level tone and 8) low level tone respectively “with shorter duration” (Purnell 1965:33). The representation of these tones in a practical orthography will be shown in §3.3.1 – §3.3.3 in Chapter 3. However, without waiting to reach these sections, it would be helpful to introduce the readers to the letters that indicate tones because the language examples will be presented as early as in Chapter 2. In the so-called “Unified Script” or “New Roman Script” in the vernacular name used among the Iu Mien in U.S.A., China, and France<sup>6</sup> (and some parts of Vietnam), the word final letter of each morpheme indicates tones. For example, *mienh* /miən˧/ ‘person, people’ is composed of *mien* /miən/ and its lexical tone, the mid-falling tone /˧/, represented by *-h*. In the following, the eight tones are shown with Chao’s graphic tone marks in / / with IPA and the “Unified Script’s” tone mark in the parentheses: 1) high-mid level /˥/ (unmarked), 2) mid-falling /˧/ (-*h*), 3) high rising-falling /˥˧/ (-*v*), 4) low rising-falling /˨˧/ (-*z*), 5) low rising /˨/ (-*x*), 6) low level /˩/ (-*c*), 7) high level tone /˥/ (-*v*), and 8) low level tone /˩/ (-*c*). Tone sandhi, occurring in compound words is indicated by a hyphen ‘-’ between two morphemes: e.g., *laangz* /la:ŋ˧/ ‘village’ + *ziouv* /ts̥əʊ˧/ ‘host, owner, chief’ > *laangz-ziouv* /la:ŋ˧ ts̥əʊ˧/ ‘village headman’, where /˨˧/ (-*z*) of *laangz* changed to /˧/. Though the tone mark *-z* in spelling is preserved in the compound noun, the hyphen ‘-’ between *laangz* and *ziouv* signifies the changed tone /˧/ without using *-h*. Thus the system has an advantage of showing both the underlying tone and the resultative tone that underwent tone sandhi. The details, including one more tone sandhi rule, will be discussed in §3.3.3 and the compounding strategies in Chapter 6.

Typically Iu Mien words are monosyllabic, i.e., one word instantiated by one syllable carries one lexical meaning without morphological inflections. This is only a tendency, however, as Iu Mien also employs compound word formation having words which are composed of, ranging from mono, and sesquisyllabic (i.e. one and a half) to trisyllabic structure (Purnell 2012:xix).

Iu Mien is a verb medial language. The monosyllabic nature of the language demands that the word order plays an important role to determine grammatical relation. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the language has a strictly grammaticalised Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) pattern as a basic constituent order. Rather, the order is determined by pragmatic motivation of information structure. That is, topic noun phrases tend to occur pre-verbally and focused noun phrases tend to occur post-verbally<sup>7</sup> (LaPolla 1995, 2006). Even though the seeming basic order

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<sup>6</sup> There used to be a newsletter from Iu Mien in France using the New Roman Script or the Unified Script issued around the year 1987 and onward (Purnell, pers. com.).

<sup>7</sup> This issue will be further touched upon in §4.2.6.3 and discussed in detail in §11.4, i.e., pragmatically motivated argument structure.

SVO pattern can occur, as it will be discussed in later chapters, they are in fact, in terms of pragmatics,  $\text{NP}_{\text{TOPIC}} - [\text{Verb} - \text{NP}]_{\text{FOCUS}}$ . When the  $\text{NP}_{\text{TOPIC}}$  is an A(gent), the second NP in the FOCUS can most likely be a P(atient). The P(atient) argument NP is much more naturally and frequently left-positioned as a TOPIC before the verb in a natural conversational situation. The preposed P argument is often immediately followed by a topic marker (i.e. lexical or prosodic), thus re-arrangement of them is an  $[\text{NP}_{\text{TOP}} /^8 \text{NP}_{\text{AGENT}} - \text{V}]$  pattern, e.g., {rice}<sub>TOP</sub> / {I} {eat}, (the slash ‘/’ being a mark of left-positioning or topicalisation). Thus Iu Mien is a topic prominent language.

In a certain subgroup of clause (i.e. with the verbs of change of state or weather verbs), the V–NP order (seemingly VS) order is observed, e.g., {fall} {rain}, as opposed to other single argument clauses which is realised in the NP-V order, e.g., {bird} {fly}.

Languages without morphological inflections often have versatile use of verbs and this tendency is obvious in Iu Mien. Besides regular lexical meaning of verbs, a certain class of verbs can function as words that indicate aspect, modality, and directional movement. As a result, a sentence may contain a series of verbs, e.g., {modal verb} {main verb} {aspectual verb} {directional verb}. Tense is not indicated in the verb but by adverbial phrases of time, typically placed after the topic and before the main verb, e.g., {I} {tomorrow} {go} {to market}. Here again topicalisation of time phrase is possible, e.g., {tomorrow} {I} {go} {to market}.

It is also important to note that the real language is situated in discourse and pragmatic contexts of life. In a connected discourse, be it monologue or conversational, once the topic is established between the interlocutors, i.e., contextually accessible, a pronoun referring to it is most likely omitted; a THEME argument retrievable from context also undergoes ellipsis. Thus Iu Mien is a context-dependent language. It also heavily utilises varieties of sentence-final particles in interlocution, indicating content question, polar question, self-question, aspects, politeness or firmness, mild or strong command, urging, surprise, irritation, hearsay, and doubt or certainty.

### 1.3 Linguistic Environment

Southeast Asia is a home to vast linguistic diversity, embracing five major linguistics phyla or families. According to Matisoff (2001:295-8) the following families are recognised:

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<sup>8</sup> The forward slash ‘/’ indicates the boundary between left-position element (i.e. topic) and the rest of the clause following Enfield’s Lao grammar (2007:4). It should be noted that terms like “preposed” or “dislocated” are not used in that the frequency of this constituent order is much higher than so-called “SVO” order in Iu Mien.

- Austroasiatic
- Sino-Tibetan
- Tai-Kadai
- Hmong-Mien
- Austronesian

Among these five language families, the Hmong-Mien is the smallest.

Prior to recognising Hmong-Mien as a distinct family, there have been proposed two different models: the first is to place the Hmong-Mien under Sino-Tibetan, mostly by Chinese scholars. The second is Benedict's (1975:135) theory to relate it to the Austro-Thai. He subsumes Kadai and Austronesian into even larger group of Austro-Thai. His hypothesis that Hmong-Mien (formerly Miao-Yao) language family is affiliated with the Austro-Thai has been uncritically followed for about four decades by some (e.g. Tribal Research Institute in Chiang Mai (Mongkol and Thaworn eds. 1995), Whaley (1997:xxii), the Inter Mountain Peoples Education and Culture in Thailand Association (IMPECT 2002), Tribal Museum in Chiang Mai (2004)).

However, a commonly agreed hypothesis of present day regarding the Hmong-Mien's linguistic affiliation is to separate it from both Sino-Tibetan and Austro-Thai, as summarised by Ratliff (2010:3): "The most prudent position to take in the meantime is that Hmong-Mien constitutes an independent family of languages". See the following works for the same opinion: cf. Matisoff 1983:70-1; 1991b:386, Suriya 1988:4, Clark 1989:175.

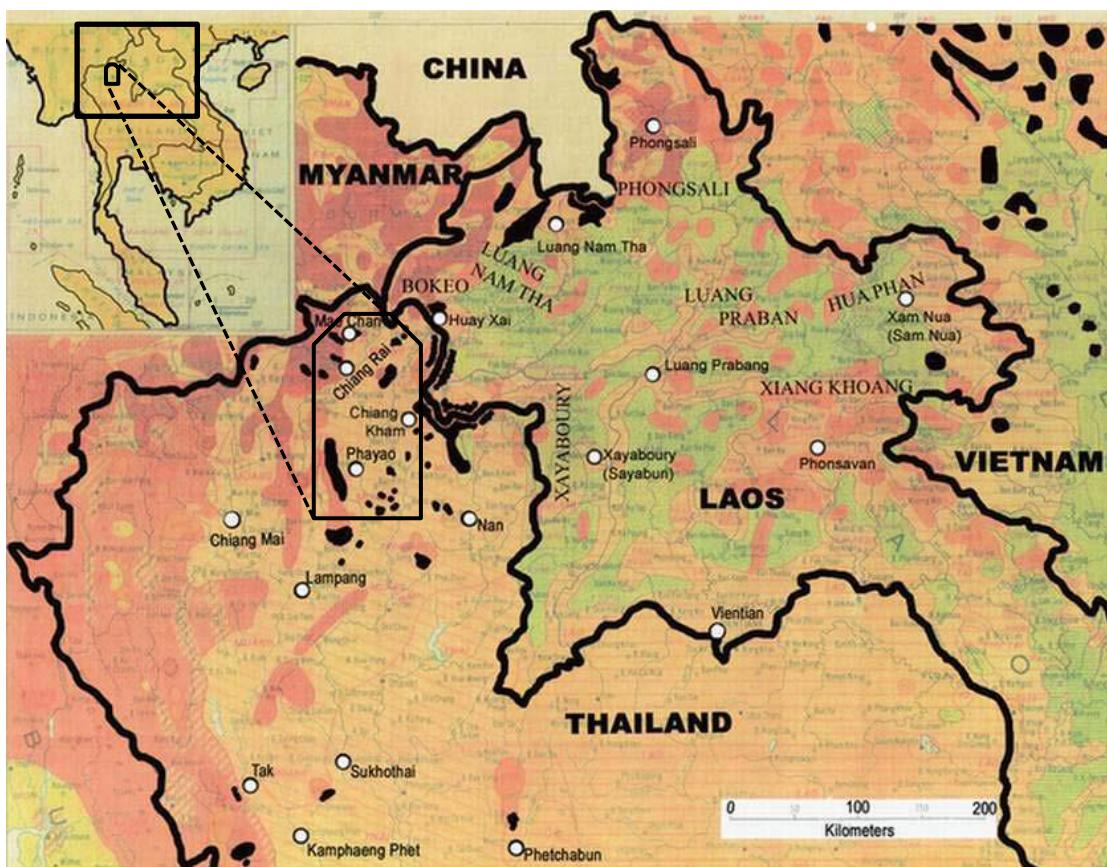
## 1.4 Data

### 1.4.1 Source, Location and Ethics in Data Collection

Data for this study are largely divided in two groups: the first-hand data and the previously collected data by other researchers. The first-hand data have been collected by the present author mainly in Baan Kun Mae Bong village, Doi Luang district and Baan Thammajarik village, Maechan district in Chiang Rai province, Baan Juam Jit village, Dok Kham Tai district in Phayao province and through extended trips to the provinces of Nan, Lampang, and Kampaeng Phet throughout the period of twenty years since 1994 to the last fieldwork in April – May 2015. Data from the fieldwork notebooks, not all of them necessarily accompanied by audio recordings especially in the early stage, for this period have been put into the data processing program Fieldwork Language Explorer (FLEX) (see the next section for instruments).

The second group consists of inherited audio and written data. These are from missionaries who made an initial contact with and linguistic works among the Iu Mien in the area of Maesalong village, Maechan District, Chiang Rai province, in the early 1950s. Rev. Eric and Mrs Hellen Cox, in the course of producing *Yao Language Course* (1967) and New Testament translation, have left some sixty open reel tapes containing Iu Mien's personal histories of emigration from Laos, testimonial narratives, sermons, and dramatized Bible stories. Forty-two selected tapes of good condition have been brought to Melbourne and digitalized for transcription through the help of Ian Armet and Margaret Purdam at CTLC (Curriculum, Teaching and Learning Centre) Studio, Technical Facility, School of Communication and Critical Enquiry, La Trobe University. The written documents include unpublished *Yao Language Texts* (1967–1969) transcribed and translated by Sylvia Lombard as one of the sources of her *Yao–English Dictionary* (1968) and V. Ann Burgess's unpublished *Mien Folk Tales and Legends* containing 84 stories from the early 1970s recorded and transcribed in Baan Kun Mae Bong village.

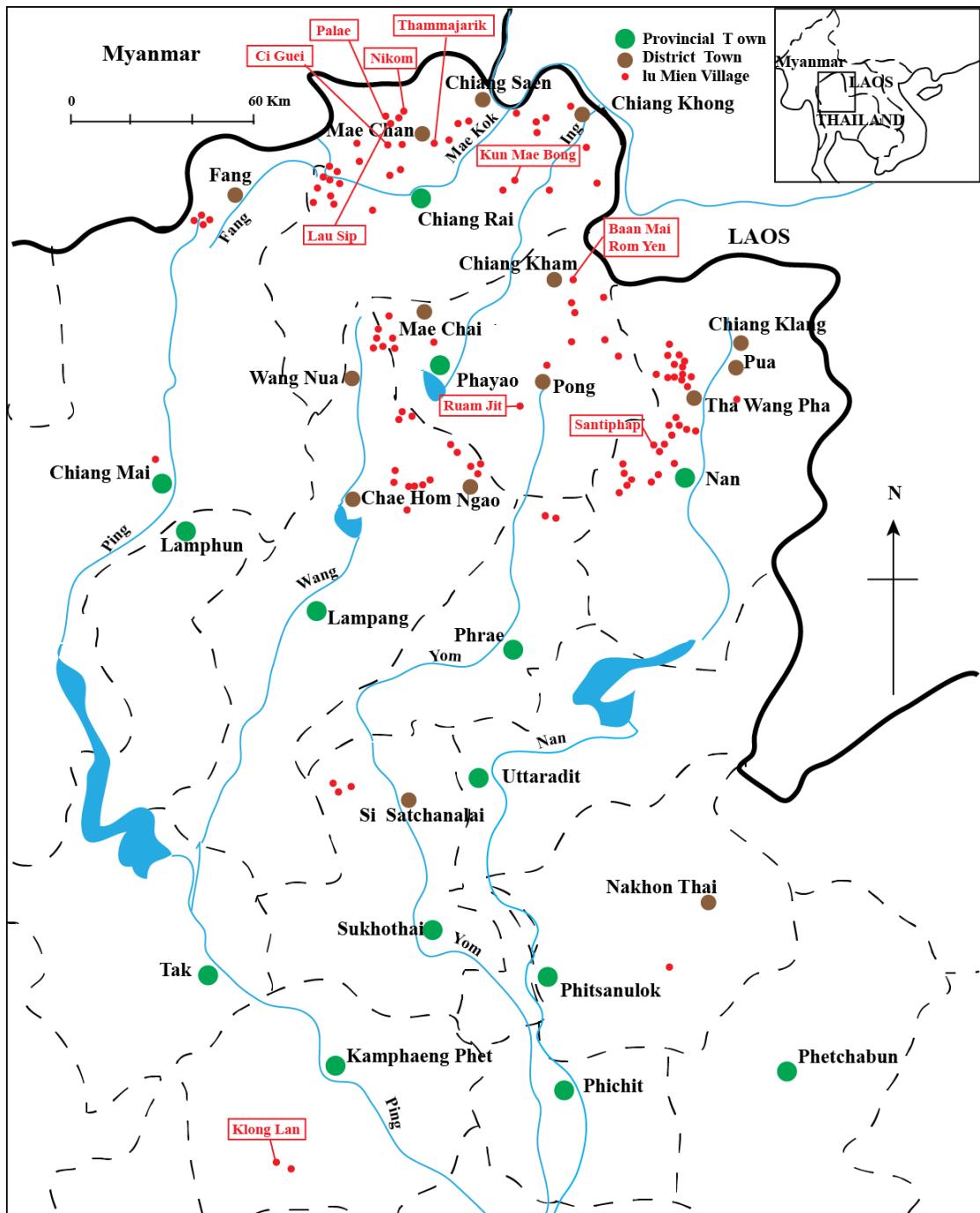
A general area of data collection in the northern part of Thailand is shown in Figure 1.



**Figure 1. Location of Research** (Arisawa 2006:14)

The black areas and dots indicate the places where the Iu Mien reside in Thailand, Lao PDR, and some parts of Vietnam.

The specific villages, including one in Kampaeng Phet province, are boxed in the following map in Figure 2.



**Figure 2.** Villages where research was conducted (in boxes) and other Iu Mien villages in North Thailand (The locations of Iu Mien villages were replicated from Chob Kacha-ananda (1992:194).<sup>9</sup> Redrawing of the map with the new research locations for the present work has been made by Lee Yingying 2015.)

The Iu Mien villages where the research was conducted are Lau Sip, Pha'lae (Pha Deua in Thai), Nikom, Ci Guei (Chi Guei in Thai), Thammajarik in Maechan District, and

Kun Mae Bong, Doi Luang District, in Chiang Rai province; Ruam Jit in Dok Kham Tai District and Baan Mai Rom Yien in Chiang Kham District, in Phayao province; Santiphap in Muang District in Nan province; and Klong Lan in Kamphaeng Phet province.

### **1.4.2 Instruments**

For raw data recording done in the initial language study in the 1990s simple old-fashioned cassette tape recorders were used. Later in the fieldwork conducted in the 2000s various digital devices such as SONY IC Recorder (ICD-U50), Olympus Digital Voice Recorder (VN-2100PC) and finally Zoom H1 with the better results were employed and most recently Sony HDR MV1<sup>10</sup> to video vivid images with good quality audio data. A Steinburg Wave Lab 7 was used for processing noise of digitalised data from the open reel tapes from the 1960s. These raw audio data were processed through four other instruments: (i) ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator) version 4.7.2 – 4.7.4 developed by Max Plank Institute of Psycholinguistics for transcription and time-aligned annotation of multiple speakers, (ii) SayMore version 3.0.204 developed by SIL International for single-speaker's straightforward transcription, (iii) FLEX (Fieldwork Language Explorer) version 8.0.10 (SIL International) for interlinearisation, grammatical analysis and storing in the lexicon, (iv) Speech Analyser version 3.1 (SIL International) for quick checking of pitch contours and intonation patterns, and (v) Praat developed by Paul Boersma and David Weenink of the University of Amsterdam for more detailed analyses. Sylvia Lombart's *Yao Language Texts* from 1960s originally transcribed in the older version of Romanized Iu Mien script (see §3.4.1.3) were re-transcribed into the New Roman Iu Mien Script (see §3.4.1.1) by Pastor Zeuz Wuonh Fim (趙文芯 ອິຈ. ຂະກາຍ ສີທີ່ປັ້ນຄູ່ຂັ້ນ), Pastor Yang Zanx-Zinh (黃進財 ອິຈ. ຢົ່ງ ທັນ-ຕື່ນ), and my wife Tamami Arisawa, then put into FLEX to prepare interlinearised gloss text (IGT). She also converted the legends and folktales recorded and transcribed by Ann Burgess in the 1970s either from the Old Roman Script or Thai-based Iu Mien Script to the New Roman Iu Mien Script for interlinearisation by FLEX.

### **1.4.3 Research Ethics**

I am a pastor among the Iu Mien churches in Thailand. Many of these language data have been taken from my pastoral situations such as pre- and post-marriage

<sup>9</sup> Chob Kacha-ananda conducted his research in Mae Ngon Luang village, Fang District in Chiang Mai province, Pulanka between Chiang Kham District and Pong District in Phayao province, and Khun Haeng, Ngao District in Lampang province.

<sup>10</sup> Olympus VN-2100PC and Sony HDR MV1 were generously donated by supporters of the language documentation. Zoom H1 was through Thai Studies Field Research Grant 2012, Asia Institute, the Faculty of Arts, the University of Melbourne.

counselling, grief-relief counselling before, during and after funeral, listening to confession of sin, and even to a report of martyrs among them, all first-hand face-to-face. I therefore declare my professional and ethical responsibilities of protecting privacy, honour and lives of my beloved friends by de-identifying their names. All transcribed texts listed in Appendix A have been audio-recorded with the speakers' consent except for deceased speakers. In some other cases, even though audio data were obtained, only initial letters of (nick)names and year (but not date nor month) of recording are provided besides or below the example sentences to avoid making voice identification available.

On the other hand, names should be acknowledged in the case that their natural language data, verbal art, cultural knowledge are assets of the Iu Mien ethnicity and community, rendering them the credits. They are indicated in a file name of the data source. Each language example is tagged by the detailed file name, which will be exemplified in the next section, §1.4.4.

Regarding unknown speakers or deceased speakers from the 1960s, the following recommendation was made by one of the reviewers in the Faculty Human Ethics Committee (FHEC):

[t]he researcher notes that he will be analysing some material gathered in the 1960s. If he is not able to discern whether those who contributed to that material in the 1960s gave their consent to be identified with the material in a future project such as is, I recommend that he de-identify those participants (La Trobe University, Faculty Human Ethics Committee, 5 February 2013).

The recommendation for "de-identification" has been carefully followed except for the following discernible cases: first, that the material has a public nature such as advertisement, distribution, and pedagogy; secondly, that the speaker and his or her descendants expected (with honour) that he or she would/should be identified even though the content might be personal.

The commencement of this research has been approved on 5<sup>th</sup> February 2013 as FHEC No.: #1071-12.

#### **1.4.4 Indication of Data Source**

The sources of language data are indicated in the file name. Each language example is tagged by the file name which contains seven to eight pieces of information, for example:

ium\_20100530\_01\_Olympus\_DA\_GueixZoih\_90thBirthday;00.00.00-

1    2            3    4            5    6            7            8

The sixth item after the fifth underbar ‘\_’, that is, ‘GueixZoih’, is the name of the speaker of this data. The rest are 1) the language ISO code (ISO 639-3, ‘ium’ for Iu Mien), 2) the year-month-date (2010 May 30<sup>th</sup>), 3) the sequential number of the recorded file of the day of fieldwork (01), 4) the device used for recording (Olympus), 5) the initial letters of researcher’s name (Daniel Arisawa), 7) content of the recording (90<sup>th</sup> birthday), and 8) additionally, the eighth item (marked by a preceding semicolon) indicates the time indication in the duration of audio data.

Because some audio files are as lengthy as forty to ninety minutes containing several different speakers and topics, the file name (items #6 and 7 above) does not necessarily represent exact content of all therein. For instance, a language example taken from the file (ium\_196806\_01\_SONY TAPE100 PY5\_x\_y\_Hymns;00.12.14-21) is not necessarily a singing even though the file name (item #7) contains the label “Hymns”. Instead, examples of talking could be extracted from it. The letters “x\_y\_” mean the recorder/researcher (item #5: = “x”) and the speaker (item #6 = “y”) are unknown.

## 1.5 Methodology and Theoretical Orientation

### 1.5.1 Monolingual Fieldwork and Playback Methods

The data for this grammar were gained through monolingual fieldwork method in Pike’s (Pike 1996, Headland 2003:14; 2004:290-1,) and Everett’s sense (Everett 2001:166-88, Sakel and Everett 2012:29-36). That is, all the data elicitation, discussion, verification regarding various grammatical and cultural matters was carried out with the native speakers in Iu Mien language alone without depending on a lingua franca or Thai. An exception to that was my first three months during the cold season in 1994 – 1995 using Ann Burgess’s draft of *Mien Language Course* (revised in 1996) with the help of English explanations in it and the occasional clarification in Thai by Elder Zanh Gueix-Fongc (陳貴鳳) of Baan Kun Mae Bong, Doi Luang District, Chiang Rai, who taught me. As soon as I gained a basic conversational ability, he forced me to learn more and plunged me into discussions on the language and cultural issues entirely in Iu Mien. While utilising Robert Longacre’s *Grammar Discovery Procedure* (1964) and Alan Healey’s (ed.) *Language Learner’s Field Guide* (1975) alongside with Burgess’s draft of *Course* and her personal, wise, rich advice, the

monolingual fieldwork method initiated by Pike and described (and required)<sup>11</sup> by Everett (2001) was radically drilled in me by Geuix-Fongc.

In Everett's term:

Fieldwork describes the activity of researcher systematically analysing parts of a language other than one's native language (usually one the researcher did not speak prior to beginning fieldwork), within a community of speakers of that language, prototypically in their native land, living out their existence in the milieu and mental currency of their native culture (Everett 2001:168).

The point here is not the fieldworker's expatriate status (which may evoke an image of Eurocentrism in an exotic jungle, perhaps epitomised in *Indiana Jones*) but the process of immersion into the host community in terms of life, culture and language. In other words, it is about the researcher's growing experience from an *etic* person to *emic* one in the linguistic community as Pike (1967) coined the terms from an analogy of *phonetics* and *phonemics* with the theoretical elaboration.

Another important approach I was taught and turned out to be highly illuminating was "playback method" by my principal supervisor Stephen Morey.<sup>12</sup> Obtaining the songs of Ngi Pe Pang, recorded in the 1970s in northern part of India, he played them back to his son. The approach is, in playing back to the native speaker, the researcher records both the playback and the one who is listening to it and making comments on what he/she is listening to. Morey uses this method in several different situations. One is to play back a song to the singer straight away or line by line while recording the playback and their explanation (or translation) of the meaning. These explanations are valuable source of 'everyday' language version of the song language. The other way is to play back a song or story recorded long ago and asking people for comment on them. In this case also both the playing back and comments should be recorded.

The second method has been applied to our situation in Iu Mien. Some data for this study have been gained through commentary-making sessions by a twenty-five year old Iu Mien and her grandfather Zanh Gueix-Fongc listening to and talking

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<sup>11</sup> Everett (2001:167) writes, "I require of anyone wanting to work with me on a Ph.D.-level description or analysis based on fieldwork that they learn to speak the language first." His actual demonstration of monolingual fieldwork can be watched at <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sYpWp7g7XWU>>.

<sup>12</sup> In this section and method I owe Dr Stephen Morey for his demonstration of it on site in Thailand and explanation of them back in CRLD, Melbourne. Related method of Basic Oral Language Documentation (BOLD) is exemplified in <<http://www.boldpng.info/>>.

about a recording of ninety-year old Dangc Zanx-Seng (though the recorded material by him was contemporary with the listeners/commentators).<sup>13</sup>

The playback method has effectiveness in many ways but particularly in:

- drawing a field researcher into a natural linguistic situation of the native speakers
- exhibiting meta-language or language that talks about the language
- arousing younger speaker's interest in mother tongue and culture.

Thirdly, we have applied the “playback method” to written documents. Thanks to three practical orthography systems (“Old Roman Script”, “New Roman Script”, and “Thai-based Mien Script”, which will be explained in §1.6 and §3.4), we are blessed with numerous written records of cultural description, legends, folktales, personal histories recorded by Lombard and Burgess from the 1960s and the '70s respectively. In the linguistic discussion sessions with Zanh Gueix-Fongc, my main native language teacher, I read aloud some of these documents before him to have him respond to, make comments on, and explain them. In effect, this method is a combination of the monolingual field method and the playback method. One of the effects of the playback method as mentioned in the previous paragraph was also obtained through the “reading back method” as well, namely, numerous examples of the precious meta-language. These will be summarised in the concluding chapter, Chapter 21 with an open ended suggestion that they should be more developed in the future in line with the subtitle of this work. Just to give one example as a sneak preview, the term “conjunction” in Iu Mien would be *daaux nyei waac /ta:uŋ neiŋ wa:/* [connect REL word] or *waac-daaux /wa:ŋ ta:uŋ/* [word connect]. Not only recording his explanations, we rigorously discussed various grammatical issues so I could learn how an intellectual Iu Mien analyses grammar in Iu Mien. Apart from Zanh Gueix-Fongc, Dangc Wuonh Kuon and his wife Faam Hin have been great teachers for me in grammatical discussion. One of their innovations was “sesquisyllable” *yietc joux bienx waac /jetŋ couŋ piəŋŋ wa:/* [one CLF half word]. Admittedly this last example may be a little technical but all newly coined grammatical terms are based on their compound rules and phrase rules and as a result they are perfectly intelligible among the average Iu Mien adults. All this efforts was strongly encouraged by Stephen Morey's word: “Tell the story on behalf of the Iu Mien. Let them talk grammar”. Hence, the readers will see Iu Mien talking about Iu Mien grammar in this grammar when language examples are presented.

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<sup>13</sup> Mr. Dang Zanx-Seng passed away a few days after the Chinese New Year (i.e. Iu Mien New Year) in 2015. His video taken by Dr Stephen Morey in May 2013 and used for this thesis is due to be presented to his bereaved family as our tribute.

### **1.5.2 Theoretical Orientation**

In terms of theoretical propensity of this study, it is eclectic. This is so in the sense that it comes from a spirit of descriptive, functional, usage-based, and typological approach as illustrated in Shopen's three volumes (2007) and in the authors of the series *A Cross-Linguistic Typology* edited by Aikhenvold and Dixon. In addition, the language description is in line with the constructionist approach exemplified in such works as Croft (2001), Goldberg (1992, 1995, 2006, 2010) and Lambrecht (1994) although it does not necessarily adhere to a particular brand of Construction Grammar. As has been briefly pointed out (§1.2), Iu Mien exhibits constituent order [NP<sub>AGT</sub>–V–NP<sub>PAT</sub>] or [Top / V–NP] as opposed to SVO, and also manifests [V–NP], rather than being taken as [V–S]. It is argued in this grammar that these grammatical forms are pragmatically motivated (as discussed in Lambrecht (1994:29)) rather than seeing them as obligatorily grammaticalised.

Having said that this grammar has typological inclination, a proviso may be necessary. A comparison of Iu Mien with other genetically unrelated languages (e.g. Indo-European or Semitic) is not in the scope of study inasmuch as the research on language universals was beyond the intention of this grammar. But rather, its comparison with the languages of areal and historical vicinity such as Hmong, Thai, Lao, Mandarin and Cantonese in the existing works of other authors<sup>14</sup> has been utilized to exemplify much similarity and difference to a lesser extent.

### **1.6 Orthographies**

Since the days when Court (1986:8) wrote that “Mien is an unwritten language”, the situation has changed so that there now exist several functional writing systems for Iu Mien. In this study, from amongst them, the Roman-based orthography and the Thai-based orthography are employed. A brief mention of the other two orthographies is in § 3.4.1.3 (The Old Roman Script) and in § 3.4.3 (The Lao-based Orthography) of Chapter 3, but they are not used in this study.

In presenting language examples, five lines are assigned in IGTs in the order of 1) the Roman-based script, 2) the Thai-based script, 3) the IPA, 4) gloss in English, and 5) English free translation:

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<sup>14</sup> Various authors are cited in two ways: international scholars including Chinese and Japanese are referred by their surnames with year and page number in both the body text and the references. Thai authors, however, are referred in the customary way that the given name and the surname are used in this order for the first citation in the body text and the first name only afterwards. In the bibliographical references, the full name in the order of “given name - surname” is found as practiced in Thailand.

|        |                                    |               |              |             |
|--------|------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|
| line 1 | <i>Iu-Mienh</i>                    | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>Mienh</i> | <i>waac</i> |
| line 2 | ອົວ-ເມື່ອນ                         | ກ້ອງ          | ເມື່ອນ       | ຫວ່າ        |
| line 3 | iu\: miən\:                        | kɔŋ\:         | miən\:       | wa:ʃ        |
| line 4 | Iu Mien                            | speak         | Mien         | language    |
| line 5 | ‘The Iu Mien speak Mien language.’ |               |              |             |

Each of the two writing systems used in this study has vernacular names: 1) *Siang-Lo^maa nzangc* (ສີ່ງ-ໄລ່ມາ ນ້ຳ່ງ) /siəŋ\: lo\:t ma: t dzan\:ʃ/ “New Roman Script” or the Roman-based orthography and 2) *Taiv nzangc* (ໄທ່ ນ້ຳ່ງ) /tʰai\: t dzan\:ʃ/ “Thai Script” or the Thai-based orthography. The *Siang-Lo^maa nzangc* is also called the “Unified Script” because this was ratified in the unification between the Iu Mien in China and the Iu Mien delegates from the USA in 1984, whose detailed historical development is accounted by Purnell (1985, 2002) (and also Lan et al. (eds.) 1990:169)).

It is necessary to mention the transcription of tone sandhi in compound words by the use of hyphen in the Unified Script and the Thai-based orthography. On the one hand, a compound word in which the first constituent observes tone sandhi is hyphenated as *Iu-Mienh* /iu\: miən\:/: and ອົວ-ເມື່ອນ as shown in the first and the second lines of the above example. As for compounds that do not involve tone sandhi in these orthographic systems, two constituents are written separately, e.g., *oix zuqc* /ɔi\: tsu?\:/ ‘must’. On the other hand, in this study only, the compound words in which no tone sandhi occurs are connected by a dot ‘·’, e.g., *oix.zuqc* /ɔi\: tsu?\:/ ‘must’. The use of a dot as a connecting marker between compounding elements follows the practice done by Chao (1968) for Chinese and Enfield (2007) for Lao compounds. In adoption of their practice, our modification restricted in this study is that a dot does not indicate tone sandhi in the first syllable. The use of the hyphen as an indicator of tone sandhi, however, is a part of conventionalised rule in the Unified Script (New Roman Script) and the Thai-based orthography. For detailed discussion on tone sandhi, see §3.3.3; for the orthographies, see §3.4; and for the relation between tone sandhi and compounds, see §6.2 – §6.4.

The reasons for adopting these writing systems in this study are three-fold. First, *Siang-Lo^maa nzangc* or the Unified Scripts has been decided to be used here for the Iu Mien population in the USA, Laos, China, Vietnam, France, the linguists who are already familiar with it, and the Iu Mien in Thailand who have learned or are learning it with some English ability that they should examine this grammar. Second, the Thai-based orthography or ໄທ່ ນ້ຳ່ງ is also used for the sake of the Iu Mien in Thailand, who should be able to verify that all the examples are natural data from their actual life situations, the Thai educators who are working in schools in hilly

areas where they are teaching the Iu Mien children, and the Thai linguists, anthropologists, officials, who are currently involved in various research and working toward an implementation of the Mother-tongue-based Multilingual Education (Mother-tongue-based MLE) in the ethnolinguistic communities in Thailand. Thirdly, IPA is for linguists in general, and Thai and Iu Mien linguistics students.

Here also may be considered the justification for the use of vernacular orthography in a linguistic work. This issue is concerned with social recognition of Iu Mien language whether it is shrugged off as an insignificant minority or a distinct language with some kind of status. Though the foundation of modern linguistics was laid notably by Saussure and Bloomfield, their emphasis on oral aspects in descriptive study of languages in contrast to written language seemed to have compelled generations of linguists to pull back from linguistic study of writing system. For example, Saussure (1959:23-32 [1916]), despite his recognition of the usefulness of graphic representation of language in the preceding pages, dismisses it in the end by saying:

The concrete object of linguistic science is the social product deposited in the brain of each individual, i.e., language (*ibid.* 23). [...] The linguistic object is not both the written and the spoken forms of words; the spoken forms alone constitute the object (*ibid.* 24).

Similarly, Bloomfield (1933) wrote:

Writing is not language, but merely a way of recording language by means of visible marks (*ibid.* 21). [...] For the linguist, writing is, except for certain matters of detail, merely an external device, like the use of the phonograph, which happens to preserve for our observation some features of the speech of past time (*ibid.* 282). [...] It is evident, from all this, that written records give us only an imperfect and often distorted picture of past speech, which has to be deciphered and interpreted, often at the cost of great labor (*ibid.* 293).

Thus, both rightly claimed the primacy of spoken language due to the fact that “[s]pelling always lags behind pronunciation” (Saussure 1959:28 [1916]) in the “slow but unceasing process of linguistic change” (Bloomfield 1933:281).

The social aspect of this grammar, however, in a sense that it is the Iu Mien themselves who are hoping to see it being written, cannot be ignored. Coulmas (2013) in his recent study emphasises the social significance of writing,<sup>15</sup> especially in its public function. For example, the difference between literacy and illiteracy is directly

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<sup>15</sup> To mention a few examples of social attitudes toward writing, see Ch. 4 in Gaur (1992) with regard to scribe’s position, aesthetics of writing, and writing’s relations to politics, religion, and special groups. Social life styles have been drawn into the light of modern eyes through decipherment of ancient scripts as described in Ch. 3 of Gaur (1992), Gordon (1968), and Pope (1999) among many others.

related to a speech community's experience of equality-inequality in accessing "to social goods" (Coulmas 2013:62) and full participation in society. Further, Coulmas (*ibid.* 74) reminds us of the needs but slow progress of recognising linguistic rights of the minority language community: "Heightened awareness of the problem of language discrimination and its ideological implications for democratic polities only gained ground as of the mid twentieth century, when UNESCO<sup>16</sup> adopted the principle of promoting mother tongue literacy".

Coupled with the social significance of orthography, its theoretical importance in writing a grammar is asserted by Sgall (1987:22) as "indispensable not only for practical purpose, [...] but also for a complete theoretical description of a language, since the writing norm is an integral part of modern language equally essential to it as its spoken norm". One of the excellent examples of the type of descriptive grammar is Stephen Morey's (2005) *The Tai Languages of Assam*. In it not only the whole of chapter seven (pp. 179-207) is spent for discussion on the Ahom Script and the other scripts of Tai, but all the example sentences/phrases are also presented in their original scripts on the top line with IPA below followed by grammatical glossing and English translation throughout the book. We follow his pattern in presenting Iu Mien examples in this grammar recognising the social, literacy, pedagogical, importance of the language as well as seeking comprehensiveness of the grammar.

## 1.7 Goals of Study

The primary goal is to describe as comprehensively as possible the structure of Iu Mien as spoken by old people in its own terms. The ancillary goals are expressed in the subtitle of the thesis: a tool for language documentation and revitalization. Chelliah and de Reuse (2011:7-22), in comparing documentary and descriptive linguistic fieldwork, argue for the primacy of the latter though admitting the inseparability of the two. In line with them, our primary goal is descriptive. However, given some community leaders and a considerable number of community members are seeking to encourage the young Iu Mien to re-learn the language, as has been briefly touched on at the outset, it is also hoped that they will make use of this grammar as a tool for what Chelliah and de Reuse (*ibid.* 19-20) call "secondary goals of descriptive linguistic fieldwork", i.e., revitalization through documentation.

Despite Chelliah and de Reuse's designation as "secondary" the preservation or revitalization goal, the aspect of preservation/revitalization is by no means less important for the Iu Mien themselves than the description. Indeed, not only the older

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<sup>16</sup> UNESCO's systematic effort of promoting mother tongue based literacy is exemplified in the following publications: UNESCO (1953), UNESCO Bangkok (2004, 2005, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c).

generation desires language preservation and revitalization but also my Iu Mien students at Chiang Rai Rajabhat University have become aware of antecedent significance through studying together the Iu Mien orthographies, the principles in Mother-tongue-based Multi-lingual Education (MLE) in conjunction with the workshops provided by Linguistics Institute, Payap University, Chiang Mai, and conducting sociolinguistic surveys in some Iu Mien villages.<sup>17</sup>

It is necessary to point out that the “documentation” part of the subtitle does not mean the thesis includes a comprehensive dictionary (which is already made available by Lombard (1968), Panh (1995, 2002), G. Aumann, M. Aumann and Bienh (2002), Purnell (2012), and Sumeth Prasertsud’s Iu Mien—Thai dictionary (forthcoming, draft completed in 1998)) and texts of all the collected data. The expected utilization of this grammar by the Iu Mien may vary from just reading many language examples of the older generation, translating it into Iu Mien at least partially to study grammar, and to encouraging young people to go back out to their villages to collect more folktales, account of customs, local wisdom, religions, world view, personal memoirs of their parents and grandparents by learning the orthography and IPA.

## 1.8 Organisation of the Grammar

Given these goals, the structure of this grammar may appear unusual to the majority of linguists. Admitting this fact, the present researcher sincerely asks for their sympathy regarding this decision, which is all for the Iu Mien themselves. A face-to-face discussion among Zanh Gueix-Fongc the main native speaker language consultant, Dr Stephen Morey the principal supervisor, and the researcher, as to how we should be able to encourage young Iu Mien retain their heritage language through this grammar took place at the earlier stage of this research in Kun Mae Bong village in April 2013. Zanh Gueix-Fongc’s advice was that the grammar should start with something familiar to the young Iu Mien and use them as a platform to launch into reviewing traditional language use and further into a grammatical study. For the reason of tradition, Chapter 2 contains a lengthy quotation of raw materials of *Jiex Sen Borngv* /ciəl sen˥ pɔŋ˥/ [pass mountain placard] (過山榜) ‘The Mountain Crossing Passport’ and the narrative on *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv* /pʰiu˥ jiu˥ ciəl kʰoi˥/ [float be.far

<sup>17</sup> The students’ activities have been summarized in Arisawa (2010:251): “Mother tongue-based MLE is pertinent to the sociolinguistic milieu where CRU [i.e. Chiang Rai Rajabhat University] is located, reasonably feasible in the light of upcoming national language policy of Thailand and existing good examples, and urgently necessary if we think about the children of the future generation who should be the heritage and wisdom carriers”.

pass sea] (漂遙過海) ‘The Sea Crossing Odyssey’ rather than placing them to appendix. For the reason of familiarity, all of Chapter 5 is dedicated to the study of Iu Mien names because everyone has names. This chapter will help Iu Mien see that their names have grammar.

Chapter 3 presents the phonological summary of the language including the orthographies. Chapter 4 sets out seven working principles of the grammar, one of which establishes the rightward multi-layered focus structure, i.e., the more rightward (toward the end of a sentence) a constituent goes, the more focus it gets. The chapter also previews grammatical categories or “parts-of-speech”. Chapter 5 is a bridge from the morphology and word formation found in the study of Iu Mien names (i.e. onomastics) to the study of compounds, noun phrases, and syntax.

Chapter 6 considers the nominal, verbal, and adjectival compounds, including psycho-collocations. Chapter 7 distinguishes Chinese-loan adjectives and the adjectival verbs of Iu Mien origin, and focuses on the verbal nature of the latter. Chapter 8 is on the noun phrases, including a comprehensive list of the sortal and measure numerical classifiers and three types of relative clauses.

Chapter 9 discusses the adverbial constructions, which readily utilize the aspectual verb *jienv* /c<sup>j</sup>en<sup>˥</sup>/ ‘to continue’ and the adverbialising particle *nyei* /nei<sup>˧</sup>/. Chapter 10 argues that the copula construction is a linkage between the topic and the focus predicate. Chapter 11 is on the verbs and argument structure, which includes topics regarding the ditransitive constructions, the presentative constructions, and four cases of a seemingly post-verbal subject.

Chapter 12 gives an overview of auxiliaries, aspectual verbs and particles, and modality including evidentials. Chapter 13 analyses the negative constructions, and Chapter 14 presents the question constructions.

Chapter 15 argues the multi-verb constructions in terms of mono-clausal and multi-clausal MVCs. The former includes the serial verb constructions (SVCs), the semantic role coverb phrases. It also addresses the similarity between the semantic role coverb phrases and prepositions, the latter being rare but grammaticalisation seems to be underway in the language.

Chapter 16 and Chapter 17 are considered with reference to the egocentric viewing arrangement (in terms of Cognitive Grammar) in relation to environment, events and state of affairs that surround the speaker. Chapter 16 analyses the spatial constructions, and Chapter 17 argues that the verbs *duqv* /tu?˥/ ‘to get’ and *zuqc* /tsu?˩/ ‘to touch’ are in contrast in the sense that the former relates the speaker with the world favourably, while the latter does adversively.

Chapters 18, 19, and 20 are concerned with constructions at the sentence level and above. Chapter 19 deals with the sentence as a composite of clauses in three strategies: parataxis, hypotaxis, and complementation. Chapter 19 surveys the sentence final particles as epistemic grounding elements. Chapter 20 presents some discourse features and narrative arts the Iu Mien storytellers employ: emphatic prosody and elaborate expressions.

The concluding chapter, Chapter 21, suggests further research topics.

## Chapter 2

# BACKGROUND

### 2.1 Introduction

As “*Life requires context; autonomy is death*”, said Kenneth and Evelyn Pike (1983:1) (italics in the original), so the context of this study is provided in this chapter to give this grammar life. The background of the Iu Mien and their language is considered under four sections: historical, literature (i.e. previous linguistic studies), linguistic (i.e. genetic affinity), and cultural backgrounds.

### 2.2 Historical Background<sup>18</sup>

#### 2.2.1 Name of the People

##### 2.2.1.1 *Spelling of the name of the people*

Throughout this study the spelling “Iu Mien” will be used as an English representation without a hyphen between “Iu” and “Mien”. With a hyphen as a part of the Iu Mien orthography (§3.4.1), the spelling “Iu-Mienh” indicates tone sandhi (See §3.3.3) as it will be explained below. In fact a hyphen in English used in such a term as “Hmong-Mien” means “Hmong and Mien”, so the misleading hyphenated combination “Iu-Mien” may be taken as “Iu and Mien”, which is wrong.

On the other hand, when the people’s name is used in the Iu Mien orthographic system, it is written “*Iu-Mienh*”, in which both the hyphen and the word final “-h” indicate the mid-falling tone (the former is a result of tone sandhi, the latter the underlying tone as expressed by the symbol) (the tones will be discussed in detail in §3.3). This convention seems to have been settled down by the publication of Purnell’s dictionary *An Iu-Mienh – English Dictionary* (2012). It is understandable that before this stage of gradual consensus among the Iu Mien themselves many different kinds of expressions, both vernacular and phonetic/academic, have been in trial use, e.g., “Yiu-Mienh” (Chao et al. 1986), “Mjuen(ic)” (Theraphan L.-Thongkum 1993a), and “Mjen” (Niederer 1998). Purnell (2002:304) lists spelling variants from various documents: “*Mien, Mienh, Yiu-Mien, Yiu-Mienh, Iu Mien, Iu-Mien, and Iu-Mienh*”.

It is also customary among the Iu Mien to shorten it to “Mien” (in English) or to “*Mienh*” (in Iu Mien), e.g., *Mienh waac /miən\ wa:ʃ/* ‘Mien language’.

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<sup>18</sup> This section is a revised and enlarged version of Arisawa (2006:175-83).

A detailed study of Iu Mien names, or onomastics, will be presented in Chapter 5.

### **2.2.1.2 Recent preference of the term “Iu Mien” to “Yao”**

The term “Iu Mien” is an autonym; “Yao” an exonym. After a long common practice of referring to the people as “Yáo” (瑶) mostly by Chinese scholars (i.e. historians, ethnographers, and linguists (e.g. Chang 1947, 1953, 1966)), the recent shift to the use of the autonym is observable even among them (Dai 2013), following Western/international and Thai linguists (Court 1986, Goldman 1995, Jennings 1998, Jonsson 1996, 2002, Kunstadter 1967, Matisoff 2001, Niederer 2004, Ratliff 1992a, 1992b, 2010, Theraphan L.-Thongkum 1993a). A transition from the use of “Yao” to “Mien” in the same Chinese linguist can be seen in Mao (1992) and Mao (2004).

Prior to this change, the practice of using the term “Yao” had been questioned for at least two reasons. For one thing, the term “Yao” unfortunately includes non-Yao languages, mainly due to the geo/political grouping of the “nationality” by Chinese government (Bradley 1987). For example, Lakkia, included in Yao, in fact linguistically belongs to Kam-Tai branch of Tai-Kadai family. For another reason, mispronunciation of “Yao” by non-Iu Mien people can have a proximity to derogatory words in Chinese and Thai. On one hand, there are Iu Mien words *yau* ‘monster, demon’ (Panh 2002:277) and *yau zing* ‘a witch, goblin’ (Purnell 2012:733). Apparently *yau* is a loan word from Chinese *yāo* (妖) ‘goblin, demon, evil spirit’ (*The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary* (CCD) 2002:2226) and an Iu Mien expression *yau guaix* from Chinese *yāo•guài* (妖怪) ‘monster, bogey, goblin, demon, evil spirit that uses sorcery to harm people’ (CCD 2002:2226). It is one thing that the Iu Mien refer to apparition phenomena as *yau* ((妖) ‘goblin, demon, evil spirit’), but that they are called as such by a pronunciation error is another. On the other, it does not take an error to be pejorative if it is pronounced *yáo* in Thai because of homophones. A Thai word *yáo* with the same tone with “Yao” means ‘to tease, jest’ as used in /jáojòik/ (เจ้าหยอก) ‘to tease and kid’ or /krasáojáojè/ (กระเจ้าเจ้าหยอก) ‘to joke and tease’.

Obviously the term “Iu Mien” is preferred by the Iu Mien themselves. Native speaker researchers unequivocally use “Mien” or “Iu Mien” (e.g. Panh 1995, 2002, Leepreecha et al.<sup>19</sup> 2004, Phanphisutthichon 2007, Thanyalak Saeliao 2012, Pang Kha – Pang Phrik Villagers’ Organisation and IMPECT Association [n.d.]) as opposed to

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<sup>19</sup> One of the authors, Yanyong Trakanthamrong (นายยอนงค์ ตระกานธ์ธรรมรงค์) is a native Iu Mien researcher from Huay Labau Yaa village in Nan province.

Thai researchers (e.g. Kacha-Ananda<sup>20</sup> 1980, Prueksasri 1995). Bradley (Bradley (with Harlow) 1994:167) mentioned that “Yao refugees in various Western countries now prefer to be called Iu Mien”, which is also true to those in Thailand.

Turning back again to the exonym, it may be worth noting the issue of the Chinese homophonous characters that refer to the people. Because a Chinese character is composed of *yìzì* (意字) ‘meaning letter’ and *yīnzi* (音字) ‘sound letter’, different compositions can carry the same sound provided the latter remains the same with substitution of the former. The sound *yáo /jáo/*, therefore, can be written in homophonous characters which have different ‘meaning letters’ of the left side radical: 谣(yáo /jáo/ ‘ballad, folk rhyme’, 摆 *yáo /jáo/* ‘to shake, wave, rock, sway’, 瑶 *yáo /jáo/* ‘to conscript for labour’, 遙 *yáo /jáo/* ‘distant, remote’, 瑶 *yáo /jáo/* ‘precious jade, jasper’. Though it might be possible to call the people from the perspective of Han Chinese on the eastern lower plain as “the tribe of hinterland” (遙族 *yáo zú*), the character 遙 *yáo* ‘distant, remote’ seems to have never been used, nor 谣(yáo) *yáo* ‘ballad’, nor 摆 *yáo* ‘to shake’. Instead, two others were used to refer to the Iu Mien: 瑶 *yáo /jáo/* ‘to conscript for labour’ was used during the two dynasties of Suí (隨) (581-618) and Táng (唐) (618-907), and after 1949 瑶 *yáo /jáo/* ‘precious jade, jasper’ has been used.

Further back in the history, prior to Wèi (魏) dynasty (A.D. 220-265), they were called *mán* (蠻) ‘barbarians’, which was a collective term including other people groups in the south-west mountainous region of China. In the course of their southward move, after crossing Cháng-jiāng river (长江), they were given names after their habitation, e.g., *Wǔlíng mán* (武陵蛮) ‘the barbarians of Wuling’, *Cháng-shā mán* (长沙蛮) ‘the barbarians of Changsha’, and *Wǔxī mán* (五溪蛮) ‘the barbarians of Wuxi’ (Zhèn 1993:7). A better name than “barbarians” was given during Sòng (宋) (420-479) and Liáng (梁) (502-557) dynasties, that is, *Mò Yáo* (莫徭) ‘no conscription’. However, as the time went by, the name became shortened by dropping the negative particle *mò* (莫), yielding *Yáo* (徭), meaning ‘those who are force to labour’. The transition for the different names can be seen as follows:

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<sup>20</sup> His Thai name is spelt ชอ卜 กชาอันนันต์ (1980), whose transliteration is supposed to be “Chob Kacha-Anant” (with the final cluster “nt” which is an unreleased stop). But some publications in English have by-line “Chob Kacha-Ananda” (with an open syllable “-da” at the end), e.g., 1992.

- *Mán* (蠻) ‘barbarians’ (before *Wèi* Dynasty, A.D. 220-265)
- *Mò Yáo* (莫徭) ‘non conscripts’ (during *Sòng* and *Liáng* Dynasties, 420-557)
- *Yáo* (徭) ‘conscripts, forced labourers’ (after *Suí* Dynasty, 581-618)
- *Yáo* (瑤) ‘jade, jasper’ (after 1949)
- *Mien* [mjen˥] ‘person’ (recently) or in Chinese *Miǎn* (勉)

A sweeping summary of a little over millennium span regarding how this ethnic group has been called is:

Thus, the people have been given different names beginning with “barbarian” (for over 400 years), “those who are exempt from compulsory labor works” (360 years), next, “those who are used for compulsory labor works” (370 years), then “gem people” (50 years) and finally to the recent academically recognized name Mien, that is, “human” (Arisawa 2006:176).

Such has been an ordeal of this minority group revealed in their names in the face of the powerful peoples. Last of all, in the recent studies Chinese linguists (Mao 2004, Dai 2013) use Iu Mien [ju˥ mjen˥] (优勉 *Yōu Miǎn* in Chinese),<sup>21</sup> in which 优 (優) means ‘excellent’, and 勉 ‘to strive, exert oneself, make great effort’. There is a possibility that 勉 (*miǎn*) has been taken from a document called *Jiex Sen Borngv* (過山榜) (or *Guò Shān Bǎng* in Chinese), in which this character has been mistakenly used with an intention to mean 免 (*miǎn*) ‘to be exempt from’ taxation. If so, 优免 (*Yōu Miǎn*) can mean ‘excellently being exempt (from tax)’. (See a discussion on different homonyms *miǎn*, 勉 ‘to strive’ and 免 ‘to be exempt from’ in §2.2.2.8).

For the Iu Mien it was a proud turning point that they were named as *Mò Yáo* (莫徭) ‘non conscripts’ departing from *Mán* (蠻) ‘barbarians’. This turn seems to have been associated with two important stories from their ancestors: one is the legend of *Pán Hù* (盤護<sup>22</sup>) ‘a dragon dog’ recorded in *Jiex Sen Borngv* (過山榜) ‘Mountain Crossing Passport’, and the other is the legend of *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv* (漂遙過海) ‘The Sea Crossing Odyssey’. They will be summarised in the next sections.

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<sup>21</sup> [ju˥ mjen˥] is the pronunciation in Iu Mien. The recent Chinese scholars assign the characters 优勉, which have different tones from Iu Mien tones, i.e., *Yōu Miǎn*, in order to express approximate pronunciation and non-pejorative meaning.

<sup>22</sup> For the same pronunciation *Pán Hù*, different Chinese characters have been assigned such as 盘瓠 and 爪瓠. Takemura (1981) uses the characters 爪瓠 (the first character 爪 is a formal form of 盘 ‘tray, vessel’; the second 匕 ‘calabash gourd’) in associating this to the Iu Mien’s “Sea Crossing Odyssey”, thus differentiates it from the “dragon dog’s” personal name *Pán Hù* (盘護).

## **2.2.2 *Jiex Sen Borngv* /ciəl sen˥ pɔŋ˥/ (過山榜) ‘The Mountain Crossing Passport’**

### **2.2.2.1 *Manuscripts (MSS)***

Though the full title of this document as appears in the first line of the scroll is *Píng Huáng Quàn Dié Guò Shān Bǎng* (評皇券牒過山榜) (see the first line of Figure 3), it is commonly known (and pronounced) as *Jiex Sen Borngv* /ciəl sen˥ pɔŋ˥/ among the Iu Mien, and also called *Guò Shān Bǎng* (過山榜) (the second line in Figure 3) in Chinese.<sup>23</sup>

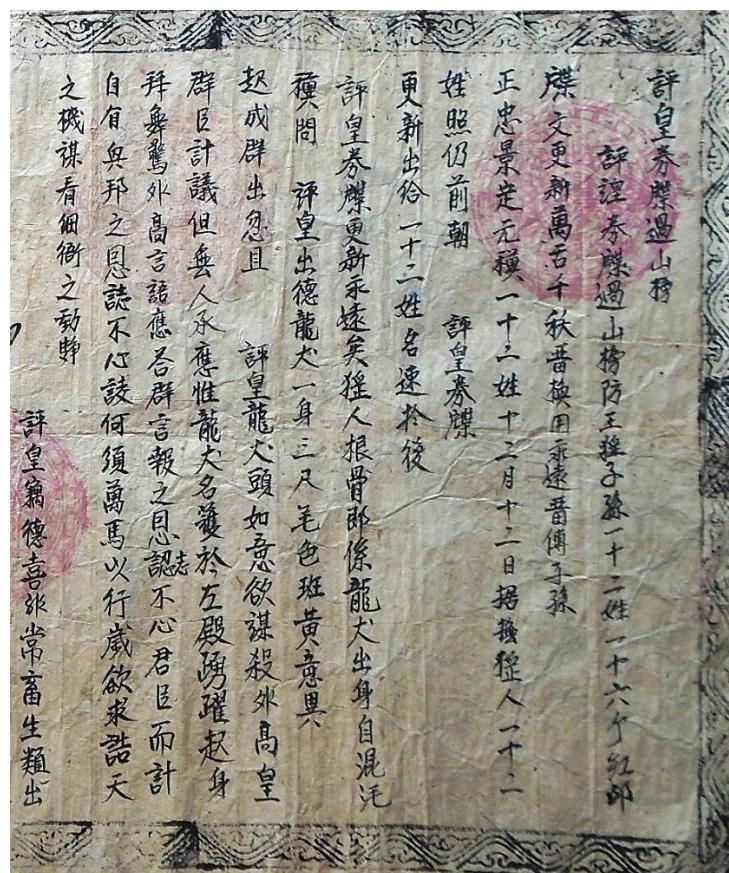
Figure 3 shows the first fourteen lines (of the 146 lines handwritten in a 4.6 meter scroll) of *Jiex Sen Borngv* /ciəl sen˥ pɔŋ˥/ (過山榜) ‘Mountain-crossing Passport’ or “Perpetual Redaction of the Imperial Decree of Emperor Ping Huang for Protection When Travelling in the Hills” (Theraphan L.-Thongkum 1991). The document was purchased by the present author (Arisawa 2011a)<sup>24</sup> from an Iu Mien merchant of Baan Pha Dua (*Pʰa'lae laangz* ‘Pʰa'lae village’ in Iu Mien), Mu 6, Maesalong Ward, Mae Fa Luang District, Chiang Rai province, in August 2007.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Jonsson (2002:26-32) spells the name of the document “*Kia Shen Pong*”, which is an erroneously mixed pronunciation of Iu Mien (*Kia*) - Chinese (*Shen*) - Iu Mien (*Pong*). Had he strictly followed Theraphan (1991), it should have been either *Kia Sen Pong* (ເກີ້ຂ ເຊນ ພອງ) in Iu Mien or *Guo Shan Bang* in Chinese. To be more precise, Theraphan’s Thai transliteration of the first word should have a rising tone as ເກີ້ຂ ‘to pass (through)’.

<sup>24</sup> Arisawa (2011a:228) observes “The scroll’s length is 4.6 m, and height 49 cm. Nine sheets of papers (60 cm x 49 cm each) are glued together with an overlap of approximately 10 cm. One character is written in a size of square box of 1.5 cm.”

<sup>25</sup> Though the scroll is preserved in Arisawa’s office, the ownership should belong to the people of the Iu Mien themselves. I am willing to hand it over to the Iu Mien community whenever a responsible organisation, a group of mindful people, or an institution is ready to store it in good condition.



**Figure 3. The beginning lines of *Jiex Sen Borngv* obtained from Baan Pha Dua (P<sup>h</sup>a'lae village), Chiang Rai Province in 2007.**

The earliest scholar who shed light on this document including other Chinese-written documents possessed by the Iu Mien in Thailand was Shiratori (1975). He dates “the Emperor of China” who issued the document at “the era of Southern Sung dynasty (A.D. 1260)” (Shiratori 1975:334). Huang (1991) also estimated the dating of this document using Shiratori’s publication. Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1991) translated another scroll obtained from Nan province in Thailand into Thai and English. Using Theraphan’s work, Jonsson (2002:26-32) analyses Iu Mien’s cultural values. Given over one hundred manuscripts (MSS) have been found in China and some in Thailand, Tan (1986b) extracted four common themes mainly from the different MSS he obtained in Thailand as follows:

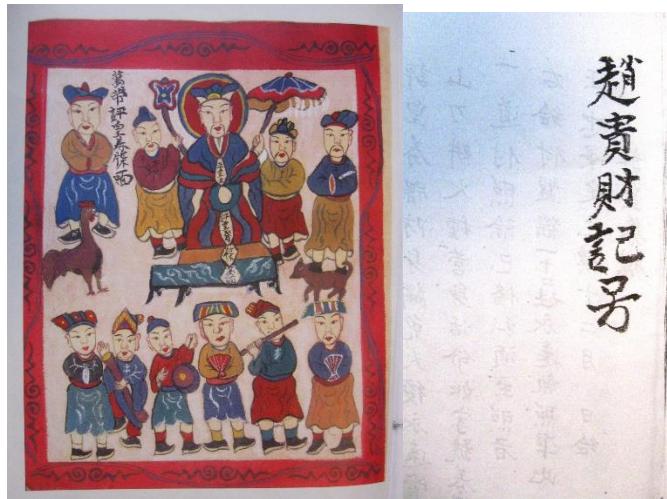
- 1) The Yao ancestor was a dog having the surname Pieun [*Bienh* in Iu Mien]. He was popularly called Pieun Hu [*Bienh Huh* in Iu Mien, *Pán Hù* (盤護) in Chinese].
- 2) This dog crossed a sea or seas to take the head of an enemy of monarch, the latter most probably a Chinese emperor.
- 3) The dog married a human being. She belonged to the monarch's court and was given in marriage to the dog as his reward for his killing the enemy.
- 4) The offspring of this dog-human union were the ancestors of the twelve Yao clans (Tan 1986b:58-59).

Useful as these points are, we must go beyond just the summary to the social and religious significance of this document to the people of Iu Mien. To do so the scroll purchased in Baan Pha Dua (or *Pʰa'lae*, an Iu Mien name of the village), M6, Maesalong Nai, Mae Fa Luang District, Chiang Rai, will be used as a main source. Acknowledging that there exist other varying versions of this documents collected by Shiratori (1974) from the wide spread villages in Thailand, we will restrict ourselves to the actual scroll tangibly available to us. Admittedly, professional textual criticism of more than one hundred MSS is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, two other MSS which are book-form have also been obtained from the Iu Mien language consultant Mr Zeuz Gueix-Zoi (趙貴財) of Thammajarik village, Maechan District, Chiang Rai province in 2007 and 2011 respectively, and they will be referred as secondary sources. We shall name the first MSS as *Pʰa'lae Scroll*, the second *Thammajarik Codex A*, the third *Thammajarik Codex B*. The second and third were hand-copied in calligraphy by Zeuz Gueix-Zoih from an allegedly existing scroll of someone else's possession shown in Figure 4 and Figure 5.

The right page of Figure 4 is the 208<sup>th</sup> line on page 24 of the *Thammajarik Codex A* showing the name of the hand-copier Zeuz Gueix-Zoih. Its left picture is on the page 25, drawn with water colour by the same copier, depicting King Ping (middle in upper row) and the decedents of Pan Hu, the progenitor of the twelve clans of the Iu Mien.

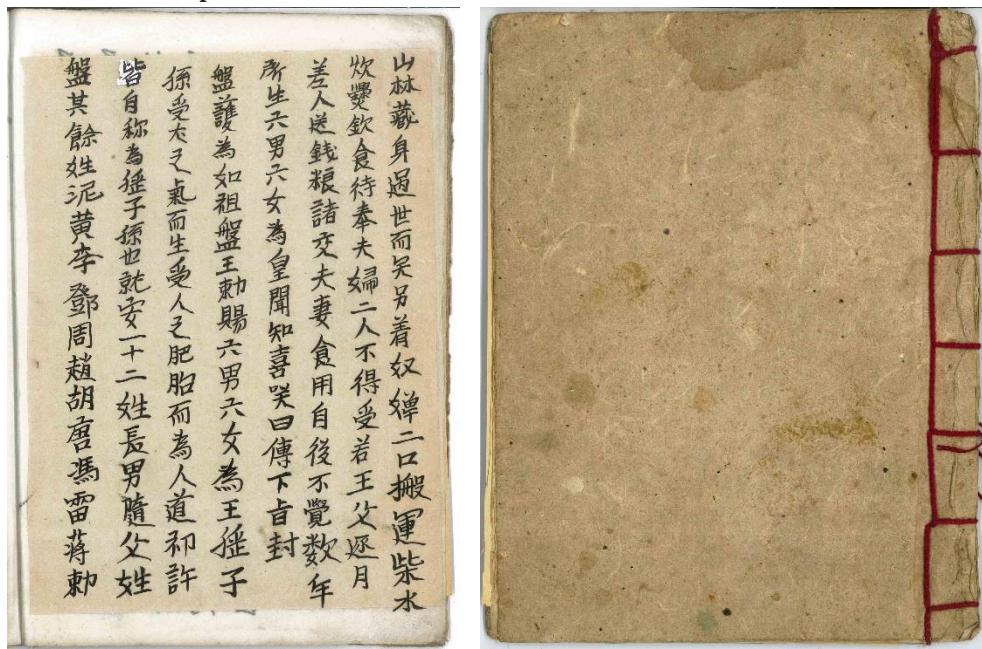
p. 25

p. 24



**Figure 4. *Jiex Sen Borngv* (Thammajarik Codex A).**

Figure 5 shows the front cover (soft paper perhaps made from bamboo) of the *Thammajarik Codex B* on the right and its tenth page on the left. In the last line (the left most line) on page 10 can we see the names of twelve clans: 盤, 沈, 黃, 李, 鄧, 周, 趙, 胡, 唐, 馮, 雷, and 蔣. Comparison of five MSS with regard to twelve names will be presented in Table 2a-b in §2.2.2.4.



**Figure 5. *Jiex Sen Borngv* (Thammajarik Codex B).**

*Jiex Sen Borngv* contains highly significant information including:

- 1) Names referring to the dragon dog
- 2) The origin of twelve clans of the Iu Mien
- 3) Names of the twelve clans
- 4) Origin of worshipping the dragon dog as their progenitor
- 5) Privileges of tax exemption and other benefits given by Ping Huang
- 6) Designation of residence restricted in mountains
- 7) Names referring to the Iu Mien.

These will be discussed in the following sections.

### 2.2.2.2 Names referring to the dragon dog

In L 7 of *P'ha'lae Scroll* found *lóng quán* (龍犬) ‘dragon dog’ referring to the ancestor of the Iu Mien as the first mention in the text. It is more accurate to say that the Iu Mien’s progenitor was a dragon dog than a simple “dog” as in Tan (1986b). In the rest of the *P'ha'lae Scroll*, the name *lóng quán* appears in Ls 9, 10, 27, 46, 78, and 113 (simply *lóng* (龍) ‘dragon’). In all three MSS there is a water colour picture of a dog (no appearance of “dragon”) on the last page of the codices or the end of the

scroll. The dragon dog's family name is *Pán* (盤) and the given name *Hù* (護) as in Ls 24, 38, 48, and 60. Different co-referential names throughout the document are listed Table 1.

**Table 1. Names co-referring to the dragon dog**

| Names<br>in Chinese | Pin Yin                   | Meaning   | lines of occurrence   |
|---------------------|---------------------------|---|---|
| 龍犬                  | <i>lóng quǎn</i>          | 'dragon dog'  | 7, 9, 10, 27, 46, 78  |
| 護                   | <i>Hù</i>                 | 'to protect' (used as his given name <i>Hù</i> )    | 10, 30, 31, 61  |
| 畜生                  | <i>chù shēng</i>          | 'animal'  | 14, 15  |
| 盤護                  | <i>Pánhù</i>              | family name <i>Pán</i> and the given name <i>Hù</i> | 24, 38, 48, 60  |
| 龍犬護                 | <i>lóng quǎn Hù</i>       | 'Dragon dog <i>Hù</i> '                             | 46  |
| 龍犬王猺                | <i>lóng quǎn Wáng Yáo</i> | 'Dragon dog the King Yao'                           | over a picture above Ls 66-75   |
| 王猺(夫婦)              | <i>Wáng Yáo fūfù</i>      | 'King Yoa (husband and wife)'                       | a part of reference to the husband and wife over a picture above Ls 68-69 |
| 護始祖                 | <i>Hù shǐ zǔ</i>          | 'Ancestor <i>Hù</i> '                               | 71  |
| 龍犬名護                | <i>lóng quǎn míng Hù</i>  | 'Dragon dog whose name is <i>Hù</i> '               | 78  |
| 始祖盤王                | <i>shǐ zǔ Pán wáng</i>    | 'King <i>Pán</i> the ancestor'                      | 78  |
| 龍                   | <i>lóng</i>               | 'dragon'  | 113   |
| Total<br>reference  |                           |   | 23 times  |

Simply tracing the thread of discourse from the earlier line number (L 7) to the latter (L 113), one can observe the progress of the “dragon dog” in a humble state to the stage of becoming the “king” (L 78) with the final confirmation of him being the “dragon” (L 113).

### 2.2.2.3 The origin of twelve clans of the Iu Mien

Figure 6 shows Ls 55-56 of the *Pʰa'læe Scroll*. L 55 reads “after some years (of *Pánhù*'s (盤護) marriage with the court maid) six boys and six girls were born between them”. The offspring of *Wáng Yáo* (王猺) ‘King Yáo’ are twelve, of which the eldest inherited his father’s surname *Pán* (盤) (L 55). The twelve names are 盤, 沈, 黃, 鄧, 李, 周, 趙, 胡, 鄭, 馮, 雷, and 蔣.

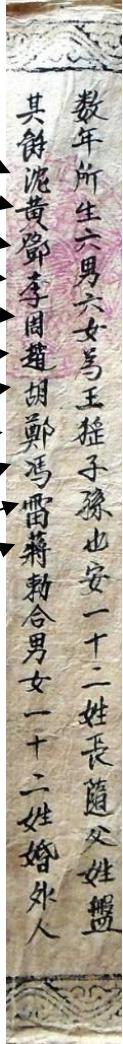
| Print<br>form                                       | Pin Yin  | text  | Print<br>form | Pin<br>Yin |
|---|--|---|---------------|------------|
|   |  | 56      55  |               |            |
| 沈<br>黃<br>鄧<br>李<br>周<br>趙<br>胡<br>鄭<br>馮<br>雷<br>蔣 | Shēn<br>Huáng<br>Dèng<br>Lǐ<br>Zhōu<br>Zhào<br>Hú<br>Zhèng<br>Féng<br>Léi<br>Jiǎng |  <p>數年所生六男六女。号王。孫子孫也。安一十二姓。長隨父姓。盤。其餘流黃鄧李周趙胡鄭馮雷蔣。勑令男女一十二姓。婚外人。</p> |               | 十二 clans   |

Figure 6. The origin of twelve clans of the Iu Mien (Ls 55-56)

The children of *Pánhù*'s (盤護) are called *Wáng Yáo zǐsūn* (王瑤子孫) 'the descendants of King Yao'. This reference occurs in Ls 2, 56, 85, 91, 93, 102, 106, 107, 110, 138, 144, and 146 in the *Pʰa'læe Scroll*. However, for all these homophonous references the two different characters are used: i.e., 瑶 *yáo* 'jade' with the radical 王 (meaning 'king') and 猛 *yáo* 'masked palm civet' (*Paguma larvata*) with the radical 犭 (meaning 'dog' or 'beast'). This issue will be further discussed in §2.2.2.9.

## 2.2.2.4 Names of the twelve clans in different manuscripts

The MSS available to us in Thailand basically agree in the twelve names of clans/tribes with minor difference in the order of appearance. A comparison of the *Pʰa'lae Scroll*, the *Thammajarik Codex A*, the *Thammajarik Codex B*, Theraphan's MSS (1991), and Tan (1986b) is listed in Table 2a. Note that the *Thammajarik Codex A* has thirteen names.

**Table 2a. Twelve clan names of the Iu Mien**

| <i>Pʰa'lae Scroll</i> (L 56) |            | <i>Thammajarik Codex A</i> |                          | <i>Thammajarik Codex B</i> (p. 10)            | Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1991:40) | Tan (1986b:57)      |
|------------------------------|------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|---|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| Pin Yin                      | In Iu Mien | (Ls 96-97)                 | (Ls 113-124)             |   |                                 |                     |
| 1                            | 盤 Pán      | <i>Bienh</i>               | 盤 ( <i>Bienh</i> )       | 盤 ( <i>Bienh</i> )                            | 盤 ( <i>Bienh</i> )              | 盤 ( <i>Bienh</i> )  |
| 2                            | 沈 Shěn     | <i>Ziang</i>               | 沈 ( <i>Ziang</i> )       | 沈 ( <i>Ziang</i> )                            | 沈 ( <i>Ziang</i> )              | 沈 ( <i>Ziang</i> )  |
| 3                            | 黃 Huáng    | <i>Yangh</i>               | 黃 ( <i>Yangh</i> )       | 黃 ( <i>Yangh</i> )                            | 黃 ( <i>Yangh</i> )              | 黃 ( <i>Yangh</i> )  |
| 4                            | 鄧 Dèng     | <i>Dangc</i>               | 鄧 ( <i>Dangc</i> )       | 鄧 ( <i>Dangc</i> )                            | 鄧 ( <i>Dangc</i> )              | 鄧 ( <i>Dangc</i> )  |
| 5                            | 李 Lǐ       | <i>Leiz</i>                | (missing)                | 李 ( <i>Leiz</i> )                             | 李 ( <i>Leiz</i> )               | 李 ( <i>Leiz</i> )   |
| 6                            | 周 Zhōu     | <i>Caauh</i>               | 周 ( <i>Caauh</i> )       | 周 ( <i>Caauh</i> )                            | 周 ( <i>Caauh</i> )              | 周 ( <i>Caauh</i> )  |
| 7                            | 趙 Zhào     | <i>Zeuz</i>                | 趙 ( <i>Zeuz</i> )        | 趙 ( <i>Zeuz</i> )                             | 趙 ( <i>Zeuz</i> )               | 趙 ( <i>Zeuz</i> )   |
| 8                            | 胡 Hú       | <i>Borngh</i>              | 胡 ( <i>Borngh</i> )      | 胡 ( <i>Borngh</i> )                           | 胡 ( <i>Borngh</i> )             | 胡 ( <i>Borngh</i> ) |
| 9                            | 鄭 Zhèng    | <i>Zaengc</i>              | (missing)                | 鄭 ( <i>Zaengc</i> )                           | (missing)                       | (missing)           |
| 10                           |            | (missing)                  | 唐 Táng ( <i>Dorngh</i> ) | (missing)                                     | 唐 ( <i>Dorngh</i> )             | 唐 ( <i>Dorngh</i> ) |
| 11                           | 馮 Féng     | <i>Bungz</i>               | 馮 ( <i>Bungz</i> )       | 馮 ( <i>Bungz</i> )                            | 馮 ( <i>Bungz</i> )              | 馮 ( <i>Bungz</i> )  |
| 12                           | 雷 Léi      | <i>Luih</i>                | 雷 ( <i>Luih</i> )        | 雷 ( <i>Luih</i> )                             | 雷 ( <i>Luih</i> )               | 雷 ( <i>Luih</i> )   |
| 13                           | 蔣 Jiǎng    | <i>Siauh</i>               | 蔣 ( <i>Siauh</i> )       | 蔣 ( <i>Siauh</i> )                            | 蔣 ( <i>Siauh</i> )              | 蔣 ( <i>Siauh</i> )  |
| 14                           |            | (missing)                  | (missing)                | 留 (劉)<br>Liú ( <i>Liouh</i><br>in Iu<br>Mien) | (missing)                       | (missing)           |
|                              |            | 12 clans                   | 11 clans                 | 13 clans                                      | 12 clans                        | 12 clans            |

Note that the order of appearance of the names in the *Pʰa'lae Scroll* and Ls 96-97 of the *Thammajarik Codex A* are as shown in Table 2a. However, the order of appearance of the names in Ls 113-124 of the *Thammajarik Codex A*, *Thammajarik Codex B*, Theraphan's scroll, and Tan's list have been arranged for the sake of ease of comparison. The original order are preserved in Table 2b.

**Table 2b. Twelve clan names in the original order of appearance**

| <i>Pʰa'lae Scroll</i> (L 56) |            | <i>Thammajarik Codex A</i> |                                       | <i>Thammajarik Codex B</i> (p. 10) | Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1991:40) | Tan (1986b:57) |
|------------------------------|------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|
| Pin Yin                      | In Iu Mien | (Ls 96-97)                 | (Ls 113-124)                          |                                    |                                 |                |
| 1                            | 盤 Pán      | <i>Bienh</i>               | 盤 (Bienh)                             | 盤 (Bienh)                          | 盤 (Bienh)                       | 盤 (Bienh)      |
| 2                            | 沈 Shěn     | <i>Ziang</i>               | 沈 (Ziang)                             | 沈 (Ziang)                          | 沈 (Ziang)                       | 沈 (Ziang)      |
| 3                            | 黃 Huáng    | <i>Yangh</i>               | 黃 (Yangh)                             | 鄭 (Zaengc)                         | 黃 (Yangh)                       | 黃 (Yangh)      |
| 4                            | 鄧 Dèng     | <i>Dangc</i>               | 鄧 (Dangc)                             | 黃 (Yangh)                          | 李 (Leiz)                        | 李 (Leiz)       |
| 5                            | 李 Lǐ       | <i>Leiz</i>                | (missing)                             | 李 (Leiz)                           | 鄧 (Dangc)                       | 鄧 (Dangc)      |
| 6                            | 周 Zhōu     | <i>Caauh</i>               | 周 (Caauh)                             | 鄧 (Dangc)                          | 周 (Caauh)                       | 周 (Caauh)      |
| 7                            | 趙 Zhào     | <i>Zeuz</i>                | 趙 (Zeuz)                              | 周 (Caauh)                          | 趙 (Zeuz)                        | 趙 (Zeuz)       |
| 8                            | 胡 Hú       | <i>Borngh</i>              | 胡 (Borngh)                            | 趙 (Zeuz)                           | 胡 (Borngh)                      | 胡 (Borngh)     |
| 9                            | 鄭 Zhèng    | <i>Zaengc</i>              | 唐 Táng (Dorngh)                       | 胡 (Borngh)                         | 唐 (Dorngh)                      | 唐 (Dorngh)     |
| 10                           | 馮 Féng     | <i>Bungz</i>               | 馮 (Bungz)                             | 馮 (Bungz)                          | 馮 (Bungz)                       | 馮 (Bungz)      |
| 11                           | 雷 Léi      | <i>Luih</i>                | 雷 (Luih)                              | 雷 (Luih)                           | 雷 (Luih)                        | 雷 (Luih)       |
| 12                           | 蔣 Jiǎng    | <i>Siauh</i>               | 蔣 (Siauh)                             | 蔣 (Siauh)                          | 蔣 (Siauh)                       | 蔣 (Siauh)      |
| 13                           |            |                            | 留 (劉)<br>Liú (Liouh<br>in Iu<br>Mien) |                                    |                                 |                |
|                              | 12 clans   | 11 clans                   | 13 clans                              | 12 clans                           | 12 clans                        | 12 clans       |

Some observations are made. The *Thammajarik Codex B*, Theraphan's scroll, and Tan's source are identical in the twelve clan names and their order, thus forming a group.

The *Pʰa'lae Scroll* differs to this group of the three in having *Zhèng* (鄭) (row 9) instead of *Táng* (唐) in others.

The *Thammajarik Codex B* differs to the group of three and from the *Pʰa'lae Scroll* in two points. Now before pointing them out, it should be noted that there are two places of occurrence of these names: one is the first introduction of them after the mentioning the couple bearing six sons and six daughters (L 56 of the *Pʰa'lae Scroll*, Ls 96-97 of the *Thammajarik Codex A*). The other is toward the end of the document (in all five MSS) in the place where each clan was appointed to certain official positions in local administration (Ls 114-124 of the *Pʰa'lae Scroll* and Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1991:45-6)). As the third and fourth columns of Table 2a-b show, in the *Thammajarik Codex A*, there is a discrepancy between the first occurrence of the names (Ls 96-97) and the second (Ls 113-124).

The first difference is that the first occurrence contains *Táng* (唐) that is absent in the *P'a'lae Scroll*, (which suggest the *Thammajarik Codex A* can be associated with the group of three identical mss). The second is that the second occurrence in the *Thammajarik Codex A* lists thirteen names (row 14 in Table 2a and row 13 in Table 2b). The thirteenth is *Liú* (留) besides the sequence of twelve names that are identical to *P'a'lae Scroll*, (which suggests the *Thammajarik Codex A* could be dissociated from the group of the three).

The letter 留 *Liú* used in the *Thammajarik Codex A* (L 124) could be a miscopy of 劉 with the same pronunciation.<sup>26</sup> It has been told by Zanh Gueix Fongc that *La'Liouh Mien* (劉) was Chinese-turned Iu Mien: *Janx-Kaeqv benx daaih* [non.Iu.Mien-Chinese become COME] ‘Chinese have become (Iu Mien)’ (See language example (710) in §10.4.2.1). This has also been recorded in Tan (1986:48): “According to my informants this clan name has been adopted from the Chinese”. *La'Liouh Mienh* (劉) ‘Liou clan’ are commonly found in Thailand though not as frequently as *Bienh* (盤), *Zeuz* (趙) and *Dangc* (鄧).

### 2.2.2.5 The lost thirteenth clan

Zeuz Guei-Zoih (趙貴財2013) has told a story that the Iu Mien originally had thirteen clans but *Shěn* (沈) clan (number 2 in Table 2) was lost shortly after setting out to the sea-crossing voyage or *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv* (in Iu Mien) (漂遙過海 *piāo yaó guò hǎi* in Chinese) as in (1<sup>1-39</sup>)<sup>27</sup>. Note that L (1<sup>-18</sup>) and (1<sup>-20</sup>) convey the significant message.

|                    |               |                |              |            |
|--------------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|------------|
| (1 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Yienh</i>  | <i>Maaуз</i>   | <i>nyeic</i> | <i>nin</i> |
| GZ                 | ເຢີ່ນ         | ມ້າວ           | ແໜ່ງຍ        | ນິນ        |
|                    | jen↓          | ma:u↓          | ŋei↓         | nin↑       |
|                    | year.of.tiger | year.of.rabbit | two          | year       |

‘Two years of the year of Tiger and the year of Rabbit.’

<sup>26</sup> I owe Dr Sahattaya Sittivised, the head of the Chinese program, vice dean of the Faculty of Humanities, Chiang Rai Rajabhat University, for her close reading of the original text in this alternative character. One of my Iu Mien consultants reports that both 留 and 劉 are used to refer to the same clan in Thailand. Tan (1986:48) records 劉 based on his research in Baan Khun Haeng in Ngao district, Lampang province, and Baan Pha'lae in Maechan district, Chiang Rai province.

<sup>27</sup> Superscript numbers after the language example number indicate that all these lines comprise a connected discourse. If the example number is followed by lower case alphabetic characters, they provide a comparison between them for grammatical contrast or acceptable/unacceptable distinction, e.g. (1a) vs. (1b).

|                   |  |              |              |  |  |  |
|-------------------|--|--------------|--------------|--|--|--|
| (1 <sup>2</sup> ) | <i>tin</i>                               | <i>daaic</i> | <i>haanz</i> |  |  |  |
| GZ                | ពិន                                      | តាំយ         | ស្វាន        |  |  |  |
|                   | tin↑                                     | ta:i↓        | ha:~         |  |  |  |
|                   | heaven                                   | big          | drought      |  |  |  |
|                   | '(those two years) saw a great drought.' |              |              |  |  |  |

|                   |   |              |              |              |              |              |
|-------------------|---|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| (1 <sup>3</sup> ) | " <i>Yienc</i>                                | <i>Maauz</i> | <i>nyeic</i> | <i>nin</i> " | <i>naaic</i> | <i>aeqv,</i> |
| GZ                | ឃើឱន  | ម៉ាវា        | លេក្ខូយ      | និន          | អណោយ         | ឈើឱខ         |
|                   | jen↓  | ma:u:~       | nei↓         | nin↑         | na:i↓        | ε?↓          |
|                   | year.of.Yien                                  | year.of.Maau | two          | year         | TOP          | PDP          |
|                   | 'Talking about "the years of Yien and Maau",' |              |              |              |              |              |

|                   |  |              |            |                |  |  |
|-------------------|--|--------------|------------|----------------|--|--|
| (1 <sup>4</sup> ) | <i>lungh</i>                           | <i>haanz</i> | <i>buo</i> | <i>hnyangx</i> |  |  |
| GZ                | ត្បែង                                  | ស្វាន        | ប៉ាវា      | អនស្សុង        |  |  |
|                   | lungh↓                                 | ha:n:~       | puə↑       | j̥nang↓        |  |  |
|                   | sky                                    | drought      | three      | year           |  |  |
|                   | 'there was a drought for three years.' |              |            |                |  |  |

|                   |                                    |                |           |             |                |  |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|--|
| (1 <sup>5</sup> ) | <i>Buo</i>                         | <i>hnyangx</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>duih</i> | <i>mbiungc</i> |  |
| GZ                | ប៉ាវា                              | អនស្សុង        | ម៉ី       | តុំឃ        | បួង            |  |
|                   | puə↑                               | j̥nang↓        | m̥↑       | tui↓        | b̥iŋg↓         |  |
|                   | three                              | year           | NEG       | fall        | rain           |  |
|                   | 'It did not rain for three years.' |                |           |             |                |  |

|                   |  |                |                    |                      |                           |  |
|-------------------|--|----------------|--------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|--|
| (1 <sup>6</sup> ) | <i>Normh.ziu</i>   | <i>ndiangx</i> | <i>naaic</i>       | <i>cuotv</i>         | <i>douz</i> <sup>28</sup> |  |
| GZ                | នំអំ តិវា  | តិំឃោង         | អណោយ               | ខ៊ែដ                 | ទិំទា                     |  |
|                   | norm↓ tsiu↑  | diang↓         | na:i↓              | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət↓ | təb:~                     |  |
|                   | Banana   | tree           | TOP <sub>DEM</sub> | emit                 | fire                      |  |
|                   | 'As to banana trees, they burst into flame (by themselves).' |                |                    |                      |                           |  |

|                   |                             |              |                |               |  |  |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|--|--|
| (1 <sup>7</sup> ) | <i>Mv</i>                   | <i>maaih</i> | <i>hnaangx</i> | <i>nyanc.</i> |  |  |
| GZ                | ម៉ី                         | មោយ          | អនាយក          | អស់ន័ំ        |  |  |
|                   | m̥↑                         | ma:i↓        | h̥na:ŋ↓        | nan↓          |  |  |
|                   | NEG                         | have         | rice           | eat           |  |  |
|                   | 'There was no food to eat.' |              |                |               |  |  |

<sup>28</sup>This sentence is repeated in the original recording between 00.00.26-00.00.28 seconds.

|                    |   |                     |                |                   |                   |                     |                    |
|--------------------|---|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| (1 <sup>8</sup> )  | <i>Wuov</i>   | <i>ndau</i>         | <i>mbiauh</i>  | <i>lamz</i>       | <i>yaac</i>       | <i>lamz-daatv</i>   | <i>naaic</i>       |
| GZ                 | វ៉ាវ  | ទោ                  | ឃើមា           | តីម               | ឃា                | តីម-ព័ត៌មាត         | នាមៗ               |
|                    | սə́   | dau↑                | b'au↓          | lam↓              | ja:↓              | lam↓ ta:t↓          | na:i↓              |
|                    | DEM   | land                | rice           | granary           | TOP               | bamboo.of.granary   | TOP <sub>DEM</sub> |
|                    | 'On the land as there was a granary, and talking about its bamboo,' |                     |                |                   |                   |                     |                    |
| (1 <sup>9</sup> )  | <i>mingh</i>  | <i>caeqv</i>        |                | <i>naaic</i>      | <i>lamz-daatv</i> |                     | <i>daaih</i>       |
| GZ                 | មិះ   | ឈិះ                 |                | នាមៗ              | តីម-ព័ត៌មាត       |                     | ព័ត៌មាត            |
|                    | min↓  | ts <sup>h</sup> e?↑ |                | na:i↓             | lam↓ ta:t↓        |                     | ta:i↓              |
|                    | go  | disassemble         | DEM            | bamboo.of.granary | COME              |                     |                    |
|                    | 'went ahead to disassemble the bamboos of granaries,'               |                     |                |                   |                   |                     |                    |
| (1 <sup>10</sup> ) | <i>wuonh</i>  | <i>torng</i>        | <i>hopv</i>    |                   |                   |                     |                    |
| GZ                 | វុន   | កែង                 | ឃប             |                   |                   |                     |                    |
|                    | u <sup>w</sup> ən↓  | təŋ↑                | hop↓           |                   |                   |                     |                    |
|                    | boil  | broth               | drink          |                   |                   |                     |                    |
|                    | '(and) they boiled (bamboos) to drink its broth,'                   |                     |                |                   |                   |                     |                    |
| (1 <sup>11</sup> ) | <i>Mv</i>   | <i>maaih</i>        | <i>hnaangx</i> | <i>nyanc.</i>     |                   |                     |                    |
| GZ                 | អី  | ម៉ាយ                | ខនាង           | អូន               |                   |                     |                    |
|                    | m̩↑   | mai:↓               | hnaang↓        | nan↓              |                   |                     |                    |
|                    | NEG   | have                | rice           | eat               |                   |                     |                    |
|                    | '(because) there was no food to eat.'                               |                     |                |                   |                   |                     |                    |
| (1 <sup>12</sup> ) | <i>Buo</i>  | <i>hnyangx</i>      | <i>mv</i>      | <i>duih</i>       | <i>mbiungc</i>    |                     |                    |
| GZ                 | បី  | ខស្ស៉ាង             | អី             | គី                | បីង               |                     |                    |
|                    | buə↑  | j̩iaŋ↓              | m̩↑            | tui↓              | b'uiŋ↓            |                     |                    |
|                    | three   | year                | NEG            | fall              | rain              |                     |                    |
|                    | 'It did not rain for three years.'                                  |                     |                |                   |                   |                     |                    |
| (1 <sup>13</sup> ) | <i>Zuangx</i>   | <i>haiv</i>         | <i>nyungc</i>  | <i>yaac</i>       | <i>mv</i>         | <i>ziangh</i>       |                    |
| GZ                 | ធម៉េង   | ីមី                 | អូង            | ឃា                | អី                | តីំង                |                    |
|                    | ts <sup>w</sup> aŋ↓   | hai↑                | juŋ↓           | ja:↓              | m̩↑               | ts <sup>j</sup> aŋ↓ |                    |
|                    | plant   | what                | kind           | TOP               | NEG               | be.alive            |                    |
|                    | 'No matter what you plant, they didn't grow.'                       |                     |                |                   |                   |                     |                    |

|                     |                 |                  |                  |                    |                    |                     |                    |                  |                 |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (1 <sup>-14</sup> ) | <i>yie</i>      | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>nyei</i>      | <i>gouv</i>        | <i>hnangv</i> ,    | <i>maaih</i>        | <i>hnangv</i>      | <i>nc</i>        | <i>nor</i>      |
| GZ                  | ເມື່ອ           | ນ້ຳ              | ເລຸຍ             | ໄກ້ວາ              | ຫນັ້ງ              | ມ່າຍ                | ຫນັ້ງ              | හນໍ              | ນອ              |
|                     | ié <sup>1</sup> | bua <sup>1</sup> | nei <sup>1</sup> | kəu <sup>1</sup> ŋ | ຖາງ <sup>1</sup> ŋ | ma:i <sup>1</sup> ŋ | ຖາງ <sup>1</sup> ŋ | n <sup>1</sup> l | nɔ <sup>1</sup> |
|                     | 1               | PL               | POSS             | story              | like               | have                | like               | DEM              | as              |

‘We have a legend like that.’

|                     |                  |                    |   |                           |                                  |                 |              |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|---|---------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| (1 <sup>-15</sup> ) | <i>Giex</i>      | <i>koiv,</i>       | <i>piu-yiuh</i>                                     | <i>giex</i> <sup>29</sup> | <i>koiv</i>                      | <i>nor</i>      | <i>aeqv,</i> |
| GZ                  | ເກີ່ຂ            | ຄ້ອຍ               | ພິວ-ຢືນ   | ເກີ່ຂ                     | ຄ້ອຍ                             | ນອ              | ແອື້ຂ        |
|                     | kiə <sup>1</sup> | koi <sup>1</sup> ŋ | p <sup>h</sup> iu <sup>1</sup> ŋ jiu <sup>1</sup> ŋ | kiə <sup>1</sup>          | k <sup>h</sup> ci <sup>1</sup> ŋ | nɔ <sup>1</sup> | ɛ?ŋ          |
|                     | pass             | sea                | float-remote  | pass                      | sea                              | TOP             | PDP          |

‘As to the Voyage Across the Sea,’

|                     |                  |                  |                     |                     |              |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| (1 <sup>-16</sup> ) | <i>gapv</i>      | <i>domh</i>      | <i>nzangv</i>       | <i>daaih</i>        | <i>aeqv,</i> |
| GZ                  | ກົບ              | ຕົ່ມ             | ທັງ                 | ຕ້າຍ                | ແອື້ຂ        |
|                     | kap <sup>1</sup> | tom <sup>1</sup> | dzaŋ <sup>1</sup> ŋ | ta:i <sup>1</sup> ŋ | ɛ?ŋ          |
|                     | assemble         | big              | boat                | COME                | PDP          |

‘they assembled large boats and then,’

|                     |                 |                  |   |                 |                  |                                     |                 |                            |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|---|-----------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| (1 <sup>-17</sup> ) | <i>yie</i>      | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>loz-hnoi,</i>                                  | <i>yie</i>      | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>Iu-Mienh</i>                     | <i>nor</i>      | <i>aeqv,</i> <sup>30</sup> |
| GZ                  | ເມື່ອ           | ນ້ຳ              | ໂລດ-ຫນອຍ  | ເມື່ອ           | ນ້ຳ              | ີ້ວ-ເມື່ອນ                          | ນອ              | ແອື້ຂ                      |
|                     | ié <sup>1</sup> | bua <sup>1</sup> | lo <sup>1</sup> ŋci <sup>1</sup> ŋlo <sup>1</sup> | ié <sup>1</sup> | bua <sup>1</sup> | iu <sup>1</sup> ŋ miən <sup>1</sup> | nɔ <sup>1</sup> | ɛ?ŋ                        |
|                     | 1               | PL               | old.day   | 1               | PL               | Iu Mien                             | TOP             | PDP                        |

‘As for us Iu Mien of old days,’

|                     |                     |                                   |                     |                    |
|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| (1 <sup>-18</sup> ) | <i>maaih</i>        | <i>ziepc</i>                      | <i>faam</i>         | <i>fingx</i>       |
| GZ                  | ມ່າຍ                | ເຫດີບນ                            | ຝາມ                 | ຝຶງ                |
|                     | ma:i <sup>1</sup> ŋ | ts <sup>j</sup> əp <sup>1</sup> ŋ | fa:m <sup>1</sup> ŋ | fin <sup>j</sup> ŋ |
|                     | have                | ten                               | three               | clan               |

‘we used to have thirteen clans.’

|                     |                                   |                     |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| (1 <sup>-19</sup> ) | <i>Ziepc</i>                      | <i>faam</i> ‡       |
| YJ                  | ເຫດີບນ                            | ຝາມ‡                |
|                     | ts <sup>j</sup> əp <sup>1</sup> ŋ | fa:m <sup>1</sup> ŋ |
|                     | ten                               | three               |

‘Thirteen?’

<sup>29</sup> Variant is the alveo-palatal *jiex* ‘to pass’

<sup>30</sup> Despite the underlying high tone (*aeqv*), the speaker pronounces it very low, almost as *aeqc*.

(1<sup>20</sup>) *Aec, ziepc faam fingx aeqv,*  
 GZ ແອ ແຫຼ່ຍນ ພາມ ຜົງ ແອ້ວ  
*εጀ tsጀepጀ fa:mጀ fiŋጀ εጀ*  
 yes ten three clan PDP  
 ‘Yes, there were thirteen clans and then,’

(1<sup>21</sup>) *piu-yiuh biaux jiex koiv nor aeqv*  
 GZ ພິວ-ຢື່ວ ເປໍຢ້າ ເຈີຍ ອົບ ນອ ແອ້ວ  
*pጀiuጀ jiuጀ pጀauጀ ciəጀ koiጀ nɔጀ εጀ*  
 float-remote escape pass sea TOP PDP  
 ‘when the Voyage Across the Sea took place,’

(1<sup>22</sup>) *caeqv nc nzangv bun nqoi*  
 GZ ແອ້ວ ບນ ທັ້ງ ບຸນ ພອຍ  
*tsጀεጀ nጀ dzaŋጀ punጀ gɔiጀ*  
 detach DEM boat give separate  
 ‘one boat separated itself (from the group).’

(1<sup>23</sup>) *yietc, yietc pauc (cm.t) yiem nzangv,*  
 GZ ແເຂີຍດ ແເຂີຍດ ເຜ່າ ເຢີຍມ ທັ້ງ  
*jetጀ jetጀ pጀauጀ jemጀ dzaŋጀ*  
 one one tribe be.in boat  
 ‘each clan had their own boat to board.’

(1<sup>24</sup>) *yietc fingx yiem yietc nzangv*  
 GZ ແເຂີຍດ ຜົງ ເຢີຍມ ແເຂີຍດ ທັ້ງ  
*jetጀ fiŋጀ jemጀ jetጀ dzaŋጀ*  
 one clan be.in one boat  
 ‘each clan occupied one boat,’

(1<sup>25</sup>) *yietc fingx yiem yietc nzangv<sup>31</sup>*  
 GZ ແເຂີຍດ ຜົງ ເຢີຍມ ແເຂີຍດ ທັ້ງ  
*jetጀ fiŋጀ jemጀ jetጀ dzaŋጀ*  
 one clan be.in one boat  
 ‘each clan occupied one boat,’

---

<sup>31</sup> The speaker repeats the same sentence in (1<sup>24</sup>) and (1<sup>25</sup>).

|                    |   |                             |               |                     |                    |                    |
|--------------------|---|-----------------------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (1 <sup>26</sup> ) | <i>Fingx</i>  | <i>Ziang</i> , <i>fingx</i> | <i>Ziang</i>  | <i>wuov</i>         | <i>pauc</i> (cm.t) | <i>aeqv</i>        |
| GZ                 | ຝຶງ   | ເຕີຍງ                       | ຝຶງ           | ເຕີຍງ               | ວ້ວ                | ແກ່                |
|                    | fiŋχ  | ts <sup>j</sup> aŋχ         | fiŋχ          | ts <sup>j</sup> aŋχ | uəŋ                | p <sup>h</sup> auŋ |
|                    | clan  | Ziang                       | clan          | Ziang               | DEM                | tribe              |
|                    | 'Clan Ziang, as for that clan Ziang,'                     |                             |               |                     |                    |                    |
| (1 <sup>27</sup> ) | <i>fin̥gx</i>   | <i>Ziang</i>                | <i>mv</i>     | <i>juangc</i>       | <i>aeqv</i> ,      |                    |
| GZ                 | ຝຶງ   | ເຕີຍງ                       | ນໍ້າ          | ຈວ້າງ               | ແອື້ນ              |                    |
|                    | fiŋχ  | ts <sup>j</sup> anχ         | mŋ            | c <sup>w</sup> anŋ  | ɛʔŋ                |                    |
|                    | clan  | Ziang                       | NEG           | share               | PDP                |                    |
|                    | 'the clan Ziang did not stay (with the convoy) and then,' |                             |               |                     |                    |                    |
| (1 <sup>28</sup> ) | <i>taux</i>   | <i>koiv-hlen</i>            | <i>aeqv</i> , | <i>yiem</i>         | <i>wuov</i>        |                    |
| GZ                 | ເຄາ   | ກ້ອບ-ເສດນ                   | ແອື້ນ         | ເຢີມ                | ວ້ວ                |                    |
|                    | t <sup>h</sup> auŋ  | k <sup>h</sup> oiŋ ləŋχ     | ɛʔŋ           | jem                 | uəŋ                |                    |
|                    | reach   | sea-side                    | PDP           | be.in               | DEM                |                    |
|                    | 'reached the shore and there,'                            |                             |               |                     |                    |                    |
| (1 <sup>29</sup> ) | <i>doc</i> ,  | <i>meih</i>                 | <i>hiuv</i>   | <i>nyei</i>         | <i>fai?</i>        |                    |
| GZ                 | ໂດ່   | ເມ່ຍ                        | ຫ້ວ           | ເລູຍ                | ໄຟ?                |                    |
|                    | to↓   | mei↓                        | hiu↑          | nei↓                | fai↑               |                    |
|                    | turtle  | 2SG                         | know          | ASST                | Q                  |                    |
|                    | 'turtle, do you know a turtle?'                           |                             |               |                     |                    |                    |
| (1 <sup>30</sup> ) | <i>yie</i>  | <i>mbuo</i>                 | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>doc</i>          | <i>aeqv</i> ,      |                    |
| GZ                 | ເຢີຍ  | ບ້ວ                         | ກ້ອງ          | ໂດ່                 | ແອື້ນ              |                    |
|                    | iəŋ   | bəŋəŋ                       | kɔŋŋ          | to↓                 | ɛʔŋ                |                    |
|                    | 1   | PL                          | say           | turtle              | PDP                |                    |
|                    | 'we call it <i>doc</i> "turtle",'                         |                             |               |                     |                    |                    |
| (1 <sup>31</sup> ) | <i>Janx</i>   |                             | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>dauc</i> (cm.t)  | <i>nor</i>         | <i>aeqv</i> ,      |
| GZ                 | ຈົ້ນ  |                             | ກ້ອງ          | ເທົາ                | ນອ                 | ແອື້ນ              |
|                    | can↓  |                             | kɔŋŋ          | tau↓                | nɔŋ                | ɛʔŋ                |
|                    | Non-Iu Mien   | say                         |               | <i>dauc</i>         | TOP                | PDP                |
|                    | 'Thai call it <i>dauc</i> (ເທົາ),'                        |                             |               |                     |                    |                    |

|                    |                                      |            |             |             |  |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|--|
| (1 <sup>32</sup> ) | <i>domh!</i>                         | <i>doc</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>wuov</i> |  |
| GZ                 | ດំអុំ                                | ទីតាំង     | ដើម្បីយុំ   | វូរ         |  |
|                    | tom↓                                 | to↓        | jem↑        | սə↑         |  |
|                    | big                                  | turtle     | be.in       | DEM         |  |
|                    | 'A gigantic turtle was lying there.' |            |             |             |  |

|                    |   |             |              |             |                        |  |
|--------------------|---|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------------------|--|
| (1 <sup>33</sup> ) | <i>ninh</i>   | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>laaic</i> | <i>benx</i> | <i>la'bieiv-zorng.</i> |  |
| GZ                 | និន   | ប៉ា         | លាក់         | បែន         | ឡាប់បីខេត្ត-ពាង        |  |
|                    | nin↓  | buə↑        | la:i↓        | pen↓        | la p'iēi↓ tsɔŋ↓        |  |
|                    | 3   | PL          | assume       | be          | rock-boulder           |  |
|                    | '(but) they (mistakenly) thought it was a boulder.' |             |              |             |                        |  |

|                    |  |             |             |             |                |               |
|--------------------|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| (1 <sup>34</sup> ) | <i>Mingh</i>   | <i>buov</i> | <i>douz</i> | <i>zouv</i> | <i>hnaangx</i> | <i>nyanc.</i> |
| GZ                 | មិង  | ប៉ូវ        | ទីគា        | និគោវា      | អនាយក          | អញ្ញណ៍        |
|                    | minj↓  | puə↑        | təu↓        | tsəb↑       | tu:ŋj↓         | jnan↓         |
|                    | go   | burn        | fire        | cook        | rice           | eat           |
|                    | '(They) went (to the boulder and) burnt fire to cook food to eat (on it).' |             |             |             |                |               |

|                    |                                   |             |              |             |             |             |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (1 <sup>35</sup> ) | <i>Buov</i>                       | <i>douz</i> | <i>aeqv,</i> | <i>buov</i> | <i>douz</i> | <i>jorm</i> |
| GZ                 | ប៉ូវ                              | ទីគា        | នៅៗ          | ប៉ូវ        | ទីគា        | ចែក         |
|                    | puə↑                              | təu↓        | ε?↓          | puə↑        | təu↓        | cɔm↑        |
|                    | burn                              | fire        | PDP          | burn        | fire        | be.hot      |
|                    | 'kindled fire, then burn it hot,' |             |              |             |             |             |

|                    |   |            |               |            |               |               |                |
|--------------------|---|------------|---------------|------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|
| (1 <sup>36</sup> ) | <i>nv</i>   | <i>doc</i> | <i>mbienv</i> | <i>sin</i> | <i>naaic,</i> | <i>ndortv</i> | <i>nzengc.</i> |
| GZ                 | ឬ   | ទីតាំង     | ដើម្បីយុំ     | ិន         | ហនោម          | តែតុដ         | ឡេឡ៉ាង         |
|                    | ŋ↑  | to↓        | b'en↑         | sin↑       | nai↓          | dət↓          | dzeŋ↓          |
|                    | DEM   | turtle     | overturn      | body       | DEM           | fall          | CONSUME        |
|                    | 'This turtle overturned its body there (and) all (people on it) fell (into the sea).' |            |               |            |               |               |                |

|                    |                      |             |                 |            |              |  |
|--------------------|----------------------|-------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|--|
| (1 <sup>37</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i>           | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>Iu-Mienh</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>aeqv,</i> |  |
| GZ                 | ឱឺ                   | ប៉ា         | ឃុោ-មីោន        | នែ         | នៅៗ          |  |
|                    | ié↑                  | buə↑        | iu↓ miən↓       | no↑        | ε?↓          |  |
|                    | 1                    | PL          | Iu Mien         | TOP        | PDP          |  |
|                    | 'As for us Iu Mien,' |             |                 |            |              |  |

|                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| (1 <sup>38</sup> ) | <i>fin gx Ziang nc mv maaih ae qv,</i>  |
| GZ                 | ຝຶ່ງ ເຊີຍ່ ນັ້ນ ມື້ ມ່າຍ ແອ້ວ   |
|                    | <i>fīŋ˥ ts̥ajŋ˥ nū˥ m̥i˥ ma:i˥ ε?</i>   |
|                    | clan Ziang DEM NEG have PDP<br>'(the reason why) the clan Ziang do not exist (any longer),' |

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| (1 <sup>39</sup> ) | <i>ndortv wuom daic nzengc mi 'aqv.</i>                                  |
| GZ                 | ດົອດ ວາມ ໄດ້ ແທ່ງ ໜີ້ ອີ່  |
|                    | <i>dɔt˥ uəm˥ tai˥ dzəŋ˥ mi˥ a?</i>                                       |
|                    | fall water die CONSUME TELIC   |
|                    | '(They) fell into the sea and all died.'                                 |
|                    | (ium_20130527_01_H1_DA_GueixZoih_12Tribes_Thammajarik;00.00.08-00.01.38) |

Lines 1<sup>1-2</sup> is a summary statement in the Táng (唐) dynasty's (618-907) seven-syllable poetic style in *nzung nyei waac /dzunŋ˥ nei˥ wa:˥/* [song SBCP word] 'song language' (see §2.3.6), High language in Iu Mien's diglossia, stating the cause of their sea-crossing voyage.

Ls 1<sup>3-13</sup> unpack the summary statement of Ls 1<sup>1-2</sup>, and L1<sup>14</sup> is an interim summary regarding the cause of abandoning their homeland.

Ls 1<sup>15-18</sup>: an account of how they set out to the voyage. L1<sup>19</sup> is the researcher's response in surprise.

Ls 1<sup>20-28</sup> tell us that the clan Ziang separated from the convoy. Ls 1<sup>29-31</sup> are the narrator's interaction with the researcher about a turtle, the cause of the clan's fate, to prepare the climax.

Ls 1<sup>32-39</sup> conclude the story with the destruction of the clan Ziang leaving only twelve clans of the Iu Mien.

Returning briefly to the use of two different characters 留 and 劉, which are homophonous, *liouh* in Iu Mien, *Liú* in Chinese, the former means 'to remain' and the latter is a surname. If the character 沈 is pronounced as *chén* 'to sink' (an alternative character 沈), as opposed to *Shěn* a surname (an alternative character 璩), it is symbolic that the clan Ziang (沈 *chén* 'to sink') drowned and the clan Liouh (留 *Liú* 'to remain') was preserved. The use of 留 'to remain' instead of the normal surname 劉, in contrast to 沈 'to sink', might have been a result of interpretation of the legend.

#### **2.2.2.6 Origin of worshipping the dragon dog as their progenitor**

The section showing the *Píng Huáng* (評皇) ‘Emperor Huang’ giving an order that the twelve clans of the Iu Mien must worship *Pánhù* (盤護) can be seen in Ls 78-84 as shown in Figure 7.

| Print form | Pin Yin | gloss      | text                            | Print form                  | Pin Yin                      | gloss                                      |
|------------|---------|------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| (v)        |         |            |                                 |                             |                              |  |
| 如          | rú      | in case    |                                 |                             |                              |  |
| 有          | yǒu     | have       |                                 |                             |                              |  |
| 不          | bù      | not        |                                 |                             |                              |  |
| 尊          | zūn     | revere     |                                 |                             |                              |  |
| 者          | zhě     | anyone     |                                 |                             |                              |  |
| 作          | zuò     | become     |                                 |                             |                              |  |
| 怪          | guài    | monster    |                                 |                             |                              |  |
| (iv)       |         |            |                                 |                             |                              |  |
| 歌          | gē      | song       |                                 |                             |                              |  |
| 鼓          | gǔ      | percussion |                                 |                             |                              |  |
| 乐          | lè      | merry      |                                 |                             |                              |  |
|            |         |            | 84 83 82 81 80 79 78            |                             |                              |  |
|            |         |            |                                 |                             |                              |  |
|            |         |            | 如<br>有<br>不<br>尊<br>者<br>作<br>怪 | (i) 勅<br>会                  | chì<br>lìng<br>(令)           | imperial decree                            |
|            |         |            | 不<br>得<br>殘<br>怨                | (ii) 死<br>後                 | sǐ<br>hòu                    | death<br>after                             |
|            |         |            | 如<br>有<br>不<br>尊<br>者<br>作<br>怪 | (iii) 德<br>許<br>会<br>男<br>女 | dé<br>xǔ<br>huì<br>nán<br>nǚ | merit<br>license<br>gather<br>men<br>women |
|            |         |            | 生<br>祭<br>自<br>受<br>陰<br>中<br>檢 | 敬<br>奉                      | jìng<br>fèng                 | respect<br>venerate                        |

Figure 7. The origin of worshiping the Dragon Dog as Iu Mien's progenitor (Ls

78-84

L 78 begins with (i) *chìlìng* (勅令 (会)<sup>32</sup>) ‘imperial decree’ or ‘imperial edict’. Then the *Píng Huáng* (評皇) ‘Emperor Huang’ declares that *lóng quǎn míng Hù* (龍犬名護) ‘the dragon dog named Hu’ is made to be *shǐzǔ Pán Wáng* (始祖盤王) ‘King Pan the Ancestor’. The sequence (ii) reads that *Pán Wáng* is considered that *sǐ hòu yǒu guǐ shén zhī dé* (死後有鬼神之德) ‘he has merit of (being) a ghost god after his death’ (Ls 78-79). That merit (德) leads to (iii) *xǔ huì nán nǚ jìng fèng* (許會男女敬奉) ‘license to meet/gather men and women to worship (him)’ (L79). It is the twelve clans’ duty, as (iv) reads, that they should do so with *gē gǔ lè* (歌鼓樂) ‘songs, drums, and joy’ (L 81). The sequence (v) is a warning: *rú yǒu bù zūn zhě zuò guài* (如有不尊者作怪) ‘in case there is anyone who does not observe (this duty) he shall become a monster/demon’ (L 83).<sup>33</sup>

### **2.2.2.7 Designation of residence restricted in mountains**

Immediately after the Emperor Huang’s warning, L 85 starts listing various benefits and privileges that the twelve clans should be granted. L 85 is the first mention of the privilege of duty exemption or *juān miǎn* (蠲免 (免)) (See §2.2.2.8). In Ls 85-90 of the scroll it can be observed that the areas the twelve clans’ residence are designated in those mountains specified as in Figure 8.

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<sup>32</sup> *Chilìng* ‘imperial decree (edict)’ should be written as 勅令 or 勅令. The second letter of the latter phrase (令) might have been miscopied as 会 *huì* as found in L 78 of the text. Also L 77 (not provided in the thesis) shows further evidence of a scribal error: 會 *huì* (<会) as appears in “勅會”.

<sup>33</sup> Theraphan (1991:42) translates her MSS: “Anyone who departs from these customs, who is not faithful, or who creates dissension will have sinned. The spirit (of the ancestor) will ever be watchful; he who is guilty will not be pardoned”.

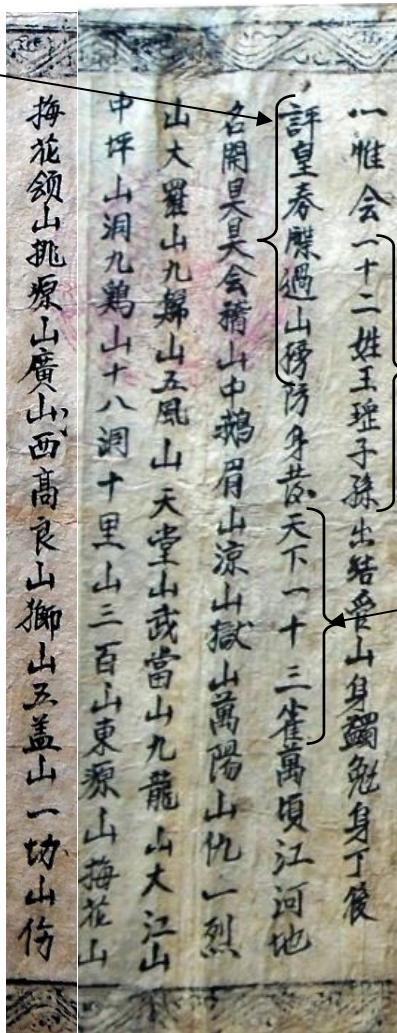
| Print form | Pin Yin   | gloss  | text  | Print form | Pin Yin   | gloss                                       |
|------------|---|--|---|------------|---|---|
|            |   |  | 90 89 88 87 86 85   |            |   |   |
| (ii)       | Píng<br>Huáng<br>quàn<br>dié<br>guò<br>shān<br>páng | Ping<br>emperor<br>certificate<br>official<br>document<br>pass<br>mountain<br>side |                          | (i)        | yī<br>shí<br>èr<br>xìng<br>wáng<br>yáo<br>zǐ<br>sūn | twelve<br>clan<br>king<br>Yao<br>descendant |
| (iii)      | tiān<br>xià<br>yī<br>shí<br>sān<br>shěng            | heaven<br>under<br>thirteen<br>provinces   | 一惟會十二姓王瑤子孫出居臺灣山身歸魁身丁後評皇春牒過山傍防牙恭天下一十三省萬彊江河地名開昊昊食稽山中鵝眉山涼山獄山萬陽山仇一烈山大羅山九錦山五風山天臺山武當山九龍山大江山中坪山洞九鶴山十八洞十里山三百山東源山梅花山 |            |   |   |

Figure 8. The names of mountains assigned for the Iu Mien for residence

The sequence (i) echoes the familiar phrase *yie mubo ziepc nyeic fingx Iu Mienh* [1 PL ten two clan Iu.Mien] ‘we twelve clans of the Iu Mien’: *yī shí èr xìng wáng Yáo zǐ sūn* (一十二姓王瑤子孫) ‘the twelve clans of the descendants of the King Yao’ (L 85). They were given the official order in the form of (ii) *Píng Huáng quàn dié guò shān bǎng* (評皇券牒過山榜) ‘the Emperor Huang’s official document authorising of passage along mountain sides’ (L 86) that is issued in (iii) *tiān xià yī shí sān shěng* (天下一十三省) ‘the thirteen provinces under the heaven’ (L 86).

Thereafter Ls 87 – 90 list the names of twenty six mountains in thirteen provinces as the places where the twelve clans of the Iu Mien, the descendants of the King Yao.

### 2.2.2.8 Privileges of tax exemption and benefits given by Ping Huang

Closely related to the designated residence regions in the section Ls 85-90, L91 stipulates the tax exemption given to the Iu Mien shown in Figure 9.

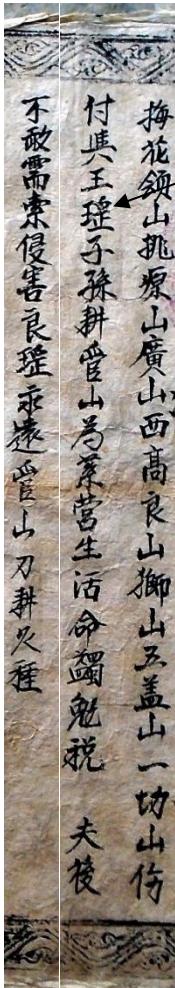
| text   | Print form | Pin Yin       | gloss |
|--|------------|---------------|-------|
| 92   | 91         | 90            |       |
|  |            |               |       |
| 王  | wáng       | king          |       |
| 瑤  | yáo        | Yao           |       |
| 子  | zǐ         | descendant    |       |
| 孫  | sūn        |               |       |
| 耕  | gēng       | cultivate     |       |
| 管  | guǎn       | manage        |       |
| 山  | shān       | mountain      |       |
| 為  | wéi        | for           |       |
| 業  | yè         | business      |       |
| 營  | yíng       | earn          |       |
| 生  | shēng      | life          |       |
| 活  | huó        | living        |       |
| 命  | mìng       | life          |       |
| 蠲  | juān       | remit, cancel |       |
| 勉  | miǎn       | (免) exempt    |       |
| 稅  | shuì       | tax           |       |

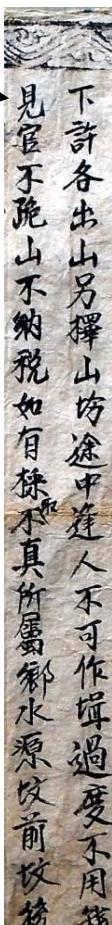
Figure 9. Exemption of Tax

L 91 reads that the twelve descendants of King Yao are to *gēng guǎn shān* (耕管山) ‘cultivate and watch over mountains’ in order that they *yè yíng shēng huó mìng* (業營生活命) ‘make a living’ there.

Attention should be drawn to the phrase *juān miǎn shuì* (蠲勉税). The character *miǎn* 勉 actually means ‘to strive’ and could be a mistaken copy of *miǎn* 免 ‘to exempt’. It should be amended in conformity to a normal word *juān miǎn* (蠲免) ‘to exempt, cancel’. A similar expression is found in L 97: *juān miǎn guó shuì* (蠲勉國税) ‘exempt from national tax’. The first occurrence of *juān miǎn* (蠲勉(免)) is L 85 (Figure 8).

Even though the character *miǎn* 勉 for the meaning *juān miǎn* (蠲免) might have been a scribal error, it is this 勉 that has become the name of the people of Iu Mien in modern era in Yao’s stead. (See the name of the Iu Mien in Chinese: *Yōu Miǎn* 优勉 in §2.2.1.2.)

More privileges are given to the twelve clans as in Figure 10:

| Print form        | Pin Yin    | gloss | text   | Print form | Pin Yin     | gloss |
|-------------------|------------|-------|--|------------|-------------|-------|
|                   |            |       | 96 95  |            |             |       |
| (ii)              |            |       |  | (i)        |             |       |
| 見 jiàn            | meet       |       | 下許各出山另擇山傍途中逢人不可作喧過度不用錢   | 過          | guò         | pass  |
| 官 guān            | officer    |       | 見宦不跪山不納稅如有僉不真所屬鄉水源故前故後   | 度          | duó, (渡) dù | cross |
| 不 bù              | not        |       |  | 不          | bù          | not   |
| 跪 guì             | kneel.down |       |  | 用          | yòng        | use   |
| [ ] <sup>34</sup> |            |       |  | 钱          | qián        | money |
| 山 shān            | mountain   |       |  |            |             |       |
| 不 bù              | not        |       |  |            |             |       |
| 納 nà              | pay        |       |  |            |             |       |
| 稅 shuì            | tax        |       |  |            |             |       |

**Figure 10. No need to kneel down before officials**

While traveling, the twelve descendants of King Yao can use the privilege that (i) *guò duó*<sup>35</sup> *bù yòng qián* (過度[渡]不用錢) ‘do not have to pay money for crossing (river by ferry)’. Of the trails, if they (ii) *jiàn guān* (見官) ‘meet government officials’,

<sup>34</sup> There must be a verb here, e.g., *zhù* (住) ‘to dwell’ or *sù* (宿) ‘to lodge overnight’ or something else. *Thammajarik Codex A* has *gēng* (耕) ‘to cultivate’.

<sup>35</sup> If this form means ‘to cross (river, stream)’, *dù* (渡) should be the case rather than *duó* (度). *Thammajarik Codex A* rightly has *dù* (渡) (p.17) for this line.

they do not have to kneel before them: *bù guì* (不跪).<sup>36</sup> Though they stay or live in the mountain *shān* (山), they *bù nà shuì* (不納稅) ‘do not have to pay tax’.

In relation to the privilege of tax exemption, Zeuz Gueix-Zoih describes, in the story of the Sea Crossing Odyssey, a living condition of the ancestors of the Iu Mien similar to what is stated in *Jiex Sen Borng* of the *Pʰa'læe Scroll* as in (2<sup>-1-6</sup>):

|                                       |              |                            |               |               |               |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| (2 <sup>-1</sup> )                    | <i>Yiem</i>  | <i>Naamh Ging</i>          | <i>koiv-</i>  | <i>ngaanc</i> | <i>naaic</i>  |
|                                       | ເມື່ອນ       | ນໍາມ.ກົງ                   | ຄ້ອຍ          | ໜ່ານ          | ໜ່າຍ          |
|                                       | <i>jem</i> ↑ | <i>na:m</i> ↓ <i>kiŋ</i> ↑ | <i>kʰɔi</i> ↓ | <i>ŋa:n</i> ↓ | <i>na:i</i> ↓ |
|                                       | be.in        | Nanjing                    | sea           | shore         | TOP           |
| ‘As for living on Nanjing sea shore,’ |              |                            |               |               |               |

|                                 |             |                              |              |              |
|---------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| (2 <sup>-2</sup> )              | <i>se</i>   | <i>de'bung</i> <sup>37</sup> | <i>longx</i> | <i>haic.</i> |
|                                 | ເຊ          | ເຕັ້ງ                        | ຮລງ          | ໄໝ.          |
|                                 | <i>se</i> ↑ | <i>te pun</i> ↑              | <i>loŋ</i> ↑ | <i>hai</i> ↑ |
|                                 | TOP         | country                      | be.good      | very         |
| ‘the country was very fertile.’ |             |                              |              |              |

|                                       |               |               |               |                             |                |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| (2 <sup>-3</sup> )                    | <i>maaih</i>  | <i>dorngx</i> | <i>zoux</i>   | <i>liangx-ndeic</i>         | <i>camv/</i>   |
|                                       | ນ່າຍ          | ຕ້ອງ          | ໄທດວ          | ເຫຼີບ-ເດ່ຍ                  | ຂົ້ມ/          |
|                                       | <i>ma:i</i> ↓ | <i>tɔŋ</i> ↑  | <i>tsəu</i> ↓ | <i>l̥aiŋ</i> ↓ <i>dei</i> ↓ | <i>tsʰam</i> ↑ |
| have place make farming.field many    |               |               |               |                             |                |
| ‘There were many fields for farming.’ |               |               |               |                             |                |

|                                    |              |  |
|------------------------------------|--------------|--|
| (2 <sup>-4</sup> )                 | <i>yaac</i>  | <i>nquen</i> <sup>38</sup> <i>youh</i> |
|                                    | ໜ່າ          | ໝວິນ ໂຍ່ວ                              |
|                                    | <i>ja:</i> ↓ | <i>gʷen</i> ↓ <i>jəu</i> ↓             |
| also be.happy                      |              |  |
| ‘and (Iu Mien people) were happy.’ |              |  |

<sup>36</sup> *Thammajarik Codex A* reads *bù xià guì* (不下跪) ‘not kneel down’.

<sup>37</sup> A contraction form of *deic-bung* [earth side] ‘country’. In this context it does not refer to the nation of China but the first region where the ancestor of the Iu Mien used to live.

<sup>38</sup> Q = *nquen* [Jʷen], K = *njenh* [dʒ ~ dʐen] ‘to have joy’. These days there are not very many people younger than 50 years old who pronounce the palatal stops and affricates.

|                   |  |                     |               |                |               |                          |
|-------------------|--|---------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| (2 <sup>5</sup> ) | <i>mv zuqc</i>   | <i>zaangc</i>       | <i>mienv</i>  | <i>mv zuqc</i> | <i>zoux</i>   | <i>haiv.nyungc</i>       |
|                   | ນ້ຳ ທຸກ  | ທຸກໆ                | ເມື່ອນ        | ນ້ຳ ທຸກ        | ໄທດວ          | ໄຊ໌.ຫຍຸ່ງ                |
|                   | ນໍາ  | tsa:ŋ               | miən          | ນໍາ            | tsəø          | haiŋ                     |
|                   | no.need  | worship             | spirit        | no.need        | do            | anything                 |
|                   | ‘They didn’t have to worship spirits, nor had to do anything (related to spirit worship).’ |                     |               |                |               |                          |
| (2 <sup>6</sup> ) | <i>mv zuqc</i>   | <i>cuotv</i>        | <i>laangh</i> | <i>zin</i>     | <i>laangh</i> | <i>cov</i> <sup>39</sup> |
|                   | ນ້ຳ ທຸກ  | ຂ້າດ                | ລ່າງ          | ຕິ່ນ           | ລ່າງ          | ໄສ້                      |
|                   | ນໍາ  | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət | la:ŋ          | tsin           | la:ŋ          | ts <sup>h</sup> oŋ       |
|                   | no.need  | pay                 | crop          | coin           | crop          | tax                      |
|                   | ‘they did not have to pay tax for crop.’   |                     |               |                |               |                          |
|                   | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist; 00.01.04-14)  |                     |               |                |               |                          |

Contrary to the similarity between *Jiex Sen Borngv*'s tax exemption and L (2<sup>6</sup>) of Zeuz Gueix-Zoih's story, L (2<sup>1</sup>) and L (2<sup>5</sup>) contain problematic discrepancies. That is, according to Zeuz Gueix-Zoih, the ancestors of Iu Mien lived in the plains near Nanjing (L (2<sup>1</sup>)), not in the mountains, and they did not have to worship spirits of any sorts (L (2<sup>5</sup>)). These two points are also attested in other storytellers (e.g. Leiz Fux-Dorngh (2013), Bungz Cun-Fouv (ium\_20140403\_03\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_Bungz CunFouv\_JiexKoiv.MP4)).

Returning to the *P<sup>h</sup>a'lae Scroll*, we shall see the concluding part of the document. Here again the privileges are reiterated. However, the summary of what has been said in the whole document seems to assert a certain condition as in Figure 11.

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<sup>39</sup> None of dictionaries by Lombard (1968), Panh (1995, 2002), Purnell (2012) has this word *cov*. Similarity with Mandarin *shuì* (稅) ‘tax’ and Cantonese *seoi*<sup>3</sup> is apparent. In modern Iu Mien, ‘tax’ is *nzou-zinh* /dzəø/ tsin/.

| text                  | Print form  | Pin Yin   | gloss  |
|-----------------------|---|---|--|
| 141                   |   |   |  |
| 評皇券牒過山榜防身蠲免夫後永遠管山刀耕火種 | 評<br>皇<br>券<br>牒<br>過 <sup>40</sup><br>山<br>榜<br>防<br>身<br>蠲<br>勉<br>夫<br>後<br>永<br>遠<br>管<br>山 | Píng<br>Huáng<br>quàn<br>dié<br>guò<br>shān<br>páng<br>fáng<br>shēn<br>juān<br>miǎn, (免)<br>fū<br>hòu, (役) yì<br>yǒng<br>yuǎn<br>guǎn<br>shān | Ping<br>emperor<br>certificate<br>official document<br>pass<br>mountain<br>side<br>defend<br>yourself<br>remit<br>exempt<br>conscripted<br>labour<br>forever<br>manage<br>mountain |

Figure 11. Concluding part of *Jiex Sen Borngv*

While the certificate *Píng Huáng quàn dié guò shān pang* or *Jiex Sen Borngv* protects you (*fáng shēn* 防身) and exempts you from conscripted labour (*juān miǎn fū*

<sup>40</sup> Note that here the simplified character *过* is used instead of its full form *過* which occurs earlier in the document (Ls 1, 2, 86, and 100). The simplified form *过* occurs two more places: L 144 and L 146, the very last line of the whole document. Is this due to scribe's fatigue?

*yì*<sup>41</sup> 罷免夫役), the implication is that you must *yǒng yuǎn guǎn shān* (永遠管山) ‘watch over mountains forever’ by doing farming.

### 2.2.2.9 Names referring to the Iu Mien

The twelve descendant clans of King Yao, the dragon dog, are referred to in a different ways and they are considered as the ancestors of the Iu Mien by the most Iu Mien. The highest frequency is *wáng Yáo zǐsūn* (王瑤子孫) ‘the descendant of King Yao’ (Ls 85, 91, 93, 102, 107, 110, 138, and 146), often found in the phrase *yī shí èr xìng wáng Yáo zǐsūn* (一十二姓王瑤子孫) ‘twelve clans of the descendants of King Yao’ (e.g. L 85, 93). Six forms of the reference found in *P'āllae Scroll* are listed in Table 3.

**Table 3. Names referring to the descendants of twelve clans or the Iu Mien**

|       | Names<br>in Chinese | Pin Yin                   | Meaning                            | lines of occurrence  |
|-------|---------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
| (i)   | 王瑤子孫                | <i>wáng Yáo zǐsūn</i>     | ‘descendants of King Yao’          | 2, Once beside the picture over Ls 16-17, 55, 97, 101, 106 |
| (ii)  | 瑤                   | <i>Yáo</i>                | ‘Yao’                              | 4, 7,  |
| (iii) | 王瑤子孫                | <i>wáng Yáo zǐsūn</i>     | ‘descendants of King Yao’          | 85, 91, 93, 102, 107, 110, 138, 146                        |
| (iv)  | 良瑤                  | <i>liáng Yáo</i>          | ‘good Yao’                         | 92   |
| (v)   | 王 瑶 瑶 子<br>孫        | <i>wáng Yáo Yáo zǐsūn</i> | ‘descendants of King Yao Yao’      | 98   |
| (vi)  | 瑤 王 瑶 子<br>孫        | <i>Yáo wáng Yáo zǐsūn</i> | ‘Yao, the descendants of King Yao’ | 144  |
|       | Total<br>reference  |                           |                                    | 19 times   |

It is highly important to note that two different homophonous characters are used in referring to the Yao or the Iu Mien in this document: 瑶 ‘masked palm civet’ (Paguma larvata) ((i) and (ii)) and 瑶 ‘jade, jasper’ ((iii) and (iv)). What makes difference is the small radical character: the left side radical of the character 瑶 (*yáo*) is 犭, meaning ‘a dog’ or ‘a beast’, and the right side of 瑶 (*yáo*) is 王, meaning ‘king’. A distinction is not made between them but there seems to be a broad tendency that 瑶 with a ‘beast’ radical is used in the earlier part and 瑶 with a ‘king’ radical in the middle to the latter part, particularly around the place of mentioning the privileges bestowed, in the document.

<sup>41</sup> *Hòu* (後) ‘back, rear’ is a scribal error for *yì* (役) ‘labour’. The context requires the meaning *fū yì* (夫役) ‘conscripted labour’.

It should be noted that after the designation of residential regions in the mountains the occurrence of two different characters alternate frequently: 瑶 in Ls 91, 92, 93; 猥 in Ls 97, 98, 101; 瑶 in L 102; 猥 in L 106; 瑶 in Ls 107 and 110. It is almost like sending a message that the Yao or Iu Mien should not forget their origin of being a dog despite their privilege given by the Emperor and their progenitor's earned title 'king'.

If we think in that line, the alleged dittography of homophonous different characters found in (v) (王猺瑤子孫) (L 98) and (vi) (猺王瑤子孫) (L 144) begin to suggest two kinds of suspicion rather than a simple assumption that they are scribal errors. One is that Iu Mien scribes who hand-copied the scrolls over the history might have had superficial knowledge of Chinese, especially as to etymology. Or could it be possible that Chinese scribes hired by Iu Mien to produce copies of the document secretly inserted a message of debasement: "Don't you forget that you are actually children of the beast, even the dragon dog"?

### 2.2.2.10 Summary

The existence of *Jiex Sen Borng* in copious MSS written in Chinese throughout southern China, Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand is a witness to a long history of contact between the Yao or the Iu Mien and Chinese. The document exhibits amalgamating characteristics of traditional Chinese writing (practiced in Taiwan) and the simplified (Mandarin) Chinese characters including many scribal errors. The document tells us that the progenitor of the Yao or the Iu Mien was a dragon dog, married to a female human, begetting twelve children who turned into the twelve clans. It records the origin of their religious practice in worshiping deceased Bien Hu, their father, the dragon dog, ordered by Emperor Huang. The reason why the present day Iu Mien so deeply cherish this document seems that it declares Emperor's recognition, and promises of assigning residence regions, protection in travel, privileges and benefits including exemption of tax and forced labor. Coupled with these privileges is the restriction on them that they should stay in the mountains as farmers forever. This ambivalence is also hidden in the interchangeable use of homophonous Chinese characters 猥 yáo 'civet' and 瑶 yáo 'jade'.

### 2.2.3 *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv /p<sup>h</sup>iuv jiu<sup>l</sup> ciəl k<sup>h</sup>oi˥/* (飄遙過海) 'The Sea Crossing Odyssey'

The second story which talks about their alleged historical background is called *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv /p<sup>h</sup>iuv jiu<sup>l</sup> ciəl k<sup>h</sup>oi˥/* [flutter be.far pass sea] (飄遙過海) 'The Sea Crossing Odyssey'. Any Iu Mien older than fifty years old in Thailand can tell

this story from memory (at the time of this research but people younger than them only possess memory of simplified version).

While Lemoine (1982:17) uses Chinese character *yáo* (遙) ‘be far’ in 飄遙過海 [flutter be.far pass sea], the ethnographic study by the Nationalities Affairs Commission of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (Lan et al. (eds.) 1990:160-1) designates *yáng* (洋) ‘ocean’ as in 飄洋過海 [flutter ocean pass sea]. Lemoine’s choice is phonologically closer to the Iu Mien phrase *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv* /pʰiu˥ jiu˥ ciə˥ kʰoi˥/ than *yáng* although both *yáo* (遙) and *yáng* (洋) are semantically plausible.

There is no discrepancy in the gist of the story whichever provinces the storytellers come from. A part of it told by Zeuz Gueix-Zoih (1998, 2013) has already been quoted as (1<sup>-1-25</sup>) in §2.2.2.5 and (2<sup>-1-6</sup>) in §2.2.2.8. The storyline goes like this: (i) their ancestors lived peacefully in the fertile plain near Nanjing (2<sup>-1-6</sup>), (ii) the cause of abandoning that area was the three year drought (1<sup>-1-13</sup>), (iii) they set out to the sea on many boats by clans in search of a better land (1<sup>-15-25</sup>), (iv) in the course of the voyage they began venerating spirits due to a terror of a great rumbling noise from the gate of abyss, (v) upon arriving on the land of Guei Ziou Fou (southern coast of China), they started a practice of sacrificing pigs to the spirits in gratitude for safe arrival to the new land.

In fact, Ls (1<sup>-17-39</sup>) of the 2013 version by Zeuz Gueix-Zoih are rare details of how one of the clans was lost in the sea. And this is an interesting digression from the main storyline of a standard *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv*. A beginning part of a more standard version by the same storyteller has been shown as (2<sup>-1-6</sup>) in §2.2.2.8, which describes the point (i) above, i.e., their peaceful life in the lowland plain of China. Therefore, what follows Ls (2<sup>-1-6</sup>), will be given below, filling the gaps of the points (iv) and (v), as in (3<sup>-1-50</sup>):

|                    |                        |             |            |
|--------------------|------------------------|-------------|------------|
| (3 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Wuov.nzunc.hnoi</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>gau</i> |
|                    | ว้า.หนุน.สอนย          | ເມືຍມ       | ເກາ        |
|                    | uə̚ŋ                   | jem˥        | kau˥       |
|                    | that.time.day          | be.at       | then       |

‘This time, after living there,’

|                    |             |              |             |                     |                |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|----------------|
| (3 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>taux</i> | <i>haaix</i> | <i>norm</i> | <i>hnyangx-dauh</i> | <i>mv bei,</i> |
|                    | ເດາ         | ໜ້າ          | ນອມ         | ຫອງ-ເຕ້າ            | ນໍ.ເປີຍ,       |
|                    | tʰau˧       | hai:˧        | nɔm         | jñan˥ tau˧          | m̥ŋ˥           |
|                    | reach       | which        | CLF         | year-head           | not.know       |

‘I wonder which year could that be,’

|                   |             |           |              |            |             |               |
|-------------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| (3 <sup>3</sup> ) | <i>Mbuo</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>sou</i> | <i>fiev</i> | <i>jienv.</i> |
|                   | ນັວ         | ນ້ຳ       | ມ່າຍ         | ໄຈວ        | ເພື່ອ       | ເຈື້ອນ        |
|                   | ບູເລ        | ມໍ່າ      | ມາຂີ້າ       | ສອບ        | ຝຶກ         | ຄົ່ນ          |
|                   | 1PL         | NEG       | have         | book       | write       | CONT          |

‘We don’t have any written record.’

|                   |              |           |              |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
| (3 <sup>4</sup> ) | <i>Jangx</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>duqv.</i> |
|                   | ຈັງ          | ນ້ຳ       | ດຸ.          |
|                   | ກັງ          | ມໍ່າ      | ຕູ້າ         |
|                   | remember     | NEG       | GET          |

‘(so we) can’t remember.’

|                   |                                |                  |                        |              |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| (3 <sup>5</sup> ) | <i>taux</i>                    | <i>norm</i>      | <i>hnyangx-dauh</i>    | <i>aeqv.</i> |
|                   | ເຕາ                            | ນອມ              | ຫອນູ້ງ-ເຕົ້າ           | ແລ້ວ,        |
|                   | t <sup>h</sup> au <sup>h</sup> | nɔm <sup>h</sup> | ຈຳນັງ tau <sup>h</sup> | ε?           |
|                   | reach                          | CLF              | year-head              | PDP          |

‘(Any way) reaching a certain year,’

|   |                         |                   |                  |                    |           |                  |                                |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| (3 <sup>6</sup> )   | <i>lung<sup>h</sup></i> | <i>haanz</i>      | <i>buo</i>       | <i>hnyangx</i>     | <i>mv</i> | <i>duih</i>      | <i>mbiungc.</i>                |
|   | ລູ້ງ                    | ຮ້ານ              | ປົວ              | ຫອນູ້ງ             | ນ້ຳ       | ດຸບ              | ນູ້ງ.                          |
|   | lung <sup>h</sup>       | ha:n <sup>h</sup> | puə <sup>h</sup> | ຈຳນັງ <sup>h</sup> | ມໍ່າ      | tui <sup>h</sup> | b <sup>h</sup> un <sup>h</sup> |
| sky arid three year NEG fall rain<br>‘the sky was drought for three years and it did not rain (for that period).’ |                         |                   |                  |                    |           |                  |                                |

|   |                  |                  |                    |              |             |                  |
|---|------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|------------------|
| (3 <sup>7</sup> )   | <i>mv~ / buo</i> | <i>hnyangx</i>   | <i>mv</i>          | <i>njiéc</i> | <i>norm</i> | <i>mbiungc,</i>  |
|   | ນ້ຳ~ / ປົວ       | ຫອນູ້ງ           | ນ້ຳ                | ເທົ່ອົ້ນ     | ນອມ         | ນູ້ງ,            |
|   | ມໍ່າ             | puə <sup>h</sup> | ຈຳນັງ <sup>h</sup> | ມໍ່າ         | ຈິເລ        | nɔm <sup>h</sup> |
| (frg) three year NEG descend CLF rain<br>‘... for three years there was not a single drop of rain.’ |                  |                  |                    |              |             |                  |

|                   |                        |           |              |                  |
|-------------------|------------------------|-----------|--------------|------------------|
| (3 <sup>8</sup> ) | <i>nv nzunc hnoi</i>   | <i>mv</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>cun-gaeng</i> |
|                   | ນ້ຳ ພູ່ນ ຂນອຍ          | ນ້ຳ       | ມ່າຍ         | ຫຼຸນ-ແກງ         |
|                   | ນໍ່າ dzun <sup>h</sup> | ນູ້ອີ່າ   | ມໍ່າ         | ມາຂີ້າ           |
|                   | so.then                | NEG       | have         | harvest          |

‘so then (we) did not have harvest.’

(3<sup>-9</sup>)    *mv duqv hnaangx nyanc.*  
 ມ້ ດູກ ທ່ານາງ ນໍາຫຼັນ.

ມໍາ tu?l ຖານຈ ຢານຈ  
 NEG get rice eat  
 ‘did not get food to eat.’

(3<sup>-10</sup>)    *Mv maaih cun-gaeng zoux.*  
 ມ້ ມ່າຍ ຜຸນ-ແກງ ໂທດວ.  
 ມໍາ ma:iŋ ts<sup>h</sup>un kεŋ<sup>h</sup> tsəŋ<sup>h</sup>  
 NEG have crop make  
 ‘there were no crops to be produced.’

(3<sup>-11</sup>)    *Zoux cun-gaeng, zuangx ga'naaiv mv cuotv aqv.*  
 ໂທດວ ຜຸນ-ແກງ, ທວັງ ກະນ້າຍ ມ້ ຊົວດ ອີ່.  
 tsəŋ<sup>h</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>un kεŋ<sup>h</sup> ts<sup>w</sup>aŋ<sup>h</sup> ka nai:<sup>h</sup> ມໍາ ts<sup>hw</sup>ət<sup>h</sup> a?<sup>h</sup>  
 make crop plant thing NEG exit NSIT  
 ‘(though they) farm (or) plant things, nothing sprouted.’

(3<sup>-12</sup>)    *Yietc zungv aec ngorc nzengc daaih yiem mv jienv.*  
 ເບີຍດ ຫຼັງ ແອ ທ່ອ ເຫັ່ງ ຕ້າຍ ເຢີມ ມ້ ເຈື້ນ.  
 jet<sup>h</sup> tsuŋ<sup>h</sup> ε<sup>h</sup> ຖາ<sup>h</sup> dzeŋ<sup>h</sup> ta:i<sup>h</sup> jem<sup>h</sup> ມໍາ c<sup>j</sup>en<sup>h</sup>  
 ‘Everything HEST starve CONSUME COME live NEG be.stable  
 ‘Everything, well, got drought all together and could not survive.’

(3<sup>-13</sup>)    *Yiem mv jienv nor aeqv,*  
 ເຢີມ ມ້ ເຈື້ນ ນອ ແອ້,  
 jem<sup>h</sup> ມໍາ c<sup>j</sup>en<sup>h</sup> nɔ<sup>h</sup> ε?<sup>h</sup>  
 live NEG be.stable if.so PDP  
 ‘As they could not service,’

(3<sup>-14</sup>)    *ninh mbuo Iu-Mienh ziepc nyeic fingx,*  
 ນິນ ບ້າ ພິວ-ເມື່ອນ ເຫດີບ ເຫຼຸ້ຍ ຝຶງ,  
 nin<sup>h</sup> buə<sup>h</sup> iu<sup>h</sup> miən<sup>h</sup> ts<sup>j</sup>əp<sup>h</sup> nei<sup>h</sup> fiŋ<sup>h</sup>  
 3 PL Iu Mien ten two clan  
 ‘they the twelve clans of the Iu Mien,’

- (3<sup>-15</sup>) *Iu-Mienh cingx.daaih yiem naaic aeqv,*  
 ພົມ-ເມື່ອນ ທີ່ຈິງ ຕ້າຍ ເມື່ອນ ຜໍານໍາຍ ແລ້ວ,  
*iuŋ miənŋ tsʰinŋ tə:iŋ jem¹ na:iŋ εʔŋ*  
 Iu Mien therefore live DEM PDP  
 ‘Iu Mien then after living there,’
- (3<sup>-16</sup>) *gapv nzaangv daaih nzaeng jienv biaux jiex koiv.*  
 ກັບ ທ້າງ ຕ້າຍ ແກງ ເລື້ນ ເປົ້າ ເຈື້ຍ ຄ້ອບ.  
*kapŋ dza:ŋŋ tə:iŋ dze:ŋŋ cʰenŋ pʰauŋ ciəŋ kʰɔiŋ*  
 assemble ship COME paddle CONT escape pass sea  
 ‘built ships (then they) crossed the sea by paddling to escape.’
- (3<sup>-17</sup>) *Biaux jiex koiv, nzaeng jienv daaih gau aeqv,*  
 ເປົ້າ ເຈື້ຍ ຄ້ອບ, ແກງ ເລື້ນ ຕ້າຍ ເກາ ແລ້ວ,  
*pʰauŋ ciəŋ kʰɔiŋ dze:ŋŋ cʰenŋ tə:iŋ kauŋ εʔŋ*  
 escape pass sea paddle CONT come after.which PDP  
 ‘As they crossed the sea, after coming by paddling,’
- (3<sup>-18</sup>) *mignh ndortv zuqc .. Zong Guoqv da'bung*  
 ມິ່ງ ດຶດ ທຸກ .. ຊອງ ກິວະ ຕະບູງ  
*miŋŋ dɔtŋ tsuʔŋ tsoŋŋ kuəʔŋ ta puŋŋ*  
 go fall TOUCH China country  
 ‘(they) got to China.’
- (3<sup>-19</sup>) *Ndortv zuqc ninh mbuo nyei ..er.. Gueix Ziou<sup>42</sup> fouv,*  
 ດຶດ ທຸກ ນິນ ບ້ວ ເສູຍ ..ເຮື.. ເກົ່າຍ ເຕື່ບາ ໂພ້,  
*dɔtŋ tsuʔŋ ninŋ buəŋ neiŋ ..ə: kʰwɛiŋ tsʰəŋŋ*  
 fall TOUCH 3 PL SBCP HEST Guìzhōu province  
 ‘(they) ended up landing on Guìzhōu province.’
- (3<sup>-20</sup>) *Yunh Naamh, Yunh Naamh ..er.. saengv.*  
 ຢູ່ນ ນໍາມ, ຢູ່ນ ນໍາມ ..ເຮື.. ແຊ້ງ.  
*junŋ na:mŋ junŋ na:mŋ ..ə: seŋŋ*  
 Yúnnán Yúnnán HEST province  
 ‘(and also arrived at) Yunnan province.’

<sup>42</sup> This could be an anachronism of *Guāngzhōu* (廣州) in *Guāngdōng* province (廣東省) as a landing point of the odyssey. Or in the light of vicinity to *Yúnnán* province (云南省) in the next line (3<sup>-20</sup>) it could refer to *Guìzhōu* province (貴州).

(3<sup>-21</sup>) *Ndortv zuqc naaiv .. ninh mbuo heuc*  
 គីតុដ អម្ពុ ន័យ .. និន ប៉ាវ ហេវ  
*dət̪l tsu?」 na:i̯ ninl buəl heu」*  
 fall TOUCH DEM 3 PL call  
 ‘(the place they) arrived at is called,’

(3<sup>-22</sup>) *ndortv zuqc naaiv .. er ... Janx-Kaeqv da'bung.*  
 គីតុដ អម្ពុ ន័យ .. ឥ ... ខ៊ែន-កេវ ពោលង.  
*dət̪l tsu?」 na:i̯ ə: canl kʰε?」 ta puŋ」*  
 fall TOUCH DEM HEST China country  
 ‘well... (the place of) arrival was China.’

(3<sup>-23</sup>) *Yiem naaic Janx-Kaeqv deic bung aeqv,*  
 ឃើម នាយ ខ៊ែន-កេវ តេឃ ូង នឹង,  
*jem」 na:i」 canl kʰε?」 tei」 puŋ」 ε?」*  
 be.in DEM<sub>MID</sub> China country PDP  
 ‘(the period they) resided in China [Guizhou and Yunnan] is’

(3<sup>-24</sup>) *mbu'ziex hnyangx yaac mv hiuv.*  
 ប៉ាវ ហេតិឃ អស្ស៉ែង យាំ ម៉ឺ ីវ.  
*bu tsiəl jianj」 ja:」 m̪」 hiu」*  
 how.many year TOP NEG know  
 ‘how many years, we don’t know.’

(3<sup>-25</sup>) *Mingh ndortv zuqc .. ninh mbuo nyei*  
 មិះ គីតុដ អម្ពុ .. និន ប៉ាវ លួយ  
*miŋ」 dət̪l tsu?」 ninl buəl nei」*  
 go fall TOUCH 2 PL SBCP  
 ‘(As they) went on (they) happened to fall on (there, that is,) their (place of arrival was...)’

(3<sup>26</sup>) *nder wuov*<sup>43</sup> ... *Lorqc Ciang*<sup>44</sup> *Nquenc.*<sup>45</sup>  
 ເດີ ວ້າ ... ແລະ ເບີຍ ພັນ.

ນອຍ  
HEST  
‘well..., (reached) Lor Ciang County.’

(3<sup>27</sup>) *Mingh yiem naaic Lorqc Ciang Nquenc naaic*  
 ມິ່ງ ເຢີມ ນໍາເຢ ແລະ ເບີຍ ເພື່ນ ນໍາເຢ  
*min↓ jem↑ na:i↓ lor? tsʰjan↑ gʷen↓ nai↓*  
 go be.in DEM<sub>MID</sub> Lo Ciang county DEM<sub>TOP</sub>  
 ‘As for (the account of) living in Lor Ciang county,’

(3<sup>28</sup>) *Ninh mbuo nzaeng jienv nzaangv jiex koiv naaic*<sup>46</sup>  
 ນິ່ນ ບ້າ ແກງ ເຈີນ ຫ້າງ ເຈີຍ ຂອບ ນໍາເຢ  
*nin↓ buə↑ dze:ŋ↑ c̥en↑ dza:ŋ↑ ciə↑ kʰɔi↑ na:i↓*  
 3 PL paddle CONT ship pass sea DEM<sub>TOP</sub>  
 ‘(or) as for (the account of) crossing the sea by paddling the ships.’

(3<sup>29</sup>) *mingh gau, nzaangv maiv haih jiex*  
 ມິ່ງ ເກາ, ຫ້າງ ໝຶກ ໄກ ເຈີຍ  
*min↓ kau↑ dzaŋ↑ mai↑ hai↓ ciə↓*  
 go then ship NEG be.able pass  
 ‘after setting out, (they) were not able to pass’

<sup>43</sup> *nder* = Q, K = *ndau*. The combination *ndau wuov* [ground DEM<sub>DIST</sub>] ‘uh..., well...’. Purnell (2012:511) explains its usage, “A hesitation phrase used by a speaker when collecting his or her thoughts.” Therefore, his labelling the phrase as ‘excl.’ should be ‘hesitation’ since it does not express an exclamation of surprise, fear, nor pleasure.

<sup>44</sup> *Lorqc Ciang* = Q, K = *Lorh Ciang*. See next footnote.

<sup>45</sup> Purnell (2012:386) explains, “the Iu Mien name for a county in northern Guangdong Province, China. *Cul(tural information):* After crossing the sea (**piu-yiuh jiex koiv**) on their journey from Nanjing to Guandong, the Iu Mien reached land and their books record that they reached a particular town (**Saauh Ziou Fouv**) and a county (**Lorh Ciang Nquenc**) near it”. Lemoine (1982:16) writes, from other version of *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv*: “They settled down in Kwangtung province, in the Lochang district of *Hsiao chou* (Shao-chow) Prefecture”.

<sup>46</sup> The text is slightly edited. At the beginning of this sentence, originally, are one verb and a fragmental utterance of a verb: *Mingh ta~, (< mingh taux)* [go reach].

|                    |                    |             |                         |             |              |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| (3 <sup>30</sup> ) | <i>mv</i>          | <i>bung</i> | <i>ziqc</i>             | <i>koiv</i> | <i>aeqv,</i> |
|                    | ມໍ້                | ບູນ         | ຫົກສີ                   | ກ້ອຍ        | ແເວີ້ວ,      |
|                    | ມໍາ                | ບູນງາ       | ຕືສີ?                   | ກໜີ້ມໍາ     | ຂ?           |
|                    | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | side        | on/to.the.other.side.of | sea         | PDP          |

‘to this side of the sea, so’

|                    |              |              |            |             |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-------------|
| (3 <sup>31</sup> ) | <i>kungx</i> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>gau</i> | <i>haiz</i> |
|                    | ຸ່ງ          | ມື້ງ         | ກາ         | ໄຊ          |
|                    | ກຸນງາ        | ມິນງາ        | ກາວ        | ໄຫ          |
|                    | empty        | go           | then       | hear        |

‘as (they) went on (they) only hear’

|                    |             |                          |             |            |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|------------|
| (3 <sup>32</sup> ) | <i>wuov</i> | <i>koiv luangh muonh</i> | <i>mbui</i> | <i>aah</i> |
|                    | ວັວ         | ກ້ອຍ ລວ່າ ມ່ວນ           | ນູ້         | ອ້າ        |
|                    | ນອງ         | ກໜີ້ມໍາ ລາວງ ມວນ         | ບູນ         | າ:         |
|                    | DEM         | sea.dragon’s.gate        | be.noisy    | SFP        |

‘that Sea Dragon’s Gate was making noise.’

|                    |             |                          |             |             |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| (3 <sup>33</sup> ) | <i>Haiz</i> | <i>koiv luangh muonh</i> | <i>mbui</i> | <i>nor,</i> |
|                    | ໄຊ          | ກ້ອຍ ລວ່າ ມ່ວນ           | ນູ້         | ນອ,         |
|                    | hai         | ກໜີ້ມໍາ ລາວງ ມວນ         | ບູນ         | ນວ          |
|                    | hear        | sea.dragon’s.gate        | be.noisy    | as          |

‘As they hear the Sea Dragon’s Gate was making noise,’

|                    |             |                |              |             |               |                |              |
|--------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|
| (3 <sup>34</sup> ) | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo ..</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>deix</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>mba'ong</i> | <i>mbui,</i> |
|                    | ນຶືນ        | ບ້າ ..         | ມ່າຍ         | ເຕັບ        | ກຶອງ          | ນະອງ           | ນູ້,         |
|                    | nin         | buə            | ma:i         | tei         | kɔŋ           | ba oŋ          | bui          |
|                    | 3           | PL             | have         | some        | say           | thunder        | be.noisy     |

‘they, some said (that) the thunder’s noise.’

|                    |              |             |                |           |             |                          |              |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|-------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| (3 <sup>35</sup> ) | <i>Maaih</i> | <i>deix</i> | <i>gorngv,</i> | <i>Mv</i> | <i>zeiz</i> | <i>koiv luangh muonh</i> | <i>mbui.</i> |
|                    | ມ່າຍ         | ເຕັບ        | ກຶອງ,          | ນໍ້       | ເຮັດຍ       | ກ້ອຍ ລວ່າ ມ່ວນ           | ນູ້.         |
|                    | ma:i         | tei         | kɔŋ            | m         | tsei        | ກໜີ້ມໍາ ລາວງ ມວນ         | bui          |

have some say NEG be sea.dragon’s.gate be.noisy  
‘Others said, it’s not a noise of the Sea Dragon’s Gate.’

- (3<sup>36</sup>) *Naaic muangx mingh muangx daaih*  
 หน่าย หม่วง มีง หม่วง ด้วย  
*na:iŋ* *mʷaŋŋ* *miŋŋ* *mʷaŋŋ* *ta:iŋ*  
 DEM<sub>DIST</sub> listen GO listen COME  
 '(As) they were repeatedly listening that (noise),'
- (3<sup>37</sup>) *za'gengh koiv luangh muonh mbui aqv norh*  
 ทดสอบเก็บ คือ ล้วง ม่วน บุย อี๊ะ น้อ<sup>ๆ</sup>  
*tsa keŋŋ* *kʰɔiŋŋ* *luŋŋ* *mʷənŋ* *buiŋŋ* *aʔŋ* *nɔŋŋ*  
 really sea.dragon's.gate be.noisy NSIT RPOT  
 '(it turned out that it was) really the noise of the Sea Dragon's Gate, they say.'
- (3<sup>38</sup>) *Gamh.nziex daaih yiem naaic houv nyunc.*  
 ก้ม.เหตุชัย ด้วย เยี่ยม หน่าย ใจว่า หลุน.  
*kamŋ džiəŋŋ* *ta:iŋŋ* *jemŋ* *na:iŋŋ* *həuŋŋ* *jnunŋ*  
 fear COME be.in DEM<sub>MID</sub> pledge vow  
 'Being terrified, (they) petitioned the spirits there.'
- (3<sup>39</sup>) *Houv nyunc daaih, houv zuqc zong mienv.*  
 ใจว่า หลุน ด้วย, ใจว่า หลุ ตอง เมี้ยน.  
*həuŋŋ* *jnunŋ* *ta:iŋŋ* *həuŋŋ* *tsu?ŋŋ* *tsoŋŋ* *miənŋ*  
 pledge vow COME pledge TOUCH middle spirit/ghost  
 '(When they) petitioned the spirits, it (accidentally) hit the middle rank spirits.'
- (3<sup>40</sup>) *Houv zuqc zong mienv daaih*  
 ใจว่า หลุ ตอง เมี้ยน ด้วย  
*həuŋŋ* *tsu?ŋŋ* *tsoŋŋ* *miənŋ* *ta:iŋŋ*  
 pledge TOUCH middle spirit COME  
 '(As they accidentally) petitioned the middle rank spirits,'
- (3<sup>41</sup>) *ndaam jienv yie mbuo Iu-Mienh*  
 ตาม เจี้ยน เยี่ย บัว ขัว-เมี้ยน  
*da:mŋ* *cʰenŋ* *iəŋŋ* *buəŋŋ* *iŋŋ miənŋ*  
 carry.on.the.sholder CONT 1 PL Iu Mien  
 '(they ask them to) carry us the Iu Mien (to the safety on the shore).'

- (3<sup>-42</sup>) *hieuc*<sup>47</sup> *mienv*, *heuc* *naamh* *geh* *mienv*<sup>48</sup>  
 ເຫອຍ່ວ ເມື່ນ, ເຫ່ວ ນ້າມ ແກ້ ເມື່ນ  
*h<sup>j</sup>eu*↑ *miən*↑ *heu*↑ *na:m*↓ *ke*↓ *miən*↑  
 call spirit call south ridge spirit  
 '(they) called upon the spirits, (that is), the southern mountain ridge spirits'
- (3<sup>-43</sup>) *dorh* *yie* *mbuo* *jiex* *naaic* ..ae.. *koiv* *daaih*,  
 ຕ້ອ ເຢີຍ ບ້ວ ເຈີ່ຂ ມໍາຍ ..ແອ.. ກ້ອບ ຕ້າຍ,  
*t<sup>j</sup>a*↓ *iə*↑ *bua*↓ *ciə*↓ *na:i*↓ ε: *k<sup>h</sup>oi*↑ *ta:i*↓  
 carry.on.shoulder 1 PL pass DEM<sub>MID</sub> HEST sea come  
 '(to) carry us cross over that sea.'
- (3<sup>-44</sup>) *nzunc hnoi* *ninh* *mbuo* *laengz* *ziec.*  
 ແງ່ນ ດນອຍ ນິນ ບ້ວ ແລ້ງ ເຫດື່ບ.  
*dzun*↑ *tu:i*↑ *nin*↓ *bua*↑ *leŋ*↓ *tsiə*↑  
 this.day 3 PL promise sacrifice  
 'So (as a gratitude of safe arrival) they promised (the spirits) to offer (them) sacrifice.'
- (3<sup>-45</sup>) ©*Taux* *naaic* *Yun Naamh* *doz*,  
 ເຄາ ມໍາຍ ຢູນນໍາມ ໄດ້,  
*t<sup>h</sup>au*↓ *na:i*↓ *jun*↓ *na:m*↓ *to*~  
 reach DEM<sub>MID</sub> Yunnan governed.area  
 '(As) they arrived at there in Yunnan state,'
- (3<sup>-46</sup>) *taux* *naaic* ..e.. *Lorh Ciang* *Nquenc* *naaic* *aeqv*,  
 ເຄາ ມໍາຍ ..ແອ.. ລ່ອ ເຮື່ງ ແຈ້ນ ມໍາຍ ແອື້ກ,  
*t<sup>h</sup>au*↓ *na:i*↓ ε: *l<sup>j</sup> ts<sup>hj</sup>an*↓ *g<sup>w</sup>en*↓ *na:i*↓ ε?↓  
 reach DEM<sub>MID</sub> HEST Lor Ciang county DEM<sub>MID</sub> PDP  
 'when (they) reached there in Lor Ciang county,'

<sup>47</sup> *Hieuc* /çeu/ ‘to call, cry’ is a variation of *heuc* /heu/, which is pronounced in the third position of the utterance by the same speaker.

<sup>48</sup> The text is slightly edited. The original recording has *heuc nimh* in front of *heuc mienv*. Since *nimh* has not been attested elsewhere, *heuc mienv* must be the result of self-correction.

(3<sup>-47</sup>) *daaih taux naaic daaih*  
 တားယ် တော် နနော်ယ် တားယ်  
*ta:iŋ tʰauŋ na:iŋ*  
 come reach DEM<sub>MID</sub> come  
 ‘(they) came there,’

(3<sup>-48</sup>) *ninh mbuo cingx daaih mingh zorqv hieh dungz daaih ziec.*  
 နိုင် ပာ့ ဖီံးကို တားယ် မီံး အော် အော်ချုံးယ် တားယ် အော်ချုံးယ်  
*ninŋ bəøŋ tsʰinŋ tɔ:iŋ*  
 3 PL therefore go take wild.pig come sacrifice  
 ‘they therefore went to catch a wild pig, and sacrificed it’

(3<sup>-49</sup>) *Bieqc lomc mingh zaeng hlaang*  
 ပီးယ် ဆဲမံ မီံး ဇာ်ငံ ဆလာ  
*pia?ŋ lomŋ minŋ tseŋŋ*  
 enter forest go snare rope  
 ‘went into the forest (and) set up snares’

(3<sup>-50</sup>) *hlopv hieh dungz daaih ziec nyunc.*  
 ဆဲပါ အော်ချုံးယ် တားယ် အော်ချုံးယ် ဟန့်မျှ  
*lɔpŋ hiəŋ tuiŋ tɔ:iŋ tsiøŋ*  
 ensnare wild.big come sacrifice vow  
 ‘ensnared wild pigs to sacrifice them (to spirits).’  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.01.16-00.03.05)

Five summary points of the story are as follows:

- The cause of migration was the three year drought (3<sup>-6-16</sup>). Pressures from incoming Han Chinese from the north are not mentioned here.
- The starting point of migration was the coastal plain where they lived on agriculture, specifically rice (3<sup>-7-11</sup>). The method of migration was the convoy of ships (3<sup>-16</sup>). Mountains as the original habitat is not mentioned.
- The arrival end was Lor Ciang county (3<sup>-26</sup>) of either *Gueix Ziou* province (3<sup>-19</sup>) or Yunnan province (3<sup>-20</sup>).
- The origin of *houv nyunc* ‘to pledge vow (to spirits)’ was the fear of shipwreck and *Koiv-Luangh Muonh* ‘the Gate of Sea Dragon’ (3<sup>-29-38</sup>). The *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv* does not mention the order by *Píng Huáng* (評皇) ‘Emperor Huang’ to worship *Bienh*

*Hungh* ‘the dragon dog named Hu’ (龍犬名護) as recorded in *Jiex Sen Borngv* (cf. §2.2.2.6).

- The origin of the custom of animal sacrifice was the gratitude (*ziec nyungc* ‘to pledge vow’) to *naamh geh mienv* ‘the spirits of southern mountain ridge’ which led the Iu Mien convoy safely to Lor Ciang county.
  - The embryonic components of Iu Mien’s religious practice are found here: *houv nyunc* ‘to pledge vow’ (3<sup>-38-40</sup>), *heuc mienv* ‘to call on spirits’ (3<sup>-42</sup>), *ziec nyungc* ‘to sacrifice vow’ (3<sup>-50</sup>), *ziec hieh dungz* ‘to sacrifice wild pigs’ (3<sup>-48</sup>) to different kinds of spirits such as *zong mienv* ‘middle spirits’ (3<sup>-39</sup>) and *naamh geh mienv* ‘the southern mountain ridge spirits’ (3<sup>-41</sup>), and the practice is closely related to hunting practice in the forest. The generic term covering all these including ancestor worship is *sipv mienv* ‘to contact spirits’. Other than Iu Mien priests (*sai mienh*) the religious practitioner or those who are familiar with the specific terms, lay people tend to use the term *sipv mienv*.

Two questions may be raised:

- Did the “Sea Crossing Odyssey” precede or follow the “Mountain Crossing”?
- How did the Iu Mien get the knowledge of *houv nyunc* ‘to pledge vow (to spirits)’ or *heuc mienv* ‘to call on spirits’ for the first time in the middle of the sea since they claim that they had practiced none of these before setting out to the sea (2<sup>-5</sup>)?

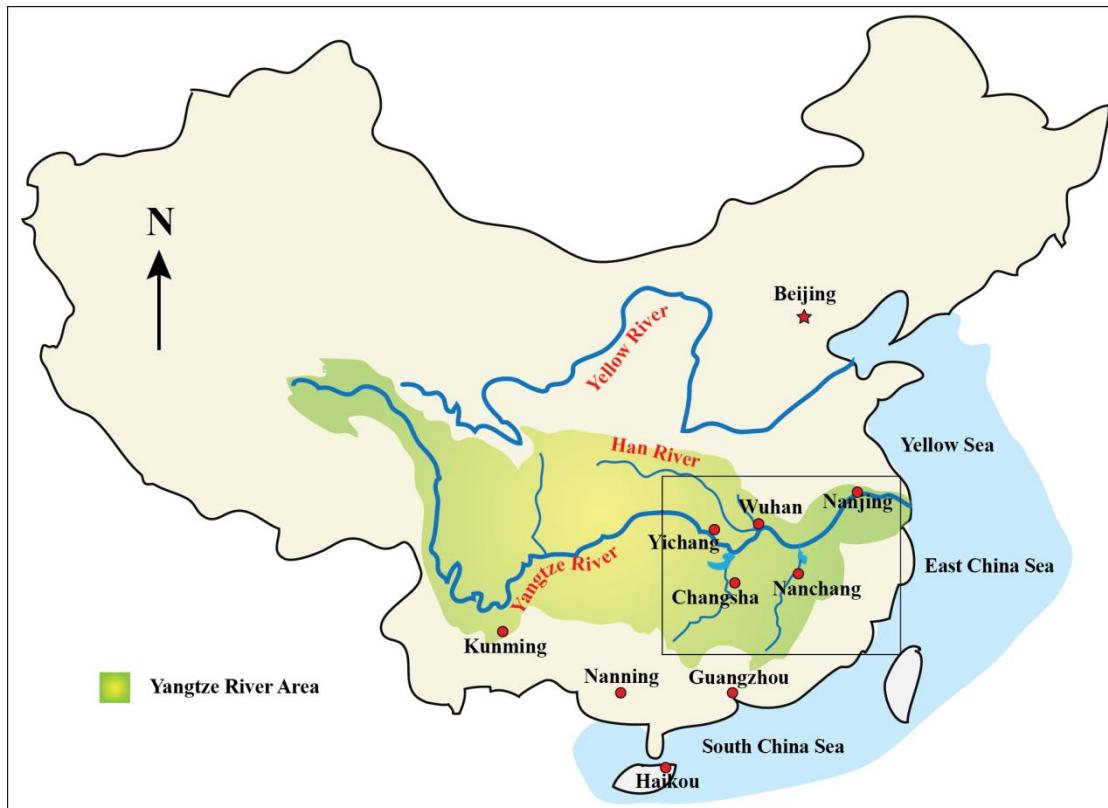
At this moment there is no answer to the second question though several Iu Mien themselves have raised this.

As for the first, our tentative assumption is that the “Sea Crossing Odyssey” preceded the “Mountain Crossing”, basing on both accounts: the people of Iu Mien originated on a plain near waters, suffered a drought, experienced a sea voyage, landed on mountainous regions, were pushed up to the higher grounds, received *Jiex Sen Borngv* ‘the Mountain Crossing Passport’, religious customs formalised, were confined in the mountains with some privileges. The next section attempts to substantiate this scenario.

But before that, one last important thing has to be added. It is also known that there are some groups in Iu Mien that do not possess the story of the “Sea Crossing Odyssey” though such groups were unknown to Iu Mien in Thailand.

## 2.2.4 A Putative Origin: South of the Mesopotamia of China

*Mesos* (μέσος) in Greek means ‘middle’ and *potamos* (ποταμός) ‘river’ and its plural form is *potamoí* (ποταμοί). Between the two rivers (i.e. *mesopotamia* μεσοποταμία, a feminine noun of μεσοποτάμιος ‘located between rivers’) of Huáng-hé (黄河 ‘Yellow River’) and Cháng-jiāng (长江 or Yangzi River), very broadly speaking, might have been the Iu Mien’s putative homeland. More precisely, the area between the Cháng-jiāng and its tributary, the Hàn-jiāng (汉江) (Han River, i.e. Hānshuǐ (汉水)) must have been the place where the proto-Hmong-Mien people originated. The Hàn-jiāng’s relation to the two big rivers is boxed in the following map in Figure 12.



**Figure 12. A Putative Area of Proto-Iu Mien’s Origin**

(Map drawn by Lee Ying Ying)

At the junction of Hàn-jiāng (Han River) and Cháng-jiāng (Yangtze River) lies a basin of Wǔhàn (武汉). The geographical relation of the plain to the two rivers described by Zhèn (1993) as the area where the proto-Mien must have originated is summarised:

The Proto-Yao [i.e. Mien] people lived in Jiáng-hàn plain (江汉平原), a vast region extending from its west end Yíchāng (宜昌) in Húbēi province (湖北省) to the east end at around Wǔhàn along the Hānshuǐ river (汉水, [i.e. Hàn-jiāng 汉江]) and the Chángjiāng river (长江) with its south end at the lake Dongting or Dòngtínghú (洞庭湖) in Húnán province (湖南省). They

also lived in a region east of Wǔhàn, west of the lake Poyang or Póyánghú (鄱阳湖) (Arisawa 2006:174).

Niederer (1998:32) provides a map of this area after Chang Kwang-chih (1963/1986:304) who included Miao Man, Hua Hsia and Eastern Yi. For the present purpose only the area the Miao Man, the proto-Yao (proto-Iu Mien), is indicated with shade in Figure 13:

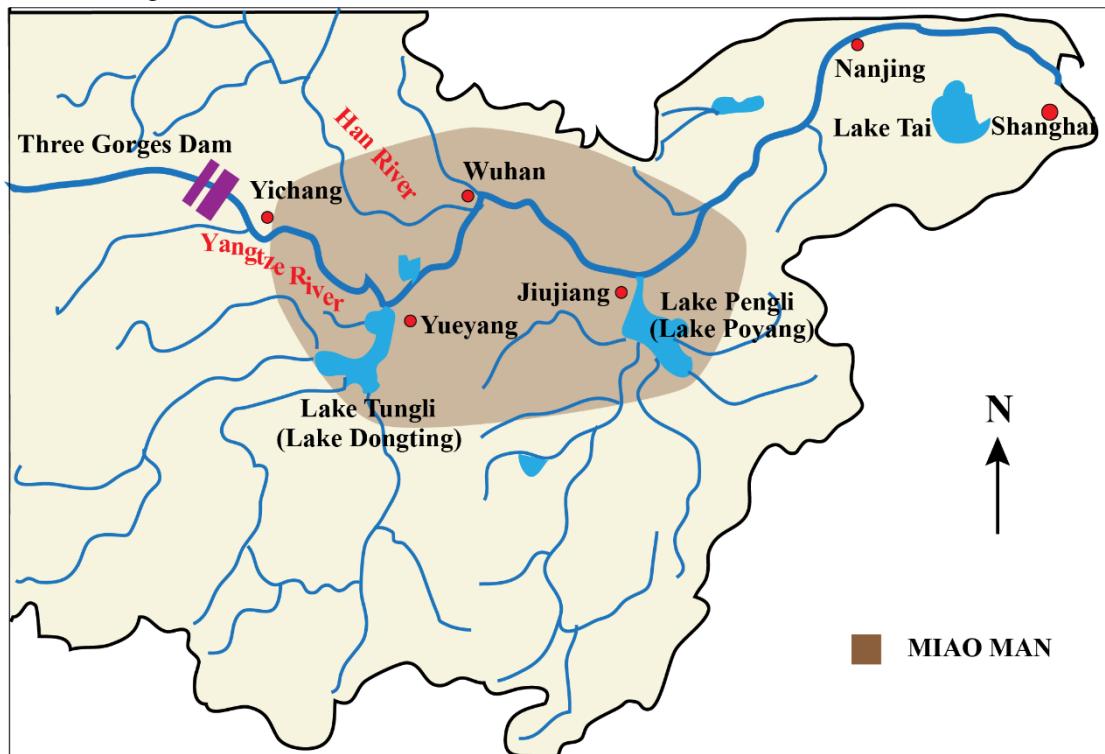


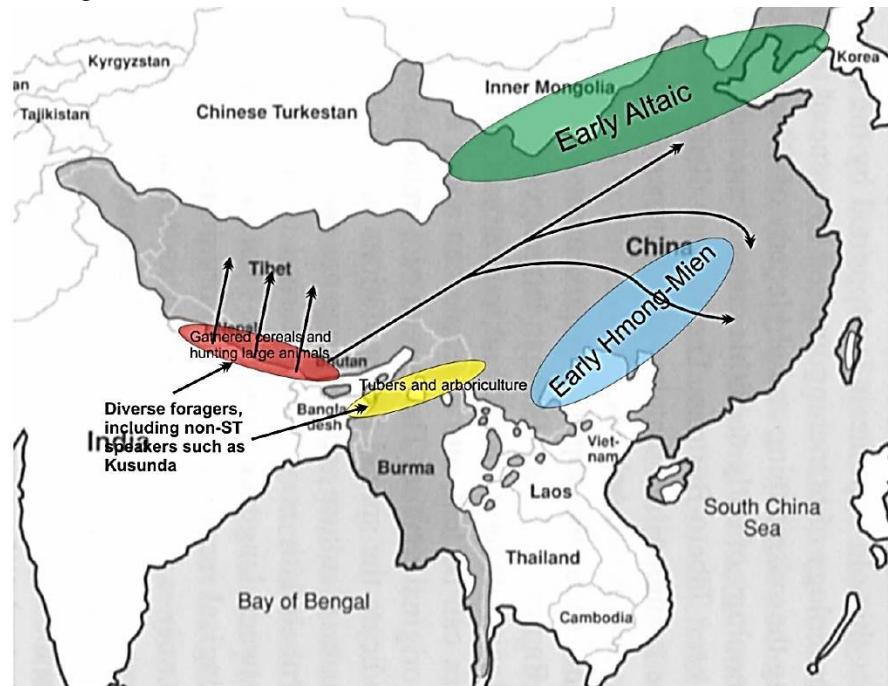
Figure 13. Area the Miao Man or proto-Iu Mien resided

(Ancient “Lake Tungli” corresponds with modern “Lake Dongting”, and “Lake Pengli” with “Lake Poyang”. [Map drawn by Lee Ying Ying adapting from Niederer (1998:32)] )

The earliest historical mention of the Proto-Hmong-Mien (i.e. Proto-Miao-Yao) people, according to Zhèn (1993:1), is found in a chronology from the Qín (秦) Dynasty (221-206 B.C.). Therein is recorded the name “Sānmiáo” (三苗) ‘three Miaoos’, composed of Miáo (苗), Shē (畲), and Yáo (瑤).

Both an interdisciplinary study (i.e. linguistics, archaeology and genetics) and the Iu Mien legend point to their southward migration from their putative homeland in the south east part of China. Blench (2009), from the linguistic and archaeological backgrounds, has postulated the wide-spread area of the Early Hmong-Mien distribution before the expansion of Sino-Tibetan from the west to east as depicted in Figure 14. The oval area labelled “Early Hmong-Mien” corresponds to the Chinese

“mesopotamia” of Huáng-hé (黄河 ‘Yellow River’) and Cháng-jiāng (长江 or Yangzi River) (cf. Figure 12).



**Figure 14. Blench’s hypothesis about possible Early Sino-Tibetan expansion**  
(quoted from Blench 2009 by permission of the author)

Furthermore, Zeuz Gueix-Zoih (趙貴財) told a story in 1998 that “[...] the Iu Mien [...] (originally) lived by the sea in Nanjing” as a starting point of their southward migration. He said (4<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                    |                              |                  |  |                 |                  |
|--------------------|------------------------------|------------------|--|-----------------|------------------|
| (4 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i>                   | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>loz-hnoi</i>                                  | <i>nyei</i>     | <i>gouv/</i>     |
|                    | ເຢີຍ                         | ບ້ວ              | ໄລ້-ຫນອຍ   | ແງ່ຍ            | ໄກ້ວ             |
|                    | ?iə <sup>1</sup>             | bua <sup>1</sup> | lo <sup>1</sup> h <sup>1</sup> ci <sup>1</sup> l | ne <sup>1</sup> | kəb <sup>1</sup> |
|                    | 1                            | PL               | old.days   | POSS            | story            |
|                    | ‘In our legend of old days,’ |                  |  |                 |                  |

|                    |  |                  |                                   |                   |       |
|--------------------|--|------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|-------|
| (4 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i>                             | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>Iu-Mienh</i>                   | <i>naaic,</i>     | [...] |
|                    | ເຢີຍ                                   | ບ້ວ              | ອິວ-ເມື່ອນ                        | ໜ່າຍ              |       |
|                    | ?iə <sup>1</sup>                       | bua <sup>1</sup> | iu <sup>1</sup> miən <sup>1</sup> | na:i <sup>1</sup> |       |
|                    | 1                                      | PL               | Iu Mien                           | TOP               |       |
|                    | ‘talking about us the Iu Mien people,’ |                  |                                   |                   |       |

|                   |                 |             |               |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|
| (4 <sup>3</sup> ) | <i>ninh</i>     | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>gorngv</i> |
|                   | ນິນ             | ນັວ         | ກ້ອງ          |
|                   | <i>nin</i> ↑    | <i>buət</i> | <i>kɔŋγ̚</i>  |
| 3                 | PL              | say         |               |
|                   | 'they say that' |             |               |

|                   |  |                            |               |                             |
|-------------------|--|----------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| (4 <sup>4</sup> ) | <i>yiem</i>  | <i>Naamh Ging</i>          | <i>koiv</i>   | <i>ngaanc</i> <sup>49</sup> |
|                   | ເຢີມ   | ນ່າມ.ກຶງ                   | ຄ້ອຍ          | ໜ່ານ                        |
|                   | <i>jem</i> ↑   | <i>na:m</i> ↓ <i>kiŋ</i> ↑ | <i>kʰɔŋγ̚</i> | <i>ŋa:n</i> ↓               |
|                   | be.in  | Nanking                    | sea           | shore                       |
|                   | '(they originally)                                       | lived                      | by the sea    | in Nanking.'                |
|                   | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.00.58-00.01.03) |                            |               |                             |

The wordings like “by the sea in Nanjing” and “on the other side of the sea (from the perspective of those in Thailand)” are a typical beginning line of the Iu Mien’s migration story attested also in other speakers: e.g., Mr Ong Zou recorded by Purnell in 1964 transcribed by Lombard in 1964 and by Mr Zeiz Fux-Dorngh in 2013 (ium\_20130514\_01\_H1\_DA\_Leiz FuqcDorngh\_Gouv-Santiphaap).

According to Olster (2006:134, 139), South-east Asian languages, such as Hmong, Iu Mien, Zhuang, Yi, were gradually pushed to the south of Cháng-jiāng (Yangzi River) due to the expansion of Chinese, who had been facing the pressures from the northern languages, such as Mongolian languages (e.g. Khitan, Yuan), Tungus languages (e.g. Jurchen, Manchu), and Tibetan languages (e.g. Tangut, Tibetan) in the tenth century. See Figure 15.

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<sup>49</sup> After this, aforementioned (2<sup>1-6</sup>) follow.



**Figure 15. Ha Chinese influence on southern languages of China after Ostler 2006**

(Map re-drawn based on Ostler (2006:139) by Lee Ying Ying)

It should be noted that the wide-spread habitation of the Hmoming-Mien in Figure 14. is subsided to more southern corner in Figure 15. Therefore the similar characteristics shared by genetically unrelated neighbour languages such as Thai, Zhuang, Hmong and Iu Mien are areal fetures: e.g., “tone languages, with most of words or word roots monosyllabic, and no inflection of nouns, adjectives or verbs” (Ostler 2006:134; also LaPolla 2001).

The general direction of people’s movement was southward as described by Ostler (2006):

Geographically, Chinese was moving from the cold, dry northern plains where wheat and millet were cultivated into the warmer, wetter uplands where the staple was rice. [...] The motive behind the movement southward as no doubt the quest for more fertile soil, and its success must have been backed by the advantages in technology that the northerners were accumulating, symbolised by possession of a written language and large-scale organisation. The first reflection of this on politics comes in 221 BC, with the command of Shi Huang Di [始皇帝], the First Emperor, who unified most of central China, to half a million colonists to go and fill his newly conquered territories ‘among the various Yue peoples’. (Ostler 2006:137)

Blench (2008) also says about the influence of Han Chinese on the Hmong-Mien:

[t]he linguistic geography of the Hmong-Mien suggests very strongly that they were scattered by the incoming Han and probably forced southwards into modern Laos and Thailand, probably in the last 3,000-4,000 years (Blench 2008:113).

Besides the incoming Han's pressure, the legend of *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv*, "the Sea Crossing Odyssey" talks about the three year drought as the cause of leaving their homeland, as has been told by Zeuz Gueix-Zoih in (1<sup>1-14</sup>) in §2.2.2.5 and (3<sup>6-17</sup>) in §2.2.3.

The estimation of the three – four millennia back from the present era by Blench's (2008:113) seems more probable than some previous opinions that were largely based on glottochronology. For example, an older hypothesis than that of Blench was proposed by Peiros (1998:219) from the perspective of the Southeast Asian comparative linguistics that the birth of Proto Hmong-Mien can be dated back to the 6,000s BC.<sup>50</sup> However, the use of glottochronology method has been challenged by Dixon (1997) and if his theory of punctuated equilibrium is correct, the postulation of the extremely old date (e.g. the sixth millennium B.C.) of language disintegration would be refuted. Furthermore, newer research such as Blench's should be heeded:

The pre-Hmong-Mien may therefore be identified with one of the Neolithic pottery horizons [...] (Blench 2008:113).

Two valuable conclusions can be drawn from this: [i] the Hmong-Mien were already established farmers prior to their dispersal and [ii] animals and plants reconstructible to proto-Hmong-Mien point to a homeland south of the Yangzi River (Blench 2008:113).

The latter point has also been supported by research on DNA (Liu, Liu, Fu, Jia, Chen and Xu 2005:157-9; Tang, Ma, Liu, Yan, Liu, Hou 2003:395-7).

These two points had been summarised earlier than Blench and Ostler from historical-comparative linguistics: Haudricourt and Strecker (1991:336) state that

[i]t is likely that when speakers of Chinese first came into contact with speakers of Hmong-Mien languages, the Chinese-speakers were nomadic

<sup>50</sup> Though by no means definite, Peiros (1998:219) wrote: "The locations of Proto Kadai and Proto Miao-Yao homelands remain unknown. As none of the protolanguages reveal any clear connections with the tropics, one can assume that the Proto Austro-Thai homeland was located somewhere to the north of the tropics, not necessarily in a coastal area. The disintegration of the protolanguage could be dated at approximately the eighth to ninth millennium BC, while the Austro-Thai and Miao-Austro branches started to disintegrate about the sixth millennium BC. All such hypotheses about Proto Austro-Thai location and dating are highly preliminary".

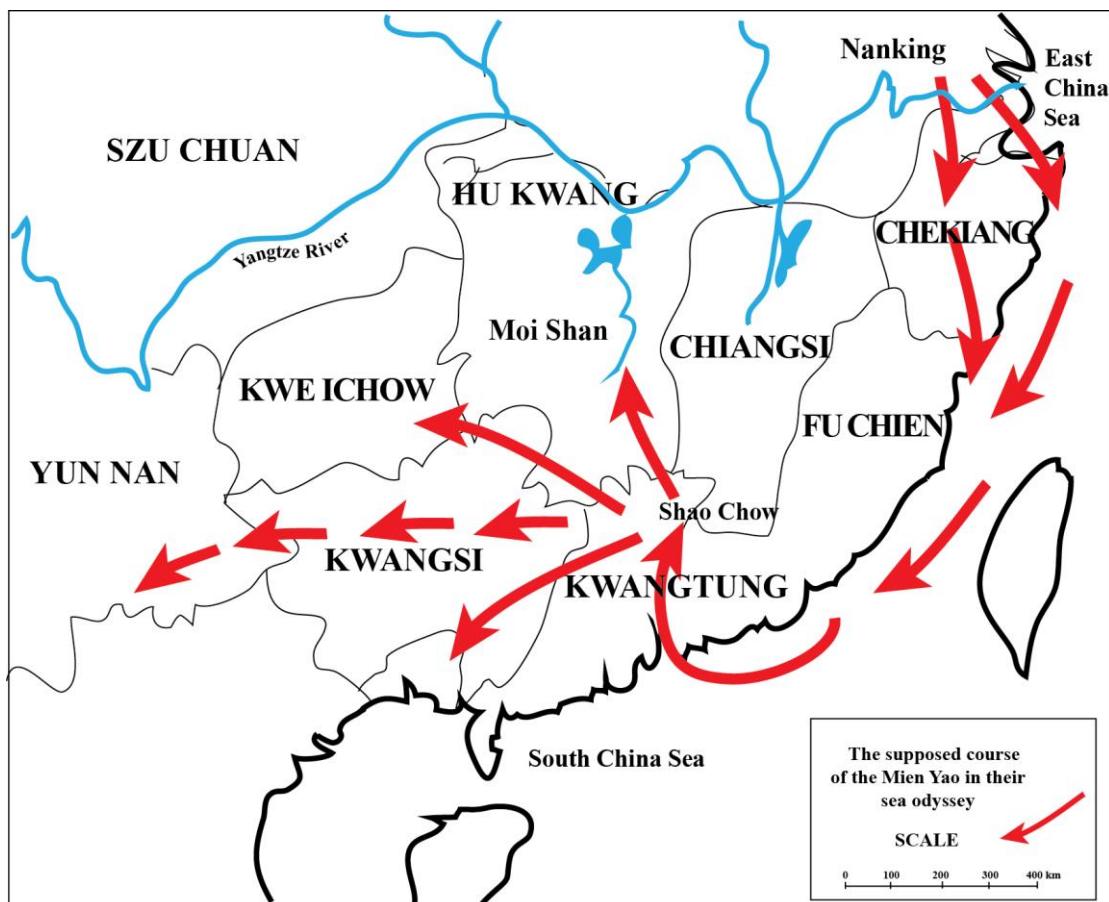
pastoralists, whereas the speakers of Hmong-Mien languages may have been settled agriculturalists.

Interestingly, the Iu Mien's sense of being invaded and pushed out by the newcomer is reflected in Zeuz Gueix-Zoih's story. According to him Chinese are "younger brother of Iu Mien", not vice versa, as mentioned in (5):

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| (5) | <i>Janx-Kaeqv naaic yie mbuo nyei youz.</i>                                 |
|     | ຈັນ-ແຄວ ໜ້າຍ ເຢີ ບ້ວ ໄນຍ ໄຢ້ວ.  |
|     | can <sup>1</sup> k <sup>hε?</sup> na:i:l iə:l buə:l nei:l jəu: <sup>1</sup> |
|     | Chinese DEM <sub>TOP</sub> 1 PL POSS younger.brother                        |
|     | 'When it comes to Chinese they are our younger brothers.'                   |
|     | (ium_20130527_03_H1_DA_GueixZoih_Janx-KaeqvWaac_Thammajarik;00.00.13-5)     |

Against suspicious critiques about these legends, myths, folk history, Lemoine (1982:17) argues, specifically referring to the "Sea Crossing Odyssey", that "[m]any points in it have a strong flavour of history". Their putative origin in the central plain of China, from which migration started out to the offshore of Nanjin, rather than from high mountains, may also be supported by the fact that in Thailand Iu Mien prefer to live at a lower altitude among all other ethnic minorities of highlands such as Hmong, Akha, Lisu, Lahu, Karen etc. who seem to happily remain there. Perhaps it can be seen as a psychological vestige of their historical background that the Iu Mien lived in the fertile plain with availability of water for rice cultivation in the south of the Chinese Mesopotamia. "Significantly their close neighbours, the Mun or Man Lan Tien, do not seem to have it [i.e. "Sea Crossing Odyssey"]" (Lemoine 1982:17).

Then what about the Iu Mien's familiarity of mountainous life, such as the water-filled paddy terraces in Vietnam on one hand, the direct rice planting on the dry slope of hills in Thailand on the other, and hunting in the forest, etc.? It is rather suggestive that it was *naamh geh mienv* [south mountain.ridge spirit] 'the spirits of southern mountain ridge' (3<sup>-42</sup>) that safely lead the convoy of the Iu Mien to *Gueix Ziou (fouv)* (*Guìzhōu (fù)* 贵州省) (3<sup>-19</sup>) and *Yunh Naamh saengv* (*Yúnnán* 云南省) (3<sup>-20</sup>) (via the shore of *Guāngdōng* province 广东省) according to Zeuz Gueix-Zoih in §2.2.3. Purnell (2012:386) describes *Lorh Ciang Nquenc* /lɔŋ tsʰian<sup>1</sup> gwen<sup>1</sup>/, the place Zeuz Gueix-Zoih said they arrived (3<sup>-26-27</sup>), as "a county in northern Guangdong Province". Had all these been the case, the migration route could be postulated concurring with Lemoine's (1982:17) map as in Figure 16.



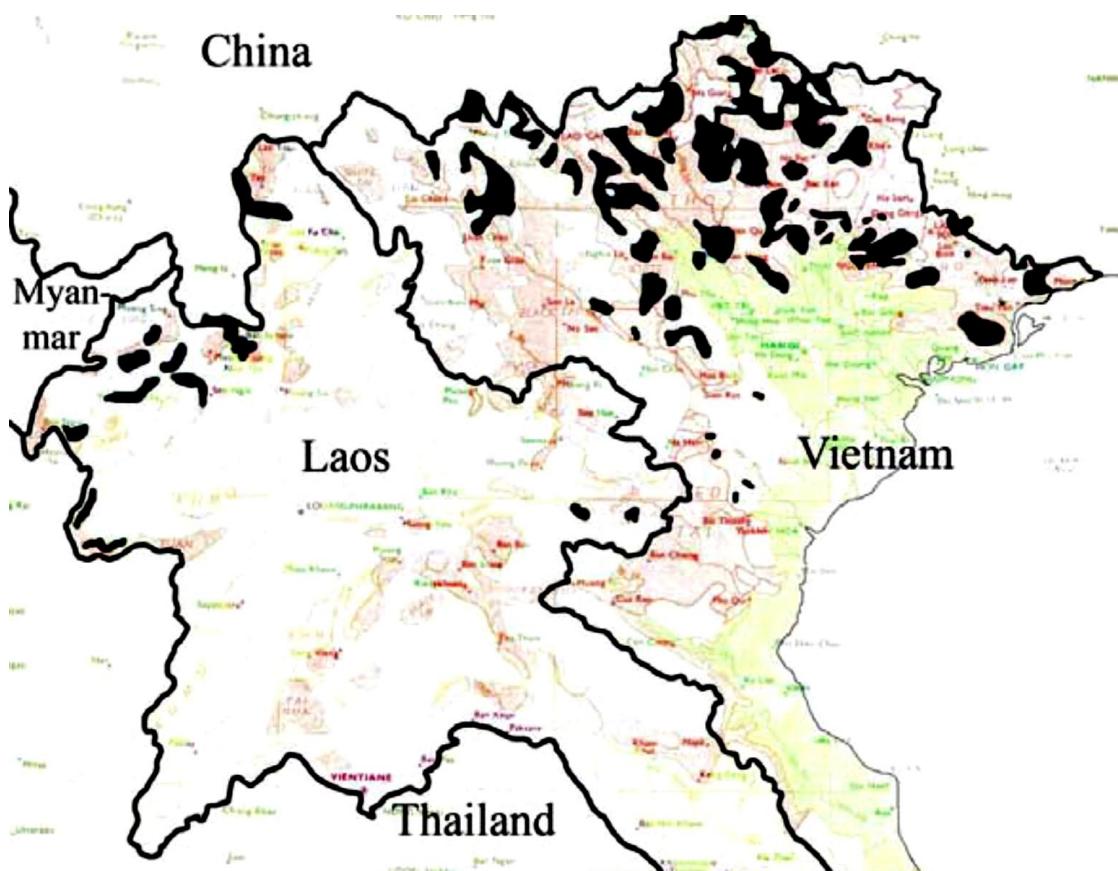
**Figure 16. A suggested migration course taken by the Iu Mien (after Lemoine 1982:17) [replicated by Lee Ying Ying]**

Their new life after the voyage might have started from *Lorh Ciang Nquenc* ‘Lor Chang county’ near Shao Chow in the northern Guǎngdōng (广东) province, kept migrating to Yúnnán (云南) through Guìzhōu (贵州) and Guǎngxi (广西), finally to Thailand through Vietnam and Laos. That must have given them enough experience of mountain life.

One last important and mysterious thing is that there is an Iu Mien group that does not possess the story of *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv*, namely, the group that did not cross the sea. This group, mainly residing in Hunan and Guangxi, has a legend of Qianjiadong (千家峒) ‘plain/plateau of thousand houses’, their home land. The putative site of Qianjiadong is in Hunan province. It is believed that Qianjiadong was the plateau surrounded by mountains where *Pán wáng* (盤王) and his wife after their marriage first lived for generations. Therefore, this group also has twelve clans. It is believed that all these twelve clans had to abandon, after a conflict with Chinese government at the latter years of Yuan dynasty (early 14<sup>th</sup> century), Qianjiadong. No

one knows the original place that they consider to be the holy land.<sup>51</sup> Iu Mien in Thailand whom Purnell talked to at the International Yao Conference in the 1980s had no knowledge of the overland migration from Nanking (pers. com.) Nor do our language consultants in Thailand have information on Qianjiadong but all knew about *Piu-Yiu Jiex Koiv*.

Approximate distributions of the present-day Iu Mien as a result of southward migration in Vietnam and Laos are depicted in Figure 17.



**Figure 17. Distribution of the Iu Mien in Vietnam and Lao PDR (Arisawa 2006:13)**

To summarise this section, some suggestions from the latest hypothesis by Blench (2009) regarding the Sino-Tibetan phylum in relation to Hmong-Mien are presented:

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<sup>51</sup> In Search of Qianjiadong, Part 1: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fr\\_Qj1003SM](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fr_Qj1003SM)  
 Part 2: [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kUtfip3\\_1w8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kUtfip3_1w8) C. W. Callaway also mentions this group which did not cross the sea in *Voices from the Mountains: A Documentary of the Mien People, Who We are, and How We Came to Be* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gtb8qM4K4FY>).

- [...] 5000BP diverse early Sino-Tibetan groups spread eastwards to China. Sinitic is not a primary branch but simply one of many migratory groups
- Proto-Tujia, proto-Bai and probably others meet unknown populations (Hmong-Mienic? Austronesians?) with domestic pigs, while also cultivating and beginning to domesticate rice
- Proto-Sinitic speakers encounter early Altaic speakers with foxtail millet and other crops
- The Sinitic languages expand southwards, assimilating or encapsulating many small groups. They encounter Hmong-Mien speakers with rice and switch millet terminology to rice (Blench 2009:13).

Enough has been said about the historical background of the Iu Mien in their context of Hmong-Mien language family and two important documents, i.e., *Jiex Sen Borngv* and *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv*. We shall move on to the background of linguistic literature next.

## 2.3 Linguistic Literature Background

Though the most prolific area of Iu Mien linguistics is historical-comparative linguistics, our focus is not on that but grammatical works. Hence the other branches of linguistic works will receive less attention, namely, historical-comparative studies, phonology and orthography, lexicography, missionary materials, literacy and literature.

### 2.3.1 Grammatical Works

#### 2.3.1.1 Downer (n.d.(a))

A non-dated two page hand-written lead sheets by Downer (n.d.(a)) on Chinese influence on Miao-Yao is estimated to have been written approximately in the early 1960s.<sup>52</sup> Two pieces of interesting grammatical information are included: Examples of the former are /kʰɔi˥/ ‘to open’ (transitive) vs. /gɔi˥/ ‘to open’ (intransitive), and /tʰut˥/ ‘to take off’ (transitive) vs. /dut˥/ ‘to come off’ (intransitive). That is, a well-known process in Sino-Tibetan languages (i.e. Tibeto-Burman prefixed \*s-, Benedict (1972:105ff), Sagart 2006) seems to be found also in Iu Mien. As to the latter, seven aspectual verbs that are expressible in Chinese characters will be presented in Table 55 in §12.5.1.

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<sup>52</sup> Courtesy of David Bradley.

### **2.3.1.2 Mao Zong-Wu et al. (1982)**

The government of China conducted an extensive linguistic survey of all major minority languages in the 1960s and '70s (Bradley 1987). The results were published in the Series in Language Sketches of China's Minority Peoples (中国少数民族语简言简志丛书). One of them is a work by Mao Zongwu, Meng Zhaoji and Zheng Zongze (1982) (毛宗武, 蒙朝吉, 郑宗泽), which sketches three languages classified under the name of “Yao” people. They are Iu Mien (/mjen˥/ or /iu˥ mjen˥/ (autonym), 勉 or 优勉), Bunu (/pu˥ nu˧/ (autonym), 布努) and Lakia (/lak˥ kja˧/ (autonym), 拉珈). Though Bunu and Lakia are classified under the Yao nationality, it is commonly agreed nowadays that linguistically the former belongs to Hmongic branch of Hmong-Mien and the latter Tai-Kadai family.

Iu Mien, like the other two, is succinctly described in phonology, morphology, syntax and other dialects in the branch. In morphology, rules of compound nouns are described in more detail than other items.

### **2.3.1.3 Pán Chéngqián (1987, 1988)**

Probably the first Iu Mien mother-tongue linguist was Pán Chéngqián (盘承乾) who worked in the above mentioned extensive linguistic survey. He compiled phonology, lexicon, and grammar sketch covering extensive dialectical regions in China. In spite of the early start of the nationwide linguistic survey by him and many others, the publication of the results was as late as 1987. As one of sixty-one languages Pán's Mien dialect (勉方言) section (1987:433-46) provides phonology, grammar, and brief references to Kim Mun (Jīnmén 金门方言), Biāo Mǐn (标敏方言), and Yāo Mín (邀民方言).

A year later, Pán's (1988) Yao primer was published containing Mien (勉语: pp. 5-158) and Bunu (布努语: pp. 159-291). Its purpose is to provide the readers with the step-by-step guide toward speaking and reading abilities, rather than a grammatical analysis.

### **2.3.1.4 Christopher Court (1986)<sup>53</sup>**

The “only grammar available” (Court 1991:151), so mentioned in Court's *Phrasebook* at the time of 1991, was his PhD dissertation (1986). It is a crucial work being the first in-depth descriptive investigation into syntax of Iu Mien with some typological consideration under the supervision of James Matisoff the eminent Sino-Tibetan scholar. Prior to Court's grammar, the majority of the studies of Iu Mien have

<sup>53</sup> His dissertation's copyright year by the University Microfilms International is 1986 although Ratliff's (2010) bibliographical information uses the year in which the doctoral degree was conferred, 1985.

been in the areas of comparative historical linguistics (Chang 1947, 1953, 1966, 1973, 1976; Downer 1963, 1973, Purnell 1970a) and phonology (Downer 2003 [1961], Purnell 1965). Sketchy grammatical descriptions are found in some Chinese scholars (Pán Chéngqián (盘承乾) 1987).

Glancing through Court's grammar one can readily notice the substantial investigation is given to noun phrases. Chapter 1 begins with an introduction and the phonology. Chapter 2 discusses the types of simple sentence, the sentence topic, the clause, sentences (simple and composite), and parts of speech. Chapter 3 is dedicated to analyse the noun phrases occupying nearly half of the volume. Chapter 4 investigates the aspects of the verb phrases and a cursory treatment of clauses. Chapter 5 concludes the dissertation with a brief remark.

No one works alone and his heavy dependency on Lombard's dictionary (1968), throughout the whole dissertation, especially in producing Chapter 3, is evident. Between pages 26-251 (226 pp), there are 402 items of quotation from Lombard, that is, 1.8 times per page. Usefulness, however, provided by Court is that he points out Iu Mien connection with Chinese whenever it is detectable while Lombard did not necessarily indicate every occurrence. In Chapter 3, he intensely analysed word formation mechanism utilising Iu Mien original words and Chinese synonyms to compound and the noun phrase structure based on Lombard who extensively collected the first-hand data about two decades earlier. Thirty-four items that Court points out as Chinese origin are listed in Table 4:

**Table 4. Some Chinese connection/origin of Iu Mien words pointed out by Court (1986)**

| Page in Court ↓ | Iu Mien                      | Chinese | Gloss  |
|-----------------|------------------------------|---------|--|
| 93              | <i>korv-lien / korv linh</i> | 可怜      | to pity, feel sorry for  |
|                 | <i>saan</i>                  | 三       | three  |
| 94              | <i>koi nqoi</i>              | 開解      | to open  |
|                 | <i>tutv</i>                  | 脱       | to take off, to remove, to separate from, to recover from      |
| 95              | <i>dongh</i>                 | 同       | to be alike, to be same as                                     |
| 95/176          | <i>dauh</i>                  | 頭       | clf. for people, human, higher animals, ghosts, spirits, doors |
| 95/155          | <i>daauh</i>                 | 頭       | first, foremost, source, beginning                             |
| 101             | <i>wuic</i>                  | 會       | to meet together, a meeting                                    |

| Page in Court ↓ | Iu Mien                       | Chinese | Gloss                                      |
|-----------------|-------------------------------|---------|--|
| 101-102         | <i>jien</i>                   | 官       | to rule, official                          |
| 115             | <i>meuiz-dorngh / dorngh</i>  | 糖       | honey, bee-sugar                           |
| 116             | <i>jiem</i>                   | 金       | gold                                       |
|                 | <i>hieh</i>                   | 野       | wild (cf. Downer 1973:16)                  |
| 117             | <i>hungh</i>                  | 皇       | sovereign                                  |
|                 | <i>diex</i>                   | 父       | father                                     |
|                 | <i>maac</i>                   | 母       | mother                                     |
| 119             | <i>diex maac</i>              | 父母      | parents                                    |
|                 | <i>gorx</i>                   | 兄       | older brother                              |
|                 | <i>yien-yaangh</i>            | 陰陽      | Yin and the Yang                           |
| 122             | <i>biei</i>                   | 髮       | hair                                       |
|                 | <i>guaa</i>                   | 瓜       | melon, cucumber                            |
| 125             | <i>zingh</i>                  | 市       | city                                       |
| 155             | <i>da'-</i>                   | 第       | cardinal number prefix                     |
| 156             | <i>zinh</i>                   | 財       | tenth of a Chinese ounce                   |
|                 | <i>lungz</i>                  | 兩       | Chinese ounce, tael                        |
| 157             | <i>leiz-baaix / liz-baaix</i> | 礼拜      | week, day (Mon to Sat), Sunday as week day |
| 160             | <i>nyunc</i>                  | 愿       | to intercalate                             |
|                 | <i>ci</i>                     | 初       | in the name of first month                 |
| 162             | <i>daax</i>                   | 大       | the eldest son                             |
| 163             | <i>feix-gorqv</i>             | 四角      | to be square                               |
|                 | <i>bung</i>                   | 方       | side                                       |
| 176             | <i>diuh</i>                   | 条       | clf. for long narrow objects               |
|                 | <i>baengx</i>                 | 柄       | clf. for not for <i>diuh</i> to use        |
| 179-181         | <i>norm</i>                   | ?       | clf. For things                            |
| 230-231         | <i>fin / fiem</i>             | 心       | heart                                      |

The paramount importance (and usefulness) of Court (1986) is his due treatment of Iu Mien as topic-comment language. As an extended implication of the topic-comment structure, he argues for a multi-layered topic-comment structure. These issues will be discussed as one of the fundamental principles of this language in Chapter 4.

### **2.3.1.5 Kasamaphorn Maneekhao (1989)**

Kasamaphorn Maneekhao's (1989) MA thesis analysed participant referents in Iu Mien narrative discourse utilising one aspect of Longacre's early version of textlinguistics. It is the first discourse level grammar beyond words and sentences. Transcription of texts is in IPA only, without using any of vernacular scripts.

### **2.3.1.6 T. Daniel Arisawa (2006, 2008, 2009, 2011a-c, 2015)**

Arisawa's (2006) MA thesis is an attempt to integrate Ronald Langacker's Cognitive Grammar and Robert Longacre's Textlinguistics based on seven texts of Iu Mien folktales. Its focus is on Iu Mien narrative's storyline analysis in terms of sequentiality coded in various discourse markers. A condensed version, Arisawa (2009), does not treat so many theoretical issues as the former thesis. Both works emphasise that not only the preterit verbs (claimed to be the storyline pushing device by Longacre) but also various sequential markers including inter-sentential conjunctions, aspectual markers, adverbial clauses etc. have an important function of advancing storyline in narrative discourse. Through the study of sentence final particles and adverbial clauses, the notion of "right-ward focus structure" in sentence and discourse has been pointed out. This notion will be elaborated in Chapter 4 and is useful to analyse the structures of hypotaxis (§18.3) and the oblique position of coverb phrases in a clause (§15.3.2).

Arisawa (2008) analysed the use of *duqv* /tu?˥/ 'to get, gain, attain, acquire' in relation to aspect, time and modality. A seminal idea of treating a clause as a unit of event conceptualisation can be seen therein. That is, the whole clause is "attained" by the preverbal *duqv*, and in this way the conceptual event expressed in the clause is captured as a complement. This idea will be explained in Chapter 17.

Arisawa (2009) is a short article on the state verb *yiem* /jem˧/ 'to be at/in, located'. The verb is used among the older generation Iu Mien as a preverbal oblique, i.e., locative coverb phrase placed before the main verb. However, among the young Iu Mien it is used as a prepositional phrase placed after the main verb like the English or Thai [in + locative NP]. The similar issue of contact induced language change, namely Thai influence, including other examples in phonology, orthography, NP internal order, (unnecessary) use of complimentaliser *gorngv* /kɔŋ˥/ 'to say', and discourse particles are discussed in Arisawa (2015).

### **2.3.1.7 Martha Ratliff (2010)**

Although this is not a grammatical work but primarily the comparative-historical linguistics of Hmong-Mien (which will be reviewed in §2.3.2), Ratliff has

reconstructed some important grammatical constructions. They include numerals (both native and borrowed), personal pronouns (e.g. dual and inclusive/exclusive), demonstratives, and classifiers. Development of grammatical constructions may also be a result of language contact. Among the ample examples she presents, the following instances of White Hmong also shed light on present-day Mien as in Table 5:

**Table 5. Chinese grammatical constructions borrowed into Iu Mien and White Hmong (sample based on Ratliff 2010:228. Iu Mien has been added)**

| Modern Iu Mien  | White Hmong   | Chinese   |
|---|---|---|
| <i>duqv /tuʔ]/</i><br>verb: ‘to get/gain/acquire’<br>auxiliary: achievement/past<br>marker (preverbal)<br>modal: ability, possibility<br>(postverbal) | <i>tau</i> [tau <sup>5</sup> ] < HM *təuk<br>verb: ‘to get/gain’<br>auxiliary: past<br>(preverbal)<br>modal: ability,<br>possibility (postverbal) | 得 (OC *t <sup>c</sup> ək > MC tok<br>> Man[darin] dé)<br>verb: ‘to obtain, get’ |
| <i>liuz /liu˧˥/</i> perfective marker   | <i>lawm</i> [law <sup>8</sup> ] perfective<br>marker  | 了 Man. <i>le</i> perfective<br>marker   |
| <i>weic zuqc /wei˩ tsuʔ˩/</i><br>‘because’  | <i>vim(chij)</i> [vi <sup>8</sup> chi <sup>2</sup> ]<br>‘because’   | 為此 Man. <i>wèicǐ</i> ‘for<br>this reson’  |

As will be evident in Chapter 5 onwards, Iu Mien grammar exhibits striking similarity to Chinese. Ratliff delineates the typologically shared grammatical features as follows:

[...] in morphology, Hmong-Mien languages are characterized by the lack of inflectional morphology and the heavy use of compounds and reduplication. In syntax, Hmong-Mien language show SVO word order, paratactic rather than embedded structures (serial verb, serial noun, and serial sentence constructions), use of both a polar question particle and the A-not-A construction, Wh-question words *in situ*, adversative passives, and aspect markers rather than tense markers. Final discourse particles signal speaker attitude (Ratliff 2010:227-8).

The issues of compounds will be discussed in §5.5 and in Chapter 6, word order in §4.2.6, the parataxis in §18.2, the multiverb constructions (MVCs) and serial verb constructions (SVCs) in Chapter 15, the aspectual markers in §12.5, the interrogatives in Chapter 14, and the sentence (discourse) final particles (SFPs) including the aspectual SFPs in Chapter 19.

### 2.3.1.8 Thanyalak Saeliao (2012)

After Pán Chéngqián (盘承乾), and after half a century-dominance by Western (except Theraphan L-Thongkham of Thailand) linguists who studied this language, finally the second mother-tongue linguist has emerged from an obscure Iu Mien village of Paa Lai Luang, Chiang Saen District, Chiang Rai province, Thanyalak Saeliao, lecturer at Chiang Rai Rajabhat University. Her PhD thesis (2012), claiming to be the first comprehensive reference grammar of the language, catalogues linguistic expressions according to the parts of speech used in Chinese grammar. She does not follow any linguistic theory nor shows detailed analysis of particular grammatical issues. However, its significance is the fact that the thesis is the first wide-range coverage of the language with the serious concern about the language by a highly educated native speaker.

As a young generation speaker of Iu Mien herself, her phonological description shows that she has lost an intuition to perceive/produce the low-rise falling tone /˨˩/ and that merges with the low rising tone /˧/, thus having five tone system in her mind instead of the six tone system of her parents and grandparents generation.

Appearing a quarter of century after Court's (1986) functional descriptive grammar, Thanyalak Saeliao's (2012) reference grammar provides plethora of more natural data. A comparative review on them by Sposato (2014) goes as follows:

[...] while Court (1986) is superior to Liu [sic](2012)[i.e. Thanyalak Saeliao 2012]<sup>54</sup> in terms of depth of analysis and sophistication of argumentation, the scarcity of example sentences and complete lack of texts in Court's grammar made Liu [sic](2012) more useful for a study of this sort [i.e. typological study of syntax] (Sposato 2014:86).

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<sup>54</sup> Thanyalak Saeliao's (2012) doctoral thesis should not be confused with Liu Hongyong's (2012) "Pseudo-reduplicative polar interrogatives in Ruyuan Mien and Nuosu Yi". Sposato's intended reference by "Liu 2012" is actually Saeliao (2012), whose Thai first name is Thanyalak (ທ່ານຍາລັກມະນີ), surname Saeliao (ໄສເລືອ). Her Iu Mien surname *Liouh* /˨˩/ is *Liú* (刘) in Chinese pronunciation and her Chinese full name is *Liú Yùlán* (刘玉兰). In Thailand the prefix *Sae* (ໄສ້) was attached to surnames of any immigrants who came from China including Hokkien or Teochew speakers as well as Iu Mien or Hmong and others, thus her surname *Saeliao*. Though Sposato (2014) might have transliterated Saeliao's Chinese surname, in our study we have decided to use her Thai full name as she does in English in her other publications, e.g., Thanyalak Saeliao (2015).

### **2.3.1.9 Liu Hongyong (2012)**

Liu Hongyong (2012) (not Thanyalak Saeliao (2012), mistakenly referred to as “Liu (2012)” by Sposato (2014)) investigated polar interrogatives in Ruyuan Mien compared to Nuosu Yi.

### **2.3.1.10 Sposato (2014)**

Sposato (2014) is the first typological study on word order in Hmong-Mien. He investigated the NP-internal word order (noun, numeral, classifier, possessor, attributive adjective, relative clause, demonstrative, plural marker) and the NP-external word order (subject, object, verb, copula, particle, oblique phrase, adposition) in eleven Hmong-Mien languages based on publications authored in Chinese. They are Hmong, Hmu, Xong, Iu Mien (of Thailand by Thanyalak Saeliao 2012), Bunu, Biao Min, Baheng, Suang, Younuo, Jiongnai, and She. As to the NP-external word order he posits “SVO” (with Ratliff (2010:227-8) quoted in §2.3.1.7) as follows:

All languages in the sample are straightforwardly SVO in pragmatically neutral clauses, although object-fronting (to either preverbal or clause-initial position) for discourse-pragmatic purposes is common in all of them. (As is standard in studies of word order typology, the term “subject” and “object” are here used in a purely semantic sense, with the former referring to the more agent-like argument of a transitive clause and the latter to the more patient-like argument of such a clause) (Sposato 2014:111).

This is a good starting point to present our alternative view on the sacrosanct “SVO” hypothesis as will be discussed in Chapter 4. It is true that the word order matters in Iu Mien and it does show the ‘SVO’ order but the question is in what sense it does so. It has already suggested that this issue is closely related to the “discourse-pragmatic purposes”, which none of the eleven authors from China he depended on mention. However, his pragmatic attitude of utilizing the term ‘subject’ and ‘object’ in a broad sense is also helpful. We in the present study also heuristically make use of these terms just as Sposato does for the sake of traditional view holders.

With regard to the word order, however, our alternative view is based on information structure following LaPolla (1993, 1995, 2003, 2006) for Chinese with the assumption that Iu Mien is fundamentally a Topic-Focus language. An overview of this stance will be explicated in Chapter 4.

### **2.3.1.11 Pedagogical grammars**

By pedagogical grammars in this section are meant language lessons for non-native speakers to learn Iu Mien. The earliest is Hellen Cox’s (1960) *A Preliminary*

*Guide to the Study of the Yao Language*, and the second edition was issued in 1967 as *Yao Language Course*. The revision was made for refinement in the areas of tone sandhi and the interpretation of question intonation based on Purnell's (1965) *Phonology of a Yao Dialect Spoken in the Province of Chiangrai*. In the same line of tradition, Burgess (1996) produced updated user-friendly *Mien Language Course* in three orthographies (i.e. "Old Roman", "New Roman (Unified)", and Thai-based Mien Script; cf. §1.6, the details will be discussed in §3.4) based on the works by Cox (1960, 1967). These three materials are all packed with numerous contrast drills in eight tones, tone sandhi, rising and falling question intonations, and practice in grammatical patterns and colloquial expressions supported by audio tape lessons.

Pán (1988), as mentioned in §2.3.1.3, is a Yao primer, providing lessons to teach basic vocabulary in a Roman-based orthography (cf. §2.3.3 and §3.4.1) and common conversational phrases and sentences. Though it does not give lessons on grammatical items explicitly, the progressively arranged sentence practice will bring the students to a level of reading longer passages such as *Mienh Nyei*<sup>55</sup> *Fingx* [Iu.Mien SBCP clan] 'The Clans of the (Iu) Mien', *Bienhgouv*<sup>56</sup> *Zeix Tinhdeic*<sup>57</sup> [Bien.old create heaven.earth] 'Old Bien created the heaven and earth', and others.

Court (1991), published from Lonely Planet edited by Bradley, provides backpackers and researchers who would visit Iu Mien villages in northern Thailand. It contains pronunciation guides, basic useful phrases and sentences preceded by introductory information such as historical and cultural background of the people. The orthography used therein is "New Roman Script" or "Unified Script" (§3.4.1.1) but exhibits some sort of transitional fluctuation (similar to the writing system adopted in Pán (1988)). That is, a shift and residue of his use of the older version of "Roman Script" in his 1986 grammar to an intermediate stage of unification in Court (1991) with the intention of targeting more international audience is noticeable. For example, the voiced initial stops /b, d, g/ are still written as *b, d, g*, which should be *mb, nd, nq* in the Unified Script (i.e. "New Roman Script"). More standardised stage of the orthography (e.g. a refined use of hyphen as an indicator of tone sandhi) came to be available in Purnell (2012).

Chop-Kacha'anant ([1980], 2523 BE) former researcher at the Tribal Research Institute, the Tribal Welfare Division, the Public Welfare Department of Thai government at Chiang Mai University, was primarily written for the government

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<sup>55</sup> The Subordinate-cum-Possessive Particle (SBCP) is spelled in the Unified Script (§3.4.1) *nyei*.

<sup>56</sup> The Iu Mien's progenitor *Bienhgouv* (盤(盤)古) used in this primer is a variation of *Bienh Hungh* discussed in §2.2.2.1. In the Unified Script *Bienhgouv* is spelled separately *Bienh Gouw*.

<sup>57</sup> *Tinhdeic* [heaven earth] is spelled in the Unified Script *Tin-deic*, preserving the underlying level tone /l/ of *tin* but indicating tone sandhi by a hyphen '-'. In *tinhdeic* in Pán's (1988) primer, the result tone of tone sandhi is indicated phonetically by '*-h*' after *tin*, connected to *deic* 'earth'.

officials to learn the language in order to go into Iu Mien villages in the northern provinces to take census, serve for public health and help assimilate to Thai society. It provides basic conversational phrases and vocabulary. An interesting aspect is the inclusion of basic medical terms and questions to ask about one's health in view of helping the under-privileged people of remote areas in accessing government services. Given the vocabulary and conversational sentences written in Thai script, Arisawa (2011c) has investigated the transfer value of Chop-Kacha'anat's writing system by asking two questions: (a) Does the writing system help Iu Mien children to read and write Standard Thai?, and (b) If an adult Mien who is already literate in Thai picks up an Iu Mien book written in this writing system, how easy is it for him/her to read and understand it using Thai alphabet's rules? The answer to the first question was "yes"; it teaches them Thai system, not Iu Mien. The answer to the second question was as follows:

- Iu Mien who learn how to read and write Iu Mien by this *Yao Conversation Lesson* will lose 20 % of consonant phonemes,<sup>58</sup>
- will lose 30 % of tone,
- will have to cope with irregular spellings and lose many contrastive features in words,
- will be reminded of making preglottalised nasals distinct

Nonetheless, it is not for Iu Mien to learn literacy but for the Thai officials "to understand them" (การเข้าใจของชาวเขา) for their welfare.

### **2.3.2 Historical Comparative Linguistics**

In the historical-comparative linguistics of Hmong-Mien, particularly in the study of tones, the first scholar to be mentioned is Chang Kun (1947) (*Zhāng Kūn* 張琨) who reconstructed the eight-tone system in the Hmong-Mien. Based on the comparison of five Hmongic varieties in *Guìzhōu* (贵州) and five Yao varieties in *Guìzhōu*, *Guǎngdōng* (广东), and Vietnam, the proto-Hmong-Mien, according to him, developed from four-tone system to eight-tone system (including two *rùshēng* (入聲) or ones in checked syllables): a series of four with high pitch and another four with

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<sup>58</sup> This means that the younger speaker who are more familiar with Thai may literally cease to produce these Iu Mien phonemes and Tone 4 (low rising-falling /˨˩/). There are two reasons for it. One is that Thai education is carried out for the ethnic minority peoples including the Iu Mien children by displacing them into urban environment from their village life, consequently minimising the opportunity for young Iu Mien to learn from the elders. Another reason is that the supremacy of Central Thai is so strongly instilled in the hearts of Iu Mien children that they despise their mother tongue as a lower class language, and as a result, they perceive phonemes that are unique to Iu Mien as "mistakes" against the Thai standard.

low pitch. The factor that caused the grouping is the difference between voicelessness (*qīng* 清) and voicedness (*zhuó* 灑) of the initial consonant: voiceless initials occur in the high pitch and voiced in low. Chang (1947:101-9) refers to this phenomena *yīnyángzhījíashè* (陰陽調之假設). He argues that this system is in accordance with the pattern seen in Chinese languages (*Hànyǔxì* 漢語系) and Kam-Tai languages (*Dòngtái yǔxì* 洞<sup>59</sup>台語系) (1947:101, 110).

This article published first in Chinese was subsequently published in English (Chang 1953) and summarized in French by Nidere (1998:34-5, 217-9).

Based on his works in 1947 and 1953, Chang (1966) took a further step to focus on the tone system of Yao dialects. Data he compared include (i) Iu Mien of Hweikang Pa in Maechan District, Chiang Rai province, Thailand (using Purnell 1965), (ii) a variety in P'u K'amteng and Chungliang near Luang Namtha in Laos (using Downer 1961), (iii) a dialect of Hsing'an, in Guangxi, China (using Mao and Chou 1939), (iv) Taipan Yao in northern Vietnam (using Savina 1927), (v) Yao dialect of Haininh (Bìnhliêu, Tiênyên, Địnhlập) and the Quangyên province in Vietnam (Savina 1927), and (vi) Pap'ai Yao dialect near Samkong market, Linshan District, in Guangdong, China.

Chang (1973) claims that the distinctions of voicedness/voicelessness, aspiration/unaspiration, presence/absence of prenasalisation in the initial consonants played roles in tone splits in Proto-Miao-Yao in their historical reconstruction. Shifting a focus onto the Hmongic side (i.e. Miao) of Hmong-Mien family (Miao-Yao), Chang (1976) demonstrates much more complicated initial consonants clusters in Proto-Miao than those in Mien (Yao).

Chang (1999) traces back that ‘granary’ (廩) and ‘large brim woven bamboo or straw hat with a conical peak’ (笠) were borrowed into Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao) from Old Chinese. Old Yao borrowed the Old Chinese \*bljəm<sup>B2</sup> ‘granary’ as \*ŋgljpm<sup>B2</sup> (/lam~ʌ/ in modern Iu Mien in Thailand). And Old Yao borrowed the Old Chinese \*gljəp<sup>D2</sup> ‘woven bamboo/straw hat’ as \*ŋgljap<sup>D2</sup> (/lapʃ/ in modern Iu Mien in Thailand).

Following up Downer (n.d.(a)) mentioned in §2.3.1.1, Downer (n.d.(b)) further investigated into the relationship of Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao) to the other language families (phylums): Tibeto-Burman (including Sino-Tibetan), Kam-Dai, and Mon-Khmer. He emphasises that “typological and areal resemblances do not serve as a guide to genetic relationship, and that the morphological correspondences of Indo-European may be exceptional in terms of all language-families of the world” (n.d.(b): 2). The only guide to genetic relationship is “regular correspondences between items

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<sup>59</sup> 洞 should be 崇.

of what is sometimes referred to as ‘basic vocabulary’, that is non-cultural vocabulary” (n.d.(b): 3). Rejecting the older theories that Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao) is related to Kam-Dai or Mon-Khmer, based on the longstanding, intimate contact and borrowing of not only ‘basic vocabulary’ but also ‘cultural vocabulary’ from Chinese at the very early Proto stage, Downer concludes that Hmong-Mien’s relationship “either in toto or separately with two main branches of Chinese and Tibeto-Burman, may eventually be shown to be a genetic one” (n.d.(b): 21).

About fifteen years after Chang’s (1947) seminal historical-comparative studies on the Hmong-Mien tone-system, the method of comparison among the languages of the region seems to have been established as seen in Downer (1963). Downer (1963), in the same vein with Downer (n.d.(b)) mentioned above, applies Chang’s (1947, 1953) method to Chinese, Thai, and Hmong-Mien. He presents the results that Ancient Chinese and Common Thai had four tone-system (1 2 3 || 4)(cf. Chang 1947) with the two series of “clear” (*qīng* 清) and “muddy” (*zhuó* 濁) initials, whereas Hmong-Mien had the eight tone-system (1 3 5 || 7 and 2 4 6 || 8). The division into two groups of four tones is caused by “clear”-“muddy” opposition in the initial consonant: “clear” initials occur in the high pitch and the “muddy” initials in the low (cf. Chang 1947). The similarity in the features of relationship between initials (aspirate, unaspirated, clear, muddy) and tones among these three language families are attributed to their ancestors’ “long period of contact and mutual influence” (1963:138). He concludes: “We may therefore posit this period of contact to have been from about the fourth century to the break-up of the Common Thai and Common Miao-Yao [Hmong-Mien] languages (presumably prior to the Mongol invasions [starting from the defeat of Western Xia (西夏) in 1209])” (1963:138).

Having established the comparative method in Hmong-Mien history in 1963, Downer (1973) further refined the history of Mien in a tripartite way. He postulates three strata of Mien’s contact with Chinese: (i) the most recent stratum of loan words from Yunnanese Mandarin dialect, (ii) the older Chinese stratum including borrowing from Mandarin (e.g. transitive-intransitive opposition of verbs by voiceless-voiced opposition in the initials, *caeqv /ts<sup>h</sup>ε?*/ ‘to pull down’ vs. *nzaeqv /dze?*/ ‘to be cracked (as earth), p. 16) and the Cantonese stratum (e.g. *naamx /na:mʌ/* ‘to move by span’, *hnamv /ŋamʌ/* ‘to love’, *hlorngv /lɔŋʌ/* ‘to rinse out’), and (iii) the oldest stratum of reflexes of Proto-Hmong-Mien, in which Hmong and Mien presumably formed a single language.

Downer (1978) addresses the issue of Mien’s relationship with Tai languages, specifically Kam-Sui and Tai (Northern Tai, Central Tai, South West Tai). The study yielded two points: (i) the Mien’s contact shown in loanwords are with Northern Tai

and Kam Sui, and not with common Tai as the Mien are “relatively newcomers to Southeast Asia” (ibid. 178), and (ii) the nature of contact between Tai and Mien is “a cultural one, not a genetic one” (ibid. 178) as evidenced in the assimilation of “cultural vocabulary” rather than “basic vocabulary”. Examples of the latter points are Modern IM *jui* /cui˥/ ‘basket’ and Wuming (NT) *kløi*<sup>1</sup>, Modern IM *nyomc* /nɔm˥/ ‘to dye’ and Lao *nɔm*<sup>6</sup>, Modern IM *mang* /maŋ˥/ ‘gong’ and KS (*kja-*)*maŋ*<sup>44</sup>, and Modern IM *pa'li pa'laaix* /pʰa li pʰa lai˧˥/ ‘messy’ and Kam *pʰi³⁰li³⁰pai³⁰lai³*.

Downer (1991) is a succinct analysis on the relationship between Mien and Hmong summarising what has been researched in Chang (1947, 1953, 1966), Downer (n.d.(a), n.d.(b), 1963, 1973), and Purnell (1970). He summarises the structural characteristics of Mien and Hmong as follows:

- a) There is fairly consistent retention in Yao [Mien] of an original system of six final consonants: -*m*, -*n*, -*ng*, -*p*, -*t*, -*k* (or glottal stop), which is lacking in Miao [Hmong].
- b) Diphthongs can be reconstructed for PMY [i.e. Proto-Hmong-Mien] on the basis of Yao [Mien], which has here innovated in various ways.
- c) Miao [Hmong] has retained a system of prenasalised stops, which have simply become voiced stops in Yao [Mien] (Downer 1991:40).

Concerning their historical relationship, he concludes that four layers, more refined than three “strata” in Downer (1973) can be seen. The earliest is one common PMY [i.e. Proto-Hmong-Mien] with two variations, the second a period of separate development “with common innovations within Yao [Mien] and other common innovations within Miao [Hmong]”, the third “each language split[ting] into three dialects”, and lastly the three dialects in each language further splitting into the various subdialects found today (Downer 1991:45).

Downer (2003) is a collection of all above mentioned articles including his other studies in Chinese tones not quoted above, two exclusively Hmong studies and a synchronic phonology in Thailand Iu Mien, which will be summarised in §2.3.3 and Chapter 3.

Purnell (1970) reconstructed “the entire phonemic system” (p. 3) of Proto-Miao-Yao (PMY) [i.e. Proto-Hmong-Mien] based on data from fifteen Miao [Hmong] and five Yao [Mien] dialects through the reconstructions of Proto-Hmong and Proto-Mien. As a side product of the research, he suggested the time depth of Proto-Hmong-Mien to be over 2,000 years (p. 194). He also takes a prudent stance with regard to its relations with other language families as having yet to be certain.

Haudricourt and Strecker (1991) have argued, contrary to most Sinologists’ expectation, that it was Chinese that borrowed from Hmong-Mien vocabulary

especially words related to rice. They include ‘wet rice field’ (*lingh* /linj˥/ in present day Iu Mien), ‘dry field’ (*liangx* /liəŋ˧/ in present day Iu Mien), ‘young rice plant’ (*yaang* /ja:ŋ˧/ in present day Iu Mien), ‘unhulled rice’ (*mbiauh* /b̥au˧/ in present day Iu Mien), ‘cooked rice, food’ (*hnaangx* /ɳa:ŋ˧/ in present day Iu Mien), ‘flour’ (*mbuonv* /buən˥/ in present day Iu Mien), ‘bread, pastry’ (*njuov* /juə˧/ in present day Iu Mien). Finally, ‘buy and sell’ (*maaiz* /ma:i˧/, *maaic* /ma:i˩/ in present day Iu Mien) are also argued to be borrowed into Chinse from Hmong-Mien.

Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1993a) has reconstructed fifty-three single consonants and sixty-five consonant clusters for Proto-Mienic solely by her own field work on three Mienic dialects (i.e. Mien, Muen, and Mun) in six sites in Thailand and fourteen sites in China independent of previously published research. Her data on Mun is the first published data by a highly trained phonetician/field researcher used for reconstruction while Haudricourt (1954) and Purnell (1970) utilised Savina (1927). A few examples of this work are: ‘to laugh’ \*klət D > cat45 (*jatv*)(p. 64), ‘lungs’ \*phlom > phjom33 (*piom*)(p. 64), ‘road’ \*kləu B > cau354 (*jauv*)(p. 70), ‘six’ \*kluk D > cu?45 (*juqv*)(p. 73), and ‘slippery’ \*mblaŋ C > bja:ŋ11 (*mbiaangc*) (p. 73).

Benedict (1987) hypothesised Proto-Hmong-Mien languages to have split off from the mainland block of his hypothetical Austro-Tai, which embraces Austronesian and Tai-Kadai languages. According to him, Proto-Hmong-Mien separated itself from the block, made contact with Tibeto-Burman languages to the north-west from 1,000 BC to ca. 750 BC. Further, they moved north-eastwards to contact with Chinese, thus, this theory explains that Hmong-Mien borrowed the lower numerals from Tibeto-Burman and higher numerals from Chinese. He concluded that “the state of of Chu (楚), that arose during the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B.C. in the middle Yangtze region, was of MY [i.e. Proto-Hmong-Mien] origin” (1987:20; cf. §2.2.4), and that “the early population of much of China, particularly in the west, was MY-speaking [i.e. Proto-Hmong-Mien-speaking], overlaying this autochthonous stratum” (1987:20).

To support his hypothesis that Hmong-Mien belongs to Austro-Tai languages, Benedict (1994), a short article, presents the “nasal increment”, or pre-nasalisation, in Cengang dialect of Yao (i.e. Mien) spoken in Yueliangshan, Guizhou, as a common feature found in Proto-Austro-Tai. An example is the contrast between the following items: \*mp<sup>h</sup>- < PMY [Proto-Hmong-Mien] \*mp- vs. \*mp<sup>l</sup>- < PMY [Proto-Hmong-Mien] \*mb- (the superscript <sup>h</sup> stands for high tone, and <sup>l</sup> for low tone)(Benedict 1994:154).

Wáng (王輔世) and Máo (毛宗武) (1995) reconstructed Proto-Hmong-Mien. Its part on the Mienic side was the precursor to Máo (2004), in which modern Iu Mien and Kim Mun are discussed in detail besides four other dialects, i.e., Biaomon, Biaomin,

Dzaomin, and Yu-ngien (cf. §2.4.1). Aumann and Sidwell (2001) investigated the subgroups of Mienic languages based on the previous literature. Deng and Wang (2003) is a study on classification among the dialects of Hmong-Mien based on lexicostatistics.

A culmination of all these works in the past eight decades is Ratliff (2010), in which her dedication notes “To the memory of Paul K. Benedict (1912-1997) and Wang Fushi 王輔世 (1919-2001)”. With her prudent spirit of not committing to any theory to genetically connect Hmong-Mien family to one of Sino-Tibetan, Tai-Kadai, Austroasiatic or Austronesian families, her goal in this study is to present “a new reconstruction of Proto Hmong-Mien” (2010:1):

Until a careful separation of layers of Chinese borrowings from native Hmong-Mien vocabulary has been completed and the remaining core has been systematically compared to these other families, the question of wider relationship cannot be resolved. The most prudent position to take in the meantime is that Hmong-Mien constitutes an independent family of languages (Ratliff 2010:2-3).

Based on this theory, she discusses the innovation of vowel length in Mienic (*ibid.* 26-8), the development of tone (*ibid.* 184-98), the morphology (*ibid.* 199-213), the origin of the classifier construction (*ibid.* 228-34), and some closed grammatical categories (e.g. numerals, personal pronouns, and demonstratives, (*ibid.* 214-23)) in some detail. The last two chapters abundantly whet our imaginations into the sociolinguistic milieu and life style of the Proto Hmong-Mien people. First, admitting the longitudinal and important contact with Chinese, she also demonstrates lexical connections (i.e. either due to contact or common inheritance) between Hmong-Mien and other language families: Tibeto-Burman (e.g. numeral ‘four’, ‘five’, ‘six’, ‘seven’, ‘eight’, ‘nine’), Tai-Kadai (e.g. ‘fish’, ‘monkey’, ‘to die’, ‘bird’), Mon-Khmer (e.g. ‘water’, ‘blood’, ‘to weep’, ‘tree’, ‘full’, ‘to shoot’, ‘tail’, ‘to dream’), and Austronesian (e.g. ‘to die’, ‘to kill’, ‘soft’, ‘insect/worm/maggot’). Lastly, Ratliff unfolds the ancient Hmong-Mien world in their agriculture, measuring, material culture, and non-material culture through reconstructed lexical items of these areas.

Significantly, this time-travel back into the ancient Hmong-Mien world is not a speculation but based on her three decades of thorough research on the subject. A picture that we can draw from her study is that the Hmong-Mien of 2500 years ago dominantly had the rice-culture in the warm southern plains as opposed to the millet-culture Chinese in the cold north.

### **2.3.3 Phonological and Orthography Studies**

Downer (1961) and Purnell (1965) are the principal source of the phonological description in the present study, especially in terms of phonology and tone sandhi, which will be discussed in §3.3.3 and §6.2.2. Downer conducted his field work in Laos and Thailand, and Purnell in Thailand, the subject matter “Highland Yao” is essentially the same dialect of Iu Mien.

While the Western scholars who studied the sound system of Iu Mien used the traditional pencil-and-notebook fieldwork method with their ears, Theraphan L.-Thongkhum (1988a), the Thai phonetician, conducted the first thorough instrumental acoustical phonetic investigation into tones and pitch ranges of Iu Mien. Based on it, she disproved an alleged theory that dialectical difference between the Iu Mien in the western region (Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Kamphaeng Phet provinces, where women wear the tight crisscross turban) and the eastern region (Nan, Phayao, including Chiang Kham district belonging to the then-Chiang Rai province, where women wear the loosely wrapped turban) is based on the different times of migration to Thailand from Laos. Basing on her fieldwork in Huai Mae Sai village, Muang district, Chiang Rai, and comparison with those in western region, she has proved that as long as the phonology of tone is concerned the western Iu Mien and the eastern Iu Mien inside Thailand speak the same eight-tone system language (though lexical choice in some areas shows variations). This work, presented at the 21<sup>st</sup> Sino-Tibetan Conference on Language and Linguistics in Sweden, appeared in Thai as Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1989).

A further step she took, using the same data from Huay Mae Sai district as mentioned above, was the study of “contact-induced phonological change”. Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1997) has demonstrated the eight-tone system of Iu Mien (six tones in open syllables and syllable ending nasals, and two tones in checked syllables) was on the way to seven-tone system by reducing six tones to five in the open syllables. Specially, those who were under twenty-five years old merged Tone 4 (/˥/) with Tone 5 (/˧/) as a result of the contact with Thai which has five tones. She argues that the phonological variation leads to phonological change. That is, the initial stage of the language having phonological variation (i.e. the older people maintain the phonological contrast between Tone 4 (/˥/) and Tone 5 (/˧/) while younger people lose it) will gradually be confirmed as phonological change (i.e. merger of Tone 4 and Tone 5 resulting in the five-tone system). This change (i.e. loss of Tone 4 (/˥/)) is evident in Thanyalak Saeliao (2012), who must have been under ten years old at the time of Theraphan’s research (1988a, 1988b) (Thanyalak Saeliao is from Pa Lai Luang village, Chiang Saen district, Chiang Rai, approximately 70 km north east of

Huai Mae Sai village, Muang district, Chiang Rai, Theraphan's research location). Though bearing different titles, Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1993b) and (1997) are basically the same paper with the same conclusion (the latter being the revised version):

Due to language contact with Thai, Mien-Yao [i.e. Iu Mien] as a natural language cannot avoid change. It has been in the process of acquiring new tonal features. This study is an example of contact-induced phonological change. The contact of Mien-Yao [i.e. Iu Mien] and Thai is a casual sort of contact situation. It is a by-product of modernization. Language contact can be a cause of sound change and phonological innovations. [...] I would like to recommend that Tone 3 (<\*B1) and Tone 4 (<\*B2) be treated as linguistic variables, and age levels (10-20, 30-40, 50-60) as social variables (Theraphan L.-Thongkum 1997:159).

Purnell (1985, 1987) describes a history of developing the Iu Mien orthography between 1932 and 1986 investigating the varied trials versions by different groups. Purnell (2002) focuses on the Unified Script based on Romanisation, used throughout the present study (see §3.4.1). Lan et al. (1990) reports the occasion of orthography conference in China:

In the early of 1980 [sic], the Yao [i.e. Iu Mien] language was mapped out. From 1983, it began to be popularized in some counties and Guangxi Minority Nationalities College. When back to their native land in April, 1984, the Yao [Iu Mien] representatives of America and Thailand, together with their counterparts at home, agreed upon the unification of the regulations of the Yao [Iu Mien] language (Lan et al. (eds.) 1990:204).

Concerning the 1956 version of the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography, Arisawa (2011a) argues for its high transfer value as a bridge between two groups of Iu Mien. If those Iu Mien who have never learned literacy in Thai learn the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography of the 1956 version, they will become able to read and write 63.6% of Thai consonant alphabets. On the other hand, the other group of Iu Mien, who know Thai through the Thai education system but have never learned literacy in Iu Mien should be able to read a book that is written in the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography only with the following provisos. That is, they will find unfamiliar (hence, unable to pronounce) six consonants that are non-existent in Thai represented by the obsolete or rarely used letters (6/44 Thai symbols = 1.8% of the consonants), and the seven unshared consonants that are represented by bi-graphemes utilising eight Thai symbols (8/44 = 0.14%). Furthermore, out of the twenty tone rules in Thai, the Iu Mien orthography utilises nineteen rules (i.e. 95% is shared). That is to say, the difference an Iu Mien reader who already knows the Thai writing system has to be warned about only the 5% of the twenty Thai tone rules (Arisawa 2011a:224-5).

### 2.3.4 Lexicography

The second prolific area in linguistic study in Iu Mien after historical-comparative linguistics is lexicography and it should logically come after phonology and orthography. Lombard (1968), edited by Purnell, records 3,234 main entries of Iu Mien based on the dialect spoken in provinces of Chiang Rai and Lampang in Thailand including some data from Laos between 1952 and 1966. It has appendices including articles on “Numbers” (pp. 317-20 by Purnell), “Kinship Terminology” (pp. 321-7 by Purnell), “Names” (pp. 329-33 by Lombard), “Proverbs and Idioms” (pp. 335-9 by Lombard), and “Classifiers” (pp. 341-3).

Chang (1969) in his review of Lombard’s dictionary, while he points out some disagreements between Downer (1961) and a group of Purnell (1965) and Lombard (1968) with regard to the interpretation of the medial /w/ and /j/ clustering with the initial consonants, evaluates this work highly: “Miss Lombard’s dictionary is a permanent contribution to the knowledge of the languages of the world. Her material will be of value to scholars in both linguistics and anthropology” (1969:442-3). Another reviewer, Haas (1969), mostly criticises the peculiarity of the writing system adopted in Lombard’s dictionary, which was “developed primarily by the Rev. E. J. C. Cox of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship” and examined by William A. Smalley of the American Bible Society. Specifically her complaint is about the arbitrariness of assigning both capital and small letters in English alphabets to phonemes of Iu Mien. Haas regrets that if he (Purnell, the editor) had re-transcribed Cox’s writing system into his own phonetic spelling for the language (as in Purnell 1965), “would-be linguistic comparatists and universalists would not be placed in the position of having to retranscribe most of the material they use” (Haas 1969:368). Indeed her wish has been achieved by Chang (1969) in his review. These issues have been solved by the publication of Purnell (2012) as will be seen in §3.4.1.

Lombard (1970)(with Richard D. Cushman and Herbert Purnell Jr.) is a reverse dictionary of Lombard (1968), i.e., *An English–Yao Dictionary*.

Smith Panh (or Aka Koueifo Saephan), a native speaker of Iu Mien, has produced two dictionaries. The 1995 edition is *Mienh–English Everyday Language Dictionary* and the 2002 edition *Modern English–Mienh and Mienh–English Dictionary*. The *Mienh–English* part of the latter version is an enlarged edition of the former with more Chinese related words added. The *English–Mienh* part of Panh (2002) was compiled independently of Panh (1995) based on “*American Webster’s New World Student’s Dictionary*, *A New Practical English-Chinese Dictionary*, and *an English-Lao Dictionary*” (Panh 2002: Introduction).

Despite his own realisation that “all the Iu-Mienh [who are] highly educated may find words that are not precise interpretation of their meaning” (Panh 2002: Acknowledgement), the value of native speaker’s intuition and insights reflected in definitions given in English surpasses its occasional clumsiness by non-native speaker of English. This value is further raised when they are used in conjunction with Purnell (2012). For example, *laaix* /la:iɿ/ is defined as ‘because of, on account of’ by Purnell (2012) with the usage note: “Although *laaix* can be used when the results are positive, it is most commonly used when they are negative. For positive results, *weic* /weiɿ/ is most often used” (2012:356). When it is compared with a few examples and their interpretation given by Panh (2002:132), what is meant by Purnell will become more illuminating:

*laaix mienh* /la:iɿ miənɿ/ [because.of person] ‘to impute (a fault to another)’  
*laaix ninh* /la:iɿ ninɿ/ [because.of 3SG] ‘his or her fault’  
*laaix yie ganh* /la:iɿ iəɿ kanɿ/ [because.of 1SG self] ‘my own fault’

As reflected in the element of *fault*, Panh expresses well the implication of speaker’s blaming attitude in these phrases. Such subtlety is a rich asset filling these two dictionaries of Panh.

In Purnell (2012) (with the assistance of Zanh Gueix-Fongc, V. Ann Burgess, Greg Aumann), the problems pointed out by Haas (1969) in her review of Lombard (1968) have been solved, the updated Unified Script based on the endorsed system between the Iu Mien in China and the USA in 1984 has been adopted, and all the appendices in Lombard’s dictionary have been updated and enlarged. The inclusion of numerous “Cultural Notes” and “Usage” is a response to the community’s strong desire that their new generation should maintain the language.

Mao (毛宗武) (1992) is a handy semantic category Chinese—Iu Mien dictionary based on the field research lead by Pán (盘承乾) (cf. §2.3.1.3) in Guāngxī (广西) province prior to 1958, compiled by Mao in 1988. As the dictionary is compiled according to semantic categories, it has some sections where grammatical categories are put together: i.e., numerals (pp. 216-9), measurement (pp. 220-6), numeral classifiers (pp. 226-9), personal pronouns (p. 230), demonstratives (pp. 230-2), interrogative pronouns (p. 232), and others (pp. 233-45).

Aumann, G., M. Aumann and Bienh (2002) is a tri-lingual dictionary (Iu Mien, English, Chinese) based on Hezhou (贺州) dialect. Misako Aumann (forthcoming) is preparing another tri-lingual dictionary based on the dialect of Pán Chengqian (盘承乾)(cf. §2.3.1.3).

Sumeth Prasertsud (ສູມເທ ປະເຕີຫຼຸດ or Bienh Zoih Daqv (盤財德)), a native Iu Mien from Thailand, currently residing in the USA, has completed his manuscript of *Iu Mien—English and Iu Mien—Thai Dictionary* in 1998 and it has just been published as *Iu Mien—Thai—English Dictionary* in 2017. Main entries are given in the Unified Script, the definition of meaning in Thai language. The Iu Mien users in Thailand would appreciate the meanings explained in Thai but will not be able to find words unless they are written in the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography.

### 2.3.5 Missionary Materials<sup>60</sup>

In Lombard's *Yao Language Texts* (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1967 – 1969) seventeen materials are transcribed in Old Roman Script (the Cox's Script mentioned in §2.3.4, an example show in Table 26 in §3.4.2), divided into four sections: 1) Yao Taboos and historical accounts (four stories narrated by Ong Zou), 2) five legends (narrated by Gueix-Seng, Gueix-Siouc, Gueix-Fuqv, Yuanh Wangc), 3) six personal narratives (told by Gueix-Fongc, Gueix-Cing, Muangz Mengh, and an Iu Mienh mother), 4) miscellaneous and sample conversations by Uv Hiaang et al.). These were recorded by Purnell at Huay Kaang Paa village, Maechan District, Chiang Rai in 1964, and transcribed and translated by Lombard in 1967 – 1968 at Ithaca, New York. Some are recorded by Lombard herself in 1966 at Nongwaen village (now Thammajarik), Maechan District, Chiang Rai, and transcribed and translated by her during the period of 1967 – 1969. She also transcribed and translated some materials recorded by Eric J. Cox at Bosaliem village, Ngao District, Lampang in 1955 and 1964.

Numerous texts collected during Purnell's fourteen months living with the Iu Mien outside Maechan district in Chiang Rai in 1963-64, and later included Dower's transcriptions from Lao dialect, were processed into *The Computerized Concordance of Yao*, resulting in 2,695 pages of B4 size paper (in five boxes) in 1970 at the Research Institute, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma. It was provided for grammatical, phonological, semantic analyses, lexicography, production of language lessons, translation works and discourse analysis (Purnell 1970b:5).

Burgess's unpublished *Mien Folk Tales and Legends* contains eighty four stories recorded at Kun Mae Bong village, Doi Luang District, Chiang Rai, in the early 1970s, transcribed in Old Roman Scripts and some are in Thai-based Iu Mien orthography.

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<sup>60</sup> It is almost inevitable nowadays that a writer of grammar of under-described/endangered languages should mention the works done by missionaries in literature review section. It has been a pattern for over two millennia in the history around the globe that Judeo-Christian missionaries would commence initial linguistic works (e.g. translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, Latin, Syriac etc. and Greek New Testament into thousands of ethnic minority languages) first, then later non-religious linguists would engage in further research for more comprehensive description, documentation, and theorisation.

All have been converted into the Unified Mien Script and documented in FLEX for this study.

### 2.3.6 Literacy and Literature

While the Iu Mien in the provinces of Chiang Rai, Lampang, and Kampaeng Phet used Cox's script (i.e. the Old Roman Script used in Lombard's dictionary (1968), cf. §3.4.1.3), Callaway and Callaway (1976) devise the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography in corporation with Mr Ua, the principal of a local Thai school in Chiang Kham district, in Chiang Rai (now Phayao) province. Burgess and Zanh, et al. (1974) (volumes 1-4) are graded primers in the Old Roman Script for the Iu Mien in western side of the National Highway No. 1, i.e., Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, and Kampaeng Phet provinces. This series was converted to the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography in three volume set by Lois Calloway and Leiz (Calloway, Lois and Leiz 1976) for the Iu Mien on the eastern side of the NH No. 1, mainly in Chiang Kham district of Chiang Rai (now Phayao). Furthermore, the same series was converted to the 1984 Unified Script (the New Roman Script) in four volume set by Lois Calloway (Calloway, Lois (ed.) 1987) for the Iu Mien in the USA. All these series are based on Gudschinsky's (1973) bottom-up method (i.e. substitution practice) in the earlier volumes gradually increasing in the reading practice of longer pieces at the later volumes.

The division of the western and eastern regions was partly due to the geographical difficulty of frequent interaction between Chiang Rai Iu Mien and Chiang Kham Iu Mien in those days, not due to unintelligibility: both sides speak essentially the same dialect as proved by Theraphan L.-Thongkhum (1988b)(cf. §2.3.3). On the western side, their migration from Laos across the Mekong river was relatively recent and it was believed that Iu Mien would remain in the mountainous regions with minimum contact with Thai, hence the development of the Old Roman Script. It never dawned on the missionaries who developed it that Iu Mien in the region would learn English in the future, therefore utilised arbitrary assignment of English alphabets to phonemes in a rigid phonetic way (cf. Haas' 1969 criticism). On the other side toward the east, the Iu Mien had lived in the lower plain in Thailand with plenty of contact opportunities with Khammüang (Northern Thai) roughly a century longer than those who were in the west. Besides that, there was a large UN refugee camp in Chiang Kham, where Iu Mien among other refugees from Laos due to the Vietnam war were learning the newer type Roman-based Iu Mien script, a predecessor of the 1984 Unified Script, as a preparation to move to the USA. The situation is explained in Purnell (1987:131ff.).

The Callaways not only produced countless literacy primers written in the Thai-based orthography but also ran literacy classes in Chiang Kham district. Jennings (1998) discusses a hybrid method using Gudschinsky's (1973) method and more top-down method of reading a longer piece of writing to be taught from the early lessons, using the Unified Script. She also produced numerous culturally sensitive literacy teaching materials focusing on the Thai-based orthography as well as training young Iu Mien to be literacy teachers for the communities in both western and eastern sides of the separating mountains. Dangc Wuonh Kuon (2000), a native speaker literacy teacher in Thailand, teaches Iu Mien who are already literate in the Thai-based script the Unified Script.

Pán's (1988) Yao literacy primer is for the Iu Mien in China (cf. §2.3.1.3). It uses the 1984 Roman-based Unified Script (cf. §2.3.2).

While literacy means the ability in reading and writing including the pedagogical materials mentioned above, literature refers to a body of written texts. Obviously traditional Iu Mien literature is written in Chinese characters. Shiratori and his research team from Sophia University, Japan, photographed more than 20,000 pictures of Iu Mien documents written in Chinese characters through historical and anthropological field works in northern Thailand conducted intermittently during the period of 1969-1974. Out of numerous books they collected, twenty-one documents are included in Shiratori (1975). Among the documents transcribed by intellectual Iu Mien scribes, which tend to contain peculiar spellings of Chinese characters modified in Iu Mien way, the particular nine documents were written by a Yunnan Chinese man who married to an Iu Mien woman in Baan Yao Kirek, Chiang Kong district, Chiang Rai (1975:335). These nine are in a fine, readable condition: (i) “Tsiu uan sau” (招魂書 *ziu wuonh sou /tsiu˥ uən˥ səu˥/*), (ii) “Tsheu tau sau” (超度書 *ceu douc sou /tsʰeu˥ təu˥ səu˥/*), (iii) “Kiem gnan tsong” (金銀狀書 *jiem nyaanh zong /ciəm˥ na:n˥ tsoŋ˥/*), (iv) “Ieu mei sen sau” (達梅山書 *youh meih sen sou /jəu˥ mei˥ sen˥ səu˥/*), (v) “Khoi tan sau” (開塚書 *koi daan sou /kʰɔi˥ ta:n˥ səu˥/*), (vi) “Heu lung sau” (叫天書 *heuc lungh sou /heu˥ lungh səu˥/*), (vii) “On tsau chei sau” (安坟墓書 *orn zou(?) cei(?) sou /ɔn˥ tsəu(?) tsʰei(?) səu˥/*), (viii) “Hong en sia sau” (洪恩赦書 *hongh en siev sou /honh en˥ siə˥ səu˥/*), (ix) “Msia mien pau zung” (女人唱歌 *m'sieqv mienh baaux nzung /m siə?˥ miən˥ pa:u˥ dzuŋ˥/*). These and many others, written in literary language (cf. §2.4.4), are used in various types of rituals and ceremonies in all aspects of Iu Mien life.

Literature in vernacular variety and orthography is more prolific among the Iu Mien in the USA than in Thailand. Beard et al. (eds.) (1993, 1995) contain rich tradition of folk tales and legends by the Iu Mien refugees in the USA, who originally fled from Laos via the UN camps in Chiang Kham and Chiang Kong in Chiang Rai and

Phayao provinces, Thailand. Prompted by the profusion of social media on internet, the use of both Thai-based and Roman-based orthographies are now gradually spreading among the young generation Iu Mien. Various kinds of newsletters in the Unified Script are issued from France and the US. An Iu Mien writer (pers. com.) in the US is compiling his autobiography depicting his ordeal of evacuation from Laos due to the war, life in the refugee camp and migration to California, and a positive experience as a citizen of the US all in the Unified Script. Responding to the needs and challenge of life style change from agriculture to urbanisation both in the USA and Thailand, Dr Nyutc Sinh Chao (pers. com.) has produced a marriage counselling book of over 300 pages in Iu Mien. Thanyalak Saeliao (2012) contains precious collection of proverbs in Iu Mien in Thailand. If they are converted from IPA transcription to either the Thai-based or Roman-based (i.e. Unified) Scripts, resurgence of Iu Mien literature and culture can be expected. Likewise, Lombard (1967-1969) could be converted from the Old Roman Script to the Thai-based or the New Roman (i.e. the Unified Script) for the same purpose.

The largest written document in the vernacular Iu Mien is the *Mien Bible* (Thailand Bible Society 2007).<sup>61</sup> It contains the full documents of both the Old Testament (39 books) and the New Testament (27 books)(excluding Apocrypha) covering the various linguistic genres of narrative, poetry, parables, didactic discourse, expository discourse etc., printed in three different orthographies: the 1984 Unified Script (i.e. New Roman), the Old Roman Script, the 1956 Thai-based Orthography, and in the Lao-based Iu Mien Orthography.

## 2.4 Linguistic Background

### 2.4.1 Relationship within Hmong-Mien Language Family

In this section, three subgrouping models of Mienic languages are discussed, namely, Mao (2004), Ratliff (1992 and 2010). All these studies recognise three major members under the Mienics: Mien-Mun, Biao Min, and Zao Min, of which Mien-Mun is commonly divided into two languages, Iu Mien and Kim Mun.

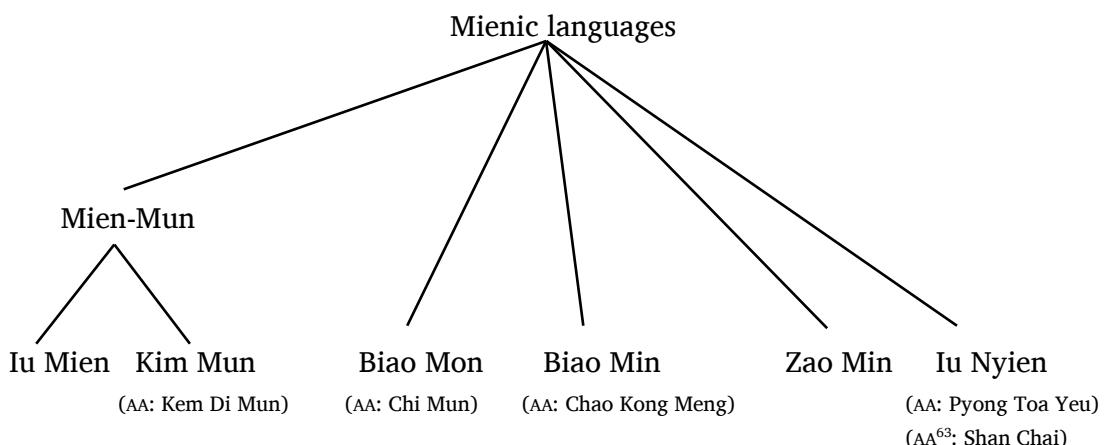
By nature, Mao's study is dialectal and Ratliff's historical. Mao's dialectical research is on the basis of geographical distributions of six varieties (Iu Mien, Kim Mun, Biao Mon, Biao Min, Zao Min, and Iu Nyien). Thus he does not commit himself to classifying them in terms of phylogenetic relations within the family. The only subgrouping he shows is that Mien-Mun is divided into Iu Mien and Kim Mun.

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<sup>61</sup> <http://www.thaibible.or.th/mienbible/>

Nevertheless, his detailed synchronic phonological descriptions of each dialect based on the field research with an extensive coverage of the southern provinces of China is of great value. Ratliff's studies (1992, 2010), on the other hand, are from the diachronic perspective of historical-comparative linguistics. A portion of her study reproduced here is the Mienic side of the wider studies of Hmong-Mien languages.

Mao (2004) avoids giving conclusive solution concerning phylogenetic relationship among the Mienic languages. The only closest relationship he recognises (2004:10-11) is that of Iu Mien [ju<sup>31</sup> mjen<sup>31</sup>] (优勉) and Kim Mun [kim<sup>33</sup> mun<sup>33</sup>] (金门) or [kem<sup>53</sup> di<sup>35</sup> mun<sup>21</sup>] (甘迪门). For other four dialects he merely lists them in a parallel relationship without subordination or superordination, i.e., (i) [bjau<sup>31</sup> mɔn<sup>31</sup>] (标曼) or [ci<sup>31</sup> mun<sup>31</sup>] (史门), (ii) [bjau<sup>31</sup> min<sup>31</sup>] (标敏) or [cau<sup>44</sup> kon<sup>55</sup> men<sup>55</sup>] (交公勉), (iii) [dzau<sup>53</sup> min<sup>53</sup>] (藻敏), and (iv) [ju<sup>21</sup> njen<sup>24</sup>] (优念) or [pjɔŋ<sup>31</sup> toa<sup>53</sup> jeu<sup>31</sup>] (炳多优) or [san<sup>33</sup> cai<sup>33</sup>] (珊介)<sup>62</sup> (Mao 2004:7). Their relationship by Mao (2004:10) is displayed as in Figure 18.

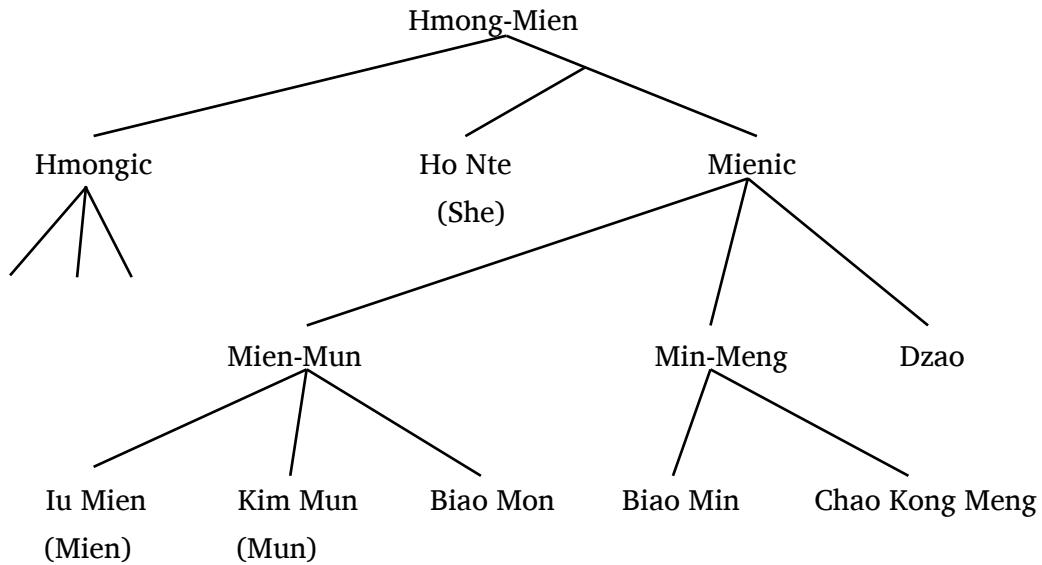


**Figure 18. Tentative relationship of varieties under the Mienic branch after Mao 2004**

The following tree diagram (Ratliff 1992:61) shows tentative subdivisions under the Mienic branch of the Hmong-Mien family in Figure 19.

<sup>62</sup> The alternatives in (i) and (iv) are all autonyms in each group besides Kim Mun and Mem Di Mun. Their exonyms can be found in Mao 2004:7.

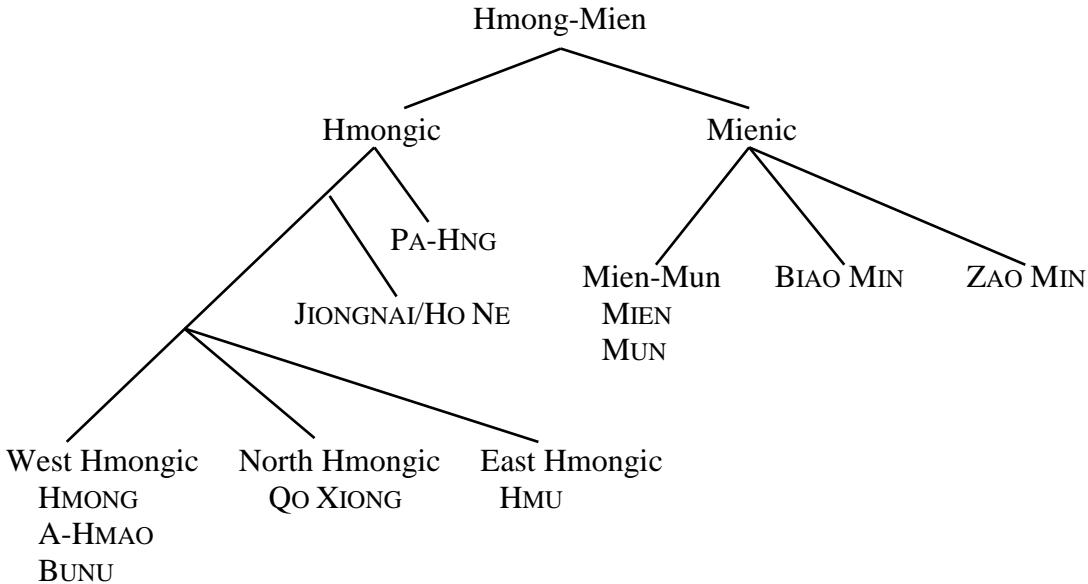
<sup>63</sup> Alternative Autonym.



**Figure 19. The Mienic side structure adapted from Ratliff 1992:61.  
(Hmongic side is simplified)**

In contrast to Mao's rather monolithic structure in the tree diagram cited above in Figure 18, Ratliff (1992), over a decade earlier than him, had analysed the internal relations under the Mienic branch. She divides it into three groups: (i) Mien-Mun including Iu Mien, Kim Mun and Biao Mon, (ii) Min-Meng including Biao Min and Chao Kong Meng, and (iii) Dzao, which is the only member within the group. Mao (2004), however, considers that Chao Kong Meng ([cau<sup>44</sup> koŋ<sup>55</sup> meŋ<sup>55</sup>] (交公勉)) under Ratliff's Min-Meng is an alternative name of Biao Min ([bjau<sup>31</sup> min<sup>31</sup>] (标敏)). Mao's Iu Nyien ([ju<sup>21</sup> njen<sup>24</sup>] (优念)) is not included in Ratliff's study.

In the latest historical study by Ratliff (2010), Chao Kong Meng seems to be subsumed (back) into Biao Min and the simplified name Dzao has been reverted to Zao Min, probably in conformity with Mao's newer study than her work of 1992. Biao Mon, which was grouped under Mien-Mun in her 1992 study, has been omitted in Ratliff (2010). Otherwise, Iu Mien (Mien) and Kim Mun (Mun) under Mien-Mun remain the same between Ratliff (1992) and (2010). These changes are reflected in Figure 20.



**Figure 20. Hmong-Mien Family Tree (after Ratliff 2010:3)**

Incidentally, another change made between Ratliff (1992) and (2010) is that Ho Nte (She) is now shifted to the Hmongic side from the Mienic side (the revision is proposed in Ratliff (1998)). This latest study seems to have become more prudent with regard to the finer divisions under Mien-Mun.

In conclusion, after more than two decades of research, Ratliff (2012) has summarized as follows:

Although the highest-level two-branch structure is not in doubt given the obvious lexical, phonological, and grammatical differences between languages belonging to the two sub-families (Ratliff 1998), more work needs to be done to refine the internal structure of each sub-family (Ratliff 2012:3).

Especially, the internal structure embracing Biao Mon (标曼), Biao Min (标敏), and Zao Min (藻敏) and their relation to Mien-Mun are yet to be definite.

## 2.4.2 Kim Mun: the Closest Kin

### 2.4.2.1 Relation between Kim Mun and Iu Mien

Kim Mun [kim<sup>22</sup> mun<sup>22</sup>] (ISO 639-3, mji), belonging to the Mienic side of the Hmong-Mien family, is called by various names such as Chasan Yao, Gem Mun, Hainan Miao, Jim Mun, Jinmen, Kem Mun, Kimmun, Lan Tin, Lanten, Lowland Yao, Man Lantien, Men, Mun, Shanzi Yao (Lewis et al. (eds.). 2015). After the extensive survey carried out by Chinese government in the 1950s, the use of autonyms became preferred (Mao 2004:11). We can observe, for example, such a shift from calling them

Hainan Miao to “Mun” by Shiratori (1990) and Shintani and Yang (1990), and from “Mán Kim-đí-Mun” (i.e. “men who live at the foot of the mountains”) by Savina (1926, translated into English in 2006 by Kawagoe) to “Kim Mun” by Purnell (1970) and “kim-mun (jīnmén)” by Niederer (1998).

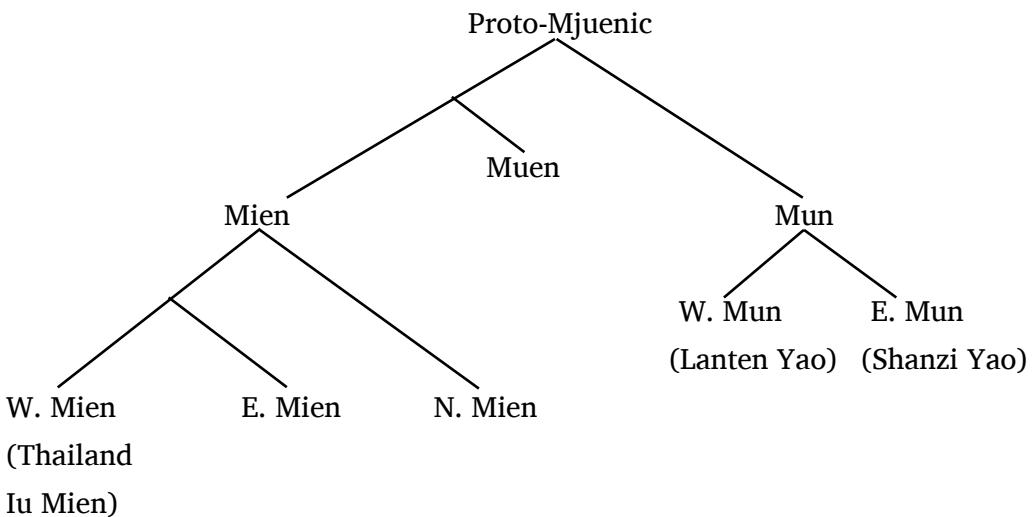
He (和)(eds.)(1999:333-9), in the *Outline of Minority Nationality Alphabets of Yunnan*, reports:

Mun is the language spoken by the Yao who call themselves Kim Mun [kim<sup>22</sup> mun<sup>22</sup>]. They are mainly found in southeast Yunnan and southwest Guangxi and also in Vietnam and Laos. There are approximately 164,092 speakers of which 108,025 or 65.8% are in Yunnan (He 1999:333, translated by Greg Aumann).

Besides the locations mentioned above, some 60,000 Kim Mun speakers are found on Hainan Island also. Though previously called as Miao (or Hmong), they were discovered to speak Kim Mun owing to the research conducted by Shintani and Yang (1990). Regarding the historical background of this group, Downer (n.d.(b):5) mentions that “there is some evidence that the Yao of Hainan Island (where they are confusingly known as ‘Miao’) arrived on the island in the 13<sup>th</sup> or 14<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., probably from Guangxi”.

In Lao PDR it seems that the exonym has become an autonym. My informant who migrated from Lao PDR into Thailand in the mid-1980s, now residing in Lampang province, did not know the term “Kim Mun” but calls herself “Lan Ten”. She lives among the Iu Mien in a village south of Ngaau District, Lampang province. An Iu Mien word referring to the Kim Mun or Lan Ten people is *Janx-Canh Zeiv* /can˥ tsʰan˥ tsei˥/. An exonym given by the Vietnamese to the Kim Mun is /san cʰi/ (Shanzi Yao).

Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1993a), through her extensive fieldwork across the regions of southern provinces of China, Vietnam, Lao PDR, and northern provinces of Thailand, has presented the relationship between Iu Mien and Kim Mun (designated by Mien and Mun respectively) as follows:



**Figure 21. The relationship between Iu Mien and Kim Mun (after Theraphan L.-Thongkum 1993a:170)**

### 2.4.2.2 Available literature on Kim Mun

Savina (1927) compiled *Dictionnaire Français–Mán* based on the dialect in Vietnam. Kawagoe translated Savina's dictionary into English in 2006. Shintani (1990) discusses the phonology of Mun of Hainan Island based on Shintani and Yang's (1990) classified lexicon. The Chinese government devised a Roman-based orthography for Mun in Yunnan (He 1999:333-9). Clark's (2008) MA thesis compared the phonology of varieties of Kim Mun in Laos and Vietnam and found that they are the same as far as the consonants and vowels are concerned. Tones are different in the two varieties. It also reports that they show much similarity with the variety in Hainan Island studied by Shintani and Yang (1990). As a counterpart of Shintani and Yang (1990), which is a classified lexicon of Mun of Haiman Island, Shintani (2008) is a classified lexicon of the Mun of Funing (富寧) county in Yunan province, bordering Guanxi province in China and Hà Giang province of Vietnam.

### 2.4.3 Dialects

Theraphan L.-Thongkham (1988b) proved, based on her thorough phonetic studies on the eight tones (1988a, 1989) sampled from four provinces (Chiang Rai, Phayao, Lampang, and Nan), that Iu Mien of all these areas in Thailand is essentially one and the same language.

However, speakers are conscious of slight differences in vocabulary between Chiang Rai province and Chiang Kham of Phayao province though they by no means

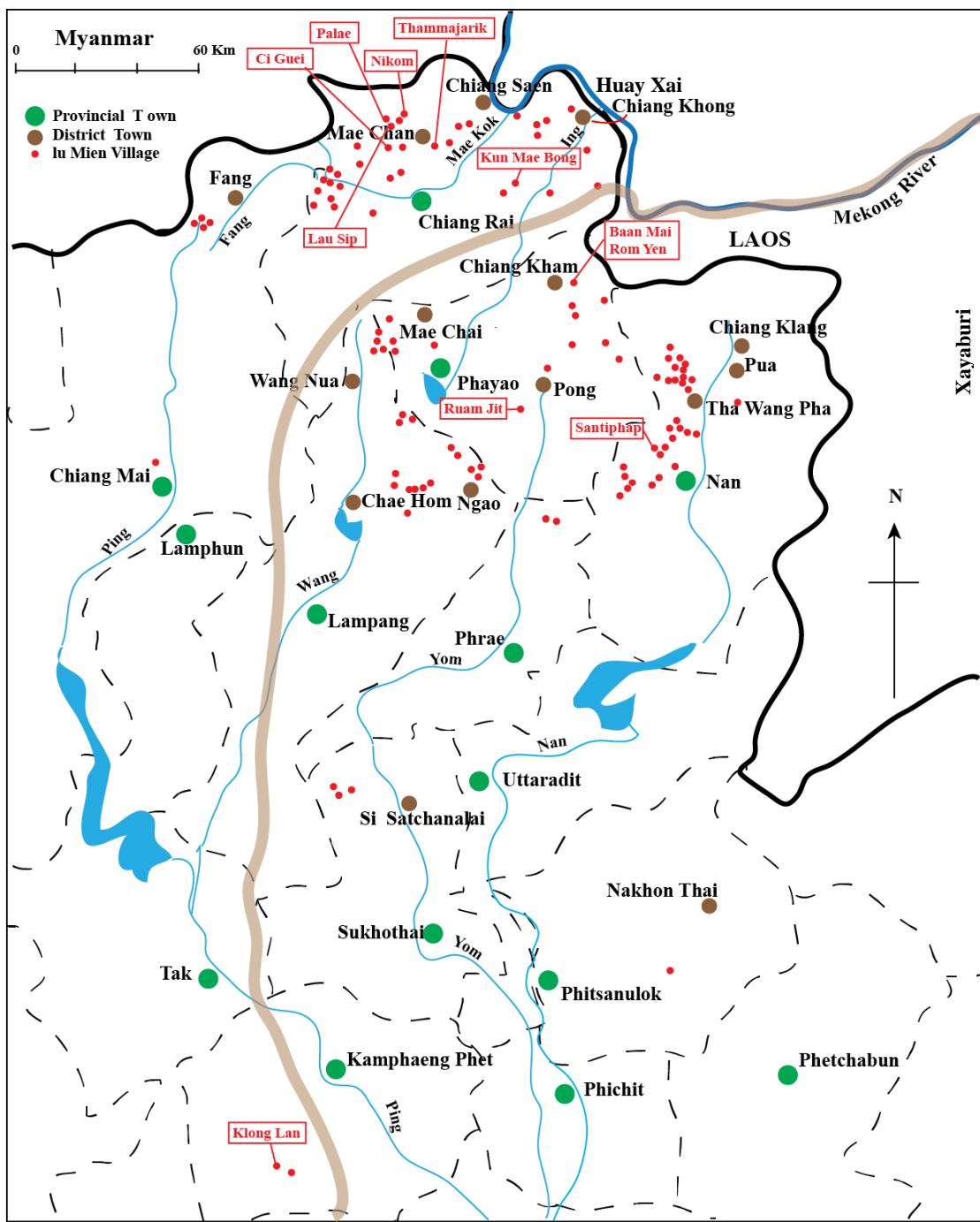
affect intelligibility. Sample variations are reported in Arisawa (2006:16) ('mosquito', 'chicken', and 'deer' have been added) in Table 6:

**Table 6. Sample lexical differences between regional varieties (Arisawa 2006)**

|                       | Chiang Rai variety                             |                   | Chiang Kham variety                            |                      |
|-----------------------|--|-------------------|--|----------------------|
| ‘pumpkin’             | <i>fuqc nyomv</i>                              | /fuʔ↓ nom^↓/      | <i>famh mbouh</i>                              | /fam↓ bəʊ↓/          |
| ‘cabbage’             | <i>lai-dorngc</i>                              | /lai↓ tɔŋ↓/       | <i>lai-jaaix dorngc</i>                        | /lai↓ caɪ↓ tɔŋ↓/     |
| ‘jackfruit’           | <i>da’norc nih</i>                             | /ta nɔ↓ ni↓/      | <i>ma’nun</i>                                  | /ma nun↑/            |
| ‘to play’             | <i>nyienx</i>                                  | /n̥jən↓/          | <i>jiuv</i>                                    | /ciu^↓/              |
| ‘to water’<br>(plant) | <i>fuqv wuom</i>                               | /fuʔ↓ uəm↑/       | <i>pietv wuom</i>                              | /pʰjet↓ uəm↑/        |
| ‘cicada’              | <i>gaeng-waen</i>                              | /keŋ↓ wen↑/       | <i>gaeng-waen</i>                              | /keŋ↓ wen↑/          |
|                       |  |                   | (variant)<br><i>gaeng-nzen</i>                 | /keŋ↓ dzen↑/         |
| ‘tomato’              | <i>biouv-gomh</i>                              | /p̥əʊ↓ kom↓/      | <i>biouv-gomh</i>                              | /p̥əʊ↓ kom↓/         |
|                       | (variant)<br><i>loz-laangz</i><br><i>biouv</i> | /lo↓ la:ŋ↓ p̥əʊ↓/ | (variant)<br><i>muangz hor</i><br><i>biouv</i> | /mʷaŋ↓ ho↑<br>p̥əʊ↓/ |
| ‘mosquito’            | <i>mungz-nyaih</i>                             | /mʊŋ↓ nai↓/       | <i>gaeng-qorngħ</i>                            | /keŋ↓ cʰɔŋ↓/         |
| ‘chicken’             | <i>jai</i>                                     | /caɪ↓/            | <i>jae</i>                                     | /ce↑/                |
| ‘deer’                | <i>njaih</i>                                   | /ɟai↓/            | <i>njaeh</i>                                   | /ɟe↑/                |

The division between the distribution of Chiang Rai variety and the distribution of Chiang Kham variety broadly corresponds with the division between the western region (Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Kampaeng Phet) of the National Highway No. 1 and the eastern side of it (Phayao and Nan) briefly mentioned in §2.3.6. This division corresponds with the difference between the speakers around Huay Xaai the north of the Mekong river and the speakers around Xayaburi to the south in Laos. That is, those Iu Mien who crossed the Mekong River from Huay Xaai of Laos to Chiang Saen and settled in Mae Sa Long, Huay Chomphu, Mae Chan, Huay Kwaang, Kun Mae Bong in Chiang Rai province speak the western variety. They also moved to Chiang Mai, Doi Angkhaang, Klonglaan and its surrounding villages in Kampaeng Phet. On the other hand, those who walked from Xayaburi of Laos into Nan, Phayao, especially in Chiang Kham district, now speak the eastern variety. (Movement of the migrants inside Thailand is surveyed in Chop Khacha-Anant (1997) and Phanphisutthichon (2007).)

This division is depicted by a grey line in the map in Figure 22.



**Figure 22. A broad division between the western and eastern varieties** (The smallest dots represent Iu Mien villages indicated by Chob Kacha-Ananda (1992:294). The research sites are in box. Map redrawn with the dialect division line by Lee Ying Ying)

Incidentally, Yoshino's (pers. com.)<sup>64</sup> informant from Saai Thong village in Nan province at the time of his earliest fieldwork in anthropology in the 1980s testified that there were three distinct dialect groups in Thailand. The third one, besides the western (i.e. Chiang Rai, Chiang Mai, Kampaeng Phet) and the eastern (i.e. Chiang Kham, Phayao, Nan) differences, was said to be located in Lampang province, which is an eclectic variety of Chiang Rai and Phayao dialects.

Furthermore, there has been intermarriage between two geographically different areas and their mobility inside Thailand and across the Thailand-Laos border is increasing.

To summarise, Iu Mien in Thailand is essentially one in terms of the tone system with some lexical varieties generally distributed in the western and eastern regions. It seems that this slight difference between the speakers of the western region and the speakers of the eastern region replicates their two different geographical origins in Laos before their migration.

#### 2.4.4 Semi-Diglossic Situation

As has been demonstrated in §2.2.2, one of the striking characteristics of language use among the Iu Mien, which distinguishes them from other ethnic minority peoples of Thailand, is a longitudinal contact with written Chinese literature and an extensive amount of borrowing them into Iu Mien language. Shiratori (1975:335) and his team took more than 20,000 photographs of Chinese documents kept among the Iu Mien of northern Thailand. Purnell and Chushman "photographed or photocopied some 300 books or manuscripts, a total of roughly 15,000 pages" in Chiang Mai, Thailand and Long Cheng, Laos (Purnell 1991:371-2). Despite the long historical contact with Chinese, the Iu Mien do not consider the borrowed language as Chinese but their own.<sup>65</sup> As regard to this aspect of the Iu Mien's language use, Purnell (1991:394) writes: "The truly remarkable accomplishment is that the Yiu Mien [i.e. Iu Mien] borrowed so much of the complex Chinese system, thoroughly integrating it into their overall language system without causing a crisis in ethnic identity, and have maintained it so consistently". He (1991:373) summarises this situation into two categories as follows (square brackets have been added):

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<sup>64</sup> Opportunities of information exchange and courteous friendship with Professor Yoshino is deeply appreciated in various occasions: March 2009, April 2013, and April 2015.

<sup>65</sup> In this respect, the use of Chinese characters (*kanji* 漢字) by Japanese can be a close analogy.

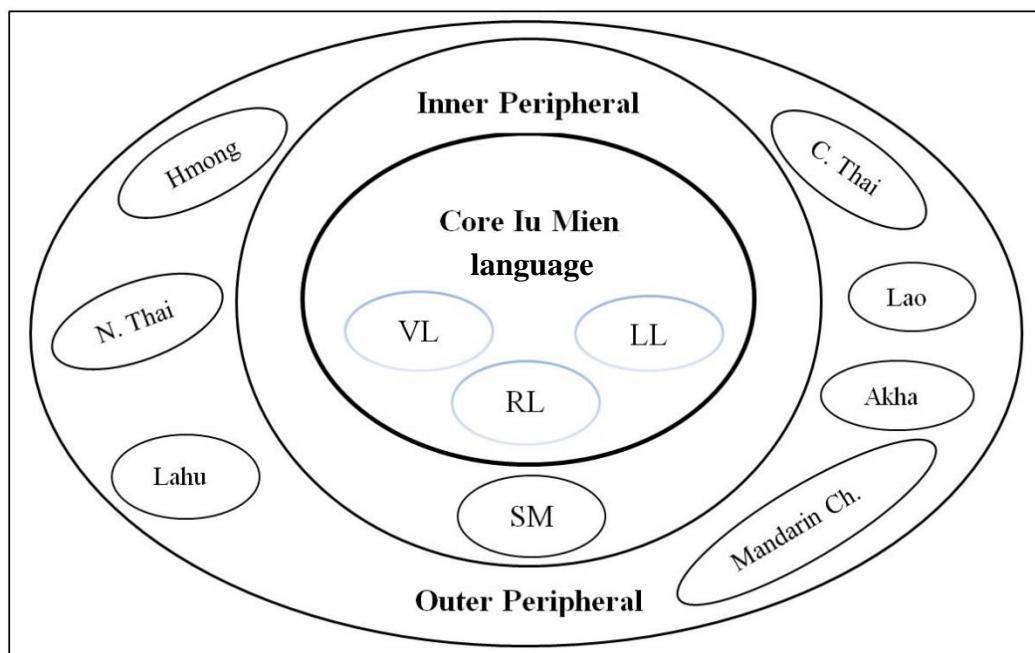
- A. Core:**
1. Vernacular language (*mienh waac*<sup>66</sup> [Mien word]) abbreviated as VL
  2. Literary language (*nzung-waac* [song word]) abbreviated as LL
  3. Ritual language (*ziec-waac* [sacrifice word]) abbreviated as RL

**B. Peripheral:**

*Inner:* 4. Southwestern Mandarin (Yunnanese, *kaeqv waac* [Chinese word] abbreviated as SM

*Outer:* 5. Various trade languages (e.g. Lahu, Hmong, Northern Thai, Lao) depending on residence and need for interethnic communication (Purnell 1991:373).

To the outer peripheral, it is possible to add Central Thai and Mandarin Chinese reflecting the present day availability of the formal education and Akha in the case our situation of Maechan, Chiang Rai. All of VL, LL, and RL are pure Iu Mien. They are surrounded by other languages, of which SM is the closest. Purnell's categorization (with a few additions) can be translated into the following diagram (Figure 23):



**Figure 23. The Iu Mien Language System (after Purnell 1991)**

<sup>66</sup> *Waac* can be translated to both ‘word’ and ‘language’.

Though the sociolinguistic situation surrounding the Iu Mien is not complete diglossia (unlike that of Swiss German (L) in relation to High German (H) in the sense that both L and H are actively spoken), the Literary Language or LL is highly respected among the Iu Mien. Purnell (1991:377-94) refers to it as “Literary Language” rather than *nzung-waac*<sup>67</sup> /dzunj wa:/ [song word] ‘song language’ (or *nzung nyei waac* [song REL language] ‘language of song’) because LL is used not only in songs but also in prose, even permeates some wise speakers’ spontaneous speech. While RL is confined to religious practitioners (*sai mienh* /sai˥ miən˧/), those who are in the fifties understand some LL; and those sixties and above enjoy it very much. Even those who do not comprehend Iu Mien traditional songs in LL admire it as in a phrase *nzung nyei waac ndo haic* [song REL language be.deep very] ‘The song language is so profound’ with some kind of feeling “I should have learned it from my grandparents”. Should the Iu Mien had a university, LL would have become a mark of an educated person and the diglossic situation would be stabilized.

The LL in Iu Mien follows old Chinese poetic styles called *qīyánshī* (七言詩) ‘poem with seven characters to a line’. There are three types of *qīyánshī*: (i) *qīyán·gǔshī* (七言古詩) ‘the seven-syllable old poem’,<sup>68</sup> (ii) *qīyánlǚshī* (七言律詩) ‘the eight-line poem with seven characters to each line’,<sup>69</sup> and (iii) *qīyánjuéjù* (七言絕句) ‘the four-line poem with seven characters to each line’.<sup>70</sup> With “the latter two governed by a strict tonal pattern and a rhyme scheme” (CCD 2002:1505), the Iu Mien seemed to have adopted the first style which would allow more freedom.

For more detailed description of LL concerning song’s categories (14 categories), metrical structure, performance style, musical scale in relation to pitch and tone, and padding syllables, see Purnell (1998:277-300).

#### 2.4.5 Multilingual Milieu of Iu Mien in Thailand

In the country of Thailand where seventy-two languages (Lewis et al. 2015) are spoken, Iu Mien is adjacent to various other ethnic minority groups. The Tribal Museum, Chiang Mai, (Technical Service Club 2004) presents nine ethnic peoples found in northern provinces of Thailand out of over 70 languages spoken in the

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<sup>67</sup> Yoshino tends to use *nzung-waac* (pers. com.).

<sup>68</sup> The predecessor of *qīyán·gǔshī* can be found as early as in *Yān·gēxīng* (燕歌行) by *Cáo Pi* (曹丕 A.D. 187-226) in *Wèi* (魏) era, but its development came later in the early *Táng* (唐) Dynasty, i.e. the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>69</sup> The style *qīyánlǚshī* emerged in the eras of *Qí* (齊 A.D. 479-502) and *Liáng* (梁 A.D. 502-557), was formalized in the early *Táng* Dynasty, and established by *Dù Fǔ* (杜甫 A.D. 712-770).

<sup>70</sup> The style *qīyánjuéjù* developed in the the *Táng* Dynasty and was fully fledged after *Shèng Táng* (盛唐) period (A.D. 713-766), the second period of Chinese poem history or the glorious age of *Táng* Dynasty.

country. They are, in descending order in population, Karen, Hmong, Lahu, Akha, Iu Mien, H'tin, Lisu, Lua, and Khamu. The Iu Mien is the fifth group of the nine with the population 45,571 in the 2003 census (Department of Social Development and Welfare, Ministry of Social Development and Human Security), which is 4.96 percent of the total population of the nine groups. The Iu Mien's relation to other people groups is shown in Table 7:

**Table 7. Population of nine major ethnic groups in the northern provinces of Thailand in 2003**

| Ethnic groups | Villages     | Households     | Persons        | Percentage    |
|---------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| Karen         | 1,912        | 87,628         | 438,131        | 47.47         |
| Hmong         | 253          | 19,287         | 153,955        | 16.68         |
| Lahu          | 385          | 18,057         | 102,876        | 11.15         |
| Akha          | 271          | 11,178         | 68,653         | 7.44          |
| Iu Mien       | 178          | 6,758          | 45,571         | 4.94          |
| H'tin         | 159          | 8,496          | 42,657         | 4.62          |
| Lisu          | 155          | 6,553          | 38,299         | 4.15          |
| Lua           | 69           | 4,361          | 22,260         | 2.41          |
| Khamu         | 38           | 2,256          | 10,573         | 1.14          |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>3,420</b> | <b>164,574</b> | <b>922,957</b> | <b>100.00</b> |

(Department of Social Development and Welfare, Ministry of Social Development and Human Security, quoted in Technical Service Club, Tribal Museum, Chiang Mai 2004:5)

As these peoples groups are also in contact with the Yunnanese (Chinese dialect of Yunnan province) and the regional dominant language is Kammüang (Northern Thai), and as the Iu Mien in the past migrated from Laos, some Iu Mien are at least quadrilingual (Yunnanese, Lao, Kammüang), sometimes with an addition of Hmong or Akha. Young generation Iu Mien are also well educated in Standard Thai. It is often pointed out by the native Standard Thai speakers that the young Iu Mien seldom reveal their ethnic origin by "accents" when they speak Standard Thai whereas other ethnic minority peoples speech in Thai have flavour of their mother tongues.

Lewis and Lewis (1984) documented cultural artefacts and life style of six minority groups (Karen, Hmong, Iu Mien, Lahu, Akha, Lisu) of the region so-called "Golden Triangle", which also addresses the situation of the multilingual milieu in which Iu Mien is located (1984:134-69).

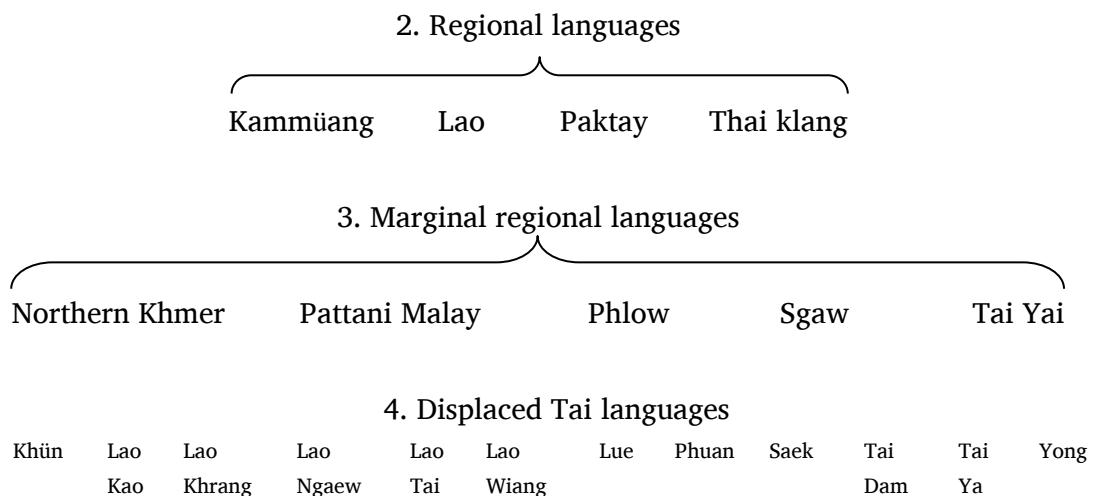
Ministry of Social Development and Human Security (2004) issued essentially the same information as that of Technical Service Club (2004), except additions of the Mlabri (belonging to Kumuic branch of Austroasiatic family) and the Padaung (known also as long neck Karen).

#### **2.4.6 Iu Mien in the Linguistic Hierarchy of Thailand**

The above mentioned Iu Mien Language System analysed by Purnell (1991, 1998) (§2.4.4) can be well integrated in the classic discussion of linguistic hierarchy proposed by Smalley (1994). His appraisal and appreciation of the national unity despite the huge linguistic diversity of nearly eighty languages spoken in Thailand have encouraged many eminent Thai linguists to produce textbooks in sociolinguistics and dialectology for Thai students (e.g. Amara Prasithrathsint 1999, Suriya Ratanakul 1988). Congruent with the social hierarchy of the nation, these languages coexist without political conflict in various roles and niches in a hierarchical manner. Smalley (1994:69, 361-4) classifies them as follows:

1. Standard Thai
2. Regional languages              3. Marginal regional languages
4. Displaced Tai languages        5. Languages of towns and cities
6. Marginal languages              7. Enclave languages

Each of these 2 to 7 includes the following languages:



(only those of northern region are named. See complete list in Smalley 1994:362)

## 5. Languages of towns and cities

|           |                    |           |       |         |                                      |          |           |         |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|-------|---------|--------------------------------------|----------|-----------|---------|
| Cantonese | European languages | Hainanese | Hakka | Hokkien | Languages of India, Pakistan, Ceylon | Mandarin | Taiwanese | Teochiu |
|-----------|--------------------|-----------|-------|---------|--------------------------------------|----------|-----------|---------|

Iu Mien is categorised in marginal languages as follows:

**Table 8. Iu Mien as a marginal language in the Thailand's linguistic hierarchy**

| 6. Marginal languages      |            |              |        |
|----------------------------|------------|--------------|--------|
| North                      | North East | Central      | South  |
| Akha                       | Brao       | Chong        | Kensiw |
| Hmong                      | Bru        | Mon          | Moken  |
| Iu Mien                    | Kuy        | Pwo Karen of | Tonga' |
| Jinghpaw                   | Nyoe       | Hua Hin      |        |
| Keyeh                      | So         | Samre        |        |
| Khmu'                      | So Tri     | Vietnamese   |        |
| Lahu Ku Lao                | Vietnamese |              |        |
| Lahu La Ba                 |            |              |        |
| Lahu Na                    |            |              |        |
| Lahu Nyi                   |            |              |        |
| Lahu Sheh Leh              |            |              |        |
| Lahu Shi                   |            |              |        |
| Lamet                      |            |              |        |
| Lisu                       |            |              |        |
| Mla'bri'                   |            |              |        |
| Pa'o (Karen)               |            |              |        |
| Phalok                     |            |              |        |
| Phang                      |            |              |        |
| Plang                      |            |              |        |
| Phlong (Karen)             |            |              |        |
| Pray                       |            |              |        |
| Pwo Karen of Phrae         |            |              |        |
| Sgaw (Karen)               |            |              |        |
| Wa                         |            |              |        |
| Yunnanese Mandarin Chinese |            |              |        |

Iu Mien is in close contact with Yunnanese Mandarin Chinese, Hmong, Akha, Lahu, Lisu, Tai Lue, all surrounded by Kammüang (i.e. Northern Thai, cf. Figure 23) used locally and in district level of government, while constantly exposed to Standard Thai through mass media, and education.

Lastly, enclave languages are as follows:

**Table 9. Enclave languages of Thailand**

| 7. Enclave languages |                         |                     |             |
|----------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|-------------|
| North                | North East              | Central             | South       |
| Bisu                 | Kuay of Ubon Rachathani | Kuay of Suphan Buri | Moklen      |
| Lavüa' of La-up      | Nyah Kur                | Ugong               | Urak Lawoi' |
| Lavüa' of Umphai     |                         |                     |             |
| Lavüa' of Pa Pae     |                         |                     |             |
| Lavüa' of Bo Luang   |                         |                     |             |
| Lavüa' of Phae       |                         |                     |             |
| Lua' of Wiang Papao  |                         |                     |             |
| Mal                  |                         |                     |             |
| Mok                  |                         |                     |             |
| Mpi                  |                         |                     |             |

#### **2.4.7 Forthcoming National Language Policy of Thailand<sup>71</sup>**

For the past two decades, Thailand, at least linguists and educators, have changed their perspective on minority languages. It is the Royal Institute of Thailand (ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน) that has been advocating the importance of the nation's linguistic diversity and its preservation besides its main mission of the standardisation of Thai language through the publication of the prestigious dictionaries (พจนานุกรม ฉบับราชบัณฑิตยสถาน). The linguistic diversity reported in *Ethnologue* by Lewis et al. (2015) reads:

The number of individual languages listed for Thailand is 72. All are living languages. Of these, 51 are indigenous and 21 are non-indigenous. Furthermore, 2 are institutional, 26 are developing, 19 are vigour[ous], 19 are in trouble, and 6 are dying (Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons, and Charles D. Fenning (eds.) 2015).

Despite the awareness of diversity and endangerment of some languages among the academics, there is no clear language policy in Thailand to this day. The use of Standard Thai as an official language is a *de facto* practice while its language status is not mentioned in the constitution of Thailand. Formerly, the “one sentence

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<sup>71</sup> This section was originally entitled “Thailand’s Forthcoming National Language Policy and Its Implication to the Iu Mien, an Ethno-linguistic Minority”, an accepted paper for the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Language, Education and Diversity (LED 2015), 23-26 November 2015 at the University of Auckland. However, due to the political consideration for what Thailand was experiencing then, I refrained from presenting it.

language policy”, as Person (2011) put it, was declared by Field Marshal Plaek Pibunsongkram on 24<sup>th</sup> June 1940 (2483 BE) that Thai was the national language (State Convention #9). With the fear of communist power that was approaching to Thailand, the next three decades became a period of restriction: the ethnic minority peoples including the Iu Mien who were acquainted with Chinese from Yunnan province of China were forbidden to learn Chinese; the descendants of the Chinese National Party (中国国民党) who had fled to northern part of Thailand were forbidden to open Chinese schools; and missionaries who had designed Roman-based orthographies for the ethnic minorities were instructed to convert them to Thai-based writing systems. An Iu Mien village headman, Zeuz Wuonh Siouc, and his wife testified the situation as (6<sup>-9</sup>):

|  |            |                    |              |              |             |                    |
|--|------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------|
| (6 <sup>-1</sup> )                                 | <i>Yie</i> | <i>mbuo</i>        | <i>naaiv</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>norm</i> | <i>hnangx-dauh</i> |
| WS   | ເຢີ່ຍ      | ນ້ວ                | ນ້າຍ         | ມ່າຍ         | ນອມ         | ຫອນັງ-ເຕົ້າ        |
|  | iə̯t̚      | bua̯t̚             | na:i̯        | ma:i̯l̚      | nɔ̯m̚t̚     | jia̯ŋ̚tau̚l̚       |
| 1  | PL         | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | have         | CLF          |             | year-head          |
| ‘Here (in this village too) we had a certain year’ |            |                    |              |              |             |                    |

|   |           |            |               |             |              |             |
|---|-----------|------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| (6 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>mv</i> | <i>bun</i> | <i>njaaux</i> | <i>janx</i> | <i>Kaeqv</i> | <i>sou.</i> |
| WS  | ນ້ຳ       | ບຸນ        | ທ່າວາ         | ຈິ່ນ        | ແກະ          | ໄຈວາ.       |
|   | m̚        | pun̚       | ja:u̯         | can̚        | kʰε̯l̚       | sə̯b̚       |
| NEG   | give      | teach      | non-Mien      | Chinese     | book         |             |
| ‘in which (the government) did not allow (us by hiring Chinese teachers) to teach Chinese.’ |           |            |               |             |              |             |

|   |             |             |                   |                 |                    |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (6 <sup>-3</sup> )                        | <i>Wuov</i> | <i>norm</i> | <i>ziangh.hoc</i> | <i>nqa'haav</i> | <i>wuov</i>        |
| WS  | ວ້ວ         | ນອມ         | ເຕື່ອງ.ໂທ໌        | ມະຫ້າ           | ວ້ວ                |
|   | uə̯t̚       | nɔ̯m̚t̚     | ts̚jaŋ̚ho̯l̚      | ga ha:̯         | uə̯t̚              |
| DEM <sub>DIS</sub>                        | CLF         | time        | after             |                 | DEM <sub>DIS</sub> |
| ‘At that time, after (the event that...)’ |             |             |                   |                 |                    |

|  |             |                |              |             |              |                  |
|--|-------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|
| (6 <sup>-4</sup> )                                 | <i>yiem</i> | <i>Pateeph</i> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>janx</i> | <i>Kaeqv</i> | <i>deic.bung</i> |
| WS   | ເຢີ່ຍ       | ພຣະເຖວ         | ມິ່ງ         | ຈິ່ນ        | ແກະ          | ເຕີບ.ປູງ         |
|  | jem̚        | pʰa tʰe:p̚l̚   | min̚l̚       | can̚        | kʰε̯l̚       | tei̯l̚puŋ̚t̚     |
| be.at  | Princes     | go             | non-Mien     | China       | country      |                  |
| ‘since (the time when) the Princes went to China,’ |             |                |              |             |              |                  |

(6<sup>5</sup>) *Pateeph nzuonx daaih yiem naaic cingx bun njaaux.*  
 WS พระเทพ หลาน ด้วย เช่น หน่าย หรือ บุน หมาย  
*pʰa tʰe:p˥ dzʷən˧˥ ta:i˥ jem˧ na:i˥ tsʰinj˥ pun˧ ja:u˥*  
 Princes return come be.at DEM<sub>MID</sub> therefore give teach  
 ‘after the Princes’ returning, (the government) allowed (us) to teach  
 (Chinese).’

(6<sup>6</sup>) *Mm? mm? sorngx gauh sorngx sipv*  
 WS ມ ມ ສອງ ເກ້າ ສອງ ຜົບ  
*m m sɔŋ˥ kau˥ sɔŋ˥ sip˥*  
 HEST HEST two nine two ten  
 ‘Well, let’s see, (it was in the year) two thousand...nine or ten...’

(6<sup>7</sup>) *haah roiv sipv mv.bei.*  
 WS ໜ້າ ຮ້ອຍ ຜົບ ມໍ.ປ່ອຍ.  
*ha:˥ rɔi˥sip˥ m˥ pei˥*  
 fife hundred ten I.wonder  
 ‘five hundred (and) ten, I wonder.’ (2510 B.E. = A.D. 1967)

(6<sup>8</sup>) *Ninh mbuo gorngv nqemh*  
 MZ ນິນ ບັວ ກ້ອງ ໄຟ່ມ  
*nin˥ buət˥ kɔŋ˥ gem˥*  
 3 PL say criticise  
 ‘They said (and) criticised’

(6<sup>9</sup>) *Janx-Kaeqv naaic haaix norm Komunitv nyei.*  
 MZ ຈື່ນ-ແຄວ หน่าย หาย น้อม คอมมิวนิสต് ໄສູຍ.  
*can˥ kʰε?˥ na:i˥ ha:i˥ nɔm˧ kʰomunit˥ nyei˥*  
 Chinese DEM<sub>TOP</sub> what CLF Communists ASST  
 ‘(that) those Chinese were, so-called, Communists.’  
 (ium\_20120708\_01\_Olympus\_DA\_WuonhSiouc\_Lang  
 Policy;00.02.04-00.03.32)

Thus, the Iu Mien’s learning Chinese by hiring Chinese teachers was resumed after some period. However, the *de facto* assimilation policy that all ethnic minorities had to learn only Thai (at sacrifice of their mother tongues) continued. In the

meantime, a high dropout rate among the children of ethnic minorities caught an attention of educators.<sup>72</sup> Smalley (1994) notes:

The [Thai education] system is a sink-or-swim system [...] for those children who do not speak some dialect of Thaiklang [i.e. Central Thai] when they start school. It is inefficient and frustrating because it assumes the life, culture and language of central Thailand, no matter where children live or what they speak. It requires many children to lose two years in school before they follow well what is going on in class (Smalley 1994:293).

In the 2000s, the awareness of the high drop-out rate and the realisation of extra cost of repeating school years for them were reinforced by the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015)(UNESCO Bangkok 2012).<sup>73</sup> As a part of it, UNESCO's Education for All program emphasised the effectiveness of Mother Tongue-based Multilingual Education. Furthermore, language right was recognised as human rights in many parts of the world. Against such background, the academics in Thailand hosted numerous conferences on national language policy. Besides the above mentioned Royal Institute of Thailand (ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน), Professor Suwilai Premsrirat (2007a, 2007b, 2011; Suwilai and Uniansasmita 2012) at the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia, Mahidol University, has been the key advocate for language preservation and revitalisation. Including her works, to name a few of such conferences and significant events spanning years 2000 - 2015 are:

- 2000: "During its thirtieth session in November 1999, the General Conference of UNESCO decided to proclaim the annual observation of International Mother Language Day (IMLD)"(UNESCO 2000-2007:7), inaugurated since 21 February 2000.
- 2003: UNESCO's education position paper *Education in a Multilingual World* was published.
- 2003: Conference on Language Development, Language Revitalisation and Multilingual Education in Minority Communities in Asia, 6-8 November, 2003 hosted by Mahidol University, Bangkok.
- 2006: The Royal Institute of Thailand formed the Committee to Draft the National Language Policy (CDNLP).

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<sup>72</sup> In many remote villages, as I have seen, some large concrete school buildings are abandoned partly because children left villages to go to schools in the plain and partly because Thai teachers did not come to schools either by inaccessibility during the rainy season or by unwillingness to live among the "hill tribes".

<sup>73</sup> Goal 1-Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, Goal 2-Achieve universal primary education, Goal 3-Promote gender equality and empower women, Goal 4-Reduce child mortality, Goal 5-Improve maternal health, Goal 6-Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases, Goal 7-Ensure environmental sustainability, and Goal 8-Develop a Global Partnership for Development.

- 2008: The 1<sup>st</sup> International Conference on National Language Policy: Language Diversity for National Unity, 4-5 July, 2008, hosted by the Royal Institute of Thailand.
- 2009: The Royal Institute Forum, 25-26 June, 2009, Chiang Mai. The emphasis was that the linguistic diversity contributes to the unity of the nation, not to division. (the similar Forums were held in many parts of Thailand).
- 2010: On 7 February 2010, the former Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva (อภิสิทธิ์ เวชชาชีวะ) approved the National Language Policy draft submitted by the Royal Institute of Thailand (cf. Appendix A).
- 2010: An International Conference on Language, Education and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in Bangkok on 9-11 November, sponsored by a consortium of organisations: the Asia Multilingual Education (MLE) Working Group including UNESCO, UNISEF, Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO), Mahidol University, SIL International, Save the Children, CARE International, Asia Pacific Basic and Adult Education, Asia Institute of Technology and the Royal Institute of Thailand. The (then) Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva gave an opening speech (cf. Appendix B).
- 2011: The 21<sup>st</sup> Annual Conference of Southeast Asian Linguistics Society, at Kasetsart University, 11 – 13 May, 2011. Suwilai Premsrirat presented “A Model for the Preservation of Languages in Southeast Asia”. Suwilai Premsrirat and Uniansasmita Samoh presented a paper “Planning and Implementing Patani Malay in Bilingual Education in Southern Thailand” (2012). Kirk R. Person presented “The Royal Institute and Thailand’s New National Language Policy: A Work in Progress”.
- 2011: The 11<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Thai Studies, organised by the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia, Mahidol University on 26-28 July 2011.
- 2012: The 9<sup>th</sup> International Conference on Bilingualism, Chiang Rai Rajabhat University, Chiang Rai, Thailand, 26–28 January 2012. Suwilai Premsrirat reported the case study in Patani Malay Bilingual Education in Southern Thailand.
- 2013: The 23<sup>rd</sup> Annual Conference of Southeast Asian Linguistics Society, at Chulalongkorn University, 29-31 May 2013. Suwilai Premsrirat presented “Thailand’s Draft National Language Policy: Achievements and Challenges in Supporting Language Diversity and Language Rights”.
- 2014: The 24<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of Southeast Asian Linguistics Society, at University of Yangon, 27-31 May 2014. A plenary session on language policies in Southeast Asian countries was held.
- 2015: Fourth International Workshop on the Sociolinguistics of Language Endangerment, sponsored by Comité International Permanent des Linguistes, La Trobe University Linguistics Discipline Research Program, and Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the Dynamics of Language, on 26<sup>th</sup> May 2015 at Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand, combined with the

occasion of the 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of Southeast Asian Linguistics Society, 27-29 May 2015.

The overall spirit of these conferences and the initiative by Suwilai in multilingual education are well described in Bauer's report on the 11th International Conference on Thai Studies: Visions of the Future 26-28 July 2011:

At this morning's plenary session entitled ““Thainess” in the Face of Universal Human Rights Protection and Linguistic Identity” we heard two presentations on this very important but quite controversial and emotive topics: Dr. Coeli Barry talked about protecting diversity from the negative impact of Thainess or sameness on ethnic minority groups by implementing a “Human Rights Protection Mechanism”. She proposed that diverse linguistic policies could allow for the reading and writing of other languages in addition to Central Thai. Emeritus Professor Suwilai has sketched out for us Thailand's tremendous linguistic diversity that has been created by the dozens of languages spoken within the nation. However, as she has demonstrated, many of these languages are seriously endangered and are in the process of dying out. Working within minority communities, she and her colleagues have introduced language-revitalization programs to strengthen some of these endangered languages. She has also been involved in developing bilingual-education programs that teach both Thai and Pattani Malay in minority communities in southern Thailand. As she as told us, the positive results from her work in these communities have been especially heartening and encouraging. She has advocated a humanitarian approach to the promotion of linguistic and cultural diversity that redefines Thainess which has been too narrowly based up till now and has done so in such a way that it not only embraces diversity but also preserves Thailand's unity (Bauer 2011:123).

In the course of these discussion among the academics, educators, and those who are concerned with human rights in search of new “Thainess” in linguistic diversity they replaced the term “hill tribes” (ชาวน่า) with “ethnic minorities” (ชาติพันธุ์) though the former term is still used among the Thai in towns on the lower lands and plains.

The year 2010 was significant since the 35<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva (in office 2008-2011) approved on the 7<sup>th</sup> of February the National Language Policy draft submitted by the Royal Institute of Thailand on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February. Even after the change of government, the 36<sup>th</sup> Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra (ยิ่งลักษณ์ ชินวัตร) (in office 2011-2014) signed off again.<sup>74</sup> The draft presents a six prong policy (Person 2011, Udom and Person 2011, Suwilai Premsrirat 2013) yielding six subcommittees:

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<sup>74</sup> After the military coup d'état on 22 May 2014, at this moment it remains unclear how long it will take till the implementation of the National Language Policy.

- Thai for Thai students and Thai Nationals
- Regional Languages (including ethnic minority languages)
- Languages of Commerce, Neighbouring Languages, and Working Languages
- Teaching Thai to Migrants Seeking Employment in Thailand
- Language Needs of the Visually and Hearing Impaired
- Translation, Interpretation, and Localisation Standards

The second subcommittee is directly relevant to the issues of language maintenance and revitalisation for the ethnic minority groups.

The following excerpts from the National Language Policy Draft is the second paragraph of the policy statement at the end of page 5 and the last part of it on top of page 6 (Appendix C). A very significant point from the perspective of local educator/literacy practitioner at university and village levels is the mention of the youth among the ethnic minorities as underlined:

(Page 5 of the draft)

อันที่ เพื่อเป็นการพัฒนาความร่วมมือและความสามารถในการแข่งขันกับนานาประเทศ รัฐบาลมีนโยบายส่งเสริมสนับสนุนการสอนภาษาต่างประเทศทั้งภาษาเศรษฐกิจ และภาษาของประเทศไทยเพื่อนบ้านให้กับนักเรียนไทยอย่างมีประสิทธิภาพ อีกทั้งส่งเสริมการจัดการเรียนการสอนแบบทวิภาษาหรือพหุภาษา สำหรับเยาวชนกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ที่มีภาษาแม่ต่างจากภาษาราชการ (ภาษาไทย) และกลุ่มผู้เข้ามาและทางานทำในประเทศไทย โดยใช้

(Page 6 of the draft)

ภาษาแม่เป็นฐาน (Mother Tongue Based) ในการสร้างความเข้มแข็งของการเรียนการสอนภาษาไทยและเพื่อพัฒนาสมองและการเรียนรู้ของเด็ก รวมทั้งส่งเสริมและสนับสนุนการเปลี่ยน ล้ำ และล้ำมภาษาเมืองให้มีมาตรฐาน”

หน่วยงานรับผิดชอบหลักในการดำเนินงาน : ราชบัณฑิตยสถานและหน่วยงานที่เกี่ยวข้อง

Translation of the underlined parts:

For the youth among the ethnic minorities whose mother tongues differ from the official language (i.e. Thai)(p. 5), their Mother Tongues are to be used as the foundation to build stability in learning and teaching Thai for the development of children's brain (p. 6)(CDNLP, Royal Institute of Thailand 2010:5-6).

It is clearly stated that Mother Tongues of the ethnic minorities should be used as a means of communication or the teaching medium for children (*dek* เด็ก, the last word of the last underlined part on p. 6) and youth (*เยาวชน*, the second word in the first

underlined sentence on p. 5), not just teaching an ethnic language as a subject in a school curriculum. Together with the change of term “hill tribes” (ชาวน่า) to “ethnic minorities” (ชาติพันธุ์) among the scholars, the sensitivity toward understanding of feelings of children and young people by the Committee to Draft the National Language Policy (CDNLP) given they have hosted numerous forums to interact with the local communities should be deeply appreciated. It is hoped that such an outlook should be communicated to the local communities including children and youth effectively.

However, the reality at present, as has been in the long past as well, is reflected in the following confessions by the Iu Mien youth. A nine year old male student says in (7<sup>1-2</sup>):

|   |                  |                    |                  |              |                       |                  |                        |                  |              |
|---|------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| (7 <sup>1</sup> )   | <i>Janx</i>      | <i>kru(cm.t)</i>   | <i>bun</i>       | <i>doqc,</i> | <i>a<sup>75</sup></i> | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>mai<sup>v</sup></i> | <i>haih</i>      | <i>doqc,</i> |
|   | ຈໍນ              | ຄຽງ(cm.t)          | ບຸນ              | ໂດະ,         | ອາ                    | ນັວ              | ໄມ້                    | ໄຂ່              | ໂດະ,         |
|   | can <sup>1</sup> | k <sup>h</sup> ru: | pun <sup>1</sup> | to?]         | a                     | buə <sup>1</sup> | mai <sup>v</sup>       | hai <sup>1</sup> | to?]         |
|   | non-Mien         | teacher            | give             | read         | 1                     | PL               | NEG                    | able             | read         |
| ‘When the teacher orders (us) to read (a Thai textbook) and we can’t read (it because it is Thai),’ |                  |                    |                  |              |                       |                  |                        |                  |              |

|  |                  |                    |                  |                  |
|--|------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|
| (7 <sup>2</sup> )  | <i>janx</i>      | <i>kru(cm.t)</i>   | <i>hemx</i>      | <i>gau.</i>      |
|  | ຈໍນ              | ຄຽງ(cm.t)          | ເຫມ              | ເກົ.             |
|  | can <sup>1</sup> | k <sup>h</sup> ru: | hem <sup>1</sup> | kau <sup>1</sup> |
|  | non-Mien         | teacher            | scold            | very             |
| ‘(then) the teacher would scold us very much.’                   |                  |                    |                  |                  |
| (ium_20150414_08_H1_DA_KaeqvLiemh MLM_ MaeJai;00.00.52-00.01.00) |                  |                    |                  |                  |

A thirteen year old female student recalls an incident with tears when she talked back to her Thai classmate who questioned why some “Yao” came to study in school (8<sup>1-2</sup>):

|   |                |                  |                   |                             |                 |                     |
|---|----------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| (8 <sup>1</sup> )                                 | “ <i>Yao</i> ” | <i>maa(cm.t)</i> | <i>rian(cm.t)</i> | <i>t<sup>h</sup>i(cm.t)</i> | <i>ni(cm.t)</i> | <i>nyia(cm.t)</i> , |
|   | ເຍາ            | ມາ               | ເຮືອງ             | ທີ່                         | ນີ້             | ແນີ້ຂ               |
|   | Yao            | come             | study             | at                          | here            | INTJ                |
| ‘That “Yao” people (like me) come here to study,’ |                |                  |                   |                             |                 |                     |

<sup>75</sup> Contraction of the 1<sup>st</sup> person pronoun *yie*.

- (8<sup>-2</sup>)    *man(cm.t) p<sup>h</sup>it(cm.t) mai(cm.t)?*  
 ມັນ                  ພຶດ                  ໄກມ?  
 it                      be.wrong      Q  
 ‘is it wrong?’  
 (ium\_20150414\_11\_H1\_DA\_LiuzTim\_MLM\_MaeJai;00.01.00-02)

A twenty-eight year old male remembers when he was in a primary school how the teacher treated him and his Iu Mien friends (9<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (9<sup>-1</sup>)    *Bieqc mingh taux naaic,*  
 ເປີບະ                  ມິ່ງ                  ແກາ                  ນໍາຍ,  
*piə?↓ miŋ↓ t<sup>h</sup>au↓ na:i↓*  
 enter      go            reach      DEM  
 ‘As we went in (the classroom),’

- (9<sup>-2</sup>)    *janx kru(cm.t) nqemh mbuo gorngv*  
 ຈັ້ນ                  ຄຽວ(cm.t)          ເມັນ                  ບັວ                  ກ້ອງ  
*can↓ k<sup>h</sup>ru: gem↓ buə↑ kɔŋ↑*  
 non-Mien      teacher      criticise      PL      say  
 ‘the Thai teacher would criticise us saying (that)’

- (9<sup>-3</sup>)    *mbuo naaic laih.hlopv haic, zueix haic.*  
 ບັວ                  ນໍາຍ                  ໄລ.ຮລບ                  ໃຫ້, ເຫດວາຍ                  ໃຫ້.  
*buə↑ na:i↓ lai↓ lop↓ hai↓ ts<sup>w</sup>ei↓ hai↓*  
 PL                    DEM<sub>TOP</sub>      be.dirty      very      be.smelly      very  
 ‘as for we (Iu Mien) were very dirty and very smelly.’  
 (ium\_20150414\_06\_H1\_DA\_Kaeqv\_MLM\_MaeJai;00.00.22-24)

According to a nineteen year old female experienced an offensive labelling in her work place, Thai people in other provinces seem to think all who are in Chiang Rai province are “mountain tribes” as in (10<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (10<sup>-1</sup>)    *Yie naaic “yiem Zingh.Haiv daaih”.*  
 A                  ເຢີຍ                  ນໍາຍ                  “ເຢີຍ ”          ຕິ່ງ.ໄຊ້                  ຕ້າຍ ”.  
*iə↑ na:i↓ jem↓ tsin↓ hai↑ tai:↓*  
 1SG                    DEM<sub>TOP</sub>      be.at      Chiang Rai      come  
 ‘As for me (I just answered to them saying) “I came from Chiang Rai province...”’

(10<sup>-2</sup>) YJ Kungx gorngv Zinh.Haiv hnangv, ninh mbuo gorngv,  
 ឃុង កំខែង តីន.ហីវ សង្កែង, ដីន ប៉ាវ កំខែង,  
 kuŋ˥ kɔŋ˥ tsin˥˧ hai˥ តូរាជ្យ និន បុេវ កោន្យ  
 empty say Chiang Rai only 3 PL say  
 ‘You just told (them the name of the province) “Chiang Rai” and then did they say...?’

(10<sup>-3</sup>) A “Mbong zangc mienh”.  
 ឃង អចំង មើន.  
 bon˥ tsaŋ˥ miən˥  
 mountain above people  
 ‘(Yes, that’s right. They said that I was) “a mountain tribe”.’  
 (ium\_20150414\_12\_H1\_DA\_Dimx MLM MaeJai;00.00.54-8)

In this case *mbong zangc mienh* was her translation of *k<sup>h</sup>on doi* (គណគុយ) ‘mountain people’ used by her Thai colleagues, rather than “hill tribes” (ជាហោះ) mentioned above. Both terms have connotation of backward, uneducated, poor, hunter-gatherers or farmers in the ears of urban Thai.

This kind of embarrassing and hurtful experiences testified in (7<sup>-1.2</sup>) - (10<sup>-1.3</sup>) can only be expressed in their mother tongue and be extracted only through a heartfelt conversation carried out monolingually in it, but not in Thai. Yet it is these words that need to be heard by educators and policy makers. And it is exactly this point that the forthcoming National Language Policy Draft is addressing: the real feelings of children and youth among the ethnic minorities. The reality is that most school teachers, including Iu Mien who teach in public schools, do not know about the National Language Policy Draft despite the government’s serious, long-term efforts to prepare for it. Some young Iu Mien deliberately abandon their mother tongue because of their experiences of shame, deep hurt, and struggle in learning everything in Thai from their childhood; and often their skills in Thai exceed other ethnic minorities of the northern region, which means a complete loss of Iu Mien. It is hoped that the work of drafting the new National Language Policy will be resumed in due course after the coup.

## 2.5 Cultural Background

### 2.5.1 Life

As the phrase “There is no mountain without the Yao” (Lan et al. (eds.) 1990:8-9) had become proverbial in the Ming and Qing Dynasties in China and is also true to the Iu Mien after their migration to Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand, the majority of the Iu Mien in Thailand live on the slopes of mountainous regions in the northern provinces. Baldock (1997) depicts the atmosphere of one of such mountains where she as a missionary encountered the Iu Mien for the first time in the early 1950s.<sup>76</sup> The mobile situation to the plains and urban areas in the present day is described in Leepreecha et al. (2004) from a sociological perspective. Not only their move to urban areas but also works overseas is reported by Yoshino (1999) in sociological study from an anthropologist’s perspective. Men and women alike go to work in Singapore, Brunei, Malaysia, Israel, Korea, Hong Kong, and most recently to Japan. This is different from their initial migration to the USA and France as refugees in the 1970s. Recent workers in these foreign countries leave Thailand for two to four years but eventually return home to build a house in their home villages with the money they earned. Despite such a movement to cities and overseas, the Iu Mien still maintain their cultural identity with an adjustment to modernisation of Thai society as described in Jonsson (2002) from anthropological perspective. A brief summary of such an aspect including still remaining agriculture by Arisawa is as follows:

In Thailand, Iu-Mien grow rice, both in paddy fields and on the slope of hills, corn, ginger, soy beans, herbal medicines, cotton, and collect

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<sup>76</sup> It may be worth quoting, though lengthy, an account of her (and presumably with Sylvia Lombard) repeated climbing up the mountain of Maesalong, Maechan district, Chiang Rai province, and a glimpse of the Iu Mien’s agricultural life style: “My first never to be forgotten visit to the Yao [Iu Mien] tribe was made in company with the Cookes [the parents of Joseph R. Cooke who assisted Mary R. Haas in compiling *Thai-English Student’s Dictionary*] from May 2-6, 1952” (Baldock 1997:31). [...] “Indeed, after hours of climbing, dodging trailing lines and thorn bushes which tear at one’s clothing it is a great relief to burst forth into the light of day at the top of a mountain. What a vista: sometimes complete vision right down to the plain, sometimes a view of puffy clouds below one, sometimes hardly any vision because of heavy mist – but whatever, a sense of exaltation at having emerged from the dense jungle. What is that in the distance? A large hillside of cleared brown earth slightly charred by fire – it is the new season’s rice field slashed and burned, and now ready for planting. Mountain rice is delicious, but to produce enough for a living is an arduous task. The method is practised by most hill tribes in Thailand. Starting at the bottom of a slashed mountain the seed is planted in rows working upwards, dodging the fallen trees. The Yao [Iu Mien] work in pairs. Each man is armed with a long bamboo pole with a metal pointed end. They use this to make the holes on the face of the hillside. The woman follows the man with a shoulderbag full of rice seed and drops the seed in as the holes are made. After a few days, provided there have been the expected rain showers, green shoots will appear. Then as the rainy season advances through July to September, the crop flourishes. The rice is ready for harvesting around November, at least a whole month earlier than the paddy rice on the plains. This is the general courting season for the Yao [Iu Mien]. It is expected that husbands and wives work together, but also boys and girls who have reached maturity pair off for rice planting” (1997:32-3).

various kinds of edible plants from the forests, bamboo shoots, mushrooms. Recently, they also plant rubber trees. Their orchards include bananas, oranges, lynes, mangoes, and passion fruits, [more recently avocados]. The common domestic animals for them are pigs and chickens. These animals are also used for Taoist rituals. Some raise water buffalos. Hunting is a supplement to their diet of meat of their domestic animals as well as men's sport in a leisure period between planting and harvest.

Though they were originally farmers and the majority still is, more and more Iu-Mien in Thailand have gained opportunities to enter university both in the country and without, job opportunities in bigger cities like Bangkok, Chiangmai, and Puket in the south. A manageable size business of soy bean milk production and selling is very common among them; the Iu-Mien soy bean milk sellers are found in almost all municipalities throughout Thailand (Arisawa 2011a:210-1).

Besides these, two more aspects of life in the communities in the forest should be mentioned. One is an issue of the interaction between legal systems of Iu Mien and Thai in the majority society. Although the Iu Mien have never had their own state or formal government, they have practiced their own justice in solving problems that occurred in their communities throughout centuries in the course of their southward migration from China to Thailand. As an Iu Mien lawyer, Phanphisutthichon (2007) argues that this history-proven convention in resolving conflicts among them should be carefully taken into account by Thai law court. This kind of research work is an exemplary result of Thai government's encouragement for students of all ethnic minority groups to be admitted to social sciences (sociology, pedagogy, law) in the state universities with scholarship.

Other thing that is missing in Arisawa's (2011a) summary is the Iu Mien's knowledge of herbal medicines studied exemplified in Kamontham Cheunphan's (1996) ecological lexical study. This was a seminal work in combining semantics in the names of plants in the forest and ecology of it. While the School of Traditional and Alternative Medicine (STAM)<sup>77</sup> at Chiang Rai Rajabhat University, Thailand, emphasises research in herbal medicines of Thai and Tai-related ethnic groups, some studies on plants used among other minority groups including the Iu Mien have been carried out. Unfortunately, they are all described in Thai-transliterated scripts. Therefore, linguistically accurate study of Iu Mien herbal medicine should be in due course in the future as we are aware of decreasing knowledge of them among the young generation. An ethnopharmacological research by Kamonnate Srithi et al. (2009) warns us about erosion of local knowledge in medical plants. Their findings point out that it is due to disruption of learning process that the loss of knowledge is taking place:

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<sup>77</sup> [http://stam.crru.ac.th/new/intro\\_en.php?page=intro\\_en](http://stam.crru.ac.th/new/intro_en.php?page=intro_en)

Discrepancies between medicinal plant knowledge and the actual use of the plants as demonstrated in this study suggest that the medicinal plant knowledge in the studied Mien communities is undergoing inter-generational erosion. The erosion in particular may be attributable to disruption of the learning process and the interference of acculturation, especially the expansion of modern education and accessibility to modern medicine. These factors contribute to a lack of appreciation of traditional medicine by the younger generation and an unreliability of traditional medical knowledge. As Mien traditional medical knowledge is orally passed down via lifestyle, it is important to exhaustively document and publicize medicinal plant knowledge within the young Mien generation to raise awareness of and appreciation for their traditional values and for the conservation and sustainable use of the plants as well as to keep the traditional medical knowledge left in their community alive (Kamonnate Srithi, Hendrik Balslev, Prasit Wangpakapattanawong, Prachaya Srisanga, and Chusie Trisonthi 2009:341)(underline added).

That is to say, ironically, the more educated the Iu Mien become in Thai, the more they lose the knowledge of herbal medicine in Iu Mien. Had the learning process of the medical plant knowledge been carried out in the mother-tongue of Iu Mien using standardised Iu Mien orthography, whether it be Thai-based or Roman-based, the precious scientific, cultural, traditional knowledge of the rich forest would be transmitted to the Thai public through young generation Iu Mien.

## 2.5.2 Religions

### 2.5.2.1 Traditional Belief

Belief system of the Iu Mien consists of three sources. First, as has been seen in *Jiex Sen Borngv* (評皇券牒過山榜) in §2.2.2.6, their progenitor dragon dog called *Bienh Huh* in Iu Mien or *Pán Hù* (盤護)(or *Pánhù* 盤護) in Chinese is the object of their worship as according to the imperial edict (*chìlìng* 勅令) of the *Píng Huáng* (評皇) ‘Emperor Huang’. Second, as has been examined in *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv* (飄遙過海) in §2.2.3, they venerate *mienv* /miən˥/ ‘spirits’ of various kinds by offering sacrifices of animals. Third, they endorse Chinese Taoism by worshiping *Faam Cing* (三清) ‘the Three Pure Ones’. The traditional belief system of the Iu Mien, therefore, is comprised of three categories of religious practices: (i) worshiping *Bienh Huh* (*Pánhù* 盤護), i.e., *lóng quǎn míng Hù* (龍犬名護) ‘Dragon dog whose name is *Hù*’, whose name was later elevated to *Pán Wáng* (盤王) in China and *Bienh Hungh* [Bien king] used in Thailand, Laos, Vietnam and the USA, (ii) venerating various kinds of spirits by sacrificing animals to them, i.e., *sipv mienv*, and (iii) worshiping *Faam Cing* (三清) ‘the Three Pure Ones’.

Amalgamation of these three resulted in the highly complex rituals of *sipv mienv* [to.set.up/administrate spirit](設鬼)<sup>78</sup> /sip˥ miən˥/ ‘to administrate spirits’ including both spirits of ancestors and spirits that reside in many areas of the nature, that is, animistic spirits. The generic term for the whole system is called *zangc*<sup>79</sup> *mienv* /tsaŋ˥ miən˥/ [to.worship spirit] ‘worshiping spirits’ and the individual ritual is referred to as *sipv mienv* ‘to.administrate spirits’. All these are treated as tradition, which is referred to as *douh.zong heih.douh* /təʊl tsoŋ˧ hei˧ təʊl/ [to.line.up. religious.matter inheritance] ‘customs and culture (including all religious rituals)’. The practitioners of *sipv mienv* are called in three ways: *sipv mienv mienh* /sip˥ miən˥ miən˧/ [to.administrate spirt person](設鬼(神)人) ‘spirit priest’ or *mbouv guaax mienh* /bəu˧ kʷa:˧ miən˧/ [to.divine divination person] ‘shaman’ or *sai mienh* /sai˧ miən˧/ [master person](師人) ‘priest’. The believers of these practices are called *zangc mienv mienh* /tsaŋ˥ miən˥ miən˧/ [worship spirit people] ‘worshipers of spirits’.

It was Jacques Lemoine (1982), a French anthropologist, who first identified that the religion of the Iu Mien was Taoism (道教) or *dàojiài* [way teach] in Chinese. These two characters are possible to pronounce in Iu Mien way of reading Chinese as *daux.jaux* /tau˧ cau˧/ and can pronounced in Iu Mien as *doz njaaux* /to˧ ja:u˧/ [doctrine teach], interpreted as *sienx doz* /siən˧ to˧/ [believe doctrine].<sup>80</sup> However, our Iu Mien language consultant who understands Chinese did not recognise the characters 道教 as their own religion. Iu Mien do not recognise it: *maiv funx* [NEG count] ‘do not recognise (道教)’. Rather, he said the religion of Iu Mien is only *sipv mienv* as specific rituals of the way of “worshiping spirits” as in (11<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                     |   |               |                |                |                 |
|---------------------|---|---------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (11 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Kungx</i>  | <i>gorngv</i> | “ <i>zangc</i> | <i>mienv</i> ” | <i>hnangv</i> . |
|                     | ូង  | កំរងវ         | “ម៉ាង          | មីេន”          | ហង់.            |
|                     | kuŋ˧  | kəŋ˥          | tsaŋ˥          | miən˥          | ណាគ˥            |
|                     | empty   | say           | worship        | spirit         | only            |
|                     | ‘(We) only say “worship spirits” (without using the word <i>Daux Jaux</i> ).’ |               |                |                |                 |

<sup>78</sup> Shiratori (1975:332) uses 鬼‘supernatural being’, ‘ghost’, whereas Chob Kacha-Ananda (1992:305) designates 神 ‘god’ as in 設神.

<sup>79</sup> The Iu Mien in Asia pronounce this word with a short vowel /tsaŋ˥/ whereas those in the USA with a long vowel /zaangc/ /ts:aŋ˧/ ‘to worship’.

<sup>80</sup> Our language consultant has reported from his visitation to his Iu Mien relatives in the USA that some American Iu Mien who are in the group of *sienx doz* ‘believing doctrine’ practice vegetarian diet: *maiv nyanc dungz-orv wuov jauv* [NEG eat pig-meat DEM way] ‘vegetarians’ and they believe Chao Mae Kuon Yim ‘Budhist goddess’ (ium\_20150506\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz\_KMB; 00.13.05-9).

|  |                   |                                |                  |              |                  |                  |                  |
|--|-------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| (11 <sup>-2</sup> )                              | Zangc             | <i>jienv</i>                   | <i>liuz</i>      | <i>aeqv,</i> | <i>ninh</i>      | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>sipv.</i>     |
|  | ຫັ່ງ              | ເຈື້ນ                          | ລົວ              | ແອືະ,        | ນິນ              | ນົວ              | ສີບ.             |
|  | tsan <sup>J</sup> | c <sup>ː</sup> en <sup>Y</sup> | liu <sup>ː</sup> | ε?]          | nin <sup>J</sup> | buə <sup>ː</sup> | sip <sup>J</sup> |
|  | worship           | CONT                           | PFTV             | PDP          | 3                | PL               | administrate     |
| ‘While worshiping, they administrate (spirits).’ |                   |                                |                  |              |                  |                  |                  |

|  |                  |                 |                  |                     |                  |                     |                   |                   |
|--|------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (11 <sup>-3</sup> )  | “Sipv”           | <i>se</i>       | <i>yietc</i>     | <i>nzunc</i>        | <i>yietc</i>     | <i>nzunc</i>        | <i>nyei</i>       | <i>zoux.</i>      |
|  | “ສີບ”            | ເຊ              | ແບ່ຍດ            | ຫຼຸ່ມນ              | ແບ່ຍດ            | ຫຼຸ່ມນ              | ເສູບ              | ໄທຕວ.             |
|  | sip <sup>J</sup> | se <sup>ː</sup> | jet <sup>J</sup> | dzun <sup>J</sup>   | jet <sup>J</sup> | dzun <sup>J</sup>   | jnei <sup>ː</sup> | tsəu <sup>ː</sup> |
|  | administrate     | TOP             | one              | CLF <sub>TIME</sub> | one              | CLF <sub>TIME</sub> | REL               | do                |
| ‘(The word) sipv refers to each specific (ceremony) of dealing with spirits.’<br>(ium_20150506_01_H1_DA_GF_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz_KMB;00.16.18-22) |                  |                 |                  |                     |                  |                     |                   |                   |

No Iu Mien considers that their belief is Taoism. In other words, on the one hand, most Iu Mien do not consider what they do in *zangc mienv* ‘to worship spirits’ and *sipv mienv* ‘to administrate spirits’ are borrowed Taoism but their spirit worship is their own thing. On the other hand, the Taoism component is not the only religion of the Iu Mien unlike Lemoine argues; rather, they practice more of folk veneration of all kinds of spirits in everyday life. Therefore, what Chob Kacha-Ananda (1992:293) describe is closer to the truth: “a fascinating amalgam of indigenous spirit beliefs [or animism] and Chinese Taoism”. The animistic characteristics are obvious in their venerating all kinds of spirits originated in the second source, i.e., the Sea Crossing Odyssey *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv*. Chinese Taoism practice conducted by priests is no longer considered as borrowed religion. Originally Iu Mien belief begun as worshiping their progenitor *lóng quǎn míng Hù* (龍犬名護) ‘Dragon dog whose name is *Hù*’. Brief descriptions of three aspects are given below.

### **Pán Wáng Festival**

The first category of practice is worshiping the Dragon dog, known as two names, *Pán Wáng* and *Bienh Hungh*. In China the largest Iu Mien festival is *Pán Wáng* (盤王) Festival, celebrated on *Pán Wáng*’s birthday, the 16<sup>th</sup> of October in the Lunar Calendar (Lan et al. (eds.) 1990: 118-23). The name *Pán Wáng* ‘King Pan’ is an elevated title of *lóng quǎn míng Hù* (龍犬名護) ‘Dragon dog whose name is *Hù*’ (cf. Table 1 in §2.2.2.2), who married to a court lady of Ping Huang the Emperor. The Chinese name *Pán Wáng* is now called in Iu Mien as *Bienh Hungh* /piən<sup>J</sup> huŋ<sup>J</sup>/ [Bien king] ‘the King Bien’. In Thailand today there is a movement of erecting a *miuc-biauv* /miu<sup>J</sup> p<sup>j</sup>au<sup>Y</sup>/

(廟) ‘shrine’ for *Bienh Hungh*; one already established in Huay Chang Lot, Doi Luang District, Chiang Rai province and the next one is planned to be built in Huay Chomphu, Muang Chiang Rai District, Chiang Rai province (Yoshino, pers. com.).

An interesting point, among the Iu Mien in Thailand, is that their presently wide-spread practice of *sipv mienv* is deemed to have been unrelated to worshiping *Bienh Hungh* before their Sea Crossing Odyssey. Multiple elders (Zeuz Gueix Zoih (2<sup>5</sup>), Bungz Cun Fou etc) said that Iu Mien did not *sipv mienv* in China, one of whose comment is in (12<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                     |            |             |             |               |           |              |               |
|---------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|---------------|
| (12 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>O</i>   | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>zangc</i> | <i>mienv,</i> |
|                     | ໄອ         | ນິ້ນ        | ບ້າວ        | ກົອງ          | ມໍ້       | ຫຼັ້ງ        | ເມື່ຂນ,       |
|                     | <i>o:₁</i> | <i>nin₁</i> | <i>buə₁</i> | <i>kɔŋ₁</i>   | <i>m₁</i> | <i>tsaŋ₁</i> | <i>miən₁</i>  |
|                     | INTJ       | 3           | PL          | say           | NEG       | worship      | spirit        |

‘Right! They say that (Iu Mien in China before crossing the sea) did not worship spirits,’

|                     |                |              |              |              |
|---------------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| (12 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>mv.baac</i> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>baaix</i> | <i>miuc.</i> |
|                     | ນໍ.ປ້າ         | ມີ້ງ         | ປ້າຍ         | ໝົ້ວ.        |
|                     | <i>m₁ pa:₁</i> | <i>mir₁</i>  | <i>pa:i₁</i> | <i>miu₁</i>  |
|                     | but            | go           | honour       | idol         |

‘but they would go to pay respect to an idol at a shrine.’

|                     |             |             |              |             |              |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| (12 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>miuc</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|                     | ນິ້ນ        | ບ້າວ        | ມ່າຍ         | ໝົ້ວ        | ເສູຍ.        |
|                     | <i>nin₁</i> | <i>buə₁</i> | <i>ma:i₁</i> | <i>miu₁</i> | <i>ŋei₁</i>  |
|                     | 3           | PL          | have         | idol        | ASST         |

‘They had an idol.’

(ium\_20150506\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz\_KMB;00.00.05-9)

At this stage of their history, they only *baaix miuc /pa:i₁ miu₁/* ‘to pay respect to an idol’, but had yet to *sipv mienv /sip₁ mien₁/* ‘to administrate spirits’.

### ***Sipv mienv* ‘to administrate spirits’**

The second category involves the most common practices among the Iu Mien. Practitioners at all levels with or without formal training can perform at various occasion of life to appease or expel sprits that caused illness, misfortune, accident, loss of possession, funeral etc. *Sipv mienv mienh* ‘priests’ deal with (a) body parts spirits *wuonh* ‘soul’, and (b) spirits in the nature *mienv* ‘spirits’. Sending *wuonh* ‘soul’ of a

deceased family member to the spirit world and the subsequent ancestor worship is an important part of these ceremonies.

The deep motivation of *sipv mienv* was fear as expressed in (13<sup>-1-8</sup>) (cf. (3<sup>-38</sup>)):

- (13<sup>-1</sup>) *Yiem* *wuov* *koiv* *ga'nyuoz* *wuov.zanc* *wuov,*  
 ເຢີມ ວ້າ ຄົອບ ກະຜູ້ວ ວ້າ.ຫົດນໍ້າ ວ້າ,  
*jem* *uə̄* *k<sup>h</sup>ɔī* *ka* *juə̄* *uə̄ tsan* *uə̄*  
 be.at DEM sea inside when DEM  
 ‘When they were in the middle of the sea,’

- (13<sup>-2</sup>) *ninh* *mbuo* *gamh.nziex* *haic* *ndortv* *koiv.*  
 ນິນ ບ້າ ກົມ.ເຫົີຍ ໄກ່ ດຶດ ຄົອບ.  
*nin* *buə̄* *kam* *dziə̄* *hai* *dət* *k<sup>h</sup>ɔī*  
 3 PL be.afraid very fall sea  
 ‘they feared very much if they would fall into the sea,’

- (13<sup>-3</sup>) *haih* *ndortv* *koiv* *nor;*  
 ໄສ ດຶດ ຄົອບ ນອ,  
*hai* *dət* *k<sup>h</sup>ɔī* *nɔ̄*  
 be.able fall sea if.so  
 ‘as (they were afraid that) they could fall into the sea,’

- (13<sup>-4</sup>) *ninh* *mbuo* *oix.zuqc* *laengz,* *laengz* *mienv.*  
 ນິນ ບ້າ ອ້ອຍ.ຫຼຸ ແລ້ງ, ແລ້ງ ເມື່ຍນ.  
*nin* *buə̄* *ɔī tsu?* *ləŋ* *ləŋ* *miən*  
 3 PL must promise promise spirit  
 ‘they were compelled to promise to spirits,’

- (13<sup>-5</sup>) *Laengz* *jienv/* *[six.gorngv* *hnangv* *mienv* *dorh* *duqv*  
 ແລ້ງ ເຈື້ຍນ/ [ສີ.ກົ່ອງ ຂນັງ ເມື່ຍນ ຕ້ອ ຕູ  
*ləŋ* *cə̄n* *sī kəŋ* *ləŋ* *miən* *tɔ̄* *tu?*  
 promise CONT if like spirit carry can  
 ‘promising that if the spirits could lead (safely)’

|   |             |             |                      |             |               |             |                    |             |
|---|-------------|-------------|----------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
| (13 <sup>-6</sup> )                                   | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>cuotv</i>         | <i>wuov</i> | <i>ngaanc</i> | <i>ziqc</i> | <i>koiv</i>        | <i>nor]</i> |
|   | นิ่น        | บัว         | ชื้วด                | ว้า         | ห่าง          | ผล          | คือ                | นา]         |
|   | nin\        | buə\        | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət\ | սə\         | դա:ն\         | tsi?]       | k <sup>h</sup> ci\ | ու\         |
| 3   | PL          | exit        | DEM                  | shore       | across        | sea         | if.so              |             |
| ‘them out to the shore on the other side of the sea,’ |             |             |                      |             |               |             |                    |             |

|   |                    |              |             |             |            |             |             |
|---|--------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
| (13 <sup>-7</sup> )                                 | <i>taux</i>        | <i>wuov,</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>oix</i> | <i>jauv</i> | <i>sung</i> |
|   | เตา                | ว้า,         | นิ่น        | บัว         | อ้อย       | เจ้า        | ชุง         |
|   | t <sup>h</sup> au\ | սə\          | nin\        | buə\        | օ\         | cau\        | sun\        |
| reach   | DEM                | 3            | PL          | want        | compensate | be.settled  |             |
| ‘as (they) arrive there, they wanted to compensate’ |                    |              |             |             |            |             |             |

|  |             |             |               |              |
|--|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| (13 <sup>-8</sup> )  | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>laengz</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|  | นิ่น        | บัว         | แล่ง          | ณួយ.         |
|  | nin\        | buə\        | լեյ\          | րեի\         |
| 3  | PL          | promise(v)  | REL           |              |
| ‘what they had promised (to the spirits).’<br>(ium_20150506_01_H1_DA_GF_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz_KMB;00.02.55-03.24) |             |             |               |              |

To this situation a legitimate question is been asked as (14<sup>-5</sup>):

|   |             |             |             |                   |             |               |                   |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------|
| (14 <sup>-1</sup> )                               | <i>Wuov</i> | <i>zanc</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>Naamh.Ging</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>ngaanc</i> | <i>wuov.zanc,</i> |
|   | ว้า         | ผล          | เยี่ยม      | นำม.กິງ           | ว้า         | ห่าง          | ว้า.ผล            |
|   | սə\         | tsan\       | jem\        | na:m\ kiŋ         | սə\         | դա:ն\         | սə\ tsan\         |
| DEM   | time        | be.at       | Nanking     |                   | DEM         | shore         | when              |
| ‘When they were (still) on the shore of Nanking,’ |             |             |             |                   |             |               |                   |

|                                       |             |             |           |              |              |              |
|---------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| (14 <sup>-2</sup> )                   | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>mienv</i> | <i>orqcչ</i> |
|                                       | นิ่น        | บัว         | ນໍ້       | ມ່າຍ         | ເມື້ຍນ       | ເອະຈ         |
|                                       | nin\        | buə\        | m\        | ma:i\        | miən\        | օ?           |
| 3                                     | PL          | NEG         | have      | spirit       | SFP          |              |
| ‘they didn’t have spirits, did they?’ |             |             |           |              |              |              |

|                     |                     |             |             |             |             |             |
|---------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (14 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Hnangv.naaic</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>jiex</i> | <i>taux</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>koiv</i> |
|                     | ชันง.หน่าย          | นิ่น        | เจี้ยบ      | ಡາ          | ว้า         | ක້ອຍ        |
|                     | ຖານງฯ na:i]         | nin]        | ciə̯]       | tʰau]       | uə̯]        | kʰɔi̯]      |
|                     | in.that.case        | 3           | pass        | reach       | DEM         | sea         |

‘If so, when they were passing to (the middle) of that sea,’

|                     |             |             |               |             |            |             |                  |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|------------|-------------|------------------|
| (14 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>haiv</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>haih</i> | <i>hiuv.duqv</i> |
|                     | นิ่น        | บ້າວ        | ชันง          | ຫາຍ         | ນອ         | ໄກ່         | ສິວ.ຕີ້          |
|                     | nin]        | buə̯]       | ຖານງฯ         | hai̯]       | nɔ̯]       | hai̯]       | hiu̯] tu?]       |
|                     | 3           | PL          | like          | how         | as         | be.able     | know             |

‘how could they know’

|                     |              |              |              |              |              |             |               |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| (14 <sup>-5</sup> ) | <i>maaih</i> | <i>mienv</i> | <i>daaih</i> | <i>tengx</i> | <i>aengx</i> | <i>heuc</i> | <i>mienv.</i> |
|                     | ມ້າຍ         | ເມື່ອນ       | ດ້າບ         | ແຄງ          | ແອ້ຈ         | ແໜ່ວ        | ເມື່ອນ.       |
|                     | ma:i]        | miə̯n̄]      | tai̯]        | tʰeŋx̄]      | ɛŋx̄]        | heu̯]       | miə̯n̄]       |
|                     | have         | spirit       | come         | help         | also         | call        | spirit        |

‘(that) there was a spirit to come to help (them) and also (how they could know how to) make an invocation to spirits?’

(ium\_20150506\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz\_KMB;00.04.30-9)

### **Faam Cing ‘The Three Pure Ones’**

Thirdly, among the three categories of the practice in Iu Mien belief, after worshiping of *Bienh Hungh* and dealing with numerous spirits, the Taoist component is the most systematised and formal one. The object of worship is *Faam Cing*, the Three Pure Ones or three gods. Their birth is described by a ninety-year-old storyteller as in (15<sup>-6</sup>):

|                     |                   |                    |                     |                 |             |              |
|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
| (15 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>(...)aengx</i> | <i>naaic</i>       | <i>Faam Cing, /</i> | <i>Lengc Si</i> | <i>ong</i>  | <i>aeqv,</i> |
|                     | (...)ແອ້ຈ         | ໜ້າຍ               | ຝາມ່ເຈີງ, /         | ເຫັນ໌ຈີ         | ອົງ         | ແອື້ນ,       |
|                     | ɛŋx̄]             | na:i]              | fa:m1 tsʰin̄j1      | leŋ̄j si̯1      | oŋ̄j        | ɛ?]          |
|                     | also              | DEM <sub>MID</sub> | Three.Pure.Ones     | Leng Si         | grandfather | PDP          |

‘...also talking about Faam Cing, as for (one of them named) Leng Si the oldest,’

- (15<sup>-2</sup>) *mbuox* "Lengc Buv *meih*, *meih* *cuotv* *aqv*".  
 ນ້ຳ "ເຫດລົ່ງ ປູ້ ເມັຍ, ເມັຍ ຊົວດ ອື່".  
*buə̥l* *leŋj puŋ* *mei↓* *mei↓* *ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]* *aʔl*  
 tell Leng Pu 2SG 2SG exist NSIT  
 'told (the other) "Leng Pu, you, you go out (of her our mother's womb first)",'
- (15<sup>-3</sup>) *Meih* *yangh* *meih* *nyei* *zaaix* *maengx* *ba'seix.ndieq* *cuotv*.  
 ເມັຍ ຢ້ຳ ເມັຍ ເສູຍ ທົາຍ ແກນ ປະເສຍ.ເຄືບະ ຊົວດ.  
*mei↓* *jan↓* *mei↓* *nei↑* *tsa:i↓* *məŋ↓* *pa sei↓ diə̥ŋ* *ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]*  
 2SG walk 2SG SBCP left side arm.pit exit  
 'You go out from the (mother's) left side armpit.'
- (15<sup>-4</sup>) *Douc Daqv* *yangh* *meih* *nyei*  
 ໂດ້າ ຕີ່ະ ຢ້ຳ ເມັຍ ເສູຍ  
*təp↓ taʔl* *jan↓* *mei↓* *nei↑*  
 Do Da walk 2SG SBCP  
 'Do Da, your go out'
- (15<sup>-5</sup>) *yangh* *mbiaauc* *maengx* *ba'seix.ndieqv* *cuotv*.  
 ຢ້ຳ ນໍາຕ່າງ ແກນ ປະເສຍ.ເຄືບະ ຊົວດ.  
*jan↓* *b̥a:u↓* *məŋ↓* *pa sei↓ diə̥ŋ* *ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]*  
 walk right side arm.pit exit  
 'from the right side armpit.'
- (15<sup>-6</sup>) *Yie* *yangh* *la'kuotv* *cuotv* *nor*, *maa* *daic* *mi'aqv*.  
 ເຢີຍ ຢ້ຳ ພະກິວດ ຊົວດ ນອ, ມາ ໄຕ ໜີ້ ອື່.  
*iə̥l* *jan↓* *la k<sup>hw</sup>ət]* *ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]* *nɔ↓* *ma:↑* *tai↓* *mi↓ aʔl*  
 1SG walk chest exit as mother die TELIC  
 'I'm going to go out from (her) chest' (as soon as they came out,) their mother died.'  
 (ium\_20130528\_06\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng\_FaamCingCuotvSeix\_KMB;00.07.46-08.04)

There are variations of this story. Chob Kacha-Ananda (1992:310) records his version that the three siblings, Lengc Si (Leng Si 元始), Lengc Buv (Leng Pu 灵宝) and Douc Daqv (To Ta 道德), were born from mother's womb, not from the three different paths as in the above excerpt.

While anyone who has acquaintance with *sipv mienv* in smaller events can conduct ceremonies in the second category, the ceremonies in the third category require more institutionalised initiation. There are three important merit-making ceremonies. One is *guaax dang* /kʷaːl təŋ˥/ [hang lamp](卦燈), in which male aged between twelve and twenty are initiated or registered to the spirit world and they will be given “the paraphernalia of priest, hymn books, and magic sapless” (Lemoine 1982:26). The second is *douc sai* /təʊl saɪ˧/ (度戒), in which a candidate becomes a ritual master through the ceremony of ascending a sward ladder in ecstasy. The third and the highest merit-making ceremony is *jaa zeqv* [add office] /caːl tse?˥/ (加職) ‘additional functions’ (Lemoine 1982:27). Those who are elevated to the highest level are considered elites. Due to the exclusiveness of these ceremonies, Chob Kacha-Ananda (1992:312) chooses to call Iu Mien Taoism as “cult” rather than Lemoine’s designation “religion”.

### **2.5.2.2 Christianity**

With regard to how small the number of Christians among the Iu Mien is compared with other ethnic minorities of Thailand, Lemoine (1983) makes a baffled observation:

I do not know the exact number of recent Yao [i.e. Iu Mien] converts to Christianity, but it seems exceedingly small when compared with the number of missionaries and the effort they have devoted to their task. (*Footnote*: For instance, the Overseas Missionary Fellowship has sent them such fine scholars as Reverends Cox, Purnell, and Callaway.<sup>81</sup> The first two have devised a Roman alphabet of the Yao [Iu Mien] language, which was used in Sylvia Lombard’s *Yao–English Dictionary* (Cornell Data Pater No. 69, New York, 1968). An adaptation to the Thai alphabet has been further devised and taught in Chiang Kham by Revd. Callaway, without finding much favour among the Yao. [...]<sup>82</sup>) This indifferent success appears all the more striking when compared with the impact missionaries have had on fellow highlanders, for example, the Meo [i.e. the Hmong], among whom conversion to Christianity is relatively common (Lemoine 1983:207).

After three decades since his observation, the situation is not so different today though the number has been slightly increasing. Denominations or brands of Christianity among the Iu Mien in Thailand are Church of Christ in Thailand (CCT, historically affiliated to Presbyterian Church), Associated Churches of Thailand (ACT,

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<sup>81</sup> The third one is actually from American Church of Christ (ACC).

<sup>82</sup> In order to foreground the contrast between the number of missionaries and their small impact as Lemoine observes, the middle part of the footnote was omitted. The part left out goes like this: “In a way these efforts are greatly outweighed by the heavy prejudice against Taoism and Yao tradition shown by most missionaries, who demand the burning of ancient paintings and liturgical books as a part of conversion to Christianity” (Lemoine 1983:207).

evangelical group belonging to the Evangelical Fellowship of Thailand (EFT)), emerging groups directly affiliated to EFT, Baptist, Seventh Day Adventist (SDA), independent churches loosely associated with missionaries from Taiwan, Korea, and Hong Kong. It is not known if there is Catholic Iu Mien.

### **2.5.2.3 Buddhism**

In 1965 Thai government launched a programme called Thammajarik Campaign, in which “Thamma” (ธรรม) means Buddhism doctrine, “jarik” (ຈາກີກ) pilgrimage. This was a propagation of Buddhism to ethnic minority peoples in the northern mountainous areas. Chob Kacha-Ananda writes:

A certain number of Thai monks were sent to stay in the mountain villages to teach Buddhist discipline. Each year, in June or July, a ceremony is held during which young mountain boys publicly espouse the Buddhist religion. After receiving training for at least a year, these youths are sent back to their own communities (Chob Kacha-Ananda 1992:313).

Despite such systematic efforts, Kacha-Ananda doubts if Iu Mien convert to Buddhism in large number leaving “their already complex system of religious ideology and liturgical practice” (1992:313). Our language consultant recalled that when boys returned to their villages they reintegrated to the former way of life because of parents’ expectation that they should succeed ancestor worship. In this respect Iu Mien seem to be individualistic within the scope of one’s family as opposed to social network that Buddhism might have been trying to introduce to mountain villages. The rationale is stated in (16<sup>-1-5</sup>):

|                     |                     |             |             |                    |             |
|---------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
| (16 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Hnangv.naaic</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>gorqv-mienh</i> | <i>maah</i> |
|                     | ຮນ້ຳ.ໜ່າຍ           | ນິ່ນ        | ນ້ວ         | ເກົ້າະ-ເມື່ອນ      | ນ່າຍ        |
|                     | ຫຼາຍໆ ນາ:i:l        | nin↓        | buə↑        | kɔ?↓ miən↓         | ma:i↓       |

as.such                    3                    PL                    each-person                    have

‘So, each one has’

|                     |                    |             |                  |               |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------------|---------------|
| (16 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>gorqv-mienh</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>ong-taaix</i> | <i>zangc.</i> |
|                     | ເກົ້າະ-ເມື່ອນ      | ແລງ         | ອັງ-ຕາຍ          | ຫົ່ວ່າງ.      |

*kɔ?↓ miən↓*            *nei↓*            *oŋ↓ tʰai↓*            *tsaŋ↓*

each-person            SBCP            ancestor            worship

‘each one’s ancestor to worship.’

- (16<sup>-3</sup>) *fingx-fingx mienh maaih ninh mbuo ganh nyei ong-taaix,*  
 ຝຶງາ ເມື່ອນ ມ່າຍ ນິ້ນ ບ້າ ກົ້ນ ໄລູຍ ອັງ-ຕາຍ,  
*fiŋx fiŋx miən ma:iŋ ninŋ buət kanŋ nei tʰaxi*  
 clan-clan person have 3 PL self SBCP ancestor  
 ‘every clan men have their own ancestor’
- (16<sup>-4</sup>) *maaih ninh mbuo ganh nyei mienv.*  
 ມ່າຍ ນິ້ນ ບ້າ ກົ້ນ ໄລູຍ ເມື່ອນ.  
*ma:iŋ ninŋ buət kanŋ neiŋ miənŋ*  
 have 3 PL self SBCP spirit  
 ‘have their own spirits.’
- (16<sup>-5</sup>) *Hnangv.naaic maiv haih maaih miuc.*  
 ຮັນງ.ໜ່າຍ ໄນ້ ໄອ ມ່າຍ ພມືວ.  
*naŋŋŋ na:iŋ] maiŋ] haiŋ] ma:iŋ] miuŋ]*  
 ‘as.such NEG be.able have idol  
 ‘Therefore (they) can’t have an idol (at home).’  
 (ium\_20150506\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz\_  
 KMB;00.21.32-52)

Then, the present situation of the influence of Buddhism in most Iu Mien villages is like (17):

- (17) *Mv.baac ih.zanc baac nzengc aqv. Baac mi'aqv.*  
 ມໍ.ປໍາ ອື່.ຫຼັ້ນ ປໍາ ເຫດ່າງ ອື່. ປໍາ ມີ.ອື່.  
*mŋŋŋ pa:] iŋ tsan:] pa:] dzenŋ] a?] pa:] mi:] a?]'*  
 but now finish CONSUME NSIT finish TELIC  
 ‘But now (it) is finished altogether. It ended completely.’  
 (ium\_20150506\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz\_  
 KMB;00.20.05-11)

To summarise this section, a few verbal expressions referring to those religious practices are given as follows (all according to Panh 2002:289):

- (18) *zaangc faam-cing mienv /tsa:ŋ] fa:m] tsʰiŋ] miənŋŋŋ/*  
 [worship three-pure spirit] ‘to worship the three Taoism spirit(s)’

- (19) *zaangc miuc* /tsa:n̥l miu:l/  
 [worship idol] ‘to worship Buddha’
- (20) *zaangc tin-hungh* /tsa:n̥l tinl hung\:/  
 [worship heaven-king] ‘to worship heavenly King; Christian’
- (21) *zaangc tin-zeiv* /tsa:n̥l tinl tsei\:/  
 [worship heaven-person] ‘to worship heavenly-being; Catholic religion’

## 2.6 Summary of Chapter 2

This chapter reviewed the Iu Mien’s history through two famous stories, the previous linguistics works, the sociolinguistic milieu, and culture. Though the presentation of two stories are lengthy, they provide plenty of grammatical examples for the following chapters.

As the issues of phonology and orthography have been reviewed, we will launch into the details of them in the next chapter.

## **Chapter 3**

### **PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter primarily provides a description of the sound system and, secondarily, helps non-native speakers of Iu Mien to be able to read the Roman-based Iu Mien orthography used throughout this work and also show their equivalents in the Thai-based orthography.

The chapter substantiates the analyses by the predecessors, especially Downer (1961) and Purnell (1965), by providing minimal pairs and near minimal pairs for all the segmental and supra-segmental phonemes. Not only that, the instrumental analysis of the eight tones with the visual presentation of the tone contours disproves Thanyalak Saeliao's (2012) claim that Tone 4 and Tone 5 have the same pitch value.

#### **3.2 Segmental Phonology**

##### **3.2.1 Consonants**

###### **3.2.1.1 *Initial consonants***

There are thirty three initial consonants as shown in Table 10, based on and adapted from Purnell (1965, 1972:127, 1991:37, 2012:xxi) and Theraphan L.-Thongkham (1997:155f).

**Table 10. Initial Consonants (33)**

|                      |           |             | Bilabial       | Labio-Dental | Alveolar         | Palatal                                 | Velar          | Glottal |
|----------------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|--------------|------------------|---|----------------|---------|
| Stops                | Voiceless | Unaspirated | p              |              | t                | c<br>(~[tɛ])                            | k              | ?       |
|                      |           | Aspirated   | p <sup>h</sup> |              | t <sup>h</sup>   | c <sup>h</sup><br>(~[tɛ <sup>h</sup> ]) | k <sup>h</sup> |         |
|                      | Voiced    |             | b              |              | d                | j<br>(~[dʒ])                            | g              |         |
| Affricates           | Voiceless | Unaspirated |                |              | ts <sup>83</sup> |   |                |         |
|                      |           | Aspirated   |                |              | ts <sup>h</sup>  |   |                |         |
|                      | Voiced    |             |                |              | dz               |   |                |         |
| Voiceless Fricatives |           |             | m              | f            | s                | ç                                       |                | h       |
| Nasals               | Voiced    | m           |                | n            | ŋ                | ŋ                                       |                |         |
|                      | Voiceless | ṁ           |                | ɳ            | ŋ̊               | ŋ̊                                      |                |         |
| Laterals             | Voiced    |             |                | l            |                  |   |                |         |
|                      | Voiceless |             |                | l̊           |                  |   |                |         |
| Approximants         |           |             | w              |              |                  | j                                       |                |         |

### **Minimal pairs.**

Below are presented the contrasts between phoneme consonants at their vicinity points and manners of articulation. Words in brackets are in IPA; in parentheses are shown in vernacular spellings for the sake of mother tongue speakers.

The following minimal pairs<sup>84</sup> demonstrate phonemic contrasts between aspirated and unaspirated stops occurring word-initially:

/p/ (b, ƀ) versus /p<sup>h</sup>/ (p, ƿ, ƿ̊)

- (22) /pa:iɬ/ (baaix, ƀaaɪx) ‘to worship’  
      /p<sup>h</sup>a:iɬ/ (paaix, ƿaaɪx) ‘to slice open’

- (23) /pɔŋ/ (borng, ƀoŋ) ‘to assist’  
      /p<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ/ (porng, ƿoŋ) ‘hoe’

<sup>83</sup> Affricates are represented by the bigrapheme IPA with a tie bar over them here only. Hereafter /ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, dz/ are used.

<sup>84</sup> None of Downer (1961), Purnell (1965), Court (1985), Thanyalak Saeliao (2012) provides minimal pairs though they must have worked them out.

/t/ (*d*, ດ) versus /t<sup>h</sup>/ (*t*, ຕ, ນ)

- (24) /ta:n˥/ (*daan*, ດານ) ‘record (n.)’  
/t<sup>h</sup>a:n˥/ (*taan*, ຖານ) ‘to unroll’
- (25) /tau᷑/ (*dauv*, ເຕົ້າ) ‘to droop to one side’  
/t<sup>h</sup>au᷑/ (*tauv*, ເທິ່ງ) ‘to breathe’

/k/ (*g*, ກ) versus /k<sup>h</sup>/ (*k*, ກ, ນ)

- (26) /ka:t˥/ (*gaatv*, ກ້າດ) ‘to cut’  
/k<sup>h</sup>a:t˥/ (*kaatv*, ກ້າດ) ‘to shout’
- (27) /kau᷑/ (*gaux*, ເກ້າ) ‘to be enough’  
/k<sup>h</sup>au᷑/ (*kaux*, ເຫຼາ) ‘to trust’

/c/ (*j*, ຈ) versus /c<sup>h</sup>/ (*q*, ອ, ຂ)

- (28) /ciə᷑/ (*jiex*, ເຈີ່ບ) ‘to pass’  
/c<sup>h</sup>iə᷑/ (*qiex*, ເຈີ່ບ) ‘voice, air’
- (29) /cui᷑/ (*jui*, ຈູຍ) ‘basket’  
/c<sup>h</sup>ui᷑/ (*qui*, ຈູຍ) ‘to be destroyed by fire’

The following minimal pairs demonstrate phonemic contrasts between aspiration and unaspiration for alveolar affricates occurring word-initially:

/ts/ (*z*, ທ) versus /ts<sup>h</sup>/ (*c*, ຕ)

- (30) /tsɔ᷑/ (*zorc*, ອອກ) ‘to repair’  
/ts<sup>h</sup>ɔ᷑/ (*corc*, ອັກ) ‘still (adv.)’
- (31) /tsau᷑/ (*zaux*, ແອກ) ‘feet, leg’  
/ts<sup>h</sup>au᷑/ (*caux*, ແອກ) ‘to be with, to accompany’

The phonemic contrast between aspirated voiceless palatal stop and aspirated voiceless alveolar affricate occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

/c<sup>h</sup>/ (*q*, က) versus /ts<sup>h</sup>/ (*ts*, စဲ)

- (32) /c<sup>h</sup>aŋ˥/ (*qaa*, ရဲ) ‘shrimp’  
/ts<sup>h</sup>aŋ˥/ (*caa*, စဲ) ‘pole, post’

(33) /c<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ˧/ (*qongx*, မောင်) ‘room’

/ts<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ˧/ (*congx*, မြန်) ‘embroidery’

The phonemic contrast between unaspirated voiceless palatal and velar stops occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

/c/ (*j*, ဂ) versus /k/ (*g*, ဂါ)

- (34) /cau˧/ (*jaux*, အံ့ဌ) ‘egg’  
/kau˧/ (*gaux*, ကံ့ဌ) ‘to be enough’

(35) /ca:n˧/ (*jaan*, ဂာဏ်) ‘vein’

/ka:n˧/ (*gaan*, ဂာဏ်) ‘pole, rod’

The phonemic contrast between aspirated voiceless palatal and velar stops occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

/c<sup>h</sup>/ (*q*, က) versus /k<sup>h</sup>/ (*k*, ကဲ)

- (36) /c<sup>h</sup>aŋ˧/ (*qangx*, မိုးဗျာ) ‘opportunity’  
/k<sup>h</sup>aŋ˧/ (*kangx*, ဖူးဗျာ) ‘to dry beside a fire’

(37) /c<sup>h</sup>ou˥/ (*quov*, ဇူးချွှေး) ‘to stir’

/k<sup>h</sup>ou˥/ (*kouv*, ဇူးချွှေး) ‘to be tired’

The phonemic contrast between voiced palatal stop and alveolar affricate occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

/j/ (*nj*, မူ) versus /dʐ/ (*nz*, မူး)

- (38) /jan˧/ (*njang*, မူးဗျာ) ‘to be light, bright’  
/dʐan˧/ (*nzang*, မူးဗျာ) ‘to be clear’

- (39) /jat]/ (*njatc*, ໜັດ) ‘to roll out’  
       /dzat]/ (*nzatc*, ດັດ) ‘oboe, wind instrument’

The phonemic contrast between voiceless alveolar fricative and voiced alveolar affricate occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

- /s/ (*s*, ສ) versus /dʒ/ (*nz*, ນ)  
 (40) /sip]/ (*sipv*, ສົບ) ‘to contact with spirits’  
       /dʒip]/ (*nzipv*, ນົບ) ‘rice cutter’

- (41) /siouŋ]/ (*siouv*, ເສີ້ງ) ‘to be warm’  
       /dziouŋ]/ (*ziouv*, ເທິ້ງ) ‘ant’

The phonemic contrast between voiceless bilabial and labiodental fricatives occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

- /h/ (*hu*, ອູ) versus /f/ (*f*, ຝ, ພ)  
 (42) /həŋŋ]/ (*huaang*, ອາວັງ) ‘to be desolate’  
       /fəŋŋ]/ (*faang*, ພາວ) ‘box’  
  
 (43) /hεŋŋ]/ (*huaeqv*, ແອວະກ) ‘to spread apart’  
       /fεŋŋ]/ (*faeqv*, ແພະກ) ‘to throw away’

The phonemic contrast between voiced alveolar and velar nasals occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

- /n/ (*n*, ນ) versus /ŋ/ (*ng*, ນ)  
 (44) /na:n]/ (*naanc*, ນໍານຳນຳ) ‘hardship’  
       /ŋa:n]/ (*ngaanc*, ນ່ານຳນຳ) ‘location on the other side’  
  
 (45) /nɔŋŋ]/ (*nongh*, ນົງ້າ) ‘to be thick (liquid, tea)’  
       /ŋɔŋŋ]/ (*ngongh*, ນົງ້າ) ‘cow’

The phonemic contrast between voiced alveolar and palatal nasals occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

/n/ (*n*, ນ) versus /ɲ/ (*ny*, ນີ້)

- (46) /nauŋ˥/ (*nauv*, ໄນ້າ) ‘to be broken apart’  
       /ɲauŋ˥/ (*nyauv*, ໄນູ້າ) ‘to be disordered’

- (47) /na:n˧/ (*naanh*, ນ່ານ) ‘to be difficult’

      /ɲa:n˧/ (*nyaanh*, ໄນ່ານ) ‘silver, money’

The phonemic contrast between voiced velar and palatal nasals occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

/ŋ/ (*ng*, ນ) versus /ɲ/ (*ny*, ນີ້)

- (48) /ŋau˧/ (*ngau*, ແກາ) ‘to be curved’  
       /ɲau˧/ (*nyau*, ໄກາ) ‘to grasp’

- (49) /ŋat˥/ (*ngatv*, ກັດ) ‘to press down on’

      /ɲat˥/ (*nyatv*, ໄກັດ) ‘to knot’

The following (near-)minimal pairs demonstrate phonemic contrasts between voiced and voiceless nasals occurring word-initially:

/m/ (*m*, ມ) versus /m̥/ (*hm*, ອມ)

- (50) /mei˧/ (*mei*, ເມຍ) ‘to stoop’  
       /m̥ei˧/ (*hmei*, ເຮມຍ) ‘lard, fat’

- (51) /muang˧/ (*muangx*, ມະຈັງ) ‘to listen to’

      /m̥uang˧/ (*hmuangx*, ອມະຈັງ) ‘to be dark’

/n/ (*n*, ນ) versus /n̥/ (*hn*, ອນ)

- (52) /nanŋ˥/ (*nangv*, ນັ້ງ) ‘to be short’  
       /n̥anŋ˥/ (*hnangv*, ອນັ້ງ) ‘only’

- (53) /naʔ˥/ (*naqv*, ນະ້ວ) ‘to swallow’  
       /ŋaʔ˥/ (*hnaqv*, ຂນະ້ວ) ‘to nod’

/ɲ/ (*ny*, ໃຢ) versus /ڇ/ (*hny*, ຂໍຢ)

- (54) /ɲaŋ˧/ (*nyangz*, ໜູ້ງ) ‘to clamber’  
       /ڇaŋ˧/ (*hnyangx*, ຂໍໜູ້ງ) ‘year’

- (55) /ɲap˥/ (*nyapv*, ໜູ້ປ) ‘to open (mouth) silently’  
       /ڇiap˥/ (*hnyapv*, ຂໍໜູ້ປ) ‘to wrap around’

/ɳ/ (*ng*, ນ) versus /়/ (*hng*, ຂ়)

- (56) /ŋɔi˧/ (*ngoi*, ຈອຍ) ‘intensifier for *yangh* ‘yellow’’  
       /়ɔi˧/ (*hngoi*, ຂ়ຈওয়) ‘to be flared (as the end of a wind instrument)’

- (57) /ɳaʔ˥/ (*ngaqv*, ນະ້ວ) ‘CLF for lengths or sections of wood’  
       /়aʔ˥/ (*hngaqv*, ຂ়ণະ້ວ) ‘to chop’

The phonemic contrast between voiced and voiceless alveolar laterals occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following (near-)minimal pairs:

/l/ (*l*, ລ) versus /়/ (*hl*, ຂລ)

- (58) /lau˥/ (*Lauv*, ເລ້ວ) ‘Laos (var. of *Laauv*)’  
       /়au˥/ (*hlauv*, ເຂລ້ວ) ‘bamboo’

- (59) /lɔʔ˥/ (*lorqv*, ເລາວ) ‘to lack fragrance’  
       /়ɔp˥/ (*hlorpv*, ຂດ້ອບ) ‘to carry in arms’

The phonemic contrast between voiceless alveolar lateral and voiceless glottal fricative occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following (near-)minimal pairs:

/l/ (*hl*, ຂລ) versus /h/ (*h*, ອ)

- (60) /lɛi˧/ (*hleix*, ເຫລີຍ) ‘stars’  
       /hei˧/ (*heix*, ແເຍ) ‘*heix* in *nzauh heix* “to worry about”’

- (61) /la:/ (hlaax, ແລາ) ‘moon’  
       /ha:i/ (haaix, ພາຍ) ‘what, where’

The phonemic contrast between voiceless alveolar nasal and voiceless glottal fricative occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

- /n/ (hn, ຜຸນ) versus /h/ (h, ຜ, ສ)  
       (62) /na:ŋ/ (hnaav, ຜນ້າ) ‘crossbow’  
           /ha:ŋ/ (haav, ພ້າ) ‘a moderate distance’  
  
       (63) /nɛŋ/ (hnengx, ໜ່ອນັງ) ‘to carry suspended from the hand’  
           /hɛŋ/ (hengx, ໜັງ) ‘to desire’

The phonemic contrast between voiceless palatal nasal and fricative occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following near-minimal pairs:

- /ɲ/ (hny, ຜ່າຍ) versus /ç/ (hi, ສີ)  
       (64) /ɲanŋ/ (hnyangx, ຜ່ອງ້າງ) ‘year’  
           /çaaŋ/ (hiaangx, ສ້າງ້າງ) ‘to flourish’  
  
       (65) /ɲa:uŋ/ (hnyaauv, ຜູ່້າວູ) ‘intensifier for *ben* “striped”’  
           /çaa:uŋ/ (hiaaux, ສ້າວູ) ‘to care for’

The phonemic contrast between voiceless velar nasal and glottal fricative occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following near-minimal pairs:

- /ŋ/ (hng, ນັກ) versus /h/ (h, ຜ, ສ)  
       (66) /ŋanŋ/ (hngangx, ນອງ້າງ) ‘to be listless’  
           /ha:nŋ/ (haanz, ຜ້ານ້າງ) ‘to be dry, arid’  
  
       (67) /ŋonŋ/ (hngongx, ນອງ້າງ) ‘to be stupid’  
           /honŋ/ (hongh, ມັກ) ‘to be red’

The phonemic contrast between voiceless alveolar fricative and voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricate occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

/s/ (*s*, ສ) versus /ts/ (*z*, ທ)

- (68) /sei˥/ (*seix*, ເສີ) ‘to try’  
/tsei˥/ (*zeix*, ເຫດຍ) ‘to create’
- (69) /sa?˥/ (*saqv*, ຂະ) ‘sesame’  
/tsa?˥/ (*zaqv*, ຖະ) ‘comb’

The phonemic contrast between voiceless alveolar fricative and voiced alveolar affricate occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

/s/ (*s*, ສ) versus /dʒ/ (*nz*, ນ)

- (70) /sei˥/ (*seix*, ເສີ) ‘to try’  
/dzei˥/ (*nzeix*, ແຫດຍ) ‘to beg persistently’
- (71) /sop˥/ (*sopc*, ສຸ) ‘ash-pumpkin’  
/dʒop˥/ (*nzopc*, ນຸ) ‘to plant seeds’

The phonemic contrast between voiceless unaspirated palatal stop and voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricate occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

/c/ (*j*, ຈ) versus /ts/ (*z*, ທ)

- (72) /cau˥/ (*jaux*, ເຈ້າ) ‘egg’  
/tsau˥/ (*zaux*, ແກ້າ) ‘foot, leg’
- (73) /cat˥/ (*jatv*, ຈັດ) ‘to laugh’  
/tsat˥/ (*zatv*, ທັດ) ‘to press on’

The phonemic contrast between voiceless unaspirated palatal stop and voiced alveolar affricate occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following near-minimal pairs:

/c/ (j, ຈ) versus /dʒ/ (nz, ນ)

- (74) /cau↓/ (*jauh*, ່້າ) ‘to be fully formed’

/dzau↓/ (*nzaauh*, ນ້້າ) ‘to grieve’

- (75) /cat˥/ (*jatv*, ຈັດ) ‘to laugh’

/dzaat˥/ (*nzaatv*, ນ້້າດ) ‘to rub on, smear’

The phonemic contrast between voiceless and voiced for palatal and velar stops occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

/c/ (j, ຈ) versus /ʃ/ (nj, ນ)

- (76) /cou↓/ (*joux*, ໃຈູ້) ‘CLF for word’

/ʃou↓/ (*njoux*, ແຈູ້ຍາ) ‘saw (a tool)’

- (77) /ca:nj↓/ (*jaangh*, ຈ້າງ) ‘intestines’

/ʃa:nj↓/ (*njaangh*, ນ່າງ) ‘swamp’

/k/ (g, ກ) versus /g/ (nq, ນ)

- (78) /ko↓/ (*gox*, ໄກີ) ‘to accuse’

/go↓/ (*nqox*, ໄກຂ) ‘husband’

- (79) /kε?˥/ (*gaeqv*, ແກີ່) ‘to cut and gather up’

/gε?˥/ (*nqaeqv*, ແມ່ວ) ‘to separate’

The phonemic contrast between voiced palatal nasal and approximant occurring word-initially is demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

/ɲ/ (ny, ນຢ) versus /j/ (y, ຍ)

- (80) /ɲanj˥/ (*nyang*, ນູ້ງ) ‘to have thin projections’

/janj˥/ (*yang*, ຢູ້ງ) ‘to spread wings’

- (81) /ɲa:p˥/ (*nyaapv*, ນູ້ານ) ‘rake’

/ja:p˥/ (*yaapv*, ຢ້ານ) ‘to beckon with the hand’

### ***Free variations.***

There are three pairs of free variation in the range between palatal and alveolo-palatal: /c/ ~ [tç], /cʰ/ ~ [tçʰ], and /ʃ/ ~ [dʒ]. Examples are drawn from Purnell (2012) who indicates variations in the vernacular Romanised orthography as *g* ~ *j*, *k* ~ *q*, *nq* ~ *nj* (IPA is added):

| Alveolar  | Palatal |                                       |
|---|---------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>jauv</i> [tçau̯], Var: <i>giauv</i> [cau̯]     |         | ‘path, tail, road’ (Purnell 2012:312) |
| <i>qiex</i> [tçʰiə̯], Var: <i>kiex</i> [cʰiə̯]    |         | ‘air, breath’ (ibid. 643)             |
| <i>njen</i> [dʒiə̯n̩], Var: <i>nqien</i> [ʃiə̯n̩] |         | ‘to have joy’ (ibid. 545)             |

These palatal stops are commonly found in older speakers.

However, a general tendency is that /c/, /cʰ/ and /ʃ/ are realised as [tç], [tçʰ] and [dʒ] before the close (high) front vowels:

/c/, /cʰ/, /ʃ/ → [tç], [tçʰ], [dʒ] / \_ V<sub>CLOSE-FRONT</sub>

e.g.

- (82) [tçiə̯] ‘to pass’  
[tçʰiə̯] ‘air, voice’  
[dʒiə̯] ‘to descend’

- (83) [tcei̯l] ‘tray’  
[tçekl] ‘check, money order (from English)’ (Purnell 2012:643)  
[dzel̩] ‘to keep apart’

Among the younger speakers who are familiar with Thai, however, the occurrence of [tç] and [tçʰ] has almost substituted /c/ and /cʰ/ throughout their speech as a result of borrowing Thai ຖ /tç/ and ປ, ຜ—all three are subsumed in /tçʰ/ in modern-day Thai (§3.4.2). The voiced counterpart of /tç/, i.e., [dʒ], occurs analogically among the young Iu Mien even though it does not exist in Thai. The /c/, /cʰ/ and /ʃ/ are non-existent among those Iu Mien who were born and grew up in Thailand. For example, throughout Thanyalak Saeliao (2012) /c/, /cʰ/, and /ʃ/ are absent; instead /tç/, /tçʰ/, and /dʒ/.

### ***New Iu Mien***

Thanyalak Saeliao (2012:36), as a young generation Iu Mien herself, observes (her own pronunciation) “when the alveolar affricates /ts, tsʰ, dz/ and fricative /s/

occur before /u, ɔ, o/, they are realised as post-alveolar affricates /tʃ, tʃʰ, dʒ/ and fricatives /ʃ/. The recordings from the 1960s, however, demonstrate counter examples to her statement as follows:

- (84) /ts/ + /ɔ/ = /tsɔ/ as in /tsɔ]/ ‘to repair’

(ium\_1965\_02\_TDK\_VOP\_y\_YLL3a;00.07.30)

- (85) /tsʰ/ + /o/ = /tsʰo/ as in /tsʰo]/ ‘to be clear, sharp’

(ium\_1967\_02\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p3;00.04.10-2;00.04.12-4;00.06.41-2)

- (86) /tsʰ/ + /ɔ/ = /tsʰɔ/ as in /tsʰɔ]/ ‘still, even yet’

(ium\_1967\_02\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p3;00.04.10-2;00.04.12-4)

- (87) /dz/ + /u/ = /dzu/ as in /dzu]/ ‘song’

(ium\_1967\_02\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p3;00.04.10-2;00.04.12-4;00.08.52-3)

- (88) /dz/ + /ɔ/ = /dzo/ as in /dzo]/ ‘to be uneven, crooked’

(ium\_1967\_02\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p3;00.04.10-2)

- (89) /dz/ + /o/ = /dzo/ as in /dzmɔ]/ ‘to be thoughtful, quiet, reserved’

(ium\_1967\_02\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p3;00.04.10-2;00.07.14)

- (90) /s/ + /u/ = /su/ as in /su]/ ‘a part of the fourth son’s name’

(ium\_1967\_03\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p5;00.01.13-4)

- (91) /s/ + /ɔ/ = /sɔ/ as in /səŋŋ sɔ]/ ‘an odd, shy unfamiliar, or strange feeling’

(ium\_1967\_03\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p5;00.01.13-4;00.04.31-2)

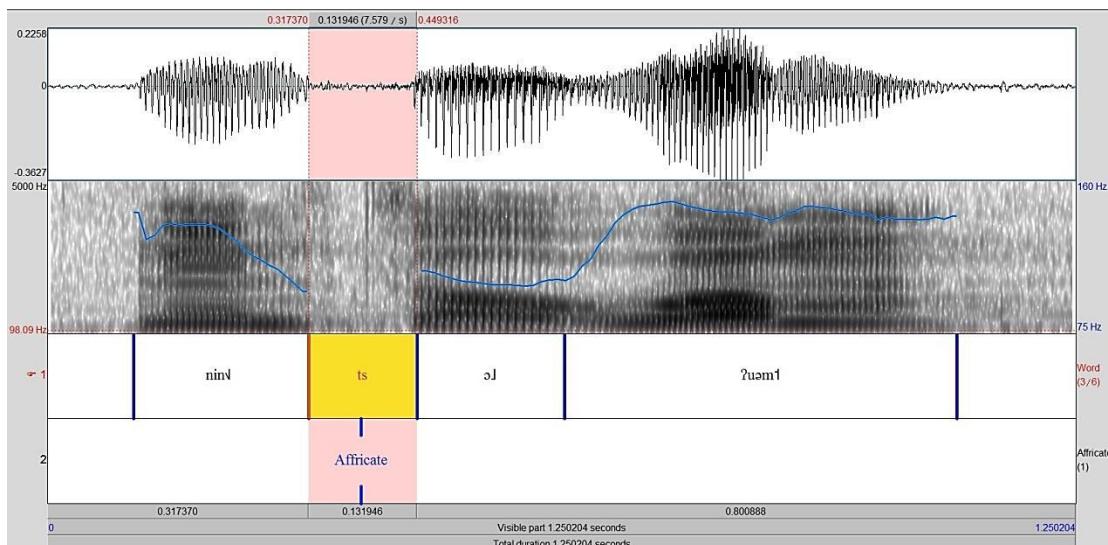
- (92) /s/ + /o/ = /so/ as in /so]/ ‘to be spoiled, sour (of food)’

(ium\_1967\_04\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p6;00.00.51-2)

It is true as she states that young Iu Mien tend to replace the voiceless unaspirated alveolar affricate /ts/ with voiceless unaspirated alveolo-palatal affricate [c] of Thai ණ, or her interpretation as [tʃ]. However, /ts/ and other examples as above can normally be heard among the adult Iu Mien in their 40s above, and even among

the youth who live with their parents and grandparents in villages. A representative of such pronunciation from the 1960s is illustrated in (93) and Figure 24.:

- (93) *Ninh zorc wuom.*  
 ນິນ ຂອບອ ວົມ  
 nin<sup>1</sup> tsɔ<sup>1</sup> uəm<sup>1</sup>  
 3SG repair water  
 ‘He repairs the water line.’  
 (ium\_1967\_06\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p11;00.25.26-7)



(ium\_1967\_06\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p11;00.25.26-7)  
**Figure 24. Utterance containing /tsɔ/ ‘to repair’**

### 3.2.1.2 Final consonants

Of the above listed thirty three initial consonants, nine occur in the final position: /-p, -t, -k, -ʔ, -m, -n, -ŋ, -w, -j/ (Purnell 1965:2; 1972:127; Theraphan 1997:155). All of them, except two approximants, occur without audible release, i.e., phonetically [-p̚, -t̚, -k̚, -ʔ̚, -m̚, -n̚, -ŋ̚].

The retention of these final consonants in the course of historical change is the characteristic of Iu Mien in comparison with Hmongic languages (Downer 1971[2003], 1991:40).

### 3.2.1.3 Clusters with approximants: /j/ and /w/

Consonant clusters occur in the combinations [C + palatal] and [C + labial], i.e., /C-j/, /C-w/, at the onset. They are different to palatalisation and labialisation in that they are not environmentally conditioned. For example, the cluster /pj/ in

/pjau<sup>h</sup>/ (*biauv*) ‘house’ occurs regardless of the open (low) front vowel /a/, which is a different situation in English where the palatalisation in *peak* [p<sup>hj</sup>i:k] is only caused by the close (high) front vowel /i/ and it does not occur before an open (low) front vowel as in *park*.

Purnell (1970:116, 1972:127) lists twenty-four<sup>85</sup> /C-w/ clusters. To these were added /t<sup>h</sup>w/ and /tw/ as found in *tuix* /t<sup>h</sup>wui<sup>h</sup>/ ‘to retreat’, *tuiv* /t<sup>h</sup>wui<sup>h</sup>/ ‘to spit’ and *dueiv* /twei<sup>h</sup>/ ‘tail’, *duih* /twui<sup>h</sup>/ ‘to fall (rain)’, resulting in twenty-six. Purnell’s (1970:116) chart of twenty-tree clusters lacks three items: /çw/ (/çwan<sup>h</sup>/ ‘to be fierce’), /jw/ (/jwət<sup>h</sup>/ ‘to withdraw’), and /jw/ (/jwən<sup>h</sup>/ ‘to be level, smooth’).

These approximant clusters in Iu Mien are pronounced simultaneously as one can visually verify the rounded lips in words like *kuinx* /k<sup>h</sup>win<sup>h</sup>/ ‘to reprimand’ at the time of the aspirated velar stop /k<sup>h</sup>. In other word, there is no time lag between individual consonants like in the initial cluster *str* or the final cluster *ct* in *strict* in English. Thus, due to the simultaneity of the [consonant + approximant (-w, -j)], the phonetic characteristics of the approximant clusters is labialisation and palatalisation. Therefore, the raised small ‘-w’ (e.g. /C<sup>w</sup>/) and ‘-j’ (e.g. /C<sup>j</sup>/) will be used henceforth. Phonologically, however, the combinations with the approximants are treated as clusters (i.e. medials or glides), rather than palatalisation and labialisation, following such historical-comparative linguists who think that these clusters were existent from the past as Purnell (1970), Downer (1973:7), and Ratliff (2010).<sup>86</sup>

Thus the twenty-six /C<sup>w</sup>/ clusters are shown in Table 11.

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<sup>85</sup> Theraphan L.-Thongkham (1997:155) lists only four: /hw, kw, khw, gw/. Court (1985:14) lists twelve: /pw, phw, tsw, tshw, kw, khw, gw, mw, nw, hmw, fw, hw/. Thanyalak Saeliao (2012:33) lists twenty-three: lacking /t<sup>h</sup>w/, /t<sup>h</sup>hw/ (as in /t<sup>h</sup>wi<sup>h</sup>/ ‘to be destroyed by fire’), and /jw/ (our /jw/ as in /jwei<sup>h</sup>/ ‘to bleed lightly’) from our Table 11.

<sup>86</sup> I owe Misako Aumann the discussion.

**Table 11. Initial clusters with labial approximant (26)**

|                      |           |                 | Bilabial        | Labio-Dental   | Alveolar         | Palatal                                   | Velar           |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|---|-----------------|
| Stops                | Voiceless | Unaspirated     | p <sup>w</sup>  |                | t <sup>w</sup>   | c <sup>w</sup><br>(~[t̪ <sup>w</sup> ])   | k <sup>w</sup>  |
|                      |           | Aspirated       | p <sup>hw</sup> |                | t <sup>hw</sup>  | c <sup>hw</sup><br>(~[t̪ <sup>hw</sup> ]) | k <sup>hw</sup> |
|                      | Voiced    |                 | b <sup>w</sup>  |                | d <sup>w</sup>   | j <sup>w</sup><br>(~[d̪ <sup>w</sup> ])   | g <sup>w</sup>  |
| Affricates           | Voiceless | Unaspirated     |                 |                | ts <sup>w</sup>  |   |                 |
|                      |           | Aspirated       |                 |                | ts <sup>hw</sup> |   |                 |
|                      | Voiced    |                 |                 |                | dz <sup>w</sup>  |   |                 |
| Voiceless Fricatives |           |                 |                 | f <sup>w</sup> | s <sup>w</sup>   | ç <sup>w</sup>                            |                 |
| Nasals               | Voiced    | m <sup>w</sup>  |                 |                |                  | n <sup>w</sup>                            | ŋ <sup>w</sup>  |
|                      | Voiceless | m̪ <sup>w</sup> |                 |                |                  | n̪ <sup>w</sup>                           |                 |
| Laterals             | Voiced    |                 |                 |                | l <sup>w</sup>   |   |                 |
|                      | Voiceless |                 |                 |                | l̪ <sup>w</sup>  |   |                 |
| Approximants         |           |                 |                 |                |                  | j <sup>w</sup>                            |                 |

And seventeen palatal /Cj/ clusters (Purnell 1970:116), adding one (as in /ŋjəŋ/ ‘to be heavy’) to Purnell’s sixteen<sup>87</sup> (1972:127), are in Table 12.

<sup>87</sup> Court (1985:14) lists twelve: /py, phy, by, tsy, tshy, dy, dzy, my, ny, fy, sy, hy/. Thanyalak Saeliao (2012:33) lists eighteen clusters including /xj/, a physically difficult combination of a palatal (and the tongue blade) approximant and a back velar fricative.

**Table 12. Initial clusters with palatal approximant (17)**

|                      |           |             | Bilabial        | Labio-Dental   | Alveolar         |
|----------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| Stops                | Voiceless | Unaspirated | p <sup>j</sup>  |                | t <sup>j</sup>   |
|                      |           | Aspirated   | p <sup>hj</sup> |                | t <sup>hj</sup>  |
| Voiced               |           |             | b <sup>j</sup>  |                | d <sup>j</sup>   |
| Affricates           | Voiceless | Unaspirated |                 |                | ts <sup>j</sup>  |
|                      |           | Aspirated   |                 |                | ts <sup>hj</sup> |
|                      | Voiced    |             |                 |                | dz <sup>j</sup>  |
| Voiceless Fricatives |           |             |                 | f <sup>j</sup> | s <sup>j</sup>   |
| Nasals               | Voiced    |             | m <sup>j</sup>  |                | n <sup>j</sup>   |
|                      | Voiceless |             | m̪ <sup>j</sup> |                | n̪ <sup>j</sup>  |
| Laterals             | Voiced    |             |                 |                | l <sup>j</sup>   |
|                      | Voiceless |             |                 |                | l̪ <sup>j</sup>  |

### 3.2.2 Vowels

#### 3.2.2.1 Monophthongs

There are eight monophthongs (Purnell 1965:2), of which only one contrasts phonemically between long and short as shown in Table 13.

**Table 13. Monophthong Vowels**

|                  | Front | Central | Back |
|------------------|-------|---------|------|
| <b>Close</b>     | i     |         | u    |
| <b>Close-mid</b> | e     | ə       | o    |
| <b>Open-mid</b>  | ɛ     |         | ɔ    |
| <b>Open</b>      |       | a, a:   |      |

The contrast between long and short vowels only exists in /a/ and /a:/, no other vowels: e.g., /fat̪l/ ‘to be near’ versus /fa:t̪l/ ‘incantation’. A few more examples are demonstrated in the following minimal pairs:

- (94) /tsau˥/ (*zaaux*, ເຫຼາວ) ‘foot, leg’  
          /tsa:u˥/ (*zaaux*, ທ້າວ) ‘to cover over with a large container’ (Purnell 2012:759)
- (95) /dat˥/ (*ndatv*, ດື້ດ) ‘to weave’  
          /da:t˥/ (*ndaatv*, ດ້າດ) ‘wings’
- (96) /tap˥/ (*datec*, ຕັບ) ‘to stack up’  
          /ta:p˥/ (*daapc*, ຕາບ) ‘to put on (shoes)’

This contrast, however, is blurred when the vowel occurs before the velar nasal stop /-ŋ/ in the following tones: /˥/, /˨/, /˧/ and /˦/, except the low-rise falling tone /˨˩/. For example, a word for ‘a letter, written character’ is realised in both /zaŋ˥/ (*nzangc*) and /za:ŋ˥/ (*nzaangc*). Zanh Gueix-Fongc (pers. com.) reports that “Iu Mien in Asia tend to pronounce it short; in the USA, long”. This difference is indicated as variations in Purnell (2012) though which of the short or long vowel is the underlying form is not quite determined (IPA is added):

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| <i>yang</i> /jaŋ˥/,     | <i>Var: yaang</i> [jaŋ˥] ‘to stretch out (arms, wings)’ |
| (Purnell 2012:731)      |   |
| <i>zaangc</i> /tsa:ŋ˥/, | <i>Var: zangc</i> [tsaŋ˥] ‘to venerate’ (ibid. 757)     |
| <i>nangh</i> /naŋ˥/,    | <i>Var: naangc</i> [n:aŋ˥] ‘to be alive’ (ibid. 490)    |
| <i>cangx</i> /tsʰaŋ˥/,  | <i>Var: caangx</i> [tsʰa:ŋ˥] ‘to sing’ (ibid. 79)       |
| <i>fangv</i> /faŋ˥/,    | <i>Var: faangv</i> [fa:ŋ˥] ‘to think about’ (ibid. 169) |

An exception to the above is a Chinese-loan word in that /aŋ/ and /a:ŋ/ are phonemically contrasted as follows:

- (97) *yangh* /jaŋ˥/ ‘to walk’  
          *yaangh* /ja:ŋ˥/ ‘the positive side (ໝໍ) of the dual principle as opposed to *yiem* (陰)’ (Purnell 2012:729)

### 3.2.2.2 Diphthongs

There are twelve diphthongs. Here again the contrast between long and short vowels only found in /a/. These twelve are presented in Table 14:

**Table 14. Diphthongs**

| Fronting diphthongs | Centring diphthongs | Backing diphthongs |
|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| ei                  | iə                  | iu                 |
| ai, a:i             | uə                  | eu                 |
| ɔi                  |                     | au, a:u            |
| ui                  |                     | ou                 |

The two contrastive diphthongs in the vowel length containing /a/ are exemplified in:

- (98) /tai˥˧/ ‘to kill’      vs.      /ta:i˥˧/ ‘probably’

- (99) /tsau˥˧/ ‘foot’      vs.      /tsa:u˥˧/ ‘to cover’.

### 3.3 Suprasegmental Phonology

#### 3.3.1 Tones

Iu Mien is a language “using contour tone system” (Laver 1994:465), where a gliding of pitch within a syllable differentiate meaning, as opposed to register tone system. As will be seen, it uses both glides and level tonemes within a syllable, if we broaden Pike’s (1948) definition of “a pure contour tone language”.<sup>88</sup>

##### 3.3.1.1 Eight tones

There are six lexical tones which occur in an open syllable or with a nasal and approximant final and two more tones occur with a stop final, thus eight tonemes operate in Iu Mien.

Given the order of tone numbers can be arbitrary, the labels and order of tones 1) to 8) below follow Downer’s analysis (1961:532-3, and Court (1986:17-8)), rather than those of Purnell (1965:31), for the same reasons as Downer’s to compare with Chang’s method in Chang (1947, 1953, 1966). It also follows other Chinese scholars like Mao (2004:20) and Pán (1987:439). The conventions used below are the tone number in half-round brackets, description of relative contours, Chao’s (1968) iconic tone letter, numbers indicating levels of pitch from 1 (low) to 5 (high), and example

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<sup>88</sup> Pike (1948:8) states: “A pure CONTOUR tone language is one in which glides are basic to the system, with no level tonemes whatever: each contrastive pitch unit is a glide”.

words. The relative pitch and contours expressed in Chao's tone letter followed a chart by Purnell (1965:32).

- |                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| 1) high-mid level      | ↑ 44, /tsuei↑/ 'to bore a hole with a drill',<br>/ka:m↑/ 'to be sweet'         |
| 2) mid-falling         | ↓ 31, /tsuei↓/ 'a boil', /kam↓ dʑiə↓/ 'to be afraid'                           |
| 3) high rising-falling | ↗ 453, /tsuei↗/ 'a small tip at the end of something',<br>/ka:m↗/ 'to dare to' |
| 4) low rising-falling  | ↖ 231, /tsuei↖/ 'to sit', /tuŋ↖/ 'pig'   |
| 5) mid-low rising      | ↑ 23, /tsuei↑/ 'to smell', /tuŋ↑/ 'to do'                                      |
| 6) low level           | ↓ 11, /tsuei↓/ 'to sleep', /tuŋ↓/ 'to push up and out'                         |

Two tones, i.e., of 3) and 6), occur in the syllable with a stop final:

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 7) high level | ↑ 55, /tsat]/ 'to press on', /tsa?] / 'to clear off ground'      |
| 8) low level  | ↓ 11. /tsat]/ 'to be thick and tight', /tsa?] / 'to be straight' |

The summary of them with the comparison with Chang's (1947, 1966) tone category letters ( $A_1 - D_2$ ) is shown in Table 15. For the sake of ease of comparison with literatures in historical comparative linguistics, Chang's order in presenting the tone categories have been employed instead of Purnell (1965:31)<sup>89</sup> or Niederer (1998:217).

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<sup>89</sup>Tone category numberings differ from scholar to scholar. This study adopts the numbering system of Chang (1947, 1966), Court (1985), Downer (1961), Mao (2004), and Pán (1987). Discrepancies with other methods are compared: our tone 1 /↑/ = same as Callaway and Callaway (1976) (= C & C) but 'tone 2' by Purnell (1965), our tone 2 /↓/ = 'tone 3' by Purnell and C & C, our tone 3 /↗/ = 'tone 1' by Purnell but 'tone 4' by C & C, our tone 4 /↖/ = 'tone 5' by Purnell and 'tone 6' by C&C, our tone 5 /↑/ = same as C & C but 'tone 4' by Purnell, our tone 6 /↓/ = same as Purnell but 'tone 2' by C & C. Tone 7 and 8 are agreed by all of them. Purnell's system is based on the relative height of the start of the tone: thus starting the highest in Tone 3 /↗/, Tone 1 /↑/, Tone 3 /↓/, Tone 5 /↑/, Tone 4 /↖/, then to the lowest Tone 6 /↓/ (pers. com.).

| Tone labelling numbers in this study following Chang, Court, Downer, Mao, Pan | Tone 1<br>/↑/ | Tone 2<br>/↓/ | Tone 3<br>/↗/ | Tone 4<br>/↖/ | Tone 5<br>/↑/ | Tone 6<br>/↓/ |
|---|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Purnell   | 2             | 3             | 1             | 5             | 4             | 6             |
| Callaway & Callaway   | 1             | 3             | 4             | 6             | 5             | 2             |

**Table 15. Tones**

| With continuant final and no stop final in a syllable |  |  | With stop final                                  |
|---|--|--|--|
| 1. High-mid level<br>/˥/ (A <sub>1</sub> )            | 3. High rising-falling /˥/ (B <sub>1</sub> ) | 5. Mid-low rising<br>/˧/ (C <sub>1</sub> ) | 7. High in closed syllable /˥/ (D <sub>1</sub> ) |
| 2. Mid-falling<br>/˨/ (A <sub>2</sub> )               | 4. Low rising-falling /˨/ (B <sub>2</sub> )  | 6. Low level<br>/˩/ (C <sub>2</sub> )      | 8. Low in closed syllable /˩/ (D <sub>2</sub> )  |

However, in conducting the phonetic investigation into the tone system with three speakers, the order of tone used in Callaway and Callaway (1976) has been followed. The reason for this is that they followed the Thai tone order as taught in Thai schools, which is familiar to two of the three speakers when using the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography in elicitation. This tone labelling order is compared with Table 15 in Table 16:

**Table 16. Tone labelling numbers compared**

| Tone labelling numbers in this study | Tone 1 /˥/       | Tone 2 /˧/     | Tone 3 /˥/     | Tone 4 /˧/ | Tone 5 /˧/         | Tone 6 /˩/    |
|--------------------------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|------------|--------------------|---------------|
| Callaway & Callaway                  | 1                | 3              | 4              | 6          | 5                  | 2             |
| Thai tone                            | TT1 <i>saman</i> | TT3 <i>tho</i> | TT4 <i>tri</i> | n.a.       | TT5 <i>chatawa</i> | TT2 <i>ek</i> |

Three speakers are FK (female in her 40s), MZ (female in her 50s), and WS (male in his mid-60s). They read four sets of words (A – D) in the order by Callaway and Callaway (1976), namely, the Thai tone order in the first five tones (TT1 *saman*, TT2 *ek*, TT3 *tho*, TT4 *tri*, TT5 *chatawa*), followed by the Iu Mien unique tone (C & C's Tone 6, or Tone 4 in this study), Tone 7 (high checked tone) and Tone 8 (low checked tone). Four sets of words are shown in Table 17. The tone contours and wave formats of the three speakers are shown in Figure 25(a-c) – Figure 28(a-c).

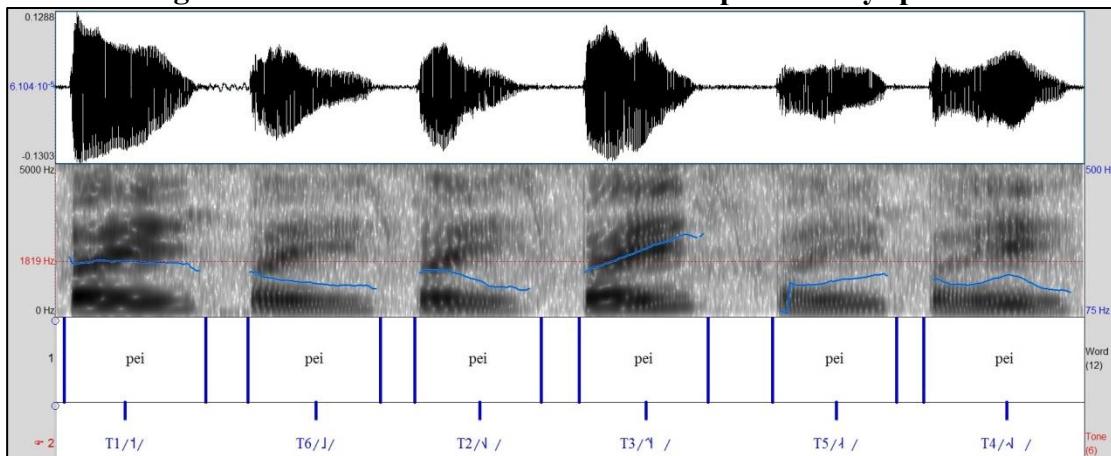
**Table 17. Example words in eight distinctive tones**

|   | Tone 1<br>/˥/            | Tone 6<br>/˩/   | Tone 2<br>/˨/                              | Tone 3<br>/˥˧/          | Tone 5<br>/˧/   | Tone 4<br>/˨˧/                                | Tone 7<br>/˥˧/                 | Tone 8<br>/˩˧/                    |
|---|--------------------------|---|--|-------------------------|---|---|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| A | /bei˥/<br>'to know'      | /bei˩/<br>'to suffer'   | /bei˨/<br>'surface'                        | /bei˥˧/<br>'to compare' | /bei˧/<br>'to scoop out liquid'                               | /bei˨˧/<br>'sexually immature female animal'  |                                |                                   |
| B | /ma:˥/<br>'mother'       | /ma:i˩/<br>'to sell'  | /ma:i˨/<br>'to have'                       | /mai˥˧/<br>'not'        | /mau˧/<br>'to be boastful'                                    | /ma:i˨˧/<br>'to buy'                          | /me?˥/<br>'to tear off'        | /me?˧/<br>'corn'                  |
| C | /tsei˥/<br>'to abstain'  | /tsei˩/<br>'a female of certain animals that has not yet borne young' | /tsei˨/<br>'paddle, laddle'                | /tsei˥˧/<br>'paper'     | /tsei˧/<br>'to create'  | /tsei˨˧/<br>'to comb' or 'to be correct'      | /tsε?˥/<br>'debt'              | /tse?˩/<br>na:n˧/<br>'affliction' |
| D | /dzaŋ˥/<br>'to be clear' | /dzaŋ˩/<br>'letter, character'  | /dzaŋ˨/<br>'clf. for levels of a building' | /dzaŋ˥˧/<br>'boat'      | /dzo˧/<br>'to wash (clothes)', /dza:u˧/<br>'to wash (dishes)' | /dzo˨˧/<br>'drum', /dzau˨˧/<br>'to gather up' | /dza:t˥/<br>'to smear, rub on' | /dzat˩/<br>'oboe'                 |

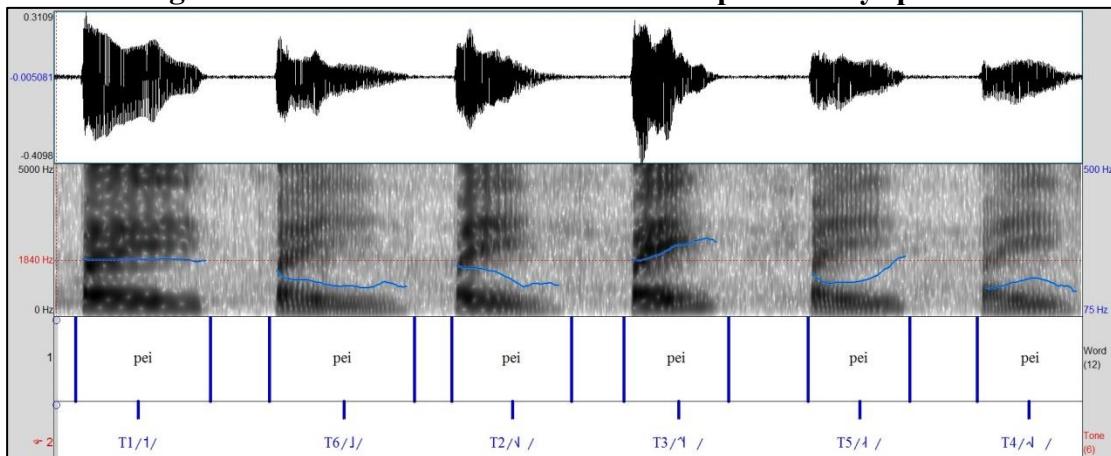
In the following three Figures six contrastive tones are indicated in their wave format, spectrogram, and pitch contour of word set (A) produced by the speakers FK (female in her 40s), MZ (female in her 50s), and WS (male in his 60s).

First, six words by speakers FK, MZ, and WS in Figure 25a-c:

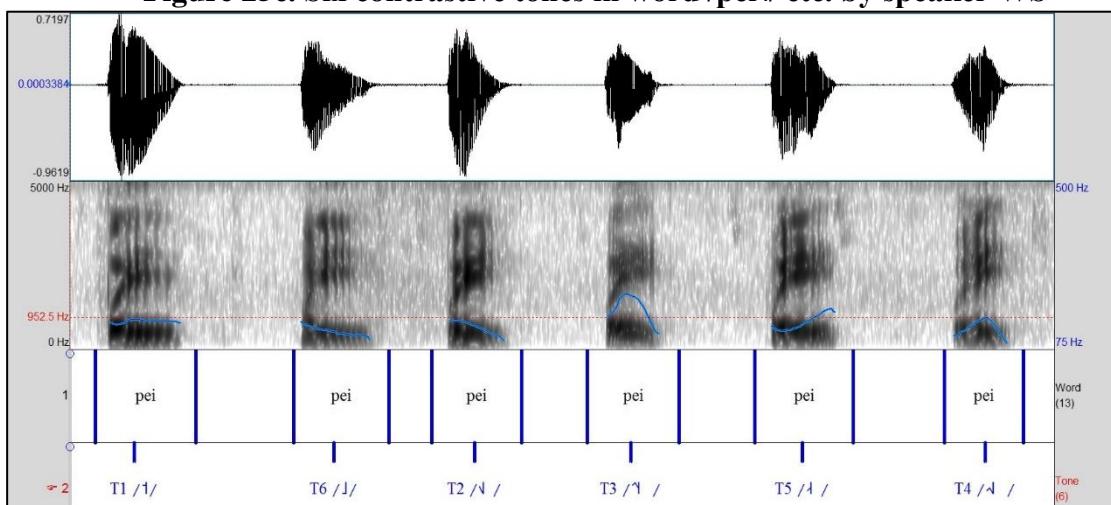
**Figure 25a. Six contrastive tones in word /pei˥/ etc. by speaker FK**



**Figure 25b. Six contrastive tones in word /pei˥/ etc. by speaker MZ**

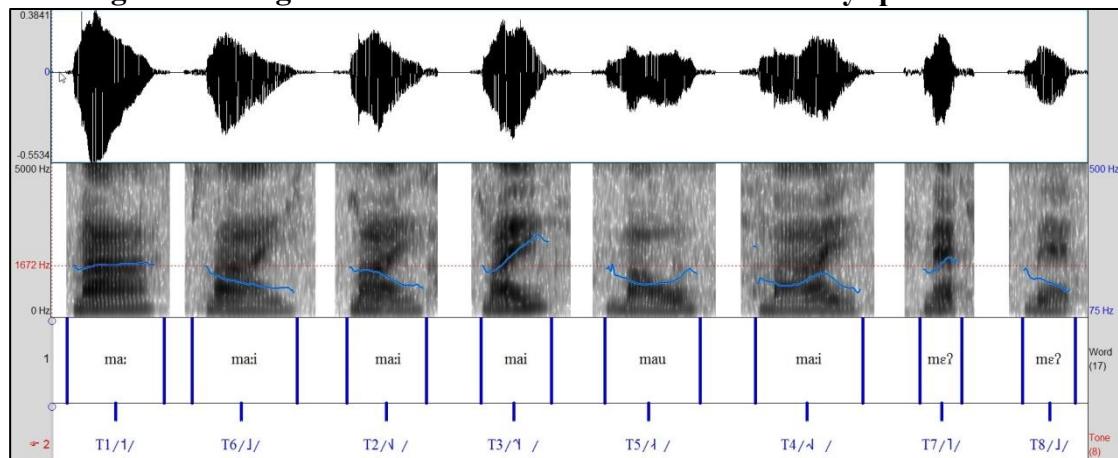


**Figure 25c. Six contrastive tones in word /pei˥/ etc. by speaker WS**

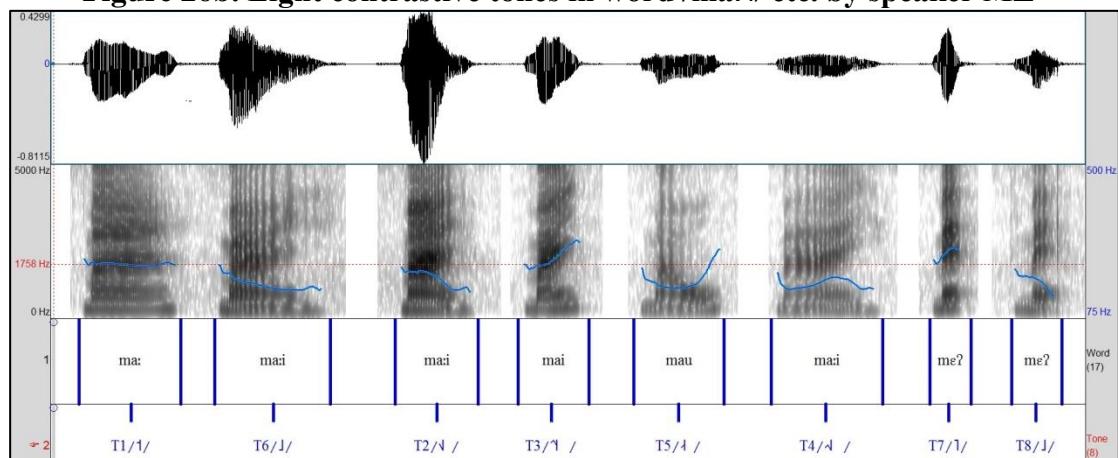


The eight contrastive tones in set B by the three speakers in Figure 26a-c:

**Figure 26a. Eight contrastive tones in word /ma:1/ etc. by speaker FK**



**Figure 26b. Eight contrastive tones in word /ma:1/ etc. by speaker MZ**



**Figure 26c. Eight contrastive tones in word /ma:1/ etc. by speaker WS**

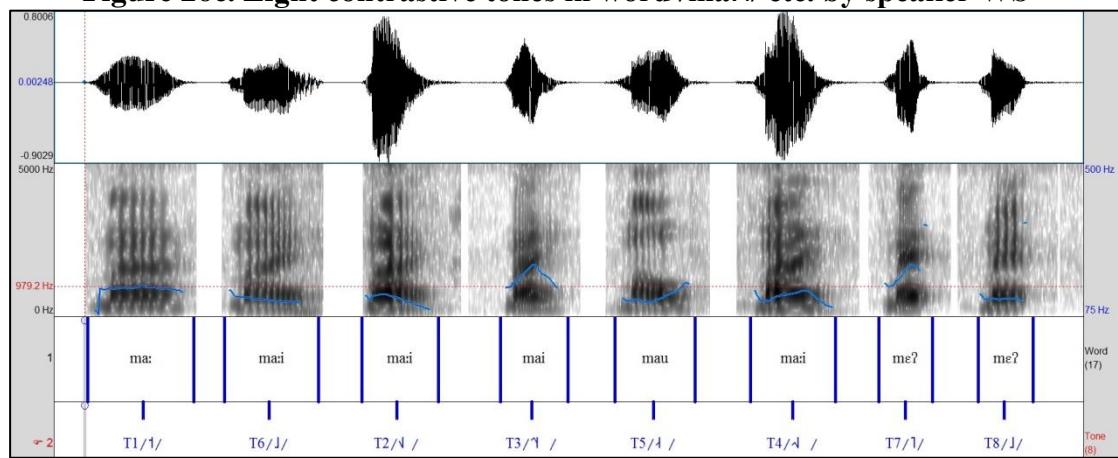
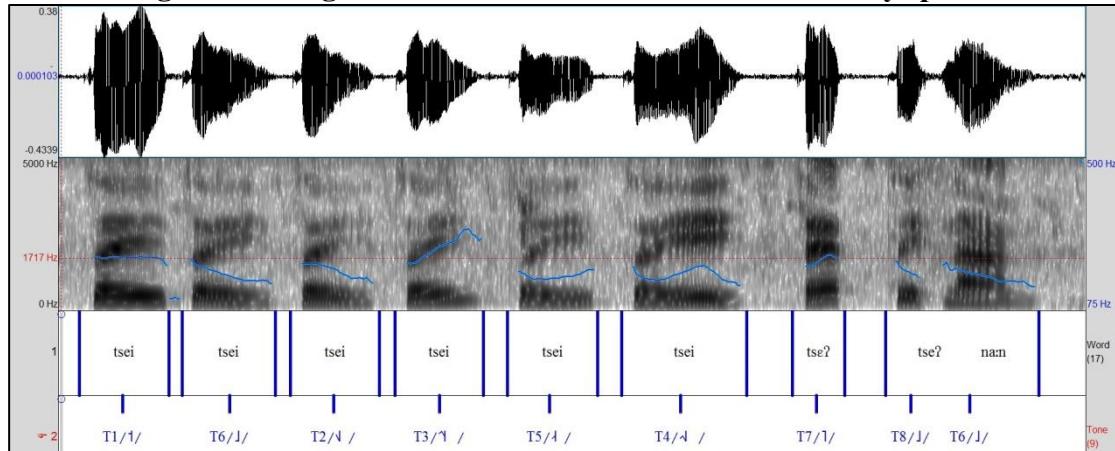
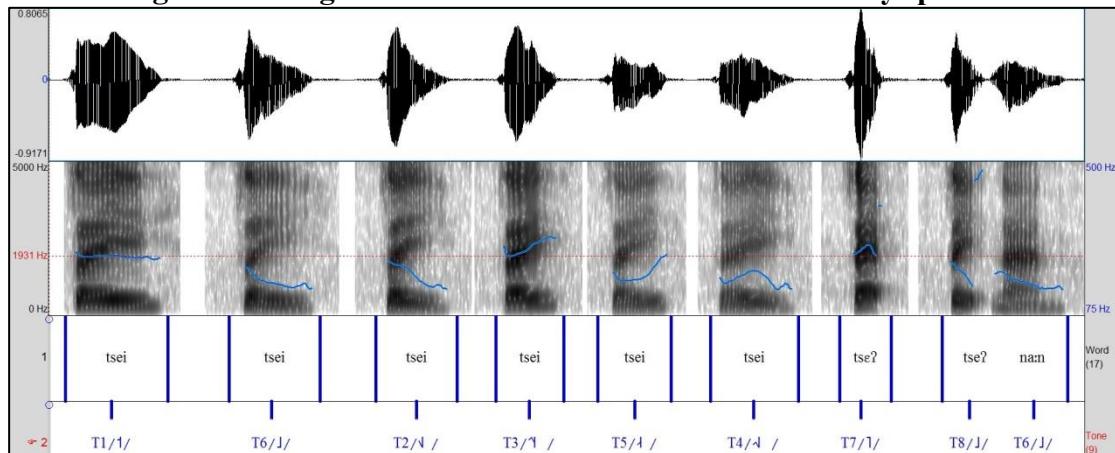


Figure 27(a-c) present eight contrastive tones in word set C by the three speakers.

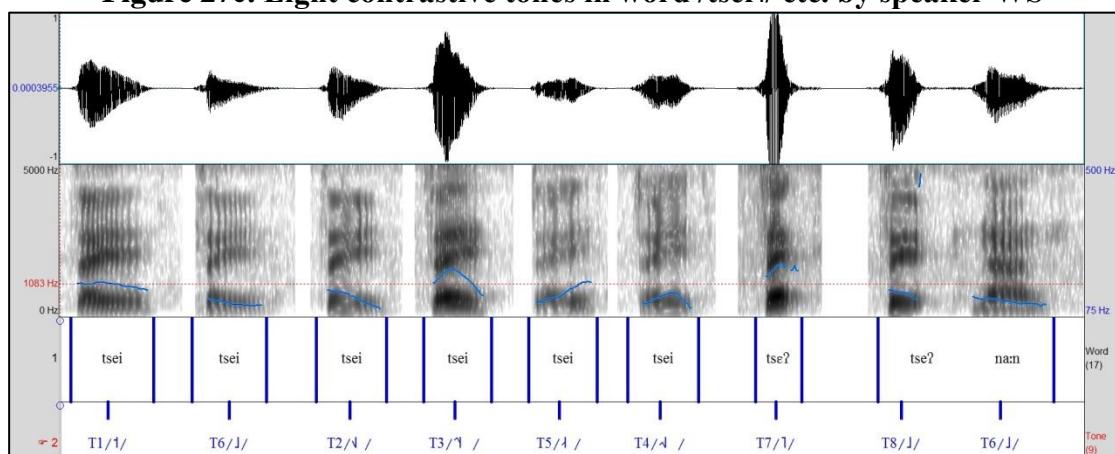
**Figure 27a. Eight contrastive tones in word /tsei˥/ etc. by speaker FK**



**Figure 27b. Eight contrastive tones in word /tsei˥/ etc. by speaker MZ**

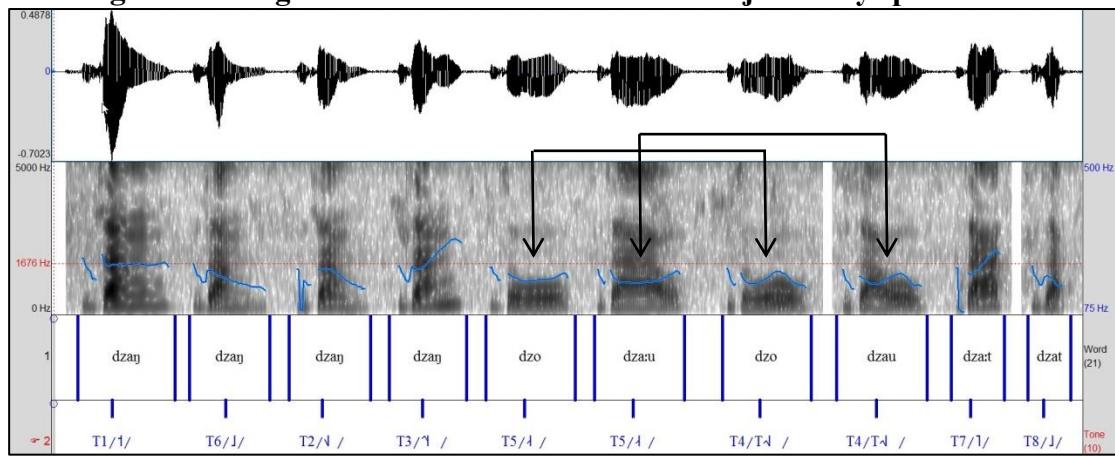


**Figure 27c. Eight contrastive tones in word /tsei˥/ etc. by speaker WS**

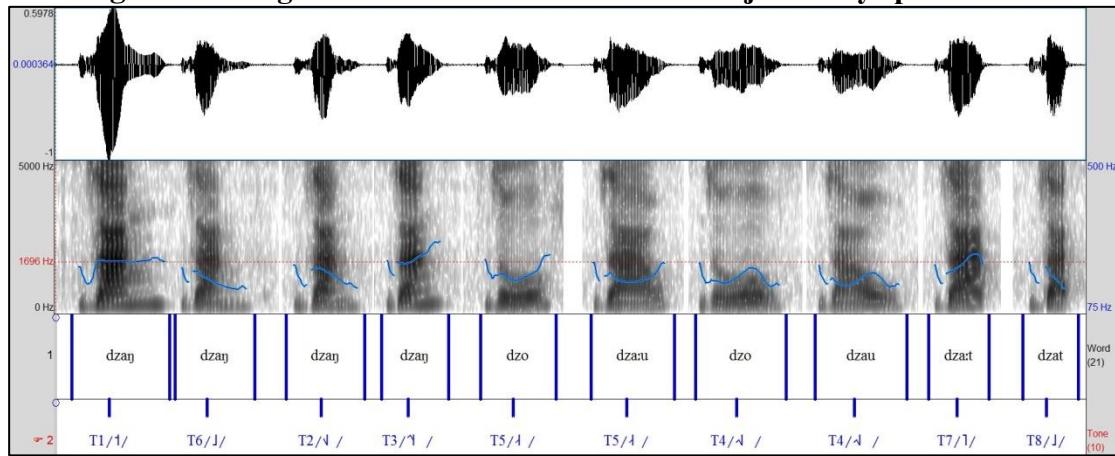


In this final word set D, Tone 4 and Tone 5 are highlighted in **Figure 28(a-c)**.

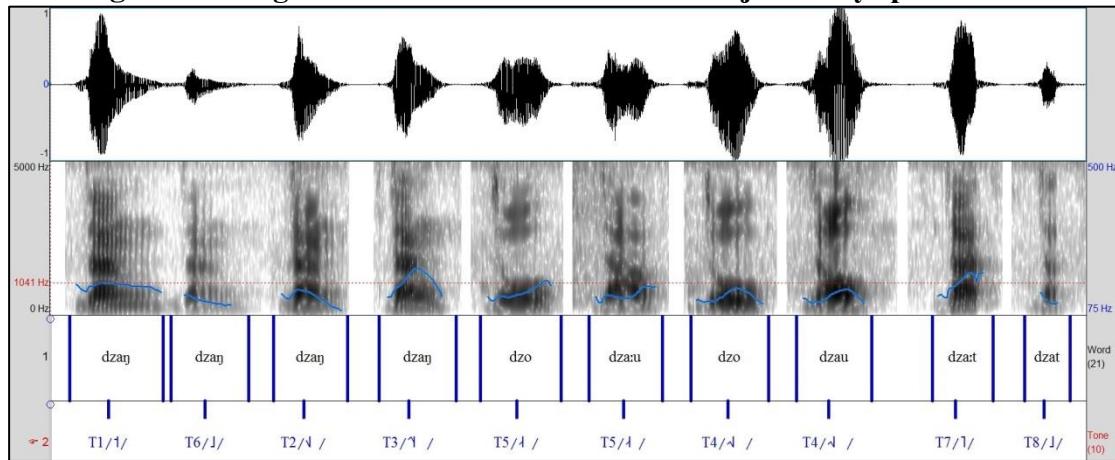
**Figure 28a. Eight contrastive tones in word /dzajŋ/ etc. by speaker FK**



**Figure 28b. Eight contrastive tones in word /dzajŋ/ etc. by speaker MZ**



**Figure 28c. Eight contrastive tones in word /dzajŋ/ etc. by speaker WS**



Note the following (near-)minimal pairs as arrows point to the different pitch contours in **Figure 28a**:

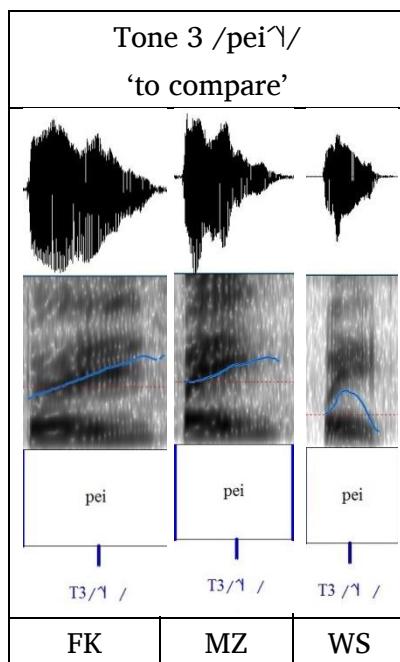
- Tone 4: /dzo˥˩/ ‘drum’<sup>90</sup>  
vs.  
Tone 5: /dzo˧˩/ ‘to wash (clothes, hair)’
- Tone 4: /dzau˥˩/ ‘to gather up’  
vs.  
Tone 5: /dza:u˧˩/ ‘to wash (dishes, body)’

Figures 25 (a, b, c) – Figures 28 (a, b, c) demonstrate that eight contrastive tones are phonemically meaningful and largely stable across speakers.

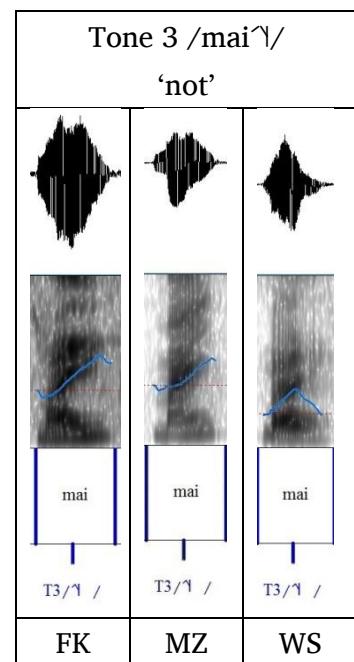
A noticeable thing is that a different contours in Tone 3 across the speakers, FK, MZ and WS, despite the limited number of the subjects. In the most literatures concerning Iu Mien tone, Tone 3 is reported to replicate the same contour of rising-falling as that of Tone 4 at the high level (/˥˩/, i.e. /453/) whereas Tone 4 does so at the low level (/˧˩/, i.e. /231/). However, the contour of Tone 3 in speakers FK (40s) and MZ (50s) is simply high rising, not coming down at the end like that of WS (60s). See Figure 29a-d and the relevant sections of tones with the pronunciation of the three speakers side-by-side:

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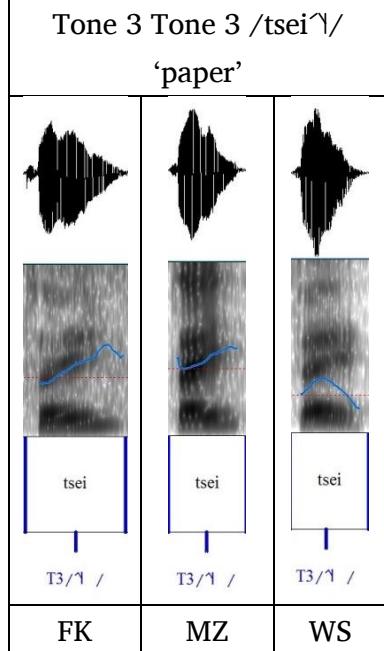
<sup>90</sup> Incidentally, two words in this minimal pair are counter examples to what Thanyalak Saeliao (2012:36) describes as /dz/ → /dʒ/ \_\_/o/: “when the alveolar affricates /ts, tsʰ, dz/ and fricative /s/ occur before /u, ɔ, o/, they are realised as post-alveolar affricates /tʃ, tʃʰ, dʒ/ and fricatives /ʃ/”.



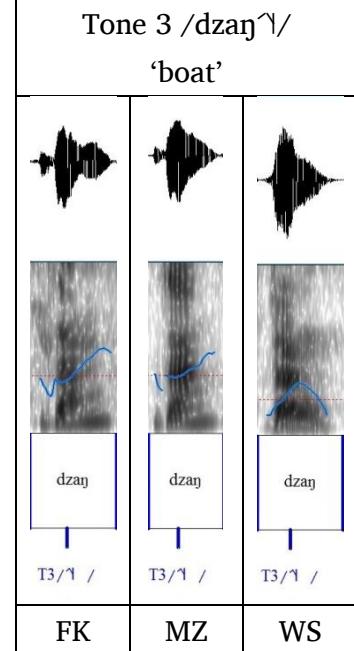
**Figure 29a.** Contour of /pei˥˧/ by three speakers



**Figure 29b.** Contour of /mai˥˧/ by three speakers



**Figure 29c.** Contour of /tsei˥˧/ by three speakers



**Figure 29d.** Contour of /dzaŋ˥˧/ by three speakers

The contour of speaker WS has a bell-like shape. It starts from the same level of frequency as Tone 1 (/↑/) (952.5 Hz in /pei↑/, 979.2 Hz in /ma:↑/, 1083 Hz in /tsei↑/, and 917.7 Hz in /dzaŋ↑/), rising above it and then descending to the starting level or lower. The contour is the same as that of T4 except their starting and ending levels.

On the other hand, the case of speaker FK and speaker MZ does not come down but simply rises up above the starting point which is the same height as Tone 1. This pattern is the same as the Thai high tone. The difference between the speakers FK-MZ and speaker WS might have been due to the length of exposure to formal education in Thai. As far as Tone 4 /↓/ is concerned, speakers FK-MZ keep the same contour as the more traditional Iu Mien like speaker WS. However, in production of Tone 3, speakers FK-MZ do not replicate the contour of Tone 4 /↓/ at the high level, but merely start at high level, resulting in the same contour of Thai TT4 *tri* /↓/.

### **3.3.1.2 Merger of Tone 4 and Tone 5 underway**

All these three speakers are contemporary Iu Mien in the age groups ranging between the 40s and 60s. Admitting a need of more detailed quantitative research on tone change (as Theraphan L.-Thongkham did in 1988, 1989, 1997), it seems that in a variety of young Iu Mien below the 30s Tone 4 and Tone 5 are going toward a merger as found in the description by Thanyalak Saeliao (2013:39): “Tone 4 and Tone 5 have the pitch value 24” (第四调, 第五调为 24). She goes on to say, as a native speaker researcher who is in her 30s, that “the pitch value of Tone 4 and Tone 5 are so extremely close to each other that they very easily make people get confused” (*ibid.* 39).<sup>91</sup> Throughout her work, no distinction in pitch value between Tone 4 and Tone 5 is made.

However, observe visually the different contours in three (near-)minimal pairs produced by the three speakers above 40 years old in the following Figures 30 - 32:

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<sup>91</sup> 第四调和第五调调值极为接近, 很容易让混淆。After this comment, she presents a chart, of which the relevant part is replicated and translated:

|        |    | Examples                          |                                       |                                    |                                    |  |
|--------|----|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|
|        |    | pitch value                       |                                       |                                    |                                    |  |
| Tone 4 | 24 | ba <sup>24</sup><br>‘to step on’* | tsei <sup>24</sup><br>‘to be correct’ | tsa:ŋ <sup>24</sup><br>‘elephant’  | dza:u <sup>24</sup><br>‘to wash’** |  |
| Tone 5 | 24 | pjau <sup>24</sup><br>‘to escape’ | tsei <sup>24</sup><br>‘to comb’       | ŋaŋ <sup>24</sup><br>‘cooked rice’ | dzau <sup>24</sup><br>‘to teach’   |  |

\*This word /ba<sup>24</sup>/ is not found in dictionaries by Lombard & Purnell (1968), Panh (1995, 2002), Purnell (2012). If the intended meaning is ‘to step on’ the word must be /tsʰa:i˥/. \*\*The word ‘wash (dishes, bowls etc.)’ /dza:u˨/ is categorised in Tone 5 in all the above mentioned dictionaries.

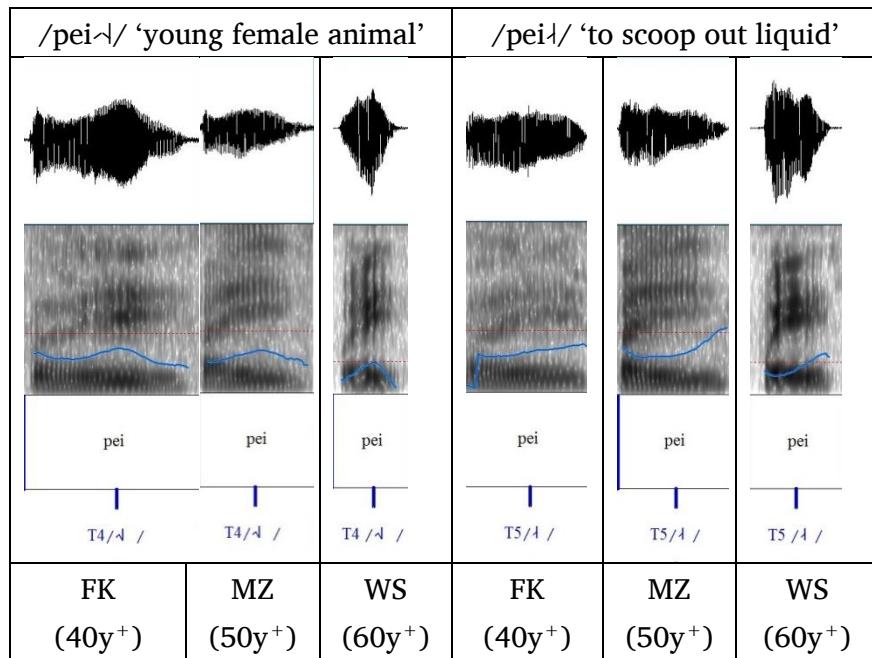


Figure 30. Phonemic contrast between /pei˧˥/ and /pei˧˩/

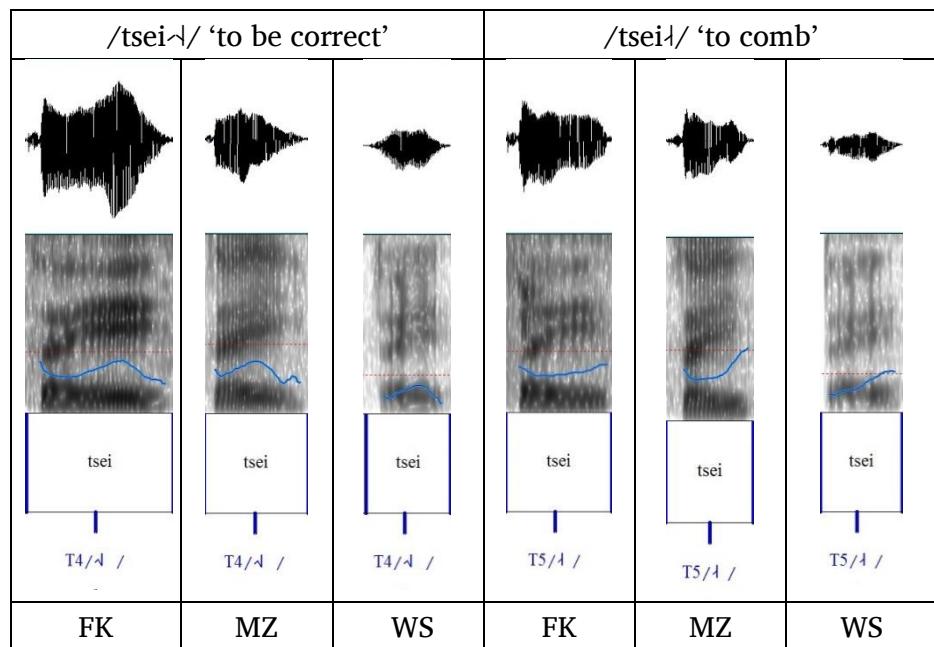
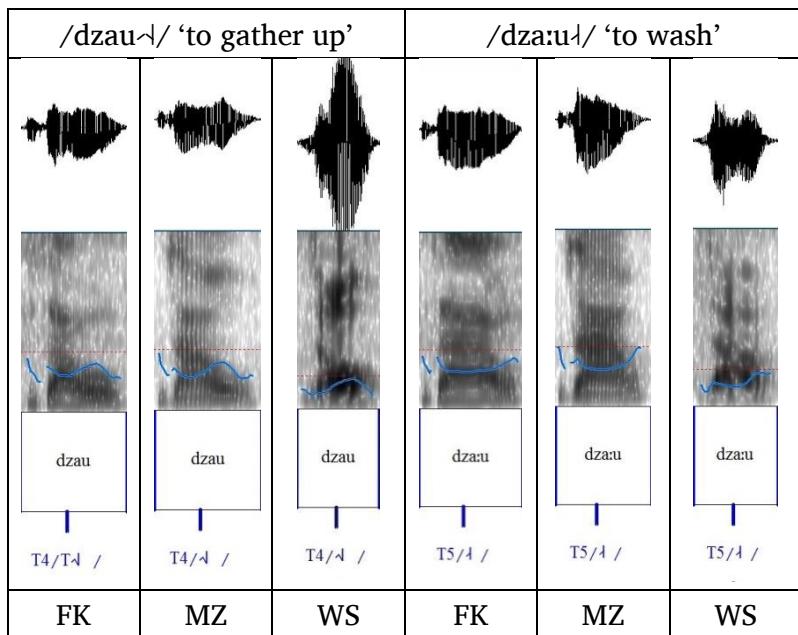


Figure 31. Phonemic contrast between /tsei˧˥/ and /tsei˧˩/



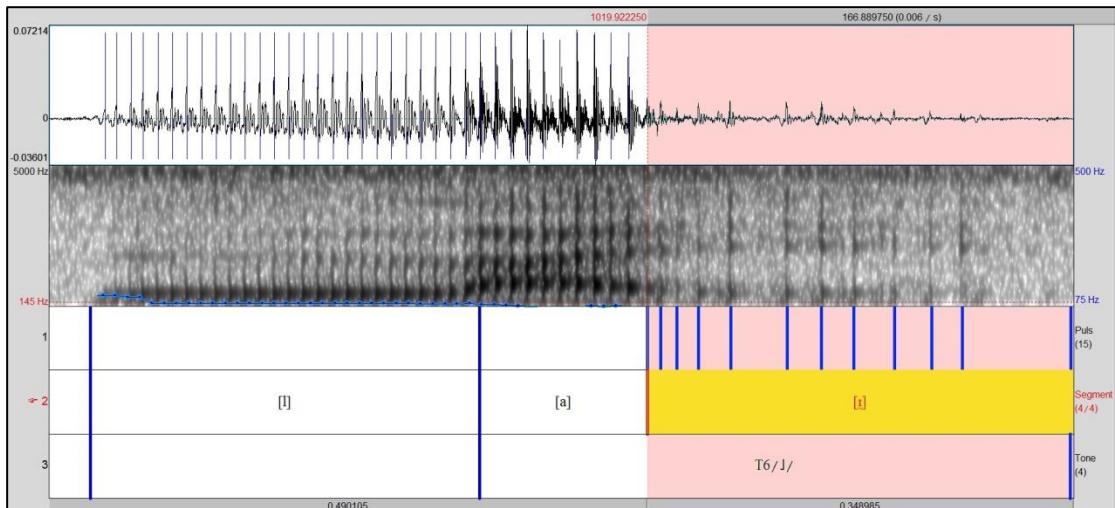
**Figure 32. Comparison of tone contours between /dzau˧˥/ and /dza:u˧˥/**

It is obvious that in these three speakers the phonemic contrast between Tone 4 /˧˥/ and Tone 5 /˧˥/ is well preserved.

### 3.3.1.3 Creaky phonation type in Tone 6

Given the background that the Iu Mien in Thailand originally moved from Laos, it is fair to quote Downer's (1961) description of the tones in Laotian Iu Mien. Downer provides a subtle observation on Tone 6 /˧˥/ that it is "very low, falling slightly, with some weak glottal closure ("creakiness")" (Downer 1961:532). This is also true to Thailand Iu Mien.

Creakiness is detected by an irregularity of pulse that is represented in waveforms and spectrograms. Figure 33 is the visual representation of a word *laic* /lai˧˥/ 'to be sharp (knife)' by a male speaker in his mid-50s. The shaded segment shows the irregular space between pulses of the vowel [i] in Tone 6, even lower than the lowest pitch (74.95Hz) of the vowel /a/.



(laic\_ium\_20030906\_03\_CT\_DA\_WuonhYunh\_WL\_87\_RuamJit)

**Figure 33. Creaky phonation in Tone 6 /↓/**

The creaky phonation can also occur in Tone 8, the closed syllable tone.

### 3.3.1.4 Tone's relationship with the initials

With regard to the tone's relationship with the initials, Downter (1961) and Court (1986) make virtually the same statement. That is, they claim, in effect, that aspirate initials do not occur with even-numbered tones. It is expressed in the reverse manners by the two linguists. Downter (1961:534) observes that "only unaspirated initials (except *h*- and the fricative *s*- with non-distinctive aspiration) occur with the even-numbered tones". He adds a note that his claim does not hold with words of "Chinese origin" (Downter 1961:534, footnote). Court (1986:18) states in a reverse manner that "[a]spirated initials, except [h-] itself, do not co-occur with the even-numbered tones in native Mien words". Induction from them, then, is the claim that aspirate initials do not occur with even-numbered tones in native Iu Mien words but do occur in words of Chinese origin.

Prolific counter examples, however, are found with regard to onomatopoeia and other words. Tables presented below show aspirate initials do occur with even-numbered tones in words, most of which are onomatopoeia and mimetic ideophones (and some other kinds). Then questions arise to the claim by Downter and Court: Are onomatopoeia and mimetic ideophones not Iu Mien native words? They are almost intrinsically and culturally native, are they not? Are they borrowed from Chinese? Their claim is partially correct but not with onomatopoeia and mimetic ideophones. See data from Purnell's dictionary (2012) in

Table 18a-e:

**Table 18a. Aspirated initial /p<sup>h</sup>/ co-occurring with the even numbered tones**

| Tone 2 / ↓ /  | Tone 4 / ↗ /  | Tone 6 / ↘ /                                  | Tone 8 / ↙ /   |
|---|---|---|--|
| p <sup>h</sup> an↓<br>‘a platform made of bamboo’ <sup>92</sup>                   | p <sup>h</sup> εŋ↗<br><i>Onom.</i> ‘the sound of a loud boom or clap of thunder’    | p <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ↖<br>‘to be tall and skinny’ | p <sup>h</sup> ɛt↙<br><i>Onom.</i> ‘the sound of a firecracker having a muffled explosion’ |
| p <sup>h</sup> an↓<br>nan↓<br>‘to revive’   | p <sup>h</sup> en↖<br>‘to be broad and flat’  | Only one example found                        | p <sup>h</sup> ɔk↖<br><i>Onom.</i> ‘the sound of bumping on a hard surface’                |
| p <sup>h</sup> on↓<br>‘onom. the soft sound of a gun being fired in the distance’ | p <sup>h</sup> on↖<br><i>Onom.</i> ‘the loud but muffled boom of a gun being fired’ |   | p <sup>h</sup> ɔt↙<br><i>Onom.</i> ‘the sound of a heavy slop or thud’                     |
| p <sup>h</sup> an↓<br>t <sup>h</sup> iu↑<br>‘trigger of a gun’                    | Not more than three examples  |   | p <sup>h</sup> jut↙<br>‘to skid’   |
| p <sup>h</sup> i↓<br>‘to be lazy’   |   |   | p <sup>h</sup> ok↖<br>‘spots on the body’  |
| More examples   |   |   | More examples  |

**Table 18b. Aspirated initial /t<sup>h</sup>/ co-occurring with the even numbered tones**

| Tone 2 / ↓ /                          | Tone 4 / ↗ /  | Tone 6 / ↘ /                                 | Tone 8 / ↙ /  |
|---------------------------------------|---|--|---|
| t <sup>h</sup> a:i↓<br>‘to respect’   | t <sup>h</sup> ɔm↖<br><i>Onom.</i> ‘the sound of a very deep cough’ | t <sup>h</sup> ɛn↖<br>‘to be plump or round’ | t <sup>h</sup> ek↖<br>‘to cut or chop with a knife’                         |
| t <sup>h</sup> oŋ↓<br>hau↑<br>‘dill’  | Only one example found  | t <sup>h</sup> iə↖<br>‘tin’                  | t <sup>h</sup> ɔk↖<br><i>Onom.</i> ‘the sound of wood being chopped softly’ |
| t <sup>h</sup> ɔŋ↓<br>‘to waste time’ |   | Not more than two examples                   | t <sup>h</sup> ɔt↖<br>‘to be short and plump’                               |
| t <sup>h</sup> i↓<br>‘to mention’     |   |  |   |

<sup>92</sup> Downer (1961:534) points out Cantonese origin, /pha:ŋ/ ‘platform, scaffolding’.

| Tone 2 / \ /                           | Tone 4 / \ / | Tone 6 / \ / | Tone 8 / \ /                 |
|--|--------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| tou\<br>tʰa:n\<br><br>‘a large lizard’ |              |              | Not more than three examples |
| More examples                          |              |              |                              |

**Table 18c. Aspirated initial /ts<sup>h</sup>/co-occurring with the even numbered tones**

| Tone 2 / \ /  | Tone 4 / \ /   | Tone 6 / \ /  | Tone 8 / \ /                               |
|---|--|---|--|
| ts <sup>h</sup> a:\<br>la:u\<br>pʰtʃ\                                   | ts <sup>h</sup> ɔ:\<br>ts <sup>h</sup> u:\<br>ts <sup>h</sup> jen\ | <i>Onom.</i> ‘the sound of wheezing or raspy breathing’<br><br>Not more than two examples | ts <sup>h</sup> ek\<br>ts <sup>h</sup> ot\ |
| ts <sup>h</sup> i:\<br>‘except’   | ts <sup>h</sup> u:\  | <i>Onom.</i> ‘the sound of steam hissing or sizzling’                                     | ts <sup>h</sup> ut\                        |
| ts <sup>h</sup> o:\<br>‘to take an issue and blow it out of proportion’ |  |   | ts <sup>h</sup> op\                        |
| More examples   |  | Not found   | Not more than four examples                |

There is an example of reduplicated expression using one each from Tone 4 and Tone 8 both co-occurring with the aspirated finals: /ts<sup>h</sup>u:\ ts<sup>h</sup>ut\/ (*onom.*) ‘the sound of air being pumped into something’ (Purnell 2012:99).

**Table 18d. Aspirated initial /c<sup>h</sup>/co-occurring with the even numbered tones**

| Tone 2 / \ /   | Tone 4 / ʌ / | Tone 6 / ɿ / | Tone 8 / ɿ /  |
|--|--------------|--------------|---|
| c <sup>h</sup> a:u\ ‘a type of grass’                        | Not found    | Not found    | c <sup>h</sup> opɿ ‘ <i>Onom.</i> ‘the sound of crunching, munching, or chomping on crisp foods such as cucumbers or root tubers’ |
| c <sup>h</sup> aŋɿ ‘to be tall and very thin with long legs’ |              |              | c <sup>h</sup> ɔtɿ ‘ <i>Onom.</i> ‘the sound of scratching or scratchiness’   |
| c <sup>h</sup> ɔŋɿ ‘to be tall and skinny’                   |              |              | Only two examples found   |
| c <sup>h</sup> unɿ ‘to move as a group or crowd’             |              |              |   |
| Only four examples found                                     |              |              |   |

The examples in Table 18d are all incidences of /c<sup>h</sup>/ co-occurring with the two even numbered tones.

**Table 18e. Aspirated initial /k<sup>h</sup>/co-occurring with the even numbered tones**

| Tone 2 / \ /  | Tone 4 / ʌ / | Tone 6 / ɿ /  | Tone 8 / ɿ /   |
|---|--------------|---|--|
| k <sup>h</sup> iŋkunɿ ‘to shout at the top of one’s lung’         | Not found    | k <sup>h</sup> ueŋɿ ‘to be slightly bowed and out of line in several places’ (e.g., bamboo) | k <sup>h</sup> akɿ ‘to clear something from the throat’                  |
| k <sup>h</sup> etɿ  |              | k <sup>h</sup> ɔŋɿ ‘to be skinny’   | k <sup>h</sup> apɿ ‘to be irregular having both raised and dented areas’ |
| k <sup>h</sup> iŋ liəpɿ ‘to show deference’                       |              | Only two example  | k <sup>h</sup> etɿ ‘to make a rough, grating sound’                      |
| k <sup>h</sup> ouŋɿ ‘to dig or scoop out’                         |              |   | k <sup>h</sup> ɔkɿ ‘ <i>Onom.</i> ‘the sound of gasping’, v. ‘to cough’  |
| k <sup>h</sup> uŋɿ ‘to be good for, suitable for, convenient for’ |              |   | Not more than four examples  |
| k <sup>h</sup> uənɿ ‘freely’                                      |              |   |  |
| More examples <sup>93</sup>                                       |              |   |  |

<sup>93</sup> Other examples contradicting Court’s observation are: /dzu?ɿ p<sup>h</sup>akɿ/ ‘scythe’, /p<sup>h</sup>anɿ ta:uɿ/ ‘to be unsettled, indecisive’, /diəŋɿ p<sup>h</sup>enɿ/ ‘the narrow board-like surface roots that some trees up out’, /p<sup>h</sup>iŋɿ

### 3.3.2 Syllable Structure

#### 3.3.2.1 Full syllable

Derived from the formula  $\sigma = (C)V(C)T$ , there are basically four syllable types: VT, C(C)VT, VCT, and C(C)VCT. Examples:

|       |                                    |  |
|-------|------------------------------------|--|
| VT    | /a: <sup>˥</sup> /                 | 'particle used before kinship terms and names for affection' |
| VCT   | /a:p <sup>˥</sup> /                | 'to force, urge'   |
| CVT   | /pa: <sup>˥</sup> /                | 'to finish'  |
| CCVT  | /p <sup>˧</sup> au <sup>˥</sup> /  | 'house',   |
| CVCT  | /paŋ <sup>˧</sup> l <sup>˥</sup> / | 'to rely on'   |
| CCVCT | /b <sup>˧</sup> a:t <sup>˥</sup> / | 'to be spicy',   |
|       | /ip <sup>˥</sup> /                 | 'to pickle'  |
|       | /k <sup>˧</sup> u <sup>˥</sup> /   | 'to be delicious'  |
|       | /t <sup>˧</sup> ei <sup>˥</sup> /  | 'tail'   |
|       | /pat <sup>˥</sup> /                | 'pencil, pen'  |
|       | /k <sup>˧</sup> hin <sup>˥</sup> / | 'to advise'  |

In Purnell (1965) he analyses the aspirated fricatives (e.g., /t<sup>h</sup>o<sup>˥</sup>/ 'to ask for', /k<sup>h</sup>ɔ?<sup>˥</sup>/ 'gourd') and aspirated affricates (e.g. /ts<sup>h</sup>iə<sup>˥</sup>/ 'vehicle') as consonant cluster, resulting in "ten different syllable shapes" (1965:7). However, in Purnell (2012:xix) they are reduced to six types as above by the exclusion of aspirated fricatives and affricates without treating them as clusters.

Iu Mien of Thailand does not have consonant cluster with alveolar lateral nor rhotic approximant unlike Thai does, e.g., /pla:/ (ปลา) 'fish' or /pra tē:t/ (ประเทศไทย) 'country, nation'.

#### 3.3.2.2 Reduced syllables in sesquisyllables

In the following two examples of disyllabic words (100) – (101), the first syllable is reduced and consequently has no distinct tone while the second fully carries tones:

(100) /ka nai<sup>˥</sup>/ 'thing'

$\sigma_{\min} \sigma_{\max}$

---

p<sup>h</sup>un<sup>˧</sup> p<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>˥</sup> / (onom.) 'loud popping', /p<sup>h</sup>jɔt<sup>˧</sup>/ (onom.) 'the sound of crumpling or tearing', /p<sup>h</sup>ɔl<sup>˧</sup>/ 'to be distended or hanging down (of the abdomen, etc.)', /p<sup>h</sup>ɔn<sup>˧</sup>/ (onom.) 'the sound of a gun fired in the distance', /p<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>˧</sup>/ (onom.) 'the sound of wood being chopped or cut into', /p<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>˧</sup> lɔŋ<sup>˧</sup>/ 'to be insensitive, unconcerned about how one's actions affect others', /p<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>˧</sup>/ (onom.) 'the sound of puffs of steam coming from a pot with a lid on it', /t<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>˧</sup>/ 'to support the cause of', /t<sup>h</sup>ɔ<sup>˧</sup>/ 'to rub against', /t<sup>h</sup>ɔ<sup>˧</sup>/ 'still, as before', /t<sup>h</sup>ɔŋ<sup>˧</sup>/ 'to figure out the meaning of', /t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>˧</sup>/ 'to be quiet', /k<sup>h</sup>waŋ<sup>˧</sup>/ 'to act crazy', /k<sup>h</sup>wan<sup>˧</sup>/ 'a circular projecting part of a rigid thin object used to hold, hit or prevent from slipping inside something else'. These and the Tables 18a-e are fairly comprehensive coverage of the relevant instances found in Purnell's dictionary (2012).

- (101) /pa ta:tʃ/ ‘bitter melon’

$\sigma_{\min}$   $\sigma_{\maj}$

The reduced first syllable is called “minor syllable” ( $\sigma_{\min}$ ) and the word-final “major syllable” ( $\sigma_{\maj}$ ). Regarding the tone of  $\sigma_{\min}$ , Matisoff’s (1982:1) comment on Lahu is also applicable to Iu Mien: “Unstressed syllables may be regarded as toneless”. Earlier, in describing such a word, he (1973:86) coined a term “sesquisyllabic” structure, i.e., “a syllable and a half”. In fact, even a decade earlier than Matisoff, Downer (1961:539) had analysed such structure in Iu Mien saying that “a strong iambic rhythm is imparted to disyllabic words in HY [i.e. Highland Yao or Iu Mien of Thailand]”. That is, this type of words have, to use musical notes, such rhythm as  $\text{♪} \text{♪}$  (even  $\text{♪} \text{♪}$ ), i.e., an eighth note and a quarter note (and even a shorter minor syllable can be represented as a sixteenth note depending on the speed of an utterance). Virtually, Downer’s analysis was concerned with sesquisyllabic words in Iu Mien.

In a recent typological study, Butler (2014:24) states that “sesquisyllables are considered disyllabic iambs with minor syllables as the reduced first syllables of those iambs”. She posits this definition in contrast to the other type of sesquisyllables where a vowel of the minor syllable is epenthetic. An excerpt of her classification of word types is shown in Table 19:

**Table 19. Two types of sesquisyllables (adapted from Butler 2014:35)**

| Word Type            | Type of Mid Central Vocalic Elements (MCVEs) | Is an MCVE inserted or underlying? | Example             |
|----------------------|--|------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Disyllabic iambs – ə | Phonological (as opposed to phonetic)        | Inserted                           | /rtak/ → [rə.'tak]  |
| Disyllabic iambs – ʌ |  | Underlying                         | /rʌtak/ → [rʌ.'tak] |

The sesquisyllables in Iu Mien is of the second type: “disyllabic iambs - ʌ”. Before explicating this, similarity and difference between “disyllabic iambs - ə” and “disyllabic iambs - ʌ” need to be clarified based on Table 19. As for similarity, sesquisyllables cross-linguistically are characterised by (a) reduced syllables in the word-initial syllable ( $\sigma_{\min}$ ) (Butler 2014:10) and (b) prosodic prominence found in  $\sigma_{\maj}$  in both types mentioned above (ibid. 9). Differences are (a) the vowels of  $\sigma_{\min}$  (called Mid Central Vocalic Elements: MCVEs) either being realised as [ə] or [ʌ], (b) the

MCVEs being either inserted or being there as an underlying element's remnant (i.e. result of reduction of full mono syllabic word).

The first reason for the sesquisyllables in Iu Mien being the type “disyllabic iambs – Λ” is that MCVEs in Iu Mien are not schwa /ə/ but clearly /a/, and in some cases /u/. Spectrum and intensity of an utterance in (102) are demonstrated in Figure 34:

- (102) *zorqv nda'maauh*

ເຫຼາວ ດະມ້າວ

*tsɔʔl da ma:uŋ*

catch tiger

‘(we are going to) catch a tiger’

(ium\_20040304\_01\_Sony\_DA\_FuqcHin\_HisFatherCaught

ATiger;00.01.43-4)

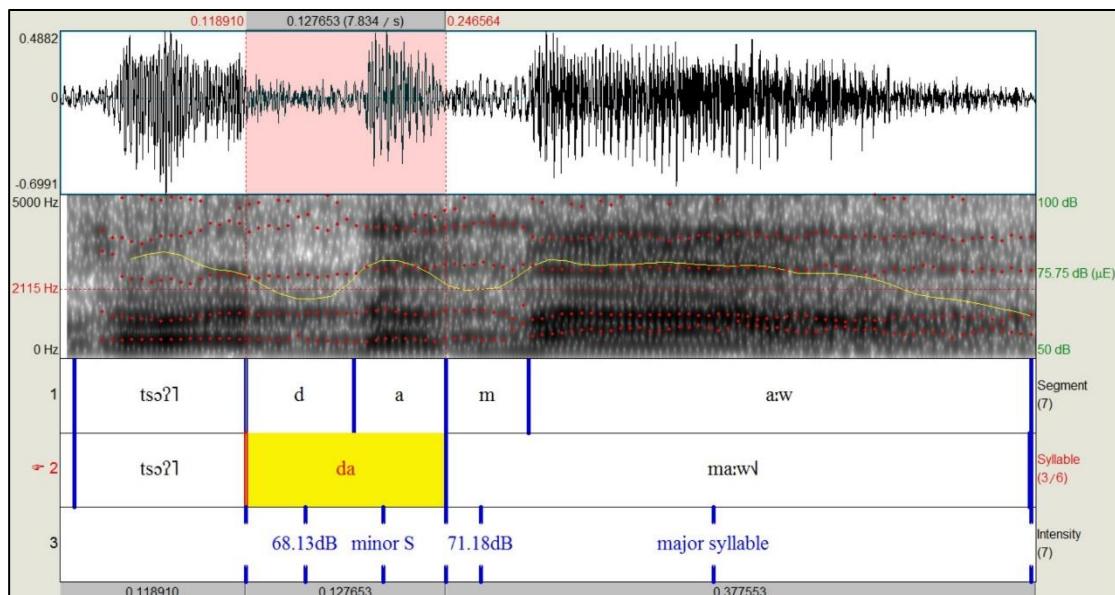


Figure 34. Sesquisyllable *nda'maauh* ‘tiger’

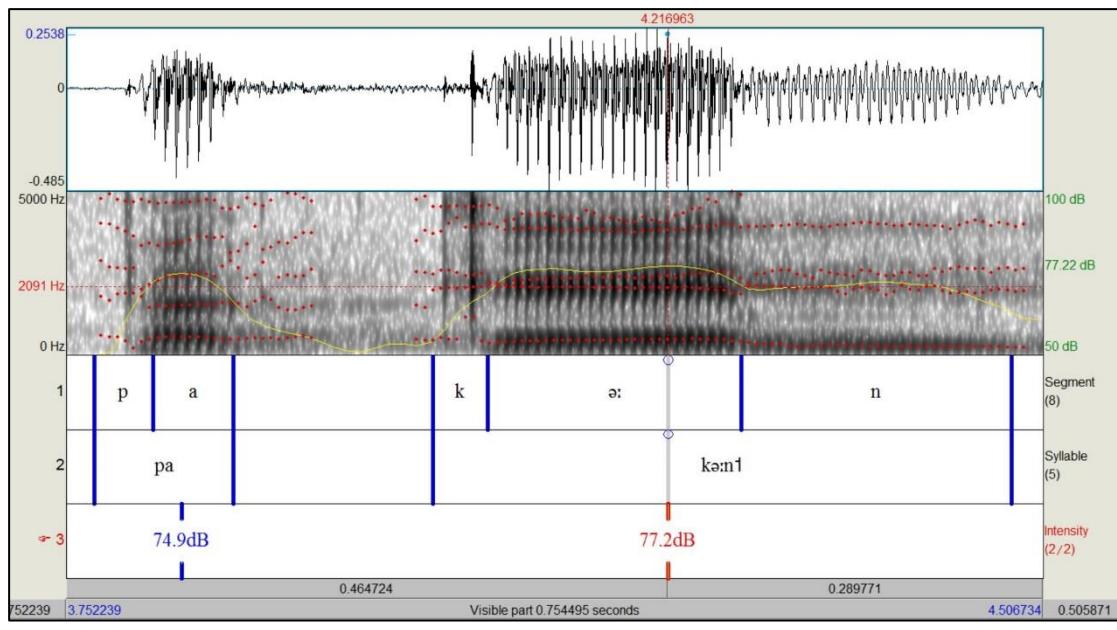
The vowel /a/ of  $\sigma_{\min}$  is characterised as F1 (56.0 Hz), F2 (136.2 Hz), and F3 (279.6Hz). The duration of  $\sigma_{\min}$  is 128 ms and  $\sigma_{\maj}$  374 ms. While the intensity of the vowels in  $\sigma_{\min}$  and  $\sigma_{\maj}$  are very similar (79.86 dB and 79.94 dB), the intensity in the voiced consonant /d/ in  $\sigma_{\min}$  is slightly lower (68.13 dB) than the voiced nasal /m/ in  $\sigma_{\maj}$  (70.98 dB), thus the prominence is in the latter.

Though most of the vowels in  $\sigma_{\min}$  in Iu Mien is /a/, the back vowel /u/ also occur as in (103a-c):

- (103a) /bu doŋ˧/      (*mbu'ndongx*) ‘middle’ (Var. of *mba'ndongx*)

- (103b) /bu tsiə˥/      (*mbu'ziex*)      'how many' (contraction from *mbuoqc ziex*)  
 (103c) /ku juə˧˥/      (*gu'nyuoz*)      'inside' (Var. of *ga'nyuoz*)

Furthermore, there is a word /pa 'kə:n˥/ (*ba'gern*) 'spoon', in which  $\sigma_{\min}$  is /a/, and  $\sigma_{\text{maj}}$  /ə:/ as in Figure 35.



(ium\_20150810\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Sesqui\_Cmpd\_MC;00.00.46-7)

**Figure 35. Sesquisyllable *ba'gern* 'spoon'**

The difference between /a/ in  $\sigma_{\min}$  and /ə/ in  $\sigma_{\text{maj}}$  in terms of formant is that /a/ has a wider gap between F2 (150 Hz) and F3 (246 Hz) whereas /ə/ narrower one: F2 (209 Hz) and F3 (243 Hz). The maximum intensity in /a/ is 74.9 dB, and in /ə/ 77.2 dB. Duration of  $\sigma_{\min}$  is 107.4 ms and  $\sigma_{\text{maj}}$  is 446.9 ms, i.e., the latter is four times long (if the musical note is applied, it should be  $\text{♪}$ ). Thus, the prominence of /ə/ in  $\sigma_{\text{maj}}$  is obvious even though the likely expected [ə] for  $\sigma_{\min}$  does not occur there but in  $\sigma_{\text{maj}}$ .

The central vowel /ə/ is found in a very small group of words in Iu Mien, mainly in Chinese loans. A few example are /ɔ˥ sən˥/ (*orv-sern*) 'raw chopped meat mixed with salt, pepper, onions, herbs, and fragrant seeds' (Purnell 2012:660) and /cʰwən˥ nən˥/ (*quonh nernh*) 'great power, supreme authority' (ibid. 648). However, it does not occur in  $\sigma_{\min}$  (except for as unstressed second part of diphthongs, e.g. /iə, uə/). Thus, /a/ occurring in  $\sigma_{\min}$  is likely a result of reduction belonging to the type Butler calls "disyllabic iambs - Λ", rather than insertion. Observe the all minor syllables of Downer's examples (104a-h) and (100) demonstrate /a/ as follows:

- (104a) /da ma:u˥/      (*nda'maauh*)      'tiger'

|                      |             |  |
|----------------------|-------------|--|
| (104b) /ba liŋ˥/     | (mba'lingc) | 'lightning'  |
| (104c) /fa cjwei˥/⁹⁴ | (fa'giueiv) | 'child' [/fu cwei˥/ ( <i>fu'jueiv</i> ) in our data] |
| (104d) /la kʰuʔ˥/    | (la'kuqy)   | 'to forget'  |
| (104e) /ta dzau˥/    | (da'nzauc)  | 'fireplace'  |
| (104f) /ha lou˧/     | (ha'louh)   | 'gourd'  |
| (104g) /ka n̥uə˧/    | (ga'nyuoz)  | 'inside'   |
| (104h) /ka diə˥/     | (ga'ndiev)  | 'underneath'   |
| (100) /ka naɪ˧/      | (ga'naaiy)  | 'thing'  |

Second, in most cases the underlying monosyllabic lexeme is back-traceable from the minor syllable, e.g., (103b) (/bu tsie˧/ < /buəʔ˥ tsie˧/ 'how much'). For example, the original form of (104e) /ta dzau˥/ (*da'nzauc*) 'fireplace' is /tou˧ dzau˥/ (*douz-nzauc*) [fire-hearth], in which [təʊ˧] is a result of tone sandhi from the underlying /təu˧/ 'fire'.

Purnell points out that the reduced syllable, or 'a contracted or fused form' [...] 'was originally a separate word [...]' (Purnell 2012:xix) as one of his dictionary entry shows:

**ga'nyorc** /ka n̥ɔ˧/ [Contraction of **gaeng-nyorc** /kɛŋ˥ n̥ɔ˧/.] [...] *n.* a spider  
(Purnell 2012:189). [IPA added]

The first syllable, which is a reduced form of the full word *gaeng* /kɛŋ˥/ 'insect', lost its underlying lexical tone. By undergoing tone sandhi, Tone 1 /˥/ changed to Tone 2 /˧/, it then is further reduced to the atonal /ka/. Tone sandhi will be discussed in §3.3.3.

Not all reduced syllables are readily back-trackable to its original word as Purnell points out:

**za'gengh** /tsa keŋ˥/ [There is no general agreement on what the full form is: **zaah gengh** /tsa:˧ keŋ˥/, **zengh gengh** /tseŋ˥ keŋ˥/, or **zien gengh** /tsiən˥ keŋ˥/. In any case, **za'gengh** /tsa keŋ˥/ is used as the common spelling.] *adv.* Really, truly, exactly, absolutely, precisely (Purnell 2012:751). [IPA added]

One of these variants, however, is attested in an audio recording of a hymn sung by a middle age man in June 1968 as in (105):

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<sup>⁹⁴</sup> My language consultants and the whole Iu Mien linguistic community in Thailand do not use *fa'jueiv* but only *fu'jueiv*. The first syllable may be related with *fuqv* 'blessing'.

- (105) *Meih nyei maengc yietc.liuz zengh gengh maiv benx.*  
 เมี่ย ဉာဏ် ແမ່ນ ແກ້ວມືດ.ຄົວ ເອັນ ເກັງ ໄນ ເປັນ  
 mei<sup>1</sup> ne<sup>1</sup> men<sup>1</sup> jet<sup>1</sup> liu<sup>1</sup> tseŋ<sup>1</sup> ken<sup>1</sup> mai<sup>1</sup> pen<sup>1</sup>  
 2SG POSS life forever really NEG be.good  
 '(If you continue such a lifestyle,) your life will not really be good forever.'  
 (ium\_196806\_01\_SONY TAPE100 PY5\_x\_y\_Hymns;00.12.14-21)

Immediately a pre-emptive comment is necessary. It may be deemed that enunciation in a song necessitates full syllabic instantiation and distortion of the lexical tone due to the necessity of following the tune of the song. However, the same word with the same pronunciation is also attested in an unsung but read aloud example by a then middle age man in (106):

- (106) *Hnyouv benx cing-nzengc zengh gengh njienh youh.*  
 ເຫຼຸ້ຍ່າ ເປັນ ຂີ້ງ-ເຫຼຳ່າ ເອັງ ເກັງ ເລີ່ຍນ ໄບ່ວ  
 j̥niou<sup>1</sup> pen<sup>1</sup> tsʰinj<sup>1</sup> dzeŋ<sup>1</sup> tseŋ<sup>1</sup> ken<sup>1</sup> j̥iən<sup>1</sup> jou<sup>1</sup>  
 heart be be.pure really be.happy  
 'My heart was cleansed (and I am) really happy.'  
 (ium\_196806\_01\_SONY TAPE100 PY5\_x\_y\_Hymns;00.37.07-10)

Furthermore, variants depending on speakers are reported as in (107<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (107<sup>-1</sup>) *Mv jourx maaih deix gorngv "gah ndiev",*  
 ມໍ ໄຈ້າ ມ່າຍ ເຕັບ ກຶ່ອງ "ກ້າ ເດື້ອ"  
 m̥<sup>1</sup> cəp<sup>1</sup> ma:i<sup>1</sup> tei<sup>1</sup> kɔŋ<sup>1</sup> kai<sup>1</sup> diə<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM CLF have some say underneath  
 '(about) this word ('underneath'), there are some people who say "gah ndiev",'
- (107<sup>-2</sup>) *maaih deix gorngv "gaih ndiev" dongh wuov jourx waac*  
 ມ່າຍ ເຕັບ ກຶ່ອງ "ໄກ້ ເດື້ອ" ຕັ້ງ ວ້າ ໄຈ້າ ຜ່າ  
 ma:i<sup>1</sup> tei<sup>1</sup> kɔŋ<sup>1</sup> kai<sup>1</sup> diə<sup>1</sup> toŋ<sup>1</sup> nə<sup>1</sup> cəp<sup>1</sup> wa:<sup>1</sup>  
 have some say underneath same DEM CLF word  
 'other people say "gaih ndiev", the same word.'

- (107<sup>3</sup>) “*ga'ndiev*”, “*gaih ndiev*” @@@  
 “ກະເດືອຍ”, “ໄກ້ ເດືອຍ”  
 ka diə̯ | kaiጀ diə̯ |  
 underneath | underneath  
 ‘(there are variations like) *ga'ndiev* and *gaih ndiev*.’  
 (ium\_20150429\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_  
 KMB;00.15.51-16.02)

Thus for this sesquisyllable in the word ‘underneath’ there are three variations: *gaih ndiev*, *gah ndiev*, and *ga'ndiev*.

Similarly to the examples (105) and (106), some other adverbs are also sesquisyllabic as in (108):

- (108) /ts<sup>h</sup>a pouጀ/ (ca'bouh) ‘accidentally’  
 /ts<sup>h</sup>a lenጀ/ (ca'lengc) ‘separately’  
 /la kwajጀ/ (la'kuaih) ‘carelessly’

Besides them, verbs also occur in sesquisyllables, as already cited in (104d) *la'kuqv* ‘to forget’ or *la'kekv* ‘to limp’, *da'goih* ‘to be compatible with’, *da'hauv* ‘to be contentious, quarrel’, etc.

Regarding a proportion of sesquisyllabic words in Iu Mien, a small scale survey was made. A modified Swadesh word list for Southeast Asian use (Linguistics Department, Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand) was utilised to collect 136 words (cf. Appendix A). Excluding pronouns, cardinal numbers, verbs and adjectival verbs, are there sixty nine common nouns. Out of sixty-nine common nouns, ten are sesquisyllabic (14.5 %).

However, they are more often found in relator nouns, body part names, and the ordinal numbers. If they are included, the proportion might be bigger. Besides (104g) *ga'nyuož* ‘inside’ and (104h) *ga'ndiev* ‘underneath’ already mentioned, see some more examples in (109a-f):

- (109a) /ka niəጀ/ (ga'nyiec) ‘outside’  
 (109b) /ka ḥenጀ/ (ga'hlen) ‘side’  
 (109c) /ku ŋwa:iጀ/ (gu'nguaaic) ‘upper part’  
 (109d) /ka dauጀ/ (ka'ndau) ‘the area just outside a door’  
 (109e) /ga ha:ጀ/ (nqa'haav) ‘rear, back’  
 (109f) /dza mienጀ/ (nza'hmien) ‘front’

Body parts names which are sesquisyllabic on the 136 word list are in (110a-d):

- |                   |                     |                  |
|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| (110a) /ba pjei˥/ | ( <i>mba'biei</i> ) | 'hair'           |
| (110b) /ba tsɔŋ˥/ | ( <i>mba'zong</i> ) | 'nose'           |
| (110c) /ba dziu˥/ | ( <i>mba'nziu</i> ) | 'heart'          |
| (110d) /ka siə˥/  | ( <i>ga'sie</i> )   | 'stomach, belly' |

Body parts outside the list are (111a-e):

- |                    |                      |   |
|--------------------|----------------------|---|
| (111a) /ba tau˧/   | ( <i>mba'dauh</i> )  | 'shoulder'                                      |
| (111b) /la kʰwot˥/ | ( <i>la'kuotv</i> )  | 'chest'   |
| (111c) /la sɛŋ˧/   | ( <i>la'saengx</i> ) | 'rib cage'                                      |
| (111d) /la ja:p˥/  | ( <i>la'nyaapv</i> ) | 'side between the rib cage and the pelvic area' |
| (111e) /ka cʰiə˧/  | ( <i>ga'qiex</i> )   | 'temper'  |

If ordinal numbers with the Cantonese-loan *dai<sup>6</sup>* /tɛj˥/ (第) prefixed are included, the percentage of sesquisyllabic words might rise as can be seen in (112a-j):

- |                    |                     |               |
|--------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| (112a) /ta jet˥/   | ( <i>da'yietv</i> ) | 'the first'   |
| (112b) /ta nei˥/   | ( <i>da'nyeic</i> ) | 'the second'  |
| (112c) /ta fa:m˥/  | ( <i>da'faam</i> )  | 'the third'   |
| (112d) /ta fei˧/   | ( <i>da'feix</i> )  | 'the fourth'  |
| (112e) /ta m˥/     | ( <i>da'hmz</i> )   | 'the fifth'   |
| (112f) /ta luə?˥/  | ( <i>da'luoqc</i> ) | 'the sixth'   |
| (112g) /ta tsʰet˥/ | ( <i>da'ciety</i> ) | 'the seventh' |
| (112h) /ta pet˥/   | ( <i>da'bety</i> )  | 'the eighth'  |
| (112i) /ta cuə?˥/  | ( <i>da'juov</i> )  | 'the nineth'  |
| (112j) /ta tsʰep˥/ | ( <i>da'ziepc</i> ) | 'the tenth'   |

In principle, the ordinal numbers larger than the eleventh are possible to be realised as *da'ziepc yietv* 'the eleventh', *da'ziepc nyeic* 'the twelveth' or *da'nyic baeqv* 'the two hundredth' and so forth though rare to be used in an ordinary speech life. Thus an inclusion of them may nullify the significance of knowing the proportion of

sesquisyllabic words in Iu Mien. Nonetheless, a rough estimate could be said that around ten percent of common nouns are sesquisyllabic.

In historical comparative linguistics of Hmong-Mien, Ratliff (2010:200-7) treats these issues of initial minor syllables under the discussion of “nominal prefixes”. She (2010:200) argues that “[t]he function of nominal prefixes in Hmong-Mien is weakly classifying”, the prefix system being “the native system of noun classification in the family” and the numeral classifier system being “borrowed from Chinese”. We would readily agree with that historical account given our data of the relator nouns (104g-h, 109a-f), body parts (110a-d, 111a-e), and ordinal numbers (112a-j). However, modern Iu Mien, which is our subject under discussion, uses sesquisyllabic adverbs (108, cf. (105) and (106)) and verbs (104d, and *passim* in §6.7.3), not only nouns. Therefore a further investigation into these non-nominal items with the prefixal, preformative, initial minor syllables seems to be necessary.

To summarize this section, the sesquisyllable in Iu Mien, in Butler’s term, is “disyllabic iambs -  $\Lambda$ ”, where the  $\sigma_{\min}$  is reduced from an underlying form with the MCVE realised mostly /a/ and some cases /u/. Most cases the underlying forms are back-traceable but some are not. Sesquisyllables occur in nouns, verbs, and adverbs as well.

### 3.3.3 Tone Sandhi

#### 3.3.3.1 Existence of tone sandhi in Iu Mien

In the previous section, drawing on Downer (1961), we have focused on the sesquisyllable as one kind of reduced syllable, which he terms “reduced syllables in – a”. In fact he has another kind of reduced syllable, namely, “regular reduced syllables” (1961:539). He points out two kinds of change of tones in the regular reduced syllables. They are virtually tone sandhi.

Before describing Downer’s two kinds of tone sandhi in the “regular reduced syllables”, it should be pointed out that there are three different situations where tones undergo changes. The first has to do with the Southeast Asian tonology where diachronic change of tone categories are involved (Gedney 1989). The second is a synchronic change that Theraphan L.-Thongkham (1997) described as “tone change” with regard to the change of Tone 4 /˨/ to Tone 5 /˧/ in Iu Mien due to its contact with Thai that has five-tone system. In addition, this is, by Downer (1967:590) for the situation in Hmong, referred to as “tone-change” in the sense that “the results of split conditioned by syllable-prosodies and of merger with other tones, which give rise to change in the overall tonal system. Tone-change is essentially paradigmatic, and the

result of factors internal to the syllable". The third one is a phonological change of tone to another compulsorily taking place due to its environment, that is, an adjacent tone. It is the third kind that we are addressing to under the rubric of sandhi. Downer (1967:590) includes tone sandhi under the term "Tone-shift" denoting "the changes in realization of basic tones in certain environments. It is syntagmatic, and caused by factors external to the syllable". "[T]hree types of tone-shift—tone-sandhi, analogical tone-shift, and compensatory tone-shift" are recognised.

The first kind of tone sandhi by Downer (1961) is a change of tone of the first (reduced) syllable into Tone 2 (/˨/):

Regular reduced syllables with nasal and semivowel finals have a falling intonation (resembling tone 2, but starting lower), and weak final closure. In syllables with semivowel final this is glottal closure; thus the first syllables in *lo-lūy* 'old clothes' (*lō* 'old'), *bya:y-sūy* 'sour bamboo-shoots' (*bya:y* 'bamboo shoots'), and *piəw-kyà:w* 'pear' (*piəw* 'fruit') are usually realized **lo?**, **bja:i?**, and **piou?**; by virtue of the weaker closure and the intonation, these are clearly distinguishable from syllables with final stops (Downer 1961:539).

### 3.3.3.2 General remark

Tone sandhi, or tone change,<sup>95</sup> occurs in the first word of a two-element compound word whether they are nouns, adjectives, or verbs; it occurs in the first and second if three words are compounded. An example of Noun + Noun is:

- (113) /da:m˥/ 'half' + /cau˥/ 'road' → /da:m˨ cau˥/ 'on/along the way'  
or      /˥/ + /˥/ → /˨˥/.

An audio attestation for this is found in (114):

- (114) /da:m˨ cau˥/  
'along the way' (lit. half way)  
(ium\_c1965\_01\_BASF\_HCox\_UvHiaang\_BagiYungh;00.07.42-43)

The next example is the tone sandhi in a compound verb, in which the first element is verb and the second adjectival-verb.

- (115) /kɔŋ˥/ 'to talk' + /pε?˨/ 'to be white' → /kɔŋ˨ pε?˨/ 'to tell a lie'

---

<sup>95</sup> While Court (1985) uses "tone sandhi", Purnell (2002, 2012) terms it "tone change"; both refer to the same set of phenomena.

In a compound word composed of three syllables, tone sandhi occurs in the first and second of them. See the following two examples:

- (116a) /puəŋ˧/ ‘hand’ + /sei˧/ PARTICLE + /ca:ŋ˧/ ‘neck’ → /puəŋ˧ sei˧ ca:ŋ˧/ ‘wrists’  
(116b) /ca:˧/ ‘family’ + /fin˧/ ‘celestial creature’ + /ta:n˧/ ‘record’  
→ /ca:˧ fin˧ ta:n˧/ ‘the register of a family’s patrilineal ancestor spirits and their spouses’ (Purnell 2012:298)

According to Purnell (2002), there are two kinds of tone sandhi as summarised:

Tone change [i.e. sandhi] occurs on the first member of a compound expression and is phonetically regular: syllables with stop finals become the **c** tone<sup>96</sup> [i.e., tone 6 /˩/ = low level tone], and all non-stopped syllables become the **h** tone [i.e., tone 2 /˨/ = mid-falling tone] (2002:304-5).

The latter rule henceforth is referred to as tone sandhi Rule 1. The tone change to Tone 6 is referred to as tone sandhi Rule 2.

In terms of the Unified Iu Mien Script Purnell (2012) explains them more in detail, in which the word-final letters indicate tone value; i.e., -v = /˥/ and /˥˧/, -c = /˩/, -h = /˨/ (the details of the orthography will be discussed in §3.4):

*Rule 1:* If the first word ends in a stop consonant and has a high tone (-v), a hyphen is inserted between the words, and the first tone changes *in pronunciation* from high (-v) to low (-c). If the tone of the first word that ends in a stop consonant already has a low tone (-c), its pronunciation remains low (-c), and no hyphen is used.

*Rule 2:* If the first word ends in a final vowel or any non-stop consonant, a hyphen is inserted between the words, and the first tone changes *in pronunciation* to the mid falling tone (-h). If the first tone is already the mid falling tone (-h), its pronunciation does not change, and a hyphen is not used (Purnell 2012:xxv).

To summarise, whatever underlying tones of the first constituent of the combination may be, the result of tone sandhi ends in either of the following two: Tone 2 /˨/ (-h) or Tone 8 /˩/ (-c).

<sup>96</sup> “The **c** tone” in the Roman-based Iu Mien orthography or the “Unified Script” is our tone 6 or the low level tone. Five letters are used to express six tones of Iu Mien when they are placed at the end of a word: (1) unmarked = the mid-level tone, (2) -h = mid-falling, (3) -v = high rising-falling, (4) -z = low rising-falling, (5) -x = mid-low rising, (6) -c = low level.

### 3.3.3.3 Tone sandhi rule 1: change to Tone 8 (low checked)

Tone sandhi rule 1 is that syllable with stop finals in the first element of a compound expression changes to Tone 8 /˩/. Tone 7 /˥/ and Tone 8 /˨/ occur with stop finals. Of them the only tone that this rule applies is Tone 7 /˥/, because Tone 8 already has the same pitch as Tone 6. An example is:

- (117) /?a:p˥/ ‘duck’ + /kɔŋ˩/ ‘male’ → /?a:p˩ kɔŋ˩/ ‘drake’

See Arisawa (2011a:222-3) for more examples of rules 1 and 2.

### 3.3.3.4 Tone sandhi rule 2: change to Tone 2 (mid-falling)

Tone sandhi rule 2 is that in a compound expression if the first element is the syllable with non-stopped final, its tone, regardless of any of the five except Tone 2, changes to Tone 2. In other words, Tone 2 in the first element remains Tone 2. Needless to say about the combination of Tone 2 in the first element and other tones in the second, such a case is not listed in Table 20.

**Table 20. Tone sandhi rule 2**

| First component in the underlying tone |                            | Compound expression              | Meaning of the second element | Change in the first component |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1                                      | ts <sup>h</sup> in˥ ‘pure’ | ts <sup>h</sup> in˥ dzeŋ˩ ‘holy’ | ‘completely’                  | /˥/ → /˧/                     |
| 3                                      | piau˥ ‘house’              | piau˧ ɳɔŋ˧ ‘roof’                | ‘ridge of a peaked roof’      | /˥/ → /˧/                     |
| 4                                      | tun˧˥ ‘pig’                | tun˧˥ tɔn˧ ‘piglet’              | ‘son, diminutive’             | /˧˥/ → /˧/                    |
| 5                                      | diəŋ˧ ‘tree’               | diəŋ˧ kɔŋ˧ ‘tree root’           | ‘root’                        | /˧/ → /˧/                     |
| 6                                      | to˩ ‘turtle’               | to˩ ku?˧ ‘carapace’              | ‘shell’                       | /˩/ → /˧/                     |

### 3.3.3.5 The special case (Tone sandhi rule 3): Tone 5 in the personal name Fux (/fu˥/ (富)) changes to Tone 8 (low level /˩/ with glottal stop)

This is a rare case, happening only in the male's adult personal name *Fux* /fu˥/ (富) which has Tone 5, mid-low rising tone, occurring in the first syllable of the combined disyllabic given name. As this is concerned with the tonal alternations within a single item, it is, in fact, not a general rule. It is, nevertheless, the third phenomenon after the tone sandhi rules 1 and 2.

(118) *Fux* /fu˥/ (富) becomes /fu?˩/ in *Fux-Him* /fu?˩ hin˥/ (富興)

(Contrast (161<sup>-2</sup>) with (164<sup>-4</sup>))

When the letter 富 alone is pronounced it is /fu˥/ (cf. (161<sup>-2</sup>)). But when it is followed by another syllable of personal name it undergoes the tone sandhi. Native speakers have verified that *Fux nzangc* /fu˥ dzan˩/ [Fu letter] ‘the letter “Fu”’ (cf. 184<sup>-8</sup> in §5.4.2.6) is pronounced /fu?˩/ in the disyllabic compound given name as in (119):

|  |                      |                    |           |                     |
|--|----------------------|--------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| (119)  | <i>Cuotv</i>         | <i>qiex</i>        | <i>se</i> | “ <i>Fuqc Hin</i> ” |
|  | ៥ວດ                  | ៥ើ៥                | ៥៥        | ៥៥៥                 |
|  | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət] | c <sup>h</sup> iə] | se]       | fu?˩ hin˥           |
| produce air TOP Fu Hin                                   |                      |                    |           |                     |
| ‘( <i>Fux-Hin</i> ) should be pronounced as /fu?˩ hin˥/’ |                      |                    |           |                     |
| (Dangc Wuonh Kuon (pers. com.) 20160207)                 |                      |                    |           |                     |

Other examples of this tone sandhi are:

(120) *Fux-Orn* /fu?˩ ɔn˥/ (富安)(Contrast (184<sup>-1</sup>) with (184<sup>-8</sup>))

(121) *Fux-Dorngh* /fu?˩ tɔŋ˥/ (富?)  
(Wuonh Kuon (pers. com.) 20160207)(709<sup>-1-5</sup>)

(122) *Fux-Zanx* /fu?˩ tsan˥/ (富進<sup>97</sup>) (177<sup>-1</sup>)

(123) *Fux-Jiem* /fu?˩ ciəm˥/ (富金) (709<sup>-1</sup>)

Purnell (2012:831) treats *Fux* /fu˥/ and *Fuqv* /fu?˥/ as alternative variations (“*Fuqv* (or *Fux*)”). According to this assumption the interpretation of the personal name /fu?˩ ɔn˥/ could be a result of tone sandhi from *Fuqv* /fu?˥/, thus could be

<sup>97</sup> *Zanx* /tsan˥/ (進) ‘to enter, advance’ or ‘(money) comes in’ might have been borrowed from Cantonese *jeun<sup>3</sup>* (in Yale system) /tsøn<sup>3</sup>/, rather than Mandarin *jìn*.

spelled *Fuqv-Orn* following the tone sandhi rule 1 above. However, they are of different origin: *Fux* /fu˥/ from Chinese *fù* (富) ‘wealth’, and *Fuqv* /fu?˥/ from *fú* (福) ‘blessings’.

Rather, *Fuqv* /fu?˥/ (福) is used in the second syllable, not the first, of an adult’s personal names:

(124) *Bienh Gueix-Fuqv* /piən˥ kʷei˥ fu?˥/ (盤貴福)

(An male adult’s surname and given name)(Purnell 2012:831)

(125) *Nyingv-Fuqv* /niŋ˥ fu?˥/ [small blessing] (a woman’s given name)

Therefore, the change of /fu˥/ (富, not 福) to /fu?˥/ in the first syllable of the disyllabic given name is the third tone sandhi rule.

For detailed accounts of Iu Mien naming system (i.e. onomastics), see Chapter 5.

### **3.3.3.6 Tone sandhi as a diagnostic criterion for some compound nouns only**

Even though there is potential usefulness in the phenomenon of tone sandhi as a diagnostic for different levels of cohesion between elements of a single phonological unit, nothing definite can be said about it at this stage. Further research is needed to determine what diagnostic criterion is at work in numerous exceptions found in both compound nouns and compound verbs. To make the situation even more difficult, some verb phrases or idiomatic expressions observe tone sandhi.

Due to the countless irregularities in different types of compounds, it has been decided not to make a categorical statement concerning a diagnostic function of tone sandhi. Instead, individual examples are provided with the information regarding presence or absence of tone sandhi throughout the grammar. For the sake of convenience, the two basic tone sandhi rules presented in §3.3.3.2 will be repeated before a discussion on compound words in §6.2.2.

It is only safe to say that tone sandhi is a confirming mark of some compound nouns, which has the structure [N + Adjectival verb]. The following three examples are from Dowler (1961:539):

(126) *mbieic-sui* /b̥eɪc sui˥/ [bamboo.shoot be.sour] ‘sour bamboo-shoots’

(127) *wuom-namx* /uəmnamx/ [water be.cold] ‘cold water’

(128) *in-mbiaatc* /inb̥iaatc/ [opium be.bitter] ‘tobacco’

This criterion for identifying compounds only holds with nominal compounds as long as these examples are concerned.

However, there are two cases in which the confirmation does not hold: (1) in the case of N<sup>1</sup>·N<sup>2</sup>, where the N<sup>1</sup> has already the underlying falling tone /˥/, it does not function as a diagnostic, and (2) some nominal compounds that exhibit both ones with tone sandhi and the ones without it. For instance, while the regularity in the compound nouns is shown Downer's examples above, some other compound nouns do not observe tone sandhi as in (129):

|       |                         |       |                   |
|-------|-------------------------|-------|-------------------|
| (129) | gomv                    | biauv | zaangc            |
|       | ກົມ                     | ບ່າງ  | ຫ້ັງ              |
|       | kom˥                    | house | tsaŋ˥             |
|       | build                   | house | artisan/craftsman |
|       | 'a house builder'       |       |                   |
|       | (Purnell 2012:210, 756) |       |                   |

Therefore, the tone sandhi that occurs in the environment of Downer's examples is the only confirming mark restricted to the structure [N + Adjectival verb].

Turning to verbal compounds, some compound verbs have two different forms with the same meaning: one without tone sandhi (130a) and the other with tone sandhi (130b):

(130a) *doix dekc* /tɔi˥ tek˩/ 'to oppose, rebel'

(ium\_20150810\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Sesqui\_Cmpd\_MC;00.07.41-59)

(130b) *doix-dekc* /tɔi˥ tek˩/ 'to oppose, rebel' (Panh 2002:45)

More details concerning compound nouns and compound verbs will be discussed in Chapter 6.

### **3.3.3.7 Use of hyphen to indicate tone sandhi**

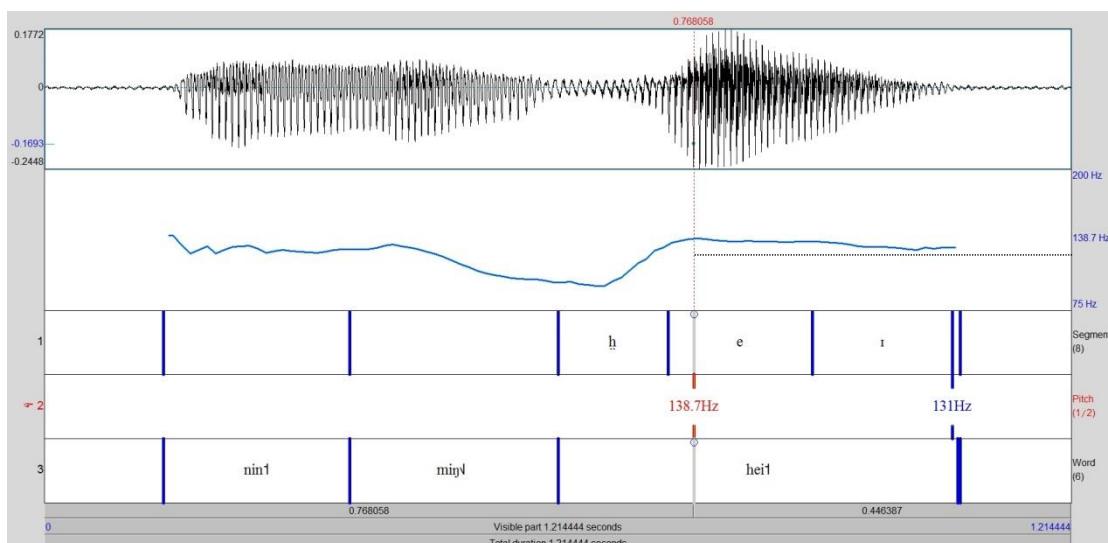
In the Roman-based Iu Mien orthography (the Unified Script, §3.4.1), as well as the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography (§3.4.2), tone sandhi is indicated by hyphen “-” between the two constituents in the above mentioned three changes to two resultative tones: /˥/ (from any tones in open syllable) and /˩/ (from /˥/ or /˧/ in closed syllable and from /fu˥/). By this simple device the reader of these writing systems are able to know both the underlying tone and the tone undergone sandhi. See example (130b).

### 3.3.4 Intonation

There are two types of prosodic realisation at the level of sentence (including pragmatically grounded utterances though not a complete sentence). One type is that sentences are uttered as according to the tones of all words therein without manifesting different contours than these tones. The other type is that sentences are superimposed by either rising or falling intonation particularly on the last word in a sentence regardless of its original tone. These two intonation patterns (i.e. rising or falling) in the latter type occur regardless of differences in casual speech vs. formal speech, or female speech vs. male speech, except for a rising intonation superimposed on the SFP *fai* (§3.3.4.3), which tends to be used in a polite speech.

#### 3.3.4.1 Keeping the tones in statement

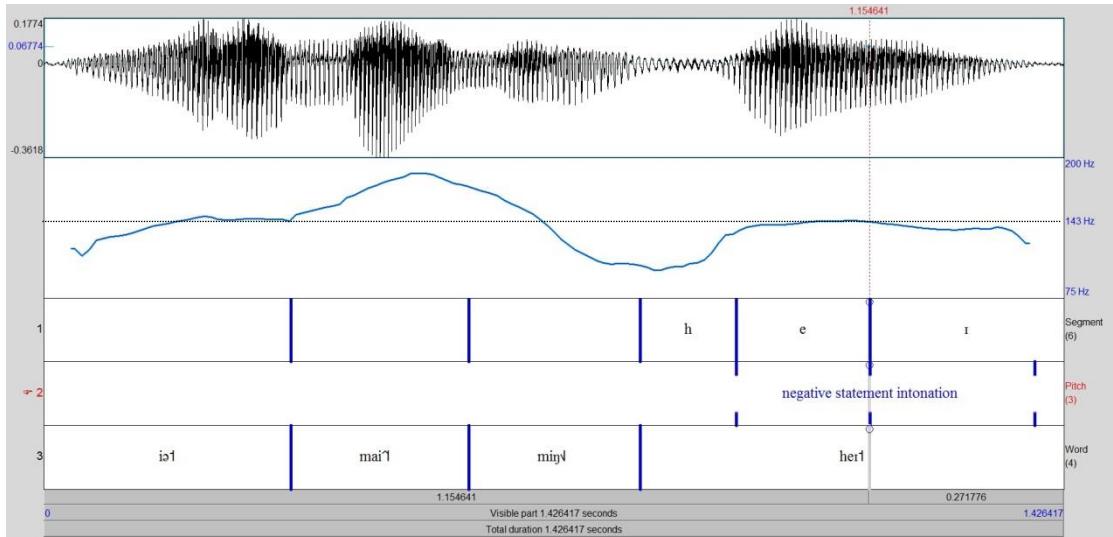
Unlike in English, the intonation of Iu Mien sentence in affirmative statement ends with the same tone of the final word without pitch falling down. For example, the final word of a sentence *Ninh mingh hei* [3SG go market] ‘He is going to the market’ has the high level tone (Tone 1 /˥/), thus the intonation contour of the sentence keeps Tone 1 (at 138.7Hz in this particular speaker) as shown in Figure 36:



(ium\_1967\_04\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p6;00.08.55-6)

**Figure 36. Intonation in affirmative statement**

The same rule applies to negative sentence. Compare Figure 36 (affirmative) above and Figure 37 (negative) below. Note that in Figure 37 *Yie maiv mingh hei* [1SG NEG go market] ‘I am not going to the market’ has the same horizontal intonation on the last word, which is Tone 1 /˥/ (143Hz in this particular speaker).

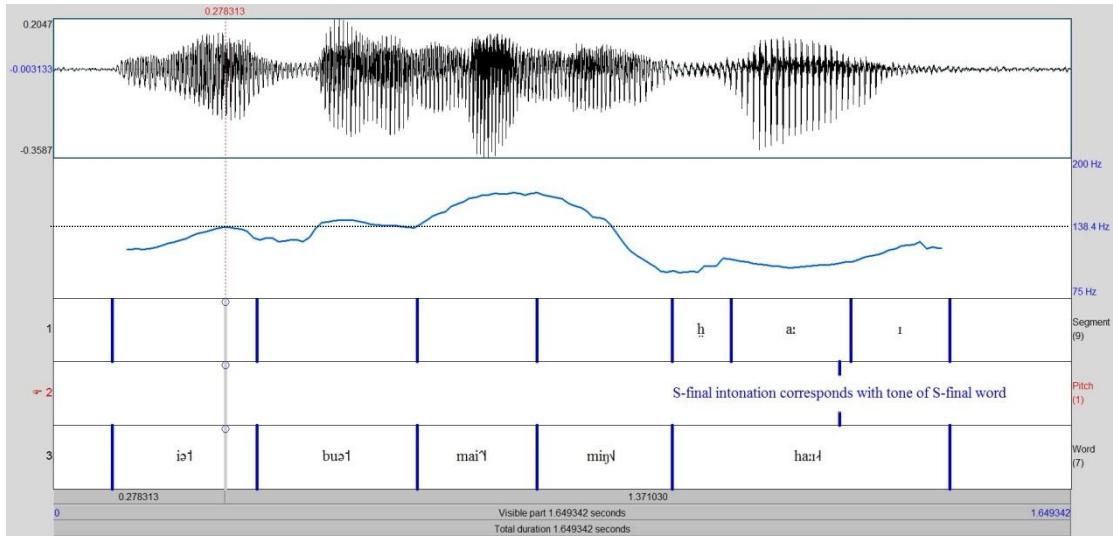


(ium\_1967\_04\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p6;00.07.27-9)

**Figure 37. Intonation in negative sentence**

This rule of keeping the lexical tone occurring sentence-finally is applicable to all other tones also.

When interrogative pronouns used as indefinite (non-specific) pronouns (i.e. *haaix* ‘anywhere’, *haaix dauh* ‘whoever’ etc.) in a statement, they are pronounced in their underlying tones. That is, here again as above, the sentence-final (St-final) intonation corresponds with the tone of the St-final word. For instance, the sentence meaning ‘We’re not going anywhere’ goes /iəl buəl mai̯l miŋl ha:i:l/ (*Yie mbuo mai mingh haaix*) [1 PL NEG go anywhere]. The sentence is not a question but a statement though it contains /ha:i:l/. Tone 5 /l/ of the last word /ha:i:l/ ‘anywhere’ and the intonation of the whole sentence agree as demonstrated in Figure 38:



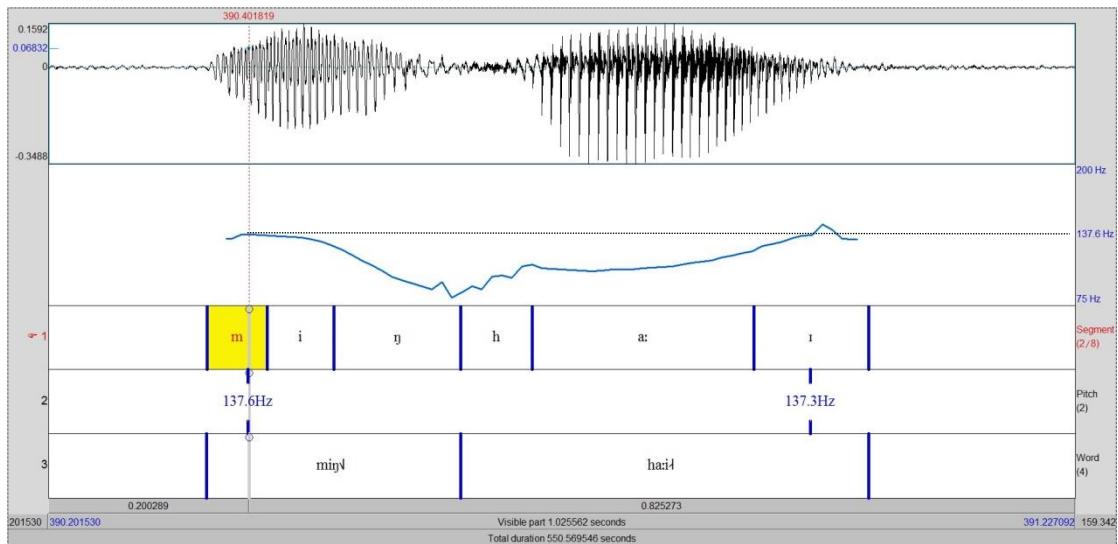
(ium\_1967\_07\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape2-p13;00.02.36-8)

**Figure 38. Intonation in negative statement**

Note that the pitch of /ha:iɿ/ (Tone 5) ‘anywhere’ stays below that of /iəl buəl/ (both Tone 1) [1 PL] ‘we’ (below 138Hz) keeping its shape as it is.

### 3.3.4.2 Keeping the original tone of question word haaix

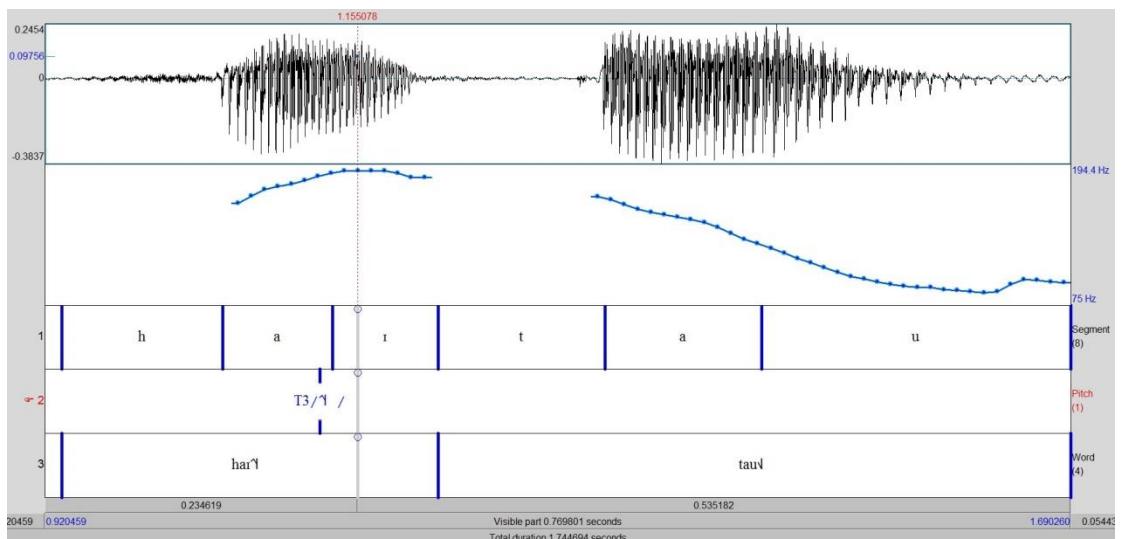
Similarly to the description of /ha:iɿ/ above, content questions ending with the interrogative word /ha:iɿ/ (*haaix*) ‘what, where’ keep its underlying tone. In a question /minɿ haaix/ (*Mingh haaix?*) [go where] ‘Where are you going?’, the pitch at the end of the word /ha:iɿ/ ‘where’ (Tone 5 /ɿ/) ends with the approximately same height of the first word /minɿ/ ‘go’ (Tone 2 /ɿ/) (137.6Hz) as in Figure 39.



(ium\_1967\_07\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape2-p13;00.06.30-1)

**Figure 39. Intonation in interrogative ending *haaix***

In an allegro, casual speech, the question word /ha:iɿ/ (*haaix*) can be realised as /haiɿ/ (*haiv*) in Tone 3. An example of this is /haiɿ tauɿ/ [what CLF<sub>ANIM</sub>] ‘who’ shown in Figure 40:



(ium\_1967\_03\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p5;00.09.54-5)

**Figure 40. /haiɿ/ ‘what’ in Tone 3**

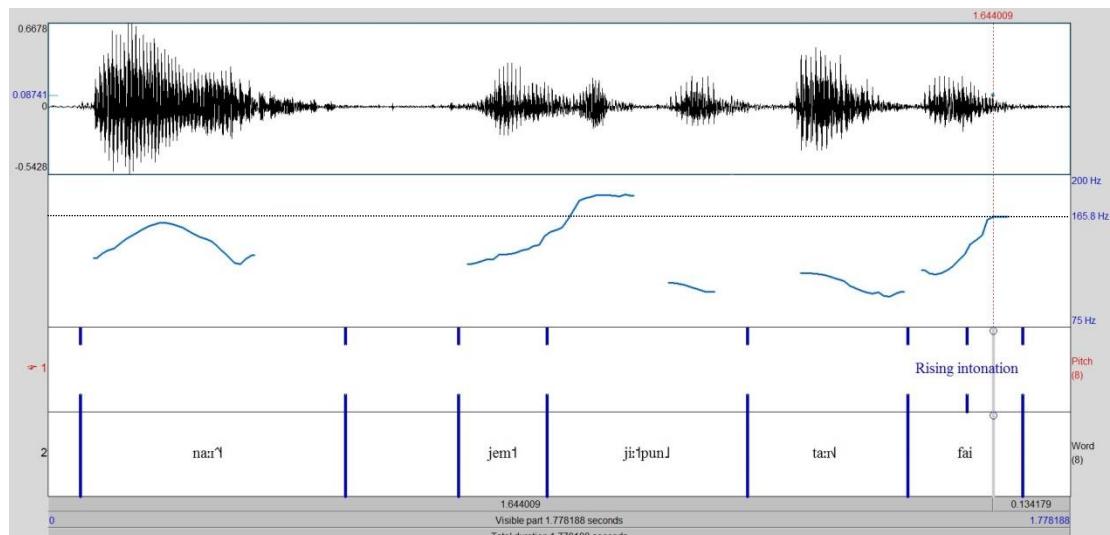
Notice that the maximum pitch of this /haiɿ/ is 194.4Hz, much higher than the highest point of /ha:iɿ/ (i.e. 137.6 in Figure 39, though the speaker difference is ignored. Both are male.). This /haiɿ/ can occur both in interrogative and as an indefinite pronoun (i.e. whoever, whatever, anyone, etc.).

### 3.3.4.3 Polar questions in rising and falling intonations

In polar questions (i.e. Yes-No question), there are two kinds of intonation: (i) the rising intonation superimposed on the interrogative particle *fai* /fai<sup>1</sup>/ realised in [fai<sup>1</sup>] or [↗ fai] and (ii) the falling intonation superimposed on a statement sentence without any question word. (For the use of /fai<sup>1</sup>/ as a disjunctive particle ‘or’, see §18.2.4).

The first kind is exemplified in (131) and its prosody visualised in Figure 41:

- (131) *Naaiv/ yiem Yih.bunc daaih ↗fai?*  
 น้ำย/ เยี่ยม ปี.บุน ต້າຍ ↗ໄຟ?  
 naxi<sup>1</sup> jem<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>1</sup> pun<sup>1</sup> ta:i<sup>1</sup> ↗fai<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM<sub>PROX</sub> be.in Japan come Q  
 ‘Did this [sweet/snack] come from Japan?’  
 (ium\_2005\_01\_Sony\_DA\_WuonhKuon\_CVP&Cplr;00.52.42-4)



(ium\_2005\_01\_Sony\_DA\_WuonhKuon\_CVP&Cplr;00.52.42-4)

Figure 41. Rising question intonation of /↗ fai/

The second kind of polar questions have the falling intonation regardless of in what tone the utterance ends. Examples (132a-b) show a question and an answer to it. Figure 42a is a question and Figure 42b is an answer repeating the latter half of the question ending with the same statement aspect particle *nyei* /nei<sup>1</sup>/ which is Tone 1.

- (132a) *Meih nyei die yiem ↴ nyei*  
မော် နေ့ယ တိုးယ ရှိယမ ဘွဲ့နေ့ယ  
mei<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup> tiə<sup>1</sup> jem<sup>1</sup> ↴ nei<sup>1</sup>  
2SG POSS father be.in/at ASST/Q  
‘Is your father at home?’  
(ium\_1967\_15\_POSSO\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WIII-Tape2-p32;00.12.03-5)

- (132b) *Die yiem ↴ nyei.*  
တိုးယ ရှိယမ ဘွဲ့နေ့ယ.  
tiə<sup>1</sup> jem<sup>1</sup> ↴ nei<sup>1</sup>  
father be.in/at ASST  
‘(Yes) he is at home.’  
(ium\_1967\_15\_POSSO\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WIII-Tape2-p32;00.12.05-6)

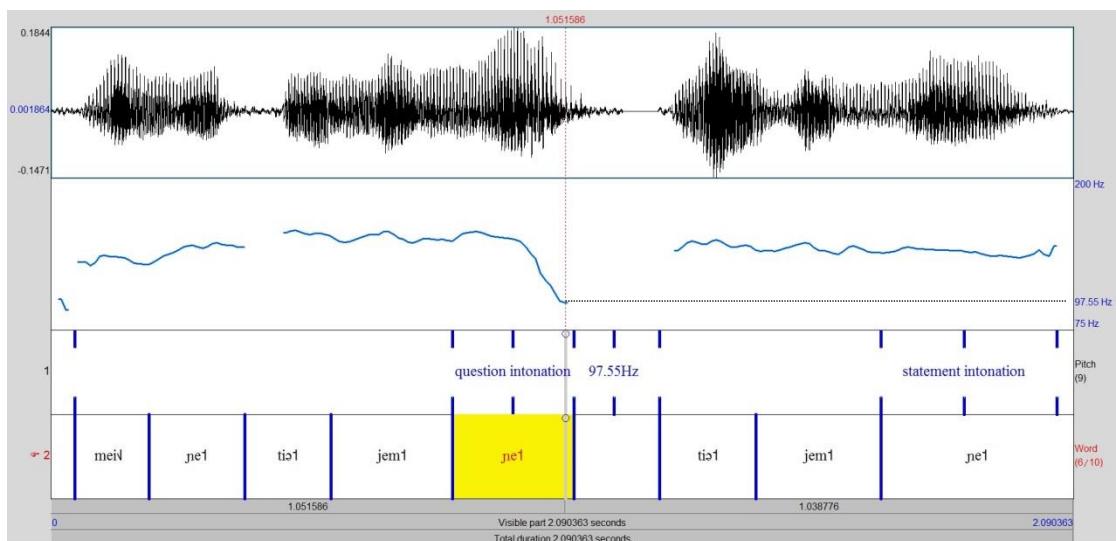


Figure 42a.

Figure 42b.

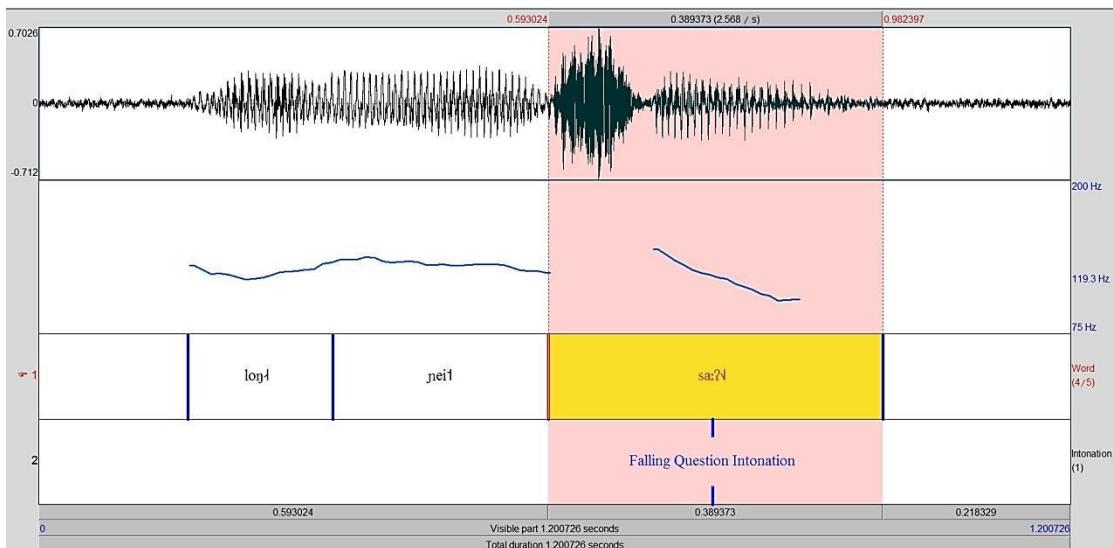
(ium\_1967\_15\_POSSO\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WIII-Tape2-p32;00.12.03-6)

Figure 42. Falling question intonation vs. statement intonation

### 3.3.4.4 Superimposed intonations: falling question intonation

One of the difficulties a learner whose mother tongue is English tends to experience is the falling intonation in a question. The question particle *saah* /saʌ̄/ for a question expecting an affirmative response has a falling tone or Tone 2 as in (133):

- (133) *Longx nyei \saah<sub>č</sub>*  
 ໂລງ ໄສູຍ ແກ້ວມະນຸ  
*lon˧˥ nei˧˥ \saah<sub>č</sub>˧*  
 be.good ASST Q  
 ‘How are you?’ (lit. ‘You are fine, aren’t you?’ or ‘Aren’t you well?’)  
 (ium\_1996\_03\_Burgess\_GF\_MienLgL3;00.45.44-5)



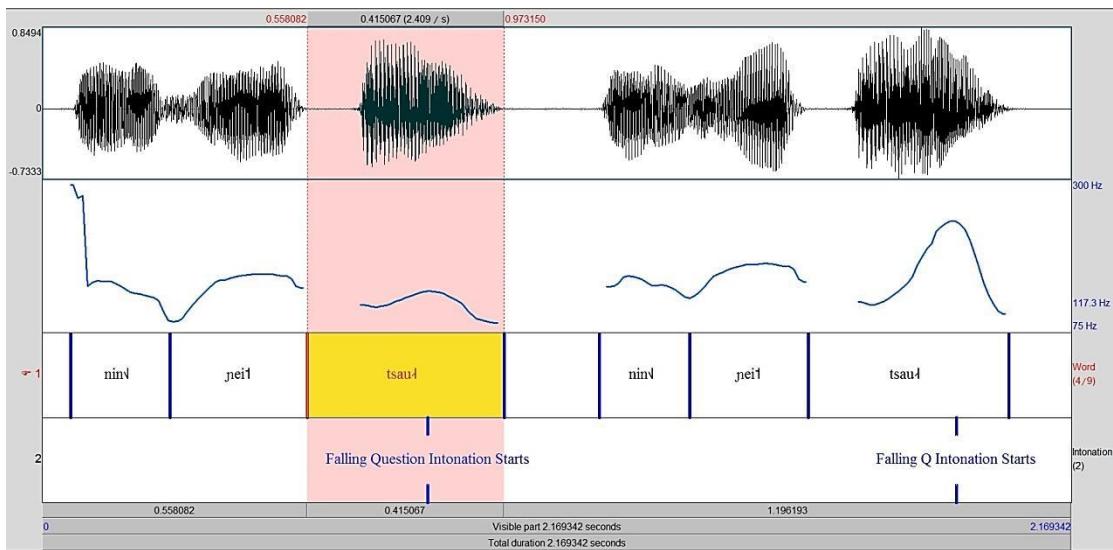
(ium\_1996\_03\_Burgess\_GF\_MienLgL3;00.45.44-5)

**Figure 43. Falling question intonation in *Longx nyei saahč*.**

Furthermore, whatever the tone of the last word of a sentence, this falling question intonation can be superimposed. The following question has Tone 5 /˧/ sentence finally but the falling intonation is superimposed as in (134) and Figure 44.:

- (134) *Ninh nyei zaux<sub>č</sub>*  
 ນິນ ໄສູຍ ແກ້ວມະນຸ  
*nin˧ nei˧ tsau˧*  
 3SG SBCP foot/leg  
 ‘(You mean) his foot/leg?’  
 (ium\_1965\_02\_TDK\_VOP\_y\_YLL3a;00.04.45-6)

When the same question is asked back to the previous speaker for confirmation, it has high rising intonation as shown in Figure 44.



**Figure 51a**

**Figure 51b**

(ium\_1965\_02\_TDK\_VOP\_y\_YLL3a;00.06.18-20 and 00.06.16-7)

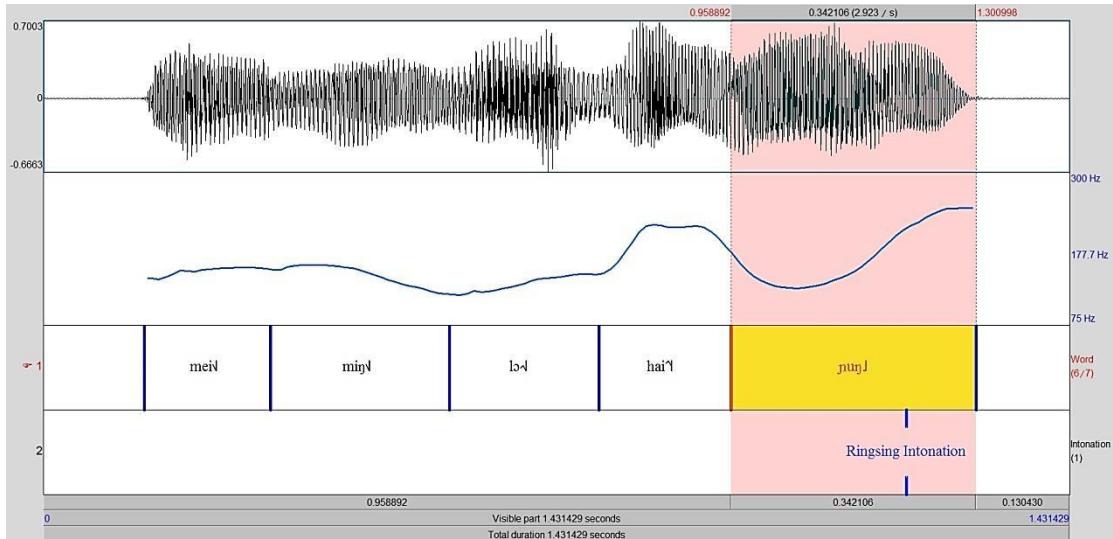
**Figure 44. Falling intonation contours superimposed on a word with rising tone zaux ‘foot/leg’**

### 3.3.4.5 Superimposed intonations: rising question intonation

In colloquial expression the interrogatives containing *haaix* /ha:i˥/ ‘what’ have a high-rising intonation as *haiv* similar to Tone 3 /˥/. This pattern includes *haiv nyungc* ‘what?’, *haiv dauh* ‘who?’ *haiv zanc* ‘when?’ *mbuo ziex* ‘how many?’ rather than its underlying Tone 5 /˧/. When the question word is pronounced by itself, not followed by anything, meaning ‘which?’ or ‘where?’, the underlying tone is kept as /˧/.

This high rising intonation pattern is applied to “Wh-questions” whatever tone the sentence final word is. The following question ends with *haiv.nyungc* /hai˥ nyun˥/ with Tone 8 sentence-finally but the last word is raised sharply as in (135) and Figure 45.:

- (135) *Meih mingh lorz /haiv.nyungc?*  
 ເມ່ຂ ມິງ ລ້ອ ແຫວຍ.ໜູ້ງ?  
*mei˥ min˥ lɔ˥ /hai˥ nyun˥*  
 2SG go seek what.kind  
 ‘What are you going to look for?’  
 (ium\_1965\_02\_TDK\_VOP\_y\_YLL3a;00.07.03-5)



(ium\_1965\_02\_TDK\_VOP\_y\_YLL3a;00.07.03-5)

**Figure 45. Rising intonation superimposed on “Wh-question” words**

Another superimposing influence on the underlying lexical tone is in the case of pending particle *aeqv* /ɛʔ˥/ used to mark a subordinate clause. When it frequently appears in a long connected discourse, the pitch of Tone 7 /˥/ is slightly lower than its underlying tone. This largely depends on the speed of the utterance. The slower the speech is, the higher is the tone close to the underlying tone.

### 3.4 Orthographies

Some background information to this section have been given in §2.3.3, §2.3.6, and §2.4.7.

#### 3.4.1 Roman-based Orthographies

##### 3.4.1.1 *The Unified Script*

This script was the result of unilateral ratification between the Iu Mien community in China and the USA as well as some participants from Thailand. Mainly the two communities (excluding the Iu Mien in Thailand) independently had developed their own Roman-based writing systems in the 1980s. In somehow a miraculous way a few individuals from each country came to know that each other's script had much in common, they hold an orthography consultation and came up with the agreement to endorse the Unified Script for the Iu Mien with some mutual adjustments in 1984. This is used in China, the USA, Canada, France, some parts of Vietnam and some individuals in Laos. The users in these countries and some Iu Mien in Thailand refer it as “New Roman Script” or *Siang-Lomaa Nzangc*.

### 3.4.1.1 Consonant and vowel letters

To transcribe thirty three initial consonants of Iu Mien, thirty-two orthographic units are used with a glottal stop unexpressed: eighteen single letters, twelve bigraphemes, two trigraphemes. Consonants expressed in the Unified Script are listed in Table 21.

**Table 21. Consonants expressed in the Unified Script**

|                      |           |                | Bilabial      | Labio-Dental   | Alveolar        | Palatal              | Velar       | Glottal     |
|----------------------|-----------|----------------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Stops                | Voiceless | Unaspirated    | B, b<br>/p/   |                | D, d<br>/t/     | J, j<br>/c/ ~ [tɕ]   | G, g<br>/k/ | [ ]<br>/ʔ/  |
|                      |           | Aspirated      | P, p<br>/pʰ/  |                | T, t<br>/tʰ/    | Q, q<br>/cʰ/ ~ [tɕʰ] | K, k<br>//  |             |
|                      | Voiced    | Mb, mb<br>/b/  |               | Nn, nd<br>/d/  | Nj, nj<br>/ɟ/   | Nq, nq<br>/g/        |             |             |
| Affricates           | Voiceless | Unaspirated    |               |                | Z, z<br>/ts/    |                      |             |             |
|                      |           | Aspirated      |               |                | C, c<br>/tsʰ/   |                      |             |             |
|                      | Voiced    |                |               | Nz, nz<br>/dʒ/ |                 |                      |             |             |
| Voiceless Fricatives |           |                | Hu, hu<br>/ɸ/ | F, f<br>/f/    | S, s<br>/s/     | Hi, hi<br>/ç/        |             | H, h<br>/h/ |
| Nasals               | Voiced    | M, m<br>/m/    |               | N, n<br>/n/    | Ny, ny<br>/ɲ/   | Ng, ng<br>/ŋ/        |             |             |
|                      | Voiceless | Hm, hm<br>/m̥/ |               | Hn, hn<br>/ɳ/  | Hny, hny<br>/ɲ/ | Hng, hng<br>/ŋ/      |             |             |
| Laterals             | Voiced    |                |               | L, l<br>/l/    |                 |                      |             |             |
|                      | Voiceless |                |               | Hl, hl<br>/ɿ/  |                 |                      |             |             |
| Approximants         |           |                | W, w<br>/w/   |                |                 | Y, y<br>/j/          |             |             |

The upper and lower cases are used depending on the position of a word in a sentence in the same way as English. In addition, proper names are spelled with the initial letter of the upper case.

*Voiceless aspirated stops:* written  $p = /p^h/$ ,  $t = /t^h/$ ,  $q = /c^h/$ ,  $k = /k^h/$  without an aspiration mark similar to Chinese *Pin Yin* (拼音).

*Voiceless unaspirated stops:*  $b = /p/$ ,  $d = /t/$ ,  $j = /c/$ ,  $g = /k/$ . Following the *Pin Yin*, these stops are unaspirated without delayed VOT. It should be noted that they are not like English [b], [d], [dʒ], [g].

*Voiced stops:*  $mb = /b/$ ,  $nd = /d/$ ,  $nj = /ɟ/$ ,  $nq = /g/$ . These bigraphemes are (approximately) the equivalents of voiced stops in English and phonetically not prenasalised stops as the guise of spelling suggests.

*Glottal stop:* it is not written.

*Voiceless affricates:*  $c = /ts^h/$ ,  $z = /ts/$ .  $Z$  is not voiced [z] though the guise may suggest.

*Voiced affricates:*  $nz = /z/$ . Another use of bigrapheme employed to express English equivalent of [z] in *zebra* or *zoo*.

*Voiceless fricatives:*  $f = /f/$ ,  $s = /s/$ ,  $h = /h/$ . In transcribing the labio-vela nature of  $/m/ = /w/$ , -*u*-is utilised in *hu-* as in *huaang* /ma:wŋ˥/ ‘to be empty’. Likewise, the palatal feature of  $/ç = ɟ/$  is expressed by -*i*- in *hi-*, e.g., *hiaau* /ça:w˧/ ‘to lie sprawled out’.

*Voiceless nasals and laterals:*  $hm = /m/$ ,  $hn = /n/$ ,  $hny = /ɲ/$ ,  $hng = /ŋ/$ ,  $hl = /l/$ .

There are only two trigraphemes in Iu Mien.

*Approximants:*  $w = /w/$ ,  $y = /j/$ .

The vowels and diphthongs expressed in the Unified Script are displayed in Table 22 and Table 23 respectively.

**Table 22. Vowels in the Unified Script**

|                  | Front         | Central                       | Back          |
|------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| <b>Close</b>     | I, i<br>/i/   |                               | U, u<br>/u/   |
| <b>Close-mid</b> | E, e<br>/e/   | Er, er<br>/ə/                 | O, o<br>/o/   |
| <b>Open-mid</b>  | Ae, ae<br>/ɛ/ |                               | Or, or<br>/ɔ/ |
| <b>Open</b>      |               | A, a<br>/a/<br>Aa, aa<br>/a:/ |               |

**Table 23. Diphthongs in the Unified Script**

| Fronting                            | Centering      | Backing                             |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| Ei, ei<br>/ei/                      | Ie, ie<br>/iə/ | Iu, iu<br>/iu/                      |
| Ai, ai<br>/ai/<br>Aai, aai<br>/a:i/ | Uo, uo<br>/uə/ | Eu, eu<br>/eu/                      |
| Oi, oi<br>/ɔi/                      |                | Au, au<br>/au/<br>Aau, aau<br>/a:u/ |
| Ui, ui<br>/ui/                      |                | Ou, ou<br>/ou/~/əʊ/                 |

*Front vowels:*  $i = /i/$ ,  $e = /e/$ ,  $ae = /ɛ/$ . The bigrapheme  $ae$  is not a diphthong but to expresses  $/ɛ/$ .

*Central vowels:*  $er = /ə/$ ,  $a = /a/$ ,  $aa = /a:/$ . Another bigrapheme  $er$  here does not represent rhoticisation; though the Roman-based Iu Mien orthography utilises the principles of *Pin Yin*,  $er$  should not be confused with the r-coloured  $\grave{e}$  ‘two’ (二) in Mandarin. The long vowel is expressed by a gemination of the vowel letter.

*Back vowels:*  $u = /u/$ ,  $o = /o/$ ,  $or = /ɔ/$ . As is the case with  $er$  above, so is  $or$ ; that is, non-rhotic.

*Fronting diphthongs:*  $ei = /ei/$ ,  $ai = /ai/$ ,  $aai = /a:i/$ ,  $oi = /ɔi/$ ,  $ui = /ui/$ . The  $o$  in  $oi$  is phonetically [ɔ]; thus, technically /ɔi/ should be spelled as *ori*. However, in order to avoid it to be pronounced [o.ri], the spelling *oi* is employed.

*Centering diphthongs:*  $ie = /iə/$ ,  $uo = /uə/$ . Note that  $e$  and  $o$  represent the same shwa /ə/ when they are used to express the diphthongs.

*Backing diphthongs:*  $iu = /iu/$ ,  $eu = /ei/$ ,  $au = /aw/$ ,  $aau = /a:w/$ ,  $ou = /ou/ \sim /əu/$ .

#### 2.4.1.1.2 Tone letters

Except the unmarked Tone 1 / ˥ /, the Tones 2 to 8 are represented by five alphabetic letters placed at the end of words. Letters used for the consonants  $c$ ,  $h$ ,  $z$  are also used as the tone marks but they should not cause a confusion because of the position in a word. Tone letters  $-v/ ˥ /$  and  $-x/ ˧ /$  are not used to express consonants. Tone 3 / ˨ / and Tone 7 / ˥ / are expressed by the same  $-v$ , so with Tone 6 / ˩ / and Tone 8 / ˨ /, both by  $-c$ . Two cases of using a same letter to express both consonant and tone in a word without confusion are exemplified (tone letters are in bold): *haih/hai˥/* ‘can’, *cutc/ts<sup>h</sup>ut˥/* ‘the sound of short bursts’. A summary is in Table 24.

**Table 24. Tone letters**

| With continuant final and no stop final in a syllable |   |                                     | With stop final                              |
|---|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| 1. High-mid level<br>/ ˧ / 44<br>Unmarked             | 3. High rising-falling<br>/ ˥ / 453<br>-v | 5. Mid-low rising<br>/ ˧ / 23<br>-x | 7. High in closed syllable<br>/ ˥ / 55<br>-v |
| 2. Mid-falling<br>/ ˨ / 31<br>-h                      | 4. Low rising-falling<br>/ ˨ / 231<br>-z  | 6. Low level<br>/ ˩ / 11<br>-c      | 8. Low in closed syllable<br>/ ˩ / 11<br>-c  |

### 3.4.1.1.3 Pseudo-triphthongs

The sequences like *iau*, *iou*, *uei* occur in the Unified Script with the appearance of a triphthong. They are, in fact, a combination of the {palatal approximant + diphthong} (i.e. [i̯au], [i̯əu]) and of the {labial approximant + diphthong} (i.e. [wei]). (See the section of the approximant consonant clusters in §3.2.1.3) Examples are: *nziaaux* /dʒi:a:u˥/ ‘wind’, *ciovv* /tsʰiəu˥˥/ ‘to be fierce’, *gueix* /kʷei˧/ ‘season’.

### 3.4.1.2 Hyphen as a mark of tone sandhi

A functionally effective and economical device to represent the two tone sandhi rules in Iu Mien has been designed by the delegates of Iu Mien communities of the United States of America in the mid-1980s with the technical advice by Herbert Purnell, that is, a simple insertion of a hyphen ( - ) between the first and second (or the third) members of a compound word. The examples of tone sandhi rule 1 listed in Table 6 and tone rule 2 by (8) (i.e., Tone 7, ‘drake’) expressed in the Unified Script in Table 25:

**Table 25. Tone sandhi mark ‘-’**

| Tone of the first element     | Compound expression |                                      |             |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| Applied to tone sandhi rule 1 |                     |                                      |             |
| 1                             | <i>cing-nzengc</i>  | /tsʰinj˧/ ‘pure’ > /tsʰinj˧ n dzeŋ˧/ | ‘holy’      |
| 3                             | <i>biauv-ngorh</i>  | /piau˥/ ‘house’ > /piau˥ nɔ˥/        | ‘roof’      |
| 4                             | <i>dungz-dorn</i>   | /tuŋ˧/ ‘pig’ > /tuŋ˧ tɔn˧/           | ‘piglet’    |
| 5                             | <i>ndiangx-gorn</i> | /diəŋ˧/ ‘tree’ > /diəŋ˧ kɔn˧/        | ‘tree root’ |
| 6                             | <i>doc-kuqv</i>     | /do˧/ ‘turtle’ > /do˧ ku?˥/          | ‘carapace’  |
| Applied to tone sandhi rule 2 |                     |                                      |             |
| 7                             | <i>aapv-gorngx</i>  | /ʔaap˥/ ‘duck’ > /ʔaap˥ kɔŋ˧/        | ‘drake’     |

In these example compound expressions which underwent tone sandhi rule 1, all these orthographic expression with the hyphen, i.e., *g-*, *v-*, *x-*, and *c-*, signify Tone 2 [˧]. The *v-* in tone sandhi rule 2 means Tone 7 [˥]. Thus, the hyphen as a convention of the Unified Script shows two important information: (1) the underlying (i.e., original)

tone or the first member of a compound expression, (2) the tone which has undergone tones sandhi.

Three member compound in the orthography is exemplified as (136):

(136) *caa-fin-daan* /ca:n̥ fin:n̥ ta:n̥/ ‘the register of a family’s patrilineal ancestor spirits and their spouses’ (Purnell 2012:298)

A compound word whose first member is Tone 2 /˨/ or Tone 8 /˩/ does not require hyphen since there is no tone sandhi involved. Examples are:

*douh taanh* /tou:n̥ tʰa:n̥/ ‘a large lizard’  
*nzuqc pakc* /dzu?̥ pʰak/ ‘scythe’

The use of hyphen as a mark of tone sandhi has also been adopted to the Thai-based orthography due to its convenience as will be seen in §3.4.2.

### 3.4.1.3 *The “Old Roman” Script*

This Roman-based writing system was developed by the Rev. Eric J. C. Cox of the Overseas Missionary Fellowship with the consultation by William A. Smalley of the American Bible Society (Lombard 1968:x). C.W. Callaway and Lois Callaway were also involved in the process (pers. com.) This has been used among the Iu Mien in Thailand since 1954, particularly western region of Chiang Rai province, as opposed to the east where refugee camps were located. It has been called *Loz-Lomaa Nzangc* /lo:ŋ lo:ŋ ma:ŋ dzaŋ/ ‘Old Roman Script’ by the local Iu Mien since around the time the American Iu Mien began to develop the ‘Unified Script’ described in 2.3.1.1, which in turn was referred to as *Siang-Lomaa Nzangc* /siəŋŋ lo:ŋ ma:ŋ dzaŋ/ ‘New Roman Script’. Lombard’s dictionary (1968) uses *Loz-Lomaa Nzangc* ‘Old Roman Script’.

Characteristics of the ‘Old Roman Script’ include the following:

- (i) As in the days when personal computers yet to be available, 47 symbols to express Iu Mien phonemes including tones are all taken from a standard English typewriter, utilising both the upper and the lower cases assigned to different phonemes.
- (ii) The principle is one-letter-one-sound. There are no combined letters to represent one phoneme.
- (iii) Though checked and found to be ‘phonemically adequate’ by Smalley (Lombard 1968:x), the principle (ii) above is also applied to tone sandhi quite phonetically. As a result, a compound word written in this

orthography shows the end result tone which has undergone tone sandhi. Reading it as is written, one can reproduce exact sound with proper tone sandhi, and yet cannot visually retrace the underlying tone.

- (iv) It did not enjoy wide dissemination, at least for two reasons. First, it did not spread to Chiang Kham area, eastern part of then Chiang Rai province (i.e., present Phayao province), and Nan province because the Iu Mien in Chiang Kham, having lived in Thailand longer than those in the western part, developed and were well acquainted with the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography. Second, those Iu Mien who lived in the UN refugee camps, mainly in Chiang Kham and along the Mekong River, were introduced to the New Roman Script (in its form on the way to further development and later ratification as the Unified Script) with the expectation of migrating to the United States of America and France. When they started adjusting themselves to a new life style in the western countries, they found the way the Old Roman Script used a typewriter was too different from English or French. Consequently, a prediction at the moment is that this orthography will be obsolete in about 15 – 20 years, namely when the present users in their mid-60s fade away.

A comparison with other orthographies are listed in Table 26 at the end of §3.4.2.

### 3.4.2 The Thai-based Orthography

While Eric and Helen Cox, Sylvia Lombard and Mary Baldock were learning Iu Mien in villages in Maechan district, Chiang Rai province, early in the 1950s, Rev. C. W. and Mrs Lois Callaway (pers. com.) of the American Churches of Christ (ACC) began their works in the area of Tung and Chiang Kham districts, the eastern region of Chiang Rai (Chiang Kham area later became a part of Phayao province when the southeast region of Chiang Rai province separated itself into Phayao as a new province). It was the latter couple who developed the Thai-based orthography, started to be in use around 1956 (cf. Purnell 1985:7). Their source of language were Mr *Zanc Fuqv*, village headman and chief shaman, Mr *Saeng Fuqv*, Mrs *Meix Cing*, and elderly woman, Mrs *Feix Orn*, and Mr *Fux-Zanx*, a 40-year-old multilingual man fluently handling Iu Mien, Thai, Yunnanese, Northern Thai and some Hmong and Hakka (Callaway and Callaway 1976:222).

In developing the orthography, much help was obtained, besides these native Iu Mien speakers, from Ajarn (i.e. teacher) Ua Maneerat (อาจารย์เอื่อย มานีรัตน์), a Thai teacher who was the founder and headmaster of Chiang Kham High School (รร.เชียงคำ วิทยาคม), and William Smalley. Consequently, this orthography gained high transfer

value to Thai and has gradually spread to both the east (i.e. Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Lampang, Kampaeng Phet provinces) and the west (i.e. Phayao and Nan provinces) regions of northern Thailand, and recently Facebook and personal email communication.

A natural result of the technical assistance by the Thai educator, Ajarn Ua Maneerat, the order of arranging five tones out of eight in Iu Mien became in conformity to that of Thai. This order differs to the one commonly practiced by Chinese and Hmong-Mien historical linguists as shown in Table 15 in §3.3.1.1. Below is shown the order Thai children learn the five tones in rote memorisation:

- Thai Tone (TT) 1-*saman* (วรรณยุกต์สามัญ) ‘standard’,  
TT2    *ek* (วรรณยุกต์เอก) ‘first’,  
TT3    *tho* (วรรณยุกต์โท) ‘second’,  
TT4    *tri* (วรรณยุกต์ตรี) ‘third’, and  
TT5    *chatawa* (วรรณยุกต์จัตวา) ‘fourth’.

This order has been followed by Callaway and Callaway (1976) in their devising a writing system for the Iu Mien by utilising Thai letters by adding another tone /˥/ as the sixth, and two more in checked syllables /˨/ and /˧/ as the seventh and the eighth tones.

Theraphan L.-Thongkham (1988a:5) values the method of Callaway and Callaway as a convenient and effective strategy for the Iu Mien children in learning Thai after mastering how to read and write Iu Mien in the Callaway’s orthography.<sup>98</sup> This laid a foundation for the high transfer value of the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography (cf. Table 16 in §3.3.1.1). The detailed discussion on correspondence between Iu Mien phonemes and Thai letters, the obsolete Thai letters or rarely used ones that are utilised to express Iu Mien phonemes absent in Thai, all the thirteen tone rules according to the three Thai consonant letter classes, and the use of Thai diacritics for Iu Mien purposes are discussed in Arisawa (2011a).

As for the challenges to use Thai letters in expressing the sounds of ethnic minority languages and the principles of doing so, see Smalley (1976). Callaway and Callaway (1976) report the original design of this orthography with focus on the Iu Mien phonemes and their correspondence in Thai-based orthography. In arguing for

<sup>98</sup> Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1988a:5) writes about the advantage of the Thai-based Iu Mien writing system in teaching Iu Mien children Thai tones as follows: “การเรียงลำดับแบบนี้ช่วยให้การอธิบายเกี่ยวกับการเพียนภาษาเข้าโดยใช้อักษรไทยง่ายขึ้น เพราะใกล้เคียงกับวิธีการของอักษรไทย หลังจากอ่านเพียนภาษาของตนได้แล้ว คนเข้าจะสามารถอ่านภาษาไทยได้เร็วขึ้น เพราะสามารถเปรียบเทียบวรรณยุกต์ของภาษาไทยกับภาษาเข้าโดยสะดวก”.

use of this orthography as a signifier of the Iu Mien's dual identity as Thai citizens and their ethnicity, Arisawa (2011a) estimates its (i.e. the 1956 version) fairly high transfer value:

It should be reminded that there are 20 shared consonants out of 33 Iu-Mien consonants (61%). To express these 20 Iu-Mien consonants, 28 Thai symbols out of 44 are used (63.6%). Six Iu-Mien consonants which are non-existent in Thai are expressed in six Thai symbols chosen out of 44 symbols specially assigned to the different sound (0.14%). Seven unshared consonants use the bigraphemes in the Iu-Mien orthography utilizing eight Thai letters out of 44 (1.8%). [...] Regarding the vowels, 14 Iu-Mien monophthongs are represented by 14 Thai vowel symbols. Twelve Iu-Mien diphthongs are perfectly expressed by twelve Thai vowel symbols. For the six Iu-Mien tones, the Thai tone symbols lack one. Of the 20 tone rules in Iu-Mien, 19 are represented by 19 Thai tone rules. [...] This result shows that an Iu-Mien child who has learned the [Thai-based] Iu-Mien orthography with regard to the vowels and tones are already familiar with 83.3 – 100% of the Thai vowels and tones (Arisawa 2011a:224-5).

Table 26 shows Thai-based Iu Mien orthography in the Thai alphabetical order in comparison with the Unified Script, IPA, the Lao-based Script, and the Old Roman Script.

**Table 26. Thai-based Iu Mien orthography in comparison with others**

| Thai-based Script | Unified Script | IPA             | Lao-based Script | Old Roman Script | Thai-based Script | Unified Script | IPA            | Lao-based Script | Old Roman Script |
|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| ຝ                 | g              | k               | ກ                | k                | ງ                 | b              | p              | ບ                | p                |
| ຟ                 | k              | k <sup>h</sup>  | ຂ                | K                | ຜ                 | p              | p <sup>h</sup> | ຜ                | P                |
| ົ                 | k              | k <sup>h</sup>  | ຄ                | K                | ຝ                 | f              | f              | ເງ               | f                |
| ົມ                | nq             | g               | ອນ               | G                | ພ                 | p              | p <sup>h</sup> | ວ                | P                |
| ົງ                | ng             | ŋ               | ຈ                | v                | ຝ                 | f              | f              | ເງ               | f                |
| ົຈ                | j              | c               | ດ                | J                | ມ                 | m              | m              | ມ                | m                |
| ົນ                | q              | c <sup>h</sup>  | ໜດ               | Q                | ຢ                 | y              | j              | ຢ                | y                |
| ົງ                | q              | c <sup>h</sup>  | ຫດ               | Q                | ລ                 | l              | l              | ໂ                | l                |
| ົສ                | s              | s               | ຣ                | s                | ຈ                 | w              | w              | ໂ                | w                |
| ົມ                | nj             | ং               | ອດ               | F                | ສ                 | s              | s              | ສ                | s                |
| ົງ                | ny             | ং               | ແ                | E                | ຫ                 | h, ø           | h              | ຫ                | h                |
| ົກ                | nz             | ং               | ରନ୍ଧା            | R                | ଓ                 | ø              | ?              | ଡ                | -'               |
| ົତ                | z              | ts              | ରନ୍ଧା            | z                | ଶ                 | h              | h              | ଶ                | h                |
| ົମ                | nd             | d               | ରନ୍ଧା            | D                | ଶଙ୍କ              | hng            | ং              | ଡଙ୍କ             | V                |
| ົତ                | d              | t               | ରନ୍ଧା            | t                | ଶଙ୍କ              | hny            | ং              | ଡଙ୍କ             | H                |
| ົତ                | t              | t <sup>h</sup>  | ରନ୍ଧା            | T                | ଶନ                | hn             | ং              | ଡଙ୍କ             | N                |
| ົତ                | t              | t <sup>h</sup>  | ରନ୍ଧା            | T                | ଶମ                | hm             | ং              | ଡଙ୍କ             | M                |
| ົତ                | c              | ts <sup>h</sup> | ରନ୍ଧା            | Z                | ଶଃ                | hi             | ং              | ଡଙ୍କ             | Y                |
| ົନ                | n              | n               | ັນ               | n                | ໜ                 | hl             | ັ              | ັນ               | L                |
| ົପ                | mb             | b               | ັນ               | b                | ໜ                 | hu             | ິ              | ັນ               | W                |

### 3.4.3 The Lao-based Orthography

Very little is known about how widely the Lao-based Iu Mien orthography is used. Through several personal communications, it seems some Iu Mien in Laos currently are more familiar with the Unified Script. A sample can be seen at: <http://thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php>.

### 3.5 Phonological Word

In defining what “word” is Dixon and Aikhenvald (2002:13) propose two-way criteria: phonological and grammatical word. The following is their definition of phonological word:

A **phonological word** is a phonological unit larger than the syllable (in some languages it may minimally be just one syllable) which has at least one (and generally more than one) phonological defining property chosen from the following areas:

- (a) *Segmental features* — internal syllabic and segmental structure; phonetic realisations in terms of this; word boundary phenomena; pause phenomena.
- (b) *Prosodic features* — stress (or accent) and/or tone assignment; prosodic features such as nasalization, retroflexion, vowel harmony.
- (c) *Phonological rules* — some rules apply only within a phonological word; others (external sandhi rules) apply specifically across a phonological word boundary (Dixon and Aikhenvald 2002:13).

Here is one more quote from Downer (1961) in order to adapt the above definition for Iu Mien:

The word in H(ighland) Y(ao) [i.e. Iu Mien] consists of a full syllable, which may be preceded by one or two reduced syllables. Full syllables are characterized by a system of tones, and, when preceded by reduced syllables, by relative prominence and duration. Reduced syllables have no tones, and have markedly different realizations depending on speed of utterance (Downer 1961:532. Underlines in the original).

An adapted definition of a phonological word in Iu Mien is:

A **phonological word** is a phonological unit larger than a reduced syllable, ranging from mono, one and a half (sesquisyllable), two reduced syllables and one, two and to three full syllables which has at least two phonological defining properties in the following areas:

- (a) *Segmental features* — internal syllabic structure as {σ = optional initial consonant (C) – obligatory vowel (V) – optional final consonant (C) – obligatory tone (T)}; word boundary marked by pauses before and after it.
- (b) *Prosodic features* — full syllables are characterized by a system of tones, and, when preceded by reduced syllables, by relative prominence and duration; creakiness in tone 6, and preglottalization in word-initial nasals and lateral approximant in the odd numbered tones are found.

(c) *Phonological rules* — reduced syllables have no tones; tone sandhi rules in compound nouns and verbs.

### 3.6 Summary of Chapter 3

Synthesising the works of Downter ([1961] 2003) and Purnell (1965), and comparing with Thanyalak Saeliao's (2012) thesis, this chapter has presented the segmental and the suprasegmental phonology of the language, and their application to the vernacular orthographies.

While these authors only present the phonemic entrees as the result of their research, this chapter demonstrated the minimal (and near) pairs to substantiate them. As to Thanyalak's claim that the merger of Tone 4 /˥/ and Tone 5 /˧/ has already been settled in her generation of speakers, the instrumental investigation and its visual representation of eight tones among the middle age and older speakers from Chiang Rai province has proved that they are still phonemically distinctive.

The native speaker readers who are already familiar with either of the Unified Roman Script or the Thai-based orthography should be able to utilize the comparison chart in Table 26 to start reading all the language examples in this grammar and learn to read one which is new to them and IPA.

Having established the phonological and orthographical basis, we will proceed on to the familiar topic of Iu Mien names in the next chapter, which functions as an introduction to morphology and a bridge toward syntax.

# Chapter 4

## WORKING PRINCIPLES OF THE GRAMMAR AND LEXICAL GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

### 4.1 Introduction

Having come through the background and the phonology in Chapters 2 and 3, this chapter will present a broad framework for the grammar in three areas, that is, typological synopsis in terms of seven operational principles (§4.2), a pragmatic orientation in determining argument structures (§4.3) and “parts of speech” (§4.4).

First, typologically Iu Mien is perceived as topic-prominent language, rather than an SVO language even though this word order does occur in it. This topic orientation feature is realised in the constituent order that topic-on-the-left and comment-on-the-right in a sentence. The first part of this chapter lays out the most common sentence structure of the language as a general framework of analyses, which will steer the course of all discussions for the rest of this grammar.

Because of reference to older works on “topic and comment” (e.g. Li and Thompson (1976) and Fuller (1985) for Hmong) from a more or less historical perspective on various theories which dealt with the issue in the course of laying a foundation for this grammar, the terms “comment” and “focus” are used interchangeably. Once the foundation is established, however, the term “focus” will be continuously used following Lambrecht (1994) from Chapter 5 onward.

The second section addresses the issue of NP roles in relation to a predicate verb. In other words, this section is about argument structures. The gist of the discussion is that pragmatics, rather than syntax or semantics, determines the semantic roles of argument NPs. The section prepares the readers for further discussions presented in §11.2 and §15.3.2.

The purpose of the third part of this chapter is to identify the fundamental elements that constitute the language. As their details will be discussed in Chapters 5 onwards, Chapter 4 presents limited number of language examples just to illustrate “parts of speech” or grammatical categories.

## 4.2 Basic Working Principles of the Grammar

### 4.2.1 Seven Principles

This grammar is founded on the seven working principles, which are by and large found in many languages of Southeast Asia, as outlined as follows:

**Principle 1.** A basic sentence pattern of Iu Mien has two parts of Topic and Focus.

**Principle 2.** Iu Mien has a rightward<sup>99</sup> multilayered focus (RMF) structure. The more rightward a constituent goes (i.e. toward the end of a sentence), the more focus it gets.

**Principle 3.** Iu Mien is a verb-medial language in which the positions of Topic (possibly realised as AGENT) and Focus (possibly containing THEME) are pragmatically assigned. Even though a sentence in which Topic is realised as A and Focus containing TH has an appearance “SVO”, the word order is not necessarily grammaticalised.

**Principle 4.** Iu Mien is a verb-versatility language, which utilises verbs for aspect and modality, multi-verb constructions (MVCs) including serial verb constructions (SVCs), and preposition-like (i.e. oblique) coverb phrases (CvPs).

**Principle 5.** A vague distinction between “parts-of-speech” is normal. A Noun-Verb distinction is flexible on the part of verbs in Iu Mien. A verb, an adjectival verb or even a clause can be treated as one (big) noun.

**Principle 6.** Sentence final particles (SFPs) semantically and pragmatically play multiple roles, and function as grounding elements though optional.

**Principle 7.** The argument structure in Iu Mien, or the relationship between verbs and NPs in a sentence, is aligned by pragmatics, specifically by the verb’s rich cultural semantic frame. That is, cultural knowledge around the event or situation the verb designates determines what should be treated as core arguments.

Each of them has extended implications. For example, the first principle entails that Iu Mien is not an SVO language in a grammaticalised sense, and therefore a frequently found sequence OSV is more felicitously explained as Topic-Actor-Verb. The second principle can be extended to claim that the RMF structure can best explain the oblique

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<sup>99</sup> This could be “forward”. The point is that the focal point, or an assertion of new information, tends to fall on a constituent that occurs toward the end of the sentence. Since in the Unified Script and the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography we write from left to right, unlike Japanese (vertically) or Hebrew (from right to left), the term “rightward” has been chosen.

position of coverb phrase as a preposition-like construction in a clause. The fifth principle can analyse the so-called “passive constructions” in a congenial way to the overall structure of Iu Mien rather than explaining the O becoming the S. These principles are an important *basso continuo* in describing a grammar of this language.

Having said that, these principles do not constitute a rigid outline of the whole grammar that argues for each of them systematically. Rather, they are operational principles in a sense that they are generally assumed in many Southeast Asian languages and thus provide the grammar with a series of threads that serve to draw together numerous strands of the descriptions that might otherwise appear unrelated.

Specifically, a brief mention of Principle 5 regarding the “vague distinction between parts-of-speech” should be appropriate as the readers may notice that the “lexical categories” in §4.3 are still unambiguous and thus a use of them may appear contradictory to the principle. Even though the recent studies according to Croft’s Radical Construction Grammar (2001) recognise the vague distinction between grammatical categories, the traditional grammarians such as Court (1986) and Purnell (2012) have been using them as convenient devices. It is because they still hold with the vast majority of instances and therefore they are utilised for the heuristic reasons. Nevertheless, the cross-over phenomena between “parts-of-speech” are noticeable, especially verbs used as nouns. That is to say, though the distinction between “parts-of-speech” is a basic, useful notion, it is not applied to every case strictly and flexibility is permissible.

To present an overview, Principle 1 is argued for in §4.2.2 and Chapter 10. One group of the constructions that reflect Principle 1 are copular constructions, expressing a relation ‘A = B’. Copular constructions are encoded through copular verbs and equative particles. Principle 2 is exemplified in §15.3.2 in an argumentation for the oblique position that a coverb construction occupies in a sentence. Other places where Principle 2 is illustrated are §15.4.1, §15.4.2, and §§18.3.1–4. Principle 3 is illustrated in §18.3.3.2. Principle 4 permeates throughout Chapter 12 in arguing the auxiliary verbs and aspectual verbs. Similarly to Principle 4 where the versatility of verbs is claimed, Principle 5 is about fuzzy boundaries between “parts-of-speech”. Principle 5 is explained in relation to its coexistence with “parts-of-speech” and illustrated in §6.7.4.8, §8.2.1, §8.2.2, §8.11.3 and §9.2.2.1. Principle 6 is argued for in Chapter 19. Principle 7 is explained in §4.3, §11.2.2, §11.3, and §11.4.

## 4.2.2 The Principle of General-to-Particular as a Hypernym of Topic-Focus

The First Principle, i.e., the basicness of the Topic-Focus structure, is discussed here. In order to elucidate it, a comprehensive principle of general-to-particular in human cognitive ability is discussed drawing on some literatures. An overall claim is laid out in this section that the conceptual structure of “ground and figure”, the term taken from Cognitive Linguistics, is capable of explaining large number of grammatical constructions of Iu Mien including noun phrases, relative clauses, coverb phrase constructions, clause and sentence structure, and the use of SFPs.

The term “ground and figure” can be understood in other terms such as “theme and rheme”, “topic and focus”, “generic and particular”, “margin and nucleus” and “broad and specific” to borrow from various schools of linguistics. And at this introductory stage, it is roughly correct to say that majority of constituent order in Iu Mien follow the order of “from theme to rheme”, “from topic to focus”, “from general to particular”, “from margin to nucleus” and “from broad to specific”. In other words, the construction that is in the state of ground, theme, topic, general, margin, broad, occurs on the left side of a sentence, i.e., sentence-initially. On the other hand, the construction that is in the state of figure, rheme, focus, particular, nucleus, specific, appears on the right side, i.e., sentence-finally. Schematically expressed in Figure 46:

| Left    | Right         |
|---------|---------------|
| general | particular    |
| theme   | rheme         |
| topic   | comment/focus |
| margin  | nucleus       |
| ground  | figure        |
| broad   | specific      |
| whole   | part          |

**Figure 46. The order of two main elements in sentence.**

The important point from the language specific data is that the order of “from the left to the right” is almost structurally restricted. This is not yet a place to discuss in detail all the theories and schools that have used these terms in the history of linguistics. However, it would be useful to pay attention to them with a basic understanding that majority of these theories and authors agree on a main point in regard to topic and focus. The first five rows of Figure 46 will be briefly presented in the following paragraphs.

Firstly, the earliest recognition of this bipartite reading of a sentence from the functional syntax came from the Prague Linguistic Circle (Prague School), led by Vilém Mathesius, in the 1920s, as “theme” and “rheme”. Vachek (1966), by referring to Mathesius, defines the terms as follows:

*theme* is that part of the utterance which refers to a fact or facts already known from the preceding context, or to facts that may be taken for granted, and thus does not, or does only minimally, contribute to the information provided by the given sentence-utterance.

*rheme* contains the actual new information to be conveyed by the sentence-utterance and thus substantially enriches the knowledge of the listener or reader. (1966:89)

Vachek (1966:111) points out that the original terms coined by Mathesius were “the base” and “the nucleus” respectively, and that French terms could be “thème” and “propos” and corresponding American school’s terms “topic” and “comment”. Cook (1973:76), claiming that “theme” and “rheme” proposed by Mathesius, (additionally “focus” also) are universal grammatical categories, summarises their characteristics, of which only the “theme” is quoted below:

Theme is the leftmost Noun Phrase dominated by S in surface structure;  
Rheme is all else (Cook 1973:23).

It should be noted that Cook’s assertion of “the leftmost” position of “Theme” supports the order of two elements in Figure 46.

Secondly, as has been pointed out by Vachek, American analogous correspondent to “theme” and “rheme” of the Prague School are “topic” and “comment”. Fuller (1985), in her analysis of Hmong, the larger member of Hmong-Mien family, says:

Hmong [...] is characterized by particles which mark topics. These particles are optional, but are used frequently, usage depending on the speaker. Topics are also characteristically *sentence-initial* in Hmong (1985:55-56).  
(emphasis added)

Note again that the position of topic is sentence-initial, i.e. leftward in the sentence.

Thirdly, we turn to a broader scope of discourse beyond sentence. Tagmemics proposes the notion of “Margin” and “Nucleus” (Pike and Pike 1982:12-13, 25-26, 45-46, 398-409, 449, 451). In their assumption “margin” (in contrast to the nucleus) is:

[t]he part of a construction which is more dependent, has a more restricted occurrence, and could generally not substitute for the construction as a whole (Pike and Pike 1982:449).

In contrast, “nucleus”:

- (a) is more independent (in filling nuclear slots in higher levels or in dialogs);
- (b) more frequently has the option of representing the entire unit, of which it is a part, in larger units; and is more likely to identify the larger construction of which it is a part;
- (c) is a member of a large class (each member of which can fill the same slot);
- (d) occurs in more kinds of grammatical slots than do the marginal classes;
- (e) has the more central semantic role (in the analyst’s judgment). (Pike and Pike 1982:25-26)

It is argued in line with the topic-focus discussion that “margin” reflects “topic” since it is “the part of a construction which is more dependent” (Pike and Pike 1982:449). Being more dependent, it cannot stand alone but demands a predicate to complete a sentence. What “focus” corresponds to is termed as “nucleus” since it is the “more central semantic role” (Pike and Pike 1982:26), namely, a predicate of a sentence. In other words, a nucleus is that which is “a part in larger units” and “identif[ies]” or specifies (i.e. focuses) what the large construction is about (i.e. topic). As to a repertoire of grammatical constructions that can fill the slot/position of a nucleus, they come from “a large class”.

Drawing on to the distinction between “Margin” and “Nucleus”, our claim, as far as Iu Mien is concerned, is that the grammatical elements that can be termed as “Margin” always occur in the initial position (left side/end) of the sentence and that what can be termed as “Nucleus” in the other, that is, the right side.

Fourthly, Ronald W. Langacker, a Cognitive Grammarian, from a perspective of cognitive science in general, argues that figure/ground alignment is one of the fundamental human ability to conceptualise what we perceive. According to him,

**ground** [is]: [t]he speech event, its participants, and its setting. (Langacker 1987:489) And,

the **figure** within a scene is a substructure perceived as “standing out” from the remainder (the **ground**) and accorded special prominence as the pivotal entity around which the scene is organized and for which it provides a setting (Langacker 1987:120).

This distinction also, in Iu Mien, is arranged in the order that the ground on the left side in the sentence, and the figure on the right side.

To summarise and to repeat our main point in this chapter: the order of “from the left to the right” is invariable. Take an example of the margin on the left, the nucleus on the right, as in *Se.gornv duih mbiungc nor, yie maiv mingh* [if fall rain PART-

sub-clause, 1SG NEG go] ‘If it rains, I will not go’. In English the reverse order of the clauses is possible, e.g., ‘I will not go, if it rains’. However, generally Iu Mien does not allow the sentence end with the subordinate clause marking particle *nor*. That is, any bound clause, i.e., a dependent clause, (manner adverbial clause, temporal adverbial clause, etc.) usually come before the main clause.

The principles of the ground-on-the-left and the figure-on-the-right work not only at the sentence level but also other levels such as phrase, clause, and even the order of expressing residential address. Since as many as the speaker wishes subordinate clause can be added, two parts of the sentence, i.e., topic and focus, may be laid over repeatedly. Thus, it should be termed as the rightward-multilayered focus structure (RMF). Seven illustrations to support this claim will be presented in §4.2.3.

### 4.2.3 Seven Illustrations to Support the Rightward Focus Structure

The second principle, the rightward focus structure, is claimed through seven illustrations.

#### 4.2.3.1 *The order ‘clan name, paternal name, and personal/given name’*

The first illustration is a naming system of the Iu Mien. Iu Mien introduce themselves by giving the surname first, the given name afterwards as in (137):

|       |  |             |             |                    |
|-------|--|-------------|-------------|--------------------|
| (137) | <i>Yie</i>   | <i>heuc</i> | <i>Zeuz</i> | <i>Gueix-Zoih.</i> |
|       | ເຢີ  | ເຫຸ້ວ       | ເຊົ່ວ       | ເກວ້ຍ-ຜ້ອຍ.        |
| iə̥l  | heu]   | tseu~       | kʷei˥ tsɔi˥ |                    |
| 1SG   | call   | Zeu         | Guei Zoi    |                    |
|       | ‘My name is Guei Zoi Zeu.’                               |             |             |                    |
|       | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.00.23-00.00.26) |             |             |                    |

*Zeuz* is the surname or clan name, *Gueix-Zoih* his given name.

Not only the order of the surname-given name is observable here, but also the inside the given name the principle of ‘generic-specific’ can be seen.

In fact the Iu Mien naming system is highly intricate (Purnell 2012:828-34) as will be seen in Chapter 5. There are twelve *fingx* ‘a clan, lineage group, surname group’ (Purnell 2012:176) or “patrilineal clans” (Tan 1986a:47). Each *fingx* has a cycle of four to nine *buic* ‘generation indicators’ (Purnell 2012:831) or *baan-buic* ‘the list and order of a cycle of generations’ (Purnell 2012:16). For example, a person whose full name is *Zeuz Gueix-Zoih* belongs to the *Zeuz* clan, which has nine *baan-buic* within

them: i.e., 1) *Daqv*, 2) *Jiem*, 3) *Saeng*, 4) *Wuonh*, 5) *Zoih*, 6) *Fuqv*, 7) *Gueix*, 8) *Yauz*, and 9) *Zanx*. The first part of his given name *Gueix* is the seventh generation of the *Zeuz* clan. That is, the generation name *Gueix* is inherited from his father 6) *Fuqv*, and *Gueix*'s sons have to inherit the generation indicating name *Yauz*, the eighth generation indicator. *Gueix* himself, however, can choose his own personal name, in this case *Zoih*, at around the time of marriage. So his adult full name is *Zeuz Gueix-Zoih*, that is, *Zoih* of the *Gueix* generation in the *Zeuz* clan. (Detailed descriptions childhood name, are found in Purnell 2012:829-30; Tan 1986a:49-50). (Onomastics in Iu Mien will be explicated in Chapter 5.)

It should be noted that the order of the name is again broad (clan), medial (generation in the clan), and specific (personal name within the generation indicators). The order is *Zeuz* (broad) ⊃ *Gueix* (middle range) ⊃ *Zoih* (specific). It is not only binary (i.e. broad to specific) but also triple layered.

#### **4.2.3.2 The order ‘country name, province name, district name, village name’**

The followings are hypothetical residential addresses of Beijing and Hong Kong in China<sup>100</sup> to show an order of larger area to specific building number:

中国浙江省金华市磐安县尚湖镇新南街 6 号 13 楼 208 室

The order of arrangement is thus: country (*Zhōng guó* 中国) ⊃ province (*Zhè jiāng shěng* 浙江省) ⊃ city (*Jīn huá shì* 金华市) ⊃ county (*Pán ān xiàn* 磐安县) ⊃ town (*Shàng hú zhèn* 尚湖镇) ⊃ street (*Xīn nán jiē* 新南街) ⊃ street number (*liù hào 6 号*) ⊃ building (*shí sān lóu* 新南楼) ⊃ room (*èr líng bā shí 208 室*). Then lastly, the recipient's names are written after the room number in the order surname – given name.

In the case of Hong Kong see the following example (again hypothetical):

香港九龙观塘康雅苑 1123 室

The order is: Special Administrative Region (*hoeng<sup>1</sup> gong<sup>2</sup>* 香港) ⊃ District (*gau<sup>2</sup> lung<sup>4</sup>* 九龙) ⊃ Ward (*Gun<sup>1</sup> tong<sup>4</sup>* 观塘) ⊃ Building (*Hong<sup>1</sup> aa<sup>1</sup> jyun<sup>2</sup>* 康雅苑) ⊃ Room (*yat<sup>1</sup> yat<sup>1</sup> ji<sup>6</sup> saan<sup>1</sup> sat<sup>1</sup>* 1123 室). Then comes the surname and given name of the recipient. The same order is taken in Japanese also.

Now compare these with opposite order of an address in English:

---

<sup>100</sup> Much appreciation is due given to Meng Chenxi (for Mandarin) and Lee Ying Ying (for Cantonese) for their help in providing these examples.

CRLD, Building NR6, 20 Forest View, Main Drive, La Trobe University,  
Bundoora, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.<sup>101</sup>

The order is the specific institute (Centre for Research on Language Diversity or CRLD), building number (NR6), street number, street name, university, suburb, city, state, country. This order is followed by Thai as well.

The majority of Iu Mien living in China, their mind-set in writing residential address is from the broad to the narrow, the general to the specific, whole-part, in multilayered structure.

The Iu Mien in Thailand and the USA, Canada, and France, however, follow the opposite way in writing addresses (*deic zeiv /tei˩ tsei˥/ [ground paper]*) as a result of migration.

#### **4.2.3.3 The order ‘from general area to specific activity’.**

Thirdly, the next example is from an account of the Iu Mien’s sea crossing odyssey, in which they started petitioning the spirits for help in the fear of rumbling of the gate of abyss. It should be noted that the locative coverb phrase *yiem naaic* ‘to be there’ precedes the main verb phrase *houv nyunc* ‘to pledge a vow’ in (138):

|       |       |  |              |             |                    |                     |                    |                     |
|-------|-------|--|--------------|-------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| (138) | (...) | <i>gamh</i>  | <i>nziex</i> | <i>daic</i> | <u><i>yiem</i></u> | <u><i>naaic</i></u> | <b><i>houv</i></b> | <b><i>nyunc</i></b> |
|       |       | กໍ່ມ   | ເຫົື້ນ       | ໄຕ          | ເຢີມ               | ໜໍາຍ                | ໂຮ້ວ               | ໝາ່ນ                |
|       |       | kam˩   | dziə˧        | tai˩        | jem˧               | nai˩                | həu˥               | jun˩                |
|       |       | fear   | really       | be.at       | DEM                | pledge              | vow                |                     |
|       |       | '(They) became scared (so they) petitioned the spirit (for protection) there.' |              |             |                    |                     |                    |                     |
|       |       | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.02.29-00.02.31)                       |              |             |                    |                     |                    |                     |

The order is from the location (general) to the activity (specific). In other words, the stage setting of action is provided first, then the action that takes place there is stated at end of the sentence. This is again different to English, where a locative adverb is marginalised at the end of the sentence, i.e., *they petitioned there*. The underlined part is explained as an oblique coverb phrase, as a part of Principle 4: the versatility of verbs (§4.2.1).

Similar examples can be seen in (165<sup>-2</sup>), (166), (387<sup>-1</sup>), (458<sup>-1</sup>), and (947<sup>-1</sup>).

#### **4.2.3.4 Genitive construction and relative clause**

The fourth illustration is from the structure of possessive construction (genitive construction) and relative construction. Both the genitive/possessive construction and

<sup>101</sup> The reader should be advised not to mail anything to this address; correct postal code is necessary.

the relative construction are formed by the use of the particle *nyei*. It is possible to re-analyse Court's two examples by using "broad-specific" or "whole-part" concept, where the "broad" or "whole" comes on the left, and the "specific" or "part" on the right. The first example is (139):

- (139) *Jorn nyei biauv*  
 ຈອນ ໄສຍ ເປີ້າ  
 cɔ:n̥l nei˥ p̥au˥  
 John POSS house  
 'John's house'  
 (Court 1986:193)

The second example is also concerned with the possessive construction but specifically is about recursiveness. Court points out that the [NP *nyei*] construction has a recursive nature as shown in (140):

- (140) *Jorn nyei maa nyei a'nziaauc.doic nyei biauv*  
 ຈອນ ໄສຍ ມາ ໄສຍ ອະຫາຍາວ.ຕ່ອຍ ໄສຍ ເປີ້າ  
 cɔ:n̥l nei˥ ma:˥ nei˥ a dz̥a:u˥ tɔi˥ nei˥ p̥au˥  
 John POSS mother POSS friend POSS house  
 'John's mother's friend's house'  
 (Court 1986:193)

The relation of inclusion is: *John* ⊂ *mother* ⊂ *friend* ⊂ *house*. Note that the more rightward the constituent goes, the more specified the meaning becomes. The rightward focus structure by the use of recursive *nyei* is shown in Figure 47.

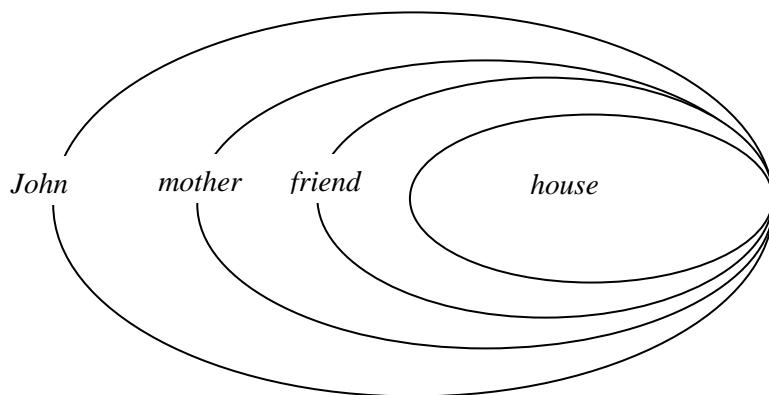


Figure 47. Rightward focus structure

#### 4.2.3.5 The order ‘from subordinate clause to main clause’

The fifth illustration is the order of a subordinate clause and a main clause in a sentence. In Iu Mien the subordinate clause almost always precedes the main clause. Cases of exception to this principle usually exhibit pragmatically marked subordinate clause that is placed on the rightmost position (as will be discussed in §18.3.5 by virtue of the principle of iconicity, which is not included in §4.2.1). Particularly, the clause marked by topicaliser *aeqv* ‘concerning’ (or pending particle, PDP), sequential marker *ziouc* ‘and then’ and *yaac* ‘also’, all of which occur at the end of the clause that they mark, never in the rightward position of the sentence. A conditional clause marked by *six.gorngv...nor* [if...as] ‘if...then’ also precedes the main clause. These elements may be considered as subordinate clause markers, putting the clause in a bound status. Thus, the bound clause whose function is to provide a setting precedes the main clause, which is a free form. The left-side position of the subordinate (conditional) clause marked by *six gorngv...nor* ‘if...then’ is illustrated in (141<sup>-1,3</sup>):

|  |                           |           |              |              |              |                 |                               |
|--|---------------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| (141 <sup>-1</sup> )                   | [ <i>Six gorngv</i>       | <i>iv</i> | <i>suiv</i>  | <i>gorn</i>  | <i>nyei</i>  | <i>ga'maeqc</i> | <i>nor</i> ]Cl <sub>SUB</sub> |
|  | [ສີ ກ່ອງ                  | ວິ        | ຊູ້ຍ         | ກອນ          | ເຄູຍ         | ກະ ແກ່ມະ        | ນອ]Cl <sub>SUB</sub>          |
|  | <i>si</i> ↗ <i>kɔŋγ</i> ↗ | i ↗       | <i>sui</i> ↗ | <i>kɔn</i> ↗ | <i>nei</i> ↗ | <i>ka me?</i> ↗ | nɔ ↗                          |
|  | if                        | rain      | water        | base         | SBCP         | corn            | as.for                        |
| ‘If (it is) corn of the rainy season,’ |                           |           |              |              |              |                 |                               |

|   |                |             |                 |                |              |
|---|----------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| (141 <sup>-2</sup> )                              | [ <i>yietc</i> | <i>diuh</i> | <i>ga'maeqc</i> | <i>ndiangx</i> | <i>naaic</i> |
|   | [ເຫີບດ         | ຕົວ         | ກະແນມະ          | ເດືອງ          | ໜ່າຍ         |
|   | jet]           | tiu↓        | ka me?]         | dianj↓         | na:i]        |
|   | one            | CLF         | corn            | tree           | TOP          |
| ‘talking about one corn stalk, (it is as big as)’ |                |             |                 |                |              |

|  |                             |               |              |                                |
|--|-----------------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------------------------|
| (141 <sup>-3</sup> )                                   | <i>fu'jueiv</i>             | <i>faaux</i>  | <i>duqv</i>  | <i>nyei.]Cl<sub>MAIN</sub></i> |
|  | ຝ'ຈຸ້ຍ                      | ຝາວ           | ວິ           | [ເຄູຍ.]Cl <sub>MAIN</sub>      |
|  | <i>fu c<sup>w</sup>ei</i> ↗ | <i>fa:u</i> ↗ | <i>tu?</i> ↗ | <i>nei</i> ↗                   |
|  | child                       | climb         | can          | ASST                           |
| ‘a child can climb (it) up.’                           |                             |               |              |                                |
| (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.02.40-45) |                             |               |              |                                |

Here again the subordinate clause that presents a setting (margin) on the leftmost position precedes the main clause (nucleus) which occurs in the rightmost position of the sentence.

#### **4.2.3.6 The order ‘from Topic-on-the-left to Comment-on-the-right’**

The sixth illustration is the order of Topic and Comment (Focus). Topic comes first at the left-most end, Comment on the right-most end in the sentence. Regarding the function of Topic. Court (1986) writes:

A topic may represent the agent or an event or the subject of an adjective, or the *general setting* or *scene* of an event or state of affairs—time, place and so on—and may take the form of a clause, or a VP (Court 1986:29-30. Italics added).

Thus the meaning-function of a topic is inclusive but the point to be highlighted is ‘the general setting or scene of an event or state of affairs’ that a topic presents for the sentence.

Regarding the form that topic is to be expressed, Court (1986:30) goes on to say that it appears as:

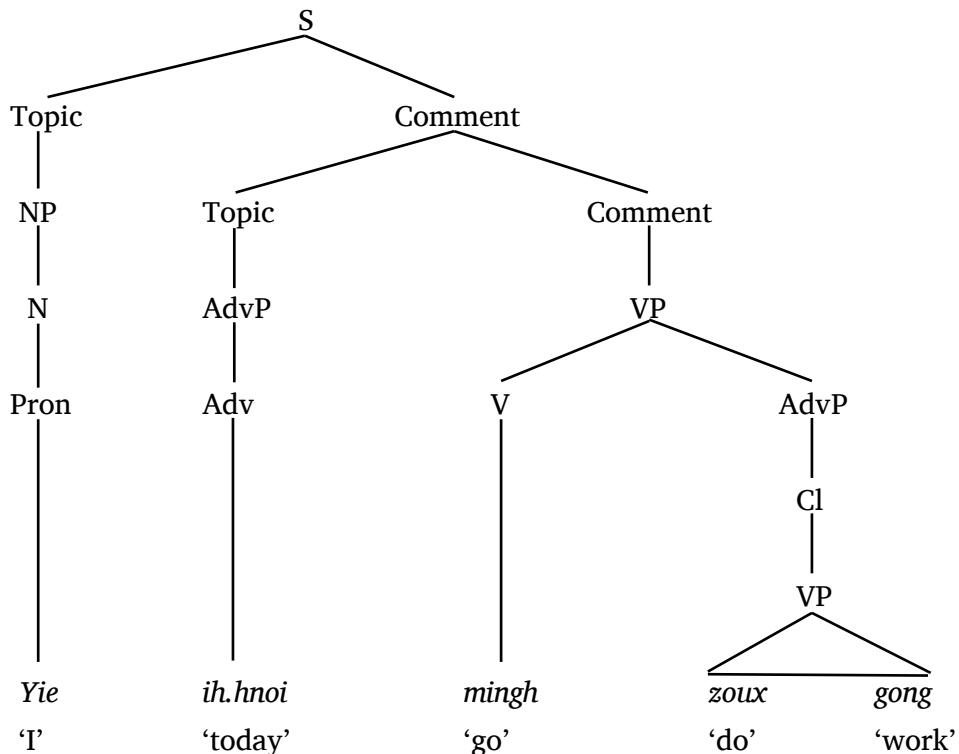
- “a clause, or a VP”, and “an NP”
- “have to occupy the leftmost position in the sentence”
- “may, [or may] not be followed by topicalizing demonstratives or particles”
- and they are called “nominalizing-cum-topicalizing entities”.

These points are concerned with the forms, position, marks of a topic in the sentence.

Regarding a simple sentence such as *yie ih.hnoi mingh zoux gong* [1SG today go do work] ‘I’m going to work today’, Court presents (1986:29) two alternative analyses. One is a traditional [S AdvPhrase V AdvPhrase], the other is a Topic-Comment interpretation. Examine his example in (142a):

|        |                            |                |              |             |             |
|--------|----------------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (142a) | <i>yie</i>                 | <i>ih.hnoi</i> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>zoux</i> | <i>gong</i> |
|        | ឃើម                        | ី.អនុឃី        | ម៉ែង         | ូឡាង        | កង          |
|        | iə́                        | iጀ.ጀጀiጀ        | miጀጀ         | tsəጀጀ       | kɔጀጀ        |
|        | 1SG                        | today          | go           | do          | work        |
|        | ‘I’m going to work today.’ |                |              |             |             |
|        | (Court 1986:29)            |                |              |             |             |

His favour of the latter analysis (i.e. Topic-Comment) is evident throughout his dissertation (1986:29, 36, 44, 47-48, 52-55). For (142a) the topic-comment structure is displayed in a tree diagram in Figure 48:



**Figure 48. Topic-comment structure (Court 1986:36)**

As he summarizes in four dots above, it should be noted that the S(entence) is composed of the topic-comment, and that the topic can be expressed in the forms of NP, N, (and pronoun, adverbial phrase, adverb). The “clause or VP” as a topic are not yet presented at this point of his study. That topic has to “occupy the leftmost position in the sentence” is evident in two layers of topic-comment structure; i.e., the comment on the upper layer is constituted by the lower layer of the topic-comment. Although the use of “nominalizing-cum-topicalizing entities” (i.e. *yaac* ‘also’, *naaic* ‘that’, etc.) is not exemplified, it is possible to compose sentences like (142b) and (142c):

- (142b) *yie yaac ih.hnoi mingh zoux gong*  
 ເີ່ຍ ແຢ້າກ ອື່.ອນອຂ ມິ່ງ ໄຫດວ ກອງ  
 iə́l ja:l ih.hnɔi l mingl tsəu l kɔŋl  
 1SG also<sub>TOP</sub> today go do work  
 ‘I also am going to work today.’

|        |                                 |                 |                     |              |             |             |
|--------|---------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (142c) | <i>yie</i>                      | <i>i.h.hnoi</i> | <i>yaac</i>         | <i>mingh</i> | <i>zoux</i> | <i>gong</i> |
|        | ເຢີ່ຍ                           | ອື່ອນອຍ         | ກະໜ້າ               | ມິ່ງ         | ໄທຫວາ       | ກັງ         |
|        | iə́l                            | i h̥nɔi l       | ja:l                | minh         | tsəu        | kɔŋ         |
|        | 1SG                             | today           | also <sub>TOP</sub> | go           | do          | work        |
|        | 'I am going to work today too.' |                 |                     |              |             |             |

To summarize Court's analysis and to make a point in line with the overall claim of this section, the following three statements are presented:

- Topic occupies the leftmost position in the sentence.
- Topic provides the *general setting* or *scene* of an event or state of affairs.
- By analogy, the rightmost position in the sentence receives more specific attention of the speaker and hearer, i.e., a focal point.

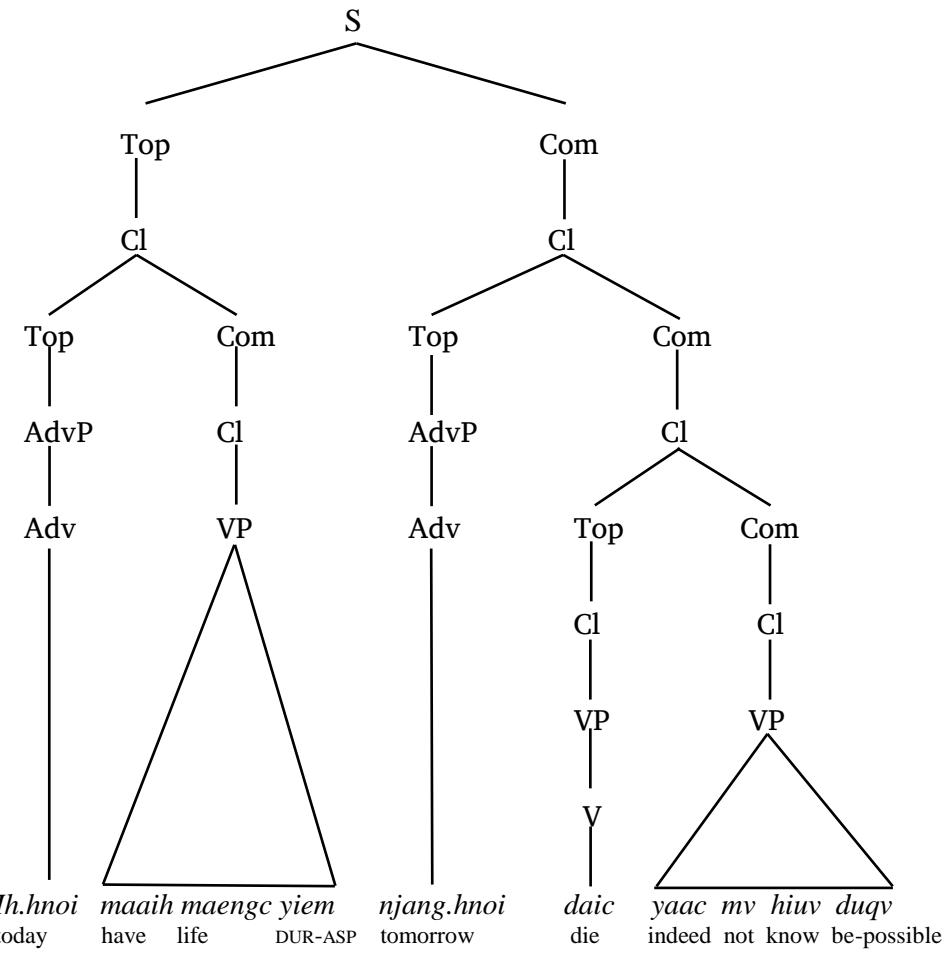
Regarding the leftmost position of the topic in the sentence, further support can be drawn from LaPolla's analysis of Chinese:

[...] an NP of any type of referentiality or identifiability can occur in postverbal position, if it is *focal*, and the same NP can occur in preverbal position, if it is *topical*. [...] topical or non-focal NPs occur preverbally and focal or non-topical NPs occur post-verbally (LaPolla 1995:310). (emphasis in the original)

That is, LaPolla's “*preverbally*” means “on the left” in our term and “*post-verbally*” “on the right”.

#### 4.2.3.7 Multi-layered Ground-Figure structure

Just as LaPolla and Poa (2006:280) recognize in Chinese the Topic-Comment structure embedded as a Comment in another Topic-Comment structure, so does Court (1986:36) in Iu Mien. The following tree diagram Figure 49 is reproduced after Court, showing that Iu Mien extensively use the sequence of Topic-Comment constructions.

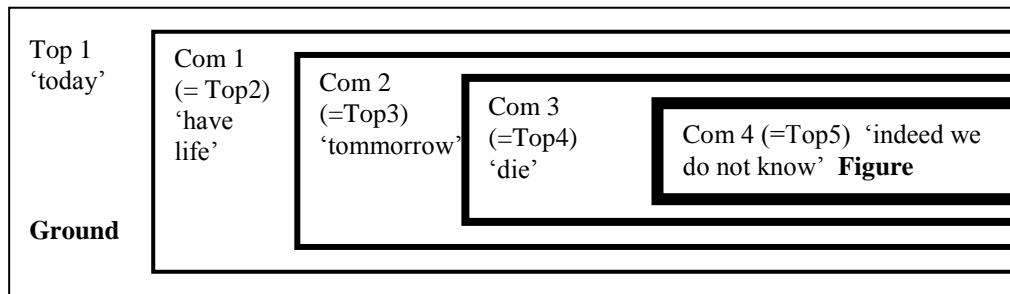


'Even if today we are alive, we still do not know whether or not we will be dead tomorrow.'

**Figure 49. Multi-layered topic-comment structure in tree diagram (Court 1986:36)**

While Figure 48 has two layers of topic-comment structure under the side of the topic, Figure 49 exhibits the multi-layered structure both under the topic and comment.

This multi-layered Topic-Comment structure has been re-analysed from the Cognitive Grammar perspective in Arisawa (2006) as shown in Figure 50.



**Figure 50. Multi-layered topic-comment structure in figure-ground diagram**  
 (Arisawa 2006:153)

This representation is in accordance with the ground-figure schema, where the general setting as the ground is depicted by the light line and the figure by the heavy line. Topic 1 provides the ground for the Comment 1, then the Comment 1 provides another ground as the Topic 2 for Comment 2 which is the figure against the ground. In the same way, Comment 2 becoming the Topic 3 provides the ground for Comment 3, which is Topic 4 as the figure, and so on for the last Comment, that is, the most focused figure. Thus, this structure can be referred to as a multi-layered ground-figure structure of a sentence. A description of the multi-layered ground-figure structure is given below to reinforce our overall claim:

In Iu-Mienh [sic] the outermost layer is coded by the adverbial clause with or without the topic marker. Almost anything can serve in this position. It can be filled with NPs, VPs, clauses, sentences with or without *aqv* and summaries of what has been told already in the narrative. They can be marked by *aeqv* or not. The innermost layer receives the highest focus by its end position. In other words, the more rightward the constituent goes, the more it is focused (Arisawa 2006:153-4).

Not only the clause or the sentence pattern exhibits the Topic-Comment/Focus pattern but also a discourse pattern does so as pointed out by Scollon et al. (2012). English native speakers working with Chinese who speak English may have noticed that Chinese English speakers tend to start a sentence with *because*. Scollon et al. attribute this phenomenon to the “inductive discourse pattern” (2012:92) providing a skeleton as follows:

*because of*

*Y* (topic, background, or reason)

*X* (comment, main point, or action suggested) (Scollon et al. 2012:93)

In contrast, the way English speakers of North America or the United Kingdom present a speech follows the “deductive discourse pattern” (Scollon et al. 2012:93). The schema is as:

*X* (comment, main point, or action suggested)

*because of*

*Y* (topic, background, or reasons) (Scollon et al. 2012:93)

Scollon et al. (2012) compare the inductive and deductive discourse patterns by presenting two speech samples likely be told by businesspersons from Hong Kong and the United States.

### *Inductive discourse pattern*

Because most of our production is done in China now, and uh, it's not really certain how the government will react in to the debt situation in the United States, and since ... uh ... I think a certain amount of caution in committing to TV advertisement is necessary because of the expense. So, I ... um ... suggest that we delay making our decision until after the New Year (Scollon et al. 2012:92).

### *Deductive discourse pattern*

I suggest we delay making our decision until after the New Year. That's because I think a certain amount of caution in committing to TV advertisement is necessary because of the expense, and because most of our production is done in China now, and it's not really certain how the government will react to the debt situation in the United States (Scollon et al. 2012:93).

Analysing the first type of discourse pattern based on the inductive discourse pattern by Scollon et al. we notice that the main point is postponed to the very end. Even a hesitant utterance *um* sends a message to suggest delaying the decision making:

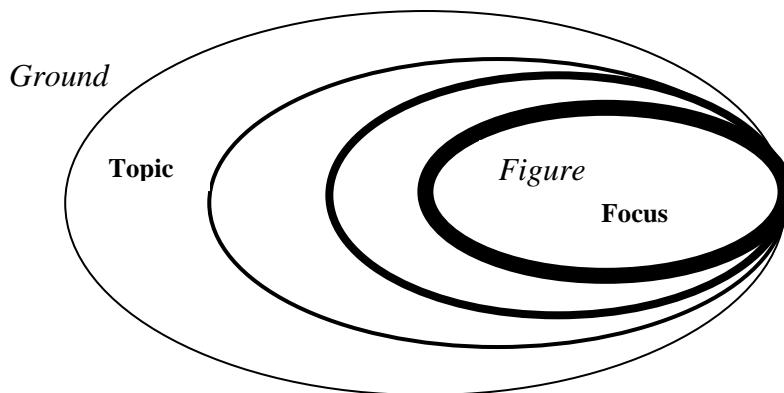
- 1) (reason) *Because* most of our production is done in China now  
and
- 2) (reason) *because* it's not really certain how the government will react  
in [...],  
and
- 3) (reason) *since* I think a certain amount of caution in committing to TV  
advertisement is necessary [...]
- 4) (background) So I ... um ...
- 5) (main point) suggest that we delay making our decision.

All 1) to 4) constitute the ground, and 5) the figure. Here also it is observable that the background information is provided in multiple layers before reaching the focus. In other words, the more right-ward the clause goes, the clearer the focus becomes. It is the inductive discourse pattern that the Iu Mien follow. For example, in the story of the lost thirteenth clan cited in §2.2.2.5, the lines (1<sup>-26-35</sup>) provides the background (i.e. the behaviour of the Ziāng clan) and (1<sup>-36</sup>) states the conclusion (i.e. their death by drowning). Furthermore, another cycle of the inductive discourse pattern can be found in the sequence (1<sup>-37-39</sup>). Both (1<sup>-37</sup>) and (1<sup>-38</sup>) are marked by the pending particle (i.e. a subordinate clause marker) *aeqv*, providing the background (i.e. the absence of the Ziāng clan in the Iu Mien) until the conclusion in (1<sup>-39</sup>) (i.e. their death by drowning) ends with the telic aspectual marker *mi'aqv*.

To sum up, thus, seven illustrations have been presented to support the claim of the underlying principle (Principles 1 and 2) that is working in Iu Mien: 1) that the basic sentence pattern has two parts of Topic and Focus (Comment), and 2) that the ground-on-the-left and the figure-on-the-right.

#### 4.2.4 The Rightward Multilayered Focus Structure Applied to Syntax

The principle of the ground-on-the-left and the figure-on-the-right has considerable coherent usefulness to explain large number of grammatical constructions in Iu Mien. A general concept of the rightward focus structure is schematized in Figure 51.



**Figure 51. Rightward focus structure** (Arisawa 2006:156)

In the following chapters various grammatical constructions will be analysed and discussed paying a close attention to this principle of the rightward multilayered focus (RMF) structure.

It can explain:

- The structure of Iu Mien names (as has been illustrated in (137), §4.2.3.1)
- Oblique coverb phrase – main verb (as has been illustrated in (138), §4.2.3.3)
- Adversative passive construction (as a subcategory of oblique coverb phrase, §17.6)
- Genitive/possessive construction (as in (139) and (140), §4.2.3.4)
- Subordinate clause – main clause (as in (141<sup>1-3</sup>), §4.2.3.5)
- Topic-Focus(Comment) structure (as in Figure 48, §4.2.3.6)
- The guise of Verb-Subject order (§11.4)

#### 4.2.5 Utterances, Sentences, and Words

This section has to do with Principle 6: Sentence final particles (SFPs) semantically and pragmatically play multiple roles, and function as grounding elements though optional. The gist of the section is that a sentence is optionally marked by an SFP. That is, it is safe to consider that if a hearer recognises an SFP, then the sentence is complete.

It is useful to make a distinction between utterances and sentences. An utterance is “[a]nything spoken on a specific occasion” (Matthews 2007:424). An utterance may be smaller or larger than, or identical with the length of a sentence. Court (1986:23) is right in recognising “the chain of speech in [Iu] Mien as being broken into utterances, of various functions, and structurally consisting of either sentences or fragments”. He defines the utterance and the sentence as applied to Iu Mien as follows:

**The utterance:** The utterance is a stretch of meaningful speech that conforms to the rules of [Iu] Mien grammar as we shall here describe them (Court 1986:23).

**The sentence:** A sentence is represented in the utterance by a stretch of speech bounded by pauses, or potentially bounded by pauses, terminated by certain intonations and/or particles, and containing at least one phrase (*ibid.* 24).

Regarding his “rules of [Iu] Mien grammar” in the definition of the utterance, it should suffice to say that our grammar elaborates his theory of “multi-layered topic-comment structure” without going into his reception of influence by the phrase structure rule of his days. Concerning the term utterance, however, the important point is that it is a “stretch of meaningful speech”, which may well be a phrase or a composite of more than two sentences.

Now turning to his definition of the sentence, two aspects should receive due attention. Firstly, a sentence is abstract and “represented in the utterance” in a concrete speech event. Thus, it could be written in a well formed structure or spoken with enunciation demarcated by clear “pauses” before and after it as boundaries.

Secondly, his parenthetical insertion “or potentially bounded by pauses” (Court 1986:24) rightly corresponds to a reality of speech event. That is, it is possible that two sentences clearly marked by sentence-final particles (SFPs) or aspectual markers (i.e. grammatically marked) can occur in succession with no pause between them as in (143<sup>-1-2</sup>)(a repetition of (3<sup>-37-38</sup>)):

|                      |  |  |                  |                 |                    |
|----------------------|--|--|------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (143 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>za'gengh</i>  | <i>koiv luangh muonh</i>   | <i>mbui</i>      | <i>aqv</i>      | <i>norp</i> (.085) |
| (3 <sup>-37</sup> )  | ຫົມເກິ່ງ   | ຄ້ອຍ ລວ່າງ ມ່ວນ  | ນຸບ              | ອີະ             | ນອ                 |
|                      | tsa keŋ <sup>↓</sup>   | k <sup>h</sup> ɔi <sup>↑</sup> luŋ <sup>↓</sup> m <sup>w</sup> ən <sup>↓</sup> | bui <sup>↑</sup> | a? <sup>↑</sup> | ນ <sup>↓</sup>     |
|                      | really   | sea.dragon's.gate  | be.noisy         | NSIT            | RPOT               |
|                      | ‘(it turned out that it was) really the noise of the Sea Dragon’s Gate, they say.’ |  |                  |                 |                    |

|                      |   |                   |                  |                    |                  |                   |
|----------------------|---|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (143 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Gamh.nziex</i>                                       | <i>daaih</i>      | <i>yiem</i>      | <i>naaic</i>       | <i>houv</i>      | <i>nyunc.</i>     |
| (3 <sup>-38</sup> )  | ກົມ.ເຫຼືຂ   | ຕ້າຍ              | ເຢີມ             | ໜ່າຍ               | ໄສ້ວ             | ໜຸ່ນ.             |
|                      | kam <sup>↓</sup> džiə <sup>↓</sup>                      | ta:i <sup>↓</sup> | jem <sup>↑</sup> | na:i <sup>↓</sup>  | həv <sup>↑</sup> | jnun <sup>↓</sup> |
|                      | fear  | COME              | be.in            | DEM <sub>MID</sub> | pledge           | vow               |
|                      | ‘Being terrified, (they) petitioned the spirits there.’ |                   |                  |                    |                  |                   |

(ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.02.28-31)

The first clause (143<sup>-1</sup>) contains two SFPs: the aspectual particle *aqv* marking the speech by the people in the story who realised the Sea Dragon’s noise, and the report particle *norp* ‘hearsay’ marking that the previous clause is a reported one by the narrator. The second clause (143<sup>-2</sup>) resumes the story how the participants feared the noise mentioned in (143<sup>-1</sup>). The time duration between the second SFP *norp* and the first word *gamh.nziex* in (143<sup>-2</sup>) is 085ms.

In other cases units of prosodic utterance and units of grammatical sentence do not correspond.

Therefore, we cannot rely on phonological boundaries of an utterance only to identify a sentence: grammatical knowledge is necessary to do so. This fact is argued by Halliday and Matthiessen with regard to insufficiency of pure reliance on phonological clues as follows:

The stretch of speech is continuous; we stop and pause for breath from time to time, or hesitate before an uncertain choice of word, but such pauses play no part in the overall construction. None of these units — melodic line (or

‘tone group’), foot (or ‘rhythm group’), syllable or phoneme — has clearly identifiable boundaries, some definite point in time where it begins and ends (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:5).

The same principle pointed out by Pike (1947, 1952) with regard to phonological analysis is true to a task of identification of boundaries of a sentence. This is realistic though his argument was on the matter of discovering phonemes by utilising initial grammatical information. He argues: “Grammatical Analysis of an initial kind is prerequisite to phonemic analysis. Field procedures of necessity carry on grammatical and phonemic analysis more or less simultaneously” (Pike 1947:169). Furthermore,

If a language structure is to be described realistically, the interweaving of grammatical and phonemic facts must not be ignored. A language system represents a structural whole which one cannot compartmentalize mechanically without doing violence to the facts (Pike 1947:170).

That is, grammatical knowledge (i.e. knowledge of constituency as is pointed out by Halliday and Matthiessen above) is indispensable for recognising a sentence in transcription of audio language data. Fully recognising the usefulness of modern technology applied to language documentation, the silence recogniser and auto segmentation functions of ELAN, for example, should only be used supplementally but not a substitute of investigator’s grammatical knowledge. As it has been originally developed for sign language analysis, ELAN’s time-aligned visual media functionality could readily be useful for orally spoken languages in recognising sentence boundaries by carefully observing speaker’s breath taking pause (though a constituent could be broken by it regardless of grammatical unit), hand motions, and turning of face direction at the juncture of change of figures in narration of a story. This information gradually confirm the investigator’s grammatical knowledge and enhances meaningful segmentation of sentences in transcription. In conclusion, it is grammatical knowledge, specifically that of SFPs, that serves to recognise a sentence as a meaningful unit.

Hence, the following points:

- In this grammar both utterances and sentences are presented as attested in actual and natural language data.
- Hence minor editing may be present in the presentation of language examples if a detailed and exact presentation of examples may cause a digression in discussion on a particular grammatical point. Such editing is often concerned with speaker’s hesitation, fragmental speech, self-correction, and slurring of two sentences into one utterance.

- A complete sentence is most likely marked and grounded by one or two of sentence-final particles (SFPs). The SFPs are used as demarcation of the slurred sentences.

#### **4.2.6 Basic Constituent Order at the Sentence Level**

This section argues for the basicness of Topic-Focus word order. Contrary to a common view that Iu Mien is an SVO language, such a word order in its bare form in isolation is rather rare. Though there are instances of SVO, they are just epiphenomenal as the better explanation is with recourse to pragmatic principles rather than to syntactic one. Pragmatically explained, Topic occurs preverbally and Focus postverbally.

##### **4.2.6.1 An isolated SVO order is rare**

If one asks whether Iu Mien is an SVO language or not, the answer found in this section is negative. This typological feature is commonly referred to. For example, Blake (2001:15) summarises in terms of relation between the word order and grammatical case: “The SVO ‘caseless’ languages are concentrated in western Europe (e.g. English), southern Africa (e.g. Swahili) and east and southeast Asia (e.g. Chinese and Vietnamese)”. In other words, Iu Mien, like Thai and Lao adding to those in the parentheses above, does not use case marking but the word order to indicate grammatical relations. Indeed, Clark (1989:178-9) argues for the SVO order in Hmong and Thanyalak Saeliao (2012) likewise considers Iu Mien to be an SVO language.

On the surface, it appears to be true. Pragmatically unmarked simple sentence in its SVO order is exemplified in (144):

|  |                  |               |             |
|--|------------------|---------------|-------------|
| (144)  | ... <i>mienh</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>gouv</i> |
|  | ... ເມື່ນ        | ກ້ອງ          | ໄກ້ງາ       |
|  | <i>miənɺ</i>     | <i>kɔŋɻ</i>   | <i>kəuɻ</i> |
|  | people           | speak         | story       |
| ‘... people tell stories...’                       |                  |               |             |
| (ium_20000415_10_CT_DA_FmCiang_Clouds;00.03.05-06) |                  |               |             |

In fact, the construction (144) is a part of a larger utterance. It is extremely rare that a bare form of SVO sentence by itself occurs in a natural speech. Such a sentence can be elicited through an artificial interview with a language consultant, though.

In actual speech some kinds of modifications like adverb or aspectual verbs are most likely accompanied but the basic constituent order is still SVO. In (145) the

verb is followed by an adverb *deix* ‘some’ and in (146) the clause is followed by a motion/aspectual verb *daaih* ‘COME’.

- (145) *Yie gorngv deix waac bun nv dauh Yauz-Jiem*  
 ເີ່ຍ ກົ້ອງ ເຕ່ຍ ອວ່າ ປຸນ ນີ້ ເດົ້າ ເຢ້າ-ເຈີມ  
 iə̯˥ kɔŋ˥ tɛi˥ wa:˩ pūn˥ n˥ t̚au˥ jau˥ ciəm˧  
 1 speak some word give this CLF Yau Jiem  
 ‘I am going to say some words for this person Yau Jiem [Daniel Arisawa].’  
 (lit. ‘speak some’)  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.00.36-37)

The next example consists of a dependent clause and a main clause sharing one same subject in the order [S IntransitiveVerb Loc TOP, (S) TransitiveVerb O AspectualVerb] as in (146<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (146<sup>-1</sup>) *Iu-Mienh cingx.daaih yiem naaic aeqv,*  
 ຫວ-ເມື່ອນ ທີ່ງ.ຕ້າຍ ເຢີມ ນໍາຍ ແອື້ນ,  
 iu˥ miən˥ tsʰinj˥ ta:i˥ jem˥ naai˥ ε?˥  
 Iu Mien therefore be.in there then  
 ‘The Iu Mien, therefore, stayed in that place, and then...’

- (146<sup>-2</sup>) *gapv nzaangv daaih*  
 ກົບ ຖ້າງ ຕ້າຍ  
 kap˥ dza:iŋ˥ ta:i˥  
 assemble boat COME  
 ‘...have come to build boats.’  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.01.42-45)

The subject of the verb *gapv* ‘to build, assemble’ is *Iu-Mienh*, which is overt in the clause (146<sup>-1</sup>) but ellipsed in the clause (146<sup>-2</sup>).

In all examples (144) – (146), such tests as \**gouv gorngv mienh* [story tell people], \**waac gorngv yie* [words speak 1SG], and \**nzaangv gapv Iu-Mienh* [boat assemble the Iu Mien], respectively, receive immediately the native speaker’s reaction that they are wrong semantically.

Further constructions like the intransitive clause (SV), the ditransitive clause (SV Direct Object – Indirect Object), will be discussed in Chapter 11.

#### **4.2.6.2 Basicness of Topic-Focus order**

While the SVO order does occur at the clause level in Iu Mien, the topic-focus order is dominant in actual speech events and discourse. Li and Thompson (1976), in their classic argument of distinguishing the subject (at clause/sentence level) and the topic (at discourse level), characterize a topic language as follows:

Perhaps the most striking difference between a Tp language and a non-Tp language is the extent to which the topic-comment sentence can be considered to be part of the repertoire of basic sentence types in the former but not in the latter. (1976:471)

Similarly, what Chao (1968) says about Chinese is also true to Iu Mien. Both Chinese and Iu Mien exhibit a sentence such as (147a) and (147b):

- (147a) *Juv    ngaatc    mienh.*  
                จูว    หลาด    เมี่ยน  
                cu<sup>↑</sup>    ŋa:t]    miən↓  
                dog    bite    person  
                ‘A dog bit a man.’

- (147b) *gǒu    yǎo    rén*  
                狗    咬    人  
                dog    bite    person  
                ‘A dog bit a man.’  
(Chao 1968:70)

Regarding the frequency of this type of clause, Chao (1968) analyses:

But in Chinese, the proportion of applicability of the actor-action meanings [...] is still very low, perhaps not much higher than 50 per cent, and the wider conception of topic and comment is much more appropriate. The subject is literally the subject matter to talk about, and the predicate is what the speaker comments on when a subject is presented to talk about (Chao 1968:70).

That is, analysing Chinese as topic-comment language, rather than an SVO language, is much more natural. Likewise, Iu Mien, in this study, is considered as a strongly topic-oriented language.

The phenomenon is so rife that we do not use the term “dislocation”, but rather, following Enfield (2007:4, 2008:98) for Lao, it should be referred to as Left Position (LP) of the topic, marked by a slash symbol “/”. The slash marks in (148) the

“left border of the clausal core” (Enfield 2007:4). That is, the constituent on the left of the slash is the topic; on the right the clausal core:

- (148) *Wuov norm dorngx / ninh mbuo heuc “douh nyoush juang”*  
 ວົວ ນອມ ຕ້ອງ / ນິ້ນ ບັວ ໜ່ວ “ໄຕ້ວ ໂສູ່ວ ຈວັງ”  
 nə́ŋ̩ nɔm̩ tɔŋ̩ / nɪ̩n̩ bʊə̩ heu̩ təŋ̩ nəŋ̩ cʷaŋ̩  
 that CLF place 3 PL call “Ox Horn Head”  
 ‘That place is called “Ox Horn Head”.’ (lit. ‘That place, they call “Ox Horn Head”.’)  
 (ium\_20140510\_05\_H1\_DA\_Gueix-Fongc\_CmmtryOn\_douc  
 sai\_KMB;00.28.40-42)

As Li and Thompson (1976) argue, the topic, which is Left Positioned, is discourse dependent, definite in the pragmatic situation, occurring outside the sentence as opposed to a subject which “always has a selectional relation with some predicate in the sentence” (1976:462). Example (149) was said to me as the speaker was pointing to the pedestrian path, while we were walking together.

- (149) *Naaiv / ninh mbuo zoux mv.gaengh ziangx.*  
 ນ້າຍ / ນິ້ນ ບັວ ໄທຕາ ມ້າກຶງ ແຫດີຢັງ.  
 nai̩ / nɪ̩n̩ bʊə̩ tsəb̩ / tʂai̩ kɛŋ̩ ts̩iaŋ̩  
 DEM 3 PL make NEG.yet PF  
 ‘This [pointing the pedestrian path], they haven’t finished it yet.’  
 (ium\_20140302\_01\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_Yauz-  
 Mengh\_NaaivZouxMvGaenghZiangx;00.00.29-31)

If the topic, i.e. the demonstrative pronoun *naaiv* ‘this’, is placed back in the position of the object argument, the sentence would be *Ninh mbuo zoux naaiv mv gaengh ziangx* [3PL make this NEG yet PF]. Though such a sentence is grammatically well-formed, it is rare and unnatural that it is not used in a normal situation. This also shows the “basicness of topic-comment sentences” (Li and Thompson 1976:471) in Iu Mien.

Therefore, the basic constituent order at the sentence level in Iu Mien is as follows:

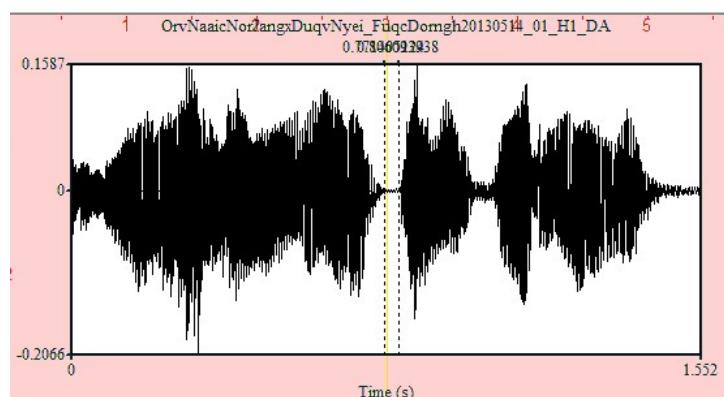
**St = ± Vocative + Topic ± SentenceMedial + FocusClause ± GroundingElement,**

in which the Topic and Focus are obligatory (+) whereas the Sentence-initial vocative, the Sentence-Medial Element (i.e. copula), and the Grounding Element are optional (±).

An instantiation of this pattern is (150), spoken by a ninety-six year old man in response to a villager's request to tell a particular story. In this example the position of the vocative is filled by an interjection:

- |       |  |              |              |              |             |              |
|-------|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| (150) | <i>Orv!</i>  | <i>naaic</i> | <i>nor /</i> | <i>jangx</i> | <i>duqv</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|       | ອ້ອ!   | หนำຍ         | ນອ /         | ຈົ້ງ         | ຕູ້         | ເນຸຍ.        |
|       | —៥   | na:i]        | ນວ           | caŋ]         | tu?]        | nei[         |
|       | INTJ   | DEM          | TOP          | remember     | can         | ASST         |
|       | ‘Oh, that (story)/ I can recite it.’ (lit. ‘I can (still) remember that.’) |              |              |              |             |              |
|       | (ium_20130514_01_H1_DA_LeizFuqcDorng_h_Gouv-Santiphaap;00.09.43-45)        |              |              |              |             |              |

Starting with the interjection *Orv!*, the first obligatory element is the topic *naaic* ‘that’ marked by the topic marker (or a sentence medial particle) *nor*. A topic is not necessarily always marked by an overt particle but frequently marked by a prosodic gap or a pause occurring between the topic and focus as Figure 52.



**Figure 52. Prosodic gap as a topic marker**

Further, the focus *jangx duqv* [remember can] ‘(I) can remember’ is followed by the grounding element, that is, the stative aspectual particle *nyei*. Though in some cases it is possible to finish a sentence without the sentence final particle, such a sentence is rather uncomfortable in the minds of interlocutors as if it was an abstract, artificial, fragmental utterance. With the presence of *nyei*, the listeners are sure that the utterance is complete. Thus a group of sentence final particles are proposed here as the grounding elements, which will be discussed in Chapter 19.

Next example has the same structure but with a pending marker *aeqv*, which functions as a topic marker as (151<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (151<sup>-1</sup>) *Aah, daaih biaux Taiv.Deix nyei gorn-baengx aeqv,/*  
 อ້າ, ຕ້າຍ ເປົ້າ ຖີ່ເຕີຍ ໄກສະເຕີຍ ເລູຍ ກອນ-ແມ່ງ ແລ້ວ,/  
*a:N ta:i:N p:aui t<sup>h</sup>ai:<sup>Y</sup> tei:<sup>Y</sup> nei:<sup>Y</sup> kɔn<sup>Y</sup> pεŋ<sup>Y</sup> ε?*  
 INTJ come escape Thailand POSS reason TOP  
 ‘Well, talking about the reason why we moved to Thailand,’

- (151<sup>-2</sup>) *mai<sup>V</sup> laaix haiv nyungc.*  
 ໄນ້ ລາຍ ໄສ້ ແນູ່.  
*mai:<sup>Y</sup> lai:<sup>Y</sup> hai:<sup>Y</sup> juŋ<sup>Y</sup>*  
 NEG due.to what kind  
 ‘there was not reason.’

(ium\_2000\_01\_Cst\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.01.24-28)

A pragmatically context-configured, very natural utterance in an actual speech event is exemplified in (152):

- (152) *Ga’naaiv / hietv nqa’haav nqaang saah<sub>Q</sub>*  
 กະນ້າຍ/ ເຫີບດ ມະຫ້າ ມາງ ຈ້າກ  
*ka na:i:<sup>Y</sup> çet<sup>Y</sup> ga ha:<sup>Y</sup> ga:iŋ<sup>Y</sup> sa:N*  
 thing put back rear rear Q  
 ‘(You want me to) load (your) stuff in the rear part (of the truck), don’t you?’  
 (MZ, attested 20140325, Maechan)

Obviously *ga’naaiv* ‘things’ are not an AGENT of putting but a THEME placed in a position of topic. Conversely it would be unnatural to say: *yie hietv ga’naaiv nqa’haav nqaang saah<sub>Q</sub>* [1SG put thing back rear Q] ‘I should load (your) stuff in the rear part (of the truck), shouldn’t I?’ even though the constituent order fits the SVO pattern.

Furthermore, to say that Iu Mien is an SVO language cannot explain a clause like (153a) while Thai, a language spoken in the vicinity of Iu Mien, shows the opposite word order as in (153b):

- (153a) *duih mbiung*  
 ium ຕຸ່ຂ ບຽງ  
*tui:<sup>Y</sup> b<sup>Y</sup>uŋ<sup>Y</sup>*  
 fall rain  
 ‘It is raining/it rains.’

It might be correct to say that Thai is an SV(O) language since we find the next example (153b) to describe the same situation as (153a) in Iu Mien:

|        |                           |            |
|--------|---------------------------|------------|
| (153b) | <i>fɔn</i>                | <i>tòk</i> |
| Thai   | ฝน                        | ตก         |
|        | rain                      | fall       |
|        | 'It is raining/it rains.' |            |

So then, how should we describe Iu Mien? LaPolla and Poa (2006) argue:

Each language is a unique set of language-specific conventions, and so each language should be described in its own terms (LaPolla 2003). That is, when describing a language, we should not assume that there are universal categories of grammatical relations, and that word order in all languages can be explained using them, for example making statements such as "X is an SOV language"; we should describe for each language the principles that determine the word order patterns found in that language (LaPolla and Poa 2006:270).

Furthermore, LaPolla and Poa argue for the same points regarding Chinese:

In fact given the pragmatic principle for determining word order in Chinese, we would expect to find actors more frequently before the verb and patients more frequently after the verb, as cross-linguistically actors are more often topical, while patients are more often focal. It is the pragmatic nature of the actor as topic that results in the NP referring to the actor often appearing in clause-initial position, and the pragmatic nature of the patient as focal that results in the NP referring the patient often appearing in post-verbal position (LaPolla and Poa 2006:281).

This being plausibly applied to Iu Mien, what does it mean to say Iu Mien is a verb medial language? Quoting LaPolla and Poa again for Chinese:

[...] we should say that Chinese clauses are often (though not obligatorily) verb medial, as NPs representing topical and non-focal referents appear before the verb and focal and NPs representing non-topical referents appear after the verb, with the position of any NPs appearing in the clause (none are obligatory) before or after the verb being based on their nature as topical or as part of the focus respectively (LaPolla and Poa 2006:281).

Therefore, what is the lesson learned? Drawing on insights from the analyses of other languages in Southeast Asia attracted by their similarity is helpful but it should be done with a careful attention on the structure of Iu Mien in its own terms. Yet, the insights from Chinese by Chao, LaPolla, LaPolla and Poa quoted above buttressed with the recent research on information structure seem to be applicable to Iu Mien. The issue of argument structure in conjunction with information structure in sentences reflected in constituent order therein will be discussed in detail in Chapter 11.

Given Iu Mien is not an SVO language, this theory also solves the problem of whether the language has a passive voice or not. An English clause *I was hit by a car* can be expressed in Iu Mien as (i) *yie zuqc cie zong* [1SG touch car hit] but (ii) *cie zong yie* [car hit 1SG] ‘A car hit me’ is much more natural. Semantically, sentence (i) has a subjective and more affected nuance whereas (ii) is simply an objective description in Iu Mien’s understanding (see (984a), (984b), and (985<sup>-1-2</sup>)). It is in this unmarkedness of sentence (i) that makes it more natural than (ii) which connotes extra emotions. Since the passive voice in languages in which Agent/Subject and Patient/Object are morphologically marked and syntactically grammaticalised, it would be more appropriate to say that Iu Mien does not have such a construction. Rather, it uses an adversative (or adversity)<sup>102</sup> / malefactive coverb construction (i.e. *zuqc* [TOUCH<sub>ADVERSATIVE</sub>]) as in (i). This topic will be delineated in §§17.4–6 under the title “benefactive and malefactive”.

As has been touched upon in §1.2, the versatility of verbs for polyfunctionality is another major characteristic of Iu Mien, the nature of coverbs within a system of multiverb constructions (MVCs) will be elaborated in §15.3.2 and §15.4.

#### **4.2.6.3 Topic occurs preverbally, focus postverbally**

For the sake of easy reference to the surface structure, we will use the traditional terms “subject” and “object” only in the very loose sense as Sposato (2014) does as has been quoted in §2.3.1.10:

As is standard in studies of word order typology, the term “subject” and “object” are here used in a purely semantic sense, with the former referring to the more agent-like argument of a transitive clause and the latter to the more patient-like argument of such a clause (Sposato 2014:111).

But more importantly, what really is going on underneath the surface structure has already been said about Chinese by LaPolla (1993, 1995, 2002, 2003), and we shall adhere to the principle, which is true to the constituent order in the Iu Mien sentence:

*topical or non-focal NPs occur preverbally and focal or non-topical NPs occur post-verbally* (LaPolla 1995:310). (italicised in the original)

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<sup>102</sup> Several different terms have been coined, e.g., “adversive passive” (Givón 2008), “adversative passive” (Ratliff (2010:8), Wikipedia ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Passive\\_voice](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Passive_voice))), “adversity passive” (Fuller 1985). Ratliff’s term for the areal feature including Hmong (adversative passives) is used in this study due to the regional vicinity with Iu Mien.

## 4.3 Pragmatics Determines Semantic Roles of Argument NPs

LaPolla's (1995:310) statement quoted in the last section (§4.2.6.3) is almost axiomatic when it comes to argument structures in Iu Mien. It is not a word order (e.g. SVO) or syntax that determines which NP is treated as a core argument in relation to a predicate verb in a sentence. It is neither semantic roles of NPs that account for grammatical facts about core arguments. Rather, it is pragmatics that determines semantic roles of argument NPs. This is summarised in the seventh principle, which reads as follows:

**Principle 7.** The argument structure in Iu Mien, or the relationship between verbs and NPs in a sentence, is aligned by pragmatics, specifically by the verb's rich cultural semantic frame. That is, cultural knowledge around the event or situation the verb designates determines what should be treated as core arguments.

The following sections (§§4.3.1–4) offer the breakdowns of the overall statement regarding NP roles in arguments: pragmatics, rather than syntax or semantics, determines semantic roles of argument NPs based on a combination of Principle 1 and Principle 2, and on a context of an utterance.

### 4.3.1 Pragmatics, Not Syntax, Nor Semantics, Determines the NP Roles

For example, the difference in the same structure V-NP between (a) *cuotv biauv* [exit house] ‘to leave home’ and (b) *cuotv jauv* [exit road] ‘to set out on a journey’ must be understood in a context. Rather than the grammatical structure forces the mind of speaker to conform to V-NP(SOURCE) for both (a) and (b), the speaker flexibly interprets that (a) has the structure V-NP(SOURCE) and that (b) has the structure V-NP(ALLATIVE). Even though no morphosyntactic markers are assigned to the NPs in (a) and (b), native speakers understand the former as the SOURCE role and the latter the ALLATIVE role because of a given context, a goal of the speaker, and an addressee’s cultural knowledge, that is, pragmatics.

By contrast, with regard to an NP that occurs after the locative verb *juu1* ‘to be located’ in Lao, Enfield analyses it as “object” (2007:390). One may immediately wonder if it is an object in a sense that the “object” NP undergoes change of state as being a patient. While admitting the usefulness in comparing Iu Mien with Lao due to their areal contact, the above mentioned examples of (a) *cuotv biauv* [exit house] ‘to leave home’ and (b) *cuotv jauv* [exit road] ‘to set out on a journey’ lead us to incline to take a pragmatic approach. And pragmatics determines NP roles in a sentence.

Therefore, a proposal for Iu Mien with regard to such an approach would be labelling of NP roles or argument roles summarised by Grimes (1975:116ff) for discourse analysis, originally developed by Fillmore (1968). Furthermore, some have been added/modified to Grimes' tool in order to interpret what argument roles NPs have in constructions occurring in Iu Mien.

- Experiencer (EX): A modification is proposed to Grimes' first item, that is, "Object". According to him, the Object (O) "identifies the things that is moving in the dynamic case, or the things that is in a particular position in the static case" (Grimes 1975:120). We would rather use "Experiencer" (EX) in order to avoid potential confusion with the traditional term "object" (i.e. nouns in accusative case). E.g., in *mbopv* (EX) *tiux* [squirrel run] 'a squirrel ran', *mbopv* is experiencing a motion of running.
- Source (S) "applies to motions but not positions. It identifies the location of the object at the beginning of the motion, the initial boundary of the event" (ibid.). E.g., *Ninh yiem Naanh* (S) *daaih* [3SG be.in Nan come] 'He/she came from Nan province'.
- Goal (G) "applies to motions but not positions. It identifies the location of the object at the end of the motion, the terminal boundary of the event" (ibid.). *Ninh taux biauv* (G) [3SG reach house] 'He reached the house'.
- Allative (ALL). Closely related to (G) above, a term is necessary to refer to an aimed goal but not necessarily reached. For this semantic role, Allative (ALL), is helpful to describe the contrast between the following examples: *Ninh taux biauv* (G) vs. *Ninh nzuonx biauv* (ALL) [3SG return house] 'He left for home'. In the latter case, whether "he" has arrived home or not is unknown but what is clear is he has started off toward it.
- Range (Rg) is Grime's term "for the relationship that others have labelled locative, locus, place, or site" (1975:121). "In an expression of motion, range indicates the path or area traversed, as in *the ball* (TH) *rolled down the gutter* (Rg)" (ibid). *Yie nyei jui njangx wuov jauv* (Rg) *mignh* [1SG POSS basket roll DEM road] 'My basket rolled down that road'.
- Vehicle (V) "refers to something that conveys the object and moves along with it, as in *the letter* (TH) *came by plane* (V) or *the tide* (V) *floated the oil slick* (TH) *into the harbor* (G)" (1975:122).
- Theme (TH): A modification has been made to Grime's "Patient", which he defines as "the relation between a thing that gets changed and the process that changes it, or in the static sense, between a thing that is in some state and the state it is in" (1975:123). This should be referred to as "Theme" (TH) in terms of semantic

role. An example of THEME is *Fu'jueiv muoqv korm* (TH) *waaic* [child mess computer be.broken] ‘A child broke the computer by messing around it.’ E.g., *duih mbiungc* (TH) [fall rain] ‘it is raining’. Note that the traditional syntactic term “patient” is still and sometimes used in a loose sense by some scholars for convenience, e.g., LaPolla and Poa (2006:281) quoted in §4.2.6.2 and Sposato (2014:111) in §4.2.6.3.

- Material (M) and result (Rs) “identify the state of something before and after it undergoes a process” (1975:125). *Longc ndiangx* (M) *gomv biauv* (Rs) [use wood build house] ‘to build a house with wood’.
- Recipient (R) could be added to Grimes’ above listed roles, which occurs in a ditransitive clause. *Yie bun norm yienv* (TH) *meih* (R) [1SG give CLF bowl 2SG] ‘I give you a bowl’.

Additionally the following three roles after Comrie (2001:134) are also used:

- A(gent) = “subject” of transitive verbs (from a Eurocentric perspective), or semantically, a volitional causer of an action, often animate.
- P = “object” of transitive verbs (semantically corresponds to THEME mentioned above)
- Sb = “subject” of intransitive verbs (‘Sb’ to be distinguished from ‘S’(ource))

#### **4.3.2 NP Roles of Arguments are Determined by Pragmatics Based on a Combination of Principle 1 and Principle 2**

The NP roles listed in the previous section (§4.3.1) are determined by pragmatics based on a combination of Principle 1 and Principle 2. The first principle reads as follows:

**Principle 1.** A basic sentence pattern of Iu Mien has two parts of Topic and Focus.

The two parts of Topic and Focus in a sentence is illustrated in (154a) (a repetition of (147a)), which operates on the pragmatic statement made by LaPolla (1995:310): “*topical or non-focal NPs occur preverbally and focal or non-topical NPs occur post-verbally*”(emphasis in the original).

- (154a) *Juv*    *ngaatc*    *mienh.*  
                 จูว            นางาด            เมี่ยน  
                 cu<sup>g</sup>    ja:t ]    miən ]  
                 dog    bite        person  
                 'A dog bit a man.'

The Topic is *juv* ‘dog’ and the focus predicate is *ngaatc mienh* ‘bites a man’, in which *mienh* is a focal NP. Only after this recognition of the structure, the semantic roles of the arguments can be interpreted, that is, *juv* as A, *mienh* as P.

The second principle reads as follows:

**Principle 2.** Iu Mien has a rightward multilayered focus (RMF) structure. The more rightward a constituent goes (i.e. toward the end of a sentence), the more focus it gets.

Principle 2 is illustrated in an extended sentence of (154a), which constitutes a CVS, as in (154b):

- |        |                               |               |                    |                       |               |               |
|--------|-------------------------------|---------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|
| (154b) | <i>Juv</i>                    | [ <i>yiem</i> | <u><i>wuov</i></u> | <u><i>huaav</i></u> ] | <i>ngaatc</i> | <i>mienh.</i> |
|        | ຈຸວ                           | [ເຢີບກ        | ວັ້ວ               | ຫາວ້າ]                | ໜາດ           | ເມື່ຍນ        |
|        | <i>cu᳚</i>                    | <i>jem᳚</i>   | <i>uə᳚</i>         | <i>ma:᳚</i>           | <i>ŋa:t᳚</i>  | <i>miən᳚</i>  |
|        | dog                           | be.in         | DEM                | over.there            | bite          | person        |
|        | ‘A dog bit a man over there.’ |               |                    |                       |               |               |

The crux of Principle 2 is that a constituent at the very end of the sentence gets a focus, i.e., *mienh* ‘person’, which is a part of the core predicate verb phrase *ngaatc mienh*. To address the property of RMF in this situation of having two VPs, i.e., *yiem wuov huaav* (VP<sup>1</sup>) ‘being over there’ and *ngaatc mienh* (VP<sup>2</sup>), it is VP<sup>2</sup> that is focused. The VP<sup>1</sup> or the coverb phrase (CvP) *yiem wuov huaav* ‘being over there’ is not in a focal position by Principle 2. The CvP does not provide indispensable information and it is thus an oblique constituent. The semantic role of *wuov huaav* is RAGE (Rg).

### 4.3.3 NP Roles of Arguments are Determined by Pragmatics Based on a Context of an Utterance

A correct interpretation of grammatical functions of arguments requires speaker's/listener's contextual, situational, cultural, semantic knowledge surrounding a predicate verb as a prerequisite. Compare (155a) and (155b):

- (155a) *Ninh*(EX) *ndortv* ***coux***(S) *daic.*  
 នីន(EX) គឹត់គុណ(S) និត.  
 nin↓ dət↓ tsʰəb↓ tai↓  
 3SG fall bed die  
 ‘He/she fell off the bed (and) died.’  
 (Field Notes 20140517, MS, Nan)

- (155b) *Ninh*(EX) *ndortv* ***koiv***(G) *daic.*  
 នីន(EX) គឹត់គុណ(G) និត.  
 nin↓ dət↓ kʰəi↓ tai↓  
 3SG fall sea die  
 ‘He/she fell into the sea (and) died.’

The NPs after the same verb *ndortv* ‘to fall’ in the same surface structure have different readings with regard to their semantic roles. Incorrect readings such as ‘on/to the bed’ for *coux* or as ‘from the sea’ for *koiv* in their respective contexts are pre-empted only by the interlocutor’s general knowledge surrounding the verb *ndortv*, not based on morphosyntactic markings, which is totally absent.

Furthermore, (155c) could be interpreted not as natural as (155b):

- (155c) ?*Ninh* *ndortv* *biec* ***koiv*** *daic.*  
 នីន គឹត់គុណ ពីេយ គឹត់គុណ និត.  
 nin↓ dət↓ piə↓ kʰəi↓ tai↓  
 3SG fall enter sea die  
 ‘He/she fell (and) entered into the sea (and) died.’

The preference for (155b) over (155c), namely, an exclusion of the verb *biec* ‘to enter’, is also an effect of pre-emption based on the speaker’s semantic knowledge of the verb *ndortv* ‘to fall’.

A basis of the blocking or the pre-emption comes from a premise of frame semantics. The mechanism of pre-emption of semantically unfitted readings or constructions in argument structures have been studied by Goldberg (1992:258-260; 1995), Boyd and Goldberg (2011), Goldberg and Boyd (2015), Ibbotson (2013), etc. A choice of a correct reading and a construction and blocking of those that are not regarding the relationship between a predicate verb and arguments is discussed in terms of a semantic frame. Goldberg (2010) defines “[a] semantic frame of predication” as follows:

a generalized, possibly complex state or event that constitutes a cultural unit. Certain aspects of the semantic frame are profiled; the rest constitutes the background frame (Goldberg 2010:41).

She (2013:39) further argues that “the only constraint on the combination of events designated by a single verb is that the events must constitute a coherent *semantic frame*” (italicised in the original). A semantic frame is sometimes called “rich semantics” because such a frame consists of a speaker’s life experience.

Lastly, a word of clarification may be necessary. In stating that “pragmatics, not syntax, nor semantics, determines the NP roles” (§4.3.1), the term “semantics” must be differentiated from the term “semantic frame” or “rich semantics” used in the present section §4.3.3. The former means the intrinsic semantic properties NPs, which thereby determine syntactic relations between a verb and arguments by means of, e.g., morphosyntactic markings. The latter means a frame that construes a certain reading or a choice of a certain constructions as a profiled entity. It is by the latter, the semantic frame, that NP roles are determined in relation to a predicate verb, not by the former.

To summarise this section, NP roles of arguments are determined by pragmatics based on a context of an utterance whose interpretation is facilitated in a verb’s semantic frame. This will be more exemplified in §11.2.2.

#### 4.3.4 Distinction between Core Arguments and Oblique Arguments

A distinction between core arguments and oblique arguments are made by (1) Principle 2 and (2) a deletion diagnostic.

First, Principle 2 is applied to diagnose that a core argument occurs in a focal position at the very end of the sentence. Compare (156a), (156b) and (156c):

- (156a) *Ninh [longc ndiangx(M)] gomv biauv(RS).*  
นิ่น [หลง เดี่ยง(M)] ก้ม เปี้ย(RS).  
nin<sub>1</sub> long<sub>1</sub> d<sup>i</sup>ang<sub>1</sub> kom<sup>1</sup> p<sup>j</sup>au<sup>1</sup>  
3SG use tree/wood build house  
'He built a house with timber.'

According to the RMF in Principle 2, VP<sup>2</sup> *gomv biauv* ‘to build a house’ of the SVC in (156a) contains the core argument *biauv*.

To prove that *biauv* is the core argument of the verb *gomv* ‘to build’, a deletion diagnostic is applied to VP<sup>1</sup> *longc ndiangx* ‘to use timber’ as in (156b), which is still acceptable:

- (156b) *Ninh gomv biauv.*  
 នីន កំម បេច្ចា  
 nin<sub>3</sub> kom<sup>v</sup> p<sup>j</sup>au<sup>v</sup>  
 3SG build house  
 ‘He built a house.’

As a corollary, (156b) indicates that VP<sup>1</sup> in (156a) is a non-core or oblique construction as the deletion of it does not affect the main message of the sentence.

By contrast, a deletion of VP<sup>2</sup> suggests that the predicate is incomplete as in (156c):

- (156c) ?*Ninh longc ndiangx.*  
 នីន លែង តិះង  
 nin<sub>3</sub> long<sub>1</sub> d<sup>j</sup>iang<sub>1</sub>  
 3SG use tree/wood  
 ‘He used timbers.’

(156c) is only possible when it is uttered in response to a question *Ninh longc haaix.nyungc gomv biauv?* [3SG use what build house] ‘What did he use to build a house?’ To this question, even a deletion of an agent *ninh* ‘he’ is possible as in *Longc ndiangx* [use wood] ‘With timbers’.

Second, a deletion diagnostic shows what is treated as a core argument of a verb. Compare (157a), (157b), and (157c):

- (157a) *Lungh duih mbiungc.*  
 គៀង គីម បយ៉ុង.  
 lungh<sub>1</sub> tuih<sub>1</sub> b<sup>j</sup>uang<sub>1</sub>  
 sky fall rain  
 ‘It’s raining.’ (lit. ‘The sky is letting rain drop down.’)

- (157b) Ø duih mbiungc.  
 fall rain  
 ‘It’s raining.’

- (157c) \**lungh duih Ø*  
 sky fall

The deletion of *lungh* ‘sky’ in (157b) does not affect a meaning of the sentence in (157a) because *lungh* is a topic that is contextually and circumstantially retrievable.

Being the topic in terms of pragmatics, rather than a syntactic subject, *lungh* is a non-core argument. The deletion of *mbiungc* ‘rain’, however, as in (157b) is unacceptable showing that *mbiungc* is a core argument of the verb *duih*.

Thus, core arguments are distinguished from oblique/non-core arguments or participants in relation to a verb by the applications of the RMF in Principle 2 and the deletion diagnostic. The distinction between core constructions and oblique constructions is discussed in detail in §15.3.2, where semantic role coverb phrases (CvPs) are treated as a non-core element.

A summary statement of this section (§4.3) is this: it is pragmatics, rather than syntax or semantics, that determines semantic roles of argument NPs based on the combination of Principle 1 and Principle 2, and on the context of an utterance including the theory of a semantic frame.

## 4.4 Lexical Markers for Grammatical Categories

Traditionally what has been called “parts-of-speech” is discussed in this section.

### 4.4.1 Coexistence of “Parts-of-Speech” and Principle 5

In relation to Principle 5 (cf. §4.2.1), which is about the vague distinction between “parts-of-speech”, the following four points should be noted. First, as it is a working principle, rather than something like a mathematical axiom, it does not necessarily exclude the use of traditional terms of grammatical categories. Following a customary practice demonstrated in Court (1986), Purnell (2012), and Thanyalak Saeliao (2012), we also employ them as a useful metalanguage to carry on our discussion. Hence, Table 27 and the subsequent descriptions are presented. Second, on the one hand, the traditional “parts-of-speech” are still unambiguous, especially with regard to prototypical nouns (e.g. *buoz* ‘hand’, *m'nqorngv* ‘head’, *zaux* ‘foot, leg’, etc.) and prototypical verbs (e.g. *nyanc* ‘to eat’, *yangh* ‘to walk’, *mborqv* ‘to hit’, etc.). Third, on the other hand, the principle addresses situations where a categorical classification of “parts-of-speech” do not seem to be true to a reality of the language. The “parts-of-speech” cannot be determined unless they occur in an actual usage event. This may also be illustrated regarding English in such derivations as *The plane was heading north* from a *head* (noun), *Please hand this memo to your colleagues* from a *hand* (noun), or *He just mouthed empty slogans* from a *mouth* (noun). Fourth, in contrast to these examples in English, the fuzziness of “parts-of-speech” in Iu Mien can be found in verbs rather than in nouns: *nyanc hopv* [eat drink] ‘food’ (noun) from *nyanc*

‘to eat’ and *hopv* ‘to drink’. No evidence of nouns being used as verbs has been found. Therefore, Principle 5 on the vague distinction between “parts-of-speech” and the use of such traditional terms do not contradict each other.

Different terms referring to more or less the same notion have been proposed: for example, “parts of speech” first used in Latin and Greek grammars, discussed in detail by Jespersen (1924:58-101) and by Schachter and Shopen (2007:1-60), “radicals and grammatical elements” by Sapir (1921), “word classes” used by Bloomfield (1933) almost interchangeably with “parts of speech”, also by Robins (1980:171-5), “syntactic categories” by Croft (1991) from typological and cognitive linguistics perspectives, “grammatical categories” by T. E. Payne (1997:32-70) from descriptive-functional-cognitive viewpoint and Taylor (2003:270-4) who subsumes in this term both “parts of speech” and syntactic categories from cognitive linguistics, and “lexical categories” by Baker (2003) in generative syntax framework.

In this study the term “grammatical categories” is used in Payne’s sense more or less as synonyms of “parts of speech” and “word classes” but reflecting original sense of *partes orationis* ‘parts of the sentence’ in Latin. That is, as Matthews (2007:289) explains, “[a] ‘part’ was thus an element of syntax necessarily or potentially related to other ‘parts’ (noun to verb, adverb to verb, preposition to noun, and so on)”.

What is common among different scholars quoted above, both those who worked mostly in European languages and those who work in the domain of cross-linguistic and typological study, is that they recognise the categories like noun, verb, adjective, adverb, can cut across their boundaries and that they differ from language to language. For example, most languages of Southeast Asia have noun classifiers, which is absent from the earlier Eurocentric authors. For Iu Mien, a comparison of three authors’ approaches to grammatical categories is shown in Table 27:

**Table 27. Grammatical Categories for Iu Mien**

|                 | Court 1986 | Purnell 2012           | Thanyalak<br>Saeliao 2012  |
|-----------------|------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Numerals      | ✓          | ✓                      | ✓                          |
| 2 Classifiers   | ✓          | ✓numeral<br>classifier | ✓                          |
| 3 Nouns         | ✓          | ✓                      | ✓                          |
| 4 Verbs         | ✓          | ✓                      | ✓                          |
| 5 Adverbs       | ✓          | ✓                      | ✓                          |
| 6 Conjunctions  | ✓          | ✓                      | ✓                          |
| 7 Particles     | ✓          | ✓                      | ✓                          |
| 8 Interjections | ✓          | ✓                      | ✓                          |
| 9 Prepositions  | ✓          | ✓                      | ✓                          |
| 10 Adjectives   |            | ✓                      | ✓                          |
| 11 Determiners  |            | ✓                      | ✓demonstrative<br>pronouns |
| 12 Pronouns     |            | ✓                      | ✓                          |
| 13 Prefixes     |            | ✓                      |                            |
| 14 Onomatopoeia |            | ✓                      |                            |
| 15 Proper names |            | ✓                      |                            |

Common minimal items among the three authors number up to nine: numerals, classifiers, nouns, verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, particles, interjections, and prepositions. Nouns, verbs, adverbs are in an open class; the others, a closed class.

Attention has to be drawn to Court's (1986) treatment of adjectives, which is not shown in Table 27 in contrast to other two authors. He classifies them as a subcategory of verbs while Purnell and Thanyalak Saeliao treat them separately. It is true that propensity among Southeast Asian languages is that adjectives behave like verbs as is the case with Iu Mien. Nevertheless, it has been also found that certain syntactical tests differentiate the adjectival verbs and the adjectives that do not show verb-like behaviour. This will be discussed in §6.5.2 and §7.2.

Maximal categories in Purnell will be presented in the following pages.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> It does not have any significance to discuss in the strict order of open class and closed class because once finished discussing nouns, which is an open class, one should naturally go on to other related categories such as classifiers, personal and demonstrative pronouns, which are all closed classes.

## 4.4.2 Nouns

Nouns can form noun phrases by combining them with demonstrative and/or personal pronouns, numerals and classifiers. Nouns also function in coverb phrases. They also can fill positions of Topic and Focus, and different arguments in a sentence.

### 4.4.2.1 Noun identification tests

Nouns can be identified by applying two contrasting groups of tests: one is a possessability test and the other is a group of tests that identify verbs. The first one affirmatively identifies a given form as a noun; the second is, following Matisoff, i.e. negotiability for verbs, applied to a given word to identify it is not a verb if it fails the test. The latter is supplemented by two more verb-identification tests, which certifies the given form is not a verb by checking failure of applicability. To sum:

- Positively certify nouns by possessability test
- Negatively eliminate verbs by negatability test, aspectual marking test, and reciprocity tests

#### Possessability test for nouns

- *Yie nyei X* [1SG POSS X] ‘my X’: if the given form passes this test with a meaning of possession, X is a noun. Consider (158a-b):

|        |   |             |             |
|--------|---|-------------|-------------|
| (158a) | <i>yie</i>  | <i>nyei</i> | <i>waac</i> |
|        | ເຢີ   | ເງູຍ        | ວ່າດ        |
|        | iə̥i  | nei̥i       | wa:ŋ        |
|        | 1   | POSS        | word        |
|        | ‘my word’   |             |             |
|        | (ium_196806_03_SONY TAPE100 PY5_x_y_DauxGaux;00.19.38-42) |             |             |

|        |              |             |               |
|--------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| (158b) | * <i>yie</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>mborqv</i> |
|        | *ເຢີ         | ເງູຍ        | ເນົ້າຂ        |
|        | 1            | POSS        | hit           |

### 4.4.2.2 Common nouns

Common nouns refer to any items of class of person, things, time, and idea, etc. Examples are *mienh* /miən˧/ ‘person’, *nqox* /go˧/ ‘husband’, *auv* /au˥/ ‘wife’, *ga’naaiv* /ka na:i˥/ ‘thing’, *ga’maeqc* /ka mɛ?˧/ ‘corn’, *biauv* /p̚au˥/ ‘’, *ndau* /dau˧/ ‘land’, *la’bieiv* /la p̚ei˥/ ‘stone’, *hnoi* /nɔi˧/ ‘day’, *hnyangx* /jiaŋ˧/ ‘year’, *cun gueix*

/ts<sup>h</sup>un˥ k<sup>w</sup>ei˧/ ‘spring (season)’, *leiz* /lei˧/ ‘right, privilege’, *doz* /to˧/ ‘teaching’, *lingc* /lin˧/ ‘power, authority’, etc.

Concept of plurality of common noun is expressed by *naav deix* /na:i˧ tei˧/ [DEM<sub>PRX</sub> some] ‘these’ and *wuov deix* /uə˧ tei˧/ [DEM<sub>DIST</sub> some] ‘those’ that come before the head noun. Examples are *naav deix la'bieiv* /na:i˧ tei˧ la p<sup>j</sup>ei˧/ [DEM<sub>PRX</sub> some stone] ‘these stones’ and *wuov deix hnoi* /uə˧ tei˧ nɔci˧/ [DEM<sub>DIST</sub> some day] ‘those days’.

#### 4.4.2.3 Proper names

Proper names are used to refer to specific persons, places, things, etc. For example, *Zeuz Gueix-Zoih* refers to an elderly Iu Mien man, whose clan name is *Zeuz* (趙) and given name is *Guei Zoi* (貴財). More examples include *Sien^Lorh*<sup>104</sup> ‘Bangkok’, *Meiv Guov* ‘the United States of America’, *Jiex Sen Borngv* ‘the Crossing the Mountains Charter’ (Purnell 2012:318).

All nominals, that is, anything related to the nouns and anything that function as a noun regardless of its length (i.e. a long NP), will be discussed in Chapters 5 – 8.

#### 4.4.2.4 Personal pronouns

Instead of referring to a person by his/her personal name, pronouns are used, such as *yie* ‘I’, *meih* ‘you’, *ninh* ‘he/she/it’. These can be pluralized by suffixing *mbuo*, e.g., *yie mbuo* ‘we’, *meih mbuo* ‘you PL’, and *ninh mbuo* ‘they’. There is no gender distinction. If the plural marking morpheme *mbuo* is used by itself, it includes addressee(s) and the speaker, but this usage is restricted to the first person only. The third person singular *ninh* can be used with inanimate object. No gender difference is indicated.

The summary is presented in Table 28:

Table 28. Personal pronouns

|                  | 1 <sup>st</sup> person        | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person          | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person          |
|------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Singular         | <i>yie</i><br>/iə˧/           | <i>meih</i><br>/mei˧/           | <i>ninh</i><br>/nin˧/           |
| Plural           | <i>yie mbuo</i><br>/iə˧ buə˧/ | <i>meih mbuo</i><br>/mei˧ buə˧/ | <i>ninh mbuo</i><br>/nin˧ buə˧/ |
| Inclusive plural | <i>mbuo</i><br>/buə˧/         |                                 |                                 |

<sup>104</sup> A polysyllabic proper name, in the Unified Script or New Roman Script, is connected by ‘^’ to indicate the combination is one word but does not undergo tone sandhi, which is indicated by a hyphen ‘-’.

To add to the inclusive first person plural, there is a situation in which *mbuo* can be used to refer to the second person singular ‘you’. This can be called an empathic use in a sense that the speaker puts himself/herself into the addressee’s position in talking about something which the addressee may feel is difficult to talk about. This could be considered as a polite register in avoiding confrontation and it may be an influence of *rau* (၁၅၁) ‘we INCLUSIVE’ in Thai.

To form possessive pronouns, the subordinate-cum-possessive particle *nyei* is postposed to these personal pronouns, e.g., *yie nyei N<sub>HD</sub>* ‘my N<sub>HD</sub>’, or *yie mbuo nyei N<sub>HD</sub>* ‘our’ etc.

Incorporation of these personal pronouns to form noun phrases will be discussed in §8.7.

#### **4.4.2.5 Plural suffix *mbuo* with human referents**

The plural suffix *mbuo* co-occurs only with human referents. Classes of words that can co-occur with *mbuo* are (i) personal pronouns, (ii) kinship terms, and (iii) personal names. First, pluralised personal pronouns have already be shown in Table 28.

Second, examples of co-occurrence with kinship terms are:

*gorx mbuo* /kɔɹ buə̯/

[elder.brother PL]

‘elder brothers’

*maa mbuo* /ma:ɹ buə̯/

[mother PL]

‘mother and others’

Third, closely related to the second example of the second class above, a co-occurrence of *mbuo* with personal names means ‘X and his/her company’ or refers to all family members belonging to him/her. Such usage as this, similar to the Japanese suffix *tachi* /tatsjɪ/ (たち), is referred to as an associative plural, exemplified as follows:

*Yauz-Zingh mbuo* /jauɹ tsinɹ buə̯/

[Yauz-Zingh PL]

‘Mr Yau Zing and his company’

Animate nouns which are non-human cannot co-occur with *mbuo*, thus *\*dungz mbuo* [pig PL] is impossible. Non-human referents are pluralised by suffixing the determiner *deix* ‘some’ as shown in Table 29 in the next section. Common nouns like ‘stone’ are pluralised in the structure *naaiv deix la'bieiv* [DEM some stone] ‘these stones’, rather than the N-*mbuo* construction, *\*la'bieiv mbuo*.

Other pluralising strategies will be seen in §8.13.

#### 4.4.2.6 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns (Saeliao 2012), also called as “determiners” (Purnell 2012), are deictic reference indicators. The system in Iu Mien offers tripartite divisions: (i) proximity to the speaker, (ii) proximity to the listener (mid-range), and (iii) distal from both the speaker and the listener. To pluralise the demonstratives, the form *deix* ‘some’ is postposed to them unlike the use of *mbuo* in the case of personal pronouns as in the Table 29:

**Table 29. Demonstrative/deictic pronouns**

|          | Proximity to the speaker           | Proximity to the listener         | Distal from the speaker and the listener |
|----------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Singular | <i>naaiv</i><br>/na:i^ʌ/           | <i>naaic</i><br>/na:iʌl/          | <i>wuov</i><br>/uə^ʌ/                    |
| Plural   | <i>naaiv deix</i><br>/na:i^ʌ teiʌ/ | <i>naaic deix</i><br>/na:iʌ teiʌ/ | <i>wuov deix</i><br>/uə^ʌ teiʌ/          |

As having a nature of determiner, the demonstrative pronouns modifies a head noun to form a noun phrase:

e.g.,    *naaiv norm biauv* /na:i^ʌ nɔmʌ p̥au^ʌ/  
 [DEM<sub>PRX</sub> CLF house]  
 ‘this house’.

The structure of NPs will be discussed in Chapter 8.

#### 4.4.2.7 Relator nouns

There is a class of nouns, which are called relator nouns (Blake 2001:16). As Li and Thompson (1989:390ff) refer these elements “locative particles” for Mandarin,

relator nouns in Iu Mien specify location in a spatial predication. Matthews and Yip (1994:62-3) term this kind of nouns in Cantonese “localizers” or “postpositions”.

Four morphosyntactic characteristics of relator nouns should be mentioned. First, in terms of a syntactic distribution, as the term “postpositions” proposed by Matthews and Yip (1994:62) suggests that relator nouns are placed after a head noun as in

*tongv gu'nyuo<sub>z</sub>* /t<sup>h</sup>oŋ˥ k'u jnuə~˧/

[bucket inside]

‘in a bucket’.

Second, like other common nouns of non-human referents, relator nouns do not inflect, nor co-occur with the plural suffix *mbuo*.

Third, like nouns in general, a paraphrase by an insertion of the subordinate-cum-possessive particle (SBCP) *nyei* is possible without changing meaning, e.g.,

*tongv nyei gu'nyuo<sub>z</sub>* /t<sup>h</sup>oŋ˥ nei˧ k'u jnuə~˧/

[bucket SBCP inside]

‘inside of a bucket’.

Fourth, morphologically, there are monosyllabic relator nouns and sesquisyllabic relator nouns.

Iu Mien has the following relator nouns:

|                            |              |                   |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| <i>ndaangc</i>             | /dɑŋ˧/       | ‘front’           |
| <i>maengx</i>              | /mɛŋ˧/       | ‘side’            |
| <i>nyiec</i>               | /niə˧/       | ‘outer, exterior’ |
| <i>nza'hmien</i>           | /dza m̥iən˧/ | ‘face, front’     |
| <i>nqa'haav</i>            | /ga ha:˧/    | ‘back’            |
| <i>ga'hlen</i>             | /ka l̥en˧/   | ‘side’            |
| <i>gu'nyuo<sub>z</sub></i> | /k'u jnuə~˧/ | ‘inside’          |
| <i>ga'nyiec</i>            | /ka niə˧/    | ‘outside’         |
| <i>gu'nguaaic</i>          | /ku ɲʷai˧/   | ‘top’             |
| <i>ga'ndiev</i>            | /ka diə˧/    | ‘bottom’          |
| <i>mbu'ndongx</i>          | /bu dɔŋ˧/    | ‘middle’          |

Apart from the standard postpositional use, a limited number of these relator nouns exhibit prepositional use in different meanings, i.e., *gu'nyuož* - N, *ga'nyiec* - N, *gu'nguaic* - N, *ga'ndiev* – N. Differences between the postpositional relator nouns and the prepositional relator nouns will be discussed in detail in §16.5.

#### 4.4.2.8 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns ‘what, who, when’ etc. are formed by a combination of *haaix* ‘what’ and other morphemes. They will be discussed in Chapter 14. A preview summary is in Table 30:

**Table 30. Interrogative pronouns**

|   | combination  | colloquial variation                               | gloss  |
|---|--|--|--|
| <i>haaix</i> + ‘kind’                   | <i>haaix nyungc</i><br>/ha:iɿ̃ nyuñʃ/             | <i>haĩv nyungc</i><br>/haĩɿ̃ nyuñʃ/             | ‘what’   |
| <i>haaix</i> + ‘CLF <sub>PERSON</sub> ’ | <i>haaix dauh</i><br>/ha:iɿ̃ taũʃ/                | <i>haĩv dau</i><br>/haĩɿ̃ taũʃ/                 | ‘who’  |
| <i>haaix</i> + ‘                        | <i>haaix zanc</i><br>/ha:iɿ̃ tsañʃ/               | <i>haĩv zanc</i><br>/haĩɿ̃ tsañʃ/               | ‘when’ (question regarding future event)                   |
| ‘perfect’ + <i>haaix</i>                | <i>ziagnx haaix</i><br>/tsiaŋɿ̃ ha:iɿ̃/            | No shorter variation                               | ‘when’ (question regarding past event)                     |
| ‘be.at/in’ + <i>haaix</i>               | <i>yiem haaix</i><br>/jem̃ɿ̃ ha:iɿ̃/               | No shorter variation                               | ‘where’ (referring to an even that take place in question) |
| <i>haaix</i> + ‘soil’                   | <i>haaix ndau</i><br>/ha:iɿ̃ daũʃ/                | <i>haĩv ndau</i><br>/haĩɿ̃ daũʃ/                | ‘where’ (referring to the place itself)                    |
| ‘for’ + <i>haaix</i> + ‘CLF’            | <i>weic haaix diuc</i><br>/weiɿ̃ ha:iɿ̃ tiũʃ/     | <i>weic haĩv diuc</i><br>/weiɿ̃ haĩɿ̃ tiũʃ/     | ‘why’  |
| ‘do’ + <i>haaix</i> + ‘kind’            | <i>zoux haaix nyungc</i><br>/tsəʊɿ̃ ha:iɿ̃ nyuñʃ/ | <i>zoux haĩv nyungc</i><br>/tsəʊɿ̃ haĩɿ̃ nyuñʃ/ | ‘why’ (lit. ‘do what?’)                                    |

#### 4.4.2.9 Numerals

The details of the numeral system are available in Purnell (2012:821-7). Here only some representatives are shown. The cardinal numbers and the ordinal numbers are listed in Table 31.

**Table 31. Cardinal and ordinal numbers**

|    | Cardinal numbers   |                  | Ordinal numbers       |
|----|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1  | <i>yietc</i>       | /jet/            | <i>da'yietv</i>       |
| 2  | <i>i</i>           | /i/              | <i>da'nyeic</i>       |
| 3  | <i>buo</i>         | /puə/            | <i>da'faam</i>        |
| 4  | <i>biei</i>        | /p̥ei/           | <i>da'feix</i>        |
| 5  | <i>biaa</i>        | /p̥a:/           | <i>da'hmz</i>         |
| 6  | <i>juqv</i>        | /cu?/            | <i>da'luoqc</i>       |
| 7  | <i>sieqc</i>       | /siə/            | <i>da'cietv</i>       |
| 8  | <i>hietc</i>       | /çet/            | <i>da'betv</i>        |
| 9  | <i>nduoh</i>       | /duə/            | <i>da'juov</i>        |
| 10 | <i>ziepc</i>       | /ts̥əp/          | <i>da'ziepc</i>       |
| 11 | <i>ziepc yietv</i> | /ts̥əp/ /jet/    | <i>da'ziepc yietv</i> |
| 12 | <i>ziepc nyeic</i> | /ts̥əp/ /nei/    | <i>da'ziepc nyeic</i> |
| 13 | <i>ziepc faam</i>  | /ts̥əp/ /fa:m/   | <i>da'ziepc faam</i>  |
| 14 | <i>ziepc feix</i>  | /ts̥əp/ /fei/    | <i>da'ziepc feix</i>  |
| 15 | <i>ziepc hmz</i>   | /ts̥əp/ /m/      | <i>da'ziepc hmz</i>   |
| 16 | <i>ziepc luoqc</i> | /ts̥əp/ /luə?/   | <i>da'ziepc luoqc</i> |
| 17 | <i>ziepc cietv</i> | /ts̥əp/ /ts̥jet/ | <i>da'ziepc cietv</i> |
| 18 | <i>ziepc betv</i>  | /ts̥əp/ /pet/    | <i>da'ziepc betv</i>  |
| 19 | <i>ziepc juov</i>  | /ts̥əp/ /cuə/    | <i>da'ziepc juov</i>  |
| 20 | <i>nyic ziepc</i>  | /ni:/ /ts̥əp/    | <i>da'nyic ziepc</i>  |

From one to ten in the cardinals, the original/native Iu Mien numbers are /puə/ ‘three’, /p̥ei/ ‘four’, /p̥a:/ ‘five’, /cu?/ ‘six’, /siə/ ‘seven’, /çet/ ‘eight’, and /duə/ ‘nine’. It seems that /jet/ ‘one’, /i/ ‘two’, and /ts̥əp/ ‘ten’ are borrowed from Cantonese (*jat*<sup>1</sup>, *ji*<sup>6</sup>, and *sap*<sup>6</sup>).

From one to ten in the ordinals, there seems to be only two or three original/native Iu Mien numbers: /ta fa:m/ ‘the third’ and /ta fei/ ‘the fourth’, and possibly /ta nei/ ‘the second’. The ordinals from the fifth to the tenth (except the ninth) could well be loans from Cantonese: /ta m/ ‘the 5th’ (< *ng*<sup>5</sup>), /ta luə?/ ‘the

6th' (< *luk<sup>6</sup>*), /ta ts<sup>h</sup>jet]/ 'the 7th' (< *cat<sup>1</sup>*), /ta pet]/ 'the 8th' (< *baat<sup>3</sup>*), and /ta ts<sup>j</sup>əp]/ 'the 10th' (< *sap<sup>6</sup>*). One item /ta cuə̄]/ 'the 9th' seems to have similarity with Mandarin (< *jiǔ*).

Though it is possible to say the ordinal numbers higher than this, e.g., *da'yietc baeqv faa-ziepc* 'the hundred thirtieth', there are not many actual occasions that such numbers are needed. Therefore, the following list omits the ordinal numbers higher than twenty one as in Table 32.

**Table 32. Cardinal numbers above the twenties**

| Cardinal numbers |                                |                                |
|------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 21               | <i>nyic ziepc yietv</i>        | ju:ts'əp] jet]                 |
| 22               | <i>nyic ziepc nyeic</i>        | ju:ts'əp] nei:]                |
| 30               | <i>faa-ziepc</i>               | fa:ts'əp]                      |
| 40               | <i>feix ziepc</i>              | fei] ts'əp]                    |
| 50               | <i>hmz ziepc</i>               | məts'əp]                       |
| 60               | <i>luoqc ziepc</i>             | luə?] ts'əp]                   |
| 70               | <i>cietv ziepc</i>             | ts <sup>h</sup> jet] ts'əp]    |
| 80               | <i>betv ziepc</i>              | pet] ts'əp]                    |
| 90               | <i>juov ziepc</i>              | cuə̄] ts'əp]                   |
| 91               | <i>juov ziepc yietv</i>        | cuə̄] ts'əp] jet]              |
| 92               | <i>juov ziepc nyeic</i>        | cuə̄] ts'əp] nei:]             |
|                  |                                |                                |
| 99               | <i>juov ziepc juov</i>         | cuə̄] ts'əp] cuə̄]             |
| 100              | <i>yietc baeqv</i>             | jet] pε?]                      |
| 101              | <i>yietc baeqv yietc</i>       | jet] pε?] jət]                 |
| 102              | <i>yietc baeqv i</i>           | jet] pε?] i]                   |
| 103              | <i>yietc baeqv buo</i>         | jet] pε?] puə̄]                |
| 104              | <i>yietc baeqv bie</i>         | jət] pε?] p̄ei]                |
| 105              | <i>yietc baeqv bia</i>         | jet] pε?] p̄a:]                |
| 106              | <i>yietc baeqv juqv</i>        | jet] pε?] cu?]                 |
| 107              | <i>yietc baeqv cietv</i>       | jet] pε?] ts <sup>h</sup> jet] |
| 108              | <i>yietc baeqv betv</i>        | jet] pε?] pet]                 |
| 109              | <i>yietc baeqv nduoh</i>       | jet] pε?] duə̄]                |
| 110              | <i>yietc baeqv ziepc</i>       | jet] pε?] ts'əp]               |
| 111              | <i>yietc baeqv ziepc yietv</i> | jet] pε?] ts'əp] jət]          |
|                  |                                |                                |

| Cardinal numbers |                                     |                                 |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 21               | <i>nyic ziepc yietv</i>             | ji: ts:jəp] jet]                |
| 22               | <i>nyic ziepc nyeic</i>             | ji: ts:jəp] nei:]               |
| 30               | <i>faa-ziepc</i>                    | fa:N ts:jəp]                    |
| 120              | <i>yietc baeqv nyic-ziepc</i>       | jet] pε?] ji:N ts:jəp]          |
| 130              | <i>yietc baeqv faa-ziepc</i>        | jet] pε?] fa:N ts:jəp]          |
| 140              | <i>yietc baeqv feix ziepc</i>       | jet] pε?] fei] ts:jəp]          |
| 150              | <i>yietc baeqv hmz ziepc</i>        | jet] pε?] m~ ts:jəp]            |
| 160              | <i>yietc baeqv luoqc ziepc</i>      | jet] pε?] luə?] ts:jəp]         |
| 170              | <i>yietc baeqv cietv ziepc</i>      | jet] pε?] ts:hjet] ts:jəp]      |
| 180              | <i>yietc baeqv betv ziepc</i>       | jet] pε?] pet] ts:jəp]          |
| 190              | <i>yietc baeqv juov ziepc</i>       | jet] pε?] cuə` ts:jəp]          |
| 191              | <i>yietc baeqv juov ziepc yietv</i> | jet] pε?] cuə` ts:jəp] jet]     |
| 192              | <i>yietc baeqv juov ziepc nyeic</i> | jet] pε?] cuə` ts:jəp] nei:]    |
| 193              | <i>yietc baeqv juov ziepc faam</i>  | jet] pε?] cuə` ts:jəp] fa:m]    |
| 194              | <i>yietc baeqv juov ziepc feix</i>  | jet] pε?] cuə` ts:jəp] fei]     |
| 195              | <i>yietc baeqv juov ziepc hmz</i>   | jet] pε?] cuə` ts:jəp] m~       |
| 196              | <i>yietc baeqv juov ziepc luoqc</i> | jet] pε?] cuə` ts:jəp] luə?]    |
| 197              | <i>yietc baeqv juov ziepc cietv</i> | jet] pε?] cuə` ts:jəp] ts:hjet] |
| 198              | <i>yietc baeqv juov ziepc betv</i>  | jet] pε?] cuə` ts:jəp] pet]     |
| 199              | <i>yietc baeqv juov ziepc juov</i>  | jet] pε?] cuə` ts:jəp] cuə`     |
| 200              | <i>nyic baeqv</i>                   | ji: pε?]                        |
| 300              | <i>faam baeqv</i>                   | fa:m] pε?]                      |
| 400              | <i>feix baeqv</i>                   | fei] pε?]                       |
| 500              | <i>hmz baeqv</i>                    | m~ pε?]                         |
| 600              | <i>luoqc baeqv</i>                  | luə?] pε?]                      |
| 700              | <i>cietv baeqv</i>                  | ts:hjet] pε?]                   |
| 800              | <i>betv baeqv</i>                   | pet] pε?]                       |
| 900              | <i>juov baeqv</i>                   | cuə` pε?]                       |
| 1,000            | <i>yietc cin</i>                    | jet] ts:hin]                    |
| 2,000            | <i>i cin</i>                        | i] ts:hin]                      |
| 3,000            | <i>buo cin</i>                      | pʊə] ts:hin]                    |
| 4,000            | <i>biei cin</i>                     | p̥eɪ] ts:hin]                   |
| 5,000            | <i>biaa cin</i>                     | p̥a:r] ts:hin]                  |
| 6,000            | <i>juqv cin</i>                     | cu?] ts:hin]                    |
| 7,000            | <i>siec cin</i>                     | siə] ts:hin]                    |

| Cardinal numbers |   |  |  |
|------------------|---|--|--|
| 21               | <i>nyic ziepc yietv</i>                     | <i>ŋi:ɻ tsɻəpɻ jetɻ</i>                        |  |
| 22               | <i>nyic ziepc nyeic</i>                     | <i>ŋi:ɻ tsɻəpɻ nei:ɻ</i>                       |  |
| 30               | <i>faa-ziepc</i>                            | <i>fa:ɻ tsɻəpɻ</i>                             |  |
| 8,000            | <i>hietc cin</i>                            | <i>çetɻ tsɻhɪnɻ</i>                            |  |
| 9,999            | <i>nduoh cin juov baeqv juov ziepc juov</i> | <i>duəɻ tsɻhɪnɻ cuəɻ pɛ?ɻ cuəɻ tsɻəpɻ cuəɻ</i> |  |

There are a few differences between Thailand Iu Mien and the American Iu Mien in counting ten thousand and a hundred thousand. They do not differ, however, in counting a million and ten million. The numbers above ten thousand is compared below in Table 33.

**Table 33. Ten thousand above compared between Thailand Iu Mien and American Iu Mien**

|            | Thailand Iu Mien                                      |                     | American Iu Mien       |                          |
|------------|---|---------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| 10,000     | <i>yietc waanc</i>                                    | <i>jetɻ wa:nɻ</i>   | <i>ziepc cin</i>       | <i>tsɻəpɻ tsɻhɪnɻ</i>    |
| 100,000    | <i>ziepc waanc</i>                                    | <i>tsɻəpɻ wa:nɻ</i> | <i>yietc baeqv cin</i> | <i>jetɻ pɛ?ɻ tsɻhɪnɻ</i> |
| 1,000,000  | <i>yietc baeqv waanc</i><br><i>/jetɻ pɛ?ɻ wa:nɻ/</i>  |                     |                        |                          |
| 10,000,000 | <i>yietc cin waanc</i><br><i>/jetɻ tsɻhɪnɻ wa:nɻ/</i> |                     |                        |                          |

#### 4.4.2.10 Numeral classifiers

Existence of numeral classifiers is one of the characteristics of Southeast Asian languages (Enfield and Comrie (eds.) 2015:8) and Iu Mien is no exception in using them. The noun phrase containing the numeral phrase and the two major classes of classifiers, i.e., the sortal and the measure classifiers, will be discussed in §8.11. A preview of it is:

- (159) *biaa norm yienv /p̥a:ɻ nɔmɻ jenɻ/* [five CLF bowl] ‘five bowls’

The structure is: [numeral + CLF + N<sub>HEAD</sub>]

### 4.4.3 Verbs, Adjectival Verbs, and “Pure” Adjectives

Iu Mien language has verbs and adjectival verbs. There are many verb-derived adjectival verbs. Besides that, the Chinese-loan adjectives are deeply incorporated in the language playing an important role to form compound words. While the adjectival verbs can co-occur with aspectual verbs and aspectual sentence final particles, the Chinese-loan adjectives cannot. They will be discussed in Chapter 7.

One type of copular constructions is encoded by copular verbs, *benx* /pen˧˥/ ‘to be’ and *zoux* /tsou˧˥/ ‘to make’. They will be discussed in §10.4 together with the other type of the copular construction, i.e., that of using equative particles.

### 4.4.4 Particles

Particles are elements that have no lexical meaning but grammatical functions and pragmatic functions. Iu Mien particles have the following syntactic restrictions:

- they cannot be negated by *maiv*
- they cannot be followed by aspectual verbs
- they cannot co-occur with numeral classifiers.

Iu Mien uses particles at three levels: phrase level (in NPs and an adverbial phrases), clause level (relative clause marker), and sentence level (vocative particles, topic particles, aspectual particles, and sentence-final particles).

Among them, the particle *nyei* is used in four different functions at all four levels:

- (i) possessive particle ([N<sup>1</sup> *nyei* N<sup>2</sup>] ‘N<sup>2</sup> of N<sup>1</sup>’ or ‘N<sup>1</sup>’s N<sup>2</sup>’, forming an NP),
- (ii) adverbialiser ([Adj(-Adj) *nyei* V] ‘Adj-ly V’, i.e., an adjectival verb or duplication of an adjectival verb is made into an adverb which modifies V, forming an adverbial phrase),
- (iii) relativiser ([CL *nyei* N] ‘N which CL’, forming a relative clause), and
- (iv) affirmative/assertive aspectual particle ([CL-*nyei*], at the sentence level in the final position).

All of (i) – (iv) use the same form *nyei*.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> Court (1991) uses different spellings for them in the (semi-) Unified Script. Throughout his book he uses *nyei* (pp. 151, 152, 153, 158, 159) for (i) the possessive marker and *nyae* (pp. 149, 151, 153, 154, 157, 158, 159) for (iv) the aspectual marker that occurs in a polar question intonation, allegedly assuming they are two different particles. (As the book is a conversational guide, it does not contain the usages of (ii) and (iii).) However, Iu Mien native speakers consider all four functions have the same form.

At the phrase level, the possessive-*nyei* is glossed as “subordinate-cum-possessive” (SBCP) adopting Court’s (1986:107 *passim*) term. This embracing term can signify relationships between two nouns at least in three situations: (a) a typical possessor-possessed relation by a human owner, e.g., *yie nyei biauv* [1SG SBCP house] ‘my house’, (b) a genitive relation by an inanimate and metaphorical possessor, e.g., *laangz nyei dueiv* [village SBCP tail] ‘an end/a back gate of a village’, and (c) materials of which something is made of, e.g., *ndiangx nyei biauv* [wood SBCP house] ‘wooden house’. The SBCP will be discussed in §§6.6.10–12, and §§8.7–8.

One more phrase level usage, the adverbialiser-*nyei* (ADVZ) will be presented in §9.2.1.2.

The relativiser-*nyei* or relative particle (REL), used at the clause level, will be discussed in §8.6 and §8.14.1. Finally, the aspectual-*nyei* (asst for assertive) at the sentence level will be investigated in §12.5.4.1.

At the sentence level, apart from the aspectual-*nyei*, there are four topic particles: (i) *aeqv* ‘as for’, (ii) *nor* ‘as’, (iii) *lorqc nor aeqv* ‘talking about’, (iv) *se* ‘that is’. There are also other topic markers such as *yaac* ‘also’ (additive conjunction) and *naaic* ‘regarding’ (mid-range demonstrative pronoun) but they are not particles. They, including both four topic particles and two topic markers, will be discussed in Chapter 10 as “sentence medial topic marking constructions”.

One type of the copular constructions, besides the other which is encoded through copular verbs, are expressed by equative particles: *se* /se˥/ ‘that is’ and *dongh* /ton˩/ ‘the same’. Through them the relation ‘A = B’ is expressed in different shades of meaning. Chapter 10 is devoted to this topic.

Vocative particles also work at the sentence level, placed after a person’s name or kinship term that is addressed to, e.g., *Dorc aac!* [elder.sister VOC] ‘Elder sister!’ or *Gauv-Cing aah!* [personal.name VOC] ‘Gau Cing!’. The vocative particles occur in two tones: *aac* /a:˩/ in low tone is for an intimate and polite addressing, and *aah* /a:˧/ in mid-falling tone is for an urging, maybe a little irritated calling, hence naturally pronounced louder than *aac*. The vocative particles will be discussed with interjections and kinship addressives in Chapter 5.

As is the case with many other Southeast Asian languages, Iu Mien utilises varieties of sentence-final particles (SFPs). They are grounding elements that anchor a sentence to a pragmatic or concrete situation though in some cases a sentence can be uttered without an SFP depending on context. A few examples would be *Hopv zaah oc!* [drink tea POLITE] ‘Have a cup of tea, please!’ or *Hopv zaah maah!* [drink tea MILD.COMMAND] ‘Why don’t you have a cup of tea?’ More details of SFPs as grounding elements will be discussed in §19.2 and §19.4.

Some questions, other than *Wh*-questions, are also expressed by particles placed at the end of a sentence. For example, *Longx nyei fai?*<sup>↗</sup> [be.well STATIVE.ASPECT INTERROGATIVE] ‘Are you well?’ (an English approximate of “How are you?”) or *Longx nyei saah<sub>i</sub>*<sup>↘</sup> [be.well STATIVE.ASPECT INTERROGATIVE] ‘You are fine, aren’t you?’ These interrogative SFPs and other interrogative pronouns will be presented in Chapter 14.

#### 4.4.5 Adverbs

The adverbs modify adjectival verbs and action verbs at the phrase level, modify verb phrases at the clause level. In addition, the temporal adverbs, composed of nouns referring to time, occur sentence-initially. The adverbs occur preverbally and postverbally. Adverbial phrases can also be formed using an aspectual verb and the particle *nyei*, and they occur preverbally. They will be investigated in Chapter 9.

### 4.5 Summary of Chapter 4

Chapter 4 has laid the foundation for the chapters to come in terms of the seven working principles, emphasizing the basicness of Topic-Focus order in the sentence, and the basic grammatical categories. Although the seven principles will not be directly elaborated, they will be constantly referred as the various grammatical constructions will be analysed throughout this grammar.

The next chapter is an entry point for the Iu Mien readers who may not familiar with grammatical or theoretical issues. They will find that their names have grammar.

# Chapter 5

## NAMES: FROM ONOMASTICS TO MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

### 5.1 Introduction

Names are extremely important to the Iu Mien, as was glimpsed in §4.2.3.1. This importance claimed by the native speaker themselves will be considered at the outset of this chapter immediately after this introduction. Having presented the origin of twelve *fingx* ‘clans’ (Figure 6) and twelve *mbuox* ‘names’ (Table 2a-b) in §2.2.2.4, we now turn to the naming system (onomastics) of the Iu Mien in order to investigate strategies of compound words. Thus, the goal of this chapter is to bridge between onomastics and morphology and syntax, peculiar as it may sound. This was our main native speaker consultant Zanh Gueix-Fongc’s wisdom that if the grammar should be accepted by and helpful to the Iu Mien themselves, particularly for its purpose of language revitalisation, it should start with the familiar subjects to them, hence names and traditions (e.g. *Jiex Sen Borngv* ‘The Mountain Crossing Passport’ in §2.2.2 and *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv* ‘The Sea Crossing Odyssey’ in §2.2.3).

Upon exchanging a few greeting words (usually by childhood name), the next thing an Iu Mien person would ask or be asked is “What is your adult name?” and “What is your clan name?”, followed by an enquiry into *nyiemc cien* /niəm̩ tsʰiən/ ‘recognition/acknowledgment of family relations’. These are ostensive linguistic evidence for the importance of names. They are not only crucial in terms of speech act to initiate and carry on conversations but also in terms of sociolinguistic solidarity. Lombard and Purnell (1968:329) record the Iu Mien’s “clan names”, “generation names”, “adult given names”, “spirit names”, “childhood names”, etc.

The rest of the chapter, constituting the major sections (§5.3 and §5.4), will be drawing on Anderson’s *The Grammar of Names* (2007) to address the issues of vocatives and nomination, focusing on the use of the Iu Mien names as addressives (including the custom of *nyiemc cien*) and on the verb *heuc* /heu/ ‘to call’ as an act of naming and the verb phrase *cuotv mbuoz* /tsʰuət̚ buə/ [issue name] ‘to issue a name, or to name’. The latter issue (§5.5) is a preview of the argument structure, which will be explicated in Chapter 11.

## 5.2 Importance of Names: Three Functions of Proper Names

In this section, the importance of names in Iu Mien is discussed in terms of three linguistic functions: (i) the function of language and cultural documentation, (ii) referential, and (iii) descriptive functions.

First of all, the importance of names in language/cultural documentation is discussed. It was Zanh Gueix-Fongc (2013), the main language consultant's advice and request that an Iu Mien grammar should begin with the names of *fingx* 'clans' of the Iu Mien. Upon Stephen Morey, my principal supervisor, asking him in Thai what this grammar should be like, he made it clear to us that if the grammar should be useful to the Iu Mien, the owners of the language, it must start with the twelve *fingx* 'clans' of the Iu Mien, their old customs and culture, and language. He re-emphasised that among them (culture that includes customs concerning clans and language) Iu Mien language is the most important. This primacy of language documentation, in his understanding, should be integrated with the other two, that is, the names of twelve clans and customs/culture.

The following is his actual voice on this matter (160<sup>-1-14</sup>):

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (160 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Yie hnampv.daaih oix.zuqc jiez.gorn fiev</i> |
|                      | ເຢີ່ ຂນົມ.ດ້າຍ ອ້ອປ.ຫຼຸ ເຈື້.ກອນ ເຟີ່           |
|                      | iə́l tnam̥ŋ̊ ta:iŋ̊                             |
|                      | 1 think   |
|                      | ciə́l tsu?j                                     |
|                      | must  |
|                      | ciə́l kɔn̊l fiə́l                               |
|                      | begin write                                     |
|                      | 'I think you must begin writing'                |

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (160 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>benx Mienh nyei fingx,</i>                       |
|                      | ເປັນ ເມື່ອນ ໄສຍ ຜິງ,                                |
|                      | pen̊l miənl nei̊l fin̊l                             |
|                      | be Mien SBCP clan                                   |
|                      | '(a book/grammar) as (being) the clans of the Mien' |

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (160 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>hnangv maaih ziepc nyei fingx Iu-Mienh</i> |
|                      | ອນ້ຳ ມ່າຍ ແກ້ວຍບ ໄສຍ ຜິງ ພິວ-ເມື່ອນ           |
|                      | ŋ̊an̊ŋ̊ ma:iŋ̊ ts̊əp̊l nei̊l fin̊l iuŋ̊ miənl |
|                      | like have ten two clan Iu Mien                |
|                      | 'as we have twelve clans of the Iu Mien.'     |

- (160<sup>-4</sup>) *Liuz aeqv, fiev jienv*  
 ลือ แอ็ค, เฟี้ย จีบัน  
*liu↗ eŋ↗ fiə↗ c̥en↗*  
 finish PDP write CONT  
 ‘And then, write’
- (160<sup>-5</sup>) *Mienh nyei loz-hnoi nyei jauv-louc,*  
 เมี่ยน เกูย โล-ฮโนย เกูย เจ้า-โหลว,  
*miən↗ nei↑ lo↗ ɻɔi↑ nei↑ cau↗ ləb↑*  
 Mien SBCP old-day SBCP matters  
 ‘about the old ways of the Iu Mien.’
- (160<sup>-6</sup>) *...se... Mienh nyei, Mienh nyei leiz-fingx lo.haaix*  
 ...เช... เมี่ยน เกูย, เมี่ยน เกูย เลิฟ-ฟิ้ง โล.หาย  
*se↑ miən↗ nei↑ miən↗ nei↑ lei↑ fɪŋ↑ lo↑ haaix↑*  
 COP Mien SBCP Mien SBCP custom etc.  
 ‘In other words, (write about) the customs of the Mienh.’
- (160<sup>-7</sup>) *aengx Mienh nyei waac.*  
 เอ็ง เมี่ยน เกูย หว่า.  
*ɛŋ↑ miən↗ nei↑ wa:↑*  
 also Mien SBCP language  
 ‘and also Mien language.’
- (160<sup>-8</sup>) *Se gauh jienv jiey zoux...*  
 เช เก้า จีบัน เจีย โซ้ว...  
*se↑ kau↗ c̥en↗ ciə↑ tsəu↑*  
 COP more be.important pass do  
 ‘That is, the most important thing to do is...’
- (160<sup>-9</sup>) *fiev njiec siou jienv mbuo Mienh nyei,*  
 เฟี้ย เนี่ยคี ซื้อ จีบัน บัว เมี่ยน เกูย,  
*fiə↗ ɻiə↗ s̥iou↗ c̥en↗ buə↑ miən↗ nei↑*  
 write descend preserve CONT PL Mien SBCP  
 ‘write down to preserve our Mien’s...’

- (160<sup>-10</sup>) *Mienh nyei waac.*  
 ເມື່ນ ໄສຍ ພວ່າ.  
*miən\ nei\ wa:\]*  
 Mien SBCP language  
 '(wirte down) Mien language.'

- (160<sup>-11</sup>) *Ganh nyungc nor aeqv,*  
 ກັນ ແລູ່ງ ນອ ແອິຂ,  
*kan\ juŋ\ tɔ\ ε?\]*  
 other kind TOP PDP  
 'As for other matters [i.e. the clan names and customs],'

- (160<sup>-12</sup>) *haiz camv deix zoqc deix mv benx haiv.nyungc*<sup>106</sup>  
 ໄຊ ຂົນ ເຕີຍ ໂທຜະ ເຕີຍ ມໍ ເປັນ ໄຊ.ແ່ງ  
*hai\ tsʰam\ tei\ tso?\] tei\ m\ pen\ hai\ juŋ\*  
 feel be.many some be.few some NEG be what  
 'I feel it doesn't matter (if the two ares receive) greater or lesser (proportion).'

- (160<sup>-13</sup>) *mv.baac... waac,/ oix.zuqc za 'gengh,*  
 ມໍ.ປ້າ... ພວ່າ, ອ້ອຍ.ຫຼຸ ທດະເກິ່ງ,  
*m\ pa:\] wa:\] ci\ tsu?\] tsa keŋ\*  
 but language must really  
 'but as far as the language is concerned, (you) must really...'

- (160<sup>-14</sup>) *za 'gengh jienv jieq aqv.*  
 ທດະເກິ່ງ ເຈື້ນ ເຈີຍ ອິຂ.  
*tsa keŋ\ c̥en\ ciə\ a?\]*  
 really be.important pass NSIT  
 'really (the language is) the most important thing.'  
 (ium\_20130528\_01\_H1\_DA\_GueixFongc\_MienhWaac\_  
 KMB;00.00.39-00.10.30)

A smoother translation is:

I think you must begin with the clans of the Iu Mien, that is, the twelve clans of the Iu Mien. And then, write about the old ways of the Iu Mien. In other words, Iu Mien's customs etc., then language. Among them the most

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<sup>106</sup> *haiv* = Q, K = *haaix*

important thing that needs to be written down is Iu Mien language. I feel it doesn't matter whether other two areas receive lesser or greater proportion in writing but the most crucially important thing is definitely the language (Zanh Gueix-Fongc 2013).

Several important concepts appear in this discourse such as *ziepc nyei fingx Iu Mienh* (160<sup>3</sup>) ‘the twelve clans of the Iu Mien’, *Mienh nyei loz-hnoi nyei jauv-louc* (160<sup>5</sup>) ‘the Iu Mien’s matters of old days’ i.e., tradition, *Mienh nyei leiz-fingx* (160<sup>6</sup>) ‘the customs of the Iu Mien’, *Mienh nyei waac* (160<sup>7</sup>) ‘Mien language’, and *fiev njiec siou jienv* (160<sup>9</sup>) ‘to document/preserve (language)’. Here we have the philosophy of language and cultural documentation of the Iu Mien stated by a community leader: language must be documented in close relation to the clan names (tradition) and customs/culture. Three things should abide, but the most important of these is language.

The second and third functions are considered hereafter; that is, referential and descriptive functions of names. Searle (1971) argues:

But the uniqueness and immense pragmatic convenience of proper names in our language lies precisely in the fact that they enable us to refer publicly to objects without being forced to raise issues and come to an agreement as to which descriptive characteristics exactly constitute the identity of the object. They function not as descriptions, but as pegs on which to hang descriptions. Thus the looseness of the criteria for proper names is a necessary condition for isolating the referring function from the describing function of language (Searle 1971:140).

That is to say, recognising that names have both “the referring function” and “the describing function”, Searle prioritises the former over the latter.

The referring function of proper names is advocated by John Stuart Mill (1843) as summarised by Searle (1971:134) in that “proper names do not have senses, they are meaningless marks; they have denotation but no connotation”. Furthermore, “a proper name [is] to refer and not to describe; a proper name predicates nothing and consequently does not have a sense” (Mill’s position described by Searle (1971:135)). This position claims that proper names refer to and denote objects.

On the other hand, those who take proper names in their “describing function”, like Frege (1903), argue that they have senses. For them “a proper name is a kind of shorthand descriptions” (Searle 1971:136). This position is said to hold the principle of identification: “if both the speaker and the hearer associate some identifying description with the name, then the utterance of the name is sufficient to satisfy the principle of identification, for both the speaker and the hearer are able to substitute an identifying description. The utterance of the name communicates a proposition to

the hearer” (*ibid.* 140). In this position the function of “identifying description” is also termed as the function of “predication”.

Debating between the two sharply contrasted functions of proper names, namely the referring function (after Mill) and the describing function (after Frege), Searle announces his stance that it is “a sort of compromise between Mill and Frege” as follows:

My answer, then, to the question, ‘Do proper names have senses?’ —if this asks whether or not proper names are used to describe or specify characteristics of objects— is ‘No’. But if it asks whether or not proper names are logically connected with characteristics of the object to which they refer, the answer is ‘Yes, in a loose sense of way’ (*Searle 1971:139*).

Thus Searle concludes that proper names “function not as descriptions, but as pegs on which to hang descriptions” (*ibid.* 140) as quoted earlier. Obviously, his emphasis is on the referring function: “[...] the essential fact to keep in mind when dealing with these problems is that we have the institution of proper names to perform the speech act of identifying reference” (*ibid.* 141) albeit maintaining the interaction of the two.

Onomastics of the Iu Mien, however, will reveal that their names are both highly descriptive and referential. The situation is not that “either-or” nor “loosely descriptive but more referential”. §5.3 discusses the descriptive, predicative function of proper names, and §5.4 considers speech act by using proper names, i.e., referring function; more specifically vocative particles postpositioned to proper names and nomination (act of naming).

To summarise this section, Iu Mien names have three linguistic functions: language/cultural documentation, description (predication), and reference (speech act).

### 5.3 Onomastics of the Iu Mien

Onomastics, derived from Greek *ὄνομα* ‘name’, is the study of proper names and place names, mainly from historical or etymological perspective. Though the discipline was at its zenith in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, contemporary linguistics has reinvigorated it with the new emphasis on synchronic study of names utilising recently developed methods such as sociolinguistic conversation analysis (e.g. De Stefani 2012). In fact diachronic and synchronic methods complement each other in onomastics, important as it is to consciously differentiate them. As will be shown below when we examine the onomastics of Iu Mien with the intention of synchronic investigation, it becomes clear that a diachronic aspect is also integrated in the system of personal names.

### 5.3.1 Preview

Since the Iu Mien naming system is highly complicated, it is necessary to summarise it here before considering the system in detail.

An Iu Mien male adult name is composed of three parts: 1) *fingx* /fiŋ˧/, 2) *buic* /pui˧/, 3) *mbuox* /buə˧/; that is, 1) ‘clan, surname, family name’, 2) ‘patrilineal generation name’, 3) ‘name’, i.e., a chosen personal name. The clan name, 1), is mono syllabic, and the given name, the combination of 2) and 3) is disyllabic. For example, *Zeuz* (clan) *Guex-Zoih* (generation name + given name). There is no tone sandhi between 1) and 2) but the given name consisting of 2) and 3) observes tone sandhi. For instance, *Zeuz Guex-Zoih* is pronounced /tseu˨ kuej˧ tsɔj˧/. The *fingx* (clan) name appears as it is with the underlying tone /˧/. The *buic* ‘generation name’ has its underlying tone /˧/ on *Gueix* /kuej˧/ but as a result of combining with the chosen name /tsɔj˧/, /kuej˧/ becomes /kuej˧/. In addition, there is a prosodic pause between the monosyllabic clan name and the disyllabic given/chosen name. Thus, phonologically speaking, *Guex-Zoih* is a compound word which is tightly knit whereas *Zeuz* is less tight with the compound given name.

The second part of the full name, that is, the first part of the given name is *buic* ‘generation name’, and each *fingx* ‘clan’ has certain number of *buic* between four and nine in a fixed order of cycle. From this set of cycle, each generation takes up one *buic* name in the order. This cycle is called *baan-buic* /pa:n˧ pui˧/. The third syllable is a chosen personal name. The combination of *buic* and the chosen name is the person’s *domh mienh mbuox* [big person name] ‘adult name’.

Before male adults receive *domh mienh mbuox*, they have *fu'jueiv mbuox* [child name] ‘childhood name’ composed of two syllables. The first syllable in a childhood name is given in two methods: one by birth order, and the other by description of circumstance at the time of birth. The second syllable inherits the second syllable of the father’s given name. Female children are also named by the above mentioned two methods, except the first syllables of the given name (i.e. the number part or circumstance clue name) will not change to *buic*-name even after growing up to adulthood. The second syllable of the given name inherits the second syllable of her father’s given name as sons do.

In the following sections, we will consider *fingx*-names, *baan-buic* ‘patrilineal generation names’, *domh mienh mbuox* /tom˧ miən˧ buə˧/ [big person name] ‘adult names’, *fu'jueiv mbuox* /fu?˨ cuei˧ buə˧/ [child name] ‘childhood name’, and *personal names*.

## **5.3.2 *Ziepc Nyeic Fingx* ‘Twelve Clans’ in *Nzung-Junx* ‘Song of Surnames’**

### **5.3.2.1 *Fingx* ‘clan’**

A common phrase that the Iu Mien designate themselves is *ziepc nyeic fingx Iu Mienh* /tsjəpɿ̥ neiɿ̥ fiŋɿ̥ iuɿ̥ miənɿ̥/ [ten two clan Iu.Mien] ‘(we) twelve clans of the Iu Mien’. In reality, however, there are more than twelve clans. Though we have observed, in Chapter 2, the twelve clan names in the scroll document *Jiex Sen Borng* ‘The Mountain Crossing Passport’ (Ls 55 - 56 in *Pʰa'læe Scroll*, in Figure 6, repeated below as Figure 53.), it is necessary to rely on another document in order to get a complete list of names. The second document, ‘Song of Surnames’, will be examined below.

A review of the twelve clan names from *Jiex Sen Borng* is as follows: 盤 (*Bienh*), 沈 (*Ziang*), 黃 (*Yangh*), 鄧 (*Dangc*), 李 (*Leiz*), 周 (*Caauh*), 趙 (*Zeuz*), 胡 (*Borngħ*), 鄭 (*Zaengc*), 馮 (*Bungz*), 雷 (*Luih*), and 蔣 (*Siauh*). These are the names of *fingx* ‘clan, lineage group, surname group’ (Purnell 2012:176).

| Print form  | Pin Yin   |  | text   |  | Print form | Pin Yin             |
|---|---|--|--|--|------------|---------------------|
|   |   |  | 56      55   |  |            |                     |
| 沈<br>黃<br>鄧<br>李<br>周<br>趙<br>胡<br>鄭<br>馮<br>雷<br>蔣 | <i>Shěn</i><br><i>Huáng</i><br><i>Dèng</i><br><i>Lǐ</i><br><i>Zhōu</i><br><i>Zhào</i><br><i>Hú</i><br><i>Zhèng</i><br><i>Féng</i><br><i>Léi</i><br><i>Jiǎng</i> |  | 其餘泥黃鄧李周趙胡鄭馮雷蔣等十二姓<br>數年所生六男六女焉王孫子孫也安一十二姓<br>長隨父姓盤<br>其餘泥黃鄧李周趙胡鄭馮雷蔣等十二姓<br>數年所生六男六女焉王孫子孫也安一十二姓<br>長隨父姓盤 |  |            | 十二姓<br>盤 <i>Pán</i> |

Figure 53. The origin of twelve clans of the Iu Mien (Ls 55-56)

Beside these the thirteenth name has been found in *Thammajarik Codex B*, namely, 劉 (*Liouh /l̥iou˥/* in Iu Mien, *Liú* in Chinese) (cf. Table 2).

It has been noted that more than thirteen clan/surnames have been found among the Iu Mien of Thailand by scholars such as Tan (1985:46) and others. He reports: “I discovered [in Baan Kun Haeng, Ngaau District, Lampang Province] that at present there are more than twelve clan names. Lombard (1968:329) also noted this, mentioning that there are fifteen Yao [Iu Mien] clan names in Thailand.” Regarding the number “fifteen”, a careful observation of Lombard’s list will help us to see that two of them are only found in Laos (i.e. *Ziang* (沈) and *Siauh* (蔣)); thus the remaining thirteen correspond to our conclusion of the thirteen clan names (Table 2) in Thailand. Due to unfamiliarity of the young Iu Mien to the “Old Roman Script” which Lombard

used in the 1960s, these fifteen clans names have been converted to the Unified Script in Table 34. As can be seen, some clans have subclans. (Sub-clans and notes are Lombard's original contribution. Chinese characters have been added):

**Table 34. Thirteen Clan Names in Thailand and Two Clan Names found in Laos**

| Clan Names in Iu Mien |                        | Sub-clans and notes   |
|-----------------------|------------------------|---|
| 1                     | <i>Loz-Bienh</i> (老盤)  | (a) <i>Baengx Ming Bienh</i> : The “big” division of the clan, decreed by the god of heaven to live north of or above the high stone peaks.<br>(b) <i>Baengx Ndiqv Bienh</i> : The “small” division of the clan to whom the lower or southerly areas were appointed.  |
| 2                     | <i>Loz-Bungz</i> (老馮)  | (a) <i>Bungz Siqv</i> : The “red paper money” division of the clan.<br>(b) <i>Bungz Baeqc</i> : The “white paper money” division (and the more numerous) of the clan.   |
| 3                     | <i>Loz-Borngh</i> (老胡) | [not all clans have sub-clans]  |
| 4                     | <i>Loz-Dangc</i> (老鄧)  | (a) <i>Dangc Kaangx</i> : First division, named for the drying rack used in offering a pig to the spirits after the Yao [Iu Mien] ancestors had safely crossed the sea.<br>(b) <i>Dangc Sui</i> : Second division, named for the citrus fruit offered to the spirits after crossing the sea.<br>(c) <i>Dangc Dorn</i> : Third division, not recognized by many present-day Yao [Iu Mien]. |
| 5                     | <i>Loz-Duoqv</i> (老竹)  |   |
| 6                     | <i>Loz-Dorngh</i> (老唐) |   |
| 7                     | <i>Loz-Taauh</i> (老桃)  |   |
| 8                     | <i>Loz-Zeuz</i> (老趙)   | According to a legend, this clan came into being as the offspring of a woman who, while sleeping, had been made pregnant by a water snake spirit.<br>(a) <i>Domh Loz-Zeuz</i> : The “big” (and oldest) division.<br>(b) <i>Loz-Zeuz Dorn</i> : The “small” division, using a cycle of seven generation names.   |
| 9                     | <i>Loz-Zanh</i> (老陳)   | (a) <i>Domh Loz-Zanh</i> : The “big” division, named for the older son of the ancestor. He was supposed to have been bright but not very handsome.<br>(b) <i>Loz-Zanh Dorn</i> : The “small” division, named for the younger son who, although handsome, was not very bright.   |

|    | Clan Names in Iu Mien                          | Sub-clans and notes   |
|----|--|---|
| 10 | <i>Loz-Ziaang/Ziang</i> <sup>107</sup><br>(老沈) | A clan found in Laos but not in Thailand.   |
| 11 | <i>Loz-Siaauh/Siauh</i><br>(老蒋)                | Another clan found in Laos but not in Thailand.   |
| 12 | <i>Loz-Leiz</i> (老李)                           | (a) <i>Loz-Leiz Mbiauz</i> : The “fish” division.<br>(b) <i>Loz-Leiz Heix</i> : The “joyful” division.<br>(c) <i>Loz-Leiz Maeng</i> : The “green” division. |
| 13 | <i>Loz-Lorh</i> (老羅)                           |   |
| 14 | <i>Loz-Liouh</i> (老劉)                          | This clan is said to have been of Chinese origin.   |
| 15 | <i>Loz-Yaangh/Yangh</i><br>(老黃)                | (a) <i>Ta Du Yaangh</i> : The “large belly” division ( <i>Domh gaih sie</i> ).<br>(b) <i>Saan Guoqv Yaangh</i> : The “three countries” division.            |

Iu Mien usually say clan names with a prepositioned *Loz* (老) ‘old’, e.g., *Loz-Bienh Mienh* ‘the Old Bien Clan’. For the prepositioned *loz* (老) ‘old’, see Tan’s explanation in §5.3.4.1. The prepositioned *Loz-* is often reduced to *Lu-*<sup>108</sup> or *La-* atonal, or laxled as *Lor*<sup>109</sup> (cf. §3.3.2.2 “Reduced syllables in sesquisyllables”).

The main written source of clan names used in Thailand but not found in *Jiex Sen Borngv* is a book of surnames, called *Nzung-Junx* /dzunj cun˧/ ‘a song about the Iu Mien surname groups and their lineages’ (Purnell 2012:332). Without entering into the issue of the discrepancy between the clan names found in Thailand and those in *Jiex Sen Borngv*, we shift our attention to additional clan names recorded in *Nzung-Junx*. A cultural note on *Nzung-Junx* is given by Purnell (2012) as follows:

Each surname group has a poetic couplet [see Figure 23] in the literary language to describe its lineage from Bienh Hungh, through both the male and female lines, and extol its virtues. These are found together in a 14-stanza song (an introduction, 12 stanzas in praise of the original 12 clans or lineage groups, and a conclusion). Each stanza gives the *yiem* and the *junx* of the particular clan in the first half-line and a favourable comment in the

<sup>107</sup> Variant pronunciation/spelling with regard to the vowel length seems to exist between Thailand and America. Lombard writes Thailand Iu Mien with long vowels: *Ziaang*, *Siaauh*, and *Yaangh*. Purnell (2012) either presents both (*Loz-Yaangh/Yangh*) or shorter spelling (*Loz-Siauh*).

<sup>108</sup> The original list by Lombard (1968), before being converted from the Old Roman Script to the Unified Script in Table 34, shows the reduced form: e.g., *lub-pienh* (*Lu-Bienh*), *lub-puvd* (*Lu-Bungz*), etc.

<sup>109</sup> This *loz* is often found in contract forms in casual conversation as in *Lorh Dangc Mienh* and *La'Dangc Mienh*, even to the extent that one of my language consultants could not point out that *la'* is a contract form of *loz*. A witty young man’s joke was *Meih se La'Zeuz Mienh; yie se la'guaih Mienh*. ‘You are a man of Zeu clan; I am a careless man!’, *la'guaih* (adv) meaning ‘carelessly, thoughtlessly, impulsively, just doing without thinking’ (Purnell 2012:353).

two middle half-lines. The final half-line mentions the clan's name and gives an observation on some virtuous aspect of the family, house, possessions, crops, etc. (Purnell 2012:332).

For the “literary language” or *nzung-waac* /dzunj wa:/<sup>110</sup>, see §2.4.4 (“Semi-Diaglossic Situation”) and Figure 23 (“The Iu Mien Language System”).

In Thailand the names recorded in the *Nzung-Junx* are more common than those recorded in *Jiex Sen Borngv* (Figure 6) of the *Pʰa'lae Scroll* even though the latter scroll was also found here. This may suggest that *Nzung-Junx* has a shorter history, that is, while *Jiex Sen Borngv* keeps records from what happened in China, *Nzung-Junx* was composed based on the result of their migration to Thailand. Figure 54 shows the front cover (left side of the picture) and the back (right) cover of *Nzung-Junx* (a possession of *Zanh Gueix-Yienx* (陳貴印)).<sup>110</sup>



**Figure 54. Front and back covers of *Nzung-Junx* (courtesy of *Zanh Gueix-Yienx* (陳貴印), Kun Mae Bong village, Doi Luang District, Chiang Rai Province)**

<sup>110</sup> This document has 22 pages containing (Part I) *jaavv-zangv nzung* ‘horoscope song giving some characteristics of persons born in various years of the 60-year cycle (Purnell 2012:305)’ (pp. 1-14) and Part II) *nzung-junx* (pp. 15-22). The song part (excluding introduction) of Part I consists in 68 lines of 14 syllables (characters), comprising 952 characters. The song part (excluding introduction and post script) of Part II consists of 37 lines, of which 2 lines have only 5 characters instead of 14. Thus this *nzung-junx* consists of 509 characters.

Some of the different clan names (to those in *Jiex Sen Borngv*) found in Thailand are shown on pages 19-20 of *Zanh Gueix-Yienx's Nzung-Junx* as in Figure 55:

| Page 20 |         |         |         |         |         | Page 19 |         |         |         |         |         |
|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| L6      | L5      | L4      | L3      | L2      | L1      | L6      | L5      | L4      | L3      | L2      | L1      |
| 四處仙材便竹郎 | 古言各音里枝郎 | 天月樹头照下地 | 古言双音垂楊郎 | 真心守正花龍鷗 | 古言宮音深陽郎 | 身帶起紅旗杏  | 古言政音元春郎 | 涼傘庭身飄元浪 | 江水長流合四海 | 古言雷音像童郎 | 李姓家中真好仙 |
| ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | 陳家門外好行遊 |
| 各林各樹各花閣 | 詔家姊妹能天仙 | 正是真花守貴仙 | 唐姓花閣寡廣美 | 像玉修郎好花閣 | 白水長流过巷鄉 | 白水長流過巷鄉 | 白水長流過巷鄉 | 白水長流過巷鄉 | 白水長流過巷鄉 | 陳家門外好行遊 |         |
| 深樹成林庭地兒 | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | ▲       | 李姓家中真好仙 |

Figure 55. Pages 19-20 of *Nzung-Junx* (courtesy of Zanh Gueix-Yienx (陳貴印))

Those characters indicated by triangles (L3 on page 19, Ls 1 and 3 on page 20) are the names found in Thailand (陳, 羅, 詔) and not in *Jiex Sen Borngv*. Two more such names are written on page 21: 竹 (*Duoqv*) in L1 and 桃 (*Taauh*) in L3 (though a photo image is not presented here). Those that are indicated by arrows (Ls 1 and 5 on page 19, L 5 on page 20), however, are the same as those found in *Jiex Sen Borngv*: 李, 黃, and 唐.

A comparison of twelve clans in Thailand found in *Nzung-Junx* and the other twelve of *Jiex Sen Borngv* of *P'ha'læe Scroll* (i.e. excluding other sources like Theraphan L.-Thongkum and Tan) is shown in Table 35:

**Table 35. Comparison of twelve clan names between *Nzung-Junx* and *Jiex Sen Borngv***

|    | <i>Nzung-Junx</i> in Thailand     |  | <i>Jiex Sen Borngv</i><br>( <i>Pʰa'lae Scroll</i> ) | Note   |
|----|-----------------------------------|--|---|--|
|    |                                   | Page & line in<br><i>Zanh Gueix-</i><br><i>Yienx's</i> version |   |  |
| 1  | 盤 ( <i>Bienh</i> )                | p. 16, L5  | 盤 ( <i>Bienh</i> )                                  |  |
| 2  | 鄧 ( <i>Dangc</i> )                | 18:1   | 鄧 ( <i>Dangc</i> )                                  |  |
| 3  | 趙 ( <i>Zeuz</i> )                 | 18:3   | 趙 ( <i>Zeuz</i> )                                   |  |
| 4  | 馮 ( <i>Bungz</i> )                | 18:5   | 馮 ( <i>Bungz</i> )                                  |  |
| 5  | 李 ( <i>Leiz</i> )                 | 19:1   | 李 ( <i>Leiz</i> )                                   |  |
| 6  | 陳 ( <i>Zanh</i> )                 | 19:3   | not found   |  |
| 7  | 黃 ( <i>Yangh</i> )                | 19:5   | 黃 ( <i>Yangh</i> )                                  |  |
| 8  | 羅 ( <i>Lorh</i> )                 | 20:1   | not found   |  |
| 9  | 韶 ( <i>Siauh</i> ) <sup>111</sup> | 20:3   | not found   |  |
| 10 | 唐 ( <i>Dorngh</i> )               | 20:5   | not found   | 唐( <i>Dorngh</i> ) is found also in <i>Thammajarik Codices A and B</i> , Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1991:40), and Tan (1986b:57) |
| 11 | 竹 ( <i>Duoqv</i> )                | 21:1   | not found   |  |
| 12 | 桃 ( <i>Taauh</i> )                | 21:3   | not found   |  |
| 13 | not found                         |  | 沈 ( <i>Zianh</i> )                                  |  |
| 14 | not found                         |  | 周 ( <i>Caauh</i> )                                  |  |
| 15 | not found                         |  | 胡 ( <i>Borngh</i> )                                 |  |
| 16 | not found                         |  | 鄭 ( <i>Zaengc</i> )                                 |  |
| 17 | not found                         |  | 雷 ( <i>Luih</i> )                                   |  |
| 18 | not found                         |  | 蔣 ( <i>Siauh</i> )                                  |  |

(ium\_20150520\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Nzung-Junx\_KMB;-00.00.12-00.01.05)

There are eighteen clan names all together if one combines those found in *Nzung-Junx* and *Jiex Sen Borngv*. In Thailand the names 1 – 12 in the column of *Nzung-Junx* are commonly found as well as one name from the column of *Jiex Sen Borngv*, i.e., 雷 (*Luih*)(17).<sup>112</sup> The names 13 – 16 and 18 are not found in Thailand.

Some clans are subdivided into “greater” and “lesser” division. For example, *Fingx Zeuz* ‘the Zeu clan’ have *Domh Loz-Zeuz* [big old Zeuz] ‘the Greater Old Zeu clan’ and *Loz-Zeuz-dorn* [old Zeuz small] ‘the lesser Old Zeu clan’.

<sup>111</sup> A scribal error? This character is not found in Chinese. The reading *Siauh* was pronounced with hesitation by Zanh Gueix-Fongc.

<sup>112</sup> *Loz-Luih Mienh* (雷) is very rare in Thailand. There is only two families as far as Kun Mae Mbong village according to Zanh Gueix-Fongc.

### 5.3.2.2 Baan-Buic ‘patrilineal generation names’

Each clan has its own cycle of patrilineal generation names called *baan-bui* [cohort generation.name]. The number of *buic*-names is four to nine depending on clans based on our data. Purnell (2012:58), on the other hand, mentions up to seven: “Each lineage (clan) or its subgroup has a particular set and order of cyclical generation names, usually between four and seven”. An example, a six-*buic* cycle, is in (161):

- (161<sup>-1</sup>) *Yie mbuo Loz-Zanh mienh maaih juqv buic.*  
 ໃໝໍ ບັວ ໄດ້-ຜົ່ນ ເມື່ຍນ ມ່າຍ ຈູ ປູ້ຍ.  
 iə́l buə́l loŋ tsan˥ miən˥ ma:i˥ cu?˥ pʷi˥  
 1 PL Old.Zan.clan people have six generation.names  
 ‘We Old Zan clan people have six generation names.’  
 (ium\_20130427\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Greetings-KMB;00.08.38-40)

- (161<sup>-2</sup>) *Zanx Wuonh Fux Gueix Yunh Yauz*  
 ທັນ ວຸນ ຜູ ແກ້ວຍ ຢຸນ ເຢ້າ  
 tsan˩ uʷən˩ fu˩ kʷei˩ jun˩ jau˩  
 Zan Wuon Fu Guei Yun Yau  
 ‘We Old Zan clan people have six generation names.’  
 (ium\_20130427\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Greetings-KMB;00.09.09-28)

All these generation names are written in Chinese characters: *Zanx* (進), *Wuonh* (文), *Fux* (富), *Gueix* (貴), *Yunh* (元), and *Yauz* (有). Also among the Chinese, they are used as a part of given names, not surnames; for example, *Fux* (富) and *Gueix* (貴) are quite common.

Another example is the *biei buic* ‘four generation names’ of *Domh Loz-Zeuz* ‘the greater Old Zeu clan’: *Jiem* (金), *Fux* (富), *Waanc* (万), and *Yunh* (元). In fact, *Loz-Zeuz-Dorn* ‘the lesser Old Zeu clan’ has six generation names (161), thus the distinction between *Domh* ‘big’ and *Dorn* ‘small’ is not based on the numbers of *buic* as mentioned in (162):

- (162) *mv.baac Loz-Zeuz-Dorn yaac maaih juqv buic*  
 ມໍ.ປໍາ ໄດ້-ເຊົວ-ດອນ ພໍາ ມ່າຍ ຈູ ປູ້ຍ  
 m˥ pa:˩ loŋ tseuŋ tɔn˧ ja:˩ ma:i˥ cu?˥ pʷi˥  
 but lesser.old.zeu also have six generation.names  
 ‘but the lesser Old Zeu clan also has six generation names.’  
 (ium\_20130427\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Greetings-KMB;00.13.18-20)

Note that *Loz-Zeuz-Dorn* ‘the lesser Old Zeu clan’ has six<sup>113</sup> generation names while *Dom-Loz-Zeuz* ‘the greater Old Zeu clan’ only four. This inconsistency is due to internal changes and intermarriage between subclans, a reason stated by Zanh Gueix-Fongc that: *Ninh mbuo tiuv mingh tiuv daaih nyei* [3 PL change GO change COME ASST] ‘they kept changing (their generation names)’ (ium\_20130427\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Greetings-KMB;00.13.18-20;00.13.22-6).

Some subclans have names with colour terms. They provide interesting information regarding the two ways of modifying the head noun:

*Loz-Dangc-mbuov* [old Dnagc blue] ‘the blue Old Dang clan’

*Loz-Leiz-mbuov* [old Leiz blue] ‘the blue Old Lei clan’

*Loz-Leiz-maeng* [old Leiz green] ‘the green Old Lei clan’

*Loz-Bungz-siqv* [old Bungz red] ‘the red Old Bung clan’<sup>114</sup>

While *loz* ‘old’ precedes the clan name or the head noun, the colour terms (*mbuov* ‘blue’, *maeng* ‘green’, *siqv* ‘red’) follow it. This issue will be addressed in §5.5.1 as a bridge to the method of word formation, which will be discussed in more details in Chapter 6, including two different classes of adjectives delineated in §6.5.2.

Tan (1986:48) presents some other subclans (excluding those with unattested accurate Iu Mien pronunciations) such as:

*Loz-Leiz fongc*<sup>115</sup> [old Leiz dedicate (奉)] ‘the offered Old Lei clan’

*Loz-Leiz nyutc* [old Leiz sun (日)] ‘the solar Old Lei clan’

*Loz-Leiz mbiauz* [old Leiz fish (魚)] ‘the fish Old Lei clan’

According to the “order of cyclical generation names” men who belong to their particular clan will be named in succession. Listen to the following explanation in the case of *Domh Loz-Dangc Mienh* (大老鄧) ‘the greater Old Dang clan’, which has four *buic* or generation names (163):

<sup>113</sup> From a different source, that is in Maechan District, Chiang Rai province, nine generation names of *Loz-Zeuz dorn* ‘the lesser Old Zeu clan’ has been reported: *Daqv* (德), *Jiem* (金), *Saeng* (承), *Wuonh* (文), *Zoih* (財), *Fux* (富), *Gueix* (貴), *Yauz* (有), and *Zanx* (進).

<sup>114</sup> This ‘red Bung’ was taken from Tan (1986:48) but it is considerably difficult to know accurate Iu Mien pronunciations of the names of other clans and subclans therein.

<sup>115</sup> Tone sandhi between *Leiz* and the following modifiers is not recorded in Tan (1986).

|                      |  |                    |                 |              |
|----------------------|--|--------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| (163 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Dangc-kangc</i> <sup>116</sup>  | <i>Dangc-mbuov</i> | <i>La'Dangc</i> | <i>Mienh</i> |
| MS                   | ຕັ້ງ-ບັງ   | ຕັ້ງ-ບົວ           | ຫລະຕັ້ງ         | ເມື່ອນ       |
|                      | taŋ˥ kʰaŋ˥   | taŋ˥ bʷəŋ˥         | la taŋ˥         | miən˧        |
|                      | Dang-dark.purple   | Dang-blue          | old'Dang        | Mien         |
|                      | 'We are the dark purple Dang, or the blue Dang clan, the Old Dang Mien.' |                    |                 |              |

|                      |   |                 |              |
|----------------------|---|-----------------|--------------|
| (163 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Domh</i>                                   | <i>La'Dangc</i> | <i>orqcζ</i> |
| YJ                   | ຕົ້ມ  | ຫລະຕັ້ງ         | ເອາະໄ        |
|                      | tom˧  | la taŋ˥         | ɔ?˧          |
|                      | big   | Old Dang        | Q            |
|                      | '(You are) the greater Old Dang, aren't you?' |                 |              |

|                      |  |            |             |              |             |                 |               |                           |
|----------------------|--|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| (163 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Aec</i>   | <i>yie</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>biei</i> | <i>buic</i>     | <i>nzuonx</i> | <i>ong</i> <sup>117</sup> |
| MS                   | ໄລ່  | ຢືຍ        | ນິວ         | ນໍາຍ         | ເປີຍ        | ນູ້ຍ            | ຫ້າວນ         | ອງ                        |
|                      | ε˥   | iə˧        | buə˧        | ma:i˧        | p̥i˧        | pn̥i˧           | dzʷən˧        | oŋ˧                       |
|                      | yes  | 1          | PL          | have         | four        | generation.name | return        | grandfather               |
|                      | 'Yes, we have four generation names. (After completing the four generations, we) return to the grandfather's (generation name).' |            |             |              |             |                 |               |                           |

|                      |  |                 |                    |               |             |             |
|----------------------|--|-----------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| (163 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>Biei</i>                                  | <i>buic</i>     | <i>naaic</i>       | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>haiv</i> | <i>nor?</i> |
| YJ                   | ເປີຍ   | ນູ້ຍ            | ໜ່າຍ               | ຫນັ້ງ         | ໄໝ          | ນອ?         |
|                      | p̥ei˧  | p̥i˧            | na:i˧              | ŋ̥aŋ˥         | hai˥        | nɔ˧         |
|                      | four   | generation.name | DEM <sub>TOP</sub> | like          | what        | as          |
|                      | 'How do these four generation names rotate?' |                 |                    |               |             |             |

|                      |   |                 |               |                    |            |
|----------------------|---|-----------------|---------------|--------------------|------------|
| (163 <sup>-5</sup> ) | <i>Biei</i>                                   | <i>buic</i>     | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>nv</i>          | <i>nor</i> |
| MS                   | ເປີຍ  | ນູ້ຍ            | ຫນັ້ງ         | ນູ້                | ນອ         |
|                      | p̥ei˧   | p̥i˧            | ŋ̥aŋ˥         | ŋ̥˥                | nɔ˧        |
|                      | four  | generation.name | like          | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | as         |
|                      | 'The four generation names rotate like this.' |                 |               |                    |            |

<sup>116</sup> *Kangc* probably is related to Chinese *gàn* (紺) ‘dark purple’.

<sup>117</sup> *Ong* means a ‘grandfather’ but here she (the speaker) refers to her own father in this term because of his age and appearance, i.e., a little over 90 years old in 2013.

|                      |            |             |            |               |             |                             |            |               |              |
|----------------------|------------|-------------|------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------------------|------------|---------------|--------------|
| (163 <sup>-6</sup> ) | <i>yie</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>dae</i> | <i>nzuonx</i> | <i>Zanx</i> | <i>naeqv</i> <sup>118</sup> | <i>yie</i> | <i>nzuonx</i> | <i>Wuonh</i> |
| MS                   | ເມື່ອ      | ເລຸຍ        | ແດ         | ຫ້າວນ         | ຫົກັນ       | ແນະ                         | ເມື່ອ      | ຫ້າວນ         | ວ່ານ         |
|                      | iə́l       | ŋeɪl        | tél       | dzʷən̩l       | tsan̩l      | ne?l                        | iə́l       | dzʷən̩l       | uʷən̩l       |
|                      | 1          | POSS        | dad        | return        | Zan         | so.then                     | 1          | return        | Wuon         |

‘My father returns to Zan, and then I will return to Wuon.’

|                      |            |             |             |            |             |                 |               |            |
|----------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|------------|
| (163 <sup>-7</sup> ) | <i>Aec</i> | <i>liuz</i> | <i>aeqv</i> | <i>yie</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>fu'jueiv</i> | <i>nzuonx</i> | <i>Fux</i> |
| MS                   | ແອ່        | ຄົ້ວ        | ແອ້ະ        | ເມື່ອ      | ເລຸຍ        | ຝູຈົວີຂ         | ຫ້າວນ         | ຝ          |
|                      | έl        | liúl       | ε?l         | iə́l       | ŋeɪl        | fu cʷeíl       | dzʷən̩l       | fūl        |

yes finish PDP 1 POSS child return Fu  
‘Yes, and then, my children will return to Fu.’

|                      |            |             |             |                  |            |  |            |             |
|----------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|------------|--|------------|-------------|
| (163 <sup>-8</sup> ) | <i>yie</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>gu'nguaaz</i> | <i>fun</i> |  | <i>nor</i> | <i>aeqv</i> |
| MS                   | ເມື່ອ      | ເລຸຍ        | ວັວ         | ຖົງວຳ            | ຸນ         |  | ນອ         | ແອ້ະ        |
|                      | iə́l       | ŋeɪl        | uə́l        | ku ŋʷa:l         | funl       |  | nɔ́l       | ε?l         |

1 POSS DEM baby grandchild TOP PDP  
‘As for my grandsons,’

|                      |               |             |                |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|
| (163 <sup>-9</sup> ) | <i>nzuonx</i> | <i>Zoih</i> | <i>na'maah</i> |
| MS                   | ຫ້າວນ         | ຕ່ອຍ        | ນໍາມ່າະ        |
|                      | dzʷən̩l       | tsɔíl      | na ma:l        |

return Zoi you.see  
‘(they will) return to Zoih, you see.’

|                       |             |             |             |             |             |            |                |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|----------------|
| (163 <sup>-10</sup> ) | <i>aeqv</i> | <i>Zoih</i> | <i>liuz</i> | <i>aeqv</i> | <i>Zanx</i> | <i>aqv</i> | <i>na'maah</i> |
| MS                    | ແອ້ະ        | ຕ່ອຍ        | ຄົ້ວ        | ແອ້ະ        | ຫົກັນ       | ອື່ກ       | ນໍາມ່າະ        |
|                       | ε?l         | tsɔíl      | liúl       | ε?l         | tsan̩l      | a?l        | na ma:l        |

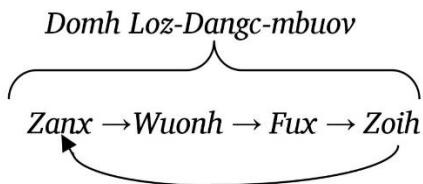
PDP Zoi finish PDP Zan NSIT SFP  
‘then, comes to Zoi, after that has returned back to Zan again, you see!’

|                       |              |               |             |             |  |             |               |            |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|--|-------------|---------------|------------|
| (163 <sup>-11</sup> ) | <i>Naaic</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>biei</i> | <i>buic</i> |  | <i>wuov</i> | <i>nyungc</i> | <i>wev</i> |
| MS                    | ໜ່າຍ         | ກຶ່ອງ         | ເປີຍ        | ປຸ່ຍ        |  | ວັວ         | ໜູ່ງ          | ເວ້        |
|                       | na:ił        | kɔŋg̩l        | p̩eɪl       | p̩wíl       |  | uə́l        | ŋuŋg̩l        | we̩l       |

DEM<sub>MID</sub> say four generation.name DEM kind SFP  
‘These are so-called four generation names, you see.’  
(ium\_20130518\_02\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng&daughter\_Baan-buic\_KMB;00.00.01-40)

<sup>118</sup> Q= *naeqv*, K= *nor aeqv* [as PDP] ‘so then’.

To summarise, a man of the *Domh Loz-Dangc-Kang* (大老鄧紺) or *Domh Loz-Dangc-mbuov* inherits the *buic*-name *Zanx* (進), then the ego inherits *Wuonh* (文), whose male children inherits *Fux* (富), and the ego's grandsons *Zoih* (財). On completion of this cycle, *Zoih*'s sons will take over *Zanx* and the cycle will continue to rotate further down the generations. *Dangc* clan's *buic* is schematised as follows:



Some attested examples of clans and subclans are listed in Table 36:

**Table 36. Examples of Generation Names**

|   | <i>Fingx</i><br>(Clan<br>Name) | Subclan  | <i>Buic</i><br>(Generation Names)   | Notes  |
|---|--------------------------------|--|---|--|
| 1 | <i>Loz-Bienh</i><br>(老盤)       |  | <i>Yauz</i> (有), <i>Gueix</i> (貴), <i>Fux</i> (富),<br><i>Wuonh</i> (文)  | Purnell<br>(2012:831)  |
| 2 | <i>Loz-Bungz</i><br>(老馮)       |  | <i>Saeng</i> (承), <i>Yunh</i> (元 ?), <i>Cun</i> (春), <i>Wuonh</i><br>(文), <i>Jiem</i> (金)   | Pang Ma'nau,<br>Klonglaan,<br>Kamphaeng<br>Phet, 6 May<br>2013 |
| 3 | <i>Loz-Dangc</i><br>(老鄧)       | <i>Domh Loz-</i><br><i>Dangc-Kang</i>              | <i>Zanx</i> (進), <i>Wuonh</i> (文), <i>Fux</i> (富), <i>Zoih</i> (財)  | (163 <sup>6-10</sup> )   |
|   |                                | <i>another<br/>subclan</i>                         | <i>Fux</i> (富), <i>Gueix</i> (貴), <i>Yunh</i> (元), <i>Yauz</i> (有),<br><i>Zanx</i> (進), <i>Wuonh</i> (文)  | Purnell<br>(2012:831)  |
| 4 | <i>Loz-Zeuz</i><br>(老趙)        | <i>Domh Loz-</i><br><i>Zeuz</i><br>(greater)       | <i>Jiem</i> (金), <i>Fux</i> (富), <i>Waanc</i> (万), <i>Yunh</i> (元)  | Kun Mae<br>Bong, Chiang<br>Rai, 27 April<br>2013               |
|   |                                | <i>Loz-Zeuz</i><br><i>Dorn</i><br>(lesser)         | <i>Daqv</i> (德), <i>Jiem</i> (金), <i>Saeng</i> (承),<br><i>Wuonh</i> (文), <i>Zoih</i> (財), <i>Fux</i> (富),<br><i>Gueix</i> (貴), <i>Yauz</i> (有), <i>Zanx</i> (進) | Thammajarik,<br>Chiang Rai,<br>17 March,<br>2013               |
| 5 | <i>Loz-Zanh</i><br>(老陳)        |  | <i>Zanx</i> (進), <i>Wuonh</i> (文), <i>Fux</i> (富),<br><i>Gueix</i> (貴), <i>Yunh</i> (元), <i>Yauz</i> (有)  | Kun Mae<br>Bong, 27<br>April 2013                              |
| 6 | <i>Loz-Leiz</i><br>(老李)        | <i>Loz-Leiz</i><br><i>Yih (Fish</i><br><i>Lei)</i> | <i>Yih (Ih)</i> (魚), <i>Zanx</i> (進), <i>Yauz</i> (有), <i>Saeng</i><br>(承), <i>Fux</i> (富)  | Pang Kha –<br>Pang Phrik<br>Villagers'                         |

| <i>Fingx</i><br>(Clan<br>Name) | Subclan                                       | <i>Buic</i><br>(Generation Names)   | Notes  |
|--------------------------------|---|---|--|
|                                | <i>Loz-Leiz Maeng</i><br>( <i>Green Lei</i> ) | <i>Fux</i> (富), <i>Wuonh</i> (文), <i>Zanx</i> (進), <i>Zoih</i> (財)                      | Organisation & IMPECT (n.d.) pp. 39-40.            |
| 7                              | <i>Loz-Liouh</i><br>(老劉)                      | <i>Jiem</i> (金), <i>Zanx</i> (進), <i>Daqv</i> (德), <i>Yauz</i> (有),<br><i>Wuonh</i> (文) | Pang Ma'nau, Klonglaan, Kamphaeng Phet, 6 May 2013 |
| 8                              | <i>Loz-Yangh</i><br>(老黃)                      | <i>Wuonh</i> (文), <i>Jiem</i> (金), <i>Yunh</i> (元), <i>Tong</i> (?),<br><i>Zanx</i> (進) | Purnell (2012:831)                                 |

From a different source, that is in Maechan District, Chiang Rai province, nine generation names of *Loz-Zeuz* born ‘the lesser Old Zeu clan’ has been reported: *Daqv* (德), *Jiem* (金), *Saeng* (承), *Wuonh* (文), *Zoih* (財), *Fux* (富), *Gueix* (貴), *Yauz* (有), and *Zanx* (進).

### **5.3.3 Adult Names and Childhood Names**

Observe the following conversation that an Iu Mien man has two names: an adult name and a childhood name as in (164):

|   |                            |              |              |              |
|---|----------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| (164 <sup>-1</sup> )                            | <i>Lorh</i> <sup>119</sup> | <i>Dangc</i> | <i>Mienh</i> | <i>orqcj</i> |
| JY  | ໄລ້-                       | ຕໍ່ງ         | ເມື່ຍນ       | ເອາະຈ        |
| lo\   | taŋ\                       | miən\        | ɔʔ\          |              |
| old   | Dang                       | Mien         | Q            |              |
| ‘(So) you are the (old) Dang clan, aren’t you?’ |                            |              |              |              |

|                      |   |              |
|----------------------|---|--------------|
| (164 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Aec, La'</i>                           | <i>Dangc</i> |
| FH                   | ແອ້,                                      | ຫລະ ຕັ້ງ     |
|                      | ε]  | la tanj]     |
|                      | Yes                                       | old Dang     |
|                      | ‘Yes, (I am a man of) the Old Dang clan.’ |              |

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (164 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>hnangv naaic meih domh mienh mbuox heuc haiv.nyungc orq?</i> |
| YJ                   | ໝນັ້ງ ແນ່າຍ ເມ່ຍ ຕົ້ມ ເມື່ຍນ ບັ້ວ ໄກ່ວ ໄກສ່າ.ໜລູ່ງ ເອະ?         |
|                      | ຫຼັງໝາຍ ນາຍ ເມ ຕົມ ມື່ນ ບັວ ໄກ່ວ ຫ້າຍ ພາຍ ວ?                    |
|                      | then 2SG adult name call what Q                                 |
|                      | ‘So then, how is your adult name called?’                       |

<sup>119</sup> *Lorh* = O, K = *loz-*. A lax variation of the prefixal adjective in names is common.

(164<sup>-4</sup>) *Yie Fux-Hin aex.*  
 FH ເຢ້ຍ ຜູ-ຫິນ ໂອດ.  
 iə́ fu?˩ hin˧ ε:˧  
 1 Fu Hin SFP  
 ‘I am Fu Hin (富興), you see.’

(164<sup>-5</sup>) *Fux-Hin orqcᢚ Dangc Fux-Hin*  
 YJ ຜູ-ຫິນ ເອຈະກຸ ຕັ້ງ ຜູ-ຫິນ  
 fu?˩ hin˧ ɔ?˨ taj˩ fu?˩ hin˧  
 Fu Hin Q Dangc Fu Hin  
 ‘(You are called) Fu Hin, right? (So the full name is Mr) Dang Fu Hin.’

(164<sup>-6</sup>) *Aec Dangc Fux-Hin*<sup>120</sup>  
 FH ໂອດ ຕັ້ງ ຜູ-ຫິນ  
 ε˩ taj˩ fu?˩ hin˧  
 yes Dangc Fu Hin  
 ‘Yes, (I am) Dang Fu Hin.’

(164<sup>-7</sup>) *A'jang naaic gorngv meih naaic fu'jueiv mbuox.*  
 FH ອະຈັງ ມາຍ ກົງ ເມຍ ມາຍ ຜູເຈວີບ ບັງ.  
 a caŋ˧ na:i˩ kɔŋ˥ mei˧ na:i˩ fu c<sup>w</sup>ei˥ buə˧  
 earlier DEM<sub>MID</sub> say 2SG ask child name  
 ‘(the name) I told you earlier (when) you asked me (first was my)  
 childhood name.’  
 (ium\_20130528\_06\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng\_FaamCingCuotvSeix\_  
 KMB;00.05.26-40)

The *fingx mbuox* or surname *La'Dangc* in (164<sup>-2</sup>) is a contraction of *Loz-Dangc* (老鄧). In a more formal self-introduction an Iu Mien would say *Loz-Dangc Mienh* ‘a person of the Old Dang clan’. In (164<sup>-3</sup>) his *domh mienh mbuox* ‘adult name’ was asked. Responding to the question, he gave his adult name *Fux-Hin* (164<sup>-4</sup>). So the full name is *Dangc Fux-Hin* (鄧富興) (164<sup>-6</sup>). When giving one’s full name there is no need to prefix *Loz* to the clan name, thus not like *Loz-Dangc Fux-Hin* (老鄧富興).

Here we have two sets of polysyllabic combinations: *Loz-Dangc* and *Dangc Fux-Hin*. A contrast between the presence and absence of tone sandhi in connecting syllables tells us something about a linguistic status of units. Note there is no tone

<sup>120</sup> The speaker repeats this sentence twice (00.05.35-6) but edited here.

sandhi between the clan and personal names. Furthermore there is a prosodic pause between them. On the other hand, the prepositional adjective *loz* /lo˧˥/ undergoes tone sandhi resulting in /lo˧/. In most cases the first syllable of an adult personal name consisting of two may undergo tone sandhi. The first element of the two-syllable personal name *Fux-Hin* observes tone sandhi from /fu˧˧/ to /fu˧˥/ (§3.3.3.5). Tone sandhi between the two syllables of other personal names is attested in such cases as *Gueix-Zoih* /gʷei˧ tsɔi˧/ (</gʷei˧/) and *Yauz-Jiem* /jau˧ ciəm˧/ (</jau˧/). From these it may be safe to say that, phonologically *Loz-Dangc* is one unit and so is *Fux-Hin*.

As in this case of the first time meeting and a formal occasion, people prefer to use *domh mienh mbuox* ‘adult name’ rather than *fu’jueiv mbuox* ‘childhood name’ (164<sup>7</sup>). An Iu Mein man starts using *domh mienh mbuox* around the time of marriage leaving *fu’jueiv mbuox* behind. His parents and peers, however, would continue to use his *fu’jueiv mbuox*. Iu Mien women continue to use their names given at the time of birth. How are children named and how do men get their adult name?

### 5.3.4 Childhood Names: Birth Order and Circumstantial

Iu Mien babies are named in two ways. One is by the birth order, the other is nicknames given according to various circumstances at the time of birth. These two methods are practiced in both cases of sons and daughters.

#### 5.3.4.1 Naming by birth order

For both sons and daughters their birth order names can be written in Chinese characters. Both may be preceded by modifiers: boy’s name by *Lauv* (老)<sup>121</sup> ‘old’ and girl’s by *Muic* (妹) ‘younger sister’. Tan (1986) provides valuable information regarding the modifier or an adjective *lauv* (老) ‘old’ showing the Iu Mien’s cultural affinity to Chinese:

This naming system is similar to one of the Chinese naming systems. To the Chinese, old people are senior in age, more experienced, and must be respected. Thus *lao* [*lauv* in Iu Mien] “old” has become a term of respect. As early as the Han dynasty, the Chinese began to use *lao* or other words meaning “old” in their adult names or *tzu* (字). Thus for centuries *lao* has been popularly attached to a person’s name. It has also become a symbol of intimacy. Thus *lao* may be added to the surname of a close friend, for example, Lao Li (老李) ‘Old Li’. As among the Yao [Iu Mien], it is also

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<sup>121</sup> Note that there are two ways of pronunciation in Iu Mien for one Chinese character as far as 老 is concerned, *lauv* and *loz*, the latter being used as a prepositioned modifier to *fingx* or clan names (cf. §5.3.2.1).

added to the birth number, for example, Lao Ta (老大) ‘Old Big’, Lao Eu (老二) ‘Old Second’, and so on (Tan 1986:49).

“Just as Lao indicates a male name”, Tan goes on to say, “Mui (妹) indicates a female name” (Tan 1986:51), which is added before the girl’s number name, e.g., *Muic Faam* (妹三) ‘sister Three’. However, *Muic* is often reduced to a syllabic nasal *M'* /m/ (atonal) or to what Purnell (2012:401) terms “bound form”. Furthermore, the bound form “*M'*” is usually dropped when the name or birth order number is modified or specified, as in *Feix Nziez* ‘Younger Sister Four’ (of a woman) [instead of *M'Feix Nziez*] or *Faam Dorc* ‘Older Sister Three’ [instead of *M'Faam Dorc*]” (ibid. 401). By combining Tan’s (1986:50-2) and Purnell’s (2012:829) studies, we get a summary in

Table 37.

**Table 37. Childhood names by birth order**

| Boy’s name |                   | Girl’s name  |                   |  |
|------------|-------------------|--|-------------------|--|
|            | Chinese character | Iu Mien  | Chinese character |  |
| 1          | 老大                | <i>La'Gauv</i> < <i>Lauv-Gauv</i>  | 妹姉<br>妹姊          | <i>Gu'Meix</i> , < <i>Guh Meix</i> ,<br><i>M'Muangz</i> , < <i>Muic Muangz</i> ,<br><i>M'Meix</i> < <i>Muic Meix</i> |
| 2          | 老二                | <i>Da'Naix</i> , <i>Lauv Eix</i> ,<br><i>Lauv Leix</i> , <i>Lauv Lox</i> | 妹二                | <i>M'Naix</i> < <i>Muic Naix</i>   |
| 3          | 老三                | <i>Lauv Saan</i>   | 妹三                | <i>M'Faam</i> < <i>Muic Faam</i>   |
| 4          | 老四                | <i>Lauv Sux</i>  | 妹四                | <i>M'Feix</i> < <i>Muic Feix</i>   |
| 5          | 老五                | <i>Lauv Uuv</i>  | 妹五                | <i>M'Manv</i> < <i>Muic Manv</i> ,<br><i>M'Liuv</i> < <i>Muic Liuv</i>   |
| 6          | 老六                | <i>Lauv Luc</i>  | 妹六                | <i>M'Goiv</i> < <i>Muic Goiv</i> ,<br><i>M'Yienc</i> < <i>Muic Yienc</i>   |
| 7          | 老七                | <i>Lauv Cic</i>  | 妹七                | <i>M'Cietv</i> < <i>Muic Cietv</i>   |
| 8          | 老八                | <i>Lauv Baac</i>   | 妹八                | <i>M'Betv</i> < <i>Muic Betv</i>   |
| 9          | 老九                | <i>Lauv Jouv</i>   | 妹九                | <i>M'Jouv</i> < <i>Muic Jouv</i>   |
| 10         | 老十                | <i>Lauv Sic</i> , <i>Lauv Sipv</i>                                       | 妹十                | <i>M'Ziepc</i> < <i>Muic Ziepc</i>   |

The girls’ names in Chinese characters listed here are not found in Tan (1986) but have been provided analogically from Purnell’s (2012) description. One more thing to be pointed out is the high tone in *Sipv* /sip˥/ ‘ten’ in *Lauv Sipv* (老十) (10). Purnell (ibid. 829) explains that this word with its tone was borrowed from “the

Chiangrai dialect of Northern Thai". Support for this is seen in a name of a village baring this personal name in Maechan District being spoken this way. More and more people nowadays, however, are referring to this village *Lauv-Sipc laangz* /lau˥sip˩la:ŋ˧˩/ 'Lau Sip village' with a Central Thai tone on the word *sip*.

Tan's (1986:52) list, on the other hand, shows the ordinal numbers in Chinese for names of female infant as follows in Table 38 (Iu Mien Unified Script and IPA are added following (112a-j) in §3.3.2.2):

**Table 38. The numerical system for female infant names by Tan**

| Birth Sequence | Characters | Yao [Iu Mien] Pronunciation |                              | Mandarin Pronunciation | Literal     |
|----------------|------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|-------------|
|                |            | Tan's                       | Unified Script               |                        |             |
| 1              | 第一         | Te Ye                       | <i>Da'yietv</i> /ta jet˥/    | Ti I                   | The First   |
| 2              | 第二         | Te Ngeh                     | <i>Da'nyeic</i> /ta nej˩/    | Ti Erh                 | The Second  |
| 3              | 第三         | Te Fam                      | <i>Da'faam</i> /ta fa:m˥/    | Ti San                 | The Third   |
| 4              | 第四         | Te Fey                      | <i>Da'feix</i> /ta fej˧/     | Ti Szu                 | The Fourth  |
| 5              | 第五         | Te Hm                       | <i>Da'hmz</i> /ta m˧˩/       | Ti Wu                  | The Fifth   |
| 6              | 第六         | Te Lua                      | <i>Da'luoqc</i> /ta luə?˩/   | Ti Lu                  | The Sixth   |
| 7              | 第七         | Te Cheh                     | <i>Da'ciety</i> /ta tsʰjet˥/ | Ti Ch'i                | The Seventh |
| 8              | 第八         | Te Pei                      | <i>Da'betv</i> /ta pet˥/     | Ti Pa                  | The Eighth  |
| 9              | 第九         | Te Chua                     | <i>Da'juov</i> /ta cuə?˧/    | Ti Chiu                | The Ninth   |
| 10             | 第十         | Te Chib                     | <i>Da'ziepc</i> /ta tsʰəp˩/  | Ti Shih                | The Tenth   |

Among the Iu Mien in Thailand, however, the ordinal numbers are not used as addressing terms nor as personal names for female or male as far as we know.

### 5.3.4.2 Naming according to birth circumstance

Childhood name may be given by *nity* 'to be close, in connection with'; that is, given by taking a clue from the circumstance in which the baby was born. Purnell (2012:830) provides some examples as follows: *Cengx* 'struggle to free (?)', *Kaeqv* 'guest', *Liuh* 'field hut', *Louc* 'trail, road', *Sai* 'wrap around waist', *Zaanc* 'inferior'. Since these names are unrelated with gender (and birth order), *Ong-* for boys and *M'* for girls are prepositioned to specify. In addition, the father's given name's second syllable is attached at the end, for example, *Ong-Liuh Zanx*.

See an example of *Louc* in (165<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (165<sup>-1</sup>) *Louc Jiem naaic/*  
 ໂ້າລ່ວ ່ືຍມ ພນ່າຍ  
*lou↓ c<sup>j</sup>em↑ na:i↓*  
*Lou Jiem DEM<sub>TOP</sub>*  
 ‘Talking about (a person who has a name) Lou Jiem,’

- (165<sup>-2</sup>) *nc dauh yiem ndaamv-jauv yungz daaih*  
 ນໍ ເຕ້າ ເຢືມ ດ້າມ-ເຈົ້າ ຢູ້ງ ດ້າຍ  
*ṇ↓ tau↓ jem↑ da:m↓ cau↑ juŋz↓ tai↓*  
*DEM<sub>MID</sub> CLF be.at half-road give.birth.to COME*  
 ‘this person was born on the way [to a hospital perhaps]’

- (165<sup>-3</sup>) *mv zeiz yiem biauv*  
 ມໍ ເຕ້ຍ ເຢືມ ເປີ້າ  
*ₘ↑ tsei↓ jem↑ p<sup>j</sup>au↑*  
 NEG be.correct be.at house  
 ‘not (born) at home.’  
 (ium\_20130523\_01\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_NzungNyeiWaac\_  
 Thammajarik;00.00.06-10)

*Louc* (路) means ‘road’ and *Jiem* (金) ‘gold’ is taken from the second syllable of this person’s father’s given name, e.g., *Fux-Jiem* or *Yauz-Jiem* etc. Thus, the name *Louc Jiem* means the son of Mr X-*Jiem*, born on the way to somewhere. By this name, however, it is not possible to know this boy’s birth order, whether he is the first or the second born etc. In other words, the circumstantial clue dominates over the birth order in the case of a baby who was born in a particular way. If this baby was born in a family of Dangc clan, his/her full childhood name is *Dangc Louc Jiem*. Also, the distinction of male and female is not indicated in the names given according to birth circumstances. They, and examples below also, can be used for both sons and daughters.

*Louc*, whose synonym is *jauv* (165<sup>-2</sup>), belongs to *nzung nyei waac* [song SBCP word] ‘song language, or literary language’ (see §2.3.4). Incidentally, this is another example of the semi-diglossia situation or a layered lexicon in Iu Mien (cf. Figure 23 **The Iu Mien Language System**).

There are names like *Liuh Hiaang*, *Liuh Daqv* etc. with *Liuh* as the first syllable of the given name. Their circumstantial origin is as follows (166):

- (166) *Yiem* *wuov* *yiem* *ndeic-liuh* *yungz* *daaih* *heuc* *Liuh*  
 ເມື່ອນ ວ້ວ ເມື່ອນ ເດີຍ-ຄືວ ຢູ້ງ ດ້າຍ ເຫວ ຄືວ  
*jem<sup>1</sup>* *uə̚ŋ* *jem<sup>1</sup>* *dei<sub>N</sub>* *liu<sub>N</sub>* *jun<sub>N</sub>* *ta:i<sub>N</sub>* *heu<sub>N</sub>* *liu<sub>N</sub>*  
 be.in DEM be.in field-hut give.birth.to COME call Liu  
 ‘If a baby was born there, at a field hut, he/she will be called Liu.’  
 (ium\_20130523\_01\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_NzungNyeiWaac\_Thammajarik;00.00.21-4)

With regard to names like *Kaeqv Siou*, *Kaeqv Guang*, *Kaeqv Nquenc* etc. with *kaeqv* ‘guest’ for both male and female names, the circumstance of the birth is explained in (167):

- (167<sup>1</sup>) “*Kaeqv*” *naaic* *maaih* *mbuo* *kaeqv* *yiem* *mbuo* *biauv*  
 “ແກະ” ທນ່າຍ ມ່າຍ ບ້າ ແກະ ເມື່ອນ ບ້າ ເປົ້າ  
*k<sup>h</sup>ε<sub>1</sub>* *na:i<sub>N</sub>* *ma:i<sub>N</sub>* *buə̚ŋ* *k<sup>h</sup>ε<sub>1</sub>* *jem<sup>1</sup>* *buə̚ŋ* *p<sup>h</sup>au<sup>ŋ</sup>*  
 “Kae”” DEM<sub>TOP</sub> have PL guest be.in PL house  
 ‘As for the name “Kaeqv”, (when) we have our guest in our home,’

- (167<sup>2</sup>) *hnangv* *meih* *daaih* *yiem* *jienv* *nv* *nyei* *biauv* *nor* *aeqv*  
 ຂນ້ຳ ເມ່ຍ ຕ້າຍ ເມື່ອນ ເຈື້ນ ນໍ ເຄູນ ເປົ້າ ນອ ແອັບ  
*ຖາŋ<sup>ŋ</sup>* *mei<sub>N</sub>* *ta:i<sub>N</sub>* *jem<sup>1</sup>* *c<sup>h</sup>en<sup>ŋ</sup>* *ຖ<sup>ŋ</sup>* *nei<sub>N</sub>* *p<sup>h</sup>au<sup>ŋ</sup>* *nɔ<sub>N</sub>* *ɛ?*  
 like 2 come be.in CONT 1 POSS house as PDP  
 ‘just like you came to stay in my house,’

- (167<sup>3</sup>) *yie* *nyei* *biauv* *maaih* *mienh* *yungz* *gu'nguaaz*  
 ເມື່ຍ ເຄູນ ເປົ້າ ມ່າຍ ເມື່ອນ ຢູ້ງ ຄຸ້ງວໍາ  
*iə̚l* *nei<sub>N</sub>* *p<sup>h</sup>au<sup>ŋ</sup>* *ma:i<sub>N</sub>* *miən<sub>N</sub>* *jun<sub>N</sub>* *ku n<sup>h</sup>wa:<sub>N</sub>*  
 1 POSS house have person give.birth.to baby  
 ‘(in such a situation, if there is) a mother giving birth to a child,’

- (167<sup>4</sup>) *heuc* “*Kaeqv*”  
 ເຫວ “ແກະ”  
*heu<sub>N</sub>* *k<sup>h</sup>ε<sub>1</sub>*  
 call “Kae””  
 ‘(then we) call (this baby) “Kae”’.  
 (ium\_20130523\_01\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_NzungNyeiWaac\_Thammajarik;00.00.27-35)

Persons with such names as *Cengx Hiaang*, *Cengx Dorngh*, *Cengx Guangy* etc. were born in a circumstance mentioned in (168):

- (168) “*Cengx*” *naaic* *wuov* *neuz* *paanx* *jaang*  
 “ເໜັງ” ແນ່າຍ ວ້ວ ເນິວ ພານ ຈາງ  
*ts<sup>h</sup>enŋ* *na:iŋ* *uəŋ* *neuŋ* *p<sup>h</sup>a:nŋ* *ca:ŋŋ*  
 “Ceng” DEM<sub>TOP</sub> DEM<sub>DIS</sub> umbilical.cord wind neck  
 ‘As for ‘Ceng’, (when this baby was born) the umbilical cord was winding around the neck.’  
 (ium\_20130523\_01\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_NzungNyeiWaac\_ Thammajarik;00.00.36-8)

A probable meaning of *Cengx* is suggested by Purnell (2012:830) as ‘to struggle to free’.

There is also a name describing the manner of birth using an adjective *zaanc* ‘to be cheap’ as in (169<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (169<sup>-1</sup>) *Yungz* *ndortv* *ndau* *daaih* *aeqv*  
 ຢູ້ງ ດຶດ ເດາ ຕ້າຍ ແອະກະ  
*junŋ* *dətŋ* *dauŋ* *taiŋ* *ɛŋ*  
 give.birth.to fall ground COME PDP  
 ‘When a mother gave birth to a child onto the floor,’

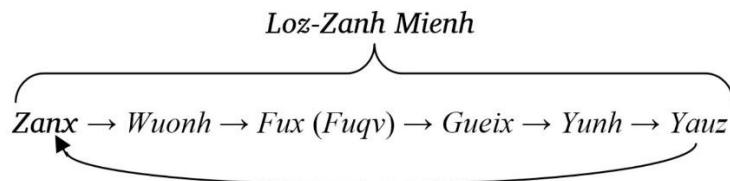
- (169<sup>-2</sup>) *maaih* *nqaiv* *cuotv* *nor* *heuc* “*Zaanc*”  
 ມ່າຍ ໄກສີ ຂົວດ ນອ ເຫວ “ຫດ່ານ”  
*ma:iŋ* *gaiŋ* *ts<sup>hw</sup>ətŋ* *nɔː* *heuŋ* *tsa:nŋ*  
 have faeces exit TOP call “*Zaan*”  
 ‘and the baby defaecated, then we call him/her “*Zaan*”.’  
 (ium\_20130523\_01\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_NzungNyeiWaac\_ Thammajarik;00.02.23-6)

### 5.3.5 Personal Adult Names

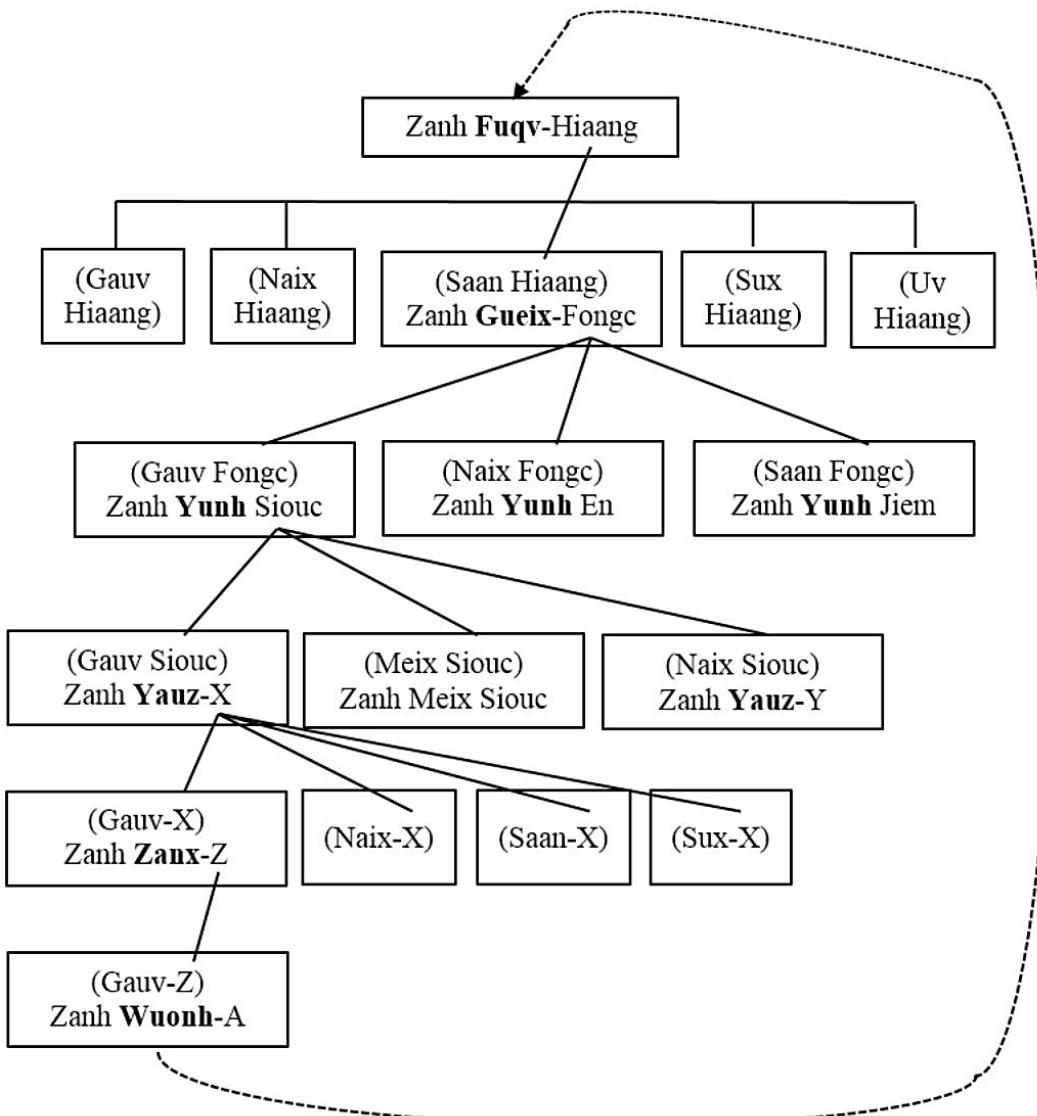
As an Iu Mien male grows into adult, he leaves his childhood name behind and gets an adult personal name, usually around the time of marriage. For his family, neighbours and peers, however, an individual with a new adult name still could be referred to by his childhood name because of its familiarity. The personal name is the third component after clan names (*fingx mbuox*, §5.3.2.1) and generation names (*buic*, §5.3.2.2). And on official occasions the birth order name or circumstantial name would no longer be used. Purnell provides detailed cultural note on this:

An adult male's name consists of three parts: his lineage [i.e. clan or surname *fingx*], his generation [i.e. *buic*], and his personal name, as in *Yangh Jiem-Fuqv*. The third part, his personal name, is also used as the family name of his children, as for example, third son *Yangh Saan Fuqv* or first daughter *Yangh Meix Fuqv*. Upon coming of age, this son will be given his adult name, one part of which will be the next name in the generation cycle, *Yunh*. All his brothers and male cousins on his father's side will also have *Yunh* as their generation name. They will also each have their own personal names, perhaps *Yangh Yunh Mengh*, *Yangh Yunh Zoih*, *Yangh Yunh Fuqv*, and so forth. Daughters do not receive an adult name but retain their childhood names (*sieqv-mbuox*) (Purnell 2012:58).

Regarding these customs, a detailed anthropological study by Burgess (1996) is helpful to understand the system clearly. She takes an example of *Zanh* clan showing six generations in the family. Before showing it in a chart, a review of six *buic* (generations) from Example (161<sup>-2</sup>) is schematised as follows:



Burgess's chart is presented with a few modifications in Figure 56 (Childhood names are in parentheses as in the original. The connecting lines between the last syllable of the given name and the last syllable of the children's names and also an addition of a dotted arrow from the sixth generation to the first were modified to make them more intuitive):



**Figure 56. Six generations of Zanh clan (after Burgess 1996; lines are added)**

### 5.3.6 Summary of Section 5.3

To summarize §5.3.1 to §5.3.5, the name the Iu Mien is important because they are descriptive. A name of an Iu Mien male adult individual has three components: (i) *fingx mbuox* ‘clan (sur)name’, (ii) *buic*–name ‘generation name’, and (iii) a chosen name, of which the latter two comprise a personal/given name. By comparing two documents, namely, *Jiex Sen Borngv* and *Nzung-Junx*, it has been found that there are as many as eighteen *fingx mbuox*, among which at least thirteen are used in Thailand. Despite this fact, however, the phraseology *yie mbuo ziepc nyeic fingx Iu Mienh* ‘we twelve clans of the Iu Mien’ is still used. It seems so dear and proud to them as a reminder of their original number before the migration. Within each *fingx*

‘clan’, the cyclic set of *buic* ‘generation name’ is rotated by male adults within the *fingx*, through four to seven generations. Before inheriting the *buic*-name, boys are called by their *fu'jueiv mbuox* ‘childhood names’, which are given either by the birth order or by a circumstantial clue at the time of birth. Females do not have *domh mienh mbuox* ‘adult name’.

Thus, the naming system of the Iu Mien is highly descriptive, densely packed with cultural and historical information. This fact differs from Searle’s argument that proper names simply function to refer to an entity, rather than describing or predicing. Among the three linguistic functions of proper names, i.e., language documentation, referential (denoting) function, and descriptive (predicing) function, many Iu Mien rightly consider that the first one is of foremost importance. This is due to the fact that the whole system of the Iu Mien names is rich in describing the relationship among the relatives and children’s personal history.

An investigation into modifiers, preposed and postposed around the *fingx mbuox* ‘clan name’ as a head noun ( $N_{HD}$ ), and the presence/absence of tone sandhi seem to shed light on how words in Iu Mien are combined. For example, the tone sandhi between surnames and the colour term, *Dangc-mbuov* [Dangc blue], is phonetically attested in example (163<sup>-1</sup>), showing a construction [ $N_{HD}^{TS}$  – Adj] possibly for a compound noun. This looks contrastive to the fact that tone sandhi is absent between a clan name and a given name but a prosodic pause is present.

## 5.4 A Grammar of Iu Mien Names

Under the rubric of onomastics, the cultural background and internal structure of names of the Iu Mien have been discussed in the previous section. In the present section, then, the pragmatic aspect is dealt with. In *The Grammar of Names*, Anderson (2007:213ff) argues that names have roles as (i) determiners (referential/ deictic function), (ii) arguments (identification function), (iii) nomination (performative speech act function), and (iv) vocatives (addressing function). The discussion in §5.3 above has already discussed (i) reference (denoting/deictic) and (ii) identification (descriptive/predicing) functions.

Among these four functions of names, we shall investigate in this section (i) the deictic function (i.e. names as a common noun) once again, (iii) the nomination function, and (iv) the vocative function. By “nomination function” is meant an act of naming someone or something. The subsections are arranged in the order of names as a common noun (deictic function), names as vocatives, and names as nomination.

### 5.4.1 Names as a Common Noun

Court (1986:113) notes that Iu Mien personal names can be used as a place name. He observes that “by being incorporated into an expression of spatial deixis personal names become locative expressions” as in (170):

|       |                                      |                     |              |                    |                     |
|-------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| (170) | <i>Mingh</i>                         | <i>wuov</i>         | <i>huaav</i> | <i>Gueix-Zoih</i>  | <i>wuov.</i>        |
|       | ມື່ງ                                 | ວັ້ວ                | ຫວ້າ         | ເກວົບ-ຄ່ອຍ         | ວັ້ວ.               |
|       | <i>minj</i>                          | <i>nə̄j</i>         | <i>ma:ŋ</i>  | <i>kʷeiŋ tsɔiŋ</i> | <i>nə̄j</i>         |
|       | go                                   | DEM <sub>DIST</sub> | yonder       | Guei Zoi           | DEM <sub>DIST</sub> |
|       | ‘go over yonder to Guei Zoi’s place’ |                     |              |                    |                     |

(Lombard 1968:301 quoted in Court 1986:113)

A further focalization, so to speak, is found in the case of village names being named after a person’s name. The item at the bottom of

Table 37 in §5.3.4.1 should be recalled: the village name *Lauv Sipv/Sipc laangz* [old ten village] ‘Lau Sip village’ was named after the actual person whose name was *Lauv Sipv/Sipv*,<sup>122</sup> that is, ‘the Tenth son’. Naturally, a person after whom a village is named is an influential individual but not in a sense of honouring a historic figure.<sup>123</sup> Rather, it is because of the familiarity or identifiability of the person, usually a village headman, that this custom is in practice among the Iu Mien in Thailand. In a sense, the living person is a metonymy for the village. For this reason, a *fu'jueiv mbuox* ‘childhood name’, rather than *domh mienh mbuox* ‘adult name’, tends to be used. Indeed, the name *Ci Gueix laangz /tsʰiŋ kwej laŋz/* [seven Guei village] ‘Ci Guei village’, about 20 km West of Mae Chan District, Chiang Rai province, has been so referred to after *Ci Gueix* (the Seventh son) who is still alive. The village is called by his childhood name no matter how old he may become (now close to eighty years old and has an adult name for many years).

As common nouns derived from personal names, can they be pluralized? A plural pronoun is *mbuo /buəŋ/* postpositioned to a personal pronoun, not to a common noun. Therefore, *laangz mbuo* [village PL] is impossible. However, it is possible for a personal name to be postpositioned by *mbuo*. Thus *Ci Guiex mbuo* [Ci Guei PL] means ‘a group of people who are associated with Ci Guei’ though this does not mean the

<sup>122</sup> The high tone *sipv /sipŋ/* is an influence of Chiang Rai dialect of Northern Thai. The low tone *sipc /sipŋ/* is assimilated to the tone of Central Thai.

<sup>123</sup> Though a similar custom exists also in English, it differs from the case of Iu Mien. Melbourne in Victoria, Australia, was named (1837) after Lord Melbourne (1779 - 1848) in his honour, who never came to Melbourne. In contrast, an Iu Mien village can be named after a person who is living there. The point is the identifiability of the person by the Iu Mien of other areas, not as much as honouring him (though there is also such an element to some extent). If the naming was in honour of the person, the village would use his adult name, not a childhood name.

whole population of his village. Rather *Ci Guiex mbuo* should refer to his family members or friends. In the pluralized use, *Ci Guiex mbuo*, *Ci Gueix* is not a common noun but a personal name.

### 5.4.2 Names as Vocatives

As Jespersen (1924:184) observes that in vocatives “a noun is used as a second person and placed outside a sentence, or as a sentence in itself”, an Iu Mien personal name is also used as a second person in the construction {name + particle}. This should be referred to as the vocative construction. There are two vocative particles, *aac* /a:ɿ/ and *aah* /a:ɻ/, postpositioned to (i.e. placed after) a personal name or kinship term, and the whole construction usually appears at the beginning of a sentence. The vocative particles are pragmatically functioning particles as opposed to syntactically bound to the verbs or nouns (e.g. “subordinate-cum-possessive particle” *nyei* in Court 1986:107) and a vocative construction is an “extra-sentential element in utterances” (Anderson 2007:220).

There are three vocative constructions in Iu Mien:

- (i) [name/kinship term + *aac/aah*],
- (ii) [utterance + interjection particle *ov!*],
- (iii) [interjection particle + utterance].

Their function is to call for the attention of an addressee or to claim rapport with him/her as a lubricant of conversation and/or sociolinguistic solidarity. Though Jespersen (1924:184) rightly defines that the vocative “express[s] a request to the hearer, viz. ‘hear’ or ‘be attentive’”, the vocatives in Iu Mien have a more phatic nature. In their phatic function, both vocative particles and the utterance-initial and utterance-final interjections open up a conversation or are followed by a monologue.

Though there hasn’t been any statistical study, the Iu Mien seem to use personal names with vocative particles more often than Japanese do, and kinship terms as vocatives more than English speakers, probably as frequent as Thai<sup>124</sup> do. However, the vocative particles in Iu Mien are not grammaticalised or obligatory, unlike the inflected personal names in the vocative case in some Indo-European

<sup>124</sup> It has been witnessed in a fast food restaurant, in Don Muang Airport, Bangkok, Thailand, that a woman in her late forties speaking to a group of young ladies if one of them was willing to take a photo of her by calling them ລູກໜີ! /lu:kŋ tɕai/ [child VOC] ‘Daughters!’ (lit. ‘children’), not ‘Excuse me’. Even in universities, also, depending on their ambience, at least in our faculty office, Chiang Rai Rajabhat University, some faculties call their students ຜ່ານ meaning ‘sons and daughters’, and take care of them in such a way as they mean by the address term.

languages (e.g. *Σώκρατ-ες* ‘Socrates!’ as opposed to the nominative *Σώκράτης* in Greek or *Domine* ‘Lord!’ as opposed to other cases *domin-ī* (genitive), *domin-ō* (dative and ablative), *domin-um* (accusative) in the second declension in Latin). They are optional depending on pragmatic situations. As long as rapport exists between interlocutors there is no special need for the vocative particles.

As a starting point, note the difference between the two vocative particles *aac* and *aah* suggested by Purnell (2012) as follows:

**aac** *part.* used to call to someone or to get someone’s attention from a distance

**aah** [pronounced with final glottalization] *part.* used to call someone’s attention from close by. (Purnell 2012:3)

According to him, the distinction is made on the basis of distance between interlocutors: *aac* (distal) vs. *aah* (proximal). However, an alternative analysis based on our data is proposed in the following sections; namely, a distinction on the basis of register. That is, *aac* is *gauh suonc deix* [more be.gentle some] ‘it is more gentle’ whereas *aah* is *beqv deix nyei* [be.urgent some ASST] ‘it is urgent’ as the native speaker so terms.

#### 5.4.2.1 *Rapport taking, polite, affectionate vocative particle: aac*

A normal way of gaining the attention of someone is to say a name of the addressee followed by the particle *aac* as in (171):

- (171) *Gauv-Cing aac*(484ms).
- |  |                 |
|--|-----------------|
| ເກົ້າ-ສິງ  | ອ່າ             |
| kau <sup>1</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> in <sup>1</sup> | a: <sup>1</sup> |
| Gau Cing   | VOC             |
| ‘Gau Cing!’                                      |                 |
- (ium\_20150810\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Sesqui\_Cmpd\_MC;00.03.15-6)

When the addressee is at some distance, the vocative particle *aac* is pronounced longer than normal, but not with the change of tone, as explained and demonstrated in (172<sup>-1</sup>-3):

- (172<sup>-1</sup>) *Six.gorngv yiem go deix nzauh.heix mv haiz nor;*  
 ສີ.ກືອງ ເຢີມ ໂກ ເຕີ ເຫຼາ.ເຫຍ ມ້ ໄຊ ນອ,  
*si<sup>1</sup> kɔŋ<sup>1</sup> jem<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> tei<sup>1</sup> dzau<sup>1</sup> hei<sup>1</sup> m<sup>1</sup>hai<sup>1</sup> nɔ<sup>1</sup>*  
 if be.at be.far some be.afraid NEG hear TOP  
 ‘If (a hearer) is far (from the speaker) and perhaps can’t hear (the speaker),’

- (172<sup>-2</sup>) “Gauv-Cing *aac*(698ms).” *hnangv naaic qieix ndaauv deix*  
 “ເກົ້າ-ສີ່ງ ອ່າ.” ຜັນ້ຳ ມໍານາຍ ເລື່ມ ດົກວ ເຕັບ  
*kau៥ ts<sup>h</sup>in᠁ a:᠁* ນູນ່າຍ ນາຍ᠁ ດາວຸ່າ ດາວ ຕັບ  
 “Gau Cing VOC like DEM<sub>DIST</sub> voice be.long some  
 ‘(call him like ) “Gau Cing aac”: like that with a longer voice’

- (172<sup>-3</sup>) *hnangv.naaic aengv duqv taux ninh.*  
 ຜັນ້ຳ.ມໍານາຍ ແອິງ ຕື່ ເຄາ ນິນ.  
*ນູນ່າຍ na:i᠁ εງ່າ tu?᠁ t<sup>h</sup>au᠁ nin᠁*  
 so.that echo GET reach 3SG  
 ‘so that it can reach him.’  
 (ium\_20150810\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Sesqui\_Cmpd\_MC;00.04.50-7)

Compare the length of *aac* (484 ms) in (171) and *aac* (698 ms) in (172<sup>-2</sup>). It is important to notice that though there is no tone contour change between the proximal-*aac* and the distal-*aac*, the latter has a slightly higher level (i.e. flat or even) intonation than the former.

A pragmatic/semantic distinction between *aac* and *aah* has been reported as already mentioned. The former is ‘gentle, calm’ (*suonc* /suən᠁/) as in (173<sup>-1-2</sup>) and the latter ‘urgent, pressing’ (*beqv* /pe?᠁/) (ium\_20150810\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Sesqui\_Cmpd\_MC;00.05.07) or ‘somehow forceful, rough’ (*seix deix* /sei᠁ tei᠁/) as in (174):

- (173<sup>-1</sup>) *Oix mbuox ninh nor, “Gauv-Cing aac”,*  
 ອ້ອຍ ບ້ວ ນິນ ນອ “ເກົ້າ-ສີ່ງ ອ່າ”,  
*ci᠁ buə᠁ nin᠁ nɔ᠁ kauᅯ ts<sup>h</sup>in᠁ a:᠁*  
 want tell 3 TOP Gau Cing VOC  
 ‘If you want to tell (him, just call) “Gau Cing”.’

- (173<sup>-2</sup>) *gauh suonc deix aqv.*  
 ເກົ້າ ສ່ວນ ເຕັບ ອື່ບ.  
*kauᅯ s<sup>w</sup>ən᠁ tei᠁ a?᠁*  
 more gentle some NSIT  
 ‘(it is) a little more gentle.’  
 (ium\_20150810\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Sesqui\_Cmpd\_MC;00.05.20-8)

- (174) “*Gauv-Daqv aah*” *naaiv se mv.baac seix deix*  
 “ເກົວ-ຕີ່ຂໍ ອ້າ” ນ້ຳຍ ເຊ ມື້ປ່າ ເສຍ ເຕັບ  
*kauŋ taʔŋ aːl naːiŋ seŋ m̥iŋ paːl seiŋ teiŋ*  
 Gau Da VOC DEM<sub>PRX</sub> TOP but forceful some  
 ‘To say “*Gauv-Daqv aah*” sounds quite forceful.’  
 (ium\_20150513\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.19.16-9)

An example of the gentle vocative particle *aac* can also have a connotation of politeness or affection as in (175<sup>-1-3</sup>), where a lady who was over ninety years old addressing a man (the present researcher) in his mid-forties in a cassette tape:

- (175<sup>-1</sup>) *Yauz-Jiem fin-saeng aac, Yauz-Jiem fun aac,*  
 ເຢ້າ-ຈີ່ຍມ ພິນ-ແໜງ ອ່າ, ເຢ້າ-ຈີ່ຍມ ຢຸນ ອ່າ,  
*jauŋ ciəm¹ finŋ seŋ¹ aːl jauŋ ciəm¹ fun¹ aːl*  
 Yau Jiem teacher VOC Yau Jiem grandchild VOC  
 ‘Pastor Yau Jiem, (my) grandson Yau Jiem,

- (175<sup>-2</sup>) *ih.hnoi / yie... gorngv deix waac buangh taux*  
 ອື່ອນອຍ ເຢີຍ... ກ້ອງ ເຕັບ ຮວ່າ ປັ້ງ ເຄາ  
*iŋ hnoi / iəl kɔŋ¹ teiŋ waːl pʷaŋŋ tʰauŋ*  
 today 1SG speak some word meet reach  
 today, I would like to talk with you (like) seeing you (face to face)

- (175<sup>-3</sup>) *bun .. Yauz-Jiem meih.*  
 ບຸນ .. ເຢ້າ-ຈີ່ຍມ ເມ່ຍ.  
*pun¹ jauŋ ciəm¹ meiŋ*  
 give Yau Jiem 2SG  
 (by) sending (this cassette tape to) you Yau Jiem.’  
 (ium\_20000415\_01\_CT\_DA\_FmCiang\_PHist;00.00.00-11)

Though “observer’s paradox” in William Labov’s term may be suspected with regard to this example (*Yauz-Jiem* being an Iu Mien name of the present author, a non-native speaker), it is most likely for her to use *aac* with her own grandchildren too.

Usually it is acceptable to call an addressee with the combination of a personal name and the vocative particle just once. In the above case of calling the addressee twice exemplifies not only the usual politeness in the first occurrence (i.e. with the title “teacher”) but also an affection in the second addressing (i.e., by the kinship term “grandson”).

### 5.4.2.2 Attention-gaining vocative: *aah!*

The vocative particle *aah* is used out of pressing necessity in gaining attention of an addressee. As a result it may sound forceful or impatient. One such a situation where *aah* should be used is explained as in (176<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (176<sup>-1</sup>) *Six.gorngv hnangv mbuo heuc yietc nzunc ninh mv haiz*  
 ສີ.ກ້ອງ ຮນ້ງ ບ້ວ ເຫວ ແຍືດ ມຫຼຸນ ນິນ ມ້ ໄຊ  
*siŋ kɔŋŋyŋ* *ŋanŋyŋ* *buəl* *heuŋ* *jetŋ* *dzunŋ* *ninl* *mŋ* *haiŋ*  
 if like PL call one TIME 3 NEG hear  
 ‘If (you) call (him) first time but (he) doesn’t hear,’
- (176<sup>-2</sup>) *aengx i nzunc mv haiz*  
 ແອ້ງ ອື ມຫຼຸນ ມ້ ໄຊ  
*ɛŋŋl* *iŋ* *dzunŋ* *mŋ* *haiŋ*  
 again tow time NEG hear  
 ‘(you call) again for the second time (but he) doesn’t hear,’
- (176<sup>-3</sup>) *da'faam nzunc mbuox “Gauv-Daqv aah!”*  
 ຕະພາມ ມຫຼຸນ ບ້ວ “ເກົ-ຕັ້ງ ຊ້າ!”  
*ta fa:mŋ* *dzunŋ* *buəl* *kauŋ ta?ŋ* *a:l*  
 the.third time tell Gauv-Daqv VOC  
 ‘(then) the third time (you) say “Gauv-Daqv aah!”.  
 (ium\_20150513\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.19.10-7)

Its connotation or the tone of speech is described as *seix deix /seiŋ teiŋ/* ‘somehow forceful’ (174) and *beqv deix nyei /pe?ŋ teiŋ neiŋ/* [urgent some ASST] ‘it’s urgent’ or may sound ‘impatient’ (ium\_20150810\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Sesqui\_Cmpd\_MC;00.05.07).

An earnest and ardent attitude may be conveyed in the use of *aah* as in (177<sup>-1-2</sup>) (a pre-recorded address on a cassette tape meant to be delivered to friends in the area):

- (177<sup>-1</sup>) *Fux-Zanx aah, meih yiem Zingh.Kamv*  
 ຜູ-ຫດັນ ອ້າ, ໝ່າຍ ເຢີມ ຕື່ງ.ຄົມ  
*fu?ŋ tsanŋ* *a:l* *meiŋ* *jemŋ* *tsiŋŋ kʰamŋ*  
 Fu Zan VOC 2SG be.in Chiang Kham  
 ‘Fu Zan! (I know) you are there in Chiang Kham,

|                     |             |             |                 |                    |            |                              |             |             |
|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------|------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| (177 <sup>2</sup> ) | <i>meih</i> | <i>yaac</i> | <i>oix.zuqc</i> | <i>muangx</i>      | <i>Gau</i> | <i>Muh.Su</i> <sup>125</sup> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>waac</i> |
|                     | เมี่ย       | หย่า        | ចេខ.អគ្គិស្ស    | អមវង               | កោ         | មុខ្មោះ                      | ល្អឃើម      | អវា         |
|                     | mei៥        | ja:᠁        | ɔi᠁ tsu?᠁       | m <sup>w</sup> aŋ᠁ | kau᠁       | mu᠁ su᠁                      | ŋei᠁        | wa:᠁        |
|                     | 2SG         | also        | must            | listen             | Gau        | pastor                       | SBCP        | word        |

‘you also must listen to the words of Pastor Gau.’

(ium\_1966\_03\_PERMATON\_ViggoSogaard\_Gueix-Cing;00.01.07-12)

An addressative personal noun (PN) may occur at the end of a sentence as in (178):

| (178) | <i>Siepv</i>       | <i>deix</i> | <i>siepv</i>       | <i>deix</i> | <i>ov!</i> | <i>gorx</i> | <i>Saan</i> | <i>aah!</i> |
|-------|--------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
|       | ເចិនប              | ເទីយ        | ເចិនប              | ເទីយ        | ីើ!        | កំតែ        | ចាន         | អា!         |
|       | s <sup>j</sup> ep᠁ | tei᠁        | s <sup>j</sup> ep᠁ | tei᠁        | o:<᠁       | kɔ᠁         | sa:n᠁       | a:<᠁        |
|       | be.quick           | some        | be.quick           | some        | INTJ       | old.brother | Saan        | VOC         |

‘Hurry up, hurry up, elder brother Saan!’

(20130122, JF, Attested but not audio-recorded)

### 5.4.2.3 Reduplication of a name

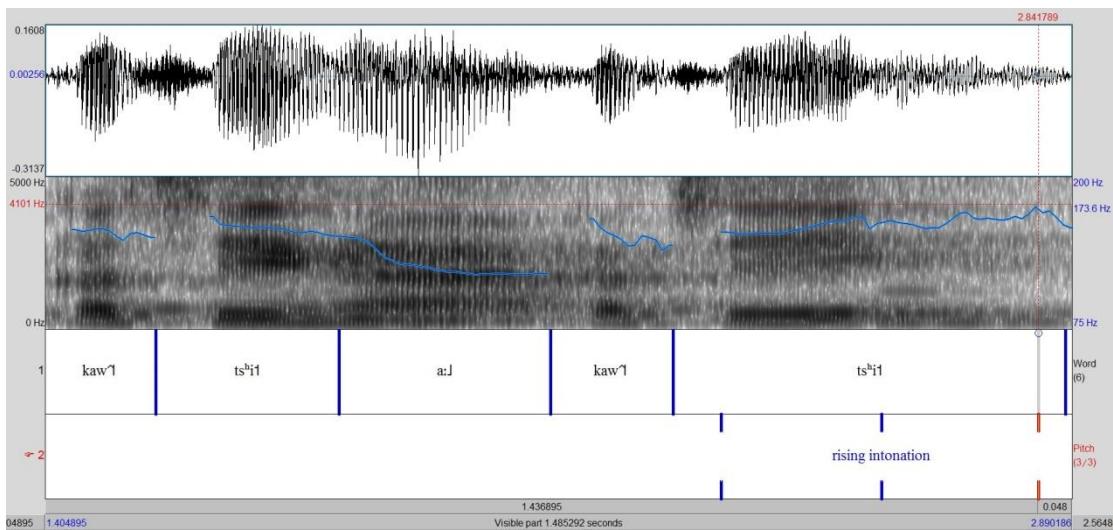
An alternative addressative PN to the use of the polite vocative particle *acc* in 5.4.2.1 is the reduplication of a personal name in the construction [PN *aac* PN]. In such a reduplicative addressative construction, *aac* occurs after the first PN and the repeated PN has prolonged rising intonation as in (179) visualised in Figure 57:

|       |                          |                     |                          |
|-------|--------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| (179) | <i>Gauv-Cing</i>         | <i>aac</i> (306ms), | <i>Gauv-Cing!</i>        |
|       | កោវ-ិចុង                 | អា,                 | កោវ-ិចុង!                |
|       | kau᠁ ts <sup>h</sup> in᠁ | a:᠁                 | kau᠁↗ts <sup>h</sup> in᠁ |
|       | Gau Cing                 | VOC                 | Gau Cing                 |

‘Gau Cing! Gau Cing!’

(ium\_20150810\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Sesqui\_Cmpd\_MC:00.03.13-4)

<sup>125</sup> A code mixing with Chinese *mùshī* (牧師).



**Figure 57. Intonation of Reduplicated Addressative Construction**

The rising intonation is high as 173.6 Hz and the duration of the syllable *Cing* in the second time is almost twice the first one. The medial vocative particle's duration is 306 ms, i.e., shorter than the single occurrence of *aac* in the phrase-final position (484 ms) in (171). It should be noted that the first syllable of the personal name *Gauv* /kaw↑/ (indicated in the underlying tone in the Figure 57) undergoes tone sandhi resulting in / kaw↓/, hence the spelling in the Unified Script is *Gauv-Cing* with the hyphen.

In the reduplicated vocative construction, the vocative particle is always *aac* but not *aah*. Comparing all three vocative constructions, therefore, it can be posited that the grade of gentleness-to-urgency is in the following order: *X aac* (gentle), *X aac X!* (a little urgent but friendly), and *X aah!* (very urgent, demanding). In addition, as has been briefly mentioned in the preamble of §5.4.2, because the vocative particles, and in fact the whole vocative constructions themselves, are pragmatically used (i.e. situation-sensitively used), they are optional. As long as rapport exists between interlocutors they may be omitted entirely. Therefore, the following four-level grade of usage in vocative constructions can be summarised:

- (i) Zero use (rapport established)
- (ii) *X aac* (gentle)
- (iii) *X aac X!* (slightly urgent but friendly)
- (iv) *X aah!* (very urgent, demanding)

#### 5.4.2.4 Interjection used to address people: *៥ ov!*

Not with a personal name but with an utterance, an interjection *ov!* [៥o:] occurs sentence-finally. It can be placed after a common noun referring to a group of people. The point is that this interjection particle is not self-addressing nor reactionary (such as *Oh!*, *Wow!*, *Gosh!*) but uttered to the hearer(s). It has an effect of urging or encouraging as in (180<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |               |               |             |               |            |
|----------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|------------|
| (180 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Zaangc</i> | <i>laangz</i> | <i>haac</i> | <i>laangz</i> | <i>ov!</i> |
|                      | ៥ຕັ້ງ         | ລ້າງ          | ໜໍາ         | ລ້າງ          | ໂອ!        |
|                      | tsa:ŋ         | la:ŋ          | ha:         | la:ŋ          | ៥o:        |
|                      | high          | village       | low         | village       | INTJ       |

‘Every folk of our village!’

|                      |             |                |              |              |            |             |             |            |
|----------------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| (180 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>kouv</i> | <i>mh.mbuo</i> | <i>daaih</i> | <i>tengx</i> | <i>yie</i> | <i>zoux</i> | <i>gong</i> | <i>ov!</i> |
|                      | ໄກວ         | ນມວ            | ຕ້າຍ         | ເດັກ         | ເຢີຍ       | ໄທຫວາ       | ກງ          | ໂອ!        |
|                      | kʰəuβ       | bəu            | ta:i         | tʰeŋ         | iə         | tsəu        | kɔŋ         | ៥o:        |
|                      | be.tired    | 2.PL           | come         | help         | 1SG        | do          | work        | INTJ       |

Thank you very much for all your troubles to work for me!’

(Yauz-Guangy & Burgess 1970s, *Nda'maauh Jaauz Gouy* [A Wildcat Story], KMB)

The same interjection has been quoted also in (178) in §5.4.2.2.

#### 5.4.2.5 Utterance-initial interjections

The interjection *៥ov!* [៥o:] presented in the previous section occurs utterance-finally, and it addresses people. In contrast, the other kind is utterance-initial, and is not addressing a second person but expressing the speaker’s emotive response to a situation. The following example (181<sup>-1-13</sup>) is from a pre-recorded dialogue telling an actual story of a successful breaking-off from long-term opium addiction. There appear two kinds of interjections: one is with the high pitch, level (i.e. flat or horizontal) intonation found in Ls (181<sup>-3</sup>) and (181<sup>-11</sup>), and the other with the high rising intonation in L (181<sup>-7</sup>):

|                      |             |             |              |               |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| (181 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Meih</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>haaix</i> | <i>daaih?</i> |
| A                    | ແມິບ        | ເຢີມ        | ໜ້າຍ         | ຕ້າຍ?         |
|                      | mei         | jem         | ha:i         | tai           |
|                      | 2SG         | be.at       | where        | come          |

‘Where do you come from?’

(181<sup>-2</sup>) *Yiem Mae.Sa'lorngv daaih.*  
 GC เยี่ยม แม.สะล้อง ต້າຍ.  
 jem<sup>1</sup> me sa lɔŋ<sup>1</sup> tai<sup>1</sup>  
 be.at Maesalong come  
 'I have come from Mae Sa'long (village).'

(181<sup>-3</sup>) *O meih haiv.nyungc Mienh?*  
 A ໂ ເມຍ ໄສ.ໜູ່ງ ເມື່ນ?  
 →o: mei<sup>1</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> nyung<sup>1</sup> miən<sup>1</sup>  
 INTJ 2SG what Mien  
 'Well, which clan of the Mien are you?'

(181<sup>-4</sup>) *Lu<sup>126</sup> Bienh Mienh*  
 GC ລູ ເປືນ ເມື່ນ  
 lu piən<sup>1</sup> miən<sup>1</sup>  
 Old Bien Mien  
 'I am a Mien of the Old Bien clan.'

(181<sup>-5</sup>) *Mbuox fungc heuc?*  
 A ບັວ ຝຸງ ໜ່ວ?  
 buə<sup>1</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> heu<sup>1</sup>  
 name how call  
 'What is your name?'

(181<sup>-6</sup>) *Heuc Gueix-Cing.*  
 GC ໜ່ວ ແກ່ວຍ-ຊີງ  
 heu<sup>1</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ei<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>inj<sup>1</sup>  
 call Guei Cing  
 'I am Guei Cing.'

(181<sup>-7</sup>) *Ov! Gueix-Cing gorx, yie buatc jiex meih nyei niaa.*  
 A ໄວ! ແກ່ວຍ-ຊີງ ກ້ອ ເຢ່ຍ ປວດ ່ົ່ຍ ເມຍ ໄລຍ ນີ້ອາ  
 →o: k<sup>w</sup>ei<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>inj<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> iə<sup>1</sup> p<sup>w</sup>at<sup>1</sup> ciə<sup>1</sup> mei<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup> n<sup>j</sup>ar<sup>1</sup>  
 Oh Guei Cing old.brother 1 see EXP 2 ASST SFP  
 'Oh, Elder brother Guei Cing, I have seen you before!'

<sup>126</sup> *lu* = Q, K = *loz-*

- (181<sup>-8</sup>) *Zinh.ndaangc buatc jaic nyei,*  
A ຜົ່ນ.ດ່າງ ປັກ ໄຈ່ ໄສະຍ,  
*tsin↓ da:ŋ↓ p<sup>w</sup>at↓ cai↓ nei↓*  
previous see be.thin ASST  
‘That time (I) saw you were thin.’
- (181<sup>-9</sup>) *ih.zanc meih junc daaih yie zieqv mv duqv niaa.*  
A ອື້.ຫົ້ນ ເມຍ ຈຸນ ຕ້າຍ ເຢຍ ເຄີບະ ມ້ ຕູ້ ນີ້ອາ.  
*i↓ tsan↓ mei↓ cun↓ ta:i↓ iø↓ tsie↓ m<sup>w</sup> tu?↓ n'a:↓*  
now 2SG be.fat COME 1SG recognise NEG GET SFP  
‘Now you became fat, I couldn’t recognise you.’
- (181<sup>-10</sup>) *Yie wuov.zanc buov in hlo haic.*  
GC ເຢຍ ວ້າ.ຫົ້ນ ປິວ ອິນ ໂຮດ ໄທ  
*iø↓ uø:w tsan↓ puø:w in↓ lo↓ hai↓*  
1SG that.time smoke(v) opium be.big very  
‘At that time I (used to) smoke opium very heavily.’
- (181<sup>-11</sup>) *O ih.zanc meih guangc in mi'aqv?*  
A ໂອ ອື້.ຫົ້ນ ເມຍ ກວ້າ ອິນ ໜີ້ ອື້?  
*→o: i↓ tsan↓ mei↓ k<sup>w</sup>an↓ in↓ mi↓ a?↓*  
O now 2SG abandon opium TELIC  
‘O, now you have completely given up opium, haven’t you?’
- (181<sup>-12</sup>) *Aeqc, ih.zanc yie guangc mi'aqv.*  
GC ແອະ, ອື້.ຫົ້ນ ເຢຍ ກວ້າ ໜີ້ ອື້  
*ε↓ i↓ tsan↓ iø↓ k<sup>w</sup>an↓ mi↓ a?↓*  
Yes now 1SG abandon TELIC  
‘Yes, now I have given (it) up.’
- (181<sup>-13</sup>) *Meih hnangv haaix nor guangc duqv ndutv?*  
A ເມຍ ຂນັງ ທາຍ ນອ ກວ້າ ຕູ້ ຊຸດ?  
*mei↓ n<sup>w</sup>an:w ha:i↓ nɔ↓ k<sup>w</sup>an↓ tu?↓ dut↓*  
2 like how as abandon be.able detach  
‘How did you manage to give it up?’  
(ium\_c1967\_01\_Aristocrat\_#Burgess\_Gueix-Seng\_GR-Tape1-  
Trk1;00.03.43-00.04.12)

The interjection with the high pitch level intonation found in Ls (181<sup>-3</sup>) and (181<sup>-11</sup>) indicates that the speaker A is thinking, or trying to recall, not being able to make sense out of the situation for a while. The second kind with the high rising intonation in L (181<sup>-7</sup>) expresses that he has just understood what he was trying to figure out.

Apart from the utterance-initial interjections, this example discourse demonstrates a customary way of starting a conversation: (i) villager asking whereabouts of a visitor (181<sup>-1</sup>), (ii) visitor replying (181<sup>-2</sup>), (iii) villager asking clan name (181<sup>-3</sup>) and (iv) given name (181<sup>-5</sup>), (v) visitor replying (181<sup>-6</sup>), and (vi) both sides proceeding to various topics. *Mienh* in (181<sup>-3</sup>) is asking a *fingx* ‘clan name’ and this question has a different register *Meih gueix fingx?* [2SG be.honourable clan] ‘What is your honourable clan?’, which will be shown in (196) in §5.4.3.1. The question asking a given name, *Mbuox fungc heuc?* /buəɻ funɻ/ /heuɻ/ [name how call] ‘(lit.) How do you/I call your name?’ (181<sup>-5</sup>) seems to be replaced by a more casual question *Meih nyei mbuox heuc haiv.nyungc?* /meiɻ neiɻ buəɻ heuɻ haɪɻ /juŋɻ/ [2SG POSS name call what] ‘What is your name?’ (a variant of (195) in §5.4.3.1) among the Iu Mien.

#### **5.4.2.6 Kinship term as vocatives: *nyiemc cien* ‘acknowledging kin relationships’**

Kinship terms (*nyiemc cien nyei waac* /niəmɻ tsʰiənɻ neɪɻ wa:/ [acknowledge kin REL word]) (ium\_20150513\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.22.07-8) in Iu Mien are frequently used as vocatives. It is highly important to use right kinship terms in addressing persons involved in a conversation. On the first encounter with a stranger from other villages, one should assume he/she could be one’s relative; hence the first several minutes of the conversation must be spent to find out which kinship term has to be used for the rest of the dialogue. This custom of identifying kin relationship is called *nyiemc cien* /niəmɻ tsʰiənɻ/. The highly complicated system of Iu Mien kinship terminology is not analysed here since it has been made readily available in Purnell (2012:835-46) as a revised version of Purnell (1968:321-7) in Lombard (1968). Rather, the terms appearing in the expository examples only will be mentioned in the following pages in this section, focusing more on the customs of *nyiemc cien* itself, which uses kinship terms as vocative constructions.

##### **A procedure of *nyiemc cien*.**

A procedure of the custom of *nyiemc cien* among the Iu Mien is explained in (182<sup>-1-8</sup>). Terms related to the subject are *cien-ceqv* ‘relatives’ in (182<sup>-5</sup>) and *gorx-youz* ‘elder brother and younger brother’ in (182<sup>-8</sup>):

(182<sup>-1</sup>) *Nyiemc cien nor,*  
 ໜີ້ຍມ ເຊີນ ນອ,  
*ŋem』 ts<sup>hj</sup>ən『 nɔ̄*  
 acknowledge kin TOP  
 ‘Regarding (the custom of) acknowledging kin relationship,’

(182<sup>-2</sup>) *Ninh<sup>127</sup> gorngv liuz ninh nyei mbuox,*  
 ນິນ ກືອງ ລົວ ນິນ ເສູຍ ນັ້ວ,  
*nin』 kɔ̄ŋ『 liu』 nin』 nei『 buo『*  
 3SG say PFTV 3SG POSS name  
 ‘after the other party (he, i.e. a visitor from other Iu Mien village)  
 introducing himself with his first name’

(182<sup>-3</sup>) *gorngv liuz ninh nyei fingx nor aeqv*  
 ກືອງ ລົວ ນິນ ເສູຍ ພຶງ ນອ ແອົ້ວ  
*kɔ̄ŋ『 liu』 nin』 nei『 fiŋ『 nɔ̄『 εʔ『*  
 say PFTV 3 POSS clan TOP PDP  
 ‘(and) introducing himself with his clan name,’

(182<sup>-4</sup>) *Hnangv mbuo<sup>128</sup> yaac maaih deix wuov nyungc mienh*  
 ຂັ້ນ ບ້າວ ອ່າຍ ມ່າຍ ເຕ່ຍ ວູວ ກຸ່ງ ເມື່ນ  
*ŋaŋ『 buo『 ja:『 ma:i『 tei『 uə『 juaŋ『 miən『*  
 like 1PL also have some DEM kind people  
 ‘like [i.e. for example] our side also have that (same) clan,’

(182<sup>-5</sup>) *yiem mbuo nyei cien-ceqv nor,*  
 ໜີ້ຍມ ບ້າວ ເສູຍ ເຊີນ-ເສົວ ນອ,  
*jem『 buo『 nei『 ts<sup>hj</sup>ən『 ts<sup>h</sup>eʔ『 nɔ̄『*  
 be.in 1PL POSS relative as  
 ‘among our relatives,’

<sup>127</sup> The text is slightly edited. The original recording repeats the pronoun *ninh*: *Ninh, ninh gorngv liuz ninh nyei mbuox, ninh nyei fingx nor aeqv...*

<sup>128</sup> The text is slightly edited. The original recording repeats the pronoun *mbuo*: *Hnangv mbuo, mbuo yaac maaih deix wuov nyungc mienh yiem mbuo nyei cien ceqv nor, ziouc haiz hah lorz aqv.*

- |                     |  |               |             |                               |                   |            |               |
|---------------------|--|---------------|-------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|------------|---------------|
| (182 <sup>6</sup> ) | <i>ziouc</i>   | <i>haiz</i>   | <i>haih</i> | <i>lorz</i>                   | <i>aqv.</i>       |            |               |
|                     | ເຊົາ   | ໄຂ້           | ໄຂ່         | ດອ                            | ອື່ບ.             |            |               |
|                     | ts'əbu]  | hai~          | hai~        | lɔ~                           | a?]               |            |               |
|                     | then   | feel          | be.able     | seek                          | NSIT              |            |               |
|                     | 'then (we) feel (worth) seeking (more questions about the relationships and) possibly (find them out)' |               |             |                               |                   |            |               |
| (182 <sup>7</sup> ) | <i>Se.gorngv</i>   | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>mv</i>   | <i>maaih</i>                  | <i>nor</i>        | <i>nor</i> | <i>aeqv</i>   |
|                     | ເຊ.ກ່ອງ  | ຫນັ້ງ         | ມີ          | ມ່າຍ                          | ນອ                | ນອ         | ແອື້ນ         |
|                     | kɔŋγ̚  | ຖານງ̚         | m̚          | ma:ih~                        | nɔ̚               | nɔ̚        | ε?]           |
|                     | if   | like          | NEG         | have                          | as <sup>129</sup> | TOP        | PDP           |
|                     | 'If, for example, (we) have no (related names with him),'  |               |             |                               |                   |            |               |
| (182 <sup>8</sup> ) | <i>m'daaih</i>   | <i>heuc</i>   | <i>benx</i> | <i>gorx-youz</i>              |                   |            | <i>hnangv</i> |
|                     | ມດ້າຍ  | ເຫຼວ          | ເບິ່ນ       | ກ່ອ-ໄຢ້ວ                      |                   |            | ຫນັ້ງ         |
|                     | m̚ ta:ih~  | heu~          | pen~        | kɔ̚ jəb~                      |                   |            | ຖານງ̚         |
|                     | of.course  | call          | be          | elder.brother-younger.brother | only              |            |               |
|                     | 'then, of course, we simply call (each other) as "elder brother and younger brother".'                 |               |             |                               |                   |            |               |
|                     | (ium_20130427_02_H1_DA_GF_Greetings-KMB;00.04.47-00.05.10)   |               |             |                               |                   |            |               |

The term *gorx-youz* ‘elder brother and younger brother’ with the hyphen indicating the tone-sandhi is a compound cover term for *gorx* and *youz*. In the above context the term is generic and refers to any Iu Mien persons from different clans or villages. However, once the two interlocutors have found a few clues that they have common relatives (*cien-ceqv* in (181<sup>-5</sup>)), they switch to particular kinship terms that specify the relationship in addressing each other.

The clues come from asking *baan-buic* ‘cycle of generation names’ as in (183<sup>11</sup>):

<sup>129</sup> The particle *nor* ‘as’ in the first occurrence here corresponds to *hnangv* ‘like’: *hnangv ... nor* [like ... as] ‘like/as...’. Thus *hnangv mv maaih nor* [like NEG have as] translates ‘as an example, you don’t have (the same name as your visitor found in your relatives)’. In contrast, the second *nor* is a topic marker, corresponding to *se.gorngv* ‘if’ at the beginning of the clause: *Se.gorngv ... nor aeqv* [if ... TOP PDP] ‘if ... is the case’. The construction *se.gorngv ... nor* itself constitutes a subordinate clause but the pending particle *aeqv* further marks clearly the end of it and the beginning of the main clause that starts after it.

|   |               |                      |           |               |             |             |             |                        |
|---|---------------|----------------------|-----------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|
| (183 <sup>-1</sup> )  | <i>Nyiemc</i> | <i>cien</i>          | <i>se</i> | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>lorz</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>muoz-doic</i>       |
| YJ  | ເຫຼື່ຍນ       | ເນື້ອນ               | ເຊ        | ຮນ້ຳ          | ດ້ວ         | ນິນ         | ເຄູບ        | ມ້ວ-ຕ່ອຍ               |
|   | ŋem↓          | ts <sup>hj</sup> ən↑ | se↑       | ຖາງ↑          | lɔ↑         | nin↓        | ŋei↑        | m <sup>w</sup> ən tɔi↓ |
|   | acknowledge   | kin                  | TOP       | like          | seek        | 3SG         | POSS        | sibling                |
| ‘Acknowledging kin relation is like searching for how his siblings’ |               |                      |           |               |             |             |             |                        |

|                                      |                     |            |             |                        |               |              |            |              |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------------|------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| (183 <sup>-2</sup> )                 | <i>caux</i>         | <i>yie</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>muoz-doic</i>       | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>haaix</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>orqcż</i> |
| YJ                                   | ເຫຼາ                | ເຢີ        | ເຄູບ        | ມ້ວ-ຕ່ອຍ               | ຮນ້ຳ          | ຫາຂ          | ນອ         | ເອະໄ         |
|                                      | ts <sup>hau</sup> ↓ | iə↑        | ŋei↑        | m <sup>w</sup> ən tɔi↓ | ຖາງ↑          | hai:i↓       | nɔ↑        | ɔ?N          |
|                                      | be.with             | 1SG        | POSS        | sibling                | like          | how          | as         | Q            |
| ‘are related to my siblings, right?’ |                     |            |             |                        |               |              |            |              |

|   |                          |             |             |                        |                     |           |             |                        |
|---|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------|-------------|------------------------|
| (183 <sup>-3</sup> )  | <i>Aec<sup>130</sup></i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>muoz-doic</i>       | <i>caux</i>         | <i>nv</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>muoz-doic</i>       |
| GF  | ແກ່                      | ນິນ         | ເຄູບ        | ມ້ວ-ຕ່ອຍ               | ເຫຼາ                | ນີ້       | ເຄູບ        | ມ້ວ-ຕ່ອຍ               |
|   | ε↓                       | nin↓        | ŋei↑        | m <sup>w</sup> ən tɔi↓ | ts <sup>hau</sup> ↓ | ຖ້າ       | ŋei↑        | m <sup>w</sup> ən tɔi↓ |
|   | Yes                      | 3SG         | POSS        | sibling                | be.with             | 1SG       | POSS        | family                 |
| ‘Yes, (it is like looking for the relation between) his siblings and my siblings’ |                          |             |             |                        |                     |           |             |                        |

|  |             |              |             |                   |      |              |
|--|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------------|------|--------------|
| (183 <sup>-4</sup> )   | <i>ninh</i> | <i>dongh</i> | <i>haiv</i> | <i>buic</i>       |      | <i>Mienh</i> |
| GF   | ນິນ         | ຕົ່ງ         | ໄກ້         | ບຸ້ຍ              |      | ເມື່ອນ       |
|  | nin↓        | ton↓         | hai↑        | p <sup>w</sup> i↓ |      | miən↓        |
|  | 3SG         | same         | which       | generation.name   | Mien |              |
| ‘(looking into) what generation name does he exactly belong to.’ |             |              |             |                   |      |              |

|   |             |              |            |            |             |               |
|---|-------------|--------------|------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| (183 <sup>-5</sup> )  | <i>Liuz</i> | <i>aeqv,</i> | <i>ov!</i> | <i>yie</i> | <i>yaac</i> | <i>maaih,</i> |
| GF  | ລື້ວ        | ແອື້,        | ໄວ!        | ເຢີ        | ຫຍໍາ        | ມ່າຍ,         |
|   | liu↓        | ɛ?↑          | o:↑        | iə↑        | ja:↓        | ma:i↓         |
|   | finish      | PDP          | INTJ       | 1SG        | also        | have          |
| ‘And then, (I may find) Oh! I also have (his cycle of generation names).’ |             |              |            |            |             |               |

<sup>130</sup> The verb *lorz* ‘look for’ anaphorically corresponding to the same verb in the question (183<sup>-1</sup>) is assumed after the answer “Yes” and/or before *ninh* in (183<sup>-4</sup>).

(183<sup>-6</sup>) *Nv*<sup>131</sup> *nyei* *mienh* *yaac* *maaih*  
 GF ນ້ຳ ເຢັຍ ເມື່ອນ ພ່າ ມ່າຍ  
 ນ້າ ເນີ້ ມີອນ ຈາ: ມາ: ອ  
 1SG POSS people also have  
 ‘(or) My people also have (the same generation names).’

(183<sup>-7</sup>) *doix* *ninh* *nyei* *fai* *mv* *doix?*  
 GF ຕ້ອຍ ນິ້ນ ເຢັຍ ໄພ ມີ ຕ້ອຍ?  
 ຕວີ່ ນິນ ເນີ້ ຝາກ ມ້າ ຕວີ່  
 match 3SG POSS or NEG match  
 ‘(or search) if his (generation names) matches ours or not.’

(183<sup>-8</sup>) *Six.gorngv* *hnangv* *doix* *nor* *se*  
 GF ສີ.ກ້ອງ ຂນັ້ນ ຕ້ອຍ ນອ ເຊ  
 ສີ ກວະ ຖູາງ ຕວີ່ ກວາ ສີ  
 if like match as TOP  
 ‘if, for example, it matches, then,’

(183<sup>-9</sup>) *ninh* *ndortv* *zuqc* *benx* *domh.nauz* *fai?*  
 GF ນິ້ນ ດຶດ ທຸກ ເປັນ ຕົ້ມ.ເນົາ ໄພ?  
 ນິນ ດວຕ ຕສູ? ພັນ ຕອມ ນາວ ບັນ ພັນ  
 3SG fall CONTACT be one's.mother-in-law's.older.brother Q  
 ‘(ask further if) he turns out to be the older brother of my mother-in-law or not.’

(183<sup>-10</sup>) *benx* *nauz* *fai,*  
 GF ເປັນ ເນົາ ໄພ,  
 ພັນ ນາວ ບັນ  
 be younger.brother.of.a.man's.father-in-law or  
 ‘or (if he) is the younger brother of my father-in-law or not,’

---

<sup>131</sup> *Nv* < *yie* [1SG]

- (183<sup>-11</sup>) *benx haiv.nyungc lo.haaix*  
 GF เป็น ໄສ້.ຫຸ່ງ ໂດ.ຫາຍ  
 pen↓ hai^ŋ nyung↓ lo↑ haa:i↓  
 be what etc.  
 ‘or (ask) what he may be (in relation to me).’  
 (ium\_20130427\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Greetings-KMB;00.05.13-35)

This is a procedure of *nyiemc cien*.

Specifically, after asking *mbuox fungc heuc* [name how call] ‘What is your name?, a likely development of conversation is demonstrated as (184<sup>-1-13</sup>):

- (184<sup>-1</sup>) *Six.gorngv ninh heuc Fux-Orn orqc;*  
 สี.ก້ອງ นິນ ເຫວ່າ ຜູ-ອອນ ເອະໄ  
 si↓ kɔŋ^↓ nin↓ heu↓ fu?↓ on↓ o?↓  
 if 2SG call Fu Orn Q  
 ‘Suppose his name is Fu Orn, right?’

- (184<sup>-2</sup>) *(hnangv)nor yie nyei die yaac*  
 (ຮນ້ຳ)ນອ ເຢີ່ຍ ໄເນຍ ເຕີຍ ແຫ່ງ  
 nɔŋ^↓ nɔ↓ iə↓ neɪ↓ tiə↓ ja:↓  
 (if)so 1SG POSS father also  
 ‘then (I will try to think if) my father also (may have the same generation name or),’

- (184<sup>-3</sup>) *yie nyei die nzuonx haiv buic?*  
 ເຢີ່ຍ ໄເນຍ ເຕີຍ ທ່າວນ ໄສ້ ບູ້ຍ?  
 iə↓ neɪ↓ tiə↓ dzʷən↓ hai^ŋ pʷi↓  
 1SG POSS father return which generation.name  
 ‘(check) which generation name does my father returns,’

- (184<sup>-4</sup>) *gorngv mingh gorngv daaih mangc gaax*  
 ກ້ອງ ມຶ້ງ ກ້ອງ ຕ້າຍ ພັ້ນ ກໍາ  
 kɔŋ^↓ miŋ↓ kɔŋ^↓ ta:i↓ maŋ↓ ka:↓  
 talk GO talk COME look.at try  
 ‘(and) carry on a conversation to see if’

- (184<sup>-5</sup>) *ninh nyei baan-buic caux nv nyei dae fai*  
 นิ่น เนျေး ป่าน-บູີກ ດ້າວ ນີ້ ເນື່ອ ແຕ ໄກ  
*nin↓ jnei↑ pa:n↓ pui↓ ts:hau↓ n̄y nei↑ te↑ fai↑*  
 3SG POSS generation.name accompany DEM POSS father or  
 ‘his generation cycle and my father’s (match or not)’
- (184<sup>-6</sup>) *yie nyei baanc-buic si.gorngv doix nor*  
 ເີບ ເນື່ອ ປານ-ບູີກ ສີ.ກຶ່ອງ ຕ້ອຍ ນອ  
*iə↑ jnei↑ pa:n↓ pui↓ si↓ kɔŋy↓ tɔi↓ nɔ↑*  
 1SG POSS generation-cycle if match TOP  
 ‘if (his and) my generation cycle matches or not.’
- (184<sup>-7</sup>) *Six.gorngv ninh nyei die nzuonx “Fux”*  
 ສີ.ກຶ່ອງ ນິ້ນ ເນື່ອ ເດີຍ ທ່າວນ “ຝູ”  
*si↓ kɔŋy↓ nin↓ jnei↑ tiə↑ dz:wən↓ fu↓*  
 if 3SG POSS father return Fu  
 ‘If his (generation cycle) returns to Fu’
- (184<sup>-8</sup>) *ninh yaac nzuonx “Fux” nzangc,*  
 นິ້ນ ບໍາ ທ່າວນ “ຝູ” ນ໌ກິ່ງ,  
*nin↓ ja:↓ dz:wən↓ fu↓ dzaŋ↓*  
 3SG also return Fu character  
 ‘(in other words) his (generation name) also returns to the character Fu,’
- (184<sup>-9</sup>) *(si)gorngv hnangv naaic ninh gauh gox nor;*  
 (ສີ)ກຶ່ອງ ຂນັ້ນ ນ່າຍ ນິ້ນ ເກົ້າ ໄກ ນອ,  
*(si↓) kɔŋy↓ n̄aŋy↓ na:i↓ nin↓ kau↓ ko↓ nɔ↑*  
 if like that 3SG more be.old TOP  
 ‘then in this case, also if he is older than I,’
- (184<sup>-10</sup>) *ninh zoux baeqv*  
 นິ້ນ ໂທວ ແປ້ວ  
*nin↓ tsəu↓ pε?↓*  
 3SG make father’s.old.brother  
 ‘he turns out to be (my) “uncle”.’

|                       |             |             |             |            |               |                 |  |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|---------------|-----------------|--|
| (184 <sup>-11</sup> ) | <i>ninh</i> | <i>gauh</i> | <i>lunx</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>zoux</i>   | <i>youz</i>     |  |
|                       | ນິ້ນ        | ເກ້າ        | ຫລຸນ        | ນອ         | ໄທຕວ          | ໂຢ່ວ            |  |
|                       | <i>nin\</i> | <i>kau\</i> | <i>lun\</i> | <i>nɔ\</i> | <i>tsəbu\</i> | <i>jəbu\</i>    |  |
|                       | 3SG         | more        | be.young    | top        | make          | younger.brother |  |

‘If he is younger than I, he is (my) “younger brother”.’

|                       |            |            |             |             |             |                 |             |
|-----------------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| (184 <sup>-12</sup> ) | <i>se</i>  | <i>yie</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>die</i>  | <i>nyei</i> | <i>youz</i>     | <i>fai</i>  |
|                       | ເສ         | ເຢີຍ       | ເງູຍ        | ເຕີຍ        | ເງູຍ        | ໂຢ່ວ            | ໄພ          |
|                       | <i>se\</i> | <i>iə\</i> | <i>nei\</i> | <i>tiə\</i> | <i>nei\</i> | <i>jəbu\</i>    | <i>fai\</i> |
|                       | COP        | 1SG        | POSS        | father      | POSS        | younger.brother | or          |

‘that is to say, (he is) my father’s elder brother, or’

|                       |            |             |             |             |               |  |  |
|-----------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|--|--|
| (184 <sup>-13</sup> ) | <i>yie</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>die</i>  | <i>nyei</i> | <i>gorx</i>   |  |  |
|                       | ເຢີຍ       | ເງູຍ        | ເຕີຍ        | ເງູຍ        | ກ້ອ           |  |  |
|                       | <i>iə\</i> | <i>nei\</i> | <i>tiə\</i> | <i>nei\</i> | <i>kɔ\</i>    |  |  |
|                       | 1SG        | POSS        | father      | POSS        | elder.brother |  |  |

‘(could be) my father’s elder brother.’

(ium\_20130427\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Greetings-KMB;00.07.56-00.08.25)

A prerequisite to this process is to identify that the visitor and the speaker share the same clan names. Then the next thing both sides would do is (184<sup>-3</sup>): in which generation name is the speaker’s father located in the cycle of *buic*? If both families share the same *buic* as in (184<sup>-6</sup>), they recognise they are one family, thus try to determine who is older or younger: he or the speaker’s father (184<sup>-9</sup>)? Which kinship term one should use depends on the relationship between the visitor and one’s father. If the visitor is older than one’s father, the speaker calls him *baeqv* ‘uncle’ even if he may not be beyond the third degree of kinship (184<sup>-10</sup>). If he is younger than one’s father, the speaker calls him *youz* ‘younger brother’ (184<sup>-11</sup>), which is from the father’s perspective (184<sup>-12</sup>). The rest of the conversation will be carried out by calling each other by the appropriate kinship terms: *baeqv* ‘uncle’, *gorx* ‘elder brother’ and *youz* ‘younger brother’. The corresponding term to *baeqv* ‘father’s elder brother’ is *fun* /*fun\*/ ‘nephew’ in this case (though *fun* can also mean ‘grandchild’ and ‘niece’).

Note that the pronunciation of Fux-Orn in (184<sup>-1</sup>) is /fu?j ɔn\/, different to *Fux* /fu\/ in (184<sup>-8</sup>). When the Chinese character is focused as *Fux nzangc* [Fu letter] ‘the character Fu (富)’, it is *Fux* /fu\/. When it is compounded with the chosen name *Orn*, it becomes low checked tone, /fu?j ɔ:n\/ [prosperity peace] (富安) (184<sup>-1</sup>). The

first syllable, therefore, undergoes tone sandhi. If so, the combined name *Fux-Orn* suggests that the given name is a compound noun.

### **Becoming kinsmen through marriage**

As opposed to the generic term of *gorx-youz* /kɔŋ jou˧˥/ appeared above in (182<sup>-8</sup>), more specified kinship terms are used among the relatives. It is through marriage that Iu Mien from different clans become relatives. A whole event of a wedding including ceremony and feast is called *cing-jaa yinh* /tsʰinŋ˥ ca:˧˥ jinŋ˧˥/ [wedding ceremony] and the phrase *zoux cing-jaa* /tsou˧˥ tsʰinŋ˥ ca:˧˥/ [make/do wedding] means to get married through hosting a wedding ceremony. In fact, the term *cing-jaa* /tsʰinŋ˥ ca:˧˥/ is a polysemy, which means both (i) ‘a wedding’, and (ii) ‘a term of address used for each other by the parents of the bride and groom’ (Purnell 2012:89). In addition, an NP *cing-jaa mienh* /tsʰinŋ˥ ca:˧˥ miən˧˥/ [wedding people] means ‘wedding guests on the bride’s side’ (*ibid*). In this sense, *zoux cing-jaa* /tsou˧˥ tsʰinŋ˥ ca:˧˥/ means two things: (i) for the bride’s side to wed into the groom’s family and (ii) by making (*zoux* /tsou˧˥/) themselves *cing-jaa mienh* /tsʰinŋ˥ ca:˧˥ miən˧˥/. In other words, wedding and becoming relatives are almost synonymous in Iu Mien’s thinking. Thus the idea is that the whole family on two sides come into the kin relationship of one big family through two young persons, *siang-laangh* /siaŋ˥ laŋŋ˧˥/ ‘bridegroom’ and *siang-mbuangz* /siaŋ˥ buəŋ˧˥/ ‘bride’. It is through this relationship that members of two sides call each other by the kinship terms. It is, in turn, through these kinship terms that people inquire into the each other’s relationship to each other, the process which is called *nyiemc cien* /niəm˥ tsʰien˧˥/ (181<sup>-1-8</sup>). One simple example is presented below.

Zeuz Gueix-Zoih, for instance, has several sons and daughters-in-law (*nyaam* /na:m˧˥/). Depending on which of the sons these wives are married to, the wives are distinguished in one of two ways: either by prepositioning son’s name’s first syllable to the kinship term *nyaam* /na:m˧˥/ or by being postpositioned by an adjective *hlo* /lo˧˥/ ‘to be big’ or *faix* /fai˧˥/ ‘to be small’ to *nyaam* as in (185):

|       |  |       |                    |                              |                    |
|-------|--|-------|--------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|
| (185) | Nv   | dauh  | naaic              | nyaam-hlo, <sup>132</sup> .. | Sux.nyaam          |
|       | ນີ້  | ເຕົ້າ | ໜ່າຍ               | ໝາມ-ໄໂສລ, ..                 | ສູ.ໝາມ             |
|       | ນໍ້າ   | tau↓  | na:i↓              | na:m↓ lɔ̄l                   | su↓ na:m↑          |
|       | DEM <sub>PRX</sub>   | CLF   | DEM <sub>TOP</sub> | daughter-in-law-big          | daughter-in-law-Su |
|       | '(as for) this one, (she is) big-daughter-in-law, daughter-in-law Su.' |       |                    |                              |                    |
|       | (ium_20130523_04_H1_DA_GueixZoih_Jaapv-Zaangv_                         |       |                    |                              |                    |
|       | Thammajarik; 00.05.18-23)  |       |                    |                              |                    |

Thus *Sux nyaam* means the *nyaam* who is married to *Sux Zoih* (the fourth son of Guex-Zoih). She could be described as *Sux nyei nyaam* [Su POSS daughter-in-law], not in a possessive sense of *nyei*, but in the sense of a bride who became *nyaam* by being married to Su.

In addition, the same principle of specification by prepositioning one's child's name to an in-law can be seen as follows. Gueix-Zoih's eldest daughter is Meix Zoih, i.e., *Meix* the first daughter of Gueix-Zoih. Meix Zoih's husband is to Gueix-Zoih *weiv* /wei^/ 'son-in-law, the husband of one's daughter'. Gueix-Zoih refers to this *weiv* as *Meix weiv* /mei↓ wei^/ prepositioning his daughter's name's first syllable to the kinship term *weiv* 'son-in-law'.

### ***The kinship terms that are not used in vocative constructions***

The above mentioned *weiv* /wei^/ and *nyaam* /na:m^/, in fact, have synonyms: *laangh* /la:nj↓/ 'son-in-law' and *mbuangz* /buang↓/ 'daughter-in-law', respectively. An interesting difference,<sup>133</sup> however, is register: only the set {*weiv* and *nyaam*} can be used in the vocative constructions, but not the set {*laangh* and *mbuangz*}. That is, to use *Weiv aac/aah* and *Nyaam aac/aah* in a face-to-face situation is possible but not \**Laangh aac/aah* nor \**Mbuangz aac/aah*. The set {*laangh* and *mbuangz*}, on the other hand, is used when the parents-in-law explain that the spouses of their children are in-laws to the outsiders. To use Jespersen's term (1924:184), the terms *weiv* and *nyaam*

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<sup>132</sup> The adjectival verb *hlo* 'to be big' prepositioned to the kinship term usually refers to the eldest son, that is, *nyaam-hlo* means 'a daughter-in-law married to the eldest son'. However, in this family, the eldest son changed his name from *Gauv-Zoih* 'the first son of Mr Zoi' to *Sux Zoih* 'the fourth son of Mr Zoi'. The change of name in a traditional Iu Mien society is common for some reasons; most typically it is done in order to deceive spirits that caused illness to a young baby in the hope that the baby with changed name would not become a target of sickness-causing spirits thereafter. Therefore, in a family that has not experienced change of a baby's name owing to healthy growth, *nyaam-hlo* should typically be *gauv-nyaam*.

<sup>133</sup> One of the tenets in Construction Grammar is the *Principle of No Synonymy*: "If two constructions are syntactically distinct, they must be semantically or pragmatically distinct. Pragmatic aspects of constructions involve particulars of information structure, including topic and focus, and additionally stylistic aspects of the construction such as register" (Goldberg 1995:67).

are a second person, whereas *laangh* and *mbuangz* a third person. Consider an example (186<sup>-1-7</sup>):

|                      |                                    |                  |                 |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (186 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Saan.Fongc</i>                  | <i>nyei</i>      | <i>auv,</i>     |
| YJ                   | ໜານ.ຝົງ                            | ເລູຍ             | ເອົາ,           |
|                      | sa:n <sup>1</sup> foŋ <sup>2</sup> | nei <sup>1</sup> | au <sup>2</sup> |
|                      | Saan Fong                          | SBCP             | wife            |
|                      | '(your son) Saan Fong's wife,'     |                  |                 |

|                      |  |                 |                  |                                    |
|----------------------|--|-----------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| (186 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Gueix-Fongc</i>                               | <i>gorx</i>     | <i>heuc</i>      | <i>haiv.nyungc?</i>                |
| YJ                   | ເກວີບ-ຝົງ  | ກ້ອ             | ເຫຼວ             | ໄຊ້.ໜູ່ງ?                          |
|                      | k <sup>1</sup> wei <sup>2</sup> foŋ <sup>2</sup> | kɔ <sup>1</sup> | heu <sup>2</sup> | hai <sup>1</sup> nyuŋ <sup>2</sup> |
|                      | Guei Fong  | old.brother     | call             |                                    |
|                      | 'Elder brother Guei Fong, how do you call her?'  |                 |                  |                                    |

|                      |                         |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| (186 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Nyaam</i>            |
| GF                   | ໜາມ                     |
|                      | ja:m <sup>1</sup>       |
|                      | daughter-in-law         |
|                      | '(I caal her) "nyaam".' |

|                      |                                 |   |                  |                  |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|---|------------------|------------------|
| (186 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>Mv.baac</i>                  | <i>zien-zien</i>  | <i>ninh</i>      | <i>nyei,</i>     |
| GF                   | ນີ້ປໍາ                          | ເຕີຍນ້າ   | ນິນ              | ເລູຍ,            |
|                      | m <sup>1</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> | ts <sup>1</sup> en <sup>2</sup> ts <sup>1</sup> en <sup>2</sup> | nin <sup>1</sup> | nei <sup>1</sup> |
|                      | but                             | actually  | 3SG              | POSS             |
|                      | 'but actually, her...'          |   |                  |                  |

|                      |   |                  |                     |                  |                  |                                 |
|----------------------|---|------------------|---------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| (186 <sup>-5</sup> ) | <i>ninh</i>   | <i>nyei</i>      | <i>yietv.nyeic,</i> | <i>ninh</i>      | <i>benx</i>      | <i>mbuangz</i>                  |
| GF                   | ນິນ   | ເລູຍ             | ຂຶ້ນດ.ເຫຸ່ນໆ,       | ນິນ              | ເປັນ             | ນວ້ຳ                            |
|                      | nin <sup>1</sup>                                    | nei <sup>1</sup> | nei <sup>1</sup>    | nin <sup>1</sup> | pen <sup>1</sup> | b <sup>1</sup> waŋ <sup>2</sup> |
|                      | 3SG   | POSS             | order               | 3SG              | be               | daughter-in-law                 |
|                      | '(according to) her order, she is <i>mbuangz</i> ,' |                  |                     |                  |                  |                                 |

|                      |  |                                 |                                 |                  |                 |
|----------------------|--|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (186 <sup>-6</sup> ) | <i>zoux</i>                                  | <i>mbuangz</i>                  | <i>mv.baac</i>                  | <i>heuc</i>      | <i>nor</i>      |
| GF                   | ໄທດວ   | ນວ້ຳ                            | ນີ້ປໍາ                          | ເຫຼວ             | ນອ              |
|                      | tsəʊ <sup>1</sup>                            | b <sup>1</sup> waŋ <sup>2</sup> | m <sup>1</sup> pa: <sup>2</sup> | heu <sup>2</sup> | nɔ <sup>1</sup> |
|                      | make   | daughter-in-law                 | but                             | call             | TOP             |
|                      | 'she is <i>mbuangz</i> but if (I) call her,' |                                 |                                 |                  |                 |

|                      |  |             |                  |
|----------------------|--|-------------|------------------|
| (186 <sup>-7</sup> ) | <i>oix.zuqc</i>  | <i>heuc</i> | “ <i>Nyaam</i> ” |
| GF                   | អេខ.មនុ  | ហៅ          | “ញាម”            |
|                      | ɔi˧ tsu?˩  | heu˩        | ɲa:m˧            |
|                      | must   | call        | daughter-in-law  |
|                      | ‘I must call her <i>nyaam</i> .’                       |             |                  |
|                      | (ium_20150513_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.22.26-41) |             |                  |

The reverse relation to the situation exemplified above is seen in the way a son-in-law or daughter-in-law addresses his or her father-in-law. In the same way as above the relational kinship terms are not used as address terms. The father-in-law or one's wife's father is called *ong-daa* but it is not used as \**Ong-daa aac/aah*; but the *weiv* (son-in-law, i.e. *laangh*) has to call his *ong-daa* as *die*. On the other hand, one's husband's father is called *ong-buoc* and it is not used as \**Ong-buoc aa/aah*; but the *nyaam* (daughter-in-law, i.e. *mbuangz*) has to call her *ong-buoc* as *die*.

#### ***An extension of kinship terms outside an immediate family***

Addressing outsiders of one's immediate family with kinship terms is also common as in (187):

|  |                  |             |             |             |            |                    |
|--|------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|--------------------|
| (187 <sup>-1</sup> )                           | <i>Se.gorngv</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>gauh</i> | <i>lunx</i> | <i>yie</i> | <i>naaic</i>       |
|  | ធម.កែង           | ឈើ          | កោ          | លតុន        | ីឃិ        | ណានា               |
|  | se kɔŋ˥          | mei˧        | kau˧        | lun˧        | iə˧        | na:i˩              |
|  | if               | 2SG         | more        | be.young    | 1SG        | DEM <sub>TOP</sub> |
| ‘If you are younger than I, in this case, ...’ |                  |             |             |             |            |                    |

|   |            |             |             |             |                 |
|---|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (187 <sup>-2</sup> )                            | <i>yie</i> | <i>heuc</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>zeiz</i> | <i>youz</i>     |
|   | ីឃិ        | ហៅ          | ឈើ          | ទេី         | ឲ្យវា           |
|   | iə˧        | heu˩        | mei˧        | tsei˧       | jəʊz˧           |
|   | 1SG        | call        | 2SG         | be.correct  | younger.brother |
| ‘(then) I call you as being a younger brother.’ |            |             |             |             |                 |

|  |             |             |           |                  |                 |
|--|-------------|-------------|-----------|------------------|-----------------|
| (187 <sup>-3</sup> )                           | <i>heuc</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>Yauz-Jiem</i> | <i>youz.</i>    |
|  | ហៅ          | ឈើ          | ឯ         | យ៉ែ-ជីំម         | ឲ្យវា.          |
|  | heu˩        | mei˧        | se˧       | jau˧ ciəm˧       | jəʊz˧           |
|  | call        | 2SG         | COP       | Yau Jiem         | younger.brother |
| ‘I call you as (my) younger brother Yau Jiem.’ |             |             |           |                  |                 |

- (187<sup>-4</sup>) Nyaam naaic heuc Yauz-Jiem nziez.  
 ນູາມ ນ້າຍ ແກ່ວ ເຢ້າ-ເຈີມ ເຊິ່ງ.  
 ja:m<sup>1</sup> na:i<sup>1</sup> heu<sup>1</sup> jau<sup>1</sup> ciem<sup>1</sup> dziə<sup>1</sup>  
 woman TOP call Yau Jiem younger.sister  
 ‘As for your wife, I call “younger sister Yau Jiem”.’  
 (ium\_20130523\_04\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_Jaapv-Zaangv\_Thammajarik;  
 00.04.11-9)

*Youz /jou<sup>1</sup>/* is a younger brother to a man, as opposed to *nauz /nau<sup>1</sup>/* ‘a younger brother of a female’. *Nyaam* in (187<sup>-4</sup>) is a generic term in this context rather than having its primary meaning ‘daughter-in-law’ (term of address). As Purnell explains in the cultural usage *nyaam* is ‘a polite term of address for a female stranger roughly equal to or older than oneself, or for the wife of a man one is not related to’ (Purnell 2012:563f). Referring to my wife as *nyaam*, she is *Yauz-Jiem nziez* ‘younger sister Yau Jiem’ to him. By prepositioning *Yauz-Jiem* to *nziez* he calls her as his younger sister but does so in relation to me, his younger brother. Purnell (2012:600) defines *nziez* as ‘wife of a man’s younger brother’. He does not need to know or call her personal name (though he does actually).

If the addresser is younger than the addressee, see (188<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (188<sup>-1</sup>) Heuc meih, heuc “Yauz-Jiem gorx,  
 ແກ່ວ ເມື່ອ, ແກ່ວ “ເຢ້າ-ເຈີມ ກ້ອ,  
 heu<sup>1</sup> mei<sup>1</sup> heu<sup>1</sup> jau<sup>1</sup> ciem<sup>1</sup> kɔ<sup>1</sup>  
 call 2SG call Yau Jiem elder.brother  
 ‘(if you are older than I, I would) call you, saying “Older brother Yau Jiem”’

- (188<sup>-2</sup>) Heuc meih auv “Yauz-Jiem nyaam”.  
 ແກ່ວ ເມື່ອ ເອົາ “ເຢ້າ-ເຈີມ ນູາມ”.  
 heu<sup>1</sup> mei<sup>1</sup> au<sup>1</sup> jau<sup>1</sup> ciem<sup>1</sup> ja:m<sup>1</sup>  
 call 2SG wife Yau Jiem elder.brother’s.wife  
 ‘(and I should) call your wife “Yau Jiem’s wife”.’  
 (ium\_20130523\_04\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_Jaapv-Zaangv\_Thammajarik;  
 00.04.33-6)

In this case *nyaam*<sup>134</sup> means ‘one’s older brother’s wife’ (Purnell 2012:563).

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<sup>134</sup> Further example of kinship address terms as a social lubricant and its extended use with outsiders is as follows: a young American female Iu Mien who came back to Asia called my wife *nyaam* in the sense ‘one’s older brother’s wife’ (Purnell 2012:563), not in the generic sense, nor in the sense of ‘daughter in law’, indirectly acknowledging (*nyiemc*) or recognising/counting (*funx*) me as her kin older brother,

### **An extension of kinship terms beyond the ethnic group of Iu Mien**

The Iu Mien sometimes extend the custom of *nyiemc cien*. The term *gorx-youz* ‘elder brother and younger brother’ in (181<sup>-8</sup>) is a cover term which includes *youz* in (187<sup>-2-3</sup>). In both contexts they are used in an extended sense: for example, *gorx-youz* in (181<sup>-8</sup>) includes other Iu Mien from one’s own clan acknowledging them as kinsmen among the same ethnic group of the Iu Mien. Such usage could be extended further, in some cases, to include non-Iu Mien. In the following example, the use of *nyaam* has an overlap of generic polite meaning as well as kinship term (189<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|   |                         |  |
|---|-------------------------|--|
| (189 <sup>-1</sup> )                              | <i>Nyaam</i>            | <i>aac, meih mv dungx bouh</i>   |
|   | ညာမ                     | ခံ၊ မော် နှံ တွေ့ ဘြ္ဗာ  |
|   | <i>ja:m<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>a:<sup>1</sup> mei<sup>1</sup> m<sup>1</sup>γ tui<sup>1</sup> pəu<sup>1</sup></i> |
|   | daughter-in-law         | VOC 2SG NEG AUX lift   |
| ‘Daughter-in-law! Don’t you carry (these bowls).’ |                         |  |

|   |  |
|---|--|
| (189 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>cinh ninh mbuo haiv.zanc yaac siou!</i>   |
|   | ခိုး နီး ပာ့ ဦးထဲ့ အော် စီးခား!  |
|   | <i>ts<sup>h</sup>in<sup>1</sup> nin<sup>1</sup> buə<sup>1</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> tsan<sup>1</sup> ja:<sup>1</sup> s<sup>1</sup>əu<sup>1</sup></i> |
|   | let 3 PL whenever TOP collect  |
| ‘Let them [my real daughters-in-law] collect (them from the table) whenever!’ |  |
| (ium_20130523_06_H1_DA_GueixZoih_OldCustoms_ Thammajarik;00.00.18-21)         |  |

An explanation of the situation and the pragmatic aspect of the example may be necessary. After a meal of Zeuz Gueix-Zoih’s 93rd birthday, my wife was collecting bowls and dishes off the table; then he called out to her *nyaam* ‘daughter-in-law’. In this way he directly *nyiemc* ‘acknowledged’ her as his daughter-in-law and indirectly did so me as his son without addressing me. However, the vocative particle *aac* is in Tone 6 /<sup>1</sup>/, the polite form, even though the loudness was high enough to be heard by her about 4 – 5 meters away. If he had been calling his real daughters-in-law, he would have used another vocative particle *aah!* /<sup>1</sup>/, which is more urging (perhaps to call them out to clear the table). Due to the use of polite vocative particle, the term *nyaam* may have a connotation of a polite term of addressing women in general as well as the fact that he would not let a guest work in his kitchen. This complexity may be accounted for as follows. Rather than a similar suspicion of the observer’s paradox,

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instead of using *dorc* ‘elder sister’. This practice could be possible between the Iu Mien and Iu Mien speaking foreigners.

mentioned with regard to example (175<sup>-1-3</sup>) in §5.4.2.1, a delicate and complex aspect of the researcher's relation with the family might have been at work. Since the initial acquaintance with Zeuz Gueix-Zoih in 1998, our relationship grew closer over the years. From a status of being an observer/learner, through a stage of a participant observer, the researcher has gradually been accepted into the community, and into his family structure as fluency increased. The process was nothing but due to his generosity and willingness to teach, extending the use of the kinship terms to include us while maintaining politeness to the guests at a banquet.

In any case, this is the way of *nyiemc cien* 'acknowledgement of kin relationship'.

### ***Terms on the way to obsolescence***

Older Iu Mien speakers are concerned about decreasing knowledge of kinship terms among the young generation. A few examples are *deih* 'the older sister of a man's wife; a term used by a man and his children to address his wife's, and their mother's, older sister' (Purnell 2012:124) and *saih* 'a bound form prefixed to kinship terms to indicate indirect in-law relationships (i.e., the brother or sister and their spouses) of one's brother-in-law or sister-in-law' (ibid. 657).

A concrete example of *deih* is described in (190<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |   |                  |                   |                  |                 |
|----------------------|---|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (190 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Meix.Tim</i>                                 | <i>nyei</i>      | <i>nziez</i>      | <i>nyei</i>      | <i>nqox</i>     |
|                      | ເມີ້ນທີມ  | ແງ່ຍ             | ເຕື້ບ             | ແງ່ຍ             | ໄຫວ             |
|                      | mei <sup>1</sup> t <sup>h</sup> im <sup>1</sup> | ŋei <sup>1</sup> | dziə <sup>1</sup> | ŋei <sup>1</sup> | go <sup>1</sup> |
|                      | Mei Tim   | POSS             | younger.sister    | POSS             | husband         |
|                      | 'Mei Tim's younger sister's husband'            |                  |                   |                  |                 |

|                      |   |   |                   |                     |
|----------------------|---|---|-------------------|---------------------|
| (190 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>heuc</i>                                 | <i>Meix.Tim</i>                                 | <i>zoux</i>       | " <i>deih</i> ".    |
|                      | ເຫຼວ  | ເມີ້ນທີມ  | ໄຫວ               | "ເຕື້ບ"             |
|                      | heu <sup>1</sup>                            | mei <sup>1</sup> t <sup>h</sup> im <sup>1</sup> | tsəʊ <sup>1</sup> | tei <sup>1</sup>    |
|                      | call  | Meix Tim  | make              | older.sister-in-law |
|                      | '(should) call Mei Tim as " <i>deih</i> ".' |   |                   |                     |

(ium\_20150513\_04\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.01.22-7)

Meix Tim, my wife, has a younger sister who is married. Her younger brother-in-law calls my wife as *deih*. In fact, there is a homonym to it, which means 'a hoof' (蹄). The meaning being disliked as a misleading reference to an elder female figure, a disyllabic term *dorc deih* with an addition of *dorc* 'one's older sister', instead of a monosyllabic *deih*, is preferred by some people. Iu Mien of younger generation tend to use a

simplified term *dorc*, which is indeed for one's own elder sister. Thus the respectful term *deih* is on the way to obsolescence. The husband of *deih* /tei˥/ is *bueiv* /p<sup>w</sup>ei˥/ to the younger brother-in-law: my younger sister in-law's husband should call me as *bueiv*.

Another example of the terms that are about to be forgotten is *saih*, that is, an indirect in-law relationship or non-blood relative. A gist of the concept in Iu Mien is described as in (191):

|       |  |            |             |                             |             |
|-------|--|------------|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|
| (191) | “ <i>Saih</i> ”  | <i>se</i>  | <i>gan</i>  | <i>muoz-doic</i>            | <i>heuc</i> |
|       | ໄຊ່  | ເຊີ        | ກັນ         | ນົວ-ຕ່ອຍ                    | ເຫິວ        |
|       | <i>sai˥</i>  | <i>se˥</i> | <i>kan˥</i> | <i>m<sup>w</sup>ə˥ tɔi˥</i> | <i>heu˥</i> |
|       | “ <i>saih</i> ”  | TOP        | follow      | sibling                     | call        |
|       | “ <i>Saih</i> ” is used to refer to relatives from the perspective of one's sibling who married to other family’ |            |             |                             |             |
|       | (ium_ 20150513_04_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.02.16-9)   |            |             |                             |             |

An example of the above-description is (192<sup>-1-6</sup>):

|                      |  |            |              |               |              |
|----------------------|--|------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| (192 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>somutv.wa~</i> (cm.t)               | <i>nv</i>  | <i>nyei</i>  | <i>gorx</i>   | <i>nyei</i>  |
|                      | ສມມຸດິວ່າ                              | ນໍ້        | ເລູຍ         | ກ້ອ           | ເລູຍ         |
|                      | <i>somut˥ waː˥</i>                     | <i>n̥˥</i> | <i>jnei˥</i> | <i>kɔ˥</i>    | <i>jnei˥</i> |
|                      | suppose                                | 1SG        | POSS         | older.brother | POSS         |
|                      | ‘Suppose (I have) my elder brother’s ’ |            |              |               |              |

|                      |                        |              |               |  |  |
|----------------------|------------------------|--------------|---------------|--|--|
| (192 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>auv</i>             | <i>nyei</i>  | <i>gorx</i>   |  |  |
|                      | ເອົ້າ                  | ເລູຍ         | ກ້ອ           |  |  |
|                      | <i>au˥</i>             | <i>jnei˥</i> | <i>kɔ˥</i>    |  |  |
|                      | wife                   | POSS         | older.brother |  |  |
|                      | ‘wife’s elder brother’ |              |               |  |  |

|                      |  |            |              |               |             |
|----------------------|--|------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| (192 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Naaiv</i>                                 | <i>yie</i> | <i>nyei</i>  | <i>gorx</i>   | <i>heuc</i> |
|                      | ນ້າຍ   | ເຢີຍ       | ເລູຍ         | ກ້ອ           | ເຫິວ        |
|                      | <i>na:i˥</i>                                 | <i>iə˥</i> | <i>jnei˥</i> | <i>kɔ˥</i>    | <i>heu˥</i> |
|                      | DEM <sub>PRX</sub>                           | 1SG        | POSS         | older.brother | call        |
|                      | ‘This person, my elder brother (should) say’ |            |              |               |             |

- (192<sup>-4</sup>) *nc*    *zoux*    *domh.nauz*.  
 ໜ້    ໂທດວ    ຕິ່ມ.ນີ້.  
*n*    *tsəu*    *tom* nau~  
 3SG    make    one's spouse's older.brother  
 '(that) he is (his) wife's elder brother (i.e. *domh nauz*).'

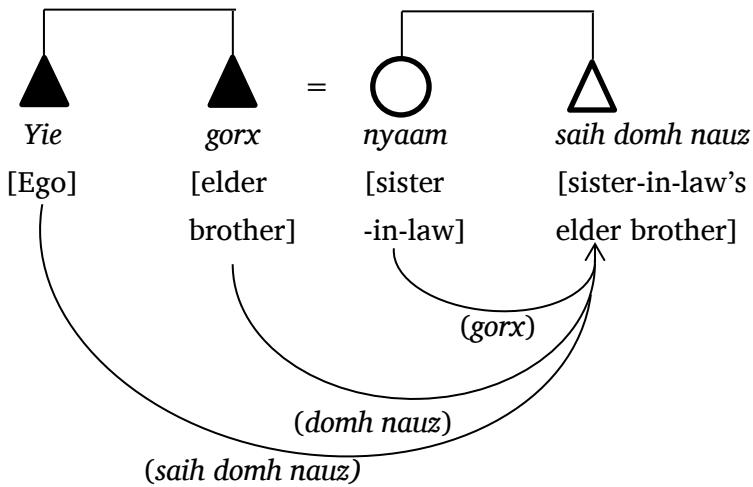
(192<sup>-5</sup>) *Yie*    *gan*    *nv*    *nyei*    *gorx*    *heuc*  
 ເຢຍ    ກັນ    ນໍ້    ເສູຍ    ກ່ອ    ເຫວ  
*iə*    *kan*    *n* ~  
 1SG    follow    1SG    POSS    older.brother    call  
 '(Then) I would call him from my elder's brother's perspective'

(192<sup>-6</sup>) *zoux*    *saih*,                  “*saih*”                  *domh.nauz*”  
 ໂທດວ    ໃຊ້,                  “*ສາຍ*”                  ຕິ່ມ.ນີ້”  
*tsəu*    *sai*                  *sai* ~                  *tom* nau~  
 make    indirect.in-law    indirect.in-law    one's spouse's older.brother  
 '(that he) is *saih*, (or) my elder brother's wife's elder brother.'

(ium\_20150513\_04\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.02.33-48)

The whole discourse consists in two parts: the speaker's elder brother's perspective (192<sup>-1-4</sup>) and the speaker's perspective (192<sup>-5-6</sup>). From the perspective of the former, (192<sup>-1-4</sup>) define what the term *domh nauz* means; the term to be used by the speaker's elder brother. From the perspective of the latter (i.e. the speaker himself or the Egger).

The whole discourse consists in two parts: the speaker's elder brother's perspective (192<sup>1-4</sup>) and the speaker's perspective (192<sup>5-6</sup>). From the perspective of the former, Ls (192<sup>1-4</sup>) define what the term *domh nauz* means; the term to be used by the speaker's elder brother. From the perspective of the latter (i.e. the speaker himself or the Ego), then, Ls (192<sup>5-6</sup>) explain how the term *saih* as a modifier to *domh nauz* is used. That is to say, calling one's wife's elder brother is in term of *domh nauz*. In referring to the same referent, from the younger brother's perspective (i.e. the speaker himself), *saih domh nauz* is used. These two relations are presented in Figure 58:



**Figure 58 *saih domh nauz* in relation to *yie* [ego]**

In the relationships shown in Figure 58, the important point of *saih* is that even though the Ego has been considered to be a part of the other family (indicated by a white triangle and a circle) through his elder brother's marriage and thus is entitled to call them by kinship terms, the prepositioning of *saih* to *domh nauz* clarifies that the speaker has no blood relationship with *domh nauz*. Consider (193<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |                                    |             |             |             |                 |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (193 <sup>-1</sup> ) | " <i>Saih</i> "                    | <i>wuov</i> | <i>joux</i> | <i>waac</i> | <i>bun.cing</i> |
|                      | "ጀጀ"                               | ວົວ         | ຈົວ         | ຫວ່າ        | ບຸນ.ເສີງ        |
|                      | <i>saih</i>                        | սອຍ         | ເມືອງ       | ວາ:         | ປຸນັ ຕສົງັ      |
|                      | <i>saih</i>                        | DEM         | CLF         | word        | indicate        |
|                      | 'The word "saih" indicates (that)' |             |             |             |                 |

|                      |   |             |            |             |              |
|----------------------|---|-------------|------------|-------------|--------------|
| (193 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>mv</i>   | <i>zeiz</i> | <i>yie</i> | <i>ganh</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|                      | ນ້ຳ   | ເຕີບ        | ເມືບ       | ກັນ         | ແລູຍ.        |
|                      | NEG   | be.correct  | 1SG        | self        | POSS/NOM     |
|                      | '(the relative being referred to) is not my own (blood relatives).' |             |            |             |              |
|                      | (ium_20150513_04_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.03.36-8)               |             |            |             |              |

To summarise, personal names and most kinship terms are used in a vocative construction with or without the vocative particles. Some kinship terms are used only to describe a relationship and not as second person vocatives. People enter into a kinship relationship through marriage after which both sides call the members of the other family with the complex kinship terms. Some kinship terms, for example *deih* and *saih*, are becoming obsolete suggesting a changing community life.

### 5.4.3 Names as Nomination

“Nomination” is a technical term introduced by Lyons (1977:217): “by saying that X nominates some person as John we shall mean that X assigns the name ‘John’ to that person”. There are two kinds of nomination in such a speech act. One is “didactic nomination” (*ibid.* 217), and the other “performative nomination” (*ibid.* 218). The didactic nomination is exemplified by Anderson (2007:268) in: *Their youngest child is called Basil*. And an example of the performative nomination is: *I name this ship the Queen Elizabeth* (Anderson 2007:217).

In Iu Mien a corresponding expression to the didactic nomination construction is the speech act verb *heuc* ‘to call’. Under the category of performative nomination construction we have two kinds: (a) “*heuc A zoux B*” [call A make B] ‘to call A as B’ and (b) “*cuotv mbuox heuc*” [issue name(N) call] ‘to issue a name as’. Following Anderson, we shall call the verb like *heuc* ‘to call’ the “verb of designation” (*ibid.* 268). On the other hand, as he refers to the English verb *name* as a “verb of nomination”, so do we call, with a slight modification, the two phrases (a) “*heuc A zoux B*” ‘to call A as B’ and (b) *cuotv mbuox heuc* ‘to issue a name as’ as performative nomination construction.

#### 5.4.3.1 Didactic nomination construction

It should be pointed out that apart from the use as the verb of designation, the verb *heuc* ‘to call’ is also used in various ways. Just to provide a background, examples are drawn from Purnell (2012:244-5): (i) a loud utterance: e.g., *heuc qiex hlo nyei* /heu˥ cʰiə˥ lɔ˥ neɪ˥/ [call voice be.big ASST] ‘to call out loudly’, (ii) causative verb: e.g., *heuc ninh nzuonx biauv* /heu˥ nin˥ dzuən˥ p̥iau˥/ [call 3SG return house] ‘to call on her/him to come back home’ [an alternative reading could be ‘to tell/order her/him to go home’], and (iii) invocation (in religious ceremony): *heuc mienv* /heu˥ miən˥/ [call spirit] ‘to call on the spirits’, *heuc lungh* /heu˥ luŋ˥/ [call sky] ‘to call on Heaven (the spirit world) for action of some type’.

Now let us turn to the use of *heuc* as didactic nomination. In the construction [NP<sup>1</sup> *heuc* NP<sup>2</sup>], the equation relationship [NP<sup>1</sup> = NP<sup>2</sup>] exists as in (194<sup>-1-3</sup>) ((194<sup>-3</sup>) was quoted as (137) in §4.2.3.1):

|                        |            |             |              |                    |                   |            |
|------------------------|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|------------|
| (194 <sup>-1</sup> )   | <i>Yie</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>mbuox</i> | <b><i>heuc</i></b> | <i>Gueix-Zoih</i> | <i>oc.</i> |
|                        | ເຢີຍ       | ແງ່ຍ        | ນ້ຳ          | ເຫຼວ               | ເກວິຍ-ຕ່ອຍ        | ໄອ໌.       |
|                        | iə˥        | ŋeɪ˧        | buə˥         | heu˥               | kʷei˥ tsɔi˥       | o:˥        |
|                        | 1SG        | POSS        | name         | call               | Guei Zoi          | PLT        |
| ‘My name is Guei Zoi.’ |            |             |              |                    |                   |            |

|                      |            |             |             |                           |
|----------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| (194 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i> | <i>mbe~</i> | <i>Zeuz</i> | <i>Mienh.</i>             |
|                      | ເຢີ່ຍ      | ແບ້~        | ເຕົວ        | ມື່ນ.                     |
| iə́l                 | be~        | tseu~       | miən̩       |                           |
| 1SG (frg)            | Zeu        | Guei Zoi    |             | 'I am a man of Zeu clan.' |

|                      |            |                    |             |                            |
|----------------------|------------|--------------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| (194 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i> | <b><i>heuc</i></b> | <i>Zeuz</i> | <i>Gueix-Zoih.</i>         |
|                      | ເຢີ່ຍ      | ເຫຼວ               | ເຕົວ        | ເກວິ່ຍ-ຕ່ອຍ                |
| iə́l                 | heu~       | tseu~              | kʷei̯ tsɔi̯ |                            |
| 1SG call             | Zeu        | Guei Zoi           |             | 'My name is Guei Zoi Zeu.' |

(ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.00.22-6)

The designation relationship or the equation relationship (as indicated by the symbol “=” ) is accidentally suggested by the fragmental utterance *mbe~* [be] (atonal) in (194<sup>-2</sup>). No such word exists in Iu Mien but this *mbe~* well could be a mistaken pronunciation of three possible forms: *mbuox* /buə́l/ ‘name’, the equative particle *se* /se̯l/ ‘that is’, and the copular verb *benx* /pen̩l/ ‘to be’. All of these can fit the context well. Thus, the designation verb *heuc* resembles German: *Ich heiße Geuix-Zoih*, rather than English: *I am called Gueix-Zoih*, using the passive participle.

To ask a person’s name, *heuc* is followed by *haaix.nyungc* ‘what’ as in (195):

|       |             |             |              |              |                    |                            |
|-------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| (195) | <i>Meih</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>Mienh</i> | <i>mbuox</i> | <b><i>heuc</i></b> | <b><i>haiv.nyungc?</i></b> |
|       | ເມື່ຍ       | ເງູຍ        | ມື່ນ         | ນ້ຳ          | ເຫຼວ               | ໄຂ້.ໜູ່ງ?                  |
|       | mei̯l       | ŋei̯l       | miən̩l       | buə́l        | heu~               | hai̯ŋ nyung~               |
|       | 2SG         | POSS        | Mien         | name         | call               | what                       |

'What is your Iu Mien name?'

(ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.00.32-3)

In an allegro speech *haaix* is reduced to *haiv* or even to /ha̯l/ superimposed by the high rising question intonation. Since (195) is a part of the continued conversation from (194<sup>-3</sup>), he is asking the researcher’s Mien name. Among the Iu Mien themselves, a customary question is *Meih nyei mbuox heuc haiv.nyungc?*<sup>135</sup> [2SG POSS name call what] ‘What is your name?’

<sup>135</sup> However, there is a situation where an Iu Mien asks another Iu Mien’s Mien name. As large number of Iu Mien drain into big cities, they speak in Central Thai using their Thai names that are on ID cards. On encountering fellow Iu Mien, if young people do not shy away, they would ask “What is your Mien name?”

A more formal register in the same function, but asking the addressee's surname at the first encounter, is exemplified in (196):

- (196) Gorx, meih gueix fingx?  
ก່ອ, ໝ່ຍ ເກວ່ຍ ຜິງ?  
kɔː mei˥ kʷei˧ fing˧  
elder.brother 2SG be.honourable clan  
‘Sir, what is your honourable clan?’  
(ium\_20130427\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Greetings-KMB;00.01.34-5)

This register is a *dorh leiz nyei naaic /tɔː lei˧ pei˧ na:i˥/* [lead custom ADVZ ask] ‘to ask politely’. Interestingly, in the different register, the ordinary verb of designation *heuc* is not chosen, but *gueix* ‘to be honourable’, meaning *jaaix nyei fingx* [be.precious REL clan] ‘precious clan’. Therefore, this is not used to ask one’s first name. A response to this question should be as (197):

- (197) Mv maaih haiv.nyungc benx fingx. Fingx Zeuz.  
ມ້ ມ່າຍ ໄສ້.ຫຸ່ງ ເປັນ ຜິງ. ຜິງ ເຊົວ.  
m̩˥ ma:i˧˥ hai˥ juŋ˥ pen˧ fing˧ fing˧ tseu˧  
NEG have what be clan clan Zeu  
‘I have no clan whatsoever to boast, (I am just a humble) Zeu clan.’  
(ium\_20130427\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Greetings-KMB;00.03.06-10)

The designation verb *heuc* is also used with common nouns as in (198):

- (198) Naaiv / yie mbuo heuc “lamz”.  
ນ້າຍ / ເຢີ ບັວ ເຫຼວ “ລົ້ມ”.  
na:i˥ iə˥ buə˥ heu˥ lam˧  
DEM<sub>PRX</sub> 1 PL call granary  
‘This, we call a “granary”.’ (‘We call this a “granary”.’)  
(ium\_1967\_06\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p11;00.24.59-00.25.00)

This is a double topic sentence: *naaiv* is topic 1, and *yie mbuo* topic 2. The designation relationship [*naaiv* = *lamz*] exists on the both sides of *heuc*.

#### 5.4.3.2 Performative nomination

The first construction under the performative nomination is “*heuc A zoux B*” [call A make B] ‘to call A as B’. The same verb *heuc* ‘to call’ as in the didactic nomination construction is used here as a part of the performative nomination construction, followed by a copular construction “*A zoux B*” [A = B]. Here *zoux* means

recognition of A as B, derived from its typical sense ‘to make’ or ‘to do’. A part of a heroic story shows such an example as in (199<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (199 <sup>-1</sup> ) | “U!... Meih za’gengh henv haic.”  |
| Governer             | “ອຸ!... ເມ່ຍ ທຳກີ່ງ ເສັນ ໄທໍ.”  |
|                      | u: <sup>1</sup> mei <sup>2</sup> tsa keŋ <sup>3</sup> hen <sup>4</sup> hai <sup>5</sup> |
|                      | INTJ 2 really be.strong very  |
|                      | ‘Wow! You are really so strong!’  |

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (199 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <b>Heuc</b> naaic dauh mienh <b>zoux</b> <i>Aa^han.Mix</i>   |
| Narrator             | ເຫຼວ ພ່າຍ ເຕ້າ ເມື່ຍນ ໂພດວ ອ້າວັນ.ໜີ   |
|                      | heu <sup>1</sup> na:i <sup>2</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> miən <sup>4</sup> tsəb <sup>5</sup> a: han mi <sup>6</sup> |
|                      | call DEM <sub>MID</sub> CLF person make Bear.the.Brave   |
|                      | ‘(The governer) entitled this man (to) be Bear the Brave.’   |

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (199 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Wuov.nzunc.hnoi duqv yietc norm mbuox hlo deix aqv.</i>  |
| Narrator             | ວ້ວ.ຫຼຸ່ມ.ຮນອຍ ຕຸ ແຫີບດ ນອມ ບ້ວ ໂສດ ເຕ້ຍ ອີ່  |
|                      | uə <sup>1</sup> dzun <sup>2</sup> tu <sup>3</sup> jet <sup>4</sup> nɔm <sup>5</sup> buə <sup>6</sup> lo <sup>7</sup> tei <sup>8</sup> a? <sup>9</sup> |
|                      | this.time get one CLF name(n) be.big some NSIT  |
|                      | ‘At this occasion (he) got one considerably big name.’  |

(*A Story of Aahan Mi* (recorded and transcribed in early 1970s by Burgess in Chirang Rai), quoted in Arisawa (2006:255) )

Strictly speaking (199<sup>-2</sup>) is not a performative speech act addressed to the second person but a narrator’s paraphrase of such a situation. The structure, however, well could be used by a first person to entitle someone as something: *yie heuc meih zoux bieiv* [1SG call 2SG make leader] ‘I call you a leader’ or ‘I tell you to be a leader’. Note also the noun *mbuox* ‘name’ in (199<sup>-3</sup>) has a little more than an ordinary denotation, namely, a sense of fame and honour in this context.

The second performative nomination construction is “*cuotv mbuox heuc*” [issue name(n) call] ‘to issue a name as’. *Cuotv* ‘to exit’ or ‘to produce’ is an interesting verb. It should be noted that a traditional assumption that Iu Mien is an SVO language has to face a difficulty in figuring out the following examples (200a-c):

(200a) **cuotv** *qiex* [produce air/voice] ‘to utter (a sound) to pronounce; to enunciate’  
 (Panh 2002:34)

(200b) **cuotv** *waac* [exit word] ‘to utter, speak up, express verbally’  
 (Purnell 2012:104)

(200c) *nqaiv cuotv* [faeces exit] ‘Faeces came out.’ (from (169<sup>-2</sup>))

The difficult issue to be discussed here is regarding (200a-b), deferring (200c) to a later comment. Both expressions in (200a-b) have the same word order with the verb *cuotv* ‘to produce, to exit’ being followed by the speech-related nouns, *quiex* ‘voice’ and *waac* ‘word’.

While it may be easy to understand (for those who consider Iu Mien to be an SVO language) that (200a) has a structure [(Subject(supplied)) *cuotv*(V) *qiex*(O)], does (200b) have the same structure? The answer is negative. Contrary to Purnell's translation 'to utter, speak up, express verbally' above, we have a different interpretation from Thailand as in (201<sup>-1-4</sup>):

- |                      |   |              |                 |                    |                      |             |
|----------------------|---|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| (201 <sup>-1</sup> ) | "cuotv  | <i>waac'</i> | <i>eix-leiz</i> | <i>se,</i>         | "cuotv               | <i>sic'</i> |
|                      | "ชื่อด  | หว่า"        | ເອີ້ນ-ເລື່ອ     | ໃຈ,                | "ชื่อด               | ສິ"         |
|                      | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət]  | wa:]         | ei˥ lei˩        | se˥                | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət] | si˩         |
|                      | exit/emerge   | word         | meaning         | COP <sub>TOP</sub> | exit/emerge          | affair      |
|                      | '(The expression) cuotv waac means "a problem has occurred",' |              |                 |                    |                      |             |

- |                      |                                  |                            |                             |                |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| (201 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>fai</i>                       | “ <i>Maaih fiuv-nzaeng</i> | <i>nyei</i>                 | <i>jauv</i> ”. |
|                      | ໄຟ                               | “ມ່າຍ ພື້-ແຫງ              | ເນູຍ                        | ເຈົ້າ.         |
|                      | <i>fai</i> ↑                     | <i>ma:i</i> ↓              | <i>fiu</i> ↓ <i>dze:ŋ</i> ↑ | <i>nei</i> ↑   |
|                      | or                               | have                       | quarrel                     | SBCP           |
|                      | ‘or “There occurred a quarrel”,’ |                            |                             | way            |



- (201<sup>-4</sup>)    *fai maaih guaix.ngoic.*  
                 ໄຟ ມ່າຍ ໄກວ່າ.ໜ່ອຍ  
                 fai<sup>1</sup> ma:i<sup>1</sup> k<sup>w</sup>ai<sup>1</sup> n<sup>g</sup>oic<sup>1</sup>  
                 or have problem  
                 ‘or there is a problem (between them).’  
                 (Field Notes 20150906\_WK\_email)

Obviously *waac* ‘word’ in the phrase *cuotv waac* means *sic* ‘affair, matter’ in the sense of problem, difficulty, happening, accident, undesirable matter, rather than a simple act of speech. If so, the structure is [*cuotv(V) waac(Subject)*], rather than (S)VO. Thus

the glossing of *cuotv* in (201<sup>-1</sup>) is provided as an intransitive verb, namely ‘to exit/emerge’.

On the contrary, in (200a) *cuotv qiel* [produce air/voice] is rightly glossed with the transitive sense. For example as in (202a)(a repetition of (119) in §3.3.3.5) and (202b):

|        |  |                     |           |            |
|--------|--|---------------------|-----------|------------|
| (202a) | <b>Cuotv</b>                                     | <i>qiel</i>         | <i>se</i> | “Fuqc Hin” |
| (119)  | ឆ្លែត  | ណើយ                 | ឡូ        | ហិន        |
|        | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət̚l                            | c <sup>h</sup> iə̯l | se̯l      | fu?l hin̚l |
|        | produce  | air                 | TOP       | Fu Hin     |
|        | ‘(Fux-Hin) should be pronounced as /fu?l hin̚l/’ |                     |           |            |

(Dangc Wuonh Kuon (pers. com.) 20160207)

|        |                                      |                       |                     |             |              |
|--------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------|--------------|
| (202b) | <i>Ninh</i>                          | <b>cuotv</b>          | <i>qiel</i>         | <i>junh</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|        | នីន                                  | ឆ្លែត                 | ណើយ                 | ចុន         | លើយ          |
|        | nin̚l                                | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət̚l | c <sup>h</sup> iə̯l | cun̚l       | nei̯l        |
|        | 3 SG                                 | produce               | air/voice           | be.clear    | ASST         |
|        | ‘He/she pronounces (words) clearly.’ |                       |                     |             |              |

(Field Notes 1994, attested in winter dry season at Takwan village)

The point is that behind the same word order, V-NP, there lies two different structures. To use the semantic role terminology ((A)GENT, (TH)eme) introduced in §4.3.1, rather than the term “(S)VO”, two different structures can be shown as follows:

- *Ninh(A) cuotv qiel(TH)* [3SG produce voice] (lit.) ‘He/she produces voice.’
- *Cuotv waac(TH)* [exit word] ‘(There) emerged/occurred a problem.’

To retrieve the deferred example (200c) *nqaiv cuotv* ‘faeces came out’, the verb *cuotv* is intransitive (“SV” in terms of “SVO language”). Thus the third structure:

- *Nqaiv(TH) cuotv* [faeces exit] ‘Faeces came out.’

Now, returning to the onomastics-derived grammar, *cuotv* as a performative nomination verb is of the first kind among the above three, i.e., (200a) [*cuotv* + NP(TH)]. Hence the reading of *cuotv mbuox* is ‘to produce a name, issue a name’. Accordingly both Panh (2002:34) and Purnell (2012:103) gloss the construction as ‘to name, give a name or to give a title to’ in the transitive sense.

An example of *cuotv mbuox* in the sense of issuing a name is (203<sup>-4</sup>):

- (203<sup>-1</sup>) *Yauz-Jiem naaiv se Ih.Bunc oc,*  
 ເຢ້າ-ເຈີຍມ ນ້າຍ ເຊ ອື.ບຸນ ໄອ,  
*jau↓ ciəm↑ na:i↑ se↑ i↓ pun↓ o:↑*  
 Yau Jiem DEM<sub>PRX</sub> TOP Japan PLT  
 ‘Yau Jiem, who is with me here, is a Japanese.’  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.00.40-4)

- (203<sup>-2</sup>) *mv zeiz yie mbuo Iu-Mienh*  
 ມີ ເຕີຍ ເຍີຍ ບ້ວ ພິວ-ເມື່ຍນ  
*mp̩↑ tsei↓ iə↑ buə↑ iu↓ miən↓*  
 NEG be.correct 1 PL Iu Mien  
 ‘(he) is not an Iu Mien like we are.’  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.00.40-4)

- (203<sup>-3</sup>) *mv.baac ninh cuotv yie mbuo Iu-Mienh nyei mbuox*  
 ມີ.ປໍາ ນິ້ນ ຂ້ວດ ເຍີຍ ບ້ວ ພິວ-ເມື່ຍນ ໄສຍ ບ້ວ  
*mp̩↑ pa:↓ nin↓ ts<sup>hw</sup>ət↓ iə↑ buə↑ iu↓ miən↓ jnei↓ buə↓*  
 but 3SG issue 1 PL Iu Mien SBCP name(*n*)  
 ‘but he goes by the Iu Mien name of ours.’ (lit. ‘he produced our Iu Mien name.’)  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.00.40-4)

- (203<sup>-4</sup>) *ninh heuc Yauz-Jiem*  
 ນິ້ນ ເຫວ ເຢ້າ-ເຈີຍມ  
*nin↓ heu↓ jau↓ ciəm↑*  
 3SG call Yau Jiem  
 ‘He is called Yau Jiem.’  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.00.40-4)

The reason why (203<sup>-3</sup>) does not have a first-and-second person nomination structure is twofold. First, the speaker, Zeuz Guexi-Zoih, was recording the discourse addressing anyone who would listen to it later, not the person named Yauz-Jiem. He was referring to the researcher (Yauz-Jiem) in third person as if Yauz-Jiem himself had produced this name. Second, it was because this name was actually given four years before Zeuz Guexi-Zoih’s explanation. In the original situation a standard performative nomination construction composed of all ingredients *cuotv*, *mbuox*, and *heuc* as in (204) was used (though there is no audio recording).

|       |            |             |              |             |              |              |             |   |
|-------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|---|
| (204) | <i>Yie</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>tengx</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>cuotv</i> | <i>mbuox</i> | <i>heuc</i> | <i>Yauz-Jiem.</i>   |
|       | ເຢີ່ຍ      | ນັວ         | ແດງ          | ນິ່ນ        | ຂ້ວດ         | ນັວ          | ເຫຼວ        | ເຢ້າ-ຈີ່ມ.  |
|       | iə̯l       | buə̯l       | tʰeŋl        | ninl        | tsʰwət̚l     | buə̯l        | heu̯l       | jau̯l ciəm̚l  |
| 1     | PL         | help        | 3SG          | to.issue    | name(n)      | to.call      | Yau Jiem    |   |
|       |            |             |              |             |              |              |             | ‘We name him “Yau Jiem”.’ (lit. ‘We for him issue a name call “YJ”.’) |
|       |            |             |              |             |              |              |             | (Kun Mae Bong Church, Doi Luang District, Chiang Rai, 1994)           |

With the coverb phrase (CvP) *tengx ninh* ‘to help him’ preceding the nomination construction *cuotv mbuox heuc* ‘to issue a name as’, *ninh* is a recipient of the name given, not a producer of it. Thus, it eliminates a reading of Yauz-Jiem’s producing his own name in (203<sup>3</sup>). Of course, it is true that (204) is also uttered in third person, but it was because the speaker was giving a public announcement to the congregation referring to *ninh* (i.e. the present author) before them.

At this point, it would be appropriate to conclude that the full performative nomination construction as follows:

“A *tengx* B *cuotv* *mbuox* *heuc* C”, ‘A issues a name as C for B’,

where A = actor/authority, B = recipient, and C = a name.

There is a designation/identification relationship between B and C (i.e. B = C). The recipient could be either 2<sup>nd</sup> person or 3<sup>rd</sup> person, just as *this ship* is not necessarily an animate 2<sup>nd</sup> person in *I name this ship the Queen Elizabeth* (Anderson 2007:217).

In passing, one might see the construction’s similarity to serial verb construction (SVC) but we consider it as a multiverb construction (MVC). Specifically, it is a coverb construction: [Top – CvP – Main VP], where CvP (coverb phrase) is in an oblique position, which modifies/elaborates the action of the Main VP. This issue will be argued in detail in §15.3.2.

## 5.5 Summary of Chapter 5: A Bridge to Morphology and Syntax

In investigating the onomastics of Iu Mien and a grammar of Iu Mien proper names in this chapter, we have encountered a number of examples that raise issues in relation to compounding, argument structure (NP’s relation to the verb *cuotv* ‘to produce/issue’ and ‘to exit’), and the copular construction (the verbs *heuc* ‘to call’ and *zoux* ‘to make’), and other issues. They are:

- Rules of Nominal Compounds
- Rules of Verbal Compounds
- A preview of Argument Structure
- A preview of Copular Constructions
- A preview of Oblique Coverb Phrase Constructions

### 5.5.1 Rules of Nominal Compounds

Four rules of producing compound nouns have been extracted:

- (i)  $[\text{Adj} \ (\text{Ch.}) - \text{tone sandhi} - N_{\text{HEAD}}] > [\text{Adj}^{\text{TS}} \cdot N_{\text{HD}}] = N_{\text{CMPD}}$
- (ii)  $[N_{\text{HD}} - \text{tone sandhi} - \text{AdjectivalVerb}] > [N_{\text{HD}}^{\text{TS}} \cdot V_{\text{ADJ}}] = N_{\text{CMPD}}$
- (iii)  $[N^1 nyei N^2_{\text{HD}}] > \text{deletion of } nyei \text{ 'of'} > [N^1^{\text{TS}} \cdot N^2_{\text{HD}}] = N_{\text{CMPD}}$ , where  $N^1$  is a possessor (i.e. modifier),  $N^2_{\text{HD}}$  possessed (i.e. modified).
- (iv)  $[N^1 caux N^2] > \text{deletion of } caux \text{ 'and'} > [N^1^{\text{TS}} \cdot N^2] (= N_{\text{CMPD}})$ , where  $N^1$  and  $N^2$  are synonymous.

As in the contrast between (i) and (ii), two different classes of adjectives have also been identified: the Chinese-loan attributive (i.e. non-predicative) adjectives and the Iu Mien original adjectival verbs which can function both attributively and predicatively. These rules will be discussed in detail in §6.5.2.

### 5.5.2 Rules of Verbal Compounds

At least, at this stage, we were able to cull the following verbal compounding patterns from example (160<sup>-1</sup>) in Chapter 5.

- $V^1 \cdot V^2 > V_{\text{CMPD}}$  e.g., *hnamv.daaih* [love come] ‘to think’
- $V^1 \cdot V^2 > \text{Aux}V_{\text{CMPD}}$  e.g., *oix.zuqc* [want touch] ‘must’
- $V \cdot N > V_{\text{CMPD}}$  e.g., *jiez.gorn* [raise root] ‘to begin to (do)’

These and more verbal compounds will be delineated in Chapter 6.

### 5.5.3 A Preview of Argument Structure

The verb *cuotv* caught our attention as to whether it is a transitive or intransitive verb. This is an issue of argument structure. An argument is a nominal syntactic element (i.e. simply, noun or noun phrase) required by a verb (Matthews 2007:26). Hence “[t]he argument structure of a verb or other lexical unit is the range

of arguments that it may or must take" (ibid). We have encountered three kinds of argument structures in this chapter:

- One argument structure [TH-V],

*nqaiv*(TH) *cuotv* [faeces exit]  
 ‘faeces came out’.

- One argument structure [V-TH],

*cuotv waac*(TH) [exit word]  
 ‘There happened a problem’.

- Two argument structure [A-V-TH],

*ninh*(A) *cuotv mbuox*(TH) [3SG issue name]  
 ‘He/she issues a name.’

The semantics of the verb *cuotv* ‘to exit/appear, to issue/emit’ will be investigated in §11.4. There are, at least at this stage, two problems with regard to this verb. That is, the issue of how we interpret its intransitivity and transitivity: ‘to exit/go out/appear/emerge’ vs. ‘to issue/emit/vent/produce/pay’.

#### 5.5.4 A Preview of Copular Constructions

Three copular constructions have been recognized: with the verb *heuc* ‘to call’, *zoux* ‘to make’, and *benx* ‘to be’. Some sorts of identification or equation relation exists between the two theme arguments on the both sides of these verbs: NP<sup>1</sup>(TH) = /≈ NP<sup>2</sup>(TH).

- *Ninh*(TH) ***heuc*** *Fux-Orn*(TH).  
 [3SG call Fu.Orn] ‘He is called Fu Orn.’ (184<sup>-1</sup>)
- *Ninh*(TH) ***zoux*** *baeqv*(TH).  
 [3SG make father’s.oldner.brother] ‘He is an uncle.’ (184<sup>-10</sup>)
- *Ninh*(TH) ***benx*** *mbuangz*(TH).  
 [3SG be daughter-in-law] ‘She is a daughter-in-law.’ (186<sup>-5</sup>)

More details of copular constructions will be elaborated in §10.4.

#### 5.5.5 A Preview of Oblique Coverb Constructors

From the nomination construction we have observed that the coverb phrase takes the position of the oblique constituent before the main verb. The nomination construction is:

|                               |                   |                     |       |      |      |
|-------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-------|------|------|
| A                             | [ <i>tengx</i> B] | <b><i>cuotv</i></b> | mbuox | heuc | C    |
| A                             | help              | B                   | issue | name | call |
| ‘A issues a name as C for B.’ |                   |                     |       |      |      |

Observe the coverb phrase [*tengx* B] precedes the main verb *cuotv* ‘to issue’. It is usually felicitous to translate the coverb phrase into a prepositional phrase in English such as ‘for B’.

In Iu Mien grammar, however, unlike English, we propose that the coverb phrases (CvPs) are taken as semantic role oblique constructions in accordance with the principle of the “Ground-Figure” conceptual structure or the “Rightward focus” structure, i.e., focused placed to the right-end in a sentence, previewed as Principle 2 in §4.2.1 and in §4.2.4. This and related issues will be examined in §15.3.2.

# Chapter 6

## COMPOUND WORD FORMATION: MORPHOLOGY OF NOUNS AND VERBS

### 6.1 Introduction

In Chapter 5, four rules of nominal compounds (§5.5.1) and three rules of verbal compounds (§5.5.2) have been extracted from the study of Iu Mien names.

Building upon them, Chapter 6 will discuss role of tone sandhi in nominal compounds, rules of nominal compounds, verbal compounds, and compound adjectives. The section of the nominal compounds includes the nominalising function of a small class of nouns. The section of the verbal compounds addresses the pattern of psycho-collocation.

### 6.2 Preliminaries

#### 6.2.1 Definition

Aikhenvald defines compounds as follows:

Compounding involves word-formation based on the combination of at least two potentially free forms, most frequently members of open lexical classes such as nouns or verbs, e.g. English *fox-hunting*, *stationmaster*, or German *Briefkastenschlüssel* ‘letter box key’. [...] Compounding is found in languages of any type, but is dominant in isolating languages [such as Iu Mien or Chinese] (Aikhenvald 2007:24).

Four points from her definition of compounding are relevant to Iu Mien compounds:

- “**at least two**”

In the following sections, di-constituent compounds will receive most of the discussion space and tri-constituent compounds to some extent.

- “**potentially free forms**”

Though native speakers’ intuition includes the sesquisyllabic words (e.g. *nda’maauh /da ma:u\* ‘tiger’) in their understanding of “combined words”, we will eliminate such a group due to the bound characteristic of the prefix or the minor syllable in the combination. However, as Aikhenvald adds “potentially” to “free forms”, some prefixed minor syllable in Iu Mien are transparent regarding their original form and meaning as free forms.

- “based on the combination of ... most frequently ... nouns and verbs”  
Besides nouns and verbs, Iu Mien compounds utilise Chinese-loan adjectives and adjectival verbs of Iu Mien origin from its repertoire.
- “dominant in isolating languages”  
Through Iu Mien’s long history of contact with Chinese, both being isolating languages, the description of compounding in Iu Mien is important.

### 6.2.2 Review of Tone Sandhi Rules

In distinguishing compounds from phrases, Aikhenvald puts forth four criteria: (i) phonological, (ii) morphological, (iii) morphosyntactic, and (iv) semantic. Concerning the phonological criteria, she writes:

Unlike phrases, which consist of several phonological words, compounds often form one phonological word and thus have just one stress (Aikhenvald 2007:25).

This statement is well in accordance with Downer’s (1961:539) analysis of “regular reduced syllable” as the first constituent of a compound noun, e.g., *in-mbiaatc* /in˥ b̥a:t˥/ [opium be.bitter] ‘tobacco’. Note that the underlying tone of the first syllable *in* ‘opium’ has Tone 1 /˥/ but it results in Tone 3 /˨/ in the compounding, which he considers to be “reduced”; thus, the compound *in-mbiaatc* is counted as one phonological word.

It is necessary, therefore, to review the rules of tone sandhi presented in Chapter 3 in order to discuss the topic in this chapter since it plays a significant role in the problems of compoundings. The special case of tonal alternations or “the tone sandhi rule 3”, after the tone sandhi rules 1 and 2, is only concerned with the male adult personal name *Fux* /fu˨/ (富) described in §3.3.3.5, thus not reiterated here.

*Rule 1:* syllables with stop finals become Tone 8 /˩/ (the -c tone)

*Rule 2:* all non-stopped syllables become Tone 2 /˨/ (the -h tone)

The summary of what was presented in §3.3.3.3 and §3.3.3.4 is that whatever underlying tones of the first constituent of the combination may be, the result of tone sandhi ends in either of the following two: Tone 2 /˨/ (-h) or Tone 8 /˩/ (-c) as shown in the shaded boxes in Table 24, repeated below from §3.4.1.1.

**Table 24. Tone letters**

| <b>With continuant final and no stop final in a syllable</b> |                                       |                                  | <b>With stop final</b>                    |
|--|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. High-mid level<br>/ ˥ /<br>Unmarked                       | 3. High rising-falling<br>/ ˥ /<br>-v | 5. Mid-low rising<br>/ ˧ /<br>-x | 7. High in closed syllable<br>/ ˥ /<br>-v |
| 2. Mid-falling<br>/ ˨ /<br>-h                                | 4. Low rising-falling<br>/ ˨ /<br>-z  | 6. Low level<br>/ ˩ /<br>-c      | 8. Low in closed syllable<br>/ ˩ /<br>-c  |

### 6.2.3 Separate Words and Compound Nouns

Court (1986:114-5) lists what are not compound nouns at the outset in discussing what compound nouns are. He considers the following items to be “separate words”:

- (a) pronouns,
- (b) particles to be separate words from their head nouns,
- (c) numerals to be separate words from their classifiers,
- (d) both particles and numerals to be separate from the head noun at their NP,
- (e) demonstratives and spatial co-deictics and prefixed location-nouns to be independent words,
- (f) possessor/subordinated NP’s to be separate from the subordinative/possessive particle *nyei*, which in turn is separate from the following possessed head NP (Court 1986:114-5).

Immediately after this summary, he (1986:115) goes on to say that “[a]ll other polysyllabic structures in the NP — with the exception of the not very numerous polysyllabic morphemes, whatever their origin — are compound nouns of one sort or another”.

The “polysyllabic morphemes” that Court parenthetically mentions in the above quote are separate words and are not compounds. These are the sesquisyllabic words, which were discussed in §3.3.2.2. They contain as the first component the “reduced syllable” as called by Downer (1961:539), “unstressed syllable” (Matisoff 1982:1), “minor syllable” (Butler 2014), “bound form” (Purnell 2012), “whatever their origin” (Court 1986:115). Examples Court cites from Lombard (1968:127) are

*gu'nguaaz* ‘baby, child’ and *m'nqorngv* ‘head’ (ibid. 234). See other examples (100), (101), (102), (103a-c), (104a-c, e-h), (109a-f), (110a-d), (111a-e), and (112a-j) in §3.3.2. Thus, these “polysyllabic morphemes” (i.e. sesquisyllabic words) are excluded by Court from compound nouns even though Aikhenvald (2007:25) would have considered them as one phonological word with one stress.

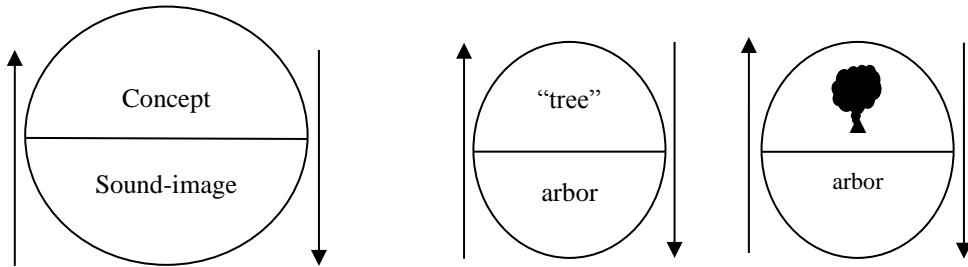
In §6.5, the polysyllabic structures in the NP as compound nouns will be investigated.

### **6.3 From the Iu Mien’s Intuition to Linguistic Criteria of Compounds**

Four points regarding compound nouns (nominal compounds) and compound verbs (verbal compounds) are discussed in this section: (i) form-meaning composite, (ii) connected spellings, (iii) phonetic transcription of tone sandhi, and (iv) tone sandhi in compound nouns. Firstly, the native speaker’s definition of compound words by their intuition well coincides with the classic linguistic axiom that the linguistic sign is a form-meaning composite. Secondly, native speaker’s connected spelling of multiple words shows how they feel about a unit of meaning. Thirdly, their phonetic transcription of tone sandhi also suggests how they consider a unit of combination. Fourthly, it will be argued that tone sandhi is not the determining criterion though it gives an extra confirmation on compound nouns, not compound verbs, drawing on Downer (1961) and Court (1995).

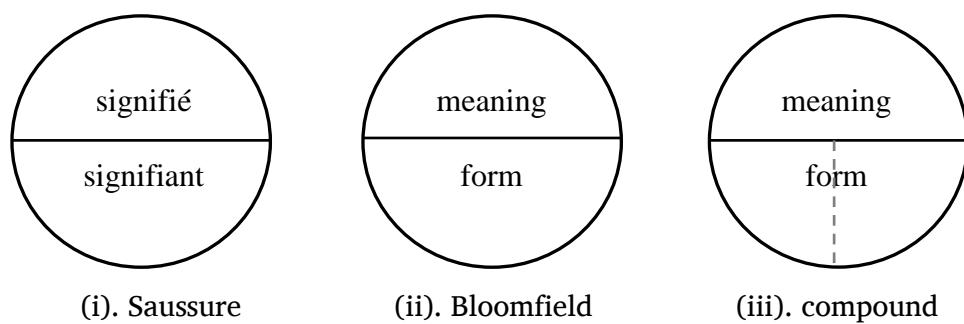
First, a compound word is a linguistic sign which is composed of form and meaning (i.e. signifier and signified), in which the form comprises two (or more) constituents (as opposed to the case of monosyllabic word). According to Iu Mien native speakers, a very broad, folk definition of compound words includes both nominal and verbal compounds: two or three syllables that are combined to mean one thing (i.e. a nominal referent or lexical meaning of an action or event). That is, one meaning corresponds with a form, which is composed of more than two syllables. It would be appropriate to review at this point Saussure’s (1959 [1916]) famous principle that the linguistic sign is a composite of “a concept and a sound-image”, which he calls “a two-sided psychological entity”:

The linguistic sign is then a two-sided psychological entity that can be represented by the drawing:



I propose to retain the word *sign* [signe] to designate the whole [i.e. the upper and lower sides of the circle] and to replace *concept* and *sound-image* respectively by *signified* [*signifié*] and *signifier* [*signifiant*] (Saussure 1959:66-7 [1916]).

The notion of the linguistic sign as a composite of *signified* and *signifier* have been further followed by many successors from various schools: Bloomfield's "form and meaning" (structuralism), Langacker's (1987a:11-13) linguistic symbol with "a semantic representation" and "a phonological representation" (Cognitive Grammar), and Goldberg's (1995:6) "form-meaning correspondences" as "the basic units of language" (Construction Grammar). To apply this notion of form-meaning composite to a compound word in Iu Mien, the "form" side of the linguistic sign can be depicted as having two constituent (i.e. divided by a dotted line) which corresponds with one meaning as in (iii) of Figure 59.:



**Figure 59. Linguistic sign as a form-meaning composit**

In Iu Mien native speakers' understanding there are two kinds of combined words: sesquisyllabic and compound words including nominal and verbal compounds. An inclusive concept of them is expressed in (205<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (205<sup>-1</sup>) *Gorngv* *benx* *gapv* *daaih*  
 WK ก່ອງ เปັນ ກົມ ຕ້າຍ  
 ก່ອງຢໍາ pen↓ kap↓ ta:i↓  
 say be combine COME  
 '(To) say (two) by combining (them)'

- (205<sup>-2</sup>) *gorngv* *yietc* *nyungc* *ga'naaiv* *mi'aqv.*  
 WK ก່ອງ ເຫີບດ ນຸ່ງ ກະນ້າຍ ພມ໌ ອື່.  
 ก່ອງຢໍາ jet↓ juŋ↓ ka nai:^ mi↓ a?↓  
 say one kind thing TELIC  
 '(the combination) speaks about one thing.'

(ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_WK-FH\_Metalanguage;00.02.52-4)

That is, ‘a combined word is a unit that refers to one referent (*ga'naaiv* ‘thing’)’ as indicated in Figure 59. This, stated by a male speaker (Dangc Wuonh Kuon (WK)) in his late 50s as an experienced Iu Mien literacy and Bible teacher with BA through Thai education system, includes both sesquisyllabic words (e.g. *ga'naaiv* /ka na:i^/ ‘thing’ or *la'bieiv* /la p̥ei^/ ‘stone’) and compound words (e.g. *jorm hnyouv* /cɔm↓ j̥ou^/ ‘to be enthusiastic’ or *bieqc hnyouv* /piə?↓ j̥ou^/ [enter heart] ‘to understand’).

However, when we adhere to Aikhenvald’s definition, i.e. “the combination of ... free forms” given in §6.2.1, the following sesquisyllabic nouns, verbs, and adverbs (206) – (219) as well as Court’s examples of “polysyllabic morphemes” (*ga'naaiv* /ka na:i^/ ‘thing’, *gu'nguaaz* /ku ŋʷa:~/ ‘baby, child’, *m'nqorngv* /m̥ gɔŋ^/ ‘head’) should be eliminated from compound words (cf. Appendix B for proportion of sesquisyllabic words in 136 word list):

### **Sesquisyllabic nouns:**

- (206) *nda'maauh* /da ma:u↓/ ‘tiger’ (104a)  
 (207) *mba'lingc* /ba linj↓/ ‘lightning’ (104b)  
 (208) *ha'louh* /ha ləu↓/ ‘gourd’ (104f)  
 (209) *ga'naaiv* /ka na:i^/ ‘thing’ (100)  
 (210) *ga'ndiev* /ka diə^/ ‘thing’ (104h) (All these examples are from  
 Downer 1961:540)

### **Sesquisyllabic verbs:**

- (211) *da'hauv* /ta hau^/ ‘to lightly quarrel, argue’ (Panh 2002:35)  
 (212) *la'kuqv* /la kʰu?↓/ ‘to forget’ (Downer 1961:540)

- (213) *la'ngopv* /la ɳop˥/ ‘to complain’ (Purnell 2012:355)  
 (214) *la'nyauv* /la ɳau˥/ ‘to bother’ (Purnell 2012:355)

### *Sesquisyllabic adverbs:*

- (215) *a'loc* /a loŋ/ 'frequently, repeatedly' (Panh 2002:1)

(216) *ba'baac* /pa pa:ŋ/ 'intentionally, on purpose' (Panh 2002:4)

(217) *ba'laqc* /pa la?ŋ/ (intensifier of adjectival verbs) 'too, much'  
(Panh 2002:4)

(218) *ca'pouh* /ts<sup>h</sup>a pəuŋ/ 'accidentally' (Purnell 2012:72)

(219) *ca'lengc* /ts<sup>h</sup>a lenŋ/ 'separately' (Purnell 2012:73)

In contrast, we will consider such combinations of full syllables that are free forms as compounds as listed below:

### ***Compound nouns:***

- (220) *loz-lui* /lo(?)l lui˥/ [old clothes] ‘old clothes’ (Downer 1961:539)

(221) *mbieic-sui* /b̥iei(?)l sui˥/ [bamboo.shoot be.souer]  
‘sour bamboo-shoots’ (ibid.)

(222) *gaeng-nqungv* /keŋ˥ guŋ˥/ [insect ?] ‘dragonfly’<sup>136</sup> (ibid.)

## ***Compound verbs:***

- (223) *caangh.laangh* /ts<sup>h</sup>aŋŋ laŋŋ/ [? ?] ‘to consult with’ (Purnell 2012:72)

(224) *liuc.leiz* /liuŋ leɪ̯ɛ̯/ [sustain rule] ‘to prepare’ (Purnell 2012:378)

(225) *hnamv.daaih* /námv̥ taaɪ̯/ [love come] ‘to think’

(226) *hlungh.hluotv* /lʊŋŋ l<sup>w</sup>ət̥v/ [? withdraw] ‘to waver’ (Purnell 2012:273)

## *Compound adjectival verbs:*



### ***Compound adverbs:***

- (229) *yietc.liuz* /jetɿ liu˥˧ [one finish] ‘forever, eternally’  
 (230) *yietc.zungy* /jetɿ tsun˥˧ [one all] ‘all together’

<sup>136</sup> Downer (1961:539) has *gaeng-gungv* /keŋ˥ kʊŋ˥/ for ‘dragonfly’ (perhaps as Lao Iu Mien variety) while all others like Lombard (1968:119), Panh (2002:67)(a native speaker of Lao Iu Mien variety residing in the U.S.), and Purnell (2012:193) show *gaeng-nqungv* /keŋ˥ gun˥/, hence the latter is used here.

**Compound auxiliary verbs:**

- (231) *oix.zuqc* /ɔi˥ tsu?˩/ [want TOUCH] ‘must’
- (232) *qiemx.zuqc* /c<sup>h</sup>jem˧ tsu?˩/ [need TOUCH] ‘need’
- (233) *horpc.zuqc* /hɔp˩ tsu?˩/ [be.right TOUCH] ‘should’

**Compound conjunctions:**

- (234) *weic.zuqc* /wei˩ tsu?˩/ [for TOUCH] ‘because’
- (235) *weic.naiv* /wei˩ na:i^˧/ [for DEM<sub>PRX</sub>] ‘so then’
- (236) *cingx.daaih* /ts<sup>h</sup>inj˧ tai:i˩/ [so COME] ‘therefore’

As has been mentioned in §1.6, in this study, the transcription of compounds that do not involve tone sandhi uses a full stop ‘.’ to connect the constituents, e.g., *weic.zuqc* ‘because’ following Chao (1968) for Chinese compounds and Enfield (2007) for Lao description although the practice is not according to the Unified Iu Mien Script. This is to avoid a confusion with the hyphen ‘-’ as a part of the Iu Mien Unified Script, in which the hyphen always indicates tone sandhi, conventionalized among the literate Iu Mien. In this study tone sandhi is indicated by the same method of the hyphen in Iu Mien Unified Script as well as by the superscript ‘<sup>TS</sup>’ on the first constituent of the compound, N<sup>1</sup> or V<sup>1</sup> or Adj (Chinese-loan), but not by the full stop. An example is (220) *loz-lui* /lo(?)˩ lui˧/ ‘old clothes’ (Downer 1961:539) and the structure of the nominal compound can be expressed as [Adj<sup>TS</sup>.N<sub>HD</sub>], in which the Chinese-loan adjective that observes tone sandhi precedes the head noun. In contrast, the transcription with a connecting dot in *weic.zuqc* /wei˩ tsu?˩/ ‘because’ does not observe tone sandhi.

Since the sesquisyllable (*yietc joux been waac* /jet˩ cou˧ p<sup>j</sup>˧ wa:˩/ [one CLF<sub>WORD</sub> half word]) has already been discussed in §3.3.2.2 and analysed as not being compounds, we focus on disyllabic compounds here. Below is a part of the discussion with two native speakers, FH in her mid 40s and the male speaker WK who spoke in (205<sup>-1-2</sup>), about the two combinations *jorm.hnyouv* /cɔm˧ jŋou^˧/ ‘to be enthusiastic’ and *bieqc.hnyouv* /piə?˩ jŋou^˧/ [enter heart] ‘to understand’ as compound verbs (237<sup>-1-7</sup>) (YJ = the researcher):

- (237<sup>-1</sup>) *Aec, maaih gapv jienv naiv.*  
 FH ແອ, ມ່າຍ ກັບ ເຈື້ນ ນ້າຍ.  
 ε˩ ma:i˧ kap˧ c<sup>j</sup>en^˧ na:i^˧  
 yes have combine CONT DEM  
 ‘Yes, (in this case of *jorm hnyouv* we) have a combination (like) this.’

|   |                            |                    |              |                    |                 |
|---|----------------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| (237 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>Ninh mbuo gorngv</i>    | “jorm”             | <i>naaic</i> | <i>ganh</i>        | <i>nyungc.</i>  |
| FH  | นิ่น บัว ก้อง              | “จอม”              | หน่าย        | กัน                | หลง.            |
|   | nin\ buə\ kɔŋ\             | cɔm\               | na:i\        | kan\               | jŋuŋ\           |
|   | 3 PL                       | say                | be.hot       | DEM <sub>TOP</sub> | different       |
| ‘(On the other hand if) they say (only) <i>jorm</i> , this (becomes) a different meaning.’            |                            |                    |              |                    |                 |
| (237 <sup>-3</sup> )  | “ <i>Bieqc.hnyouv</i> ”    | <i>naaic</i>       | <i>ninh</i>  | <i>benx</i>        | <i>ganh</i>     |
| FH  | “ເປີບະ ເຂົ້ມ່ງໝາວ”         | หน่าย              | นิ่น         | ເປັນ               | ກັນ             |
|   | piə?]                      | na:i:]             | nin\         | pen\               | kan\            |
|   | understand                 | DEM <sub>TOP</sub> | 3SG          | be                 | different       |
| ‘As for <i>bieqc hnyouv</i> (when two syllables are put together), it becomes a different (meaning).’ |                            |                    |              |                    |                 |
| (237 <sup>-4</sup> )  | <i>wiv</i>                 | <i>zoux</i>        | <i>gapv</i>  | <i>jienv.</i>      |                 |
| FH  | วี                         | ໄຫດວ               | ກົບ          | ເຈິ້ນ.             |                 |
|   | wi^]                       | tsəoŋ\             | kap\         | c̥en\              |                 |
|   | ?                          | make               | combine      | CONT               |                 |
| ‘(two are) combined (as one unit).’   |                            |                    |              |                    |                 |
| (237 <sup>-5</sup> )  | <i>Gapv</i>                | <i>jienv</i>       |              |                    |                 |
| YJ  | ກົບ                        | ເຈິ້ນ              |              |                    |                 |
|   | kap\                       | c̥en\              |              |                    |                 |
|   | combine                    | CONT               |              |                    |                 |
| ‘(Two) are combined,’   |                            |                    |              |                    |                 |
| (237 <sup>-6</sup> )  | <i>cingx.daaih</i>         | <i>maaih</i>       | <i>yietc</i> | <i>nyungc</i>      | <i>eix.leiz</i> |
| YJ  | ჩຶັງ.ຕ້າຍ                  | ມ່າຍ               | ເຫັນຍດ       | หลง                | ເອັນ.ເລີຍ       |
|   | ts <sup>h</sup> inŋ\ ta:i\ | ma:i\              | jet\         | jŋuŋ\              | ei\ lei\        |
|   | therefore                  | have               | one          | kind               | meaning         |
| ‘therefore (the combination) has one meaning, doesn’t it?’  |                            |                    |              |                    |                 |

(237<sup>-7</sup>) *Mmc.*

WK မျှ  
မျှ။

INTJ<sub>AFFIRMATIVE</sub>

‘(You are) correct.’

(ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_WK-FH\_Metalanguage;00.03.54-04.02)

If the word *jorm* ‘to be hot’ only is spoken its meaning does not fit the context (237<sup>-2</sup>) and the whole sentence does not make sense. That is, the separate word *jorm* is different to what the speaker intends to mean, which is ‘to be enthusiastic’ expressed by *jorm.hnyouv*.

Likewise, to say *bieqc.hnyouv* ‘to understand’ is different to the monosyllabic *hnyouv* ‘heart’ (237<sup>-3</sup>). To illustrate this point compare (238a-c):

(238a) *mai<sup>v</sup> jorm.hnyouv ninh*  
မှီး ခုံမ.အသွေးယာ နို့  
mai<sup>v</sup> cəm<sup>t</sup> p̥iəv<sup>t</sup> nin<sup>h</sup>  
NEG be.enthusiastic 3SG  
‘to not be very pleased with her/him’  
(Purnell 2012:325)

(238b) \**mai<sup>v</sup> jorm ninh*  
NEG be.hot 3SG

(238c) \**mai<sup>v</sup> hnyouv ninh*  
NEG heart 3SG

Furthermore, two constituents are inseparable if it is meant to mean what it means as in (238d-e):

(238d) \**jorm mai<sup>v</sup> hnyouv ninh*  
be.hot NEG heart 3SG

(238e) \**jorm ninh hnyouv*  
be.hot 3SG heart

That is why, these constituents are *gapv jienv benx/zoux yietc nyungc* [combine CONT be/make one kind] ‘combined as one thing’ (205<sup>-1-2</sup>) (237<sup>-1</sup>) (237<sup>-4</sup>).

Note that (238b-e) are ungrammatical and meaningless. Thus the important points about compounds are:

- a combined unit which is inseparable, that is, a compound, has one referent or meaning in the given context,
- if constituents are separated, each of these has a different meaning to the meaning of the combined unit.

Admittedly the meaning of each constituent, *bieqc* ‘to enter’ and *hnyouv* ‘heart’, are still transparent to the native speakers and a conceptual metaphorical explanation that an act of ‘understanding’ postulates the process {KNOWLEDGE AS A THING enters HEART AS A CONTAINER} may be possible. However, the gist of the discussion, of which a part is represented in (237<sup>137</sup>), is that meaning expressed by a compound is one thing in the particular context and the meanings of individual constituents are different as is illustrated by contrast in (238a-c).

Secondly, we will examine the connected spellings by native Iu Mien writers. They give clue as to how the native speakers feel about a unit of meaning. The *Yao Primer* by Pán (盘承乾) (1988) contains such examples of connected spellings:

|                              |  |                                       |
|------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|
| (239) <i>mienhnzangc</i>     | /miən˧ dzaŋ˧/ [Mien letter]                  | ‘Iu Mien characters’<br>(Pán 1988:21) |
| (240) <i>ziepcnyieic</i>     | /ts˧ep˧ nei˧/ [ten two]                      | ‘twelve’ (ibid. 21)                   |
| (241) <i>nyihziepcyietv</i>  | /ni˧ ts˧əp˧ jet˧/ [two ten one]              | ‘twenty one’ (ibid. 21)               |
| (242) <i>nyihziepcnyieic</i> | /ni˧ ts˧əp˧ nei˧/ [two ten two]              | ‘twenty two’ (ibid. 21)               |
| (243) <i>funhsaeng</i>       | /fun˧ sʒŋ˧/ [? life]                         | ‘teacher’ (ibid. 24)                  |
| (244) <i>horqcsaeng</i>      | /hoʔ˧ sʒŋ˧/ [study life]                     | ‘student’ (ibid. 24)                  |
| (245) <i>naaivdeix</i>       | /na:i˧ tei˧/ [DEM <sub>PRX</sub> some]       | ‘these’ (ibid. 25)                    |
| (246) <i>haaixdauh?</i>      | /ha:i˧ tau˧/ [which CLF <sub>ANIMATE</sub> ] | ‘who?’ (ibid. 44)                     |
| (247) <i>haaixyungc?</i>     | /ha:i˧ juŋ˧/ <sup>137</sup> [which kind]     | ‘what?’ (ibid. 49)                    |

The Iu Mien in China seem to perceive the combinations as one semantic unit even after the joint consultation between the Chinese Iu Mien and the American Iu Mien to come up with the Unified Script in 1984. In the Unified Script (*Siang-Lo<sup>^</sup>maa nzangc*) practiced among the Iu Mien in the USA, France, and Vietnam, these examples are usually written separately though they are connected with a dot in the present study.

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<sup>137</sup> Thai Iu Mien and US Iu Mien would say /ha:i˧ juŋ˧/ and write *haaix nyungc*.

In contrast to the above examples, syllables are separated in writing when they represent a syntactic structure. The following example has a structure Topic-Focus (or topic/S and predicate):

- |       |                      |                               |
|-------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| (248) | <i>lungh</i>         | <i>nquiang</i> <sup>138</sup> |
|       | ลุ่ง                 | ເນົວບົງ                       |
|       | <i>luŋ↓</i>          | <i>g<sup>wj</sup>aŋ↑</i>      |
|       | sky                  | be.bright                     |
|       | 'The sky is bright.' |                               |
|       | (Pán 1988:40)        |                               |

However, some inconsistency in the separate or combined spelling are also found as follows:

- (249) *yietc baeqv /jet] pε?]/* [one hundred] ‘one hundred’ (Pán 1988:53)

(250) *yietcwaanc lengh nyieic /jet] wa:n] len] nei]/* [one ten.thousand over two]  
‘ten thousand and two (10,002)’ (Pán 1988:53)

Thirdly, Iu Mien feel that most nominal compounds are phonologically one unit given they observe tone sandhi. This is detected from the native speaker's phonetic transcription of tone sandhi: i.e., spelling with the resulting tone (Arisawa 2015:44-65). To say 'side of the house' or 'beside the house', the pronunciation /pjauŋ len<sup>1</sup>/ is correct as found in both the speech of young and old Iu Mien. However the student's writing in Thai-based orthography only shows the result of tone sandhi as ເປົ້າເຮັນ /pjauŋ len<sup>1</sup>/ with the tone mark ດ as in (251a) whereas the proofread spelling by some middle aged tri- and quadrilingual fluent writers exhibits (251b):

- (251a) *biauh*    *hlen*  
 ເປັ້າ                  ເສດນ                  (by students in their 20s)  
*p̥au˥*    *len˧*  
 (house)    side  
 ‘side of the house’  
 (Arisawa 2015)

<sup>138</sup> In Thailand Iu Mien variety and in the Unified Iu Mien Script it should be *njang* /ŋan/.<sup>139</sup>

|        |                     |             |  |
|--------|---------------------|-------------|--|
| (252b) | <i>biauh</i>        | <i>hlen</i> |  |
|        | บ&#252;ำ-&gt;       | ເລັນ        | (by the proofreaders in their 40s and 50s) |
|        | p̄auŋ               | len̄        |  |
|        | house               | side        |  |
|        | 'side of the house' |             |  |
|        | (Arisawa 2015)      |             |  |

Even though the pronunciation /p̄auŋ len̄/ in (253a) and (254b) are the same, the proofread spelling in the latter shows both the underlying Tone 3 (high rise falling /˥/) by the Thai tone mark ᳚ and the result tone (mid-falling /˧/) that underwent tone sandhi by hyphen ‘-’.<sup>139</sup> The fact that the students write only the resultative tone in Tone 2 (mid-falling /˧/) with the tone mark ᳚ suggests that they treat the combination of the two syllables as one unit phonetically and semantically. That is to say the young speakers/writers, in spelling ເປົ້າ ເລັນ, seem to be unconscious of individual words but perceive the sequence as one lexical unit.

Therefore, tone sandhi could be taken as a mark of the compound as far as compound nouns are concerned.

Fourthly, it should be reminded that the data Downer (1961) used to explain tone sandhi in §3.3.3 are all compound nouns: (126) *mbieic-sui* /b̄eiŋ sui˥/ [bamboo.shoot be.sour] ‘sour bamboo-shoots’, (127) *wuom-namx* /uəmŋ nam˧/ [water be.cold] ‘cold water’, (128) *in-mbiaatc* /inŋ b̄a:t˧/ [opium be.bitter] ‘tobacco’. To these are added the following examples from Downer (1961:539) quoted in this chapter: (220) *loz-lui* /lo(?)ŋ lui˥/ ‘old clothes’ and (222) *gaeng-nqungv* /keŋŋ gunŋ˥/ ‘dragonfly’. These are all cases that the first constituents which are an open syllable or syllable with nasal ending and that change to Tone 2 in combination to the second constituent.

On the other hand, the first syllable with final stop changes to Tone 8 /˩/ as Downer (1961:539) presents the following examples:

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| (255) <i>sieqv-dorn</i> | /siəʔŋ tɔn˧/ [daughter child] ‘girl’     |
| (256) <i>betv-hlaax</i> | /petŋ la:˧/ [eight month] ‘eighth month’ |
| (257) <i>norqc-aa</i>   | /noʔŋ a:˧/ [bird 鴉] ‘crow, raven’        |

All of these are treated as having the “reduced” first syllable by Downer (1961:539). As a result, the combinations “have just one stress” as Aikhenvald (2007:25) asserts

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<sup>139</sup> In the same way, the correct spelling for this compound in the Unified Script should be *biauv-hlen* with –v tone (Tone 3) being hyphenated with *hlen*. The transcription *biauh hlen* only represents the resulting sounds according to the students’ and the proofreaders’ writing in Thai-based script.

the phonological criterion of compounds. From all these, therefore, it would be safe to say that combinations marked by tone sandhi are compound nouns.

## 6.4 Further Discussion on Tone Sandhi and Compounds

Is tone sandhi a mark of compounds? It is so at least in the case of nominal compounds as has been discussed at the last part of the previous section §6.3. It is not, however, necessarily the case with verbal compounds.

As far as the data available to us are concerned, tone sandhi in nominal compounds functions as a mark of compounds or affects meaning while it does not change meaning in verbal compounds. Let us, firstly, observe the case in which the absence or presence of tone sandhi affects the nominal compounds semantically; secondly, the case in which the absence/presence of it does not change meaning.

Firstly, the absence or presence of tone sandhi changes meaning in some cases of nominal compounds as shown in the contrast between *dorngx.daauh* ‘place’ in (258<sup>-1</sup>) and *dorngx-daauh* ‘deposit’ in (259<sup>-1</sup>):

|   |                     |           |                     |
|---|---------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| (258 <sup>-1</sup> )                                | <i>Dorngx daauh</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>benx dorngx,</i> |
|   | “ต่อง ต້າວ”         | ເຊ        | ເປັນ ຕອງ,           |
|   | ທວຽກ                | ta:uŋ     | seŋ                 |
|   | place               | head      | COP <sub>TOP</sub>  |
| ‘(The word) <i>dorngx.daauh</i> refers to a place,’ |                     |           |                     |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| (258 <sup>-2</sup> )                                       | <i>hnangv benx ndeic-dorngx wuov nyungc aqv.</i> |
|  | ຮນ້ຳ ເປັນ ເດີບ-ຕອງ ວ້າ ແຫຼຸງ ອື່ບ.               |
|  | ຖູາງໆ penŋ tວຽກ nəŋ kind aʔŋ                     |
| like be field-place DEM kind NSIT                          |  |
| ‘like a place of a (farming) field, that kind (of place).’ |  |

(ium\_20150810\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Sesqui\_Cmpd\_MC;00.06.04-10)

|   |   |
|---|---|
| (259 <sup>-1</sup> )  | <i>“Dorngx-daauh” se ga ’naaiv, ninh waang(cm.t),</i> |
|   | “ຕອງ-ຕ້າວ” ເຊ ກະນ້າຍ, ນິນ ວາງ(cm.t),                  |
|   | tວຽກ ta:uŋ seŋ ka na:iŋ ninŋ wa:ŋ+                    |
| place-head COP <sub>TOP</sub> thing 3SG put.down                                    |   |
| ‘(The word) <i>dorngx-daauh</i> (with tone sandhi) is a thing that a person place,’ |   |

|                      |  |                                    |                        |  |
|----------------------|--|------------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| (259 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>matv.jam(cm.t)</i>                                | <i>jienv</i>                       | <i>nyei</i>            | “ <i>dorngx-daauh</i> ”.                             |
|                      | ນັດ.ຈຳ(cm.t)   | ເຈື້ນ                              | ແງບ                    | “ຕ້ອງ-ຕ້າວ”.   |
|                      | <i>mat<sub>1</sub> cam<sub>1</sub></i>               | <i>c<sup>j</sup>en<sub>1</sub></i> | <i>ŋei<sub>1</sub></i> | <i>t<sub>oŋ<sub>1</sub></sub> ta:u<sub>1</sub></i>   |
|                      | deposit  | CONT                               | REL                    | place-head   |
|                      | ‘(or) deposit, such a kind of <i>dorngx-daauh</i> .’ |                                    |                        |  |
|                      |  |                                    |                        | (ium_20150810_01_H1_DA_GF_Sesqui_Cmpd_MC;00.06.10-5) |

As far as this combination is concerned in Thailand, the absence and presence of tone sandhi is phonemic, causing a semantic contrast: *dorngx.daauh* /t<sub>oŋ<sub>1</sub></sub> ta:u<sub>1</sub>/ (without tone sandhi) ‘place’ versus *dorngx-daauh* /t<sub>oŋ<sub>1</sub></sub> ta:u<sub>1</sub>/ (with tone sandhi) ‘deposit’. In the U.S., on the other hand, Purnell (2012:152) does not show such differentiation but presents one combination without tone sandhi: *dorngx.daauh* /t<sub>oŋ<sub>1</sub></sub> ta:u<sub>1</sub>/<sup>140</sup> is translated ‘a pledge, down payment, deposit to guarantee fulfilment of a commitment’ (unlike Thai Iu Mien ‘place’).

Before investigating the difference between absence and presence of tone sandhi in verbal compounds, a peculiar phenomenon regarding *sai* /sai<sub>1</sub>/ should be mentioned. It is probably from *shī* (師) ‘master’; or another possibility is that it came from Cantonese *zhai*<sup>3</sup> /tsai<sup>3</sup>/ (祭) ‘to venerate’, rather than from Mandarin Chinese *jì* (祭)). The native speakers insist that this word never undergoes tone sandhi if it occurs in the compound noun *sai.mienh* /sai<sub>1</sub> miən<sub>1</sub>/ [ritual person] ‘a ritual master, spirit priest, religious teacher’ (Purnell 2012:656). See the native speaker’s emphasis on the absence of tone sandhi in this compound noun in (260):

|       |   |                        |  |
|-------|---|------------------------|--|
| (260) | <i>Zien-zien</i>  | <i>heuc</i>            | “ <i>sai.mienh</i> ”                                   |
|       | ເຊື່ນໆ  | ເຫົວ                   | “ໄຊ.ເມື່ນ”   |
|       | <i>ts<sup>j</sup>en<sub>1</sub> ts<sup>j</sup>en<sub>1</sub></i>              | <i>heu<sub>1</sub></i> | <i>sai<sub>1</sub> miən<sub>1</sub></i>                |
|       | really  | call                   | “priest”   |
|       | ‘(The word) is really pronounced <i>sai mienh</i> (with not change of tone).’ |                        |  |
|       |   |                        | (ium_20150520_05_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.10.49-50) |

However, in other compound nouns that contains *sai* as the first syllable observe tone sandhi as in (261):

<sup>140</sup> Its variety with the short vowel which Purnell (2012:152) records also has no hyphen: *dorngx dauh* /t<sub>oŋ<sub>1</sub></sub> tau<sub>1</sub>/.

- (261) *Six.gorngv* “*sai-diex*”,  
 ສີ.ກ້ອງ “ໄຊ-ເຕີບ”,  
*sai kɔŋγ̚* *sai˥ tɪə˥* *kɔŋγ̚* *sai˥*  
 if “high.level.teacher” say “*saih*”  
 ‘If (you are saying the word) “high-level teacher”, (you) say *saih* (with *-h*-tone).’  
 (ium\_20150520\_05\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.11.00-1)

Similarly, *sai-gorx* /*sai˥ kɔŋ˧*/ [ritual elder.brother] ‘disciple’ is subject to tone sandhi.

A few different hypotheses could be set out but none is convincing: is it that religious, sacred words do not observe tone sandhi? Alternatively, is it because of Cantonese-loan rather than Mandarin? For example, *singx* /*siŋ˧*/ ‘be holy’ could be from Cantonese *sing*<sup>3</sup> (聖) rather than Mandarin *shèng* (聖). Thus, words like *Singx.Lingh* /*siŋ˧ liŋ˧*/ (聖靈) ‘the Holy Spirit’ and *Singx.Nzung Sou* /*siŋ˧ dzuŋ˧ sou˧*/ [holy song book] ‘the Book of Psalms’ (in the Bible) never observe tone sandhi (never *Singx-Lingh* /*siŋ˧ liŋ˧*/ nor *Singx-Nzung* /*siŋ˧ dzuŋ˧*/). But why do *sai-diex* ‘high level teacher’ and *sai-gorx* ‘disciple’ observe tone sandhi? A further investigation is necessary.

Secondly, note that both the presence and absence of tone sandhi can be found in some compound verbs as mentioned in a part of the discussion with Zanh Gueix-Fongc in (262<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (262<sup>-1</sup>) *Maaih deix gapv daaih mv.zuqc tiuv orqcᢑ*  
 YJ ມ່າຍ ເຕີຍ ກັບ ຕ້າຍ ມໍ.ຫຼຸ ທຶວ ເອຈະກໍ  
*ma:i˥ tei˧ kap˥ ta:i˥ m̥˥ tsu?˥ tiu˥ Ὡ?*  
 have some combine COME NEG.need change Q  
 ‘In some combinations, you don’t have to change (the tone of the first constituent), do you?’

- (262<sup>-2</sup>) *Maaih deix gapv daaih tiuv mi ’aqv.*  
 GF ມ່າຍ ເຕີຍ ກັບ ຕ້າຍ ທຶວ ໜໍມື້ ອື່.  
*ma:i˥ tei˧ kap˥ ta:i˥ tʰiu˥ mi˥ a?˥*  
 have some combine COME change TELIC  
 ‘(That’s correct, and) in some other combinations, you have to change (the tone of the first constituent).’

(ium\_20150520\_05\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.11.54-9)

The tone sandhi is referred to as *tiuv qieux* /*tʰiu˥ cʰiə˧*/ [change voice] ‘to change tone’ in Iu Mien metalanguage.

In one verbal expression composed of two syllable, both absence and presence of tone sandhi are possible without a change of meaning as explained in (263<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |  |               |             |               |             |                      |                      |
|----------------------|--|---------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| (263 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>I</i>   | <i>nyungc</i> | <i>zeiz</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>nyei</i> | " <i>doix.dekc</i> " | " <i>doix-dekc</i> " |
|                      | ອີ   | ໜູ່ງ          | ເຕີຍ        | ກຶ່ອງ         | ເສູຍ        | "ດ້ອຍ ເຕກ",          | "ດ້ອຍ-ເຕກ"           |
|                      | iː   | jnuŋ          | tsei        | kɔŋ           | nei         | tɔi                  | tɔi                  |
|                      | two  | kind          | be.correct  | say           | ASST        | argue                | argue                |
|                      | 'It's correct to say either way, <i>doix.dekc</i> or <i>doix-dekc</i> .' |               |             |               |             |                      |                      |
|                      | (ium_20150520_05_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.12.09-12)                   |               |             |               |             |                      |                      |

|                      |   |                   |              |     |     |  |  |
|----------------------|---|-------------------|--------------|-----|-----|--|--|
| (263 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>eix.leiz</i>                                       | <i>fih.hnangv</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |     |     |  |  |
|                      | ເອີ້ນ.ເລື້ບ   | ຝຶ່ນນັ້ງ          | ເສູຍ.        |     |     |  |  |
|                      | ei  | lei               | fi           | ຫາງ | nei |  |  |
|                      | meaning   | be.same           | ASST         |     |     |  |  |
|                      | 'Both have the same meaning.'                         |                   |              |     |     |  |  |
|                      | (ium_20150520_05_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.12.18-9) |                   |              |     |     |  |  |

Both expressions of *doix.dekc* /tɔi tek/ and *doix-dekc* /tɔi tek/ should be recognised as a compound verbs since (i) the negative particle *mai*v immediately precedes them, (ii) the aspectual markers such as *jienv* 'CONTINUOUS' or *nzengc* 'CONSUMPTIVE' immediately follow them, and (iii) an insertion of any elements (e.g. *mai*'not' or *duqv* 'can') between them is impossible.

Purnell indicates *doix-dekc* /tɔi tek/ as an entry word and *doix dekc* /tɔi tek/ a variant:

***Doix-dekc*** to argue, be against, oppose be in opposition. Var: ***doix dekc*** (Purnell 2012:137).

In other cases of verbal compound, there can be a slight difference in naturalness when tone sandhi is absent as described in (264) as a part of the continued discussion from (262<sup>-1-2</sup>) to (263<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|       |       |  |             |              |                         |         |  |  |
|-------|-------|--|-------------|--------------|-------------------------|---------|--|--|
| (264) | (...) | <i>mv.baac</i>   | <i>tiuv</i> | <i>qisex</i> | " <i>gorngv-baeqc</i> " |         |  |  |
|       |       | ມ້ວປ້າ   | ທິວ         | ໄຟຟີ         | "ກຶ່ອງ-ແບ່ງ"            |         |  |  |
|       |       | m̥ŋ  | pa:         | t̥iuŋ        | c̥iə                    | kɔŋ pε? |  |  |
|       |       | but  | change      | air          | speak-white             |         |  |  |
|       |       | '...but (in this case you should) change the tone to /kɔŋ pε?/.' |             |              |                         |         |  |  |
|       |       | (ium_20150520_05_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.13.32-4)            |             |              |                         |         |  |  |

However, with regard to this compound verb *gorngv-baeqc* /kɔŋ pε?/ 'to tell a lie', an absence of tone sandhi slightly alters the register as explained in (265<sup>-1-2</sup>):

(265<sup>-1</sup>) *Eix.leiz ganh nyungc div.dien aqv,*  
 เอี้ย.เลี้ย กัน 忽悠 ตี.เตียน อื้ะ  
*ei˥˧ lei˩ kan˩ nyun˥˧ ti˥˧ tiən˧ a?˥˧*  
 meaning different kind little NSIT  
 '(If you say /kɔŋ˥˧ pε?˥˧/ without tone sandhi) it has a slightly different atmosphere.'

(265<sup>-2</sup>) *mv.baac mv nangc ganh nyungc ndongc haaix,*  
 มี.ป้า มี หนัง กัน 忽悠 ดง หาย,  
*m˥˧ pa:˩ m˥˧ naŋ˩ kan˩ nyun˥˧ dor˥˧ haaɪx˩*  
 but NEG so different kind as.much what  
 'but semantically it is not so different.'

(265<sup>-3</sup>) “*gorngv baeqc*”.  
 ”ก็อง ແປ່ງ”  
*kɔŋ˥˧ pε?˥˧*  
 speak white  
 ‘(To say) /kɔŋ˥˧ pε?˥˧/ ‘tell a lie’ (sounds...)’  
 (ium\_20150520\_05\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.13.45-55)

(265<sup>-4</sup>) @@ *ganh nyungc deix@@*  
 กัน 忽悠 เตี้ย  
*kan˩ nyun˥˧ tei˩*  
 different kind some  
 ‘strange a bit.’  
 (ium\_20150520\_05\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.14.06-9)

It is important to note that *eix.leiz ganh nyungc* in (265<sup>-1</sup>) does not mean a semantic change. Rather, it is in the sense of Thai *plè:k* (ແປລກ) ‘strange’ as his laughter in (265<sup>-4</sup>) suggests.

He pointed out that those who have learned by books tend to pronounce ‘word by word’ or ‘pronounce according to (separate) letters’ (*gan nzangc gorngv /kan˧ dzaŋ˩ kɔŋ˥˧/* [follow letter speak]) without tone sandhi, resulting in an unnatural speech even though the correct meaning is conveyed. If the learner speaks following the native speaker’s way rather than “letters” (*nzangc /dzaŋ˩/*), “it would be easier to say”, i.e., easier for the native speakers to listen to foreigner’s speech according to Zanh Gueix-Fongc as he says in (266<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (266<sup>-1</sup>) *Ei mbuo nyei qieux cuotv nyei /*  
 ເອຍ ບ້ວ ໄນຍ ເື່ຍ ຂົວດ ໄນຍ /  
*ei<sup>1</sup> buə<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup> cʰie<sup>1</sup> tsʰwət<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup>*  
 follow PL POSS air exit REL  
 '(If you) pronounce according to our tone (sandhi),'

- (266<sup>-2</sup>) *se gorngv hec nyei.*  
 ເຊ ກ້ອງ ເທ ໄນຍ.  
*se<sup>1</sup> kɔŋ<sup>1</sup> he<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup>*  
 TOP speak be.easy ASST  
 'it's much easier to say (these words).'  
 (ium\_20150520\_05\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.15.07-12)

## 6.5 Nominal Compounds

There are nine ways of forming nominal compounds.

### 6.5.1 Rules of Nominal Compounds

Four rules of producing compound nouns have been extracted from data relating to onomastics of Iu Mien in Chapter 5:

- (i) [Adj (Ch.) – tone sandhi – N<sub>HEAD</sub>] > [Adj<sup>TS</sup>.N<sub>HD</sub>] = N<sub>CMPD</sub>
- (ii) [N<sub>HD</sub> – tone sandhi – AdjectivalVerb] > [N<sub>HD</sub><sup>TS</sup>.V<sub>ADJ</sub>] = N<sub>CMPD</sub>
- (iii) [N<sup>1</sup> *nyei* N<sup>2</sup><sub>HD</sub>] > deletion of *nyei* ‘of’ > [N<sup>1</sup><sub>TS</sub>.N<sup>2</sup><sub>HD</sub>] = N<sub>CMPD</sub>, where N<sup>1</sup> is a possessor (i.e. modifier), N<sup>2</sup><sub>HD</sub> possessed (i.e. modified).
- (iv) [N<sup>1</sup> *caux* N<sup>2</sup>] > deletion of *caux* ‘and’ > [N<sup>1</sup><sub>TS</sub>.N<sup>2</sup>] (= N<sub>CMPD</sub>), where N<sup>1</sup> and N<sup>2</sup> are from the same semantic domain.

Additionally, seven more rules are presented in this chapter:

- (v) [N<sup>TS</sup>.Clf] = N<sub>CMPD</sub>
- (vi) [N<sub>HD</sub><sup>TS</sup>.V] = N<sub>CMPD</sub> (N<sub>HD</sub> is Agent of V), where V modifies N<sub>HD</sub>.
- (vii) [V<sup>1</sup>.V<sup>2</sup>] = N<sub>CMPD</sub> (V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>2</sup> are representative verbs in the domain of an activity where verb’s undergoers belong)

The following three (viii – x) are compounds consisting of three elements:

- (viii) Tri-constituent compounds (a) [*mienh* V<sub>ADJ</sub> *mienh*] = N<sub>CMPD</sub>, where a group of people are described by the middle adjectival verb, and other tri-constituent compounds.
- (ix) [i kinship(younger) kinship(older)] = N<sub>CMPD</sub>, e. g., ‘the two (i /i˥/) of son and father’.

Furthermore, the tenth method will be discussed in §6.6, though it is not strictly a compounding rule but a utilisation of relative constructions.

- (x) Use of nominalising elements. This category includes the method of utilising highly broad, general nouns in a few modifying relation to produce various types of nominals. Such nominalising elements are *sic* ‘matters’, *jauv* ‘ways’, *ga’naaiv* ‘things’, *daauh* ‘head’, *ndiev* ‘under’, *maanh* ‘every, all’.

These ten rules of producing nominal compounds are discussed below.

### **6.5.2 Rule 1: Nominal Compounds Containing a Chinese-loan Adjective**

In this section, the first rule, the nominal compounds that contain a Chinese-loan adjective, is discussed in two subsections. The first is the basic rule of the construction and the second is an issue of variability between the prepositive-adjective pattern and the postpositive-adjective pattern.

#### **6.5.2.1 A Chinese-loan adjective prepositively modifies the head noun**

First, the nominal compound [Adj<sup>TS</sup>.N<sub>HD</sub>] is composed of [Adj (Ch.) – tone sandhi – N<sub>HD</sub>]. The examples of this type have been seen in the prepositive Chinese-loan adjective *loz* /lo˧/ ‘old’ in *Loz-Bien* ‘Old Bien (clan)’ in Table 34 in §5.3.2.1, and Table 36 in §5.3.2.2. Its Chineses cognate *lauv* ‘old’ is explained by Tan (1986) in §5.3.4.1. Generally the Chinese-loan adjectives only precede attributively the head nouns, and are not used as predicate. A few more examples are:

- (267) *Loz-Zanh* /lo˧ tsan˧/ ‘Old Zan clan’ ((161<sup>-1</sup>) in §5.3.2.2)  
 (268) *loz-hnoi* /lo˧ nɔi˧/ ‘old days’ ((160<sup>-5</sup>), also (1<sup>-17</sup>) in §2.2.2.5)

Another example of prepositive adjective is *domh* /tom˧/ ‘big’:

- (269) *domh mienh* /tom˧ miən˧/ [big person] ‘adult, parent’ ((164<sup>-3</sup>) in §5.3.3)

- (270) ***domh nauz*** /tom˥ nau˧˥/ ‘one’s mother-in-law’s older brother’ ((183<sup>-9</sup>) in §5.4.2.6)
- (271) ***Domh Loz-Dangc*** /tom˥ lo˧˥ taŋ˥/ ‘The Greater Old Dang (clan)’ ((163<sup>-2</sup>), also in Table 34)
- (272) ***domh nzangv*** /tom˥ dzan˥˧/ ‘big boat’ ((1<sup>-16</sup>) in §2.2.2.5)

In examples (269) – (272), the Chinese-loan adjective *domh* has Tone 2 /˧˥/ indicated by the word final tone mark *-h* according to the Unified Roman Script. Because this tone /˧˥/ (or *-h*) coincides with the result of tone sandhi, a hyphen is not used (according to the Unified Roman Script). That is to say, the underlying tone and the result of tone sandhi as a mark of compound noun are the same in this case.

The important characteristic of this construction is the order of the immediate constituents, that is, the adjective precedes the head noun. This is the reverse order to the majority order of Iu Mien adjectival verbs which follow the head noun in specification or modification. See (273<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (273<sup>-1</sup>) [gorngv] “*siang-biauv*” duqv nyei  
 [ກ້ອງ] “ເຊື້ອງ-ເປົ້າ” ຕິ ເລຸຍ  
 kɔŋ˥ s̥iaŋ˥ p̥au˥ tu?˥ nei˥  
 [say] new-house can ASST  
 ‘You can [say] a “new house”.’

- (273<sup>-2</sup>) “*Biauv-siang*” yaac ganh nyungc mi ’aqv.  
 “ເປົ້າ-ເຊື້ອງ” ແມ່ນ ກົ້ນ ໜູ່ງ ນມໍ ອີ່.  
 p̥au˥ s̥iaŋ˥ ja:˥ kan˥ nyung˥ mi:˥ a?˥  
 house-new TOP different kind TELIC  
 ‘(but if you say) a “house new”, it has become a different kind.’  
 (ium\_20150427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.01.09-14)

The standard order in this construction is *siang-biauv* [Adj<sup>TS</sup>. N<sub>HD</sub>] ‘new house’ with tone sandhi. The language consultant gives the phrase in the reverse order explaining it as “different” kind, i.e., not correct. Therefore, immediately he goes on to say that the latter order should be used in the predicate use as in (274):

|       |   |             |              |              |             |       |              |              |
|-------|---|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------|--------------|--------------|
| (274) | <i>Nv</i>   | <i>norm</i> | <i>biauv</i> | <i>siang</i> | <i>haic</i> | [...] | <i>siang</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|       | ນີ້   | ນອມ         | ບໍລິຫານ      | ເສື້ອງ       | ໄຫ້         | [...] | ເສື້ອງ       | ໄປໝ          |
|       | ນໍ້າ  | ນອມ၏        | p̥auŋ        | s̥ajŋ        | hai         |       | s̥ajŋ        | ŋeit         |
|       | DEM <sub>PRX</sub>  | CLF         | house        | be.new       | very        |       | be.new       | ASST         |
|       | ‘This house is very new (or you should say) “it is new”.’     |             |              |              |             |       |              |              |
|       | (ium_20150427_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.01.19-20, 36-37) |             |              |              |             |       |              |              |

The predicative adjectival verb *siang* can be followed by the adverb *haic* ‘very’ or by the affirmative stative or assertive (ASST) aspect particle *nyei*.

To confirm negatively that this construction is characterised by the [Adj<sup>TS</sup>.N<sub>HD</sub>] order, see the fact that the Iu Mien adjectival verbs cannot precede the head noun as explained by contrasting (275a) and (275b):

|        |   |                  |                  |                  |              |
|--------|---|------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| (275a) | “ <i>ong-gox</i> ”                                    | <i>yaac</i>      | <i>gorngv</i>    | <i>duqv</i>      | <i>nyei.</i> |
|        | “ອົງ-ໂກ້”   | ຫຍ່າ             | ກ້ອງ             | ຕູ້              | ໄປໝ.         |
|        | oŋ <sub>1</sub> ko <sub>1</sub>                       | ja: <sub>1</sub> | kɔŋ <sub>1</sub> | tu? <sub>1</sub> | ŋeit         |
|        | “grandpa-old”   | TOP              | say              | can              | ASST         |
|        | (ium_20150427_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.03.56-8) |                  |                  |                  |              |

|        |  |                                 |                 |                  |                 |                 |                  |                 |
|--------|--|---------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (275b) | [ <i>gorngv</i> ]                                      | “ <i>gox-ong</i> ”              | <i>mv</i>       | <i>duqv</i>      | <i>aqv,</i>     | <i>mv</i>       | <i>haih</i>      | <i>aqv.</i>     |
|        | [ກ້ອງ]   | “ໂກ້-ອົງ”                       | ນີ້             | ຕູ້              | ອ້ວ,            | ນີ້             | ໄຫ້              | ອ້ວ             |
|        | kɔŋ <sub>1</sub>                                       | ko <sub>1</sub> oŋ <sub>1</sub> | m̥ <sub>1</sub> | tu? <sub>1</sub> | a? <sub>1</sub> | m̥ <sub>1</sub> | hai <sub>1</sub> | a? <sub>1</sub> |
|        | [say]  | “old-grandpa”                   | NEG             | GET              | NSIT            | NEG             | be.able          | NSIT            |
|        | ‘(You) can’t (say) “old-grandpa”, it is not possible.’ |                                 |                 |                  |                 |                 |                  |                 |
|        | (ium_20150427_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.04.23-6)  |                                 |                 |                  |                 |                 |                  |                 |

In contrast, to confirm positively the [Adj<sup>TS</sup>.N<sub>HD</sub>] order is the characteristic of Chinese-loan adjectives, refer back to examples cited in Chapter 5 with *loz* ‘old’: *Loz-Bienh* ‘Old Bien clan’, *Loz-Bungz* ‘Old Bung clan’, *Loz-Dangc* ‘Old Dang clan’ etc. in Table 34 and (161<sup>-1</sup>), and *loz-hnoi* ‘old days) in (1<sup>-17</sup>) and (160<sup>-5</sup>).

As exemplified in *siang-biauv* in (273<sup>-1</sup>), the first constituent of most [Adj<sup>TS</sup>.N<sub>HD</sub>] compounds undergoes tone sandhi. However, some cases do not as in (276):

| (276) | <i>Mbenc</i>   | <i>ziangx</i> | <i>kuv</i>                    | <i>lai</i> | <i>kuv</i>                    | <i>hnaangx</i>       |
|-------|--|---------------|-------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
|       | ເມັນ   | ເຫດີ່ຢັງ      | ັກ                            | ໄລ         | ັກ                            | ໜັນນາງ               |
|       | ben↓   | ts'anj↓       | k <sup>h</sup> u <sup>ŋ</sup> | lai↓       | k <sup>h</sup> u <sup>ŋ</sup> | n <sup>h</sup> aang↓ |
|       | prepare  | PF            | be.delicious                  | vegetable  | be.delicious                  | rice                 |
|       | ‘(They) finished preparing a banquet.’ (lit. ‘delicious vegetables (e.g. various dishes including meat) and delicious rice (i.e. staple foods)’) |               |                               |            |                               |                      |
|       | (ium_c1965_01_BASF_HCox_UvHiaangEtAl_BagiYungh;00.05.03-05)  |               |                               |            |                               |                      |

The combination of two compounds *kuv.lai* ‘delicious dishes’ and *kuv.hnaangx* ‘delicious foods’ comprises an alliteration with the pattern ABAC (i.e. A = *kuv*, B = *lai*, and C = *hnaangx*, where B and C are near-synonymous). These elaborate expressions will be investigated in detail in §20.5.2.

When there is a Chinese-loan adjective, it is usually expected that one can find an Iu Mien adjectival verb with the similar meaning as a counterpart. For example, the Chinese *loz* /lo<sup>z</sup>/ ‘old’ (inanimate) corresponds to the Iu Mien *gox* ‘to be old’ (animate), *domh* /tom↓/ ‘big’ (Chinese) to *hlo* /lo<sup>z</sup>/ ‘to be big’ (Iu Mien), and *fiuv* /fiu<sup>v</sup>/ ‘small’ (Chinese) to *faix* /fai↓/ ‘to be small’ (Iu Mien). Collocations using them have certain constraints. For example, when a Chinese-loan adjective precedes the head noun:

- (277) *domh nauz* ‘one’s mother-in-law’s brother’ (183<sup>-9</sup>),  
but not \**hlo-nauz* nor \**nauz-hlo* nor \**nauz-domh*.
- (278) *fiuv-laangz* ‘a small village’,  
but not \**faix-laangz* nor \**laangz-fiuv*. (*laangz-faix* is possible)

On the other hand, an Iu Mien adjectival verb follows the head noun:

- (279) *nyaam-hlo* ‘big (principal) daughter-in-law’ (185),  
but not \**hlo-nyaam* nor \**domh-nyaam* nor \**nyaam-domh*.
- (280) *ong-gox* ‘an old grandpa’,  
but not \**gox-ong* nor \**loz-ong* nor \**ong-loz*.

Regarding *domh* /tom↓/ ‘big’ Court (1986:128) says it “is apparently not from Chinese”. Its syntactic behaviour, however, is very much distinct from ordinary Iu Mien adjectival verbs in three points: (i) it is “prepositive” as Court (1986) rightly describes, (ii) it “cannot occur predicatively”, and (iii) “it cannot be demonstrated to be an adjective”, i.e., it cannot take aspectual verbs nor a comparative particle nor

can be intensified as Iu Mien adjectival verbs can (e.g. *hlo nzengc* /loŋ dzəŋŋ/ [be.big CONSUMPTIVE] ‘to become big all together’, *gauh hlo* /kauŋ loŋ/ [more be.big] ‘to be bigger’, *hlo haic* /loŋ haiŋ/ [be.big very] ‘to be very big’). Further its phonological similarity in the initial consonant is also suggestive to support its connection with Chinese: *domh* /tomŋ/ (Iu Mien), *dài* (大) (in 漢 (漢) period), *dà* (大) (in 吳 (吳) period) in Mandarin, *daai<sup>6</sup>* (大) in Cantonese.

These criteria for supposedly Chinese-loan adjectives, with an addition of tone sandhi, are summarised:

- (i) it precedes the head noun
- (ii) it cannot occur predicatively
- (iii) it cannot take aspectual verbs nor a comparative particle nor can be intensified
- (iv) it (almost always) undergoes tone sandhi in forming a nominal compound.

If all four are met, such a morpheme is most likely a Chinese-loan adjective. They are also applicable to the following morphemes:

(281) *saih domh.nauz* [indirect.in-law one's.spouse's.old.brother]

((192<sup>6</sup>) from §5.4.2.6)

(282) *hieh dugnz* [wild pig] ‘wild pig’

(ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.03.11)

*Hieh* /çiaŋ/ ‘wild’ has been attested as Chinese loan (< Cantonese *ye<sup>5</sup>* (野), Mandarin *yě* (野)) by Downer (Downer 1973:16) and Court (1986:116), cf. Table 4. *Hieh* never goes with the adverb of comparison (\**gauh hieh*), the emphatic adverb (\**hieh haic*), nor with aspectual markers (\**hieh nzengc* ‘CONSUMPTIVE’). In both cases of *saih* and *hieh* the criterion (iv), the tone sandhi, is subsumed in the underlying tone of *-h* /ŋ/.

As far as *domh* /tomŋ/ is concerned, despite Court’s observation that “it cannot be demonstrated to be an adjective” (1986:128), it is undeniable that it functions as a prepositive modifier/specifier in composing a nominal construction. He also compares it with “diminutiv[e] counterpart *dorn*” /tɔnŋ/ (*ibid.*),<sup>141</sup> which is a noun meaning a ‘son, male child’. He rightly specifies it “postpositive” as in *juv-dorn* /cuŋ tɔnŋ/ [dog little.son] ‘puppy’. By comparing *domh* /tomŋ/ and *dorn* /tɔnŋ/, the latter

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<sup>141</sup> The original in Court 1985:128 reads “diminutivize[sic] counterpart”. It should be either *diminutivising* or *diminutive*.

obviously being a noun, he suggests that *domh* might have originally been a noun. Compare prepositive-*domh* and postpositive-*dorn* in (283a-b):

|        |   |                                  |                   |                   |                 |                  |                  |                                 |
|--------|---|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| (283a) | <b><i>Domh juv</i></b>                                      | <i>cuotv</i>                     | <i>daaih</i>      | <i>zong</i>       | <i>yie</i>      | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>nyei</i>      | <i>cie</i>                      |
|        | ດ້ວຍ ຈູ້  | ຂ້າດ                             | ຕ້າຍ              | ຕອງ               | ເຢີຍ            | ບ້າວ             | ເລູຍ             | ເຈື້ຍ                           |
|        | tom <sub>1</sub> cu <sup>1</sup>                            | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət <sub>1</sub> | ta:i <sub>1</sub> | tsoŋ <sub>1</sub> | iə <sub>1</sub> | buə <sub>1</sub> | nei <sub>1</sub> | ts <sup>h</sup> iə <sub>1</sub> |
|        | big dog   | exit                             | come              | collide           | 1SG             | PL               | POSS             | vehicle                         |
|        | ‘A huge dog came out (to the road) and hit our motorcycle.’ |                                  |                   |                   |                 |                  |                  |                                 |
|        | (Field Note, WS, attested in May 2014, Thammajarik.)        |                                  |                   |                   |                 |                  |                  |                                 |

|        |  |                  |                                  |
|--------|--|------------------|----------------------------------|
| (283b) | <b><i>Juv-dorn</i></b>   | <i>njungx</i>    | <i>maaz-deih.</i>                |
|        | ຈູ້-ດອນ  | ໜຸງ              | ມ້າ-ເຕິບ.                        |
|        | cu <sub>1</sub> tɔn <sub>1</sub>   | juŋ <sub>1</sub> | ma <sub>1</sub> tei <sub>1</sub> |
|        | dog-SON <sub>DMNT</sub>  | bark             | horse-hoof                       |
|        | ‘A novice preaches/lectures to a master.’ (lit. ‘A puppy barks at a hoof of a horse.’ I.e., An unexperienced or unqualified person presumptuously tries to teach an experts, or a child tries to teach parents or other adults.) |                  |                                  |
|        | (Field Note, FK, attested in May 2015, Thammajarik.)   |                  |                                  |

A different analysis regarding *domh* and *dorn* is provided by Purnell. He considers them as belonging to a “subcategory of adjectives”:

***Domh*** and its antonym ***dorn*** are part of a small subcategory of adjectives which, unlike the majority of adjectives such as the corresponding pair ***hlo*** and ***faix***, can not follow the negative ***mai*** or precede the continuative ***nyei*** (Purnell 2012:138).

Such an interpretation is in line with Court’s (1986:116) analysis using a single hyphen and a double hyphen, which differs to the system of the Iu Mien Unified Script. In his analysis, *dorn* is connected to the preceding “first-order compound” *mbiauh-yaangh* [rice yellow] with a “double hyphen ‘=’” according to his way of hyphenation; thus, *mbiauh-yaangh=dorn* ‘a late-growing kind of yellow rice’. His analysis of a “second-order compound” can be expressed with an underline and an arrow as (290):

|       |                                      |                      |                     |
|-------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| (290) | <u><i>mbiauh</i></u>                 | <u><i>yaangh</i></u> | <i>dorn</i>         |
|       | ມບ້າວແ່າງ                            | ຢ່າງ                 | ດອນ                 |
|       | beau <sub>1</sub>                    | ja:ŋ <sub>1</sub>    | tɔn <sub>1</sub>    |
|       | rice                                 | yellow               | SON <sub>DMNT</sub> |
|       | ‘a late-growing kind of yellow rice’ |                      |                     |
|       | (Court 1986:116)                     |                      |                     |

Zanh Gueix-Fong, however, points out that *dorn* is related to Chinese *zǐ* ~ *zi* (子) ‘son, boy’, rather than an adjective. Furthermore, an evidence for *dorn* being a noun is the possibility of inserting the subordinate-cum-possessive particle *nyei* between the constituents yielding the meaning ‘son (child) of yellow rice’:

- (284) *mbiauh yaangh dorn* < *mbiauh yaangh nyei dorn* [rice.yellow SBCP son] ‘son of yellow rice’ = ‘young yellow rice’

- (285) *juv-dorn* /cuŋ tɔn˥/ [dog SON<sub>DMNT</sub>] ‘puppy’ < *juv nyei dorn* [dog SBCP son] ‘son (child) of dog’ = ‘a small dog’

- (286) *nzuqc dorn* /dzu?˩ tɔn˥/ [knife SON<sub>DMNT</sub>] ‘dagger’ < *nzuqc nyei dorn* [knife SBCP son] ‘son (child) of knife’ = ‘small knife’

### **6.5.2.2 Variability between the prepositive- and postpositive adjectives**

Some adjectives match only (i) and (iv) of the criteria listed in the previous section (§6.5.2.1), going against (ii) and (iii). In other words, some adjectives occur both prepositively and postpositively. As to the variable orders of [Adj<sup>TS</sup>.N<sub>HD</sub>] versus [N<sub>HD</sub><sup>TS</sup>.V<sub>ADJ</sub>], Court states:

The variability of adjective placement is just another example of the general variability of modifier placement in Mien nominal compounds (Court 1986:128).

Having said that, Court himself recognises general rules about two classes of adjectives: (a) “the prepositive-adjective pattern” (1986:127-8) is an established order with regard to Chinese-derived adjectives and (b) “[t]he ‘aft-’ adjective is the norm” (1986:129), namely, the pattern [N<sub>HD</sub><sup>TS</sup>.V<sub>ADJ</sub>] is the usual order with regard to non-Chinese derived adjectives, i.e., the native Iu Mien adjectival verbs.

However, a question arises when this variability is found within the Chinese-loan adjectives. Such examples are shown by Purnell (2012:669) as variants (*Var.*) as in (287) and (288):

- (287) *siem-koiv* ‘deep sea’. Var: *koiv siem*  
 (288) *siem-suiv* ‘deep water’. Var: *suiv siem*

The compound *siem-koiv*, having the structure [Adj<sup>TS</sup>.N<sub>HD</sub>], is from *shēn* (深) ‘deep’ and *hǎi* (海) ‘sea’ and both are Chinese origin. In the same way the compound *siem-suiv* is from *shēn* (深) ‘deep’ and *shuǐ* (水) ‘water’. In each example the Chinese order (i.e. [Adj<sup>TS</sup>.N<sub>HD</sub>]) exhibits tone sandhi on the first constituent whereas the Iu Mien order (i.e. [N<sub>HD</sub>.Adj]) is not subject to tone sandhi: *koiv siem* [sea deep] and *suiv siem* [water deep].

To such variability of Chinese-loan adjectives we propose the following rationale in terms of speaker’s age: namely, the older speakers who know Chinese origin of particular adjectives, on the one hand, use the prepositive order and use the native Iu Mien adjectival verbs postpositively. The younger speakers who are unfamiliar with Chinese, on the other hand, tend to use all adjectives (including Chinese-loan and native Iu Mien) in the postpositive order. Also, we suggest three stages in which a certain group of Chinese-loan adjectives fully become Iu Mien adjectival verbs. Evidence indicating them are presented as follows.

Firstly, the use of the prepositive order of the Chinese-loan adjectives is clearly distinguished from the use of the postpositive order in the native Iu Mien adjectival verbs among the older speakers, who usually know Chinese. The evidence has been amply shown in the previous sections: e.g., *loz-hnoi* ‘old days’ in (1<sup>-17</sup>), (4<sup>-1</sup>), (160<sup>-5</sup>) or *Loz-Zanh* ‘the Old Zan clan’ in (161<sup>-1</sup>), where the Chinese-loan adjective *loz-* modifies a noun prepositively with tone sandhi, i.e., [Adj<sup>TS</sup>.N<sub>HD</sub>], as opposed to, e.g., *nyaam-hlo* ‘big (principal) daughter-in-law’ in (185) and *ong-gox* ‘an old grandpa’ in (275a), where the postpositive order with tone sandhi, i.e., [N<sub>HD</sub><sup>TS</sup>.V<sub>ADJ</sub>], is employed.

Regarding the age factor, see the explanation by a member of the older generation in (289<sup>-1-4</sup>):

|                                 |                         |             |                        |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|------------------------|
| (289 <sup>-1</sup> )            | “ <i>yangh ngongh</i> ” | <i>se</i>   | <i>dongh</i>           |
|                                 | “ຢ້າງ ນົອງ”             | ເຊ          | ຕັ້ງ                   |
|                                 | <i>jaŋ˥</i>             | <i>ŋoŋ˥</i> | <i>se˥</i> <i>ton˥</i> |
| yellow cow TOP same             |                         |             |                        |
| ‘(The term) “yellow cow” is...’ |                         |             |                        |

|  |            |             |              |              |               |             |              |
|--|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| (289 <sup>-2</sup> )                           | <i>gox</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>baan</i>  | <i>mienh</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>waac.</i> |
|  | ໄກ         | ວ້າວ        | ປ່ານ         | ເມື່ອນ       | ກ້ອງ          | ແລູຍ        | ຫວ່າ.        |
|  | <i>ko↓</i> | <i>uə~</i>  | <i>pa:n↑</i> | <i>miən↓</i> | <i>kɔŋ~</i>   | <i>nei↑</i> | <i>wa:↓</i>  |
| be.old DEM cohort person say REL word          |            |             |              |              |               |             |              |
| ‘the language that the older generation uses.’ |            |             |              |              |               |             |              |

- (289<sup>3</sup>) *Mv.baac ih.zanc fu'jueiv, mienh lunx mienh*  
 ມີປ່າ ອື່ໜັກົນ ພູເຈວີບ, ເມື່ອນ ອລຸນ ເມື່ອນ  
 ພໍາ pa:] i tsan:] fu c<sup>w</sup>ei:] miən] lun:] miən]  
 but now children person be.young person  
 ‘but nowadays children and the youth’
- (289<sup>4</sup>) *yaac gorngv “ngongh yangh”.*  
 ບໍາ ກົອງ “ໆງ ຍັງ”.  
 ja:] kɔŋ:] tɔŋ:] jaŋ:]  
 TOP say cow be.yellow  
 ‘say “cow yellow”.’  
 (ium\_20150427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB.WAV;00.07.52-9)

That is, *yangh ngongh* [yellow cow] ‘yellow cow’ is by the older generation, *ngongh yangh* [cow yellow] ‘yellow cow’ by the younger generation.

Concerning the postpositive *siem* ‘deep’ found in the variants, *koiv siem* ‘deep sea’ (287) and *suiv siem* ‘deep water’ (288), presented by Purnell (2012:669), as opposed to the standard prepositive order in *siem-koiv* and *siem-suiv*, one of our Iu Mien language consultants (Zanh Gueix-Cing)<sup>142</sup> explained that they *da'gangx mi'aqv* [reverse TELIC] ‘they are reversed’, that is, non-standard in Chiang Rai dialect. He further pointed out that these two compounds occurring in the prepositive-adjective pattern are the *nzung nyei waac* [song SBCP word] ‘the song language’, namely, Purnell’s (1991:373) “literary language” (cf. §2.4.4). As such, together with the consultant’s rejection of the postpositive order, the morpheme *siem* ‘deep’ should be confirmed to be purely of Chinese origin and thus should be situated at the first stage, at least in the Chiang Rai variety of Iu Mien. Unfortunately, no explanation is available at the moment regarding the absence of tone sandhi in the variants, *koiv siem* and *suiv siem*. Perhaps, they are in the American variety of Iu Mien.

The second stage is a situation where a Chinese-loan adjective cannot be used postpositively in a nominal compound but can be used predicatively in a clause. In other words, out of the four criteria summarised above (§6.5.2.1), the phenomenon concedes (i)(which says “it precedes the head noun”) and (iv)(“it (almost always) undergoes tone sandhi in forming a nominal compound”) but contradicts (ii)(“it cannot occur predicatively”) and (iii)(“it cannot take aspectual verbs nor a comparative particle nor can be intensified”). An example of this behaviour can be found in *siang* (<*san*<sup>1</sup> in Cantonese, *xīn* in Mandarin, both written as 新) as has been

<sup>142</sup> Personal communication with Zanh Gueix-Cing of Kung Mae Bong, Chiang Rai, on 6 March 2017.

cited in (274) *siang haic*, *siang nyei* [be.new very, be.new ASST] ‘it is very new, it is new’.

Further, *jaav* ‘be fake’ (could be from Mandarin *qī* (欺) or might be related to Cantones *ngai*<sup>6</sup> (偽)) may belong to this stage of the Chinese-loan adjectives. Compare the prepositive use in a compound as in (290a) and the predicative use co-occurring with an aspectual SFP *nyei* in a clause as in (290b). Note the prepositive use undergoes tone sandhi but not the predicative use.

*Prepositive to the head noun:*

- (290a) *jaav-nyaanh*  
៥-᭟້ານ  
ca:<sup>↓</sup> ja:n  
fake-money  
'fake money'  
(ium\_20150427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.06.53-4)

*Predicatively in a clause:*

- (290b) *Naaiv nyungc nyaanh jaav nyei.*  
ນ້າຂ ໜູ່ງ ໝ້ານ ຈົ້າ ເນູ້  
nax:<sup>↑</sup> jnun:<sup>↓</sup> ja:n ca:<sup>↑</sup> nei:<sup>↓</sup>  
DEM<sub>PRX</sub> kind money be.fake ASST  
'This money is fake.'  
(ium\_20150427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.06.56-7)

Regarding this stage of the Chinese-loan adjectives, the fact that the prepositive modifying position is their attribute and the fact that the postpositive use is impossible (as in (273<sup>-2</sup>)) indicate that they are of Chinese origin. At the same time, however, the fact that the predicative use is possible exhibits the feature of the Iu Mien adjectival verbs. Thus, they are considered to be on the way to adoption or integration into the Iu Mien adjectival verb class with the residual features of the Chinese-loan adjectives.

The third stage, then, is the full integration. The adjectival verbs at this stage or of this kind can be used both prepositively and postpositively in nominal compounds, and also predicatively in a clause co-occurring with aspectual markers. It has already been pointed out that the difference between the prepositive and the postpositive use of *yangh* ‘yellow’ is due to the age difference (289<sup>-1-4</sup>). Not only that, a newly constructed phrase containing *yangh* was in fact frequently used by both

young and old when the politics of Thailand was dramatically split into two groups during the years 2012 to 2014:

- (291) *lui-yangh* /lui<sup>↓</sup> jaŋ<sup>↓</sup>/ [clothes be.yellow] ‘the yellow shirt group’  
 (292) *lui-siqv* /lui<sup>↓</sup> siʔ<sup>↑</sup>/ [clothes be.red] ‘the red shirt group’

The postpositive *yangh*, though older people may notice its Chinese origin, nicely conforms to the native Iu Mien pattern of *lui-siqv*, of which *siqv* is an Iu Mien adjectival verb (whose Chinese-loan counterpart is *hongc* or *hongh* (紅)).

Furthermore, *yangh* co-occurs with aspectual markers, suggesting the complete integration into the Iu Mien verb system as in (293):

- (293) *Mbiauh yangh nzengc aqv.*  
 ເມື່ອ ຍ້າ ໄກສຳ ອະວະ.  
 bjaʊ<sup>↓</sup> jaŋ<sup>↓</sup> dzeŋ<sup>↓</sup> aʔ<sup>↑</sup>  
 rice be.yellow CONSUME NSIT  
 ‘The rice is golden (and ripe).’  
 (Purnell 2012:732) (lit. ‘The rice (field) has become all yellow.’)

Therefore, a conclusion to this issue of the variability of a small class of adjectives is as follows. The variability between the prepositive and the postpositive adjectives is attributed to the age factor of the speakers: the older speakers tend to use the former, the younger the latter. Among these Chinese-loan adjectives that occur variably in both ways some seem to be on the way to the full integration with the system of the Iu Mien adjectival verbs.

Lastly in this section, we should mention  $N^1 + N^2_{HD}$  compound in which  $N^1$  is a Chinese-loan noun, not a Chinese-loan adjective. The following example has a structure  $[N^1(Ch)^{TS} \cdot N^2_{HD}]_{CMPLD}$ , although it could also be treated under Rule 3 in §6.5.4:

- (294) *suiv-ngongh* /sui<sup>↓</sup> nŋɔŋ<sup>↓</sup>/ [water cow] ‘water buffalo’

### 6.5.3 Rule 2: Noun-Adjective Compounds

Second, and conversely, the original Iu Mien adjectival verbs follow the head noun. They behave differently to Chinese loan adjectives. That is, in terms of position, Iu Mien adjectival verbs modify the head noun postpositively whereas Chinese loan adjectives are prepositioned to the head. The Iu Mien adjective verbs predicate a topic

(subject, theme) with aspectual markers but Chinese loan adjectives cannot. Thus the nominal compound [N<sub>HD</sub><sup>TS</sup>.V<sub>ADJ</sub>] has the structure [N<sub>HD</sub> – tone sandhi – AdjectivalVerb] (cf. Court 1986:126ff). An example is:

- (295) *Dangc-mbuov* [Dangc blue] ‘the blue Dang clan’ ((163<sup>1</sup>) in §5.3.2.2)

Tan (1986:48) also provides some clan names that are modified by postposed colour terms (discussed in §5.3.2.2):

- (296) *Loz-Leiz-maeng* [old Leiz green] ‘the green Old Lei clan’  
 (297) *Loz-Bungz-siqv* [old Bungz red] ‘the red Old Bung clan’

In them in fact the colour terms are adjectival verbs on the basis that they take intensifying adverbs (*haic* ‘very’) and aspectual verbs (*nzengc* ‘to consume’): *siqv haic* ‘very red’, *siqv nzengc* ‘all red, completely red’.

Another example of this kind found in Chapter 5 is *hlo* ‘to be big’ as presented in:

- (298) *nyaam-hlo* [daughter.in.law be.big] ‘big daughter-in-law’ ((185) in §5.4.2.6)

More examples of [N<sub>HD</sub><sup>TS</sup>.V<sub>ADJ</sub>] from other sources are:

- (299) *laangz-nqaai* [village dry] ‘dry village, a village that suffered from drought’  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih;00.04.40)  
 (300) *zeiv-mau* [paper soft] ‘tissue paper, tissues’  
 (301) *ndie-cou* [cloth rough] ‘rough cloth’  
 (302) *nyaanh muonc* [money fine] ‘coins, change’

The word *waac* ‘word’ is often modified by an adjectival verb as:

- (303) *waac-cou* [word be.rough] ‘coarse language’  
 (304) *waac-zaanc* [word be.cheap] ‘crude, vulgar language’  
 (305) *bungx waac-maux* [release word be.arrogant] ‘to talk arrogantly’

Onomatopoeia modifies a preceding noun like an adjectival verb does in compounding. This compound noun, having the structure [N<sub>HD</sub><sup>TS</sup>.ONOMA], is absent in Court (1986). In the early 1970s in the mountains of northern Thailand a kerosene

pressure lantern was a tool of high technology among the Iu Mien as can been seen in (306<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (306<sup>-1</sup>) *Saan Cing maaiz duqv dang-zorz*<sup>143</sup> *daaih*  
 ছান চিং মাই দুক্ব ডং-জোর্ ঢাই  
*sa:n tsʰinj₁ ma:i₁ tu?₁ taŋ₁ tsɔ₁* *ta:i₁*  
 Saan Cing buy get lantern-ONOMA COME  
 '(When we still lived in the mountains) Saan Cing managed to buy a kerosene pressure lantern (from a town of lowland),'

- (306<sup>-2</sup>) *za'gengh njang hai:::v!*  
 ৎৎৎ-গেং ঘং হাি়!  
*tsa keŋ₁ jaŋ₁* *—hai:::*  
 really be.bright very  
 'it was really very bright.'  
 (ium\_20000415\_06\_CT\_DA\_FmCiang\_God'sLight;00.06.14-20)

Another example of onomatopoeia as a postpositional modifier is:

- (307) *ga'naav-nguakv* [thing ONOMA] 'a deaf and dumb person'.

This came from an onomatopoeic word *nguakv*: 'the grunting sounds made by a deaf or dumb person trying to talk' (Purnell 2012:538).

#### 6.5.4 Rule 3: Noun-Noun Compounds

The third kind of compound noun is composed of two nouns. The Noun-Noun compound has two different internal structures. A few tests can be used to differentiate them. One is  $[N^1_{TS} \cdot N^2_{HD}]_{CNPD}$ , the other is  $[N^1_{HD} \cdot N^2]_{CNPD}$ . The former, in which  $N^1$  modifies  $N^2$ , can be paraphrased as (308):

- (308)  $N^1$  *nyei*  $N^2$   
 N1 নেই N2  
 $N^1$  SBCP  $N^2$   
 'N<sup>2</sup> of N<sup>1</sup>'

---

<sup>143</sup> In understanding this audio recording I owe, in personal communication in August 2014, Herbert Purnell and Ann Burgess who communicated with several Iu Mien who used to use such a lantern in northern Thailand in the early 1970s when the instrument first came to market. None of dictionaries by Lombard (1968), Panh (2002), Purnell (2012) has this word, but Purnell's future revision is expected to include it. A synonym of *dang-zorz* is *domh dang* [big lamp] 'big lantern'.

The latter, in which N<sup>2</sup> modifies N<sup>1</sup>, can be paraphrased either as (309) or as (310):

|  |              |                |             |                |
|--|--------------|----------------|-------------|----------------|
| (309)                                      | <i>maaih</i> | N <sup>2</sup> | <i>nyei</i> | N <sup>2</sup> |
|  | ມ້າຍ         | N2             | ເນູຍ        | N1             |
|  | ma:i\        | N <sup>2</sup> | nei\        | N <sup>2</sup> |
|  | have         | N <sup>2</sup> | REL         | N <sup>1</sup> |
| ‘N <sup>1</sup> which has N <sup>2</sup> , |              |                |             |                |

|  |                   |               |                |            |             |               |                |
|--|-------------------|---------------|----------------|------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| (310)  | <i>fangx-zeiv</i> | <i>hnangv</i> | N <sup>2</sup> | <i>nor</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>nyungc</i> | N <sup>1</sup> |
|  | ຝຶງ-ເຕີ່ຍ         | ຫນັງ          | N2             | ນອ         | ວ້າ         | ໜູ້ງ          | N1             |
|  | faŋx\ tsei\       | hnaŋ\         | N <sup>2</sup> | nɔ\        | nə\         | ŋaŋ\          | N <sup>1</sup> |
|  | shape             | like          | N <sup>2</sup> | as         | DEM         | kind          | N <sup>1</sup> |
| ‘N <sup>1</sup> whose shape is like N <sup>2</sup> |                   |               |                |            |             |               |                |

The first kind of N·N is [N<sup>1<sub>TS</sub></sup>.N<sup>2<sub>HD</sub></sup>]<sub>CMPD</sub>, which can be identified by applying the paraphrasing test (308):

(311) *Mienh waac* [Mien word] ‘Mien language’, ‘vernacular language’ (§2.4.4)

In this case, an assumption is that there is tone sandhi between the two nouns but it is taken that tone sandhi coincides with the underlying tone /\\/ of *mienh* /miən\\/ (-h stands for /\\/). We have encountered an example which tells us that the [N<sup>1<sub>TS</sub></sup>.N<sup>2<sub>HD</sub></sup>]<sub>CMPD</sub> is actually derived from the deletion of the subordinate-cum-possessive particle *nyei* as in (312)(a repetition of (160<sup>-7</sup>) in §5.2):

|  |              |              |                    |              |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| (312)  | <i>aengx</i> | <i>Mienh</i> | <b><i>nyei</i></b> | <i>waac.</i> |
| (160 <sup>-7</sup> )   | ແອັງ         | ເມື່ອນ       | ເນູຍ               | ໜວ່າ.        |
|  | ɛŋ\          | miən\        | nei\               | wa:\         |
|  | also         | Mien         | SBCP               | language     |
| ‘and also Mien language.’  |              |              |                    |              |
| (ium_20130528_01_H1_DA_GueixFongc_MienhWaac_KMB;<br>00.00.39-00.10.30) |              |              |                    |              |

It is possible to reconstruct the underlying construction by inserting *nyei* in between the two constituents of the compound noun of this sort. For example, we had *ndeic-liuh* [field hut] ‘a field hut’ (166) in §5.3.4.2, to which an insertion of *nyei* makes the meaning explicit. Here (166) is repeated as (313a):

|        |   |             |                  |                                   |                   |                  |                  |                  |
|--------|---|-------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| (313a) | <i>Yiem</i>   | <i>wuov</i> | <i>yiem</i>      | <b><i>ndeic-liuh</i></b>          | <i>yungz</i>      | <i>daaih</i>     | <i>heuc</i>      | <i>Liuh</i>      |
| (166)  | ເຢີມ  | ວ້າ         | ເຢີມ             | ເດືອຍ-ລົ່ວ                        | ູ້ງ               | ຕ້າຍ             | ເຫິວ             | ລົ່ວ             |
|        | jem <sup>1</sup>  | uə̄ŋ        | jem <sup>1</sup> | dei <sup>1</sup> liu <sup>1</sup> | jung <sup>1</sup> | tai <sup>1</sup> | heu <sup>1</sup> | liu <sup>1</sup> |
|        | be.in   | DEM         | be.in            | field-hut                         | give.birth.to     | COME             | call             | Liu              |
|        | 'If a baby was born there, at a field hut, he/she will be called Liu.'  |             |                  |                                   |                   |                  |                  |                  |
|        | (ium_20130523_01_H1_DA_GueixZoih_NzungNyeiWaac_Thammajarik; 00.00.21-4) |             |                  |                                   |                   |                  |                  |                  |

Compare (313a) and (313b):

(313a) *ndeic-liuh* [field hut] ‘a field hut’

(313b) *ndeic nyei liuh* [field SBCP hut] ‘a hut in (of) the field’

In (313b) the subordinate-cum-possessive particle *nyei* functions to make *ndeic* a modifier of *liuh*. Thus the underlying construction of  $[N^{1_{TS}}.N^{2_{HD}}]_{CMPD}$  is  $[N^1\ nyei\ N^2_{HD}]$ .

Another example is found in *Jiex Sen Borngv* of the *Pʰa'læe Scroll* quoted in (2<sup>1</sup>) in §2.2.2.8, repeated here as (314):

|                   |  |                   |
|-------------------|--|-------------------|
| (314)             | <i>koiv-</i>                                       | <i>ngaanc</i>     |
| (2 <sup>1</sup> ) | ຄ້ອຍ   | ໜ່ານ              |
|                   | k <sup>h</sup> ɔi <sup>1</sup>                     | ŋa:n <sup>1</sup> |
|                   | sea  | shore             |
|                   | 'the sea shore'                                    |                   |
|                   | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist; 00.01.04-5) |                   |

A paraphrase of it to *koiv nyei ngaanc* [sea SBCP shore] ‘shore of the sea’ is possible.

Furthermore, *Jiex Sen Borngv* contains an example of compound nouns in alliteration as in (315) (a repetition of (2<sup>6</sup>) in §2.2.2.8):

|                   |  |                     |
|-------------------|--|---------------------|
| (315)             | <i>[laangh zinh]</i>                               | <i>[laangh cov]</i> |
| (2 <sup>6</sup> ) | [ລ່າງ ຊິນ]   | [ລ່າງ ໄກສີ]         |
|                   | la:ŋ <sup>1</sup>                                  | tsin <sup>1</sup>   |
|                   | crop.tax   | money               |
|                   | crop.tax money                                     |                     |
|                   | 'tax (of all kinds related to crop)'               |                     |
|                   | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist; 00.01.12-4) |                     |

The compound *laangh zinh* can be paraphrased as *laangh nyei zinh* [crop SBCP money] ‘money of crop’. Likewise, *laangh cov* means *laangh nyei cov* [crop SBCP money] ‘tax of crop’. These four syllables form the ABAC alliteration pattern, in which B (*zin*

‘money’) and C (*cov* ‘tax’) are synonymous (cf. §20.5.2.1 for four syllable elaborate expressions).

Other examples of  $[N^{1\text{TS}} \cdot N^2_{\text{HD}}]_{\text{CMPD}}$ , are as follows:

- (316) *dungz-zoh* /tuŋ˥ tsoŋ˥/ [pig trough] ‘pig trough for food’ (*dungz nyei zoh*  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_  
 Nda'maauhJauxNyeiGouv;00.05.51)
- (317) *dungz-njoh* /tuŋ˥ joŋ˥/ [pig pen] ‘pigpen’ (*dungz nyei njoh*  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_  
 Nda'maauhJauxNyeiGouv;00.06.04)
- (318) *wuom-genv* /uəm˧ ken˥/ [water \*] ‘water line’ (made of a split bamboo)  
 (Panh 2002:273)

Usually *genv* by itself is not used. The tool *wuom-genv* (some say *wuom-ginv* /uəm˧ kin˥/) is highly culturally specific item and the compound is so very entrenched that no one seems to know what *genv* by itself means.

- (319) *sim-mbiuic* /sim˧ b̥ui˧/ [needle nose] ‘the eye of a needle, blunt end of a  
 needle’ (*sim nyei mbiuic*) (Purnell 2012:471)

The second kind of N·N compound has the internal structure  $[N^1_{\text{HD}} \text{ TS} \cdot N^2]_{\text{CMPD}}$ , as opposed to  $[N^{1\text{TS}} \cdot N^2_{\text{HD}}]_{\text{CMPD}}$ . This pattern can be identified by applying the paraphrasing test (309) or (310). See (320a), which passes the test (309) as in (320b):

- (320a) *ndoih*      *nqimv*  
 តែឃ                  ឯម  
*dɔi˧*      *ɟim˥*  
 potato      thorn  
 ‘thorny potatoes’  
 (Field Note 20140222, Meix Singx, attested in Thammajarik)

- (320b) *Maaih*    *nqimv*    *nyei*    *ndoih.*  
 ម៉ាយ            ឯម            ឈូយ            តែឃ.  
*ma:i˧*      *ɟim˥*      *nei˧*      *dɔi˧*  
 have      thorn      REL      potato  
 ‘a potato which has thorn’

In the kind of compound nouns having the pattern  $[N^1_{HD}^{TS}.N^2]_{CMPD}$ , there is another group that are identified by the test (310). See (321):

- (321)    *biauv-*    *paangh*  
 ໔ັບຢ້າ-    ພ່າງ  
*p<sup>j</sup>auŋ*    *p<sup>h</sup>a:iŋ*  
 house    platform  
 ‘a house raised off the ground on stilts’  
 (Purnell 2012:628)

Court (1986:122) glosses this compound noun, following Lombard (1968:33), as ‘a house with a guest platform’. However, Zanh Gueix-Fongc describes it differently, in conformity with Purnell (2012:628), as (322<sup>-1-4</sup>):

- (322<sup>-1</sup>)    *Da'faanh*    *mienh*    *mv*    *yiem*    *ndau*,  
 ຕະພ້ານ    ເມື່ຍນ    ມີ    ເພື່ຍມ    ເດາ,  
*ta fa:n*    *miən*    *m̥*    *jem*    *dau*  
 as.long.as    people    NEG    be.at    ground  
 ‘As long as residents are not on the ground,’

- (322<sup>-2</sup>)    *mv*    *hnangv*    *nv*    *nor*    *yiem*    *ndau*,  
 ມີ    ຮນ້ຳ    ນີ້    ນອ    ເພື່ຍມ    ເດາ,  
*m̥*    *ຖານ*    *n̥*    *no*    *jem*    *dau*  
 NEG    like    DEM    as    be.at    ground  
 ‘not like we are here staying on the ground,’

- (322<sup>-3</sup>)    *yietv*    *faaux*    *hlaang*    *deix*    *gu'nguaaic*    *maengx*    *nyei*  
 ຍື້ຍດ    ຝາວ    ສລາງ    ເຕີຍ    ກູ້ ຂົງວ່າຍ    ແຮມງ    ໄສຍ  
*jet*    *fa:u*    *l̥a:ŋ*    *tei*    *ku n̥wai*    *men*    *nei*  
 once    ascend    be.high    some    upper.side    side    ASST  
 ‘once (the house) is raised up to a higher place,’

- (322<sup>-4</sup>)    “*biauv-*    *paangh*”    *aqv.*  
 “ແມັບຢ້າ-    ພ່າງ”    ອີ່ວ.  
*p<sup>j</sup>auŋ*    *p<sup>h</sup>a:iŋ*    *aʔ*  
 house    platform    NSIT  
 ‘it is already a “platform-house”.’  
 (ium\_20150810\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Sesqui\_Cmpd\_MC;00.16.40-8)

According to his description, and since *paangh* originally is ‘a platform made of bamboo (used as a place to sit or sleep), deck (of a house), porch) (Purnell 2012:628), the test (310) better identifies what *biauv-paangh* is as in (323):

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| (323) | <i>fangx-zeiv hnangv “paangh” nor wuov nyungc biauv</i> |
|       | ຝຶງ-ເຕີ້ຫ ຂນັ້ງ “ພ່າງ” ນອ ວ້ວ ທຸນູ່ງ ເບຢ້າ              |
|       | <i>fajŋ˥ tsei˥ ꜥnaŋ˥ pʰaŋŋ˥ nɔ˥ nə˥ ꜥnuŋ˥ p̚au˥</i>     |
|       | shape like platform as DEM kind house                   |
|       | ‘the house whose shape is like a “platform”.’           |

### 6.5.5 Rule 4: Compounds of Dvandva from [N<sub>1</sub> caux N<sub>2</sub>]

The fourth type compound is also composed of two nouns. However, in contrast to the third type, which is characterised by the modifier-modified relation, the fourth type has two synonymous nouns combined. It is referred to as “dvandva”, borrowing a Sanskrit term as found in Court (1986:119-21). This may be termed as “hendiadys” (i.e. one meaning through two words, < Gk. ἕν ‘one’, διά ‘through’, δυοῖν ‘two’). In the compounds of dvandva or hendiadys the meaning refers to an abstract concept of the whole sum, which exists between senses that the two (near)synonymous elements or two elements from the same semantic domain express. For example, *jauv-louc* ‘matters’ consists of *jauv* ‘road’ and *louc* ‘way’. Consider two such examples, *jauv-louc* ‘matters’ and *leiz-fingx* ‘custom’, in (324<sup>-1-2</sup>), which are repetitions of (160<sup>-5-6</sup>) from §5.2:

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (324 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Mienh nyei loz-hnoi nyei jauv-louc,</i> |
| (160-5)              | ເມື່ຍນ ເສູຍ ໄລສ-ຮນອຍ ເສູຍ ເຈົ້າ-ໂທລ່ວ,     |
|                      | <i>miən˥ nei˥ lo˥ ꜥci˥ nei˥ cau˥ ləu˥</i>  |
|                      | Mien SBCP old-day SBCP matters             |
|                      | ‘about the old ways of the Iu Mien.’       |

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (324 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>...se... Mienh nyei, Mienh nyei leiz-fingx lo.haaix</i>         |
| (160 <sup>-6</sup> ) | ...ເຊ... ເມື່ຍນ ເສູຍ, ເມື່ຍນ ເສູຍ ເລື່ຍ-ຝຶງ ໄລ.ຫາຍ                 |
|                      | <i>se˥ miən˥ nei˥ miən˥ nei˥ lei˥ fiŋ˥ lo˥ haaix</i>               |
|                      | COP Mien SBCP Mien SBCP custom etc.                                |
|                      | ‘In other words, (write about) the customs of the Mienh.’          |
|                      | (ium_20130528_01_H1_DA_GueixFongc_MienhWaac_KMB;00.00.39-00.10.30) |

Particularly this type consists of a Chinese-loan word and an Iu Mien morpheme from the same semantic domain. *Jauv-louc* ‘matters’ in (324<sup>-1</sup>) is composed of *jauv* ‘road,

way' (Iu Mien noun) and *louc* (from Chinese 路 *lù*) 'road' from Chinese. *Leiz-fingx* 'custom' in (324<sup>-2</sup>) has its constituents *leiz* (< Chinese 礼 *lǐ*, 禮 *lǐ*) 'custom, doctrine, law, rule, regulation, rite' (Purnell 2012:370) and *fingx* 'ethnic group, nationality' (an Iu Mien noun). The Chinese-loan word can be in either position of two constituents.

A few more examples of this kind, where the Chinese-loan word is in bold type, include:

- (325) ***gorx***-youz /kəʊŋ jəʊŋ/  
 [elder.brother younger.brother]  
 'male siblingls' in (182<sup>-8</sup>)(where *gorx* is from Cantonese *go<sup>1</sup>go<sup>1</sup>*\*<sup>4</sup> 'elder brother' (哥哥); Mandarin *gēge*)
- (326) ***muoz***-doic /muəŋトイ/  
 [sibling friend]  
 'siblings' in (183<sup>-1-2</sup>) in §5.4.2.6 (where *muoc* is from Cantonese *mou<sup>5</sup>* 'mother' or Mandarin *mǔ* 'mother' (母)).
- (327) ***deic-bung*** /teiŋ punŋ/  
 [place region]  
 'country' (where *bung* is from Cantonese *fong<sup>1</sup>* 'region, area' (方); Mandarin *fāng*; a variation is *da'bung*)  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih;00.04.40)
- (328) ***ndau-touv*** /dauŋ təʊŋ/  
 [earth soil]  
 'soil, land, ground' (where *touv* is from Cantonese *tou<sup>2</sup>* 'soil, earth' (土); Mandarin *tǔ*)
- (329) ***gorn-ndoqv*** /kɔŋŋ doŋŋ/  
 [root bottom]  
 'foundation' (where *gorn* is from Cantonese *gan<sup>1</sup>* 'root' (根); Mandarin *gēn*)

As the contact between Iu Mien and Chinese has been so long that even the native speakers find it difficult to distinguish Chinese loans from the original Iu Mien words. In the following example the word 'countenance', both constituents may be of Chinese origin, 面 'face' and 目 'eye', as in (330<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (330<sup>-1</sup>) *Mangc gaax mbuo nyei hmien-mueic yaac*  
 ໝໍ່ງ ກ້າ ບັງ ໄນຍ ໄຂມື່ຍນ-ເຫມວ່ຍ ແບ່ງ  
*maŋ˥ ka:˧ bue˧ nei˧ mien˧ m'wei˧ ja:˧*  
 look.at try PL(excl) SBCP face-eye TOP  
 ‘Look at our countenance’

- (330<sup>-2</sup>) *hnangv haaix nor.*  
 ຂັ້ງ ທ່າຍ ນອ?  
*ŋaŋ˥ haa:i˧ nɔ˧*  
 like what as  
 ‘how are they?’ = ‘Look how our countenance is (as to healthy or not).’  
 (ium\_c1965\_02\_BASF\_HCox\_Guex-Cing et al.\_Daniel;00.01.53-55)

In analogy with the relation between *Mienh waac* ‘Mien language’ (331) and *Mienh nyei waac* ‘language of (Iu) Mienh’ (160<sup>-7</sup>), the native speaker intuition can explicate the relation between two constituents in most dvandva compound nouns. That is, a coordination relation can be posited between them by an insertion of *caux* /ts<sup>h</sup>aʊ˧/ ‘to accompany, and’ as in (332a-b):

(332a) *jauv-louc* < *jauv caux louc* [road and way]

(332b) *leiz-fingx* < *leiz caux fingx* [custom and nationality]

Furthermore, the same underlying structure [X caux Y] can be postulated in the following examples:

(333) *lai-hnaangx /lai˧ ɳaŋ˥/*  
 [vegetable rice]  
 ‘food’

(334) *fun-faqv /fun˧ faʔ˥/*  
 [grand.child great.grand.child]  
 ‘grandchildren and great-grand-children’  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih;00.04.19)

- (335) *auv-jueiv* /au<sup>↓</sup> cuei<sup>↑</sup>/  
 [wife child]  
 ‘wife and children’ (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih;00.04.23)

- (336) *lui-houx* /lui<sup>↓</sup> həu<sup>↓</sup>/  
 [upper.garment trousers]  
 ‘clothes, wearing’

Thus the pattern can be summarised as follows:

- $[N^1 \text{ caux } N^2] > \text{deletion of } \text{caux} \text{ 'and'} > [N^{1\text{ts}} \cdot N^2]_{\text{CMPD}}$ , where  $N^1$  and  $N^2$   
 are in the same semantic domain.

### 6.5.6 Rule 5: N + Classifier

In counting books, numeral classifier *buonv* /puən<sup>↑</sup>/ is used as in (337):

- (337) *buo      buonv      sou*  
 ဗုံး      ပြောန      ၏၏၏  
 puə<sup>↓</sup>    p<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>↑</sup>    səu<sup>↓</sup>  
 three    CLF      book  
 ‘three books’

And the combination of noun and classifier constitutes a compound noun:

- (338) *sou-buonv* /səu<sup>↓</sup> puən<sup>↑</sup>/  
 [book CLF]  
 ‘a completed book’ (Purnell 2012:68)

The structure of this nominal compound is  $[N^{\text{ts}} \cdot \text{Clf}]_{\text{CMPD}}$ .

Fitting this pattern another example is:

- (339) *sou-njunc* /səu<sup>↓</sup> ʃun<sup>↓</sup>/  
 [book CLF<sub>SCROLL</sub>]  
 ‘a scroll’ (Purnell 2012:549)

Alternatively, *njunc* /ʃun/ is also a verb meaning ‘to roll up, make into a roll or cylinder’. In this case the compound noun *sou-njunc* /səʊŋ ʃun/ can be interpreted as [N<sub>HD</sub><sup>TS</sup>.V]<sub>CMPD</sub>. This will be discussed in the next section, §6.5.7.

### 6.5.7 Rule 6: Noun-Verb Compounds

Rule 6 and Rule 7 are concerned with what Court refers to as the “verb-containing compounds” (Court 1986:130-132). The combination [N + V] can have two different internal structures. The one has an underlying structure: (i) N is A(ctor) of V; the other, (ii) N is P(atient) of V.

The first one, for example *biaav-ndorqc* /p̥iaːŋ dɔʔ/ [stick measure(v)] ‘a ruler, measuring stick’, can be tested by a paraphrase into the instrumental coverb phrase, *longc* N V [use N V] ‘V with/by N’, as in (340):

|  |              |              |                |
|--|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| (340)  | <i>longc</i> | <i>biaav</i> | <i>ndorqc.</i> |
|  | હંગ          | પ્રિય        | દોકાં.         |
|  | long]        | p̥iaːŋ       | dɔʔ]           |
|  | use          | stick        | measure        |
| ‘to use a stick to measure’ or ‘to measure by using a stick’ |              |              |                |

Similarly, the compound noun *leiz-guangc* ‘right to divorce’ (341a) can be paraphrased into (341b):

|                                  |             |              |                     |
|----------------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------|
| (341a)                           | <i>Maiv</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>leiz-guangc.</i> |
|                                  | ໄມ້         | ມ່າຍ         | ເລື້ອ-ກວ້າງ.        |
|                                  | maiŋ        | ma:iŋ        | leiŋ kʷanŋ]         |
|                                  | NEG         | have         | right-discard       |
| ‘(One) has no right to divorce.’ |             |              |                     |

|  |              |             |                |
|--|--------------|-------------|----------------|
| (341b)   | <i>longc</i> | <i>leiz</i> | <i>guangc.</i> |
|  | હંગ          | લેઝ         | ગવ્હં.         |
|  | long]        | leiŋ        | kʷanŋ]         |
|  | use          | right       | discard        |
| ‘to use right/law to divorce’ or ‘to divorce by using right/law’ |              |             |                |

The second [N + V] compound has the structure [N is P of V] as in (342) (cf. Court 1986:131):

- (342a) (...) *mingh*   *taux*      *wuov*   ***maaz-laanh.***  
 (...) ມິ່ງ          ແກ້            ວ້ວ            ມໍາ-ລ້ານ.  
 min<sup>1</sup>   t<sup>h</sup>au<sup>1</sup>   uə<sup>1</sup>   ma<sup>1</sup> la:n<sup>1</sup>  
 go        reach    DEM      horse-prevent  
 '(They) went as far as the stable for horses.'  
 (ium\_c1966\_01\_PERMATON\_x\_Nzung&GCuotvSeix;00.09.15-18)

A paraphrase-testing frame for this type is progressive/continuous aspect VP as in (342b):

- (342b) V      *jienv*      N      *nyei.*  
 V      ເຈື້ນ      N      ໄເຍ.  
 CONT                    ASST  
 '(He/she) is V-ing N.'

Thus, the internal structure of *maaz-laanh* is (342c):

- (342c) *laanh*      *jienv*      *maaz*      *nyei.*  
 ລ້ານ      ເຈື້ນ      ມໍາ      ໄເຍ.  
 la:n<sup>1</sup>      c<sup>h</sup>en<sup>1</sup>      ma:<sup>1</sup>      nei<sup>1</sup>  
 prevent    CONT      horse    ASST  
 '(He/she) is preventing a horse (from going astray).'

It is impossible with regard to this structure [N<sup>st</sup>.V] to paraphrase into the instrumental coverb phrase: \**longc maaz laanh* 'prevent by a horse'.

### 6.5.8 Rule 7: Verb-Verb Compounds

The internal structure of the compound noun [V<sup>1</sup> + V<sup>2</sup>] is that V<sup>1</sup> and V<sup>2</sup> are representative verbs in the same semantic domain of an activity. The verb-verb compound behaves as a noun either occurring preverbally as a topic or postverbally as a focus of a sentence. Inseparability of the compound as a nominal entity can be shown by the fact that an insertion of *yaac* 'and' or *aengx* 'and then, further' between the two verbs renders the clause which contains them nonsensical. Phonologically there are two kinds in the compound noun [V<sup>1</sup> + V<sup>2</sup>]: one with tone sandhi in V<sup>1</sup>, i.e., [V<sup>1</sup><sub>TS</sub>, V<sup>2</sup>]<sub>CMPD</sub>, and the other without it, i.e., [V<sup>1</sup>V<sup>2</sup>]<sub>CMPD</sub>. In the former, tone sandhi is a criterion for distinguishing it from a Serial Verb Construction (SVC). See (343):

- (343) *zorng-* *zuqv*  
 ຊອນ- ແກ້ວ  
*tsɔŋ↓* *tsu?]*  
 decorate wear  
 ‘general clothing; upper and lower garment’  
 (Panh 2002:305)

Another example of a similar kind is (344) but there is no tone sandhi involved, thus  $[V^1 \cdot V^2]_{\text{CMPD}}$ :

- (344) *dorh* *jienv* *[nyanc* *hopv]* *mingh* *doqc* *sou*  
 ຕ້ອ ເຈື້ນ [ນຍັນ ຂບ] ມິ່ງ ໂດະ ໄຊ  
*tɔ↓* *c'en↖* *jən↓* *hop↓* *min↓* *to?↓* *səu↑*  
 carry CONT eat drink go read book  
 ‘to take a lunch to school’  
 (Purnell 2012:569)

The compound *nyanc hopv* is an object of the verb *dorh* ‘to carry’ even though there is no tone sandhi involved. (344) is an SVC: {carry}{go}{read}.

Therefore, tone sandhi is not the definitive criterion for distinguishing the V + V combination from SVCs but if there is, as in (343), it almost guarantees that the  $[V^{1\text{ts}} \cdot V^2]$  is a compound noun. Even if no tone sandhi is involved, as in (344), the context tells us the  $[V^1 \cdot V^2]$  as a unit functions as a noun.

### Excursus.

Court (1986:130) argues that the verb-containing compounds  $[V \cdot N_{\text{HD}}]$  are very rare and quotes the following three examples: *beu-cie* ‘rented vehicle’, *buangh-waac* (sic) ‘words of praise’, and *mbienz-doic* ‘companion’ using Lombard’s (1968) data.

However, correcting some deficiencies in Lombard’s dictionary, Purnell (2012) revised these items as predicate expressions that do not observe tone sandhi:

- (345) *beu* *cie*  
 ເປູ ເສີບ  
*peu↑* *tsʰiə↑*  
 wrap/protect vehicle  
 ‘to rent or charter a vehicle’  
 (Purnell 2012:32)

From (345) the American Iu Mien derived a noun phrase, indicating that words in [ ] are the verb and its object, as in (346):

- (346) [beu cie] sou  
 [ບູ ດີ່ຍ] ໄຊວ  
 peu<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>iə<sup>1</sup> səu<sup>1</sup>  
 wrap/protect vehicle book  
 ‘an insurance policy on a car’  
 (Panh 2002:10)

Two other examples, (347) and (348), revised by Purnell, are also predicate expressions. Specifically, an SVC can be found in (347):

- (347) Buang waac bun fu 'jueiv.  
 ປັງ ຂວ່າ ບຸນ ຜູເຈວິ່ຍ.  
 p<sup>w</sup>aŋ<sup>1</sup> wa:<sup>1</sup> pun<sup>1</sup> fu c<sup>w</sup>ei<sup>1</sup>  
 bless word give child  
 ‘to bless the children’  
 (Purnell 2012:54, Panh 2002:16)

- (348) mbienz doic  
 ເນື້ນ ຕ່ອຍ  
 b<sup>en</sup>~ t<sup>ci</sup>~  
 escort friend  
 ‘to be a companion to, accompany someone’  
 (Purnell 2012:468, Panh 2002:172)

### 6.5.9 Rule 8: Tri-Constituent Compounds

There are two types of tri-constituent compound nouns. One is in the pattern {person}{adjectival verb}{person} to refer to a group/class of people. This type does not involve in tone sandhi. The other has a syntactic structure of layered modifiers, in which tone sandhi occurs.

The first type is exemplified in (349):

- (349) *mienh lunx mienh*  
 ເມື່ອນ ລຸ້ນ ເມື່ອນ  
*miən\ lun\ miən\*  
 person be.young person  
 ‘young people, youth, teenager’  
 (Panh 2002:180)

Other examples of [*mienh V<sub>ADJ</sub> mienh*] are:

- (350) *mienh gox mienh /miən\ ko\ miən\/*  
 [person be.old person]  
 ‘elderly people, old citizens’

- (351) *mienh jomc mienh /miən\ com\ miən\/*  
 [person be.poor person]  
 ‘poor people’

- (352) *mienh waaic mienh /miən\ wa:i\ miən\/*  
 [person be.bad person]  
 (i) ‘evil, wicked, rotten people’, (ii) ‘handicapped person’ (Panh 2002:180)

In the same pattern but with the middle element being a verb, we have:

- (353) *mienh maaih mienh /miən\ mai\ miən\/*  
 [person have person]  
 ‘a rich person’

- (354) *mienh benx mienh /miən\ pen\ miən\/*  
 [person be person]  
 ‘wealthy people, rich man’

The second type under the heading of the tri-constituent compound noun has an internal syntactic structure [[*deic-bung*]-*huaang*(modifier)] as in (355):

|       |                                       |               |
|-------|---------------------------------------|---------------|
| (355) | <i>deic-bung-</i>                     | <i>huaang</i> |
|       | ↖                                     | ↘             |
|       | ເຕີບ-ຝູງ-                             | ຫວາງ          |
|       | tei˥ puŋ˥                             | maŋ˥          |
|       | land(earth-direction)                 | be.desolate   |
|       | ‘a desert, wilderness, desolate area’ |               |
|       | (Purnell 2012:123)                    |               |

The first tone sandhi is in the compound noun *deic-bung*; the second is between the first compound and the following adjectival verb.

However, in the structure  $[[N_{HD}^{TS} \cdot V]_{HD} \cdot N]_{CMPD}$ , no tone sandhi is observed between the second and third constituents as in (356):

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| (356) | <i>cie-ndaix zaamc</i>                                     |
|       | ເຈື້ຍ-ໄດ້ ທຳມານ  |
|       | tsʰiə˥ dai˧ tsa:m˥   |
|       | vehicle-fly assembly.area                                  |
|       | ‘airport’  |
|       | (ium_20130528_08_H1_DA_DangcZanx-Seng_EndOfWorld;00.06.07) |

Substituting the modifying verb in the first compound in  $[[N_{HD}^{TS} \cdot V]_{HD} \cdot N]_{CMPD}$  with an adjectival verb, we have  $[[N_{HD}^{TS} \cdot V_{ADJ}] \cdot N]_{CMPD}$  as in (357):

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| (357) | <i>laangz-nqaai da'bung</i>             |
|       | ດ້ານ-ໜາຍ ຕະບູງ                          |
|       | laŋz˥ ga:i˧˥ ta puŋ˥                    |
|       | village-be.dry country                  |
|       | ‘a country of dry villages’             |
|       | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih;00.04.40) |

In both (356) and (357), no tone sandhi is observed between the secnd and third constituents.

A monosyllabic head noun can be modified by a compound noun, exhibiting the structure  $[N_{HD} \cdot [N^{TS} \cdot V_{ADJ}]]$ , as in (358):

- (358) *mbing dueiv- ndaauv*  
 ມີງ ເຕວິບ- ດ້າວ  
*biŋ t<sup>w</sup>eiŋ da:uŋ*  
 monkey tail be.long  
 ‘a long-tailed monkey’  
 (ium\_20130528\_06\_H1\_DangcZanx-Seng\_FaamCingCuotvSeix\_  
 KMB;00.08.49)

In this case tone sandhi is only observed between the second and third constituents, i.e., within the internal compound noun.

Finally in this category, two kinds of [N + N + N] are presented below: (i) [[NTS.N].NHD], and (ii) [NTS.NTS.NTS]. The first structure has an internal compound as a preceding modifier as in (359):

- (359) *dong-gen hnoi*  
  
 ດອງ-ເກນ ສນອຍ  
*torŋ ken* *ŋci*  
 winter-season day  
 ‘days in winter’

There exists a layered part-whole relation in this compound of (359) and the next (360a). That is, [N nyet<sup>1</sup> N] nyet<sup>2</sup> N, where *nyet<sup>1</sup>* means ‘made of’, and *nyet<sup>2</sup>* ‘a part of’. See the following example of tri-constituent (360a) can be paraphrased in a hierarchical manner as in (360b) and (360c):

- (360a) *hlauv- ndongh nqanx*  
 ເຂດ້າ- ຕັ້ງ ທຳນັນ  
*lauŋ doŋŋ* *ganŋ*  
 bamboo cylinder.shape.container chunk.of.bamboo  
 ‘a chunk of bamboo cylinder container’  
 (ium\_201106\_01\_Olympus\_DA\_MeixZoih\_ZianghHoc  
 Taux;00.04.21-26;00.08.24-25)

- (360b) *hlauv- ndongh nyei nqanx*  
 ເຂດ້າ- ຕັ້ງ ເງື່ອ ທຳນັນ  
*lauŋ doŋŋ* *ŋei* *ganŋ*  
 bamboo cylinder.shape.container SBCP chunk.of.bamboo  
 ‘a chunk of bamboo cylinder container’

|        |  |             |                          |             |                 |
|--------|--|-------------|--------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (360c) | <i>hlauv</i>                                   | <i>nyei</i> | <i>ndongh</i>            | <i>nyei</i> | <i>nqanx</i>    |
|        | ເຮົ້າ  | ເນູຍ        | ດັ່ງ                     | ເນູຍ        | ໜັນ             |
|        | l̥auŋ  | ŋei˥        | dɔŋ˥                     | ŋei˥        | gan˧            |
|        | bamboo   | SBCP        | cylinder.shape.container | SBCP        | chunk.of.bamboo |
|        | 'a chunk of cylinder.container made of bamboo' |             |                          |             |                 |

Finally under the structure  $[[N^{TS}.N] \cdot N_{HD}]$ , tone sandhi is assumed in the underlying Tone 2 /ŋ/ (-h) in the first constituent but not in the second as in (361):

|       |  |             |               |  |  |
|-------|--|-------------|---------------|--|--|
| (361) | <i>dongh</i>   | <i>finx</i> | <i>ndiouh</i> |  |  |
|       | ດັ່ງ   | ຝິນ         | ເດືອງ         |  |  |
|       | tonŋ   | fin˧        | d̥əŋ˧         |  |  |
|       | copper   | cable       | pillar        |  |  |
|       | 'an electric pole'   |             |               |  |  |
|       | (ium_20130528_08_H1_DA_DangcZanx-Seng_EndOfWorld;00.06.38) |             |               |  |  |

In contrast the second structure  $[N^{TS}.N^{TS}.N^{TS}]$  has a simple juxtaposed string as in (362):

|       |                                     |                   |                         |  |  |
|-------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|--|--|
| (362) | <i>ong-</i>                         | <i>taaix-</i>     | <i>ngaeqv</i>           |  |  |
|       | ອັ-                                 | ຕາຍ-              | ໄງວ                     |  |  |
|       | oŋ˧                                 | tʰa:iŋ            | ŋɛ?ŋ                    |  |  |
|       | grandfather                         | great-grandfather | great-great-grandfather |  |  |
|       | (i) 'One's great-great-grandfather' |                   |                         |  |  |
|       | (ii) 'original ancestors'           |                   |                         |  |  |
|       | (Purnell 2012:532)                  |                   |                         |  |  |

Tone sandhi is observed between the first and second, and the second and the third constituents.

### 6.5.10 Rule 9: Numeral *i*-Compounds with Kinship Terms

This type also has three member constituents in a compound noun. However, a characteristic that is distinguished from Rule 8 is that it contains numeral two /i˥/ and specifically expresses kinship terms. Tone sandhi is observed between the second and third constituents, which are kinship terms.

- (363) *i dorm-diex* /i˥ tɔn˧ tɪə˧/

[two son father]

‘son and father’

- (364) *i sieqv-maac* /i˥ siə?˩ ma:˧/

[two daughter mother]

‘daughter and mother’

- (365) *i fun-m'gux* /i˥ fun˧ mku˧/

[two grandchild grandmother]

‘grandchild and grandmother’

## 6.6 Nominalised Constructions through Nominalising Elements

In continuation of the discussions about the nominal compounds in §6.5, there is a group of strategies by which a concept of certain abstraction, generalisation, nominalised actions or events, conventionalised professions, etc. is expressed through compounding and relativisation. We propose to refer to the product constructions of such a process as nominalised constructions, which include nominalised compounds and phrases. The process is not the nominalisation in the sense that it involves morphological derivations such as changing of “parts-of-speech”, e.g., deriving a noun *happiness* from an adjective *happy* or a noun *action* from a verb *act*. Rather, a close analogy with that idea is explained in the following paragraphs.

Iu Mien speakers living in Thailand are familiar with the use of Thai forms ຄວາມ /kʰwa:m˧/ (*kʰwaam-*) and ການ /ka:n˧/ (*kaan*). They are syntactically “lexical prefixes” (Noss 1964:59) and functionally nominalisers. Broadly speaking, *kʰwaam-* turns an adjective into a noun (like the English *-ness* in *goodness*); *kaan-* changes a verb into a noun (like the English gerund *-ing* in *writings*). In Comrie’s and Thompson’s (2007:336) term, the former “derives non-process nouns”, the latter “derives process nouns”.

The prefix (i.e. bound form) *kʰwaam-* “[m]akes abstract nouns from adjectives and adjective expressions, and nouns describing the result or object of action implied by verbs and verb expressions” (Noss 1964:60). For example, {ຄວາມ (*kʰwaam-*) + ຍາວ (*yaau*) ‘long’} > ຄວາມຍາວ (*kʰwaamyaau*) [nominalising.element + Adj.] = ‘length’ or {ຄວາມ (*kʰwaam-*) + ຮັກ (*rák*) ‘to love’} > ຄວາມຮັກ (*kʰwaamrák*) [nominalising.element +

V] = ‘love’ (n). This strategy can also generate highly abstract nouns such as {ความ (*k<sup>h</sup>waam-*) + ชอบธรรม (*c<sup>h</sup>ôôpt<sup>h</sup>am*) ‘righteous’} > ความชอบธรรม (*k<sup>h</sup>waam c<sup>h</sup>ôôpt<sup>h</sup>am*) [nominalising.element + Adj.] = ‘righteousness’.

Another nominalising strategy in Thai is to use prefix bound form *kaan-*. Noss (1964:60) explains that it “[m]akes abstract nouns from verbs and verb expressions, and from specific nouns and noun expressions”. For example, {การ (*kaan-*) + เขียน (*k<sup>h</sup>iân*) ‘to write’} > การเขียน (*kaank<sup>h</sup>iân*) [nominalising.element + V] = ‘writing, an act of writing’. Not only turning a verb to a noun, *kaan-* can be prefixed to a noun to produce a noun with other semantic modification. An example of *kaan-* being prefixed to a noun is {การ (*kaan-*) + ไฟฟ้า (*faifá:*) ‘electricity’} > การไฟฟ้า (*kaanfaifá:*) [nominalising.element + N] = ‘the works/management/industry/office of electricity’.

The language contact situation of the Iu Mien in the USA is also similar to the situation in Thailand. They are familiar with such English morphemes as *-ness*, *-ment*, *-er*, *-or*, *-ship*, *-hood*, *-ist*, *-ing* that turn verbs, adjectives, and nouns into another level of nouns.

Although the convenience of these nominalising strategies due to the language contact situations might have been an incentive for the bilingual Iu Mien to impose the Thai or English ways upon it, it should be reminded that it has its own ways. The following methods are not necessarily novel practice of contact induced bilingual speakers but genuine Iu Mien linguistic practice. The young Iu Mien should be aware of a wide variety of ways to pack items containing complexity, concepts and ideas, events expressed in verbs, situations expressed in adjectival verbs into a capsule of a nominal form, not just by two ways in Thai, i.e., *k<sup>h</sup>waam-* and *kaan-*.

There is a small class of nouns frequently used in a close relation to other morphemes and such a combination forms compound nouns. For example, Purnell (2012) recognises such nominalising elements as a “bound form” (*bf.*). Note its function is explained as “forming abstract nouns”:

***dauh***, *bf.* ‘a suffix forming abstract nouns.’ *Var: daauh.*

***bouz-dauh*** [/puəl tauəl/ < /puəl + tauəl/] [hand nominalising.element]  
‘manual dexterity, professional skill, workmanship, skill in handwork.’ *Var: buoz-daauh* (Purnell 2012:122)

It has been reported by Zanh Gueix-Fong that *dauh* or its variation *daauh* is cognate with Chinese noun *tóu* (頭) ‘head, chief’. In addition, it is not uncommon that a noun is used as a nominalising element as found in Thai as well as Chinese and Iu

Mien. Regarding the prefix *kaan* in Thai mentioned above, see that Haas' dictionary (1964) lists its primary sense is a noun and note its deriving function as underlined:

- ນ້າສ *kaan-* N. 1. ‘work, affair(s), matter(s);
- 2. bound element placed before nouns to form noun derivatives meaning “affairs of..., matters of...”;
- 3. bound element placed before active verbs to form noun derivatives signifying “act of (doing thus and so)”;
- 4. bound final element in compounds of Sanskrit origin; (Haas 1964:29)(the underlines added)

From the analyses by these three linguists, Noss, Haas, and Purnell, it should be noted that the function of such prefixes as *k<sup>h</sup>waam-* and *kaan-* in Thai and the noun *dauh* in Iu Mien is to “make” or “form” new “nouns” and “noun derivatives”. Most importantly, the second usage of *kaan-* by Haas above offers the closest analogy with *dauh* in Iu Mien. That is, the noun *kaan-* makes “nouns” into “noun derivatives” with another level of abstraction, not necessarily changing the part-of-speech. Similarly, the following nouns in Iu Mien are placed after either adjectival verbs or nouns to form nouns with some sort of abstraction or generalisation: *dauh* ‘head’, *fim* ‘core’, *ndiev* ‘lower part’ (spatial/locative relater noun), *mienh* ‘person’, *zaangc* ‘craft man’, *sic* ‘affair(s), matter(s)’, *-nyiec* (*bf.*) ‘period’.

In the following subsections, twelve nominalising elements and phrases are discussed. They are

- (i) **head-nominalising element** *-dauh* /tau˥/,
- (ii) **core-nominalising element** *-fim* /fim˥/,
- (iii) **crafstman-nominalising element** *-zaangc* /tsa:ŋ˥/,
- (iv) **master-nominalising element** *-ziouv* /tsjəu^˥/,
- (v) **realm-nominalising element** *-ndiev* /diə^˥/,
- (vi) **period-nominalising element** *-nyiec* /niə˥/,
- (vii) **thing-nominalising element** *ga'naaiv-* /ka nai˥/,
- (viii) **person-nominalising element** *-mienh* /miən˥/,
- (ix) **collective-nominalising elements** N-*maanh* and *maanc* N,
- (x) **matter-nominalising phrase** *nyei sic* /nei˥ si˥/,
- (xi) **way-nominalising phrase** *nyei jauv* /cau^˥/, and
- (xii) **tool-nominalising phrase** *nyei ga'naaiv* /nei˥ ka na:i^˥/.

The constructions (i) – (ix) are compound nouns as discussed in §6.5. All of (i) – (vii) observe tone sandhi, while (viii) and (ix) do not. Among them (i) and (ii) have the structure [V<sub>ADJ</sub> + nominalising element], in which *-ndiev* and *-nyiec* are bound morphemes, while (iii) – (vi) have [N + nominalising element]. One irregular order is found in (vii), i.e., [nominalising element + V<sub>ADJ</sub>] with tone sandhi. There may be an objection to the idea of calling the structure [N + nominalising element] a ‘nominalised construction’ since the N is already a noun. However, there are two reasons for treating them as such. First, these nominalising element are separately categorised here because the combination of these twelve morphemes with nouns brings the resulting units into a different level of abstraction. The second is productivity, that is, their use with the special semantics is entrenched.

The last three constructions utilise the relative construction containing the SBCP *nyei*. Though they are not compound nouns, they are treated in this section because of their productivity and conventionalised usage in forming nominalised syntactic and semantic units.

### 6.6.1 Head-Nominalising Element: *-dauh /tauŋ/*

A Chinese-loan *dauh* (Var. *daauh*) ‘head’ (頭), whose Iu Mien counterpart is *m'ngorngv* /m̥ gɔŋŋ/ ‘head’, is a common noun used in such a case as *nzomz-dauh* /dzomŋ tauŋ/ (Var. *nzomz-daauh dzomŋ ta:uŋ*) [lay head] ‘pillow’. See how a native speaker who knows Thai feels about *dauh* (Var. *daauh*) ‘head’ turning an adjectival verb *hnyiev* /ɲiəŋ/ ‘to be heavy’ into a noun ‘weight’ as in (366):

|       |   |     |        |                               |
|-------|---|-----|--------|-------------------------------|
| (366) | <b>“Hnyiev-dauh”</b>  | se  | hnangv | “kwaam(cm.t).hnyiev”@@@.      |
|       | “ເຮັດວຽກ-ເຕີກ”  | ເຊ  | ຫນັງ   | “ຄວາມ(cm.t).ເຮັດວຽກ”@@@.      |
|       | ŋiəŋ tauŋ   | seɪ | ŋuaŋŋ  | kʰwa:mŋ ŋiəŋŋ                 |
|       | be.heavy-head   | TOP | like   | nominalising-element.be.heavy |
|       | ‘(The word) “weight” is like a (combination of Thai) <i>kʰwaam</i> (and Iu Mien) “to be heavy”.’ (lit. “Heaviness” is like <i>kʰwaam(cm.t) heavy</i> .) |     |        |                               |
|       | (ium_20130427_02_H1_DA_GF_Greetings-KMB;00.20.08-11)  |     |        |                               |

Note that the first constituent *hnyiev* /ɲiəŋ/ (-v) ‘to be heavy’ undergoes tone sandhi resulting in /ŋiəŋ/ (-h), hence the construction [V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>TS</sup>.*dauh*] > N<sub>CMPD</sub>. Obviously, *kwaam.hnyiev* is a admixture of Thai *kʰwaam* (ຄວາມ) to the Iu Mien adjectival verb *hnyiev* ‘to be heavy’. But it describes well the function and meaning of *dauh* as a nominalising element in compounding parallel to Thai *kʰwaam* (ຄວາມ).

The nominalising function of *dauh* [head] as exemplified above in being suffixed to an adjectival verb can be applied to nouns, i.e., [N·*dauh*], as will be seen

below. However, one more example of the [V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>TS</sup>.*dauh*] compound, before investigating the [N·*dauh*] compounds, should be considered.

So far we have found only two instances of [V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>TS</sup>.*dauh*] compound, the above example *hnyiev-dauh* ‘heaviness, weight’ being one of them. The second one shows a different semantic outcome to the abstract noun of ‘weight’ from *hnyiev-dauh*. The combination of *ndaauv* ‘to be long’ and *dauh* [head] nominalising element does not yield ‘long-ness, length’ but a common noun ‘profit’ as in (367):

- (367<sup>-1</sup>) “*Ndaauv-dauh*”/ *ndaauv*, *tiuv* *qiex*, “*ndaauv-dauh*”.  
 “ជោវ-ព៉ា”/ ជោវ, ពីវ តិឱក, “ជោវ-ព៉ា”.  
*da:u\ tau\* *da:u\~* *t<sup>h</sup>iu\~* *c<sup>h</sup>iə\* *da:u\ tau\*  
 profit be.long change voice profit  
 ‘(We have a word) “profit”, (whose first part is originally) “to be long”, (but) it undergoes tone sandhi (becoming) *ndaauv-dauh* “profit”.’  
 (ium\_20130427\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Greetings-KMB;00.22.51-5)

- (367<sup>-2</sup>) *Duqv* *leic* *wuov* *nyungc* “*ndaauv-dauh*”.  
 ចុ លេក វ៉ា អូង “ជោវ-ព៉ា”.  
*tu?\~* *lei\~* *uə\~* *juŋ\~* *da:u\ tau\*  
 get earning/interest DEM kind profit  
 ‘(The word *ndaauv-dauh* means) the “profit” (of) that kind (that you) gain earnings/interest.’  
 (ium\_20130427\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Greetings-KMB;00.23.13-4)

Compare this use of *dauh* /tau\/ with its phonetic variant *daauh* /ta:u\/ in *dorngx.daauh* ‘place’ (258<sup>-1</sup>) and *donrgx-daauh* ‘deposit’ (259<sup>-1-2</sup>) in §6.4.

The construction [N·*dauh*]<sub>CMPD</sub> can produce an abstract noun as in (368):

- (368) *buoz-* ***dauh***  
 ប៉ា- ព៉ា  
*puə\ tau\*  
 hand head  
 ‘skill, ability’  
 (Field Notes 20121101)

Contrary to rare cases of [V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>TS</sup>.*dauh*] compounds, the construction [N·*dauh*]<sub>CMPD</sub> (and a variant [N·*daauh*]<sub>CMPD</sub>) seems to have more productivity. Three examples illustrate that. The first is (369<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (369<sup>-1</sup>) *Yie hnyAAPV*  
ເມື່ອ ຂົງກຳນຸ້ານ  
iə¹ jn̥a:p]  
1SG pull.out  
‘I pulled (weeds) out,’

- (369<sup>-2</sup>) *yie zoux nyei gong dornG ndeic-dauh aqv.*  
ເມື່ອ ໄທດວ ເສູພ ກົງ ຕອງ ເດຍ-ເຕ້າ ອີ່.  
iə¹ tsəo¹ nei¹ konj¹ tɔŋ¹ dei¹ tau¹ a?¹  
1SG do REL work conclude field-head NSIT  
‘The work I was doing has come to an end/edge of the field.’  
(ium\_20000415\_01\_CT\_DA\_FmCiang\_PHist;00.08.47-50)

Second, see (370):

- (370) *Mingh faaux, faaux wuov jiex laangz-dauh.*  
ມິ່ງ ຝາກ, ຝາກ ວູວ ຈຶຂ ສ້າງ-ເຕ້າ.  
mirj¹ fa:u¹ fa:u¹ uə¹ ciə¹ la:ŋ¹ tau¹  
go ascend ascend DEM upper.side village-head  
‘(Elder brother) went up to the entrance (front gate) of the village.’  
(ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauhJaux  
NyeiGouv;00.04.23-27)

An antonym of *laangz-dauh* is *laangz-dueiv* /la:ŋ¹ t<sup>w</sup>ei¹/ [village tail] ‘an exit (back gate) of the village’. Two compound nouns are productively yielded with suffixation of contrastive morphemes, *dauh* ‘head’ and *dueiv* ‘tail’. Four points should be highlighted from the antonymous contrast. The first is the fact that *dauh* is a Chinese-loan whereas *dueiv* is an Iu Mien original common noun. It may be considered to be unusual that culturally basic nouns like ‘an exit of the village’ is composed of a loan word but not of a native word. It suggests that *dauh* may well be felt as a non-borrowed word for centuries.

The second is the way of conceptualising a physical entity like a village. From the metaphorical use of ‘head’ and ‘tail’, one can guess that Iu Mien interpret that a shape of a village is narrow and long. This is quite true in the environment where Iu Mien tend to inhabit along a stream in the mountains. Usually the lower end of the village is *laangz-dauh* ‘village head/gate’ and the upper end *laangz-dueiv* ‘village exit (back gate)’. For example, Kun Mae Bong village has its *laangz-dauh* to the north leading to the Mekong River and *laangz-dueiv* to the south-west leading to Chiang Rai

city. This is because the majority of the inhabitants came from Lao PDR crossing the Mekong River (lower side) to the present village and the city of Chiang Rai, from their perspective, was beyond the village, which is on the plateau.

Third, metaphorically *dauh* ‘head’ is used with time as a long object as in (371) (a repetition of (3<sup>2</sup>) in §2.2.3, also (6<sup>1</sup>) in §2.4.7):

|                   |  |                   |                  |                                    |                                 |
|-------------------|--|-------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (371)             | <i>taux</i>  | <i>haaix</i>      | <i>norm</i>      | <b><i>hnyangx-dauh</i></b>         | <i>mv bei,</i>                  |
| (3 <sup>2</sup> ) | ເຖາ  | ໜ້າ               | ນອມ              | ທອງ-ເຕົາ                           | ນ້ຳປະຍ,                         |
|                   | t <sup>h</sup> au <sup>1</sup>                     | ha:i <sup>1</sup> | nɔm <sup>1</sup> | ŋian <sup>1</sup> tau <sup>1</sup> | m <sup>h</sup> pei <sup>1</sup> |
|                   | reach  | which             | CLF              | year-head                          | I.wonder                        |
|                   | ‘I wonder which year could that be,’               |                   |                  |                                    |                                 |
|                   | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.01.19-21) |                   |                  |                                    |                                 |

In this case, *hnyangx-dauh* refers to the beginning of the year because the verb *taux* ‘to reach’ is used.

In other case, that is fourthly, it could refer to the whole period of the year, which starts with that *hnyangx-dauh* or the year number itself that includes the whole period as in (372<sup>1-3</sup>):

|                     |                         |                  |                                   |                 |                  |
|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (372 <sup>1</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i>              | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>Iu-Mienh</i>                   | <i>se</i>       | <i>gorngv /</i>  |
|                     | ເຢີ່ຍ                   | ນ້າ              | ິວ-ເມື່ອນ                         | ເຊ              | ກ້ອງ /           |
|                     | iə <sup>1</sup>         | buə <sup>1</sup> | iə <sup>1</sup> miən <sup>1</sup> | se <sup>1</sup> | kɔŋ <sup>1</sup> |
|                     | 1                       | PL               | Iu Mien                           | TOP             | say              |
|                     | ‘As for Iu Mien we say’ |                  |                                   |                 |                  |

|                     |                  |                                 |                  |                  |                  |                                 |                  |                   |
|---------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (372 <sup>2</sup> ) | <i>yietc</i>     | <i>cin</i>                      | <i>juov</i>      | <i>baeqv</i>     | <i>juov</i>      | <i>ziepc</i>                    | <i>betv</i>      | <i>hnyangx</i>    |
|                     | ເຫີຍດ            | ຫິນ                             | ຈົ້ວ             | ແປ້ວ             | ຈົ້ວ             | ເຫັນຍບ                          | ເປີດ             | ທອງຈັງ            |
|                     | jet <sup>1</sup> | ts <sup>h</sup> in <sup>1</sup> | cuə <sup>1</sup> | pε? <sup>1</sup> | cuə <sup>1</sup> | ts <sup>h</sup> əp <sup>1</sup> | pet <sup>1</sup> | jian <sup>1</sup> |
|                     | one              | thousand                        | nine             | hundred          | nine             | ten                             | eight            | year              |
|                     | ‘the year 1998’  |                                 |                  |                  |                  |                                 |                  |                   |

|                     |  |                                    |                |                   |  |
|---------------------|--|------------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|--|
| (372 <sup>3</sup> ) | <i>nyei</i>  | <b><i>hnyangx-dauh</i></b> ,       | <i>ih</i>      | <i>hnyangx.</i>   |  |
|                     | ເສູຍ   | ທອງ-ເຕົາ,                          | ອື່            | ທອງຈັງ.           |  |
|                     | ŋei <sup>1</sup>   | jian <sup>1</sup> tau <sup>1</sup> | i <sup>1</sup> | jian <sup>1</sup> |  |
|                     | SBCP   | year-head                          | now/this       | year              |  |
|                     | ‘which is the year number, (namely) this year.’ (lit. the year number of the year 1998’) |                                    |                |                   |  |
|                     | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.0.00-08)  |                                    |                |                   |  |

## 6.6.2 Core-Nominalising Element: *-fim* /*fim*̄/

One of the dishes Iu Mien enjoy to cook with the harvest from the forest is *ndaangh fim* /da:ŋ̄l̄ fim̄/ [rattan core] ‘core of rattan’. Scraping off the thorny skin, the soft white core, *fim*, is boiled or fried with chopped pork. This *fim* ‘core’ can also be used as a nominalising element to give profound semantic extension. ‘Remembering core’ in the structure [V<sup>TS</sup>.core]<sub>CMPD</sub> means ‘memory’ or ‘ability to remember’ with tone sandhi involved as in (373):

- (373) *Ninh nyei* [jangx- **fim**] *longx* *nyei.*  
 นິນ ໄສຍ [ຈັງ- ພິມ] ລົງ ໄສຍ.  
*nin*̄ *nei*̄ *cang*̄ **fim**̄ *long*̄ *nei*̄  
 3SG SBCP remember core be.good ASST  
 ‘His memory is good.’ (ability to remember things, said of a 96 year old man telling many folk tales)  
 (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_TableTalk;00.01.36-39)

Among the Iu Mien Christians, the combination ‘believing core’ is used to express ‘faith’ as in (374), in which no tone sandhi is observed:

- (374) *Tengx ninh mbuo nyei* [siens **fim**].  
 ເຄ ນິນ ບ້າ ໄສຍ [ເສີ恩 ພິມ].  
*t̄en*̄ *nin*̄ *buə*̄ *nei*̄ *s̄en*̄ **fim**̄  
 help 3 PL SBCP believe core  
 ‘(God) help their faith.’  
 (ium\_c1967\_01\_Aristocrat\_#Burgess\_Gueix-Seng\_GR-Tape1-Trk1;00.17.46-7)

Strangely, if the first constituent is an adjectival verb, the construction [V<sub>ADJ</sub>.core]<sub>CMPD</sub> does not yield a noun but remains an adjectival verb with some elevation to an abstract meaning as in (375):

- (375) *baengh* **fim**  
 ແປ່ງ ພິມ  
*pəŋ*̄ **fim**̄  
 be.level/flat core  
 ‘to be fair, just, righteous, impartial’  
 (Purnell 2012:20)

Whether or not tone sandhi is observed coinciding with the Tone 2 (-h) of the first constituent is not known.

In order to derive (375) into a noun, the **way-nominalising phrase** (§6.6.11) is used as in (376):

- (376) [baengh      *fim*]    *nyei*    *jauv*  
                         [ແບ່ງ                ພິມ]        ໄນຍ        ເຈົ້າ  
                         pεŋ↓                fim↑        nei↑        cau↑  
                         be.level/flat     core       REL       way  
                         ‘justice’  
                         (Purnell 2012:20)

### 6.6.3 Craftsman-Nominalising Element: *-zaangc /tsa:ŋ↓/*

A craftsman or an artisan is *zaangc /tsa:ŋ↓/* and it can be specified by the preceding N or V(or verb phrase) in the structures [N<sup>TS</sup>.*zaangc*] to express a specialist with certain professional skills. Unlike [N + *mienh*] in §6.6.8, the construction [N<sup>TS</sup>.*zaangc*] observes tone sandhi.

- (377) *hlieqv-*    *zaangc*  
                         ແຮືບະ-                ແຕ້ງ  
                         liəʔ?↓                tsa:ŋ↓  
                         iron                        craftsman  
                         ‘blacksmith’  
                         (Arisawa 2011a:223)

Similar nominals from Purnell (2012:756) are:

- (378) *ndiangx-zaangc /d̥jaŋ↓ tsa:ŋ↓/*  
                         [wood craftsman] ‘a carpenter’
- (379) *nyaah.zaangc /nɑːŋ↓ tsa:ŋ↓/*  
                         [tooth craftsman] ‘a dentist’  
                         (tone sandhi which coincides with the underlying tone is assumed)
- (380) *la'bieiv-zaangc /la p̥eɪŋ↓ tsa:ŋ↓/*  
                         [stone craftsman] ‘a stonemason, sculptor’

If a VP precedes *zaangc*, no tone sandhi is observed as in (381)(a repetition of (129)):

|       |   |               |                |
|-------|---|---------------|----------------|
| (381) | <i>gomv</i>                                     | <i>biauv</i>  | <i>zaangc</i>  |
|       | ກົມ   | ເມື່ອ         | ຫຼັງ           |
|       | <i>kom</i> ˇ                                    | <i>p'au</i> ˇ | <i>tsa:ŋ</i> ˇ |
|       | build   | house         | craftsman      |
|       | 'a house builder, contractor who builds houses' |               |                |
|       | (Purnell 2012:756)                              |               |                |

It is speculated that *zaangc* /tsa:ŋˇ/ may have a certain genetic or loan relation with Thai *chāŋ* (ช่าง) ‘technician’ as in *chāŋklɔŋ* (ช่างกล้อง) ‘cameraman’ though the order of the head and modifier reverses. Cf. Iu Mien *zaangz* /tsa:ŋzˇ/ ‘elephant’ and *chááng* /cʰá:ŋ/ (ช้าง) ‘elephant’.

#### 6.6.4 Master-Nominalising Element: *-ziouv* /tsjøuˇ/

The common noun *ziouv* /tsjøuˇ/ ‘master, lord, owner’ came from Chinse *zhǔ* (主), is used as a nominalising element. In all the constructions [N<sup>TS</sup>.*ziouv*] shown below tone sandhi is observed.

|       |  |                |
|-------|--|----------------|
| (382) | <i>biauv-</i>                              | <i>ziouv</i>   |
|       | ເມື່ອ-                                     | ເຕີຍ           |
|       | <i>p'au</i> ˇ                              | <i>tsjøu</i> ˇ |
|       | house                                      | master         |
|       | 'an owner of a house, a head of the house' |                |
|       | (Field Notes 20121213, p. 172)             |                |

(383) *gong-ziouv* /kɔŋˇ tsjøuˇ/

[work master]

‘boss, employer’

(384) *saeng-ziouv* /sɛŋˇ tsjøuˇ/

[province master]

‘governor’

(385) *sou-ziouv* /søŋˇ tsjøuˇ/

[book master]

‘author, writer’

## 6.6.5 Realm-Nominalising Element: *-ndiev /diə̯ŋ/*

A relator noun *ga'ndiev /ka diə̯ŋ/* ‘below, lower part’ contains a bound form *ndiev*. This *ndiev* is used in the construction [N<sup>TS</sup>.*ndiev*] to form a nominal compound that refers to a certain realm, area, domain of influence. The head noun in this construction observes tone sandhi. The first example is (386):

|  |                                    |                        |                          |
|--|------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| (386)  | <i>Mingh mangc</i>                 | [ <i>lungh ndiev</i> ] | <i>hnangv haaix nor.</i> |
|  | ມິ່ງ ມຳ້ງ                          | [ລູ່ງ ໔ື້ນ]            | ອນ້ັງ ຫາຍ ນອ.            |
|  | min <sub>1</sub> mang <sub>1</sub> | luŋ <sub>1</sub> diə̯ŋ | ນູນ່າງໆ ມາກ ນວ່າ         |
|  | go look.at sky                     | below                  | like what as             |
| ‘(I want to) go to see how the world below [i.e. Chiang Mai] is like.’ |                                    |                        |                          |
| (Field Notes 2004, Ruam Jit)   |                                    |                        |                          |

Tone sandhi is assumed to coincide with the underlying Tone 2 /˨/ (-h) of *lungh /luŋ/* ‘sky’. The compound noun *lungh.ndiev /luŋ diə̯ŋ/* normally means ‘world’, literally ‘under the sky’. But the speaker from the perspective of the village in the mountain in Phayao province half-jokingly refers to the big city of Chiang Mai as ‘the world below’.

An area is designated by the construction [N<sup>TS</sup>.*ndiev*] as in (387<sup>1-3</sup>):

|                                      |  |                        |                       |
|--------------------------------------|--|------------------------|-----------------------|
| (387 <sup>1</sup> )                  | <i>yie yiem naaiv</i>                    | [ <i>lomc- ndiev</i> ] | <i>buov in</i>        |
|                                      | ເຢີ່ຍ ເຢີ່ຍມ ນ້າຂ                        | [ໂລມ- ໔ື້ນ]            | ບົ້ວ ອິນ              |
|                                      | iə̯₁ jem <sub>1</sub> na:i̯ <sub>1</sub> | lom <sub>1</sub> diə̯ŋ | puə̯ŋ in <sub>1</sub> |
|                                      | 1SG be.at DEM <sub>PRX</sub> forest      | below                  | smoke(v) opium        |
| ‘I was smoking opium in this forest’ |  |                        |                       |

|                                |   |  |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| (387 <sup>2</sup> )            | <i>meih la'guaih hnangv nc</i>                                      | <i>nor daaih</i>                                 |
|                                | ແມ່ຍ ພລະໄກວ້ ອນ້ັງ ນໍ້າ   | ນອ ຕ້າຍ  |
|                                | mei <sub>1</sub> la k <sup>w</sup> aɪ <sub>1</sub> nūn <sub>1</sub> | n <sub>1</sub> nō <sub>1</sub> ta:i <sub>1</sub> |
|                                | 2SG aimlessly like DEM <sub>MID</sub>                               | as come  |
| ‘(and) you just came randomly’ |   |  |

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| (387 <sup>3</sup> )   | <i>hoic yie nyei in-dang</i>  | <i>zoux haaix nyungc?</i>                            |
|   | ທ້ອຍ ເຢີ່ຍ ເນູຍ ອິນ-ດັງ   | ໄຫດວ ຫາຍ ໜູ່ງ?                                       |
|   | hɔi <sub>1</sub> iə̯₁ nei <sub>1</sub> in <sub>1</sub> tan <sub>1</sub> | tsəo <sub>1</sub> ha:i <sub>1</sub> nūn <sub>1</sub> |
|   | harm 1SG SBCP opium-lamp do what kind                                   |  |
| ‘(and) destroyed my opium lamp, why (did you do that)?’   |   |  |
| (Burgess & Yauz-Guangv, early 1970s, <i>Gaeng-waen Ga'sie Mv Maaih Jaangh Nyei Gouv</i> [A Story That Cicadas Do Not Have Intestine]; Arisawa 2006:215) |   |  |

As a compound *lomc-ndiev* generally means ‘forest, woods’ but specifically it refers to the surface area below thick branches and leaves of trees.

More abstractly, the construction [N<sup>TS</sup>.*ndiev*] can refer to a realm of influence or power as in (388<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |              |             |              |             |                       |
|----------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| (388 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Hungh</i> | <i>diex</i> | <i>njoux</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>cuotv</i>          |
|                      | ຫູ່ງ         | ເຕີຍ        | ແກ້ວື່າ      | ນິ່ນ        | ຂຶ້ວດ                 |
|                      | hunŋ         | tiə̯        | jəʊ̯         | nin         | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət̚] |
|                      | king         | father      | save         | 2SG         | exit                  |

‘The king saved him’

|                      |             |             |                  |             |                |                 |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (388 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>ninh</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>win-wangv</i> | <i>nyei</i> | [ <i>buoz-</i> | <i>ndiev</i> ]. |
|                      | ນິ່ນ        | ເງູຍ        | ວິນ-ວັງ          | ເງູຍ        | [ບົວ-          | ເດືອຍ].         |
|                      | nin         | ŋei         | wiŋ wəŋ          | ŋei         | puə̯           | diə̯            |

2SG SBCP enemy SBCP hand below  
‘from the power of his enemies.’

(Purnell 2012:517)

## 6.6.6 Period-Nominalising Element: *-nyiec* /ŋiə̯]/

A relator noun *ga'nyiec* /ka ŋiə̯]/ ‘outside’ contains a bound form (*bf.*) *nyiec*, which Purnell (2012:578) defines: ‘*bf.* [t]he boundary or extent of a particular period of time reckoned in days or months’. The construction [N<sup>TS</sup>.*nyiec*] is exemplified as in (389<sup>-1-2</sup>) with tone sandhi involved:

|                      |              |            |             |                    |              |
|----------------------|--------------|------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------|
| (389 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Nziex</i> | <i>yie</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>naav</i>        | <i>yiem,</i> |
|                      | ເຫຼື້ມ       | ເມື່ຍ      | ນັ້ງ        | ນ້າມ               | ເມື່ຍນ,      |
|                      | dziə̯        | iə̯        | buə̯        | na:iŋ              | jem̚         |
|                      | be.afraid    | 1          | PL          | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | be.at        |

‘(I) think we (as we are like) this (will continue to) be here (on earth)’

|                      |           |               |                   |                |                 |
|----------------------|-----------|---------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------------|
| (389 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>mv</i> | <i>gaengh</i> | <i>taux</i>       | [ <i>hnoi-</i> | <i>nyiec</i> ]. |
|                      | ນີ້       | ແກ້ງ          | ເຕາ               | [ຫນອຍ-         | ເຫຼື້ອຍ].       |
|                      | m̚        | keŋ           | t <sup>h</sup> au | ŋci            | ŋiə̯]           |

NEG yet reach day period  
‘our time (to go to heaven by dying) has not arrived yet.’

(Lombard & Gueix-Cing. 1964. *Account of Laos Trip*)

When a period of month is more than two the construction [NUM MONTH *nyiec*] does not observe tone sandhi as in (390<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (390<sup>-1</sup>) *Dungz / daaih.faanh yietc hlaax, nyic hlaax*  
 ຕູ້ງ / ດ້າຍ.ຝ້ານ ແກ້ວມະດ ອຫລາ, ໜີ້ ອຫລາ  
*tunŋ˥ t̥a:i˥ fə:n˥ jet˥ ɿa:˧ ɲiə˥ ɿa:˧*  
 pig as.far.as one month two month  
 ‘As for a pig, as young as one or two months old,’
- (390<sup>-2</sup>) *[buo hlaax nyiec] nyei dungz zuqc daix aqv.*  
 [ບົວ ອຫລາ ໜ້ອຍ] ເນັບ ຕູ້ ທຸກ ໄຕ ອື່  
*pua˥ ɿa:˧ ɲiə˥ nei˥ tunŋ˥ tsu?˥ tai˥ a?˥*  
 three month period SBCP pig TOUCH kill NSIT  
 ‘(or) three month old must to be slaughtered.’  
 (Lombard & Muangz Mengh. 1964. *Account of Laos Trip*)

### 6.6.7 Thing-Nominalising Element: *ga'naaiv-* /ka na:i˧/

While the previous six constructions all have the nominalising elements in the second position of the compound, the construction presented in this section shows that the nominalising element *ga'naaiv* ‘thing’ is found to be a head noun in the compound structures  $[N_{HD}^{TS}.V_{ADJ}]_{CMPD}$  (Rule 2 in §6.5.3) and  $[N_{HD}^{TS}.V]_{CMPD}$  (Rule 6 in §6.5.7). Tone sandhi is observed in both compounds, hence the mark for Tone 3 /˥/ -v in the Unified Script is hyphenated, *ga'naaiv-* /ka na:i˧/. The first example with an adjectival verb modifying *ga'naaiv* is in (391):

- (391) *ga'naaiv- ndaang*  
 ກະໜ້າຍ- ດາງ  
*ka na:i˥ daŋ˥*  
 thing be.fragrant  
 ‘fresh herbs like coriander or fragrant vegetable to be sprinkled over a bowl of noodles’  
 (Field Notes 1995)

This *ga'naaiv* shows similarity with Thai *kʰrueang* (ເຄື່ອງ) ‘tool’, which can be used with both machinery and food as in *kʰrueangprung* (ເຄື່ອງປຽງ) ‘seasoning’. It might well be the case that *ga'naaiv* is used to serve the equivalent function of Thai *kʰrueang* (ເຄື່ອງ) through contact.

Second, *ga'naaiv* is modified by a verb as in (392):

- (392) ***ga'naaiv-*** *corh*  
 กະໜ້າຍ- ຂອ  
 ka na:i↓ ts<sup>h</sup>ɔ↓  
 thing rub/scrub  
 ‘a rubber eraser’  
 (Field Notes 1995, Kung Mae Bong)

Productivity of this construction is attested in (393):

- (393) ***ga'naaiv-*** *mbui*  
 กະໜ້າຍ- ນຸບ  
 ka na:i↓ bui↑  
 thing be.noisy/loud  
 ‘a loud speaker’  
 (Wuonh Fim, March 2014, Phayao)

This word was spontaneously produced by a person who was in charge of audio equipment of PA system in a conference hall in responding to a question: ‘How do you call “a loud speaker” (ລຳໂພງ) in Iu Mien?’. Everyone there immediately understood it and began to use it. This (393) as well as (392) are well in the same semantic field of TOOL as in the **tool-nominalising phrase** *nyei ga'naaiv* (§6.6.12) despite the structural difference.

*Ga'naaiv* is also used in a derogatory expression referring to a person with some character as in (394<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (394<sup>-1</sup>) ***Ga'naaiv-*** *lueic*, ***ga'naaiv-*** *laanv* *naaic /*  
 ກະໜ້າຍ- ເຫລວຍ, ກະໜ້າຍ- ສ້ານ ມ່າຍ /  
 ka na:i↓ l<sup>w</sup>ei↓ ka na:i↓ la:n^ na:i↓  
 thing be.idle thing be.lazy DEM  
 ‘Such an idle, lazy guy like you,’
- (394<sup>-2</sup>) *yie fung* *bun meih nyanc?*  
 ເີຍ ຜູ້ ບຸນ ເມ່ຍ ນັກູ້?  
 iə↑ fuŋ↓ pun↑ mei↓ jnac↓  
 1SG how.possibly GIVE 2SG eat  
 ‘how should I let you eat (of the fruits I have harvested)?’  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauh JauzNyeiGouv;00.01.55-59)

## 6.6.8 Person-Nominalising Element: *mienh* /miən˧/

*Mienh* /miənn˧/ ‘person’ turns an N, V or VP into an NP which refers to the characteristic, role, job of these modifiers in the structures [N + *mienh*], [V + *mienh*], and [VP + *mienh*]. In all these combinations, no tone sandhi is observed. An example of the first type, [N + *mienh*], is as follows (a repetition of (260) (also see §2.5.2.1):

- (395)    *zien-zien*      *heuc*      “*sai.mienh*”  
 (260)    ເຕື່ຍນາ      ເຫວ່າ      “ໄຊ.ມີຢນ”  
                 ts̥en˧ ts̥en˧ heu˩ sai˧ miən˧  
                 really call      “master.person”  
                 ‘(The word) is really pronounced *sai mienh* “priest” (with not change of tone).’  
 (ium\_20150520\_05\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.10.49-50)

Other examples of this type are:

- (396) *gong.mienh* /kɔŋ˧ miən˧/  
 [work person]  
 ‘worker, staff’
- (397) *zaangc·mienh* /tsa:ŋ˧ miən˧/  
 [artisan person]  
 ‘craftsman’

Secondly, the construction [V + *mienh*] is exemplified in (398):

- (398)    *zouv*      ***mienh***  
                 ໄຕ້ວ      ເມີຢນ  
                 tsəu˧ miən˧  
                 cook(v) person  
                 ‘a cook’  
 (Field Notes 20121213, p. 173)

This combination is used as an equivalent of Thai *pʰɔkrua* (ພອຄຮັງ) ‘male cook’ and *mekrua* (ແມ່ຄຮັງ) ‘female cook, housewife/mother whose prominent work is cooking’.

Thirdly, two examples of the construction [VP + *mienh*] are in (399) and (400):

|       |                        |                  |                     |
|-------|------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| (399) | <i>gunv</i>            | <i>gong</i>      | <b><i>mienh</i></b> |
|       | ກຸນ                    | ກອງ              | ເມື່ຍນ              |
|       | kun <sup>4</sup>       | kon <sup>1</sup> | miən <sup>1</sup>   |
|       | control(v)             | work(n)          | person              |
|       | 'a committee'          |                  |                     |
|       | (Field Notes 20121213) |                  |                     |

|       |                             |                  |                     |
|-------|-----------------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| (400) | <i>gorngv</i>               | <i>waac</i>      | <b><i>mienh</i></b> |
|       | ກ້ອງ                        | ຫວ່າ             | ເມື່ຍນ              |
|       | kɔŋ <sup>4</sup>            | wa: <sup>1</sup> | miən <sup>1</sup>   |
|       | talk(v)                     | word             | person              |
|       | 'lover, one in a courtship' |                  |                     |
|       | (cf. Panh 2002:76)          |                  |                     |

In American Iu Mien, *gorngv waac mienh* refers also to 'chief spokesman' (Panh 2002:76).

### 6.6.9 Collective Nominalising Elements: N-*maanh* and *maanc* N

Let us clarify the difference between two morphemes that are similar phonologically and semantically: (i) *maanh* /ma:n<sup>1</sup>/ 'all, collectively' (Purnell 2012:418) and (ii) *maanc* /ma:n<sup>1</sup>/ 'all, a great number' (Purnell 2012:417).

Avoiding a detailed argumentation, it is suggested that (i) *maanh* /ma:n<sup>1</sup>/ is from Cantonese *man<sup>4</sup>* /man<sup>1</sup>/ (民) 'people' rather than Mandarin *mǐn* (民) 'people' and (ii) *maanc* /ma:n<sup>1</sup>/ from Cantonese *maan<sup>6</sup>* /ma:n<sup>1</sup>/ (萬 or 万) 'ten thousand'. As to the distribution, *maanh* occurs in the construction [N *maanh*] whereas *maanc* in [*maanc* N]. Only the former construction observes tone sandhi. Semantically, [N *maanh*] is used with people only, whereas [*maanc* N] with general nouns including people.

First, an example of (i) [N *maanh*] is shown in (401):

|       |  |                     |                  |                        |                        |                  |             |
|-------|--|---------------------|------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------|
| (401) | <i>Mienh</i>                                     | <b><i>maanh</i></b> | <i>yaac</i>      | <i>mai<sup>v</sup></i> | <i>hai<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>yiem</i>      | <i>aqv.</i> |
|       | ເມື່ຍນ   | ມ້ານ                | ຫຍໍາ             | ໄມ້                    | ໄຂ່                    | ເຢີມ             | ອ້ະ.        |
|       | miən <sup>1</sup>                                | ma:n <sup>1</sup>   | ja: <sup>1</sup> | mai <sup>4</sup>       | hai <sup>1</sup>       | jem <sup>1</sup> | a?1         |
|       | people   | PEOPLE              | TOP              | NEG                    | be.able                | be.at            | NSIT        |
|       | 'All people (population) were not able to live.' |                     |                  |                        |                        |                  |             |
|       | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih;00.05.20-21)       |                     |                  |                        |                        |                  |             |

Panh (2002:156) rightly defines *maanh* as 'the people opposite [sic.][as opposed] to the government' (i.e. civilian), which is different to Purnell's definition 'all,

collectively, on a grand scale' (2012:418) without mentioning the notion of 'people'. However, Purnell's (2012:418) other examples show that *maanh* is only used with people as in (402) and (403):

|       |                                     |                         |                         |                        |                         |                         |
|-------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| (402) | <i>Zuangx</i>                       | [ <i>mienh</i>          | <b><i>maanh</i></b>     | <i>daic</i>            | <i>nzengc</i>           | <i>mi'aqv.</i>          |
|       | ทดสอบ                               | [เมื่ยน]                | ม່ານ]                   | ໄດ້                    | ເຫັ້ງ                   | ມີອື່ບ.                 |
|       | <i>ts<sup>w</sup>aŋ<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>miən<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>ma:n<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>tai<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>dzeŋ<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>mi<sup>1</sup>a?</i> |
|       | all                                 | people                  | PEOPLE                  | die                    | CONSUME                 | TELIC                   |
|       | 'All living humans died.'           |                         |                         |                        |                         |                         |

(Purnell 2012:418)

|       |                             |                        |                        |                         |                         |  |
|-------|-----------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| (403) | <i>lung<sup>1</sup></i>     | <i>ndiev</i>           | <i>nyei</i>            | [ <i>mienh</i>          | <b><i>maanh</i></b>     |  |
|       | ສູ່                         | ເດືອຍ                  | ເນຸຍ                   | [ເມື່ຍນ]                | ມ່ານ]                   |  |
|       | <i>lung<sup>1</sup></i>     | <i>diə<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>nei<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>miən<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>ma:n<sup>1</sup></i> |  |
|       | sky                         | below                  | SBCP                   | people                  | PEOPLE                  |  |
|       | 'all peoples under heaven.' |                        |                        |                         |                         |  |

(Purnell 2012:418)

Purnell's (2012:418) next example shows that the construction [N *maanh*] undergoes tone sandhi and it refers to a group of people:

|       |                                   |                                       |
|-------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (404) | <i>baeng-maanh</i>                | /pɛŋ <sup>1</sup> ma:n <sup>1</sup> / |
|       | [soldier PEOPLE]                  |                                       |
|       | 'all the troops, the entire army' |                                       |

To sum, *maanh* essentially means 'a group of people'. The concept of collectiveness is only entailed in the central meaning and if it is extended it connotes 'all people collectively in a great number'.

Second, [*maanc* N] refers to the entirety of general things including people but not only people. The notion of entirety, collectiveness, inclusiveness is well explained in the following short discourse in (405<sup>-1-5</sup>):

|                      |   |              |
|----------------------|---|--------------|
| (405 <sup>-1</sup> ) | [“ <b><i>Maanc</i></b> <i>guoqv</i> ”]    | <i>naaic</i> |
|                      | [“ມ່ານ ກົວະ”]                             | ໜ່າຍ         |
|                      | <i>ma:n<sup>1</sup></i>                   | <i>kuə?</i>  |
|                      | ENTIRE                                    | NATION       |
|                      | DEM <sub>TOP</sub>                        |              |
|                      | (The phrase) “ <i>maanc guoqv</i> ” means |              |

(405<sup>-2</sup>) *hnangv jang gormx lungh ndiev nzengc.*  
 ဆံး ခံး ကံးမ် လွှံ တို့ယ အောင်.

နှေ့၏ ကော်၏ ကျော်၏ ပြော့၏ ဒါော်၏ ဒော်၏  
 like just encircle sky below CONSUME  
 ‘its just like to encircle the whole world.’

(405<sup>-3</sup>) *yie mbuo gorngv nor, yie mbuo nzutv.zunv*  
 ဧီယ ပာ ကိုဝ် နစ်၊ ဧီယ ပာ ဘူး.မ္မား  
 iə́ ပျော်၏ ကော်၏ ပေါ်၏ အော်၏ ဒုံး၏ ပျော်၏ ဒုံး၏  
 1 PL say as 1 PL wrap.together  
 ‘If we say to be inclusive of (these nations collectively)’

(405<sup>-4</sup>) *yie mbuo zuqc longc [maanc guoqv].*  
 ဧီယ ပာ ဟန့် လော် [မာဏ် ကွား].  
 iə́ ပျော်၏ တုံး၏ လုံး၏ မား၏ ကွား၏  
 1 PL TOUCH use entire nation  
 ‘we have to use “maanc guoqv”,’

(405<sup>-5</sup>) (...) *se hnangv nzutv.zunv nzengc.*  
 (...) ဧ့ု ဆံး ဘူး.မ္မား အောင်.  
 se၏ နှေ့၏ ဒုံး၏ ပျော်၏ ဒုံး၏ အောင်.  
 TOP like wrap.together CONSUME  
 ‘it’s like to gather all (nations) without leaving out any ones.’  
 (ium\_20041006\_01\_Sony\_DA\_FuqcHin\_WordMg;00.00.01-38)

Note that the construction [maanc N] is used with general things not exclusively with ‘people’:

(406) *maanc doic /ma:n̥ tɔi:/*  
 [ENTIRE generation]  
 ‘numerous or endless generations afterward’ (Panh 2002:156)

(407) *maanc fuix /ma:n̥ fui:/*  
 [ENTIRE year]  
 ‘numerous years; endless years afterward’ (Panh 2002:156)

- (408) *maanc horngħ /ma:n̩l hɔŋħ/*  
 [ENTIRE stratum/level]  
 ‘everything under the sun or everything on earth’ (Panh 2002:156)
- (409) *maanc muotc /ma:n̩l muət/*  
 [ENTIRE thing]  
 ‘everything, all creation, absolutely everything, all things on earth’ (Purnell 2012:418)
- (410) *maanc sic /ma:n̩l si/*  
 [ENTIRE matter]  
 ‘every situation, whatever might come up’ (Purnell 2012:418)
- Of course ‘people’ are also attributed with *maanc* as below:
- (411) *maanc fingx /ma:n̩l fiŋħ/*  
 [ENTIRE tribe]  
 ‘all ethnic groups, all peoples’ (Purnell 2012:418)
- (412) *maanc mienh /ma:n̩l miənħ/*  
 [ENTIRE people]  
 ‘all peoples, all human being’ (Panh 2002:156)

To summarise the second construction [*maanc* N], the component *maanc* expresses the notion of entirety, collectiveness, inclusiveness of the noun, including both general, non-human referents and human referents.

The difference between the two constructions when they both refer to people is that the first construction is concerned with humanity of the referent whereas the second with a numerical aspect of it. The construction [N + *maanh*], in which N is a human referent, specifies what kind of people are in question. Thus, *baeng-maanh* [soldier people] means ‘people who are soldiers’, where the number of soldiers is not in question. In contrast, the construction [*maanc* + N], in which N happens to be a human referent, means a large number of people. The contrast between them becomes apparent when Panh’s definition ‘the people’ (民) for *maanh* and the original (Chinese) meaning ‘ten thousand’ (萬 or 万) for *maanc* are taken into consideration as shown in (413) and (414)(a repetition of (412)):

- (413) *mienh maanh*  
[person people]  
'the people [as opposed] to the government' (Panh 2002:156), i.e., 'civilians',  
or 'the people who are persons' (rather than an organisation or institution).

(414) *maanc mienh*  
[ten.thousand person]  
lit. 'ten thousand persons', i.e., 'numerous people' following Panh's way of  
translating (406) and (407); ('all peoples, all human being' as in (412)(Panh  
2002:156))

### 6.6.10 Matter-Nominalising Phrase: *nyei sic* /nei<sup>1</sup> si<sup>2</sup>/

Three subsections hereafter (§§6.6.10–12) deal with nominalising phrases which have the SBCP *nyei* as a constituent. They do not observe tone sandhi except for a compound V-*sic*.

A generic common noun *sic* /si˥/ has a broad range of senses: ‘an affair, a business matter, task, job, duty’ (Panh 2002:248), ‘an issue, matter, situation, dispute, legal case, trouble, bone of contention’ (Purnell 2012:). There are three ways to produce nominals by using *sic*: (i) in the construction [V<sup>ST.</sup>*sic*]<sub>CMPD</sub> > N<sub>CMPD</sub>, (ii) [N *nyei sic*] /N *pei˥ si˥/* ‘matter of’ where *nyei* is subordinate-cum-possessive particle (SBCP), and (iii) in the relative construction with *nyei* /*pei˥/*, [CL *nyei sic*] /CL *pei˥ si˥/* ‘matters which’, in which *nyei* is a relativiser. The first example with tone sandhi involved is in (415):

- |       |   |            |
|-------|---|------------|
| (415) | <i>tong-</i>  | <i>sic</i> |
|       | ʈɳ-   | ʂ̥̄        |
|       | tʰoŋ  | siɻ̥       |
|       | go.through  | matter     |
|       | ‘relationships (social and political) with a like-minded group’ |            |
|       | (Purnell 2012:701)  |            |

In the same combination of [N + *sic*] but no tone sandhi is involved in (416):

- |       |                            |                 |
|-------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| (416) | <i>hei</i> v               | <i>sic</i>      |
|       | ເສີບ                       | ສີ              |
|       | hei <sup>ŋ</sup>           | si <sup>ŋ</sup> |
|       | fright/fear(n)             | matter          |
|       | 'an emergency, a disaster' |                 |
|       | (Panh 2002:87)             |                 |

The second is [N *nyei sic*] /N *nei* | *si*]/ ‘matter of’ as in (417):

- (417) *Gamh.nziex nqa 'haav hingv nyei sic.*  
ก้ม.เหวี่ยง มะข้า ริ่ง เกลูย ศี.  
*kam\ džiə\ ga ha:\ŋ hiŋ\ŋ nei\ si\]*  
be.afraid rear end SBCP matter  
‘(We should) be warned about the calamities of the last days (of the world).’  
(ium\_1966\_03\_PERMATON\_ViggoSogaard\_  
Gueix-Cing;00.01.58-02.00)

The third type uses *nyei* as the relativizer, forming a relative clause, in which no tone sandhi is observed, as in (418):



Additionally, the relative construction [nyei sic] can be found in [V<sub>ADJ</sub> nyei sic] with an adjectival verb instead of a full clause as in (419):

- |       |   |                          |             |            |
|-------|---|--------------------------|-------------|------------|
| (419) | <i>zoux</i>   | <i>buangh.liouh</i>      | <i>nyei</i> | <i>sic</i> |
|       | ໄທຕວ  | ປ່ວັງ.ເຄື່ຂາ             | ແມູຍ        | ສີ         |
|       | tsəbʌ   | p <sup>w</sup> aŋŋ l̥əbʌ | ŋei˧        | si˩        |
|       | do  | be.immoral               | REL         | matter     |
|       | ‘to be involved in highly promiscuous activities’ (Purnell 2012:55) or ‘to commit adultery’ |                          |             |            |

The presence of the relativiser *nyei* in [V<sub>ADJ</sub> *nyei sic*] is almost obligatory. Omission of it is not impossible but a speaker who omits it could be interpreted as ‘lazy’, namely, it is a matter of register. With the length of the relative clause in (418), *nyei* is definitely obligatory.

One last semantic point regarding *sic* may be due mention. Etymologically, this can be from Chinese *shì* (事), which means (a) ‘matter, affair’, (b) ‘trouble, accident’, (c) ‘job, work’, and (d) ‘responsibility, involvement’. Among the young Iu Mien in Thailand, there seems to be a tendency to use *sic* only in the sense (b) of Chinese. It is deemed that the situation is an influence by Thai language; namely, it is used as a translation of *rûəŋ* (รุ่ง) ‘story, affair, trouble, problem’. However, it is obvious from above examples that *sic* among the Iu Mien of older generation has a wider semantic range as Chinese *shì*: (a) ‘matter, affair’ in (415), (b) ‘trouble, accident’ in (416), (417) and (419), and (c) ‘job, work’ or (d) ‘responsibility, involvement’ in (418).

### 6.6.11 Way-Nominalising Phrase: *nyei jauv /nei˥ cau˥/*

Unlike *sic /si˩/* of the first kind (i.e. [V<sup>ST</sup>.*sic*]<sub>CMPD</sub>), *jauv /cau˥/* ‘road, trail, way, path’ does not occur in that construction [V<sup>ST</sup>.*jauv*]<sub>CMPD</sub>. In this use, *jauv* means ‘a matter, affair, item of business’ (Purnell 2012:312). Rather, it occurs in three constructions: (i) [N *nyei jauv*] /N *nei˥ cau˥/* ‘a matter of, affair of’ where *nyei* is subordinate-cum-possessive particle (SBCP), (ii) the relative construction containing an adjectival verb [V<sub>ADJ</sub> *nyei jauv*] /V<sub>ADJ</sub> *nei˥ cau˥/* and (iii) the relative-clause construction [CL *nyei jauv*] /CL *nei˥ cau˥/* in a similar vein with [CL *nyei sic*].

The first example shows that *jauv* is modified with subordinate-cum-possessive particle *nyei* as in (420<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |  |             |                             |            |             |
|----------------------|--|-------------|-----------------------------|------------|-------------|
| (420 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Wuonc</i>   | <i>zinh</i> | <i>siou-</i> <sup>144</sup> | <i>zei</i> | <i>liuz</i> |
|                      | หว่วน  | ฉบิน        | เชี่ยว-                     | เตய        | ลือ         |
|                      | uən˧˥  | tsin˧˥      | s̥əu˧˥                      | tsei˧˥     | liu˧˥       |
|                      | carry  | money       | gather                      | utensil    | finish      |
|                      | ‘When finished sending money (to spirits and) put away (all) utensils (for the ceremony),’ |             |                             |            |             |

<sup>144</sup> Tone sandhi is observed on this verb. *Siou-zei /siou˧˥ tsei˧˥/* means to gather in or put away all instruments or utenciles that are used in a spirit ceremony.

- (420<sup>-2</sup>) [mbuo sai<sup>145</sup> *dorn* nyei *jauv*] se nzengc mi'aqv.  
[ນັວ ໄສ ຕອນ ເຄູຍ ເຈົາ] ເຊ ແກ້ໄງ ໜິມ ອື່ບ.  
buə̥l sai̥l tən̥l nei̥l cau̥ŋ̥ se̥l dzen̥l mi̥l a?l  
PL priest small SBCP way TOP consume TELIC  
‘the business (or task) of us the assistant priests is altogether over.’  
(ium\_c1970\_03\_CT\_x\_y\_TradReligion\_3\_1;00.02.28-33)

The **WAY-nominalising phrase** *nyei jauv* that is preceded by a noun only can take the noun into higher level of abstraction or generalisation as in (421):

- (421) [Nyaanh nyei *jauv*] hnangv haaix nor?  
[ຢູ່ານ ເຄູຍ ເຈົາ] ຂັ້ນ ທ້າຍ ນອ  
ja:n̥l nei̥l cau̥ŋ̥ n̥aŋ̥ŋ̥ ha:i̥l n̥ɔ̥l  
money SBCP way like what as  
‘What about budget/finance?’ or ‘What about the betrothal money?’ given the topic of the discourse as it is.  
(Burgess and Guex-Cing, the 1970s. *Gorngv Sieqv Nyei Yietc Nyeic* [*The Procedure of Betrothal*])

Second, **WAY-nominalising phrase** in the structure [V<sub>ADJ</sub> *nyei jauv*] can change the adjectival verbs into an abstract noun: ‘to be sad’ > ‘sadness, sorrow’ as in (422):

- (422<sup>-1</sup>) Hnangv mh nor hiuv.duqv  
ຂັ້ນ ມ ນອ ຂີ້າ.ຕູ  
n̥aŋ̥ŋ̥ m̥l n̥ɔ̥l hiu̥ŋ̥ tu?l  
like DEM as know  
‘So, I know’

- (422<sup>-2</sup>) ⟨[nzauh nyei *jauv*] hnangv mh nor⟩  
⟨[ນ້າ ເຄູຍ ເຈົາ] ຂັ້ນ ມ ນອ⟩  
dzaul nei̥l cau̥ŋ̥ n̥aŋ̥ŋ̥ m̥l n̥ɔ̥l  
be.sad REL way like DEM as  
‘what it is all about sorrow.’  
(ium\_20000415\_03\_CT\_DA\_FmCiang\_Dream;00.02.10-4)

Here the compound verb *hiuv.duqv* takes the complement clause (422<sup>-2</sup>), in which the *nyei jauv*-nominalising phrase forms a noun phrase functioning as a topic.

The same sequence *hnangv mh nor* appears sentence-initially and sentence-finally with the different meanings. The first sequence *hnangv mh nor* ‘therefore’ is the

<sup>145</sup> Note that *sai.dorn* ‘lesser priest, assistant priest’ does not observe tone sandhi. See §6.4.

conjunction relating the sentence (422<sup>-1-2</sup>) to the preceding sentence, while the second sequence *hnangy mh nor* in (422<sup>-2</sup>) refers as a demonstrative predicate to the whole experience of the speaker's afflictions narrated in the discourse.

It should be recalled that a combination of two nouns in the same semantic domain forms a noun with the meaning of totality (i.e. dvandva in §6.5.5) and that a combination of two verbs of similar meaning produces a noun (§6.5.8). A similar process can be applied to a combination of two adjectival verbs, which produces an abstract noun. This construction can be further made abstract when followed by the **WAY-nominalising phrase** *nyei jauv* 'a matter of'. It thus forms a construction [V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>1</sup> + V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>2</sup> *nyei jauv*], where V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>1</sup> and V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>2</sup> are antonyms as in (423):

|       |  |  |
|-------|--|--|
| (423) | [ <i>jaaix zaanc nyei jauv</i> ]           | <i>yaac horpc.</i>   |
|       | [ຈ້າຍ ແຕ່ງນ ເລຸຍ ເຈົ້າ]                    | ໜໍາ ອອນ  |
|       | [ca:iŋ tsa:nŋ] [neiŋ cauŋ] [ja:ŋ hɔ:pŋ]    | be.expensive be.cheap REL way TOP be.right                                       |
|       | be.expensive be.cheap REL way TOP be.right | 'The price is right (appropriate for the value of the item).' (Purnell 2012:303) |

Third, the relative construction [CL *nyei jauv*] /CL *neiŋ cauŋ*/ produces a process noun as in (424):

|       |   |   |
|-------|---|---|
| (424) | " <i>Kih kungx kaatv</i> " /                      | [ <i>nzaeng jaax nyei jauv</i> ].   |
|       | [ເກີ້ ປູ້ ຄໍາດ]/                                  | [ແຫັງ ຈໍາ ເລຸຍ ເຈົ້າ].  |
|       | [kʰiŋ kʰunŋ] [kʰa:tŋ] [dze:ŋ] [ca:iŋ] [neiŋ cauŋ] | ONOMA ONOMA scream quarrel each.other REL way                             |
|       | ONOMA ONOMA scream quarrel each.other REL way     | '(The elaborate expression) <i>kih kungx kaatv</i> is about quarrelling.' |
|       |   | (ium_20150519_02_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.21.47-53)                    |

As a digression, *jauv* /cauŋ/ can be used as a common noun in a compound as has been observed in §5.2 and §6.5.5, whether it is followed by another noun (i.e. [N<sup>1<sup>TS</sup>.N<sup>2</sup>]<sub>CMPD</sub>]) or by an (adjectival) verb (i.e. [N<sub>HD</sub><sup>TS</sup>.V]<sub>CMPD</sub>) but not as a nominalising element. The example is a repetition of (160<sup>-5</sup>)(§5.2) and (324)(§6.5.5), which involves tone sandhi:</sup>

|                            |   |
|----------------------------|---|
| (425)                      | <i>Mienh nyei loz-hnoi nyei jauv-louc</i>                   |
| (160 <sup>-5</sup> ) (324) | [ເມື່ອນ ເລຸຍ ໂລື້-ຮນອຍ ເລຸຍ ເຈົ້າ-ໄລຄວ່າ]                   |
|                            | [miənŋ] [neiŋ] [loŋ hɔ:ŋ] [neiŋ] [cauŋ ləuŋ]                |
|                            | Mien SBCP old-day SBCP matters                              |
|                            | 'The old ways of the Iu Mien.'                              |
|                            | (ium_20130528_01_H1_DA_GueixFongc_MienhWaac_KMB;00.00.52-5) |

A few examples of  $[N_{HD}^{TS}.V]_{CMPD}$  containing *jauv* with tone sandhi (-v → -h) involved are as below. The first example has an adjectival verb, and the second contains a verb as a modifier to the preceding *jauv*:

- (426) *jauv-ndaauv* /cauŋ da:u^ŋ/  
 [road be.long]  
 ‘a long way, expedition; a long story’ (Panh 2002:115)

- (427) *jauv-wingc* /cauŋ wiŋŋ/  
 [road detour(v)]  
 ‘a detour’ (Panh 2002:115).

### 6.6.12 Tool-Nominalising Phrase: *nyei ga'naaiv* /ɲeiŋ ka na:iŋ/

*Ga'naaiv* /ka na:iŋ/ literally means ‘thing’. The relativiser particle *nyei* obligatorily used to relate the preceding clause to the head noun forms a relative construction (which will be discussed in §8.14). The relative construction [Cl *nyei ga'naaiv*] often refers to a tool, instrument, or utensil as in (428):

- (428) *longc nyei ga'naaiv*  
 ဆုတ် ညျမ် ကဗျာယ်  
 lonŋ ɲeiŋ ka na:iŋ  
 use REL thing  
 ‘instruments, utensils, tools’ (lit. ‘things that (spirit priests) use’)  
 (ium\_20150505\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_CmmtryOn\_TradReligion\_  
 KMB;00.07.48-9)

In the same context as above, an example of a longer relative clause can be seen in (429<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (429<sup>-1</sup>) *[mbenc daaih weic wuov norm yinh*  
 [မြပ်နေ တီးထဲ ဖော်ချုံ သူ့ နောက် ရိုး  
 benŋ t̪a:iŋ weiŋ uəŋ nɔmŋ jinŋ  
 prepare COME for DEM CLF ceremony

|                      |   |             |                 |
|----------------------|---|-------------|-----------------|
| (429 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>longc]</i>   | <i>nyei</i> | <i>ga'naaiv</i> |
|                      | หลง]  | ເລູຍ        | ກະນ້າຍ          |
|                      | lonጀ  | ŋeiጀ        | ka na:iጀ        |
|                      | use   | REL         | thing           |
|                      | 'the instruments (and materials) that (a spirit priest) has prepared for that ceremony' |             |                 |
|                      | (ium_20150505_01_H1_DA_GF_CmmtryOn_TradReligion_KMB;00.07.52-4)                         |             |                 |

### 6.6.13 Excursus

There is an unsolved problem with the bound form (*bf.*) *zeiv* /tseiጀ/. Purnell (2012:769) defines it as: '*bf.* a suffix used to form new nouns'. Though it may be treated in the previous section due to its noun-forming function, it remains uncertain from which prototype meaning the noun is derived through what kind of semantic extension. Admitting that further research is definitely needed, the following suggestion is our present solution. That is, *zeiv* is homophonous coming from three different morphemes: /tseiጀ/ (i) 'first' (初), (ii) 'paper' (紙), (iii) 'many, numerous' (眾 or 衆), and (iv) Chinese nominalising suffix *zi* /tsə/ (子).

First, the /tseiጀ/ in the sense 'first' might have come from Cantonese *cho*<sup>1</sup> /tsʰɔ:]/ (初), rather than Mandarin *chū* (初). Thus, in modern Iu Mien, following examples could reflect such meaning: *zeiv* /tseiጀ/ 'the first of the twelve Earthly Stems' (*zeiv* by itself without other words) (Panh 2002:292), and *zeiv ziangh* /tseiጀ tsiaŋ]/ 'first period of hour from 11 p.m. to 1 a.m.' (Panh 2002:292).

Second, being postposed in contrast to the word order in the example above, the /tseiጀ/ in the sense 'paper' might have come from Cantonese *zhi*<sup>2</sup> /tsi:]/ (紙). Thus, in modern Iu Mien /tseiጀ/ the following examples could reflect such meaning as 'paper': *caauh zeiv* /tsʰa:uŋ tseiጀ/ 'cymbals' (Purnell 2012:769) (due to a flat shape) and *fangx zeiv* /fanጀ tseiጀ/ 'the physical form, shape, appearance, image, or likeness of something' (Purnell 2012:769).

Third, the /tseiጀ/ in the suggested sense 'many, numerous' might have come from Cantonese *zhü*<sup>1</sup> /tsy:]/ (諸) or *zhung*<sup>3</sup> /tsunŋ]/ (眾 or 衆), and perhaps Mandarin *zhòng* (as Iu Mien vernacular for 'all, everyone' is *zuangx* /tsʰwaŋ]/). *Zeiv* /tseiጀ/ by itself means 'sheaf' suggesting many grains contained. Panh (2002:12) designates *bieiv zeiv* /pʰeiጀ tseiጀ/ [head many(?)] 'leadership' as a group of people, not just 'a leader'. Furthermore, Purnell (2012:770) also gives a sense 'person' to /tseiጀ/ as in *Janx-Canh Zeiv* 'a Kim Mun or Lantien person', which should be a group of many individuals of that people.

Finally, the fourth is our language consultant's suggestion (Field Notes 20140510, p. 158). Namely, Iu Mien /tsei˥/ used in *bieiv zeiv* /p̥ei˥ tsei˥/ 'a leader, boss' and *fangx zeiv* /fan˧ tsei˥/ 'shape, appearance' is from Chinese nominalising suffix *zi* /tsə/ (子) (not *zǐ* /tsə˨/ of the same character 子 'child').

## 6.7 Verbal Compounds

There are eleven ways of forming verbal compounds and they will be surveyed in §§6.7.4.1–11.

In contrast to the most cases in nominal compounds, all verbal compounds including four types of psycho-collocations do not undergo tone sandhi except for the following two types. First, tone sandhi is obligatory in the subordinate compound verb [ $V_{ADJ}^{1TS} \cdot V_{ADJ}^{2C}$ ]<sub>CMPD</sub> discussed in §6.7.4.2. Second, the adjective-containing compound verb [ $V^{1TS} \cdot V_{ADJ}^{2C}$ ]<sub>CMPD</sub> presented in §6.7.4.10 observes tone sandhi most of the time (with very small number of exception).

### 6.7.1 A Bridge from Chapter 5: Rules of Verbal Compounds

At the end of Chapter 5, the following three rules of forming verbal compounds were recognised (cf. §5.5.2):

- $V^1 \cdot V^2 > V_{CMPD}$  e.g., *hnamv.daaih* /ŋam˥ ta:i˧/ [love come] ‘to think’
- $V^1 \cdot V^2 > AuxV_{CMPD}$  e.g., *oix.zuqc* /ɔi˧ tsu?˩/ [want touch] ‘must’
- $V \cdot N > V_{CMPD}$  e.g., *jiez.gorn* /ciə˧ kɔn˥/ [raise root] ‘to begin to (do)’

No tone sandhi is involved in all these. Eight more rules will be added to them in §6.7.4.

### 6.7.2 Criteria of Verbal Compounds

Distinguishing the verbal compounds from SVCs is a challenging task. A rule of thumb is that an insertion of the negative particle *maiiv* 'not' or an achievement verb

*duqv* ‘GET’ is impossible between two constituents of a compound verb whereas the resultative SVC is separable by these elements. Absence or presence of tone sandhi does not work in identifying verbal compounds. Compare three compound expressions in (430)(a repetition of (160<sup>-1</sup>) from §5.2) and two SVCs in (431)(a repetition of (160<sup>-9</sup>) from §5.2):

|                      |   |                        |                     |                      |             |
|----------------------|---|------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------|
| (430)                | <i>Yie</i>  | [ <i>hnamv.daaih</i> ] | [ <i>oix.zuqc</i> ] | [ <i>jiez.gorn</i> ] | <i>fiev</i> |
| (160 <sup>-1</sup> ) | ເມື່ອ   | [ອນນົມ.ດ້າຍ]           | [ອື່ອຍ.ຫຼຸງ]        | [ເຈິ້ວ.ກອນ]          | ເພີ່ມ       |
|                      | iə́   | ນູ້ນຳ                  | ຕ້າຍ                | ຕີ່ຫຼຸງ              | ຫຼຸງ        |
|                      | 1 SG  | think                  | must                | begin                | write       |
|                      | ‘I think you must begin writing’                            |                        |                     |                      |             |
|                      | (ium_20130528_01_H1_DA_GueixFongc_MienhWaac_KMB;00.00.40-2) |                        |                     |                      |             |

Note that an insertion of the negative particle *maiv* ‘not’ or an “achievement aspectual verb” (so named by Enfield (2003:94, 158) for Lao quoted in §17.2.1) *duqv* ‘GET/CAN’ in all (430a-f) are ungrammatical, showing that the combinations are inseparable, thus compound verbs:

|        |              |                |                    |                  |              |
|--------|--------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------|
| (430a) | * <i>Yie</i> | [ <i>hnamv</i> | <b><i>maiv</i></b> | [ <i>daaih</i> ] | <i>fiev.</i> |
|        | 1SG          | think          | NEG                | come             | write        |
| (430b) | * <i>Yie</i> | [ <i>hnamv</i> | <b><i>duqv</i></b> | [ <i>daaih</i> ] | <i>fiev.</i> |
|        | 1SG          | think          | GET/CAN            | come             | write        |
| (430c) | * <i>Yie</i> | [ <i>oix</i>   | <b><i>maiv</i></b> | [ <i>zuqc</i> ]  | <i>fiev.</i> |
|        | 1SG          | want           | NEG                | TOUCH            | write        |
| (430d) | * <i>Yie</i> | [ <i>oix</i>   | <b><i>duqv</i></b> | [ <i>zuqc</i> ]  | <i>fiev.</i> |
|        | 1SG          | want           | GET/CAN            | TOUCH            | write        |
| (430e) | * <i>Yie</i> | [ <i>jiez</i>  | <b><i>maiv</i></b> | [ <i>gorn</i> ]  | <i>fiev.</i> |
|        | 1SG          | raise          | NEG                | root(n)          | write        |
| (430f) | * <i>Yie</i> | [ <i>jiez</i>  | <b><i>duqv</i></b> | [ <i>gorn</i> ]  | <i>fiev.</i> |
|        | 1SG          | raise          | GET/CAN            | root(n)          | write        |

Instead of insertion, the acceptable position of the negative particle *maiv* is in front of the combination of these constituents:

|        |            |             |                      |              |
|--------|------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------|
| (430g) | <i>Yie</i> | <b>maiv</b> | [ <i>jiεz.gorn</i> ] | <i>fiev.</i> |
|        | ເຢີ່ຍ      | ໄມ້ວິ       | [ເຈື້ອ.ກອນ]          | ເພື້ອຍ       |
|        | iə̄l       | maīŋ       | ciə̄l kɔn̄l          | fiə̄ŋ        |
|        | 1 SG       | NEG         | begin                | write        |

'I won't begin to write.'

Or semantically more natural expression would be (430h):

|        |            |             |              |                      |              |
|--------|------------|-------------|--------------|----------------------|--------------|
| (430h) | <i>Yie</i> | <b>maiv</b> | <i>gengh</i> | [ <i>jiεz.gorn</i> ] | <i>fiev.</i> |
|        | ເຢີ່ຍ      | ໄມ້ວິ       | ເກົ່ງ        | ເຈື້ອ.ກອນ            | ເພື້ອຍ       |
|        | iə̄l       | maīŋ       | keŋl         | ciə̄l kɔn̄l          | fiə̄ŋ        |
|        | 1 SG       | NEG         | yet          | begin                | write        |

'I haven't begun writing yet.'

With a preceding achievement verb:

|        |            |             |                      |              |
|--------|------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------|
| (430i) | <i>Yie</i> | <b>duqv</b> | [ <i>jiεz.gorn</i> ] | <i>fiev.</i> |
|        | ເຢີ່ຍ      | ດູກວ        | ເຈື້ອ.ກອນ            | ເພື້ອຍ       |
|        | iə̄l       | tu?l        | ciə̄l kɔn̄l          | fiə̄ŋ        |
|        | 1 SG       | GET/CAN     | begin                | write        |

'I was able to/got to start writing.'

On the other hand, SVCs are separable. The example (431)(a repetition of (160<sup>9</sup>) from §5.2) contains two SVCs:

|                     |              |               |              |               |             |              |             |              |
|---------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| (431)               | <i>[Fiev</i> | <i>njiec]</i> | <i>[siou</i> | <i>jienv]</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>Mienh</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>waac.</i> |
| (160 <sup>9</sup> ) | ເພື້ອຍ       | ແໜ້ຍ          | ເຊື້ວ        | ເຈື້ນ         | ບ້ວ         | ເມື່ຍນ       | ເລູຍ        | ຫວ່າ         |
|                     | fiə̄ŋ        | jiə̄l         | s̄ə̄b̄l      | c̄en̄ŋ        | b̄uə̄l      | miə̄n̄l      | neīl       | wa:l         |
|                     | write        | descend       | preserve     | CONT          | PL          | Mien         | SBCP        | language     |

'Write down to preserve our language of Mien.'

(ium\_20130528\_01\_H1\_DA\_GueixFongc\_MienhWaac\_KMB;00.01.16-20)

An insertion of the negative particle *maiv* 'not' or the achievement aspectual verb *duqv* 'get/can' is possible in CVSs as in (431a-d):

|        |              |             |               |             |              |             |              |
|--------|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| (431a) | <i>[Fiev</i> | <b>maiv</b> | <i>njiec]</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>Mienh</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>waac.</i> |
|        | [ເພື້ອຍ      | ໄມ້ວິ       | ແໜ້ຍ]         | ບ້ວ         | ເມື່ຍນ       | ເລູຍ        | ຫວ່າ         |
|        | fiə̄ŋ        | maīŋ       | jiə̄l         | b̄uə̄l      | miə̄n̄l      | neīl       | wa:l         |
|        | write        | NEG         | descend       | PL          | Mien         | SBCP        | language     |

'Didn't write down our Mien language.'

- (431b) [Fiev      ***duqv***      *njiɛc*]      *mbuo*      *Mienh*      *nyei*      *waac.*  
[ເີ້ຍ      ຕຸ້      ເໜື່ບ]      ບັວ      ເມື່ຍນ      ໄສູຍ      ອວ່າ  
fíə̯˥ t̥u?˥ jíə̯˥ b̥uə̯˥ miən˧˥ nei˧˥ wa:˥  
write GET/CAN descend PL Mien SBCP language  
‘was able to write down our Mien language.’

- (431c) [Siou      ***maiv***      *jienv*]      *mbuo*      *Mienh*      *nyei*      *waac.*  
[ສິວ      ໄມ້      ເຈື້ນ]      ບັວ      ເມື່ຍນ      ໄສູຍ      ອວ່າ  
s̥ə̯˥ maɪ̯˧˥ c̥en˧˥ b̥uə̯˥ miən˧˥ nei˧˥ wa:˥  
preserve NEG CONT PL Mien SBCP language  
‘didn’t preserve our Mien language properly.’

- (431d) [Siou      ***duqv***      *jienv*]      *mbuo*      *Mienh*      *nyei*      *waac.*  
[ສິວ      ຕຸ້      ເຈື້ນ]      ບັວ      ເມື່ຍນ      ໄສູຍ      ອວ່າ  
s̥ə̯˥ tu?˥ c̥en˧˥ b̥uə̯˥ miən˧˥ nei˧˥ wa:˥  
preserve GET/CAN CONT PL Mien SBCP language  
‘was able to preserve our Mien language properly.’

Before summarising this section, let us refer back to the native speakers’ intuition to define the compound words including both nominal and verbal compounds in (205<sup>-1-2</sup>) in §6.3. That is, ‘a combined word is a unit that refers to one referent (*ga’naav* ‘thing’). This point is more specifically explained in Iu Mien thinking as in (431<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (431<sup>-1</sup>) *Aec i joux gapv benx yietc nyungc eix.leiz.*  
ແອໍ ອື່ ໂຈ້ວ ກັບ ເປັນ ແຫຶ່ດ ທຸນ່ງ ເລື່ຍ.ເລື່ຍ.  
ε˩ i˩ cəoɯ˥ kap˥ pen˧ jet˩ juŋ˩ ei˧ lei˧  
yes two CLFWORD combine be one kind meaning  
‘Yes, two words are combined to become one meaning.’

- (431<sup>-2</sup>) *Oix.zuqc maaih i joux gapv*  
ອື່ອຍ.ໜຸດ ມ່າຍ ອື່ ໂຈ້ວ ກັບ  
oi˧ tsu?˩ ma:i˧ i˧ cəoɯ˥ kap˥  
must have two CLFWORD combine  
‘(You) must have two words combined,’

|                      |  |                        |                        |                        |              |
|----------------------|--|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| (431 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>cingx.daaih</i>   | <i>benx</i>            | <i>yietc</i>           | <i>joux</i>            | <i>waac.</i> |
|                      | หนึ่ง.ตัวย   | เป็น                   | เหยี่ยด                | โจ้ว                   | หวาน.        |
|                      | <i>ts<sup>h</sup>inŋ<sup>l</sup> ta:i:l</i>                  | <i>pen<sup>l</sup></i> | <i>jet<sup>l</sup></i> | <i>cəu<sup>l</sup></i> | <i>wa:l</i>  |
|                      | therefore  | be                     | one                    | CLF <sub>WORD</sub>    | word         |
|                      | 'then it becomes one word.'                                  |                        |                        |                        |              |
|                      | (ium_20150511_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;01.10.45-01.11.03) |                        |                        |                        |              |

Therefore, when the following criteria are met, or at least (a) and (b), such combinations are verbal compounds:

- (a) Semantically, two constituents carry one meaning functioning like one verb.  
Decomposed constituents by themselves do not have the same meaning as the compound adjective as said in (237<sup>-1-7</sup>) in §6.3.
- (b) Syntactically, compound verbs cannot be separated by the insertion of the negative particle *mai<sup>v</sup>* ‘not’ or the achievement aspectual verb *duqv* ‘GET/CAN’.
- (c) Additionally, the compound verbs can be preceded by the negative particle *mai<sup>v</sup>* ‘not’ or the achievement aspectual verb *duqv* ‘GET/CAN’.

### 6.7.3 Morphology of Iu Mien Verbs according to Court 1986

Much is owed to Court’s analyses of Iu Mien verb morphology. This needs to be heeded when it comes to the study of compound verbs. The comprehensive rules of verbal compounds will be considered after this section. There are four types of forms in verb morphology according to Court (1986:223-6): (i) sesquisyllabic verbs, (ii) polysyllabic single verbal morpheme, (iii) verbs containing an identifiable morpheme together with a morphan (i.e. “orphan morph” Matisoff 1991:385), and (iv) compound verbs. In these verbs he includes adjectival verbs not only action verbs as introduced in Table 27 in §4.4.1.

The first is sesquisyllabic verbs. The first example is a repetition of (104d):

|       |                                      |             |
|-------|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| (432) | <i>la'kuqv /la k<sup>h</sup>uʔl/</i> | ‘to forget’ |
|-------|--------------------------------------|-------------|

|       |                            |                                |
|-------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| (433) | <i>ga'sortv /ka sɔ:tł/</i> | ‘to impose, cause trouble for’ |
|-------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|

(ium\_1996\_04\_Burgess\_GF\_MienLgL4;00.20.04-5)

In this category, Court (1986:225) includes the following examples, all from Lombard (1968):

- (434) *da'mbienv* /ta biən̩v̩/ 'to be inside out'  
(435) *da'nqaang* /ta ga:n̩ŋ/ 'to turn around'  
(436) *da'nqopv* /ta gopv̩/ 'to lie on one's stomach'  
(437) *da'nziaaux* /ta dz̩j'a:uŋ/ 'to lie on one's back'

Purnell (2012) certifies that the preformative syllable of all items is a contraction form of *daaux* /ta:u/ ‘to turn around, turn against’: *daaux.mbienv*, *daaux.nqaang*, *daaux.nqopyv*, *daaux.nziaaux* (for the last item, “Some speakers consider this a contraction of *daaux nziaaux*; others do not” (Purnell 2012:198)). If so, as the non-contracted forms are heard in a slow speech and *daaux.nqaang* almost always as it is, these sesquisyllabic verbs are in fact to be considered as compound verbs. It is so as long as the non-contracted morpheme is identified as a lexically transparent verb.

The second is polysyllabic single verbal morphemes.



Though Court did not mention, similar to *caangh.laangh*, the polysyllabic single verbal morphemes can be further exemplified in (441<sup>-1-2</sup>), (442) and (443<sup>-2</sup>). In them decomposed individual syllables do not have specific meaning.

- |                      |                               |                   |                   |                  |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| (441 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Dongh</i>                  | <i>naaic</i>      | <i>nzunc</i>      | <i>liuz</i> ,    |
|                      | ตึ้ง                          | หน่าย             | หลุ่น             | ลิว,             |
|                      | ton <sub>J</sub>              | na:i <sub>J</sub> | dzun <sub>J</sub> | liu <sub>A</sub> |
|                      | same                          | DEM               | time(occasion)    | finish           |
|                      | 'After that occasion passed,' |                   |                   |                  |

- |                      |  |                     |
|----------------------|--|---------------------|
| (441 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>ninh cingx.daaih peix.fuc</i>   | <i>ninh laangh.</i> |
|                      | ນິນ ທີ່ງ.ຕ້າຍ ແມ່.ຝູ   | ນິນ ດ່າງ.           |
|                      | nin↓ ts <sup>h</sup> inj↓ tai↓ p <sup>h</sup> ei↓ fu↓  | nin↓ la:ŋ↓          |
|                      | 3SG therefore be.amazed 3SG son-in-law   |                     |
|                      | ‘(He) [i.e. father-in-law] was amazed with his son-in-law (that he wasn’t able to outdo in deceiving him).’        |                     |
|                      | (Burgess, 1970s, <i>Laangh Nduov Ong-Daa Nyei Gouv</i> [A Story of a Son-in-Law Deceiving his Father-in-Law], KMB) |                     |

Purnell (2012:631) perceives *peix.fuc* is from Chinese but specific characters are not provided.

The third is the verbs containing an identifiable morpheme together with a morphan. “Morphan” in Court’s (1986:224-5) term refers to a “mysterious” morpheme whose meaning is unidentifiable (after Matisoff’s (1991:385) “morphanization”, e.g. the *cran-* in *cranberry*). For example, *hungh* /hunjʌ/ in *hungh.heic* /hunjʌ heiʌ/ ‘to be easy’ is “mysterious” while it is identifiable that *heic* /heiʌ/ itself also means ‘to be easy’. And *laih* /laiʌ/ in *laih.hlopv* /laiʌ lopʌ/ ‘to be dirty’ is a morphan with unknown meaning while *hlopv* /lopʌ/ is identified to mean ‘to be dirty’. In our data, (172<sup>-1</sup>) in §5.4.2.1 has *nzauh.heix* ‘to be afraid, worry about’, in which *nzauh* means ‘to be sad’ but *heix* is a morphan. The example is repeated as (442):

|                      |   |             |           |             |                          |           |             |             |
|----------------------|---|-------------|-----------|-------------|--------------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| (442)                | <i>Six.gorngv</i>   | <i>yiem</i> | <i>go</i> | <i>deix</i> | <b><i>nzauh.heix</i></b> | <i>mv</i> | <i>haiz</i> | <i>nor,</i> |
| (172 <sup>-1</sup> ) | ສី.ក៉ុង   | ឃើម         | ិក        | តែឃ         | ខោ.មេយ                   | ម៉ី       | ឱ្យ         | នអ,         |
|                      | siʌ kɔŋʌ  | jemʌ        | koʌ       | teiʌ        | dzaʊʌ heiʌ               | mʌ        | haiʌ        | nɔʌ         |
|                      | if  | be.at       | be.far    | some        | be.afraid                | NEG       | hear        | TOP         |
|                      | ‘If (a hearer) is far (from the speaker) and perhaps can’t hear (the speaker),’ |             |           |             |                          |           |             |             |
|                      | (ium_20150810_01_H1_DA_GF_Sesqui_Cmpd_MC;00.04.50-2)                            |             |           |             |                          |           |             |             |

One more example of the third type is as in (443<sup>-1-2</sup>)(a repetition of (3<sup>37-38</sup>) from §2.2.3):

|                      |  |                          |             |            |              |
|----------------------|--|--------------------------|-------------|------------|--------------|
| (443 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>za'gengh</i>  | <i>koiv.luangh.muonh</i> | <i>mbui</i> | <i>aqv</i> | <i>norh,</i> |
| (3 <sup>37</sup> )   | ឃតខេះកៀង   | គីយ គវាំង មោន            | បុឃ         | ីះ         | នំ           |
|                      | tsa kenʌ   | kʰɔiʌ luangʌ mʷənʌ       | buiʌ        | aʔʌ        | nɔʌ          |
|                      | really   | sea.dragon's.gate        | be.noisy    | NSIT       | RPOT         |
|                      | ‘(it turned out that it was) really the noise of the Sea Dragon’s Gate, they say.’ |                          |             |            |              |

|                      |   |              |             |                    |             |               |
|----------------------|---|--------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------|
| (443 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <b><i>gamh.nziex</i></b>                                | <i>daaih</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>naaic</i>       | <i>houv</i> | <i>nyunc.</i> |
| (3 <sup>38</sup> )   | កំម.មេទីឃ   | តាំឃ         | ឃើម         | អន់ឃ               | ឪូវា        | លណុំ.         |
|                      | kamʌ džiəʌ  | ta:iʌ        | jemʌ        | na:iʌ              | həʊʌ        | jnʌ           |
|                      | fear  | COME         | be.in       | DEM <sub>MID</sub> | pledge      | vow           |
|                      | ‘Being terrified, (they) petitioned the spirits there.’ |              |             |                    |             |               |
|                      | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.02.28-31)      |              |             |                    |             |               |

*Gamh* in (443<sup>-2</sup>) is a morphan, *nziex* means ‘to fear, be scared’.

One more example, *mbuoqc.horngħ* /buəʔʌ hɔŋʌ/ ‘to be very surprised, stunned by, absolutely amazed by, awed by’ (Purnell 2012:255) can also belong to this group

since *mbuoqc* /buəʔʃ/ is identified as ‘to respect, obey, be awed’ whereas *horng* /hɔŋ/ is a morphan.

In fact the distinction between the second and the third categories becomes blurred when pointing out the following facts. As for (438), while *laaih* itself means ‘to disappear’, *dingx* seems to be a morphan; thus *dingx.laaih* could be in the third category. Concerning (439), *laengh* /lɛŋ/ could be from Cantonese *lo<sup>2</sup>* /lɔɪ/ ‘to be naked’ and *gaengv* /kɛŋv/ is an Iu Mien original word for ‘to be naked’. If so, *laengh.gaengv* should be categorised as a compound verb just as *daaux.nqaang* /tauŋ gaŋ/ ‘to turn around’ could be a compound verb. And yet as for (440), an example not from Court but from Purnell, the individual constituent *caangh* and *laangh* in *caangh.laangh* cannot be identified with its meaning but only as a whole it means ‘to consult, discuss’, thus it should belong to Court’s second type: i.e., polysyllabic single verb.

The fourth category recognised by Court is the compound verbs, which he subdivides into three types: (a) co-ordinate compounds, (b) subordinative compounds, and (c) psycho-collocations.

Regarding psycho-collocation Matisoff writes:

PSYCHO-COLLOCATION: 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 which explicit psychological reference (translate by English words like HEART, MIND, SPIRIT, TEMPER, SOUL, DISPOSITION, MOOD). The rest of the psycho-collocation contains morphemes (usually action verbs or adjectives) that complete the meaning. [...] Thus:

Psycho-noun + Psycho-mate = Psycho-collocation (Matisoff 1985).

In our discussion of verbal compounds, the above-presented types in the first to the third are excluded from the following sections but the fourth category will be investigated.

#### 6.7.4 Extended Rules of Verbal Compounds

In this section, eleven constructions will be investigated:

- [V<sup>1</sup>·V<sup>2</sup>] > V<sub>CMPD</sub> or Court’s (1986:227-8) co-ordinate compounds (§6.7.4.1)
- (ii) [V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>1TS</sup>·V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>2</sup>] > V(intransitive)<sub>CMPD</sub> or Court’s (*ibid.* 228-30) subordinate compounds (§6.7.4.2), and psycho-collocations (*ibid.* 230-6)(§§6.7.4.3–6).

Within the psycho-collocations, there are four kinds:

- (iii)  $[V \cdot N] > V_{\text{CMPD}}$  (§6.7.4.3)
- (iv)  $[V_{\text{ADJ}} \cdot N] > V_{\text{CMPD}}$  (§6.7.4.4)
- (v)  $[N \cdot V_{\text{ADJ}}] > V_{\text{CMPD}}$  (§6.7.4.5)
- (vi)  $[N \cdot V] > V_{\text{CMPD}}$  (§6.7.4.6).

Additionally, three more constructions (found in Chapter 5) will be surveyed:

- (vii)  $[V \cdot N] > V_{\text{CMPD}}$  (§6.7.4.7)
- (viii)  $[V^1 \cdot V^2] > \text{Aux} V_{\text{CMPD}}$  (§6.7.4.8)
- (ix)  $[V^1 \cdot V^2_{\text{ASPECT/MODAL}}] > V_{\text{CMPD}}$  (§6.7.4.9).

Furthermore, what was not found in Chapter 5 are also be discussed:

- (x)  $[V^{1\text{TS}} \cdot V_{\text{ADJ}}^2] > V_{\text{CMPD}}$  (§6.7.4.10),
- (xi)  $[V_{\text{ADJ}}^1 \cdot V_{\text{ADJ}}^2] > V(\text{transitive})_{\text{CMPD}}$  (§6.7.4.11).

Thus, altogether there are eleven strategies for producing verbal compounds in Iu Mien.

#### **6.7.4.1 Co-ordinate compound verbs**

An example of  $[V^1 \cdot V^2]_{\text{CMPD}}$  is in (444):

|       |                          |               |             |
|-------|--------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| (444) | <i>Daic.zuangz</i>       | <i>mi'aqv</i> | <i>loh!</i> |
|       | ດ້າຍ.ໝັງ່າງ              | ມື້ອື້ນ       | ໂລ່ກ!       |
|       | tai↓ ts <sup>w</sup> aŋ↓ | mi↓ a?]       | lo↓         |
|       | die.die                  | TELIC         | SFP         |
|       | ‘It’s dead!’             |               |             |
|       | (Purnell 2012:116)       |               |             |

The second verb *zuangz* /ts<sup>w</sup>aŋ↓/ is a slang for ‘to die’, thus the two verbs are synonymous. Therefore an insertion of the coordinate conjunction *yaac* /ja:]/ is possible: *daic yaac zuangz* /tai↓ ja:↓ ts<sup>w</sup>aŋ↓/ [die and die] ‘It died and died!’. As a result, Court’s (1986:227) speculation that it is “a case of conjunction reduction” is the case.

However, his listing of *daaux.nqaang* as a coordinate compound verb differs to our analysis: the combination should actually be  $[V \cdot [\text{relator}, \text{noun}]]$  as in (445<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (445<sup>-1</sup>) *Ninh aengx daaux.nqaang daaih*  
 นิ่น แอ่ง ดำเนินทาง ด้วย  
*nin\ en\ ta:u\ ga:nq\ ta:i\*  
 3SG again [turn.around].back come  
 'He returned'
- (445<sup>-2</sup>) *goix nv diuh hlauv.*  
 ก้อข นี่ ตีว เอถ้า.  
*koi\ n\ diu\ lau\*  
 chop.down DEM CLF bamboo  
 '(and) chopped down that bamboo (with an ax).'  
 ( ium\_1996\_05\_Burgess\_GF\_MienLgL5;00.50.06-9)

The reason why an insertion of *maiv* 'not' is impossible (\**daaux maiv nqaang*) is that *nqaang* is not a verb. Therefore, Court's (1986:227-8) hypothesis that *daaux.nqaang* is a result of "conjunction reduction" does not hold with regard to this combination.

#### 6.7.4.2 Subordinate compound verbs

Court (1986:229) applies this construction to two adjectival verbs, the first being a head modified by the second, thus  $[V_{ADJ}^{1TS}.V_{ADJ}^{2}]_{CMPD}$  with tone sandhi, and the result is an intransitive or stative verb.

- (446) *siqv-lunx*  
 ชิ-หลุน  
*si?l lun\*  
 be.red-be.young  
 'light red'  
 (Court 1986:229)

Certain productivity in this construction can be observed in the reduplication of an adjectival verb with tone sandhi as in (447):

- (447) *siepv-siepv nyei.*  
 เชี่ยบๆ เนี่ย.  
*siep\ siep\ nei\*  
 be.quick-be.quick ASST  
 '(He/she does things) very quickly.'

This  $[V_{ADJ}^{1TS}.V_{ADJ}^{2}]_{CMPD}$ , which yields an intransitive or stative verb should be contrasted to §6.7.4.11, which is a transitive verb.

### 6.7.4.3 Psycho-collocation 1: [V·N]<sub>CMPD</sub>

Psycho-collocation compound verbs occur with a limited number of body part terms. In Mien *hnyouv* /j̥iəv̥/ ‘heart’, its Chinese-loan counter-part *fim* /fim˧/ ‘heart’, *daamv* /ta:m̥/ ‘gall bladder’, and *qiex* /cʰiə˧/ ‘breath’, a Chinese-loan *mueic* /mʷeic˩/ ‘eye’, are found to be used in this construction.

An example of psycho-collocation compound verb has the structure [V·N]<sub>CMPD</sub>, where the N is a ‘heart’ as in (448)(a repetition of (237)):

- (448) *bieqc.hnyouv*  
 ເບිංච ເຫຍຸ້ງວ  
*piə?˥ j̥iəv̥/*  
 enter.heart  
 ‘understand’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_WK-FH\_Metalanguage;00.03.57)

The same expression *bieqc.hnyouv* can take complement (object) and the combination as a whole is preceded by a negative particle *mai*v, not inserted, as in (449):

- (449) *Yie mai bieqc.hnyouv meih.*  
 ເຢිය ໄມ ເບිංච ເຫຍຸ້ງວ ເມේຍ.  
*iə˧ mai˥ piə?˥ j̥iəv̥/ mei˧*  
 1SG NEG enter.heart 2 SG  
 ‘I don’t understand you.’  
 (ium\_20150511\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;01.11.20-3)

*Bieqc.hnyouv* could be a calque from Thai *khâu cai* [enter heart] (ເຂົ້າໃຈ) ‘to understand, know’. Panh (2002:13), who originally came from Laos, recording his dialect spoken in Laos and US, defines *bieqc.hnyouv* as ‘to know, to understand.’

Other examples of [V·N]<sub>CMPD</sub> are:

- (450) *bungx.hnyouv* /puŋ˧ j̥iəv̥/ /  
 [release.heart]  
 ‘to trust’ (the compound functions as a transitive verb)

- (451) *dingc.hnyouv* /tiŋ˧ j̥iəv̥/ /  
 [fix.heart]  
 ‘to decide’ (the compound functions as an intransitive verb)

#### 6.7.4.4 Psycho-collocation 2: $[V_{ADJ} \cdot N]_{CMPD}$

In the psycho-collocation  $[V_{ADJ} \cdot N]_{CMPD}$ , the N can be an Iu Mien original *hnyouuv* /ŋøeuŋ/ or Chinese-loan *fiem* /fømŋ/ ‘heart’, or its variant *fim* /fimŋ/ ‘core’ (cf. §6.6.2). However, the Chinese-loan *fiem* or *fim* cannot be used in  $[V \cdot N]_{CMPD}$  of §6.7.4.3.

A ‘small heart(core)’ means ‘to be careful, vigilant, prudent’ as in (452):

|       |  |              |                                |                           |
|-------|--|--------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (452) | <i>Mingh</i>   | <i>aeqv,</i> | <i>aqv.zuqc</i> <sup>146</sup> | <i>faix.fim.</i>          |
|       | မိုး   | အခီး,        | ခီး.ဟနူ                        | မြန်.ပါမဲ့                |
|       | <i>minj</i> ↓  | <i>ε?</i> ↑  | <i>a?</i> ↑ <i>tsu?</i> ↓      | <i>fai</i> ↓ <i>fim</i> ↑ |
|       | go   | PDP          | must                           | [be.small].core           |
|       | ‘When you go, you must take care.’   |              |                                |                           |
|       | <i>(Faam Baeqv Aengh Doih [A Story of Faam-Bae and Aeng-Doi], Arisawa (2006:70))</i> |              |                                |                           |

This order in  $[V_{ADJ} \cdot N]_{CMPD}$  refers to a temporal condition whereas the reverse order  $[N \cdot V_{ADJ}]_{CMPD}$  describes a more permanent state of the heart. Contrast (453<sup>-1-2</sup>) with (454<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                      |  |                            |  |
|----------------------|--|----------------------------|--|
| (453 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>“Yie</i>  | <i>kouv.hnyouuv.”</i>      |  |
|                      | “ရှိယ  | ကြား.ဆျော်ယာ.”             |  |
|                      | <i>iə</i> ↑  | <i>kʰəb</i> ↑ <i>ŋøb</i> ↑ |  |
|                      | 1SG  | [be.tired].heart           |  |
|                      | ‘I am so distressed.’  |                            |  |
|                      | <i>(ium_20150511_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;01.13.34-5)</i> |                            |  |

|                      |  |              |               |                              |
|----------------------|--|--------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| (453 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>hnamv</i>   | <i>mai</i> v | <i>tong</i>   | <i>hai</i> v. <i>nyungc.</i> |
|                      | ဆန္မံများ  | မှို့        | တွေ           | မြှံး.ဟျွှံး.                |
|                      | <i>ŋnam</i> ↑  | <i>mai</i> ↑ | <i>tʰoŋ</i> ↓ | <i>hai</i> ↑ <i>jnuŋ</i> ↓   |
|                      | think  | NEG          | go.through    | anything                     |
|                      | ‘(you) can’t think through anything (because you are so emotionally tired).’ |              |               |                              |
|                      | <i>(ium_20150511_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;01.14.21-2)</i>                 |              |               |                              |

Negation of (453<sup>-1</sup>) is *Yie mai v kouv.hnyouuv*, meaning that ‘I can manage by thinking through because the situation is not too difficult for me’.

Conversely, the order  $[N \cdot V_{ADJ}]$  means illness as explained in (454<sup>-1-3</sup>):

<sup>146</sup> *Aqv.zuqc* is a variant of *oix.zuqc* ‘must’.

(454<sup>-1</sup>) “Yie      ***hnyouv.kouv.***”  
 “ຢືຍ  
 ເຮັດວຽກ.ໂຄ້າ.”

iə́  
 1SG      ງິຈອບ່າ kʰອບ່າ  
 heart.[be.tired]  
 ‘I feel sick at heart.’

(454<sup>-2</sup>) *hnangv*    *deix*    *butv*                 *baengc*    *nyei*    *jauv.*  
 ຂັ້ນ      ເຕ່ຍ      ປຶດ                 ແປ່ງ      ໄລຍ      ເຈົ້າ.  
*nqŋy*    *tei*    *put*                 *pεŋ*    *nei*    *cau*  
 like      some      be.contracted      disease      REL      way  
 ‘it’s like illness.’

(454<sup>-3</sup>) *Benx*    *butv*                 *baengc*    *nyei*    *eix.leiz*    *aqv.*  
 ເປັນ      ປຶດ                 ແປ່ງ      ໄລຍ      ເອີ່ມ,ເລີ່ມ      ອີ່ວ.  
*pen*    *put*                 *pεŋ*    *nei*    *ei*    *lei*    *a?*  
 be      be.contracted      disease      REL      meaning      NSIT  
 ‘it becomes the meaning of sickness.’

(ium\_20150511\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;01.14.32-50)

Similarly, compare (455) with (456):

(455) “***Jorm.hnyouv***”    *se*    *maaih*    *lamh*    *hnamv.*  
 “ອອມ.ເຮັດວຽກ”      ເຊ  
 ດົມ່າ ກິຈອບ່າ      *se*    *ma:i*    *lam*    *nqam*  
 [be.hot].heart      TOP      have      foothold      think  
 “To be enthusiastic” means that you have a hope.’

(ium\_20150511\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;01.16.02-3)

(456) “***Hnyouv.jorm***”    *naaic*    *benx*    *butv*                 *baengc*    *nyei*    *jauv.*  
 “ເຮັດວຽກ.ອອມ”      ມໍາຍ  
 ກິຈອບ່າ ດົມ່າ      *na:i*    *pen*    *put*                 *pεŋ*    *nei*    *cau*  
 heart.[be.hot]      DEM      be      be.contracted      disease      REL      way  
 “A bladder infection” is a disease.’

(ium\_20150511\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;01.15.54-7)

It is important to note the difference in meaning by the reverse order exemplified between (453<sup>-1-2</sup>) and (454<sup>-1-3</sup>), and between (455) and (456). To repeat a general principle, as already been mentioned, as below:

- the compound with the order [V<sub>ADJ</sub>-N] refers to a temporal condition of the person's feeling, and
- the compound with the order [N-V<sub>ADJ</sub>] refers to permanent state of the heart or persistent personality of the person.

The contrast between them will be further made clear in the next section, §6.7.4.5.

#### **6.7.4.5 Psycho-collocation 3: [N·V<sub>ADJ</sub>]<sub>CMPD</sub>**

In the reverse order compared to the construction [V<sub>ADJ</sub>-N]<sub>CMPD</sub> discussed in the previous section, the third psycho-collocation is [N·V<sub>ADJ</sub>]<sub>CMPD</sub>. In this psycho-collocation [N·V<sub>ADJ</sub>], the N is 'the gall bladder'. 'A big gall bladder' means 'to be brave, bold'. Depending on a context, excessive boldness, as can be seen in (457<sup>1-3</sup>), can mean contemptuousness or recklessness as in (457<sup>4</sup>):

|                     |           |       |       |       |          |          |
|---------------------|-----------|-------|-------|-------|----------|----------|
| (457 <sup>1</sup> ) | Se.gorngv | haaix | dauh  | zoux  | m'normh  | hoz      |
|                     | ສື່ກ້ອງ   | ຫາຍ   | ເຕົ້າ | ໄທດວ  | ມນ່ອມ    | ໂຈ້      |
|                     | seɪ kɔŋ˥  | ha:i˧ | tau˧  | tsəʊ˧ | ມນ̚ ນົມ˧ | ho˧      |
|                     | if        | what  | CLF   | make  | ear      | be.thick |

'If anyone becomes stubborn deliberately,'

|                     |      |         |
|---------------------|------|---------|
| (457 <sup>2</sup> ) | maiv | muangx, |
|                     | ໄມ້  | ໝາງຊ,   |
|                     | mai˥ | mʷaŋ˧   |
|                     | NEG  | listen  |

'becomes obstinate,'

|                     |             |        |     |       |      |       |
|---------------------|-------------|--------|-----|-------|------|-------|
| (457 <sup>3</sup> ) | hnamv.daaih | mienv  | mv  | buatc | ninh | mbuo, |
|                     | ຫນັ້ນ.ຕ້າຍ  | ເມື່ອນ | ມ້  | ປວັດ  | ນິນ  | ບັວ,  |
|                     | ຫຼັມ˥ taa˧  | miən˥  | ມ້˥ | pʷat˧ | nin˧ | buə˧  |
|                     | think       | spirit | NEG | see   | 3    | PL    |

'(and) assumes that the spirits would not see you'

- (457<sup>-4</sup>)    *zoux daamv.hlo, za'gengh haih hoic.*  
 ໄທຕວ ຕໍາມ.ໂສລ, ຂຕະເກິ່ງ ໄອ ມ່ອຍ.  
*tsəʊ̯ tsə:m̩ ɻoɪ tsa keŋ̩ hai hɔi*  
 make gall.[be.big] really be.able harm  
 '(and if) deliberately behave in a contemptuous manner, they really can harm you.'
- (Burgess & Yunh Zoih, 1970s, *Mieny Nyei Jauv Caux Tin-Hungh Nyei Jauv [The Ways of Spirits and the Ways of God]*, KMB)

With *hnyouv /j̥əʊ̯v̩/* ‘heart’ in the N slot of [N·V<sub>ADJ</sub>]<sub>CMPD</sub>, see an example as in (458<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (458<sup>-1</sup>)    *Yiem wuov bueix faa-ziepc faam [hnoi]*  
 ເມຍ ວ້າ ເປວີຢ ຝາ-ເຫດີບພ ຝາມ [ຫນອຍ]  
*jem̩ uə̯ pʷei̯ fa: ts̩əp̩ faam̩ ɻuči̯*  
 be.at DEM sleep thirty three [days]  
 '(we) spent thirty three days there.'
- (458<sup>-2</sup>)    *ninh mbuo gorngv "Haiz hnyouv.mun haic" nor,*  
 ນິ່ນ ບ້າ ກື້ອງ "ໄຊ ເຮັດີວຸມນ ໄກ໌" ນອ,  
*nin̩ buə̯ kɔ̯ŋ̩ "Haiz j̥əʊ̯b̩ ɻuči̯ mun̩ hai*  
 3 PL say feel heart.hurt very as  
 'They [the locals] said they were very grieved at heart, so,'
- (458<sup>-3</sup>)    *Gorngv "Haiz hnyouv.mun haic", maaih deix nyiemv.*  
 ກື້ອງ "ໄຊ ເຮັດີວຸມນ ໄກ໌", ມ່າຍ ເຕືຍ ເຜື້ອມ.  
*kɔ̯ŋ̩ hai j̥əʊ̯b̩ ɻuči̯ mun̩ maih tei nem̩*  
 say feel heart.hurt very have some cry  
 '(they) said "We are very sad (to see you off)", (and) some were crying.'
- (Lombard 1964, Tape 5228, *Account of Laos Trip*)

With this construction the negative particle *maiv* must occur between the constituents as in (459):

- (459)    *Yie hnyouv maiv mun.*  
 ເມຍ ເຮັດີວ ໄກ໌ ມູນ.  
*iə̯ ɻj̥əʊ̯v̩ mai̯ mun̩*  
 1SG heart NEG hurt  
 'I am not grieved.'
- (ium\_20150511\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;01.12.28-9)

In order to reiterate the contrast between the [V<sub>ADJ</sub>·N] referring to a temporal condition and the [N·V<sub>ADJ</sub>] referring to a permanent state or personality, see the following pair:

- (452) *faix.fim* /faiχ̥ fim/ (from §6.7.4.4)  
[be.small heart/core]  
'to be careful' (in particular situation)

- (457<sup>-4</sup>) *daamv.hlo* /ta:m̄ l̄o/ /  
[gall.bladder be.big]  
'to be brave' (as to character or personality)

The opposite of (457<sup>-4</sup>) *daamv.hlo* is *daamv.faix* /ta:m̄ faiχ̥/ [gall.bladder be.small] 'to be coward', rather than \**faix.daamv* [be.small gall.bladder]. The latter is non-existent even though the order is the same as (452). More colloquially, *faix.hnyouv* /faiχ̥ n̄jəu/ / [be.small heart] means 'to be easily hurt, offended' or 'to be overly sensitive' in a temporary situation (e.g. a few words of encouragement will soon recover a person from such a state).

Adding one more instance of this construction, which contains a culturally important body part noun *mueic* /mʷei/ 'eye', probably from Chinese *mù* (目)(cf. (330<sup>-1</sup>)):

- (460) *mueic.jieqv* /mʷei/ ciəʔ/ /  
[eye be.black]  
'to be envious, jealous, covetous, lustful' (Purnell 2012:445)

For this expression, the Iu Mien original word *m'zing* /m tsinŋ/ 'eye' is not used.

#### **6.7.4.6 Psycho-collocation 4: [N·V]<sub>CMPD</sub>**

This psycho-collocation compound verb has the structure [N·V]<sub>CMPD</sub>, where the N is *qiex* /cʰiəχ̥/ 'breath' as in (461):

- (461) *E:::rh gerh<sup>147</sup> haiz qiez.jiez haic.*  
 อี๊ ก๊ะ ไฮซ์ เจีย.เจี้ย ハイ.  
 ə:::::: ;kə\: hai\: cʰiə\: ciə\: hai\: 2SG  
 INTJ really feel breath.rise very  
 ‘Oh, (he) really felt very angry.’  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauh  
 Jaauz;00.02.35-38)

A complement-taking use of *qiez.jiez* is also attested as in (462):

- (462) *Ninh qiez.jiez yie.*  
 นิ่น เจีย.เจี้ย เยีຍ.  
 nin\: cʰiə\: ciə\: iə\: 1SG  
 2SG be.angry 1SG  
 ‘He/she is angry with me.’  
 (Field Notes 20150511, KMB)

The negative particle precedes *qiez.jiez* as in *mai⁹ qiez.jiez* to mean ‘not to be angry’, g.e., *Yie mai⁹ qiez.jiez meih /iə\: mai⁹ cʰiə\: ciə\: mei\: [1SG NEG be.angry 2SG]* ‘I am not angry with you.’

#### 6.7.4.7 Noun-containing compound verbs: $[V\cdot N]_{CNPD}$

This type has been encountered as early as (160<sup>-1</sup>) in §5.2, now repeated as (463):

- (463) *Yie hnamv.daaih oix.zuqc jiez.gorn fiev.*  
 (160<sup>-1</sup>) เยีຍ หนัม.ด້າຍ อືອຍ.ຫຸດ ເຈີຍ.ກອນ ເພື່ຍ  
 iə\: tʰam\: ta:i\: o:i\: tsu?\: ciə\: kɔn\: fiə\: 1  
 think must raise.root write  
 ‘I think you must begin writing.’  
 (ium\_20130528\_01\_H1\_DA\_GueixFongc\_MienhWaac\_  
 KMB;00.00.39-40)

Note that no tone sandhi is observed.

It was established that tone sandhi is only an additional confirming element to identify certain types of compound nouns (cf. §3.3.3.6, §6.2.2, and §6.4). Therefore, in the following examples of [V·N] compound verbs, no tone sandhi is involved.

---

<sup>147</sup> *gerh* [Q:*gerh*, K:*gengh*], the close-mid front vowel /e/ of *gengh* ‘really’ changed into the close-mid central vowel *er* [ə] to express the participant’s gnashing enacted by the storyteller.

(464) *nqoi.nzuih /gɔi˥ dzui˧/*

[open mouth]

‘to permit, allow’

(465) *liuc.leiz /liu˨ lei˧/*

[sustain custom]

‘to prepare, wait on’

When we compare (464) and (465) with the following examples of (466) and (467), we are again confronted with the problem of ambiguity between the compounds and syntactic phrases. In (466) and (467) both the guise of compound and syntactic phrase can be observed:

(466) *liepc hnyouv (oix zoux) /l̥ep˥ j̥jøu˥ (ɔi˧ tsəu˧)/*

[establish heart (want do)]

‘to be determined to (do something)’

(467) *jiez hnyouv (zoux) /ciə˧ j̥jøu˥ (tsəu˧)/*

[raise heart (do)]

‘to do something intentionally or deliberately’

That is, on one hand, the characteristic of psycho-collocation is evident in having *hnyouv /j̥jøu˥/* ‘heart’ in them. On the other hand, the transparency of semantic composition is also readily noticed, i.e., {establish}{heart} = ‘to be determined to do’ in (466), and {raise}{heart} = ‘to be deliberate’ in (467).

Finally in this section, in contrast to the examples (463) - (467), which are all transitive verbal compounds, an intransitive construction is exemplified in (468):

(468) *Mv gengh cuotv.seix mv bei.*

ມໍ ເກົ່າ ຂ້າດ.ເສຍ ມໍ ແປ່ງ.

m˥ keŋ˥ tsʰət˥ sei˥ m˥ pei˥

NEG yet exit.life NEG know

‘I suppose (our daughter) wasn’t born (then) yet.’

(ium\_20110919\_01\_Olympus\_DA\_ZoihZou\_FlashFlood;00.04.10-1)

#### 6.7.4.8 Compound auxiliary verbs: [V<sup>1</sup>·V<sup>2</sup>] > AuxV<sub>CMPD</sub>

The example in the previous section (463) contains the construction [V<sup>1</sup>·V<sup>2</sup>], which yields a compound auxiliary verb, repeated as (469):

|                      |  |                    |                 |                  |              |
|----------------------|--|--------------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------|
| (469)                | <i>Yie</i>   | <i>hnamv.daaih</i> | <i>oix.zuqc</i> | <i>jiez.gorn</i> | <i>fiev.</i> |
| (160 <sup>-1</sup> ) | ເມື່ອ  | ຮນ້ຳ.ຕໍ່າຍ         | ອ້ອຍ.ໜຸ້ງ       | ເຈີ້ບ.ກອນ        | ເປົ້າຍ       |
|                      | iə̄  | ຖ້ານມ່າ ta:iŋ      | ວິ່າ tsu?]      | ciə̄ kɔn̄        | fiə̄         |
| 1                    | think  | must               | raise.root      | write            |              |
|                      | 'I think you must begin writing.'                            |                    |                 |                  |              |
|                      | (ium_20130528_01_H1_DA_GueixFongc_MienhWaac_KMB;00.00.39-40) |                    |                 |                  |              |

In addition to (469), all the other compound auxiliary verbs similarly contain an adversative *zuqc* /tsu?]/ ‘to touch’.

- *oix.zuqc* /ciə̄ tsu?]/ [want TOUCH<sub>ADVERSATIVE</sub>] ‘must’
- *horpc.zuqc* /hɔp] tsu?]/ [be.right TOUCH<sub>ADVRS</sub>] ‘should, ought to’
- *qiemx.zuqc* /cʰjem] tsu?]/ [be.neccessary TOUCH<sub>ADVRS</sub>] ‘need to’
- *mai.v.zuqc* /mai^ tsu?]/ [NEG TOUCH<sub>ADVRS</sub>] and its contracted form *mv.zuqc* /m̄] tsu?]/ ‘need not (to)’

The adversative TOUCH-verb *zuqc* will be discussed under the chapter heading “benefactives and malefactors” in Chapter 17.

One interesting example was found with *horpc.zuqc* ‘should, ought to’. Usually, the auxiliary compound verbs are immediately followed by a main verb as in (469) or simply *oix.zuqc fiev* [must write]. However, an instance in which the auxiliary compound verb and the main verb are separated by an NP is in (470):

|       |   |                   |                   |               |
|-------|---|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| (470) | ( <i>Hnangv.nor</i> )   | <i>horpc.zuqc</i> | <i>hai.v.dauh</i> | <i>fungx?</i> |
|       | (ຮນ້ຳ.ນອ)   | ຫອບ.ໜຸ້ງ          | ໄຊ້.ຕໍ່າ          | ຝົງ?          |
|       | ຖ້ານມ່າ   | hɔp] tsu?]        | hai^ tauŋ         | fun̄g]        |
|       | like.as   | should            | who               | send          |
|       | 'Then, who should send (the spirits back to their world after finishing a ceremony)?' |                   |                   |               |
|       | (ium_c1970_03_CT_x_y_TradReligion_3_1;00.06.24-7)                                     |                   |                   |               |

Note that a likely order *Haiv.dauh horpc.zuqc fungx?* [who should send] ‘who should send (the spirits)?’ is not used in this context. Though we defer discussion to the section of “malefactive touch” in §17.6, a gist of argument can be laid out as follows. The compliment-taking *zuqc* can take a clause as a conceptual event given Principle 5:

**Principle 5:** A vague distinction between “parts-of-speech” is normal. A Noun-Verb distinction is flexible on the part of verbs in Iu Mien. A verb, an adjectival verb or even a clause can be treated as one (big) noun (§4.2.1).

That is to say, the obligation that is expressed by *horpc.zuqc* makes an adversative contact with a clause (i.e. a big noun) *haiv.dauh fungx*. Therefore the sense of would be: ‘Whose obligation/responsibility is it to send (the spirits back away)?’

#### 6.7.4.9 Compound whose V<sup>2</sup> is aspectual/modal:

$[V^1 \cdot V^2_{\text{ASPECT/MODAL}}]_{\text{CMPD}}$

There is a small group of compound construction [V<sup>1</sup>·V<sup>2</sup>] where V<sup>2</sup> is an aspectual or modal verb. The V<sup>2</sup> is either an aspectual verb *daaih* /ta:i˥/ ‘to COME (PERFECT)’ or a modal verb *duqv* /tu?˥/ ‘to GET/ATTAIN’. The compliment-taking characteristic of *duqv* ‘to get’ will be analysed in contrast with *zuqc* /tsu?˥/ ‘to touch (adversively)’ in Chapter 17.

Once again the same example sentence (463)(a repetition of (160<sup>-1</sup>) examined in §6.7.4.7 contains the construction  $[V^1 \cdot V^2_{\text{ASPECT/MODAL}}]_{\text{CMPD}}$  with the PERFECT aspectual verb *daaih* as in (471):

|  |            |                           |                                     |
|--|------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (471)  | <i>Yie</i> | <b><i>hnamv.daaih</i></b> | [ <i>oix.zuqc jiez.gorn fiev</i> ]. |
| (463)  | ເມື່ອ      | ຮນ້າມ.ຕ້າຍ                | [ເອ້ອຍ.ຫດຸ ເຈື້ອ.ກອນ ເພື່ອ]         |
| (160 <sup>-1</sup> )   | iə˥        | ຖູນມາ˥ ta:i˥              | ວິໄລ tsu?˥ ciə˥ kɔn˥ fiə˥           |
| 1 think.come must raise.root write                           |            |                           |                                     |
| 'I think you must begin writing.'                            |            |                           |                                     |
| (ium_20130528_01_H1_DA_GueixFongc_MienhWaac_KMB;00.00.39-40) |            |                           |                                     |

If *hnamv* itself is uttered, it can either mean ‘to love’ or ‘to think (by yourself)’. But combined with *daaih*, the compound takes a complement which is indicated by the square brackets.

Similarly, the complement-taking function of object-taking of modal *duqv* is exemplified in (472<sup>-1,3</sup>):

|                      |              |              |              |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| (472 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Ziouv</i> | <i>Ye^su</i> | <i>aac</i> , |
|                      | ເຕີບວ        | ເຢ່າງ        | ອ່າ,         |
|                      | tsiəu˥       | je˥ su˥      | a:˩          |
|                      | lord         | Jesus        | VOC          |
|                      | 'Lord Jesus, |              |              |

|                      |               |                         |              |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------------------|--------------|
| (472 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>yie</i>    | <b><i>hiuv.duqv</i></b> | <i>⟨meih</i> |
|                      | ເຍ            | ຂຶ້ວ.ດູກວ               | ເມື່ອ        |
|                      | iə̄l          | hiuጀ tu?l               | meiጀ         |
|                      | 1SG           | know.get                | 2SG          |
|                      | 'I know you.' |                         |              |

|                      |   |              |             |             |             |                 |
|----------------------|---|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (472 <sup>-3</sup> ) | [ <i>zeix</i>   | <i>lungh</i> | <i>zeix</i> | <i>ndau</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>Ziouv]</i> . |
|                      | [ເຫດຍ   | ລູ່ງ         | [ເຫດຍ       | [ດາ         | ແນຍ         | ເຕີ້ຫວາ].       |
|                      | tseiጀ   | lunghጀ       | tseiጀ       | dauጀ        | neiጀ        | tsiጀeuጀ         |
|                      | create  | heaven       | create      | earth       | REL         | lord            |
|                      | '(that you are) the Lord who created the heaven and the earth.' |              |             |             |             |                 |
|                      | (ium_1966_03_PERMATON_ViggoSogaard_Gueix-Cing;00.00.32-6)       |              |             |             |             |                 |

At this point, the complement-taking function of *daaih* and *duqv* (and possibly *zuqc*) should be noted in the compound verbs and compound auxiliaries. This issue will be further discussed under the section “complementation” in §18.4. There is an inconsistency among the young Iu Mien in that while the Thai-influenced complement marker *gorngv* /kɔŋጀ/ ‘to say’ (from Thai *wâa*) often follows *hiuv.duqv* as in *hiuv.duqv gorngv* [know say] ‘to know that’, *hnamv.daaih* is not followed by it yet (e.g. \**hnamv.daaih gorngv* is not attested.)

#### 6.7.4.10 Adjective-containing compound verb: [ $V^{1^{TS}} \cdot V_{ADJ}^2$ ]<sub>CMPD</sub>

This construction [ $V^{1^{TS}} \cdot V_{ADJ}^2$ ] >  $V_{CMPD}$  was illustrated earlier in (264) in §6.4, now repeated as (473):

|       |       |  |             |             |                       |
|-------|-------|--|-------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| (473) | (...) | <i>mv.baac</i>   | <i>tiuv</i> | <i>qiex</i> | <b>"gorngv-baeqc"</b> |
| (264) |       | ມໍ.ປ້າ   | ທຶວ         | ໄສ້ຢ        | "ກ້ອງ-ແປ້ຈ"           |
|       |       | mጀ pa:ጀ  | tጀiuጀ       | cጀiəጀ       | kɔŋጀ pe?ጀ             |
|       |       | but  | change      | air         | speak-be.white        |
|       |       | '...but (in this case you should) change the tone to /kɔŋጀ pe?ጀ/.' |             |             |                       |
|       |       | (ium_20150520_05_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.13.32-3)              |             |             |                       |

This example was used in §6.4 to show that the presence of tone sandhi is more natural to the native speaker’s ears although the alternative *gorngv baeqc* without it may be permissible despite a feeling of unnaturalness.

To confirm that the presence of tone sandhi could be the norm in the construction [ $V^{1^{TS}} \cdot V_{ADJ}^2$ ], see (474):

- (474) *ceng-hlo*  
 ເຈັງ-ໂສດ  
*ts<sup>h</sup>ejŋ˥ lɔ˧*  
 praise-be.big  
 ‘to be proud, conceited, boastful’  
 (Purnell 2012:81)

#### 6.7.4.11 Adjective-containing compound verb: [V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>1</sup>.V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>2</sup>] > V(transitive)<sub>CMPD</sub>

The last item in the verbal compound section is the construction [V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>1</sup>.V<sub>ADJ</sub><sup>2</sup>], which forms a transitive verb. In the following example, an object of the compound verb has to be supplied contextually. The verbal nature is evidenced by the assertive/affirmative aspectual particle *nyei* as in as in (475):

- (475) *Meih mbuo ganh nqa'haav.hingv mengh.baeqc nyei.*  
 ເມේຍ ມ්ව ກ້ນ ນະຫ້າວ.ຂຶງ ເມັງ.ແປກ  
*mei˥ buə˧ kan˥ ga ha:˥ hiŋ˥ men˥ pe?˥* *ŋei˧*  
 2 PL self later [be.bright].[be.white] ASST  
 ‘You yourselves will understand (it) later.’  
 (ium\_1966\_03\_PERMATON\_ViggoSogaard\_Gueix-Cing;00.01.17-8)

Negative particle *mai<sup>v</sup>* (or its contracted form *mv*) precedes the compound verb as in (476):

- (476) *Yie mai<sup>v</sup> mengh.baeqc ninh.*  
 ເຢීຍ ໄມ් ເມັງ.ແປກ ນິນ.  
*iə˧ mai˥ men˥ pe?˥* *nin˧*  
 1SG NEG [be.bright].[be.white] 3 SG  
 ‘I don’t understand her/him.’  
 (Field Note 201603)

## 6.8 Adjectival Compounds

In this section, (i) morphosyntactic characteristics of adjectival compounds, (ii) adjectival compounds that are not results of productive principles (i.e. non-productive adjectival compounds), and (iii) adjectival compounds that are resulted from a productive process of prefixing *kuh* ‘to be easy/comfortable to do something’

are presented (i.e. productive adjectival compounds). All of these constructions behave as compound adjectival verbs.

### 6.8.1 Morphosyntactic Characteristics of Adjectival Compounds

When the following criteria are met, such compounds are adjectival compounds.

- Semantically, two constituents carry one meaning and the combined unit functions like one adjective. When decomposed, one of the constituents by itself does not have the same meaning as the compound adjective.
- The compounds can take the assertive (stative or affirmative) aspectual particle *nyei* at the end.
- The compounds can be preceded by the negative particle *maiv* but they cannot be separated by inserting it.
- The compound can be used in the comparative construction [*gauh Adj<sub>CMPD</sub>*] and [*gauh Adj<sub>CMPD</sub> jiex*].
- The compound can be followed by various intensifiers such as *haic* ‘very’, *gau* ‘really’, and *daic* ‘extremely’.

These criteria are applicable to both non-productive adjectival compounds and productive adjectival compounds.

### 6.8.2 Non-productive Adjectival Compounds

Non-productive adjectival compounds occur in such combinations as [adjectival verb + morphan] (see §6.7.3 for “morphan”), [morphan + morphan], [V + adjectival verb], or [V + N].

For example, a morpheme *hungh* as the decomposed element of the compound *hungh.hec* ‘to be easy’ does not have the same meaning with the compound. Though *hec* still means ‘to be easy’, another morpheme *hungh* only means a ‘king’, which has nothing to do with ‘being easy’; thus *hungh* is a morphan in this adjectival compound. The use of a morphan is unpredictable in such a combination. In this sense, *hungh.hec* is a non-productive adjectival compound.

One of the constituents in *wangc.siangx* ‘to be healthy’ can still mean the same as in (477<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                                    |               |                 |                  |                |                  |                                   |                 |                   |
|------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (477 <sup>-1</sup> )               | <i>Hnangv</i> | <i>yie</i>      | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>ih</i>      | <i>hnyangx</i>   | <i>horpc.zuqc</i>                 | <i>oix</i>      | <i>zoux,</i>      |
|                                    | ဆုံး          | ခီး             | ပာ့              | ဦး             | ဟန္တ်            | ဟဝါ.မၢူ                           | ခုံး            | ໄိမာ့,            |
|                                    | နှေ့၁         | iə <sup>1</sup> | buə <sup>1</sup> | i <sup>1</sup> | jāŋ <sup>1</sup> | hɔp <sup>1</sup> tsu <sup>2</sup> | ci <sup>1</sup> | tsəp <sup>1</sup> |
| like 1 PL this year should will do |               |                 |                  |                |                  |                                   |                 |                   |

‘Suppose we should attempt to cultivate this year,’

|   |                                |                                   |                |                  |
|---|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| (477 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>buatc</i>                   | <i>liangx-ndeic</i>               | <i>mv</i>      | <i>wangc.</i>    |
|   | ပြာ့                           | ဟလီယံ-ငော့                        | မျှ            | ဘာ့၏             |
|   | p <sup>w</sup> at <sup>1</sup> | lāŋ <sup>1</sup> dei <sup>1</sup> | m <sup>1</sup> | waŋ <sup>1</sup> |
|   | see                            | hill.field-field                  | NEG            | be.healthy       |
| ‘(then) see that the fields are not healthy, (then we have to do spirit ceremony).’ |                                |                                   |                |                  |

(Burgess & Yunh Zoih, 1970s, *Mien Nyei Jauv Caux Tin-Hungh Nyei Leiz* [Ways of Spirits and God’s Law])

The morpheme *siangx* by itself has different senses such as ‘to venerate’ or ‘to scold’, which have nothing to do with ‘being healthy’. Thus, *siangx* in *wangc.siangx* ‘to be healthy’ is a morphan.

The criteria presented in §6.8.1 are shown as applicable in the following examples. A compound adjectival verb stands as a predicate with the assertive aspectual verb as in (478a):

|               |                                  |                  |
|---------------|----------------------------------|------------------|
| (478a)        | <i>Hungh.hec</i>                 | <i>nyei.</i>     |
|               | ရွှေ့.ဘံ                         | ဧည့်.            |
|               | hun <sup>1</sup> he <sup>1</sup> | nei <sup>1</sup> |
|               | be.easy                          | ASST             |
| ‘It is easy.’ |                                  |                  |

(Purnell 2012:716)

It can be negated by the particle *mai*v as in (478b):

|                   |                  |                                  |
|-------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|
| (478b)            | <i>Maiv</i>      | <i>hungh.hec.</i>                |
|                   | မျှိုး           | ရွှေ့.ဘံ.                        |
|                   | mai <sup>1</sup> | hun <sup>1</sup> he <sup>1</sup> |
|                   | NEG              | be.easy                          |
| ‘It is not easy.’ |                  |                                  |

Note that the assertive particle *nyei* (usually) does not occur with the negative particle *mai⁹*.

A compound adjectival verb can occur in the comparison construction as in (478c):

|        |             |                  |                  |
|--------|-------------|------------------|------------------|
| (478c) | <b>Gauh</b> | <i>hungh.hec</i> | ( <i>nyei</i> ). |
|        | ເກົ້າ       | ຮູ້ງ.ເທ່າ        | (ເຄືຍ).          |
|        | kau↓        | hunj↓ he↓        | jnei↓            |
|        | more        | be.easy          | ASST             |

'It is easier.'

It is modified by an adverb as in (478d):

|        |                  |              |
|--------|------------------|--------------|
| (478d) | <i>Hungh.hec</i> | <b>haic.</b> |
|        | ຮູ້ງ.ເທ່າ        | ໄຫ້.         |
|        | hunj↓ he↓        | hai↓         |
|        | be.easy          | very         |

'It is very easy.'

An adjectival compound can be adverbialised by the particle *nyei* as in (479<sup>-1</sup><sup>3</sup>):

|                      |                  |               |             |              |             |             |
|----------------------|------------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (479 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Tov</i> [...] | <i>guangc</i> | <i>zoux</i> | <i>waaic</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>sic,</i> |
|                      | ໄທ້ [...]        | ກວ່າງ         | ໄທດວ        | ຫວ່າຍ        | ເສູຍ        | ສີ,         |
|                      | tʰoŋ             | kʷaŋj↓        | tsəp↓       | wai↓         | jnei↓       | si↓         |
|                      | beseech          | abandon       | do          | be.bad       | REL         | matter      |

'Please [King Nebuchadnezzar] break off your iniquities'

|                      |                   |              |             |               |               |              |              |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| (479 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>korv-lienh</i> | <i>mienh</i> | <i>jomc</i> | <i>mienh.</i> | <i>Hnangv</i> | <i>naaic</i> | <i>nziex</i> |
|                      | ກ້ອ-ເລື່ອນ        | ເມື່ອນ       | ຈ່ານ        | ເມື່ອນ.       | ຮັນ້ງ         | ໜ່າຍ         | ເຫຼືກ        |
|                      | kʰɔŋ              | l̥eŋ         | miən↓       | com↓          | miən↓         | ຫຼາງໝາຍ      | naai↓        |
|                      | show.pity         | people       | be.poor     | people        | like          | DEM          | be.afraid    |

'by showing mercy to the oppressed, that there may perhaps'

|                     |  |                  |                   |  |                  |                  |                  |
|---------------------|--|------------------|-------------------|--|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| (479 <sup>3</sup> ) | <i>meih</i>  | <i>haih</i>      | <i>duqv</i>       | <b><i>bungx-zuoqc</i></b>              | <i>nyei</i>      | <i>yiem</i>      | <i>lauh.</i>     |
|                     | ມ່າຍ   | ໄຂ               | ດີ                | ບຸນກະຫວັນ                              | ເງິຍ             | ເມືອນ            | ເລຳ.             |
|                     | mei <sup>1</sup>   | hai <sup>1</sup> | tu <sup>2</sup> ˥ | pun <sup>1</sup> ˥ tsuə <sup>2</sup> ˥ | ŋei <sup>1</sup> | jem <sup>1</sup> | lau <sup>1</sup> |
|                     | 2SG  | be.able          | GET               | be.abundant                            | ADVZ             | be.in            | be.long(period)  |
|                     | 'be a lengthening of your prosperity.'   |                  |                   |  |                  |                  |                  |
|                     | (The Book of Daniel 4:27. In Mien Bible, Thailand Bible Society, translation in English Standard Version.<br><a href="http://thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php">http://thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php</a> ) |                  |                   |  |                  |                  |                  |

Purnell (2012:63) defines a compound adjective *bungx-zuoqc* as ‘to be abundant, plentiful’ (Purnell 2012:63).

In this example (479<sup>3</sup>) the individual components are transparent (i.e. *bungx* ‘to release’ and *zuoqc* ‘to be ripe’) but it is difficult to predict how the resultative meaning is derived from compounding. Thus the term “nonproductive” is used in the sense that meanings of this type of compound adjectival verbs must be learned as they are in each case. Such nonproductivity as in *bungx-zuoqc* can also be seen in additional examples of compound adjectival verb as follows:

*bungx-zuoqc* ‘to be abundant’: decomposition of it involves *bungx* ‘to release’ and *zuoqc* ‘to be ripe’, hence the structure is [V + V<sub>ADJ.</sub>]<sub>ADJ.CMPD.</sub>

*butv zoih* ‘to be wealthy’: decomposition of it involves *butv* ‘to contract (an illness)’ and *zoih* ‘wealth’, hence the structure is [V + N]<sub>ADJ.CMPD.</sub>

*gamh nziev* ‘to be repulsive, detestable’: decomposition of it involves a morphan *gamh* and a semantically unrelated morpheme *nziev* ‘a chipmunk’, hence the structure is [morphan + morphan]<sub>ADJ.CMPD.</sub>

Note that the first compound observes tone sandhi whereas the second does not.

Incidentally, reviewing the previous discussions, (479<sup>1</sup>) contains an example of the **matter-nominalising phrase** *waaic.nyei.sic* /wa:i:<sup>1</sup>/ nei<sup>1</sup> si<sup>1</sup>/ [be.bad REL MATTER] ‘iniquity’ (§6.6.10), (479<sup>2</sup>) an example of the tri-constituent compound *mienh.jomc.mienh* /miən<sup>1</sup> com<sup>1</sup> miən<sup>1</sup>/ [people be.poor people] ‘the poor’ (§6.5.9).

### 6.8.3 Productive Adjectival Compounds

Action verbs, not adjectival verbs, can be turned into adjectival verbs by prefixing a morpheme *kuh* /k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to be good for, comfortable for, easy to’ in the structure [*kuh* + V].

Phonologically, *kuh* /k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>1</sup>/ can be a variant of *kuv* /k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>1</sup>˥/ ‘to be good, nice, delicious’ as Purnell explains:

Although popularly spelled with the –**h** tone, *kuh* appears to be a variant of *kuv* before verbs where it almost always undergoes a tone change [i.e. tone sandhi] and would be spelled *kuv-*. Both words are related to the same Chinese word (Purnell 2012:346).

Morphosyntactically, however, *kuh* is a bound form because it invariably occurs before action verbs with the function of changing them to adjectival verbs and because it cannot co-occur with the assertive aspectual marker *nyei* as in \**kuh nyei* [to.be.easy ASST] whereas *kuv nyei* ‘it’s delicious’ is possible.

This use of *kuh* could be termed as *kuh*-compound adjectival verbs. See also the *kuh*-test in §7.2.3. The prefixation of *kuh* to a verb in production of an adjectival verb is exemplified in (480):

|       |   |             |                   |              |
|-------|---|-------------|-------------------|--------------|
| (480) | <i>kuh</i>  | <i>yiem</i> | <i>kuh</i>        | <i>nyanc</i> |
|       | កុ  | ឃើឱម        | កុ                | អូង់ន        |
|       | k <sup>h</sup> u↓   | jem↑        | k <sup>h</sup> u↓ | nan↓         |
|       | be.easy.to  | be.in/at    | be.easy.to        | eat          |
|       | ‘to be prosperous, comfortable (with possessions), well-off.’ |             |                   |              |
|       | (Purnell 2012:346)  |             |                   |              |

To break down Purnell’s idiomatic translations into two individual phrases, *kuh yiem* means ‘to be comfortable to live’, and *kuh nyanc* literally ‘to be easy to eat’, i.e., ‘to be easy to earn a living’.

The four-syllable alliteration of ABAC pattern found in such example as (480) will be discussed in detail in §20.5.2.1.

The productivity of the [*kuh*-V] adjectival compound is clearly seen in (481):

|                      |   |                     |             |           |                   |                   |               |
|----------------------|---|---------------------|-------------|-----------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| (481 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Naaiv</i>                                      | <i>dauh</i>         | <i>maaz</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>kuh</i>        | <i>tor</i>        | <i>haic</i> , |
|                      | ណាយ   | តោា                 | ម៉ា         | សេ        | កុ                | នោ                | ហី            |
|                      | na:iŋ   | tau↓                | ma:ŋ        | se↑       | k <sup>h</sup> u↓ | t <sup>h</sup> ɔ↑ | hai↓          |
|                      | DEM <sub>PRX</sub>                                | CLF <sub>ANIM</sub> | horse       | TOP       | be.easy.to        | pull              | very          |
|                      | ‘This horse is very easy to pull,’ <sup>148</sup> |                     |             |           |                   |                   |               |

<sup>148</sup> The first half (481<sup>-1</sup>) of the sentence can be found as it is in Purnell (2012:702), which translates ‘This horse is great as a pack animal’.

|                      |  |            |              |                    |              |
|----------------------|--|------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| (481 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <b>kuh</b>   | <i>geh</i> | <i>haic,</i> | <i>guai</i>        | <i>haic.</i> |
|                      | កុំ  | កេះ        | ហី           | ហិរិ               | ហី           |
|                      | k <sup>h</sup> u↓  | ke↓        | hai↓         | k <sup>w</sup> ai↓ | hai↓         |
|                      | be.easy.to   | ride.on    | very         | be.clever          | very         |
|                      | ‘very comfortable to ride on, (and) very clever.’  |            |              |                    |              |
|                      | (Burgess & Cun Luangh, 1970s, <i>Mienh Benx Maaz Daaih Jaauv Nyei Gouv [A Story of Paying Debt by Becoming a Horse]</i> , Mborc Sic Liemh, Phayao) |            |              |                    |              |

Double intensification on a compound adjectival verb is also possible as in (482):

|       |   |             |            |                 |
|-------|---|-------------|------------|-----------------|
| (482) | <b>Kuh</b>  | <i>jatv</i> | <b>gau</b> | <i>daic@@@.</i> |
|       | កុំ   | ចំណាំ       | កោ         | ថាត់@@@         |
|       | k <sup>h</sup> u↓   | cat↓        | kau↑       | tai↓            |
|       | be.easy.to  | laugh       | really     | extremely       |
|       | ‘It’s absolutely hilarious!’                                |             |            |                 |
|       | (ium_20130515_01_H1_DA_WuonhKuonMbuo_TableTalk;00.04.38-40) |             |            |                 |

## 6.9 Summary of Chapter 6

Building upon the foundation Court (1986) laid three decades ago, this chapter has considered the rules of compound words with respect to (i) the role of tone sandhi in compounding, (ii) the nominal compounds, (iii) verbal compounds, and (iv) the adjectival compounds.

Within the section of the nominal compounds, nine rules were presented and twelve nominalising elements were investigated. The section on the verbal compounds inherited from Court the research on psycho-collocation with additional examples.

Since the compound nouns extensively utilise two different classes of adjectives (i.e. Chinese-loan adjectives and the adjectival verbs of Iu Mien origin), their distinction was taken for granted with only minimal explanation. In the next chapter, the latter will be discussed in detail.

# Chapter 7

## ADJECTIVAL CONSTRUCTIONS: DESCRIPTIVE AND COMPARISON

### 7.1 Introduction

Due to the logical sequence from the Iu Mien onomastics (Chapter 5) to the compounding strategies (Chapter 6), the nature of adjectives has inevitably been a part of discussions in many places even though they were not explicitly defined. That is, the fact that Iu Mien uses the Chinese-loan adjectives and the Iu Mien original adjectives, which are in fact verbs. Therefore, the points concerning the distinction between them are only briefly summarised in this chapter. More substantial discussion is given to the intensifiers of adjectival verbs and the comparison constructions that use adjectival verbs.

### 7.2 Chinese-loan Adjectives and Iu Mien Adjectival Verbs

The Chinese-loan adjectives and the Iu Mien adjectival verbs are distinguished by the following three points:

- As has been seen in §6.5.2, Chinese-loan adjectives (e.g. *loz* ‘old’, *domh* ‘big’, *fiuv* ‘small’, *hieh* ‘wild’) precede the head noun whereas Iu Mien adjectival verbs follow it.
- Chinese-loan adjectives cannot be used predicatively whereas Iu Mien adjectival verbs can occur as a predicate, often followed by the sentence final stative/assertive aspectual particle *nyei*.
- Chinese-loan adjectives cannot co-occur with the negative particle *maiv*, comparative adverbs *gauh* ‘more’, the superlative aspectual verb *jiex* ‘the most’, or an intensifying adverb *haic* ‘very’. On the other hand, Iu Mien adjectival verbs can co-occur with them.

#### 7.2.1 Chinese-loan Adjectives

To illustrate the points above, compare acceptable and unacceptable examples in (483a–f).

|        |                               |                 |              |
|--------|-------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| (483a) | <b>Domh</b>                   | <i>Loz-Zeuz</i> | <i>Mienh</i> |
|        | ດົມ                           | ໂລສ-ເຊູ         | ມື່ນ         |
|        | tom↓                          | lo↓ tseu↓       | miən↓        |
|        | big                           | Old-Zeu         | Mien         |
|        | ‘the Great Old-Zeu clan Mien’ |                 |              |
|        | (Table 34 in §5.3.2.1)        |                 |              |

|        |             |                 |              |
|--------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|
| (483b) | <b>*hlo</b> | <i>Loz-Zeuz</i> | <i>Mienh</i> |
|        | be.big      | Old-Zeu         | Mien         |

Chinese-loan adjectives cannot occur predicatively. Compare (483c) and (483d):

|        |                    |             |              |             |             |
|--------|--------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (483c) | <b>*Naaiv</b>      | <i>norm</i> | <i>biauv</i> | <b>domh</b> | <i>nyei</i> |
|        | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | CLF         | house        | big         | ASST        |

|        |                            |             |              |            |              |
|--------|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| (483d) | <i>Naaiv</i>               | <i>norm</i> | <i>biauv</i> | <b>hlo</b> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|        | ນ້າຍ                       | ນອມ         | ແປ້ຢ້າ       | ໂຮລ        | ເແນຍ         |
|        | na:i ^                     | nɔm ^       | p̚au ^       | lo ^       | nei ^        |
|        | DEM <sub>PRX</sub>         | CLF         | house        | be.big     | ASST         |
|        | ‘This house is big.’       |             |              |            |              |
|        | (Field Notes, 201505, KMB) |             |              |            |              |

|        |                    |             |              |             |             |                    |             |
|--------|--------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
| (483e) | <b>*Naaiv</b>      | <i>norm</i> | <i>biauv</i> | <b>gauh</b> | <b>domh</b> | <i>wuov</i>        | <i>norm</i> |
|        | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | CLF         | house        | more        | big         | DEM <sub>DIS</sub> | CLF         |

|        |                                       |             |              |             |            |                    |              |
|--------|---------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|--------------------|--------------|
| (483f) | <i>Naaiv</i>                          | <i>norm</i> | <i>biauv</i> | <b>gauh</b> | <b>hlo</b> | <i>wuov</i>        | <i>norm.</i> |
|        | ນ້າຍ                                  | ນອມ         | ແປ້ຢ້າ       | ເກົ້າ       | ໂຮລ        | ວ້າ                | ນອມ          |
|        | na:i ^                                | nɔm ^       | p̚au ^       | kau↓        | lo ^       | uə ^               | nɔm ^        |
|        | DEM <sub>PRX</sub>                    | CLF         | house        | more        | be.big     | DEM <sub>DIS</sub> | CLF          |
|        | ‘This house is bigger than that one.’ |             |              |             |            |                    |              |

## 7.2.2 Verbal Nature of Adjectives in Iu Mien

As has been briefly mentioned in §4.4.3, Court (1986) treats adjectives in Iu Mien as verbs, designating them as “stative verb”. Incidentally Enfield (2007:242ff) considers verbs like “to live” and “to love” in Lao as “state verbs”, which is a

subcategory of “stative verbs”. To avoid a confusion, the term “adjectival verbs” will be used in our study hence force.

The verbal nature of adjectival verbs is that they co-occur with auxiliaries, adverbs, and aspectual verbs. These characteristics are illustrated below.

For example, the common expression *hlo daaih* /ɬo˥ t̥a:i˧˥/ [be.big COME] ‘it has grown big’ (used with animate beings including plants) has the aspectual verb *daaih* /t̥a:i˧˥/ denoting a change of state. It can be accompanied by aspectual verbs of various kinds to express change of state: *hlo jienv mingh* /ɬo˥ c̥eŋ˥˧ min˧˥/ [big CONT GO] ‘it keeps growing’, *hlo mi'aqv* /ɬo˥ mi aʔ˥/ [big TELIC] ‘(she) has grown up’. The next example demonstrates *hlo* ‘to be big’ preceded by an auxiliary and followed by another verb and stative aspectual particle as (484):

- |       |   |              |            |              |              |
|-------|---|--------------|------------|--------------|--------------|
| (484) | <i>haih</i>   | <i>hlo</i> , | <i>hlo</i> | <i>siepv</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|       | ໄຂ່   | ໂຮ່,         | ໂຮ່        | ເສື້ບ        | ແມູນ.        |
|       | hai↓  | lo↑          | lo↑        | s'ep]        | nei↑         |
|       | be.able   | be.big       | be.big     | be.quick     | ASST         |
|       | '(Three brother gods) were able to grow big, they grew quickly.'        |              |            |              |              |
|       | (ium_20130528_06_H1_DA_DangcZanx-Seng_FaamCingCuotvSeix_KMB;00.08.54-6) |              |            |              |              |

The adjectival verb *hlo* can co-occur with the ‘new-situation’ aspectual particle as in (485):



Similarly exhibiting a verbal character *guai* can co-occur with stative/assertive aspectual particle *nyei* as in (486):

Even color terms can be modified by an aspectual verb in (487) and (488):

- (487) *Nziaamv yaac siqv nzengc huing jienv wuov*  
 ຖໍ່າມ ແຍ່າ ສີ ເນັ້ງ ຜົງ ເຈື້ນ ວ້າ  
*dz'a:m̥ŋ̥ ja:l si?l dzeŋl minŋl c'enŋ̥ nəŋ̥*  
 blood also red CONSUME surround CONT DEM<sub>LOC</sub>  
 '(Chicken's) blood smeared all around there completely red.'  
 (ium\_c1960\_01\_SonyPR-150-52\_x\_Yauz-Orn\_PHist;00.04.34-37)

- (488) *Za'gengh siqv nyei siqv haic.*  
 ທະເກິ່ງ ສີ ເລູຍ, ສີ ໄທ.  
*tsa keŋl si?l nei:l si?l hai:l*  
 really be.red ASST be.red very  
 'It's really red, it's very red.'  
 (ium\_20150511\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;01.07.40-2)

Adjectival verbs can be immediately preceded by the negative particle *maiv* as in (489<sup>1-2</sup>):

- (489<sup>1</sup>) *Meih yiem naaiv lauh nyei saahč*  
 A ເມຍ ເີມ ນ້າຍ ເລ້າ ເລູຍ ຊ່າງໆ  
*mei:l jem:l na:i:l lau:l nei:l sa:l*  
 2SG be.at DEM be.long ASST Q  
 'You will be here for a long time, won't you?'

- (489<sup>2</sup>) *Maiv lauh, yietc hnangx hnangv.*  
 B ໂກ້ ເລ້າ, ເຫີຍດ ພ່ນັງ ຜັ້ງ.  
*mai:l lau:l jet:l jñaiŋ:l nñaiŋ:l*  
 NEG be.long one year only  
 'Not long, (I will be here) only for a year.'  
 (ium\_1967\_08\_BASF-LGS35\_HCox\_GueixSeng\_YSC-WII-p17;00.12.39-46)

### 7.2.3 Distinguishing Adjectival Verbs from Action Verbs

Adjectival verbs can be identified by applying one of the following three testing frames:

- (i) *gauh X jiex /kaʊl X ciə:l/* [more X surpass] 'the X-est',
- (ii) *maiv.dungx X /mai:l tuŋ:l X/* [NEG.AUX X] 'Don't' X', and

(iii) *kuh X /k<sup>h</sup>uŋ X/ [be.comfortable.to X] ‘it is comfortable/easy/pleasant to X’.*

- **Comparative/Superlative test:** *gauh X jiex*; if passed, X is an adjectival verb; if failed, X is an action verb or a Chinese-loan adjective.
- **Prohibition test:** *mai<sup>v</sup> dungx X*; if passed, X is an action verb; if failed, X is an adjectival verb.
- ***kuh-test:*** *kuh X*: if passed, X is an action verb; if failed, X is an adjectival verb or a modal auxiliary verb or a Chinese-loan adjective. (Cf. §6.8.3)

First, the comparative/superlative construction confirms that X occurring within it is an adjectival verb as in (490):

|       |                              |            |                    |
|-------|------------------------------|------------|--------------------|
| (490) | <b><i>gauh</i></b>           | <i>hlo</i> | <b><i>jiex</i></b> |
|       | ກົ່າ                         | ໂສດ        | ເຈື້ອ              |
|       | kauŋ                         | loŋ        | ciəŋ               |
|       | more                         | be.big     | surpass            |
|       | ‘to be the biggest, largest’ |            |                    |
|       | (Purnell 2012:200)           |            |                    |

In contrast, this frame cannot be applied to an action verb, e.g., \**gauh mborqv jiex* [more hit surpass], nor Chinese loan adjectives, e.g., \**gauh domh jiex* [more big surpass].

Second, the prohibition construction *mai<sup>v</sup> dungx* (Var: *mv dungx*) is only applicable to action verbs. Failure in this test confirms that the item is an adjectival verb. In (491a) *bouh* ‘to lift (up)’ (a repetition of (189<sup>-1</sup>)) is an action verb where as *siqv* ‘to be red’ (491b) is an adjectival verb:

|                      |   |                                   |
|----------------------|---|-----------------------------------|
| (491a)               | <i>Nyaam</i>                                      | <i>aac, meih mv dungx bouh.</i>   |
| (189 <sup>-1</sup> ) | ນູ້ມາມ  | ທ່າ, ເມ່ຂ ມໍ ດຸງຊ ໂປ່າວ           |
|                      | ŋa:m <sup>1</sup>                                 | a:l meiŋ m <sup>1</sup> tuŋx pəvŋ |
|                      | daughter-in-law                                   | VOC 2SG NEG AUX lift              |
|                      | ‘Daughter-in-law! Don’t you carry (these bowls).’ |                                   |
|                      | (ium_20130523_06_H1_DA_GueixZoih_OldCustoms_      |                                   |
|                      | Thammajarik;00.00.18-9)                           |                                   |

- (491b) \**Maiv dungx siqv.*  
 NEG AUX be.red

To confirm that *siqv* is an adjectival verb, put it in the frame *gauh siqv jiex* [more be.red surpass] as in (490) and see that the phrase is acceptable.

Third, supplementally, the *kuh*-test can be applied to eliminate adjectival verbs. Thus it is an negative confirmation that failure in this test indicates that the given item is an adjectival verb. Compare (492a) with (492b-c):

- (492a) *Biomv aeqv, kuh muangx haic.*  
 ပြီးမှ အော်၊ ချွဲ များ ဟို။  
 p<sup>j</sup>om<sup>ŋ</sup> εʔ<sup>l</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>l</sup> m<sup>w</sup>an<sup>ŋ</sup> hai<sup>l</sup>  
 blow PDP be.easy/pleasant listen.to very  
 ‘When it is played, it is very pleasant to listen to.’  
 (Burgess & Yauz-Guangy, 1970s, *Jai-Gorngx Mienh* [A Rooster Man], KMB)

- (492b) \**kuh nzueic*  
 be.pleasant be.beautiful

- (492c) \**kuh siqv*  
 be.pleasant be.red

To confirm that *nzueic* is an adjectival verb, put it in the frame *gauh nzueic jiex* [more be.beautiful surpass] ‘the most beautiful’ as in (490) and see that the phrase is acceptable.

Incidentally, as we have an appearance of intensifier *haic* ‘very’ in (492a), it should be fitting to mention the following fact. Though it may be deemed that X-*haic* frame serves as an adjectival verb identifier as in *hlo haic /lo<sup>l</sup> hai<sup>l</sup>/* [be.big very] ‘it is very big’, it does not always confirm that X is an adjectival verb. The reason for the failure is because the intensifier *haic* is not only used to modify an adjectival verb but also to intensify a clause with modal verb, e.g., *yie oix mingh haic /iə<sup>l</sup> oɪ<sup>l</sup> miŋ<sup>l</sup> hai<sup>l</sup>/* [1SG want go very] ‘I really want to go’.

#### 7.2.4 Loan Adjectives on the Way to Iu Mien Adjectival Verbs

As has been discussed in §6.5.2.2, there is a small group of constructions which show that (the originally Chinese-loan) adjectives seem to be on the way to becoming Iu Mien adjectival verbs. Contrary to the fact that Chinese adjectives do not occur

after the head noun, these adjectival elements occur after it. One piece of evidence is that those Iu Mien who have knowledge of Chinese tend to prepose these adjectival element to the head noun, whereas younger Iu Mien who are familiar with Thai tend to postpose them. See the explanation in (493)(a repetition of (289<sup>-1-4</sup>)):

|                                      |                         |                       |              |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| (493 <sup>-1</sup> )                 | “ <i>yangh ngongh</i> ” | <i>se</i>             | <i>dongh</i> |
|                                      | “ຢ້າງ ນົກ່າງ”           | ເຊ                    | ຕັ້ງ         |
|                                      | <i>jaŋ\</i>             | <i>ŋoŋ\</i>           | <i>se\</i>   |
|                                      | yellow                  | cow(N <sub>HD</sub> ) | TOP          |
| ‘(To say) “ <i>yangh ngongh</i> ” is |                         |                       |              |

|   |            |             |              |              |               |             |              |
|---|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| (493 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>gox</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>baan</i>  | <i>mienh</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>waac.</i> |
|   | ໄກ         | ວັວ         | ປານ          | ເມື່ອນ       | ກົ່ອງ         | ເຄີຍ        | ໜວ່າ.        |
|   | <i>kɔl</i> | <i>uəŋ\</i> | <i>pa:n\</i> | <i>miən\</i> | <i>kɔŋ\</i>   | <i>nei\</i> | <i>wa:l</i>  |
| be.old DEM generation person say REL word<br>‘the words that the older generation use.’ |            |             |              |              |               |             |              |

|   |                 |                 |                  |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (493 <sup>-3</sup> )                      | <i>Mv.baac</i>  | <i>ih.zanc</i>  | <i>fu'jueiv</i>  |
|   | ນຶ້ປໍາ          | ອື່.ຫັ້ນ        | ຝູຈິວຍ           |
|   | <i>mŋ\ pa:l</i> | <i>iŋ tsan\</i> | <i>fu cʷeiŋ\</i> |
| but now child<br>‘But nowadays children,’ |                 |                 |                  |

|   |                         |             |               |                            |
|---|-------------------------|-------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| (493 <sup>-4</sup> )  | <i>mienh.lunx.mienh</i> | <i>yaac</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | “ <i>ngongh yangh</i> ”@@@ |
|   | ເມື່ອນ.ຫຸນ.ເມື່ອນ       | ຍໍາ         | ກົ່ອງ         | “ນົກ່າງ”                   |
|   | <i>miən\ lun\ miən\</i> | <i>ja:l</i> | <i>kɔŋ\</i>   | <i>ŋoŋ\ jaŋ\</i>           |
| person.be.young.person also say cow(N <sub>HD</sub> ) be.yellow<br>‘also the youth say “ <i>ngongh yangh</i> ”. |                         |             |               |                            |

(ium\_20150427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.07.52-00.08.01)

Another piece of evidence for this transition is found in the double property of the adjectival element in that (i) the adjectival element occurs both prepositively and postpositively in relation to the head noun, and (ii) that it can be used predicatively. The adjectival *jaav /ca:ŋ\* ‘be fake, counterfeit’ probably comes from Chinese *qī* (欺), which freely behaves both as a Chinese-loan as in (494a) and as an Iu Mien adjectival verb as in (494b-c)(a repetition of 290):

(494a) *jaav-nyaanh*

ຈ້າ-ນໍາງານ

ca:n̥ ja:n̥

fake-silver

‘counterfeit money’

(ium\_20150427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB.WAV;00.06.17)

(494b) *nyaanh jaav*

ນໍາງານ ຈ້າ

ja:n̥ ca:n̥

silver be.fake

‘counterfeit money’

(ium\_20150427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB.WAV;00.06.12)

(494c) *Naaiv nyungc nyaanh jaav nyei.*

ນໍາຍ ແມ່ງ ນໍາງານ ຈ້າ ເນື້ອ.

na:i:ŋ̥ puŋ̥ ja:n̥ ca:n̥ nei:ŋ̥

DEM<sub>PRX</sub> kind silver be.fake ASST

‘This money is counterfeit.’

(ium\_20150427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB.WAV;00.06.56-7)

Note that *jaav* in (494a) observes tone sandhi in the attributive use. And *jaav* as an adjectival verb in (494c) is followed by the stative/affirmative/assertive aspectual verb. This kind of transition from Chinese-loan toward and to a full-fledged Iu Mien adjectival verb might be termed “Mienisation”.

### 7.3 Intensifiers of Adjectival Verbs

Intensifiers of adjectival verbs are adverbs. Adverbs are modifiers of verbs, verb phrases, adjectives (adjectival verbs in our case), and sentences. We will investigate the intensifiers of adjectival verbs in this chapter, deferring the clause, phrase, and sentence level adverbs to Chapter 9.

There are four types of constructions for intensification of adjectival verbs in Thailand Iu Mien:

- (i) by adverbs,
- (ii) reduplication,
- (iii) by the prolonged emphatic intonation, and
- (iv) by the intensifier morphemes.

These divisions differ slightly from the tripartite derivation that Taguchi (2007) offers from his research on Iu Mien grammar of China based on the dialect of his teacher Pán Chéngqián (盘承乾)(cf. §2.3.1.3). Taguchi's three processes of derivation from adjectives are (a) reduplication (same as our (ii)), (b) compounding in the construction [A-hai<sup>6:5</sup> (1) -A] (absent from Thailand Iu Mien), (c) compounding with the intensifier morphemes (same as our (iv)), which includes the use of prominence (same as our (iii)). The absence of our (i) from his tripartite derivation is not a wrong form since his focus is on the derivational forms of adjectives rather than the adjectival verbal phrases that contain adverbs.

### 7.3.1 Adverbs That Form the Adjectival Verb Phrases

In this category of intensifying strategies there are two constructions: the one is pre-adjectival-verb adverbs [*ba'laqc* + V<sub>ADJ</sub>], the other is post-adjectival-verb adverbs [V<sub>ADJ</sub> + intensifier]. The intensifier *ba'laqc* /pa laʔ]/ ‘too much, excessively’ in the former construction has a negative connotation whereas the intensifiers in the latter simply emphasise the adjectival verbs.

First, see that the adverb *ba'laqc* /pa laʔ]/ ‘too much, excessively’ (217) precedes an adjectival verb as in (495):

|       |  |             |
|-------|--|-------------|
| (495) | <i>ba'laqc</i>                           | <i>camv</i> |
|       | ပဲလား                                    | ထမ်း        |
|       | pa laʔ]                                  | tsʰam^ʌ     |
|       | too                                      | be.many     |
|       | ‘too much, too many, more than required’ |             |
|       | (Panh 2002:4)                            |             |

Second, the adjectival verbs are followed by adverbs such as *haic* /hai]/ ‘very’, *gau* /kau]/ ‘very’, *daic* /tai]/ ‘to die’ (slang), *jiex jaax* /ciəl ca:]/ [surpass value] ‘excessively’. See an example of [V<sub>ADJ</sub> + *haic*] as in (496):

|       |   |             |              |             |             |             |              |
|-------|---|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| (496) | <i>Yie</i>  | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>Mienh</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>gong</i> | <i>kouv</i> | <i>haic.</i> |
|       | ယီး   | ဗာ          | မှိုင်       | ညျေး        | ကု          | ဒါ့ဌာ       | ။            |
|       | iəl   | buəl        | miənl        | nei]        | koŋ]        | kʰəu^ʌ      | hai]         |
|       | 1   | PL          | Mien         | SBCP        | work(n)     | be.tired    | very         |
|       | ‘The work that we Iu Mien do is very exhausting.’ |             |              |             |             |             |              |
|       | (ium_1996_05_Burgess_GF_MienLgL5;00.01.33-5)      |             |              |             |             |             |              |

An example of [V<sub>ADJ</sub> + *gau*] is in (497<sup>1-2</sup>):

- (497<sup>-1</sup>) *Daic i.hmuangv ngv.zuqc*<sup>149</sup> *gengh yietc jauv daic,*  
 ໄຕ ອື່ມວັງ ຊີ.ຫມູ ເກົ່າ ແຮືບດ ເຈົ້າ ໄຕ,  
*tai↓ i↓ m<sup>w</sup>aŋγ̚ tsu?↓* *keŋ↓ jet↓ cauγ̚ tai↓*  
 die husband&wife want(?).TOUCH really one road die  
 ‘If we husband and wife must die (here), and really die together at the same time,’

- (497<sup>-2</sup>) *yaac daic gengh se longx gau aqv loh!*  
 ພໍາ ໄຕ ເກົ່າ ເຊ ລອງ ເກາ ອື່ຂ ໄດ້!  
*ja:↓ tai↓ keŋ↓ se↑ loŋ↓ kau↑ aʔ↑ lo↓*  
 also die really TOP be.good very NSIT INTJ  
 ‘nothing is better than this!’ (lit. ‘dying is also really good! ’)  
 (ium\_20110919\_01\_Olympus\_DA\_ZoihZou\_FlashFlood;00.01.33-5)

Though the use of the verb *daic /tai↓/* ‘to die’ as an intensifier of adjectival verbs is a slang expression, such a construction [V<sub>ADJ</sub> + *daic*] can convey a strong emotion as in (498):

- (498) *Haah! ndaang daic, ndorkc(cm.t) ma'liqv(cm.t).*  
 ຂ່າ! ດາງ ໄຕ, ດອກ(cm.t) ນະຄິ(cm.t).  
*ha: da:ŋ↓ tai↓ dɔ:k↓ ma li?↓*  
 INTJ be.fragrant DIE flower jasmine  
 ‘Ha! I almost die of this fragrance, jasmine!’ (lit. ‘It’s extremely fragrant.’)  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_FuqcJueiv\_KMB;00.01.33-5)

This utterance by a six year old girl is probably influenced by Thai “adj. + จะตาย” (adj. + *ca taai*) [adj. will die] ‘extremely’.

The adverbial phrase *jiex jaax /ciə↓ ca:↓/* literally means ‘to surpass/exceed value’ used in the construction [V<sub>ADJ</sub> + *jiex jaax*]. Such an example can be found in (499), where the pre-adjectival *ba'laqc* is optional elsewhere:

<sup>149</sup> The first syllable is very difficult to listen but the context demands that the combination of these two morphemes must be a contraction of *aqv.zuqc /aʔ↓ tsu?↓/*, which is a variation of *oix.zuqc /ɔi↓ tsu?↓/* [want.TOUCH] ‘must’. The velar nasal stop of the preceding word /i m<sup>w</sup>aŋγ̚/ ‘husband and wife’ might have caused an assimilation on the following /ɔi↓/ to be [ŋ̚γ̚].

- (499) *Gong ba'laqc heng jiex jaax mingh.*  
กง ປະກຄນ ເຮັດ ເຈີຍ ຈ້າ ມິງ.  
kɔŋ˥ pa la?˩ heŋ˥ ciə˧ ca:˧ mɪŋ˧  
work(n) too.much be.light exceed.value GO  
‘The work (of building houses) have become much too easy.’ (lit. ‘too much light’)  
(Burgess & Yauz-Guangy, 1970s, *Gomv Biauv-Dorn Nyei Gouv* [A Story of a Little Builder], KMG)

It is possible to have both the pre-adjectival verb intensifier *ba'laqc* and the post-adjectival verb intensifier *jiex jaax* in one sentence, which inevitably has a negative connotation as in (500):

- (500) *Hopv diuv ba'laqc camv jiex jaax daic.*  
ບົບ ຕຶ້ວ ປະກຄນ ຂຶ້ມ ເຈີຍ ຈ້າ ໄດ້  
hop˥ tiu˥ pa la?˩ tsʰam˥ ciə˧ ca:˧ tai˩  
drink liquor too.much be.many exceed.value die  
‘(He) died from (his life style of) excessive alcohol consumption.’  
(Field Notes 2013, the situation is de-identified)

### 7.3.2 Intensification by Reduplication

There are three levels of degree in intensity by reduplication of adjectival verbs. The third level will be deferred to the next section as it utilizes a prolonged emphatic intonation superimposed on the regular lexical tone.

The first level is expressed by the reduplication of an adjectival verb without tone sandhi as in (501):

- (501) *Faix faix nyei.*  
ໄຟ ໄຟ ໜີ້ຍ.  
fai˧ fai˧ nei˧  
be.small be.small ASST  
‘It’s quite small.’  
(ium\_20150814\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_AdjVIntensifiers;00.04.13-4)

There is no report of this kind of reduplication in Taguchi (2007).

The second level is the reduplication with tone sandhi as in (502<sup>1-2</sup>):

|                      |                   |              |                |              |              |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| (502 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <b>"Faix-faix</b> | <i>nyei"</i> | <i>mv.baac</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>mienh</i> |
|                      | “ໄຟຟັກ            | ໄໝ່ຍໍ”       | ມ້ຳປ່າ         | ມ່າຍ         | ເມື່ອນ       |
|                      | fai↓ fai↓         | jnei↓        | m̥ŋ pa:↓       | ma:i↓        | miən↓        |
|                      | be.small-be.small | ASST         | also           | have         | people       |

‘There are people who say “faix-faix”,’

|                      |  |             |              |  |  |
|----------------------|--|-------------|--------------|--|--|
| (502 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>gorngv</i>  | <i>duqv</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |  |  |
|                      | ກ້ອງ   | ດູ          | ໄໝ່ຍໍ.       |  |  |
|                      | kɔŋv   | tu?l        | jnei↓        |  |  |
|                      | say  | CAN         | ASST         |  |  |
|                      | ‘it’s possible to say like that (with tone sandhi).’ |             |              |  |  |

(ium\_20150814\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_AdjVIntensifiers;00.04.44-7)

This is Taguchi’s (2007:55) first derivational form: A<sup>α</sup>-B ⇔ A<sup>β</sup>-A-B... jnei↓ (A stands for a monosyllabic adjective, AB for disyllabic adjective, <sup>α</sup> for underlying lexical tone, <sup>β</sup> for the result of tone sandhi).

The third level using a prolonged emphatic intonation, which corresponds with Taguchi’s (2007:60) “prominence”, is described in the next section.

### 7.3.3 Intensification by Raised and Prolonged Emphatic Intonation

The third level is expressed by a raised and prolonged emphatic intonation which is superimposed over the first adjectival verb as in (503):

|       |                                  |             |              |  |  |
|-------|----------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--|--|
| (503) | — <sup>—</sup> “ <b>Faiiiix!</b> | <i>faix</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |  |  |
|       | — <sup>—</sup> ໄຟຟັກ!            | ໄຟຟັກ       | ໄໝ່ຍໍ.       |  |  |
|       | — <sup>—</sup> fai               | fai↓        | jnei↓        |  |  |
|       | be.small                         | be.small    | ASST         |  |  |
|       | ‘It’s so very small.’            |             |              |  |  |

(ium\_20150814\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_AdjVIntensifiers;00.05.13-5)

We agree with Taguchi (2007:60) that this emphatic intonation is not a result of tone sandhi because the intonation, according to him, not only occurs in the high pitch but the prolonged vowel. Another fact should be added that this intonation occurs not only in adjectival verbs but also in adverbs and action verbs and aspectual verbs as well (as will be seen in §20.5.1).

Regarding the different degree of intensity from (501), (502<sup>-1-2</sup>) in §7.3.2, and to (503) in this section, the native speaker consultant gives account in (504<sup>-1-2</sup>) (example word is ‘to be big’ instead of ‘to be small’):

|   |                   |            |                 |               |             |             |             |
|---|-------------------|------------|-----------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (504 <sup>-1</sup> )  | <b><i>Hlo</i></b> | <i>hlo</i> | <i>nyei</i> ” / | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>duqv</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>fai?</i> |
| YJ  | ໄໂຣດ              | ໄໂຣດ       | ເແມີບ” /        | ກົ້ອງ         | ຕຸ້ງ        | ເແມີ        | ໄຟ?         |
|   | ໂລໍາ              | ໂລໍາ       | ຈົບັດ           | ກວຽງ          | ຕູ່ງ        | ຈົບັດ       | ຈົບັດ       |
|   | be.big            | be.big     | ASST            | say           | CAN         | ASST        | Q           |
| ‘Can we say “ <i>hlo hlo nyei</i> ” (without tone sandhi)?’ |                   |            |                 |               |             |             |             |
| (ium_20150814_02_H1_DA_GF_AdjVIntensifiers;00.06.48-50)     |                   |            |                 |               |             |             |             |

|  |           |             |             |             |               |             |              |
|--|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| (504 <sup>-2</sup> )                                   | <i>Mv</i> | <i>goiv</i> | <i>qiex</i> | <i>yaac</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>duqv</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
| GF   | ນ້ຳ       | ກົ້ອຍ       | ເຄືບ        | ຫຍ່າ        | ກົ້ອງ         | ຕຸ້ງ        | ເແມີ.        |
|  | ມໍາ       | ກວິ່ງ       | ຈົບັດ       | ຈາດ         | ກວຽງ          | ຕູ່ງ        | ຈົບັດ        |
|  | NEG       | change      | voice       | also        | say           | CAN         | ASST         |
| ‘(Yes) we can say (this phrase) without tone sandhi.’  |           |             |             |             |               |             |              |
| (ium_20150814_02_H1_DA_GF_AdjVIntensifiers;00.06.53-5) |           |             |             |             |               |             |              |

A register of the reduplicated adverbial verb without tone sandhi (504<sup>-1</sup>) is expressed as being *sien* /siən<sup>1</sup>/ ‘be calm, placid, gentle’ (Purnell 2012:669) as in (505):

|   |           |               |           |                 |               |              |
|---|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------------|---------------|--------------|
| (505)   | <i>Se</i> | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>huaangv,</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>sien.</i> |
|   | ໃໝ່       | ຮັນ້ງ         | ນ້ຳ       | ຮວ້າງ,          | ກົ້ອງ         | ເຊື້ອນ.      |
|   | ເສດ       | ຖຸາງ່າງ       | ມໍາ       | ມາຂຸງ່າງ        | ກວຽງ          | ເຊື່ອນ       |
|   | TOP       | like          | NEG       | be.exaggerated  | say           | be.calm      |
| ‘That is, it is not exaggerated (but the speaker) is talking gently.’ |           |               |           |                 |               |              |
| (ium_20150814_02_H1_DA_GF_AdjVIntensifiers;00.07.51-2)                |           |               |           |                 |               |              |

The most intensified expression with the prolonged intonation is evaluated as being *huaangv* /ມາຂຸງ່າງ/ “exaggerated” as in (506<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|  |                    |            |              |
|--|--------------------|------------|--------------|
| (506 <sup>-1</sup> )                                   | <i>Hloooo!</i>     | <i>hlo</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
| YJ   | ໄໂຣດ!              | ໄໂຣດ       | ເແມີ.        |
|  | ໂລ::: <sup>1</sup> | ໂລໍາ       | ຈົບັດ        |
|  | be.big             | be.big     | ASST         |
| ‘It’s very huge!’                                      |                    |            |              |
| (ium_20150814_02_H1_DA_GF_AdjVIntensifiers;00.07.04-6) |                    |            |              |

|                      |  |                |              |
|----------------------|--|----------------|--------------|
| (506 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Gorngv</i>  | <i>huaangv</i> | <i>deix.</i> |
| GF                   | ກ່ອງ   | ຫວ້າງ          | ເຕັມ.        |
|                      | ກ່ອງຍໍ   | ຫວ້າງຍໍ        | ເຕັມຍໍ       |
|                      | say  | be.exaggerated | some         |
|                      | ‘(Saying like that) is to express some exaggeration.’  |                |              |
|                      | (ium_20150814_02_H1_DA_GF_AdjVIntensifiers;00.07.10-1) |                |              |

Back to §7.3.2, note that the way the consultant explains about (502<sup>-1-2</sup>), the tone sandhi on the first element in the reduplicated adjectival verb phrase is not obligatory. This is slightly different to the Chinese Iu Mien variety that Taguchi (2007:55) reports on. He observes the presence of tone sandhi in the reduplicated form though he does not say it is obligatory.

If so, the Thailand variety can be summarized in terms of the degree of intensity of the reduplicated adjectival verb forms as follows:

- Calm, gentle (without tone sandhi)  
*faix fai nyei* /fai˥ fai˥ nei˥/ ‘to be quite small’  
*hlo hlo nyei* /lo˥ lo˥ nei˥/ ‘to be quite big’
- Middle (with tone sandhi)  
*faix-fai nyei* /fai˧ fai˧ nei˧/ ‘to be very small’  
*hlo-hlo nyei* /lo˧ lo˧ nei˧/ ‘to be very big’
- Emphatic, exaggerated (with the raised and prolonged intonation)  
*faix! fai nyei* /˥˥ fai fai˥ nei˥/ ‘to be extremely small’  
*hlo hlo nyei* /˥˥ lo lo˥ nei˥/ ‘to be extremely big’

### 7.3.4 Proposed Intensifier Morphemes

In (507) *hmatv* /mat˥/ is a bound form that specifically intensifies the adjectival verb *jieqv* /ciə?˥/ ‘to be black’:

|       |  |              |  |
|-------|--|--------------|--|
| (507) | <b><i>hmatv</i></b>  | <i>jieqv</i> |  |
|       | ອມດ  | ເຈື້ອະ       |  |
|       | mat˥   | ciə?˥        |  |
|       | INTSF  | be.black     |  |
|       | ‘to be jet black, pitch black, black as can be, very dark’ |              |  |
|       | (Purnell 2012:275)   |              |  |
|       | (ium_20130427_01_H1_DA_GF_Definiteness-KMB;00.53.30)       |              |  |

Selectiveness is restricted. That is, for *baeqv* /pεʔ]/ ‘to be white’, the intensifier *mbopv* /bop]/ is specified. This class of morphemes are bound forms and always placed before adjectival verbs.

Taguchi (2007:56-7) points out some important characteristics regarding this class: (i) naming these morphemes as “state particles” *jōtai-shi* (状態詞), refraining from calling them “prefixes”, (ii) they are bound forms, (iii) they have onomatopoeic characteristics, imitating an initial or final consonant of the head adjective (2007:58).

An intensifier morpheme can be reduplicated to increase its effect on the degree of adjectival verb. In this case the first element is superimposed by the raised and prolonged intonation as in (508):

|       |                         |   |              |               |
|-------|-------------------------|---|--------------|---------------|
| (508) | <u>—</u> <i>Ngoy!</i>   | <i>ngoy</i>                             | <i>yangh</i> | <i>wuov.</i>  |
|       | <u>---</u> <i>ঝোয়!</i> | <i>ঝোয</i>                              | <i>ঝঁঁ</i>   | <i>ওুৱ.</i>   |
|       | <u>—</u> <i>ঝুই</i>     | <i>ঝুই</i>                              | <i>জাঙ্গ</i> | <i>ুৱাই</i>   |
|       |                         | INTSF                                   | INTSF        | be.yellow DEM |
|       |                         | ‘to be intensely yellow, golden yellow’ |              |               |

(Field Notes, 20150429, KMB. Purnell (2012:732))

Another morpheme *guv* /ku^]/ can be inserted between the intensifier and the adjectival verb to further increase the emphasis as in (509):

|       |   |              |             |               |
|-------|---|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| (509) | <i>Hmien</i>  | <i>hmatv</i> | <i>guv</i>  | <i>jieqv.</i> |
|       | ເຮີຍນ   | ຮມັດ         | ກູ້         | ເຕື່ອະ.       |
|       | <i>miən</i>   | <i>mat</i>   | <i>ku^]</i> | <i>ciəʔ]</i>  |
|       | face  | INTSF        | intensely   | be.black      |
|       | ‘Her face was terribly dark (because of fieldwork under the sun)’ |              |             |               |

(Field Notes, 20140414, LF, Chiang Mai)

Other examples of preposed intensifier morphemes are:

- (510) ***Mapv maengh mapv hmuangx*** /map] mεŋ map] m<sup>w</sup>aŋ]/  
 [INTSF be.blind INTSF be.dark]  
 ‘to be pitch dark’

- (511) *Ngoi guv yangh* /ŋɔi¹ ku¹ ciə?/  
           [INTSF intensely be.yellow]  
           ‘to be strikingly or intensely yellow’ (Purnell 2012:732)

## 7.4 Comparison Constructions

Unlike English, the grade of comparison in adjectival construction is not necessarily in three levels, i.e., {adj-0}, {adj-er or *more* adj}, {*the* adj-est} (or {*the most* adj}). For heuristic purpose, we will begin with the three division and proceed to more nuanced and finer gradation of comparison. The basic three divisions are:

- A - V<sub>ADJ</sub> - *nyei* ‘A is V<sub>ADJ</sub>’
  - A - *gauh* - V<sub>ADJ</sub>-B ‘A is more V<sub>ADJ</sub> than B’
  - A - *gauh* - V<sub>ADJ</sub> - *jiex* ‘A is the most V<sub>ADJ</sub>’

### 7.4.1 Basic State in a Declarative Sentence

The basic descriptive, declarative expression of a state of affairs has the construction [V<sub>ADJ</sub> + *nyei*], where *nyei* codes assertive or affirmative aspect as in (512):

- (512) *Go*      *nyei.*  
                 ໄກ        ໄນຍ.  
       *ko:*↑      *nei*↑  
       *be.far*     ASST  
       'It's far.'  
       (ium\_1996\_03\_Burgess\_GF\_MienLgL3;00.22.12-3)

### 7.4.2 Comparative

An adjectival verb is immediately preceded by *gauh* ‘more’ to express comparative degree as in (513):

- (513) *Ninh nyei biauv gauh hlo.*  
 นິນ ໙ີ້ຢ ເປັນ ແກ້າ ໄສດ.  
 nin<sub>1</sub> nei<sub>1</sub> p<sup>h</sup>au<sub>1</sub> kau<sub>1</sub> lo<sub>1</sub>  
 3SG POSS house more be.big  
 'His/her house is bigger.'  
 (ium 1996 03 Burgess GF MienLgL3;00.33.31-3)

A reference of comparison, which occurs as an NP, is simply juxtaposed after the phrase [gauh V<sub>ADJ</sub>] without any marker like English *than* as in (514):

- (514) *Ninh nyei biauv gauh hlo yie nyei.*  
 นิ่น เน္ย ပြီး၊ ဒေါ ໂစ ယီ အေး။  
 nin↓ nei↑ p̥au↑ kau↓ lo↑ iε↑ nei↑  
 3SG POSS house more be.big 1SG POSS  
 'His/her house is bigger than mine.'  
 (ium\_1996\_03\_Burgess\_GF\_MienLgL3;00.33.48-50)

The NP *yie nyei* is a headless NP, whose full form is *yie nyei biauv* [1SG POSS house] 'my house'.

Despite the surface similarity with (514), however, in the next example (515<sup>-1-2</sup>), the NP after the comparative adjectival construction [gauh V<sub>ADJ</sub>] is not what is compared to or the reference of comparison. Rather, the first person pronoun *yie* /iε/ in (515<sup>-2</sup>) is the complement of the adjectival verb *a'hneiv* /a ဏော်/ 'to be pleased with' in (515<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (515<sup>-1</sup>) *Nyungc-nyungc yaac buatc*  
 နျောင့် သာ ပွဲ  
 nyung↓ nyung↓ ja:↓ p̥at↓  
 kind.kind(n) TOP see  
 '(They) saw everything (about me breaking off from opium addiction)'

- (515<sup>-2</sup>) *janx yaac za'gengh gauh a'hneiv yie.*  
 ຈົ້ນ သာ ຫອະເກິ່ງ ဒေါ ဝະເຮັນ ယီ။  
 can↓ ja:↓ tsa ken↓ kau↓ a ဏော် iε↓  
 non-Mien TOP really more be.happy 1SG  
 '(all) non-Mien [i.e. Thai doctors and nurses] were really happier with me  
 (than with other patients).'  
 (ium\_c1960\_01\_SonyPR-150-52\_x\_Yauz-Orn\_PHist;00.03.54-57)

An intensifier for the comparative construction [gauh V<sub>ADJ</sub>] is an adjectival verb *fatv* /fat]/ 'to be near', forming a construction [gauh fatv V<sub>ADJ</sub>] as in (516):

- (516) *Yie gauh fatv jomc.*  
 ယီ ဒေါ ဖဲ ခံမ်း။  
 iε↓ kau↓ fat↓ com↓  
 1SG more be.near be.poor  
 'I'm even poorer.'  
 (Purnell 2012:200)

Furthermore, the intensified comparison construction with *fatv* can modify not an adjectival verb but also a clause as in (517<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (517<sup>-1</sup>) *La'guaih gorngv hnangv, cingx.daaih horpc orv-mienv.*  
 หละไก້ กົ່ງ ຂັ້ນ, ທີ່ຈິງ.ຕ້າຍ ໂອນ ອື້ອ-ເມື່ຍນ.  
*la k<sup>w</sup>ai\ k<sup>w</sup>aŋ\ n<sup>w</sup>aŋ\ ts<sup>h</sup>iŋ\ t<sup>w</sup>ai\ hɔp\ ວໄ m<sup>w</sup>en\*  
 thoughtlessly talk only therefore be.right meat-spirit  
 '(You have to) talk without any appraisal, then you are right with the spirits of hunting.'

- (517<sup>-2</sup>) *Mv.baac orv-mienv cou nor aeqv,*  
 ມໍ່ປ່າ ອື້ອ-ເມື່ຍນ ໄກວ ນອ ແລ້ວ,  
*m<sup>w</sup> pa:\ ວໄ m<sup>w</sup>en\ ts<sup>h</sup>əs\ n<sup>w</sup>\ ε?*  
 but meat-spirit be.sloppy if.so PDP  
 'but if the spirits of hunting are careless,'

- (517<sup>-3</sup>) *corc jaav duqv deix.*  
 ຫົ່ວ ຈ້າ ຕຸ້ ເຕີຍ.  
*ts<sup>h</sup>ɔ\ ca:\ tu?\ tei\*  
 still trick CAN some  
 'you still can deceive (the spirits of hunting) to some extent.'

- (517<sup>-4</sup>) *Orv-mienv muonc nor aeqv,*  
 ອື້ອ-ເມື່ຍນ ມ່ວນ ນອ ແລ້ວ,  
*ວໄ m<sup>w</sup>en\ m<sup>w</sup>ən\ n<sup>w</sup>\ ε?*  
 meat-spirit be.picky if.so PDP  
 '(on the other hand,) if the spirits of hunting are particular,'

- (517<sup>-5</sup>) *gauh fatv [jaav mv duqv]CL.*  
 ເກ້າ ພັດ [ຈ້າ ມ້ ຕຸ້]CL.  
*kau\ fat\ ca:\ m<sup>w</sup> tu?\*  
 more be.near trick NEG CAN  
 'you can't trick them even more.'  
 (Burgess and Yauz-Guangy, 1970s, *Orv-Mien Gouv* [Game Spirits], KMB)

Returning to the comparative structure of adjectival verbs, *fatv* can, of course, be used as an ordinary adjectival verb as in (518):

- (518) *Ninh nyei ndeic gauh fatv yie nyei.*  
 นิ่น เนူး เดီ เกာ ฟဲ ရှိ နူး  
*nin\ nei\ dei\ kau\ fat\ i\ nei\*  
 3SG POSS field more be.near 1 SG POSS  
 ‘His field is nearer than mine.’  
 (Field Notes, 1994-5, KMB)

### 7.4.3 Superlative

To express the superlative, the verb *jiex /ciəɬ/* ‘to (sur)pass’ is added to [*gauh V<sub>ADJ</sub>*], resulting in the construction [*gauh + V<sub>ADJ</sub> + jiex*] ‘the most V<sub>ADJ</sub>’, ‘the V<sub>ADJ</sub>-est’. An example of this construction was encountered as in (160<sup>-8</sup>), repeated here as (519):

- (519) *Se gauh jienv jiex zoux...*  
 (160<sup>-8</sup>) *ເຊ ແກ້າ ເຈື່ນ ເຈີ່ຍ ຖອແວ...*  
*se\ kau\ c̄en\ ciəɬ tsəu\*  
 COP more be.important pass do  
 ‘That is, the most important thing to do is...’  
 (ium\_20130528\_01\_H1\_DA\_GueixFongc\_MienhWaac\_KMB;  
 00.01.13-6)

There seems to be a fluctuation between the complete form [*gauh + V<sub>ADJ</sub> + jiex*] and its shortened form [*V<sub>ADJ</sub> + jiex*]. They both are found in the same discourse by the same speaker as in (520<sup>-1-4</sup>):

- (520<sup>-1</sup>) *A' hneiv jiex,*  
 ອະເຂົ້າຍ ເຈີ່ຍ,  
*a n̄ei\ ciəɬ*  
 be.happy pass  
 ‘(If you ask what would be) the happiest thing (in hunting),’

- (520<sup>-2</sup>) *hnangv a'jang meih gorngv buonv orv wuov,*  
 ຂັ້ນ ອະຈົງ ເມ່ຍ ກົ້ອງ ປິວນ ອູ້ ວ້າ,  
*ñang\ a can\ mei\ kɔŋ\ pʷan\ c̄\ sə\*  
 like earlier 2SG say shoot meat DEM  
 ‘(it’s) like that you said earlier (that we) shoot a game’

|                      |             |             |                   |             |            |              |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|------------|--------------|
| (520 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>ninh</i> | <i>saau</i> | <i>daaih, xxx</i> | <i>dorh</i> | <i>orv</i> | <i>naaic</i> |
|                      | ນິ້ນ        | ໜາວ         | ຕ້າຍ, xxx         | ດ້ອ         | ອື່ອ       | ໜ່າຍ         |
|                      | <i>nin↓</i> | <i>sau↓</i> | <i>tai↓</i>       | <i>tw↓</i>  | <i>ɔ~</i>  | <i>nai↓</i>  |
|                      | 3SG         | stroll      | come              | ???         | bring      | meat         |

‘that after you have explored (in the forest) you got a game’

|                      |              |             |                 |                |
|----------------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|
| (520 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>gengh</i> | <i>gauh</i> | <i>a'hneiv</i>  | <i>jiex@@@</i> |
|                      | ເກົ່ງ        | ເກົ້າ       | ອະເຫັນຍ         | ເຈື້ຍ@@@       |
|                      | <i>gen↓</i>  | <i>kau↓</i> | <i>a tu ei~</i> | <i>ciə↓</i>    |

really more be.happy pass  
‘(it) really is the best thing.’

(ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbuo\_TableTalk;00.50.13-21)

Modification of comparative construction is adjusted by adverbs. In the previous example (520<sup>-4</sup>), on one hand, the adverb *gengh* ‘really’ emphasises the superlative construction. On the other, mitigation or softening can be expressed by *deix* ‘some’ in the construction [*gauh V<sub>ADJ</sub> deix*] as in (521):

|                      |             |                         |             |             |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| (521)                | <i>gauh</i> | <i>suonc</i>            | <i>deix</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |
| (173 <sup>-2</sup> ) | ເກົ້າ       | ສ່ວນ                    | ເຕັຍ        | ອື່ບ.       |
|                      | <i>kau↓</i> | <i>s<sup>w</sup>ən↓</i> | <i>tei↓</i> | <i>a?↓</i>  |

more gentle some NSIT  
‘(it is) a little more gentle.’

(ium\_20150810\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Sesqui\_Cmpd\_MC;00.05.20-8)

## 7.5 Summary of Chapter 7

In this chapter, the adjectival constructions have been investigated. The language uses both the Chinese-loan adjectives and the Iu Mien original adjectives, which are in fact verbs. The distributional difference between the Chinese-loan adjectives and the Iu Mien adjectival verbs have been discussed. A small class of intensifiers of adjectival verbs has been discussed in reference to Taguchi’s study on Iu Mien in China. The chapter concludes with the comparison constructions, including the comparatives and superlatives. Within them are recognized different nuances of intensification and softening unlike the rigid tripartite levels in English comparison structures.

The adjectival construction is a part of noun phrases. We are now ready to launch an investigation into the various structures of NPs in Chapter 8.

# Chapter 8

## THE NOUN PHRASES AND RELATIVE CLAUSES<sup>150</sup>

### 8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents how the noun is modified by personal pronouns, numeral classifiers, demonstratives, subordinate-cum-possessive particle *nyei* (SBCP), coordinating conjunctions, and relative clauses to form noun phrases (NPs).

Noun phrases occur in the following structures (where the symbols ‘+’ and ‘±’ signify obligatory and optional respectively):

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} + \text{NUM} + \text{CLF} \\ \pm \text{DEM} \pm \text{CLF} \\ + Q + \text{CLF} \\ \text{PersPro/N} + \text{SBCP} \\ \text{CL} + \text{SBCP} \end{array} \right\} (\pm \text{Chinese-loanAdj.}) + \text{N}_{\text{HD}} (\pm V_{\text{ADJ}}) \pm \text{DEM} \pm \text{CLF}$$

This chapter is concerned with the following topics: continuum across the “parts-of-speech”, compound nouns and NPs (§8.2), the semantic head and its premodification and postmodification (§8.3), postmodification of the head nouns by verbs (including adjectival verbs and action verbs) (§8.4 and §8.5), premodification of the head nouns by an adjectival verb with the particle *nyei* (§8.6), premodification of the head nouns by the possessive *nyei* phrase (§8.7), headless NPs (§8.8), reflexive pronoun phrases containing *ganh* ‘self’ (§8.9), demonstrative phrases (§8.10), numeral classifier phrases (§8.11), coordinated NPs containing *caux* ‘and’ < ‘to accompany’ (§8.12), NPs containing the plural morpheme *mbuo* and other morphemes (§8.13), relative clauses including *nyei*-relative construction and *dongh*-relative construction (§8.14), and indefinite pronoun phrases (e.g. *whatever*, *whoever*, *whenever*, etc.) (§8.15). Lastly, heavily modified NPs (§8.16) will be demonstrated from the standpoint that a noun modified by relative clauses is a big noun.

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<sup>150</sup> A few parts of this chapter were presented under the title “The degree of definiteness in noun phrases in Iu Mien” at the 23<sup>rd</sup> Annual Conference of Southeast Asian Linguistics Society, held at Chulalongkorn University, 29 – 31 May 2013. Many valuable comments from the floor in response to the presentation are very much appreciated and some of them have been incorporated here for improvement of the seminal paper.

## 8.2 Continuum across “Parts-of-Speech”, NPs, Compounds, and Clauses

### 8.2.1 Continuum across “Parts-of-Speech” and Clauses

At the outset of Chapter 4, we put forward seven principles of this grammar. The fifth principle reads:

**Principle 5.** A vague distinction between “parts-of-speech” is normal. A Noun-Verb distinction is flexible on the part of verbs in Iu Mien. A verb, an adjectival verb or even a clause can be treated as one (big) noun.

We owe Croft (2001) this understanding. He says:

[...] I propose that we discard the assumption that syntactic structures are made up of atomic primitives (language-universal or language-particular). CONSTRUCTIONS, NOT CATEGORIES AND RELATIONS, ARE THE BASIC, PRIMITIVE UNITS OF SYNTACTIC REPRESENTATION. The categories and relations found in constructions are derived—just as the distributional method implies. This is Radical Construction Grammar (Croft 2001:45-6). [emphasis in the original]

That is, once we are freed from the adherence to the rigid view of grammatical categories or “parts-of-speech” as primitives of grammatical description, it would become much more realistic to explain the actual language data as will be seen below.

#### 8.2.1.1 A clause treated as a topic of a sentence

Court (1986) observes:

A topic may represent the agent of an event or the subject of an adjective, or the general setting or scene of an event or state of affairs—time, place and so on—and may take the form of a clause, or a VP (Court 1986:29-30). [underline added]

That is, a clause as whole can be treated as a topic of a sentence. Presented as a topic in the preverbal position, the whole clause can behave as if it was a big noun. An example is in (522<sup>-1,3</sup>):

|                      |                                     |                  |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| (522 <sup>-1</sup> ) | [Nzunc                              | baav             |
|                      | [ນູ້ນ                               | ບາວ              |
|                      | dzun]                               | pa: <sup>↑</sup> |
|                      | occasion                            | a.few            |
|                      | ‘(Talking about hunting) sometimes’ |                  |

- (522<sup>-2</sup>) *mingh yaac mv buangh yaac mv duqv]*  
 ມິ່ງ ແມ່ນ ມີ ບຸວັງ ແມ່ນ ມີ ດູກວ]  
*min<sub>1</sub> ja:<sub>1</sub> m<sub>1</sub> p<sup>w</sup>aŋ<sub>1</sub> ja:<sub>1</sub> m<sub>1</sub> tu?<sub>1</sub>*  
 go TOP NEG encounter TOP NEG get  
 '(a situation) that you go (into the forest to) only find nothing, to get nothing'

- (522<sup>-3</sup>) *yaac maaih nyei.*  
 ແມ່ນ ມ່າຍ ເຢີ່.  
*ja:<sub>1</sub> ma:i<sub>1</sub> nei<sub>1</sub>*  
 TOP have ASST  
 'does happen.'  
 (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_  
 TableTalk-a;00.09.55-7)

Within the whole sentence, the topic marker *yaac* occurs three times: two inside the clause marked by the brackets [ ] in (522<sup>-1-2</sup>), and the other outside of the bracketed clause in (522<sup>-3</sup>). The long clause marked by the third *yaac* after the brackets [ ] in (522<sup>-3</sup>) is the topic of the whole sentence.

### 8.2.1.2 An adjectival verb treated like a noun

An adjectival verb can be treated as a noun as in (523<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (523<sup>-1</sup>) *Njang ziux bieqc hmuangx nyei dorngx,*  
 ນັ້ງ ທົ່ວ ເບີ່ຈະ ຂອມວັງ ເຢີ່ ດ້ອງ,  
*jan<sub>1</sub> tsiu<sub>1</sub> piə?<sub>1</sub> m<sup>w</sup>aŋ<sub>1</sub> nei<sub>1</sub> tɔŋ<sub>1</sub>*  
 light shine enter be.dark REL place  
 'The light shines in the darkness,'

- (523<sup>-2</sup>) *hmuangx yaac maiv haih hingh njang.*  
 ຂອມວັງ ແມ່ນ ໄມ້ ໃກ່ ສິ່ງ ນັ້ງ.  
*m<sup>w</sup>aŋ<sub>1</sub> ja:<sub>1</sub> mai<sub>1</sub> hai<sub>1</sub> hiŋ<sub>1</sub> jan<sub>1</sub>*  
 be.dark TOP NEG be.able win light  
 'and the darkness has not overcome it.'  
 (*The Gospel according to St. John 1:5. Iu Mien Bible*, Thailand Bible Society, translation in English Standard Version.  
<http://www.thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php>)

In (523<sup>-1</sup>) *hmuangx* is an adjectival verb in the relativised NP construction with the structure [V<sub>ADJ</sub> REL place]. By contrast, in (523<sup>-2</sup>) *hmuangx* behaves as a topicalised

noun by the topic marker *yaac* followed by the predicative focus, i.e., *maiv haih hingh njang* ‘not able to overcome the light’.

### 8.2.2 Continuum between Compounds and NPs

By referring to Matisoff’s Lahu grammar, Court (1986:114) observes the difficulty in distinguishing compound nouns from noun phrases. He states that “[w]hat Matisoff says under this heading [i.e. compound nouns] about Lahu applies almost without change to Mien”. Matisoff argues:

Lahu morphemes are one syllable long in the overwhelming majority of cases. When confronted with a polysyllabic string whose most important component seems to be a nominal morpheme, the analyst has only two likely alternatives to consider: either the string is a syntactic construction consisting of more than one word, or it is a noun-compound. In most cases there is little difficulty in coming to a decision one way or the other; yet some construction-types are of an intermediate nature, such that they can only be pigeonholed by arbitrary fiat based on aesthetic considerations or practical convenience. There is nothing surprising about this, nor is the problem unique to Lahu. ‘Morphological compounds’ and ‘syntactic constructions’ are situated along an axis of productivity-of-combination which is more like a continuum than a series of discrete compartments (Matisoff 1982:53). [underlines are added]

Thus Matisoff’s recognition of the continuum between “morphological compounds” and “syntactic constructions”, followed by Court, also guides our analysis regarding the following example of Iu Mien. That is, the distinction between *Loz-Bungz-siqv* /loŋ buŋ˥ si?˥/ (tone sandhi: -z- /˧/ → /˥/) [old Bung be.red] ‘the Old Red Bung clan’ and *zeiv-mau* /tsei˥ mau˥/ (tone sandhi: -v- /˧/ → /˥/) [paper be.soft] ‘tissue paper, tissues’ is ambiguous. *Loz-Bungz-siqv* is a long established sequence as a proper noun, which the native speakers would not bother analysing into components. In contrast to that, an item *zeiv-mau* is one of the relatively new sundry products introduced to the Mien life style. Therefore the description of what kind of paper it is by the adjectival verb *mau* ‘be soft’ seems to be still transparent, hence can be interpreted as a noun phrase that has the structure [ $N_{HD} \leftarrow V_{ADJ}$ ] (=NP). At the same time, the presence of tone sandhi (/˧/ → /˥/) also suggests the sequence is treated as a compound noun (cf. §6.5.1 “Rules of Nominal Compounds”). A summary of that section was that most compound nouns observe tone sandhi except for two cases: one is a limited number of items that are semantically differentiated by the absence or the presence of tone sandhi; the other is one specific morpheme *sai* /sai˥/, which is probably from Chinese *shī* (師) ‘master’, in the sequence *sai mienh* /sai˥ miən˥/ ‘ritual master, priest’). These two possible interpretations (i.e. a syntactic structure or a compound noun) are “situated along an axis of productivity-of-combination” in Iu

Mien also as Matisoff (1982:53) rightly argues for Lahu. Concerning the productivity-of-combination, there is an interesting set of examples in (525<sup>1-2</sup>) in §8.4, which supports the case of *zeiv-mau* /tsei˥ mau˥/ ‘tissue paper, tissues’ mentioned above.

### 8.3 The Semantic Head and Its Surroundings

This section discusses how nouns that express the main meaning are combined with various kinds of modifiers in forming noun phrases. Such nouns within NPs are called nominal heads as well as semantic heads as opposed to syntactic heads.<sup>151</sup> According to Payne (2006:95) “the word that expresses the main meaning of the clump is referred to as the SEMANTIC HEAD”. With regard to the directions of modification in relation to the semantic head, both orders [modifier-N<sub>HD</sub>] (i.e. premodification or left-branching) and [N<sub>HD</sub>-modifier] (i.e. postmodification or right-branching) are found in Iu Mien.

Though there has been a theory that Chinese is a headless language in terms of the modifier-modified relationship primarily based on statistics (Huang 1998:261-83, Packer 2000), as far as Iu Mien is concerned it has a head despite its long history of contact with Chinese. In fact, it is through this contact that Iu Mien exhibits the two-way modification directions, either a modifier preceding a head noun or a head noun followed by a modifier (cf. Court 1986:128). See the following example (524<sup>1-2</sup>) asking two questions about it: (a) “What kind of tree is it?” and (b) “What kind of fruit is it?” with regard to the N<sup>1</sup>-N<sup>2</sup> sequence *biouv-ndiangx* [fruit tree]:

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| (524 <sup>1</sup> ) | <i>Buatc biouv ziouc hiuv duqv</i>  |
|                     | ป្រៃគ ីើយា ៤តោ ីំវ ុំ   |
|                     | p <sup>w</sup> at <sup>˩</sup> p <sup>˧</sup> əʊ <sup>˧</sup> ts <sup>˧</sup> əʊ <sup>˩</sup> hiu <sup>˧</sup> tu <sup>?1</sup> |
|                     | see fruit SEQ know GET  |

‘(By) looking at fruits, (you) will know

|                     |  |
|---------------------|--|
| (524 <sup>2</sup> ) | <i>biouv-ndiangx se haaix nyungc ndiangx.</i>  |
|                     | ីើយ-តិំង ឬ ហាយ នូង តិំង.   |
|                     | p <sup>˧</sup> əʊ <sup>˩</sup> d <sup>˧</sup> aŋ <sup>˩</sup> se ɿ haa <sup>˧</sup> i <sup>˧</sup> nyung <sup>˧</sup> d <sup>˧</sup> aŋ <sup>˩</sup> |
|                     | fruit-tree COP what kind tree  |
|                     | what kind (this) fruit-bearing tree is.’   |

(*The Gospel according to St. Luke 6:44. Iu Mien Bible*, Thailand Bible Society.  
<http://www.thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php#ch6v44>)

<sup>151</sup> In contrast, “[t]he word that determines the syntactic properties of the clump is sometimes referred to as the SYNTACTIC HEAD” (Payne 2006:95).

This is an answer to the question (i) *Naaiv haaix nyungc ndiangx?* /na:i˥ haa:i˥ nyŋ˥ d̥iaŋ˧/ [DEM what kind tree] “What kind of tree is it?” and thus *ndiangx* ‘tree’ is the head noun in relation to its modifier *biouv* /p̥əu˥/ ‘fruit’ in the sequence *biouv-ndiangx*. On the other hand, it is odd to ask (ii) *Naaiv haaix nyungc biouv?* /na:i˥ haa:i˥ nyŋ˥ p̥əu˥/ [DEM what kind fruit] “What kind of fruit is it?” about *biouv-ndiangx*, showing that *biouv* is not a semantic head. Thus, N<sup>2</sup> is identified as the semantic head by asking in the frame *haaix nyunc X?* [what kind X] ‘What kind of X?’ When the question is applied to N<sup>1</sup>, the question cannot be answered and thus reveals that the focus of the question (i.e. N<sup>1</sup>) is not a head but a modifier.

Taking into an account Matisoff’s (1982:53)(see §8.2.2) argument that relationship between “morphological compounds” and “syntactic constructions” is a “continuum” with recognition of the “intermediate” nature in-between, the constructions that have the surface similarity of the nominal head modified by a verb, i.e., (iii), (iv) and (v)(indicated by a dotted bracket), may be considered to have the intermediate nature as shown in

Table 39. The differences between them is that (iii) and (iv) have tone sandhi, thus being compounds whereas (v) without it, thus deemed to fall into a group of noun phrases.

Table 39 also shows that the structures (i), (ii), (v) – (xi) are premodification (i.e. left-branching) constructions and (iii) – (v) are postmodification (i.e. right-branching) constructions in relation to the semantic head.

**Table 39. The relationships of head and modifier, and continuum between compounds and noun phrases**

|        | Left-branching<br>Modifier            | Head                          | Right-branching<br>Modifier |              |
|--------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| (i)    |                                       | N <sup>TS</sup>               | N                           |              |
| (ii)   | Adj(Chinese-loan) <sup>TS</sup>       | N <sub>HD</sub>               |                             |              |
| (iii)  |                                       | N <sub>HD</sub> <sup>TS</sup> | V <sub>ADJ</sub>            |              |
| (iv)   |                                       | N <sub>HD</sub> <sup>TS</sup> | V                           |              |
| (v)    |                                       | N <sub>HD</sub>               | V                           |              |
| (vii)  | V <sub>ADJ</sub> <i>nyei</i>          | N <sub>HD</sub>               |                             |              |
| (viii) | N <i>nyei</i>                         | N <sub>HD</sub>               |                             |              |
| (ix)   | Pronoun <sub>PERSON</sub> <i>nyei</i> | N <sub>HD</sub>               |                             |              |
|        |                                       |                               |                             | Compounds    |
|        |                                       |                               |                             | Noun phrases |

|      |         |          |
|------|---------|----------|
| (x)  | DEM CLF | $N_{HD}$ |
| (xi) | NUM CLF | $N_{HD}$ |

Concerning the construction (i)  $N^{TS} \cdot N$ , there can be two different underlying structures: (a)  $N^1 nyei N^2_{HD} [N^1 SBCP N^2_{HD}] > N_{CMPD}$  and (b)  $N^1 caux N^2 [N^1 and N^2] > N_{CMPD}$ . While it is clear that  $N^2$  is the head in (a) (cf. §6.5.4), in the dvandva compound (b)  $N^1$  and  $N^2$  are in equal status with no modifier-modified relationship (cf. §6.5.5). The construction (ii) has been discussed in §6.5.2 and (iii) in §6.5.3.

With regard to the border between compounds and noun phrase, difference between the constructions (iv) and (v) will be demonstrated in §8.5.

Note that the construction (vii) [ $V_{ADJ} nyei N_{HD}$ ] (=NP) contains an adjectival verb, which is connected to the head noun by the particle *nyei*. Given the Iu Mien adjectival verb is syntactically a verb, following Court (1986), this construction has a close relation with the relative clause construction. That is to say, if the verb in this noun phrase is expanded to be a clause that contains an action verb instead of an adjectival verb, namely, [Clause + *nyei N<sub>HD</sub>*], it becomes a relative clause. This is one of the two kinds of relative clause construction in Iu Mien: the head noun is modified by the preceding/pre-posed relative clause.

As a preview of §8.14, it might be helpful to point out that there are two types of relative constructions. One is the kind which has just been mentioned in the previous paragraph. It is the restrictive relative construction. The second construction has the structure [ $N_{HD} dongh + Clause$ ], of which the connector *dongh* ‘the same’ leading the clause modifies the head postpositively. It can be likened to the non-restrictive relative clause in English. These two types of relative clause constructions are summarised in Table 40:

**Table 40. Two types of relative clause constructions**

|        | Modifier             | Hd       | Modifier              |
|--------|----------------------|----------|-----------------------|
| (xii)  | Clause + <i>nyei</i> | $N_{HD}$ |                       |
| (xiii) |                      | $N_{HD}$ | <i>dongh</i> + Clause |

The first type (xii) will be explained in §8.14.1, and the second type (xiii) in §8.14.2.

## 8.4 The Head Noun Modified by Adjectival Verbs

In this type of NP the head noun is modified by an adjectival verb: NP =  $N \leftarrow V_{ADJ}$ . As has been explained in §8.2.2 and shown in

Table 39 in §8.3, the difference between the NP ( $N \leftarrow V_{ADJ}$ ) and the compound noun [ $N_{HD}^{TS} \cdot V_{ADJ}$ ] (=  $N_{CMPD}$ ) is a matter of gradient.

The following elicitation session (525<sup>-1-2</sup>) was in the course of recording adjectival verbs, where the language consultant gave a few examples of sequences using them. Note that the first line (525<sup>-1</sup>) shows no tone sandhi but the second (525<sup>-2</sup>) does.

|                      |  |                                    |                                      |
|----------------------|--|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (525 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Baeqc</i> (3.98ms)                                    | “ <i>zeiv baeqc</i> ”              | <i>wuov</i> , <sup>152</sup> (.91ms) |
|                      | ແປ່ງ (3.98ms)  | “ເຕີຍ ແປ່ງ”                        | ງ້າ, (.91ms)                         |
|                      | pε?]   | tsei˥ pε?]                         | uə˥                                  |
|                      | be.white   | paper                              | be.white                             |
|                      | “White”, (for example)                                   | “white paper”,                     | (like) that,                         |
| (525 <sup>-2</sup> ) | “ <i>zeiv-baeqv</i> ”                                    | <i>fai</i> “ <i>mienh baeqc</i> ”. |                                      |
|                      | “ເຕີຍ-ແປ່ງ”  | ໄຟ “ເມື່ອນ ແປ່ງ”.                  |                                      |
|                      | tsei˥ pε?]   | fai˥ miən˥ pε?]                    |                                      |
|                      | paper-white  | or person                          | be.white                             |
|                      | ‘(you can say a piece of)                                | “white-paper” or “white-person”    | (i.e. a person with fair-skin).      |
|                      | (ium_20030905_01_CT_DA_WuonhYunh_WL_RuamJit;00.14.49-57) |                                    |                                      |

The first utterance *baeqc* /pε?]/ ‘be white’ is a separate word with the boundaries surrounding it, followed by a pause of 3.98 ms. The example sequence is *zeiv baeqc* /tsei˥ pε?]/ ‘white paper’ with no tone sandhi, which has the structure NP( $N \leftarrow V_{ADJ}$ ). However, the second example of the same sequence in (525<sup>-2</sup>), 0.91 ms after the first, undergoes tone sandhi: *zeiv-baeqc* /tsei˥ pε?]/, having the structure [ $N_{HD}^{TS} \cdot V_{ADJ}$ ] (=  $N_{CMPD}$ ). It seems that the NP has turned to the compound noun in a matter of second (less than a second!). The third example *mienh baeqc* /miən˥ pε?]/ is hard to be determined whether it is an NP( $N \leftarrow V_{ADJ}$ ) or [ $N_{HD}^{TS} \cdot V_{ADJ}$ ] (=  $N_{CMPD}$ ) because the *h*-tone /˥/ coincides the resultative tone of the tone sandhi if it happened on *mienh*.

In summary a good rule of thumb from the discussion above is this: the absence of tone sandhi on the head noun in the sequence  $N \leftarrow V_{ADJ}$  guarantees that it is an NP; the presence of it ensures that it is a compound noun. There is a tendency that the productivity is maximum in NPs and that a frequent use of a certain NP tends to

<sup>152</sup> The demonstrative *wuov* ‘that’ here does not refer to an extra-linguistic item existing in the physical vicinity of the interlocutors. Rather, it refers to the example expression *zeiv baeqc* ‘white paper’.

entrench the sequence coupled with tone sandhi to become a compound noun. See the overlapping area indicated by the dotted bracket in

Table 39, which covers the constructions (iii)  $[N_{HD}^{TS}.V_{ADJ}] (= N_{CMPD})$ , (iv)  $[N_{HD}^{TS}.V] (= N_{CMPD})$ , and (v)  $[N_{HD} V] (= NP)$ .

## 8.5 The Head Noun Modified by a Verb

Two seemingly similar constructions as the borderline cases, i.e., the nominal heads modified by a verb in

Table 39, are distinguished into compound nouns when tone sandhi is present (iv) and noun phrases when tone sandhi is absent (v).

### 8.5.1 The Head Noun Observing Tone Sandhi Followed by a Verb

Constructions that have a nominal head followed by a modifying verb can occur in two structures:  $[N_{HD}^{TS}.V_{ADJ}] (= N_{CMPD})$  and  $[N_{HD}^{TS}.V] (= N_{CMPD})$ , namely (iii) and (iv) in

Table 39 respectively. In this section, the latter construction, in which the postposed modifier is an action verb, rather than an adjectival verb, is exemplified. The combinations with tone sandhi are compound nouns, e.g., *hnaangx-zaang* /ɳaŋ˥ tsəŋ˥/ [rice to.steam] ‘steamed sticky rice’, whereas the combinations without tone sandhi are noun phrases, e.g., *hnaangx nyanc* /ɳaŋ˥ nãŋ˥/ [rice to.eat] ‘rice/food to eat’.

The constructions in which the head noun with tone sandhi is modified by a postposed verb, like in the case of *hnaangx-zaang* /ɳaŋ˥ tsəŋ˥/ [rice to.steam] ‘steamed sticky rice’, are demonstrated as in (526) and (527<sup>1-2</sup>):

- (526) *wuom-hopv*  
၁၁၂-၁၂  
uəm˥ hop˥  
water-drink  
‘drinking water, portable water’  
(Purnell 2012:723)

Another example is found in (527<sup>2</sup>) in a narrative sequence:

|                      |             |                     |              |                  |                     |                     |                     |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| (527 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Taux</i> | <i>wuov</i>         | <i>ndiev</i> | <i>ndoqvhlen</i> | <i>wuov,</i>        | <i>houz</i>         | <i>wuov,</i>        |
|                      | ເຕາ         | ວັງ                 | ເດືອຍ        | ໂດ້ຈະ-ເຫລນ       | ວັງ                 | ໄສ່ຈາ               | ວັງ                 |
|                      | tʰauŋ       | uəŋ                 | diəŋ         | doʔŋ ləŋ         | uəŋ                 | həŋ                 | uəŋ                 |
|                      | reach       | DEM <sub>DIST</sub> | lower.part   | stream-side      | DEM <sub>DIST</sub> | CLF <sub>TRAP</sub> | DEM <sub>DIST</sub> |

‘As I went down by the stream, the place (we had set) a snare (for animals),’

|                      |              |              |             |                                       |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| (527 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>buatc</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>norm</i> | <i>ndiangx-mbaang.</i> <sup>153</sup> |
|                      | ປວດ          | ມ່າຍ         | ນອມ         | ເດືອງ-ມາງ                             |
|                      | pʷatc        | ma:iŋ        | nɔm         | d̥iaŋŋ baŋŋ                           |

see have CLF tree-collapse  
‘I saw there was a fallen (uprooted) tree.’

(Burgess, 1970s, *Auv Guai Nqox Hngongx [A Story of Wise Wife and Fool Husband]*, KMB)

### 8.5.2 The Head Noun without Tone Sandhi Followed by a Verb

This is a noun phrase shown as (v) in

Table 39. Sharing the similar surface structure, N + V, to the one discussed in the previous section, this section is concerned with a construction that does not involve tone sandhi, i.e., [N<sub>HD</sub> V]. In contrast to the construction [N<sub>HD</sub><sup>TS</sup>. V](= N<sub>CMPD</sub>) presented in §8.5.1, the different structure should be posited for the construction that does not observe tone sandhi, i.e., [NP = N←V](an arrow indicating the direction of modification), which is a noun phrase rather than a compound.

This is exemplified in (528):

|       |           |              |                |                             |
|-------|-----------|--------------|----------------|-----------------------------|
| (528) | <i>Mv</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>hnaangx</i> | <i>nyanc.</i>               |
|       | ນໍ້       | ມ່າຍ         | ຫອນາງ          | ໜ້ອນໍ້.                     |
|       | m̥ŋ       | ma:iŋ        | n̥aŋŋ          | ŋanŋ                        |
|       | NEG       | have         | rice           | eat                         |
|       |           |              |                | ‘There was no food to eat.’ |

(ium\_20130527\_01\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_12Tribes\_ Thammajarik;00.00.29-31)

This kind of NP is commonly appear in the presentative construction *maaih* [have] ‘there is/are NP’ or *Maiv maaih* [NEG have] ‘there isn’t/aren’t NP’. Other examples of this kind are:

<sup>153</sup> *Ndiangx-mbaang* is “an uprooted, fallen tree”. Purnell explains additionally that “A tree which has been cut down whose roots are still in the ground is called a *ndiangx-jangv*” (2012:455).

- (529) *Maaih dorngx kaux* /ma:i˥ tɔŋ˧ kʰau˧/  
 [have place rely.on]  
 ‘there is a place to rely on.’

- (530) *Maaih lamh<sup>154</sup> longc* /ma:i˥ lam˧ long˧/  
 [have BOUND.FORM use]  
 ‘it is useful.’

- (531) *Maaih lamh hnamv dorngx* /ma:i˥ lam˧ ᯃnam˥ tɔŋ˧/  
 [have BOUND.FORM think place]  
 ‘there is a hope.’

- (532) *Maiv maaih gong zoux* /mai˥ ma:i˥ koŋ˧ tsəu˧/  
 [NEG have work do]  
 ‘not have a job to do’

Observe in the above examples all head nouns (*dorngx* ‘place’, *lamh* ‘BOUND FORM’, *gong* ‘work’) do not observe tone sandhi. Thus a difference between NPs and compound nouns is that the former is characterised by the absence of tone sandhi on the first constituent in the construction [N←V]. A contrastive illustration is that the NP *hnaangx nyanc* /ɳa:ŋ˧ pan˧/ [rice eat] in (738) never occur in the form \**hnaangx-nyanc* /ɳa:ŋ˧ pan˧/, whereas most compounds which have the structure [N<sub>HD</sub><sup>TS</sup>.V<sub>ADJ</sub>] (= N<sub>CMPD</sub>) do: e.g., *hnaangx-namx* /ɳa:ŋ˧ nam˧/ [rice be.cold] ‘cold rice’, *hnaangx-njaiz* /ɳa:ŋ˧ jaŋ˧/ [rice be.mushy] ‘soggy rice’, *hnaangx-nqaai* /ɳa:ŋ˧ ga:j˧/ [rice be.dry] ‘cooked dry rice’ (not uncooked rice).

## 8.6 The Head Noun Modified by an Adjectival Verb and *nyei*

In this type of noun phrase an adjectival verb and a head noun are connected by the subordinate-cum-possessive particle (SBCP) *nyei*. It has the structure [V<sub>ADJ</sub> *nyei* N<sub>HD</sub>] (=NP). As it has been pointed out, in §4.4.4, that the particle *nyei* has four different functions, they are repeated here. The particle *nyei* can be used as:

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<sup>154</sup> Purnell (2012:365) analyses as “a bound form which combines with the following verb to form a noun, often an abstract noun. [Usage is that] in positive sentences in English, this might be translated with a suffix such as *-ability*, *-ness*, or *-ful*. In negative sentences in English, this might be translated with a prefix such as *in-* or *un-* and/or a suffix such as *-able* or *-less*. At the other times “lack” or “without” might be used.”

- (i) possessive particle ([N<sup>1</sup> *nyei* N<sup>2</sup>] ‘N<sup>2</sup> of N<sup>1</sup>’ or ‘N<sup>1</sup>’s N<sup>2</sup>, forming an NP),
- (ii) adverbialiser ([Adj(-Adj) *nyei* V] ‘Adj-ly V’, i.e., an adjectival verb or duplication of an adjectival verb is made into an adverb which modifies V, forming an adverbial phrase),
- (iii) relativiser ([CL *nyei* N] ‘N which CL’, forming a relative clause), and
- (iv) affirmative/assertive aspectual particle ([CL-*nyei*], at the sentence level in the final position).

It is (iii) the relativiser-*nyei* that is used in the noun phrase [V<sub>ADJ</sub> *nyei* N<sub>HD</sub>] as in (533):

|  |              |               |               |                  |              |                     |                 |
|--|--------------|---------------|---------------|------------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| (533)  | <i>Mbuo</i>  | <i>kungx</i>  | <i>maaih</i>  | [ <i>a'hneiv</i> | <i>nyei</i>  | <i>hnyouv(HD)</i> ] | <i>hnangv.</i>  |
|  | ນົວ          | ຸງ            | ມ່າຍ          | [ອະເຮນີ້ບໍ       | ເລູຍ         | ເຫຼື່ອງ(ຫດ)         | ອນັ້ນ.          |
|  | <i>buə̥l</i> | <i>kunŋ̫l</i> | <i>maxi̥l</i> | <i>a n̥ei̥ŋ̫</i> | <i>nei̥l</i> | <i>j̥i̥ŋ̫əuŋ̫</i>   | <i>n̥anŋ̫ŋ̫</i> |
|  | 1PL          | be.empty      | have          | be.glad          | REL          | heart               | only            |
| ‘We have gladness only.’   |              |               |               |                  |              |                     |                 |
| (ium_20130523_06_H1_DA_GueixZoih_OldCustoms_ Thammajarik;00.04.54-6) |              |               |               |                  |              |                     |                 |

The adjectival verb in this noun phrase can be modified by an adverb having the structure [V<sub>ADJ</sub> Adv *nyei* N<sub>HD</sub>] as in (534-1-2):

|   |               |               |                    |                |              |
|---|---------------|---------------|--------------------|----------------|--------------|
| (534 <sup>-1</sup> )                                | <i>Naaic</i>  | <i>dauh</i>   | <i>mv.baac</i>     | <i>zoux</i>    | <i>baeng</i> |
|   | ໜ່າຍ          | ເຕັກ          | ມື.ມໍາ             | ໄທດວ           | ແປງ          |
|   | <i>na:i̥l</i> | <i>tauŋ̫l</i> | <i>m̥ŋ̫ pa:ŋ̫l</i> | <i>tsəuŋ̫l</i> | <i>pɛŋ̫l</i> |
|   | DEM           | CLF           | but                | make           | soldier      |
| ‘That person was also a soldier of some high rank.’ |               |               |                    |                |              |

|   |             |              |              |                              |  |
|---|-------------|--------------|--------------|------------------------------|--|
| (534 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>hlo</i>  | <i>deix</i>  | <i>nyei</i>  | <i>mienh(N<sub>HD</sub>)</i> |  |
|   | [ໂຮລ        | ເຕີຍ         | ເລູຍ         | ເມື່ອນ(N <sub>HD</sub> )]    |  |
|   | <i>lo̥l</i> | <i>tei̥l</i> | <i>nei̥l</i> | <i>miən̥l</i>                |  |
|   | be.big      | some         | REL          | person                       |  |
| ‘That person was also a soldier of some high rank.’   |             |              |              |                              |  |
| (Recorded by Lombard in 1964, transcribed in 1967. Nongwen village, Maechan, Chiang Rai, Thailand. Ling. Lab. Tape 5228.) |             |              |              |                              |  |

## 8.7 The Head Noun Modified by Personal Pronoun and the Possessive-/ne:<sup>1</sup>/-Phrase

Possessive relation of property is expressed by the possessive particle *nyei* occurring between the possessor/owner and the possessed/property in the construction [N<sup>1</sup> *nyei* N<sup>2</sup><sub>HD</sub>], where N<sup>1</sup> is a personal pronoun. In other words, in this construction, the head noun is modified by the preceding phrase [personal pronoun + *nyei*] and it should be noted that there are not personal possessive pronouns in Iu Mien. When both nouns are common nouns on one hand, we get, for instance, the following sequence: *nzung nyei waac* /dzurŋ̩ nei<sup>1</sup> wa:<sup>1</sup>/ [song SBCP word] ‘song language’ (see §2.4.4). On the other hand, with the N<sup>1</sup> being the personal pronouns, the personal possessive construction is yielded, e.g., *yie nyei* ‘my’, *meih nyei* ‘your’, etc. Expanding the chart of personal pronouns in Table 28 presented in §4.4.2.4, a summary of the personal possessive constructions is offered in Table 41:

**Table 41. Personal possessive constructions, which precede the head nouns**

|                  | 1 <sup>st</sup> person  | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person  | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person  |
|------------------|---|---|---|
| Singular         | <i>yie nyei</i><br>/iə <sup>1</sup> nei <sup>1</sup> /<br>‘my, mine’                        | <i>meih nyei</i><br>/mei <sup>1</sup> nei <sup>1</sup> /<br>‘your, yours’                       | <i>ninh nyei</i><br>/nin <sup>1</sup> nei <sup>1</sup> /<br>‘his’                                 |
| Plural           | <i>yie mbuo nyei</i><br>/iə <sup>1</sup> buə <sup>1</sup> nei <sup>1</sup> /<br>‘our, ours’ | <i>meih mbuo nyei</i><br>/mei <sup>1</sup> buə <sup>1</sup> nei <sup>1</sup> /<br>‘your, yours’ | <i>ninh mbuo nyei</i><br>/nin <sup>1</sup> buə <sup>1</sup> nei <sup>1</sup> /<br>‘their, theirs’ |
| Inclusive plural | <i>mbuo nyei</i> /buə <sup>1</sup> nei <sup>1</sup> / ‘our, ours’                           |   |   |

A note regarding the gloss ‘mine’, ‘yours’, ‘ours’, and ‘theirs’ is necessary. As will be exemplified in the following section, omission of the head noun from the construction [pers.pronoun *nyei* N<sub>HD</sub>] is possible, hence the headless possessive NP can be produced. For example, *naaiv yie nyei* /na:i<sup>1</sup> iə<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup>/ [DEM<sub>PRX</sub> 1SG POSS] ‘This is mine’.

Actual instances of the personal possessive constructions are demonstrated below. In the following examples, (535) shows that the possessive NP is in the object position, and the NP in (536) is in the interrogative, which is simply marked by the question particle *ni* with high rising intonation:

- (535) *Ninh njang hnoi daaih lorz [yie nyei die(HD)].*  
 ນິນ ນັ້ງ ຂນອຍ ດ້າຍ ລ້ອ [ຢືບ ເນູຍ ດີບ(HD)].  
 nin<sup>1</sup> jaŋ<sup>1</sup> n̥oi<sup>1</sup> t̥ai<sup>1</sup> lor<sup>1</sup> iə<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup> tiə<sup>1</sup>  
 3SG be.bright day come seek 1SG POSS father  
 ‘He/she will come to see my father tomorrow.’  
 (ium\_1967\_18\_POSSO\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WIII-Tape3-Trk2;00.07.07-9)

- (536) *[Meih nyei sou] ni?*  
 [ເມືຂ ເນູຍ ສູ] ນີ?  
 mei<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup> səu<sup>1</sup> ni<sup>1</sup>  
 2 SG POSS book SFP  
 ‘What about your book?’  
 (ium\_1967\_21\_POSSO\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WIV-Tape2-Trk1;00.04.50-1)

To add to the inclusive first person plural, there is a situation in which *mbuo* can be used to refer to the second person singular ‘you’. This can be called an empathetic use in a sense that the speaker puts himself/herself into the addressee’s position in talking about something that makes the addressee feel embarrassed. This might have come under the influence of *rāu* (ຮາວ) ‘we INCLUSIVE’ in Thai.

The third person *ninh* and *ninh mbuo* can be used for both human and animals. A monkey is referred to by the third person singular pronoun *ninh* as in (537):

- (537) *Mbing naaic ninh dueiv nangv<sup>155</sup> nyei orqcɛ̄*  
 ມິງ ພ່າຍ ນິນ ເຕົວີບ ນັງ ເນູຍ ເອຈະ<sup>1</sup>  
 biŋ<sup>1</sup> na:i<sup>1</sup> nin<sup>1</sup> t̥wei<sup>1</sup> naŋ<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup> o?<sup>1</sup>  
 monkey DEM<sub>TOP</sub> 3SG tail be.short ASST Q  
 ‘As for a monkey, it has a short tail, doesn’t it?’  
 (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_Table  
 Talk;00.10.57-11.00)

## 8.8 The Headless Possessive-/nei<sup>1</sup>-Phrase

Deletion of a head noun from the full *nyei*-possessive noun phrase yields a headless NP as in (538):

---

<sup>155</sup> In order to explain the appearance of a long-tail monkey which is less common kind in the forest of Nan province, the speaker quoted a more common kind which has a shorter tail as a point of comparison.

|       |                                      |             |                    |           |             |             |             |                |
|-------|--------------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| (538) | <i>Wuov</i>                          | <i>jiex</i> | <i>naaic</i>       | <i>mv</i> | <i>zeiz</i> | <i>[yie</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>nyei</i> ]. |
|       | ວັງ                                  | ເຈື້ຍ       | ໜ່າຍ               | ນີ້       | ເຕີ່ຍ       | [ເຢີຍ       | ນັວ         | ແລມ]           |
|       | ນອຍ                                  | ciə̯l       | naxi̯l             | m̄y       | tsei̯l      | iə̯l        | bua̯l       | nei̯l          |
|       | DEM <sub>DIST</sub>                  | upper.side  | DEM <sub>TOP</sub> | NEG       | be.correct  | 1           | PL          | POSS           |
|       | '(No), that upper side is not ours.' |             |                    |           |             |             |             |                |

(ium\_20130214\_18\_Olympus\_DA\_ZanxSiouc\_zoux muonc;00.01.17-9)

The full form is *yie mbuo nyei ndeic /iə̯l bua̯l nei̯l dei̯l/* [1 PL REL field] ‘our field’, but the head noun *ndeic* has been deleted.

It is possible to delete the head noun from a personal possessive construction, leaving the sequence [personal.pronoun *nyei*] as in (539<sup>-1-4</sup>):

|                      |  |               |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|----------------------|--|---------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| (539 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Wuov</i>                              | <i>jiex /</i> |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| YJ                   | ວັງ                                      | ເຈື້ຍ         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                      | ນອຍ                                      | ciə̯l         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                      | DEM <sub>DIST</sub>                      | upper.side    |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|                      | 'In the upper side (of the hill) there,' |               |  |  |  |  |  |  |

|                      |  |              |              |                     |             |               |             |  |
|----------------------|--|--------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|--|
| (539 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>corc</i>                              | <i>maaih</i> | <i>[ganh</i> | <i>dauh</i>         | <i>nyei</i> | <i>ndeic]</i> | <i>fai?</i> |  |
| YJ                   | ຫົ່ວ່ອ                                   | ມ່າຍ         | [ກິນ         | ເຕົ້າ               | ແລມ         | ເດັບ]         | ໄພ?         |  |
|                      | ts <sup>h</sup> ɔ̯l                      | ma:i̯l       | kanl         | taul                | nei̯l       | dei̯l         | fai̯l       |  |
|                      | still                                    | have         | other        | CLF <sub>ANIM</sub> | POSS        | field         | Q           |  |
|                      | 'are there still other people's fields?' |              |              |                     |             |               |             |  |

|                      |   |              |             |                     |  |  |  |  |
|----------------------|---|--------------|-------------|---------------------|--|--|--|--|
| (539 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Maaih</i>                                    | <i>nyei,</i> | <i>ganh</i> | <i>dauh,</i>        |  |  |  |  |
| ZS                   | ມ່າຍ  | ແລມ,         | ກິນ         | ເຕົ້າ,              |  |  |  |  |
|                      | ma:i̯l  | nei̯l        | kanl        | taul                |  |  |  |  |
|                      | have  | ASST         | other       | CLF <sub>ANIM</sub> |  |  |  |  |
|                      | '(Yes) there are other owners (of the fields),' |              |             |                     |  |  |  |  |

|                      |  |             |                 |              |  |  |  |  |
|----------------------|--|-------------|-----------------|--------------|--|--|--|--|
| (539 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>Wuov</i>                                | <i>deix</i> | <i>Sux.Zanc</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |  |  |  |  |
| ZS                   | ວັງ  | ເຕີ່ຍ       | ສູ.ຫົ່ວ່ອນ      | ແລມ.         |  |  |  |  |
|                      | ນອຍ  | tei̯l       | su̯l tsanl      | nei̯l        |  |  |  |  |
|                      | DEM <sub>DIST</sub>                        | some        | Su Zan          | POSS         |  |  |  |  |
|                      | 'Those (fields up there) are Mr Su Zan's.' |             |                 |              |  |  |  |  |

(ium\_20130214\_19\_Olympus\_DA\_ZanxSiouc\_m si-hiong;00.01.11-6)

The possessive construction *ganh dauh nyei ndeic* in (539<sup>-2</sup>) underwent deletion of head noun *ndeic*, resulting in the headless NP in (539<sup>-4</sup>) with a replacement of the modifiers by a personal name *Sux Zanc*.

A headless NP can be formed by deleting it from the relative clause construction, leaving the structure [CL *nyei*] as in (540<sup>-1-4</sup>):

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (540 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Laengz jienv / 〈 [six.gorngv hnangv mienv dorh duqv<br/>ແລ້ງ ເຈື້ນ / 〈 [ສີ.ກຶອງ ຂນັງ ເມື່ຍນ ດ້ວຍ ດູງ<br/>leŋ˥ c̥en˥ si˧ kɔŋ˥ nuaŋ˥ miən˥ tɔ˧ tu?˥<br/>promise CONT if like spirit carry can<br/>'They were making promise that if a spirit could carry'</i> |
|----------------------|--|

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (540 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>ninh mbuo cuotv wuov ngaanc ziqc koiv nor]CL<sub>SUB</sub><br/>ນິ້ນ ບ້າວ ຂັດ ວ້າວ ທ່ານ ທັບ ຄ້ອຍ ນອ]CL<sub>SUB</sub><br/>nin˥ buə˥ tsʰwət˥ uə˥ nja:n˥ tsi?˥ kʰɔi˥ nɔ˥<br/>3 PL exit DEM shore across sea if.so<br/>'them safely to the other side of the sea,'</i> |
|----------------------|--|

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (540 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>[[taux wuov], ninh mbuo oix jaauv sung<br/>[[ຕາວ ວ້າວ], ນິ້ນ ບ້າວ ອື່ອ ຈ້າວ ສູງ<br/>tʰau˥ uə˥ nin˥ buə˥ o˧ ca:u˥ sun˥<br/>reach DEM 3 PL want repay be.settled<br/>'on arrival there, they wanted to reciprocate fully'</i> |
|----------------------|--|

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (540 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>ninh mbuo laengz <u>nyei</u>]CL<sub>MAIN</sub><br/>ນິ້ນ ບ້າວ ແລ້ງ <u>ເນື່ອຍ</u>]CL<sub>MAIN</sub><br/>nin˥ buə˥ leŋ˥ nei˥<br/>3 PL promise REL<br/>'(words) that they had promised (to the spirit).'<br/>(ium_20150506_01_H1_DA_GF_ZangcMienVNyeiLeiz_<br/>KMB;00.03.14-24)</i> |
|----------------------|--|

The use of the brackets are little different to the case in (539<sup>-2</sup>). The first set of square brackets in (540<sup>-1-2</sup>) indicates the subordinate clause, the second set in (540<sup>-3-4</sup>) signifies the main clause. Within the latter, the headless NP is underlined. From it, namely (540<sup>-4</sup>), what is deleted could be *waac* 'words' or *sic* 'things'. Thus the full NP could have been something like *ninh mbuo laengz nyei waac* [3 PL promise REL word] 'words that they had promised' or *ninh mbuo laengz nyei sic* [3 PL promise REL thing] 'things that they had promised'. The string of the subordinate clause and the main

clause is embedded in ⟨ ⟩ as a complement of the VP, *Laengz jienv*, with a slash that indicates a phonological pause.

## 8.9 Reflexive Pronoun Phrase

There is no reflexive pronoun in Iu Mien like English *myself, yourself* etc. but it is possible to construct reflexive pronoun phrases by placing a noun *ganh* ‘self’ after pronouns. Thus, *yie ganh* /iə˥ kan˩/ [1SG self] ‘myself’, *ninh mbuo ganh* /nin˩ buə˥ kan˩/ [3 PL self] ‘themselves’, etc. are listed in Table 42:

**Table 42. Reflexive pronoun phrases**

|                  | 1 <sup>st</sup> person                                 | 2 <sup>nd</sup> person                                    | 3 <sup>rd</sup> person                                      |
|------------------|--|---|---|
| Singular         | <i>yie ganh</i><br>/iə˥ kan˩/<br>‘myself’              | <i>meih ganh</i><br>/mei˩ kan˩/<br>‘yourself’             | <i>ninh ganh</i><br>/nin˩ kan˩/<br>‘himself/herself/itself’ |
| Plural           | <i>yie mbuo ganh</i><br>/iə˥ buə˥ kan˩/<br>‘ourselves’ | <i>meih mbuo ganh</i><br>/mei˩ buə˥ kan˩/<br>‘yourselves’ | <i>ninh mbuo ganh</i><br>/nin˩ buə˥ kan˩/<br>‘themselves’   |
| Inclusive plural | <i>mbuo ganh</i> /buə˥ kan˩/ ‘ourselves’               |   |   |

The reflexive pronoun phrases are used both in a reflexive construction (541) and as an emphasising element to a pronoun (542) as below:

- (541) *Ninh ganh daix ganh.*  
 นິນ ກັ້ນ ໄດ້ ກັ້ນ.  
 nin˩ kan˩ tai˧ kan˩  
 3SG self kill self  
 ‘He committed suicide.’  
 (cf. Purnell 2012:198)

- (542) *Yie ganh daaih hnangv.*  
 ເຢຍ ກັ້ນ ດ້າຍ ຂນັງ.  
 iə˥ kan˩ ta:i˧ hnang˥  
 1SG self come only  
 ‘I myself have come alone. (no one accompanied me)’

## 8.10 Demonstrative Phrases

### 8.10.1 Demonstrative Pronouns

Iu Mien demonstrative pronouns are a tripartite system: (i) closer to the speaker, (ii) closer to the addressee, and (iii) far from both addresser(s) and addressee(s). They are used for both object referents ('that<sub>DISTAL</sub>', 'that<sub>MEDIAL</sub>', 'this') and locative/spatial referents ('over there', 'there', 'here'). That is, there is no distinction like in English between *that* and *there* or *this* and *here*:

- (i) Proximal demonstrative: *naav* /na:i̯/ 'this, here' (near speaker)
- (ii) Mid-range demonstrative: *naac* /na:i̯/ 'that, there' (near hearer)
- (iii) Distal demonstrative: *wuov* /uə̯/ 'that, yonder' (far from both speaker and hearer)

This system may correspond to the tripartite system of Japanese: *are* 'that<sub>DISTAL</sub>', *sore* 'that<sub>MEDIAL</sub>', and *kore* 'this'. The summary of them in Table 29 from §4.4.2.6 is repeated below:

**Table 29. Demonstrative/deictic pronouns**

|          | Proximity to the speaker         | Proximity to the listener        | Distal from the speaker and the listener |
|----------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| Singular | <i>naav</i><br>/na:i̯/           | <i>naac</i><br>/na:i̯/           | <i>wuov</i><br>/uə̯/                     |
| Plural   | <i>naav deix</i><br>/na:i̯ tei̯/ | <i>naac deix</i><br>/na:i̯ tei̯/ | <i>wuov deix</i><br>/uə̯ tei̯/           |

A demonstrative pronoun itself can stand as a referent as in (543)(a repetition of (198)):

- (543) *Naaiv* / yie mbuo heuc "lamz".  
 (198) ນ້າຍ / ເຢີ ມບວ ໄກສ ລຳມຊ.   
          na:i̯ i̯e̯ b̯uə̯ heu̯ lamz  
          DEM<sub>PRX</sub> 1 PL call granary  
          'This, we call a "granary".' ('We call this a "granary".')  
          (jum\_1967\_06\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-  
          Tape3-p11;00.24.59-00.25.00)

A demonstrative pronoun can refer to a place as in (544)(a repetition of (166)):

- (544) *Yiem wuov, yiem ndeic-liuh yungz daaih heuc Liuh*  
 (166) เยីម វ៉ាវ យីម ណែឱក-តិះ ឃុង តាម ហេវ តិះ  
*jem<sup>1</sup> nə<sup>1</sup> jem<sup>1</sup> dei<sup>1</sup> liu<sup>1</sup> jun<sup>1</sup> təi<sup>1</sup> heu<sup>1</sup> liu<sup>1</sup>*  
 be.in DEM be.in field-hut give.birth.to COME call Liu  
 ‘If a baby was born there, at a field hut, he/she will be called Liu.’  
 (ium\_20130523\_01\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_NzungNyeiWaac\_  
 Thammajarik;00.00.21-4)

In most cases common nouns are preceded by demonstrative pronoun and numeral classifier so that the phrase is grounded in an actual situation of speech as in (545)(a repetition of (6<sup>-3</sup>)):

- (545) [ **wuov norm ziangh.hoc**](NP)  
 (6<sup>-3</sup>) [ វ៉ាវ នំអំ ឆោះង.ហែ ](NP)  
 nə<sup>1</sup> nɔm<sup>1</sup> tsjan<sup>1</sup> ho<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM<sub>DIS</sub> CLF time  
 ‘At that time’  
 (ium\_20120708\_01\_Olympus\_DA\_WuonhSiouc\_Lang  
 Policy;00.02.12-3)

Usually, as (545) and as will be seen in the section of numeral classifier, the demonstrative pronouns are followed by the sequence of numeral classifier and the head noun. However, in colloquialism, it can occur immediately before the head noun as in (546a):

- (546a) *Njorm [naaiv ha'louh wuom] piuv.*  
 នំអំ [ណាយ ខោលោ វុំ] ពួូ  
 nɔm<sup>1</sup> na:i<sup>1</sup> ha ləu<sup>1</sup> uəm<sup>1</sup> p<sup>h</sup>iu<sup>1</sup>  
 hold.in.the.mouth DEM<sub>PRX</sub> calabash water spew  
 ‘Hold water of the gourd-bottle in (your mouth and then) spew (it out).’  
 (Burgess, 1970s, *Baeqc Horqc Gouv* [A Story of White Flower])

The NP in the square bracket in (546a) can be fully expressed in the construction [DEM CLF N] as in (546b):

- (546b) [ **naaiv norm ha'louh**] *nyei wuom*  
 [ណាយ នំអំ] ស្វើ វុំ  
 na:i<sup>1</sup> nɔm<sup>1</sup> ha ləu<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup> uəm<sup>1</sup>  
 DEM<sub>PRX</sub> CLF calabash SBCP water  
 ‘the water in this calabash’

And yet, the demonstrative pronoun which directly modifies the head noun without a numeral classifier seems to be common as in (547) (even though there is 970ms pause after it):

- (547) *Ih.zanc yie gorngv bieqc naaiv ... siou-waac hlaang.*<sup>156</sup>
- ី.ទាំង ឱើយ កៀង ិ៍ិម នាយ ... ិីវ-អវា សាង  
 i↑ tsan↓ iə↑ kɔŋ↑ piə?↓ na:i↑ s'əʊ↓ wa:↓ laŋ↑  
 now 1SG talk enter DEM<sub>PRX</sub> collect-word rope  
 ‘Now I am talking into this tape recorder.’  
 (ium\_1966\_03\_PERMATON\_ViggoSogaard\_Gueix-Cing;00.00.12-5)

The difference between the demonstrative pronoun *naaiv /na:i˥/* ‘this’ (can be contracted to syllabic nasals *mv /m˥/* or *nv /n˥/*) and the personal pronoun *ninh* ‘he’ is that the former can be used as a determiner for an NP (548a) whereas the latter not (548b).

- (548a) *mv<sup>157</sup> dauh Yauz-Jiem*
- ម្ម ត៉ា យ៉ា-ិីម  
 m˥ tə↑ jə↑ ciəm↑  
 DEM<sub>PRX</sub> CLF<sub>ANIM</sub> Yau Jiem  
 ‘this person Yau Jiem.’  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.00.33-00.00.34)

- (548b) *\*ninh dauh Yauz-Jiem*
- 3SG CLF<sub>ANIM</sub> Yau Jiem

All three demonstrative pronouns (*naaiv*, *naaic*, *wuov*) are also used as determiners of noun classifiers and nouns.

The proximate addressee demonstrative pronoun is often used as a topic marker as in (549)(a repetition of (537)):

---

<sup>156</sup> The full sentence of this text with the omitted part underlined is: *Ih zanc yie gorngv bieqc naaiv .. siou waac hlaang .. dorh mingh gorngv bun meih mbuo muangx*. [bring GO talk give 2 PL listen] ‘to bring it over to let you listen to’.

<sup>157</sup> The syllabic nasal *mv /m˥/* is a contraction form of *naaiv /na:i˥/* ‘this’. Sometimes it takes a form *nv /n˥/* ‘this’. Likewise, *naaic /na:i˥/* ‘that’ can be contracted in two ways, *mc /m˥/* and *nc /n˥/*.

|       |  |                        |             |                        |              |             |             |
|-------|--|------------------------|-------------|------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (549) | <i>mbing</i>   | <i>naaic / na:i:l/</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>dueiv</i>           | <i>nangv</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>orqc</i> |
|       | ມີ   | ໜ່າຍ                   | ນິນ         | ເຕົວຢ່າງ               | ນັ້ງ         | ໄຄຫະຍ       | ເອາະກຸ      |
|       | <i>binj</i>  | <i>na:i:l</i>          | <i>ninj</i> | <i>t<sup>w</sup>ei</i> | <i>naŋv</i>  | <i>nei</i>  | <i>c?</i>   |
|       | monkey   | DEM <sub>TOP</sub>     | 3SG         | tail                   | short        | ASST        | SFP         |
|       | 'As for a monkey, it has a short tail, doesn't it?'                |                        |             |                        |              |             |             |
|       | (ium_20130515_01_H1_DA_WuonhKuonMbou_Table<br>Talk;00.10.57-11.00) |                        |             |                        |              |             |             |

It is almost always the case that there is a prosodic pause after the topic marking demonstrative *naaic* /*na:i:l/* whereas there is none if the same form means a verb *naaic* ‘to ask’. Thus (549) cannot mean ‘A monkey asked, “A tail is short, isn’t it?”’. However, if a pause is between the sequence *mbing naaic ninh* and *dueiv nangv nyei orqc*, such a reading is possible.

## 8.10.2 Demonstrative Pronouns in Discourse

A few notes on the use of demonstrative pronoun in discourse may be appropriate. The first is concerned with a written or narrative discourse. In a connected speech, an anaphoric referent (i.e. what has been said) can be referred to by the mid-range demonstrative pronoun *naaic* ‘that’ on the one hand. On the other hand, the proximal demonstrative *naav* ‘this’ can be used cataphorically, referring to what the speaker is about to say in a discourse. They will be exemplified in §20.4.

The second discourse effect is more pragmatic. At the outset of this section, it was pointed out that the demonstrative pronouns *wuov*, *naaic*, *naav*, are used to refer both to object referents (‘that<sub>DISTAL</sub>’, ‘that<sub>MEDIAL</sub>’, ‘this’) and to locative/spatial referents (‘over there’, ‘there’, ‘here’). In the use of spatial referents, a fluctuation in referring to distance has been found. Sentence final particle (SFP) *ni* has a function of urging a listener to realise a present fact of a given situation. A pragmatic use of the SFP *ni* contributes to bring the distal demonstrative pronoun *wuov* ‘there’ into the vicinity of interlocutors as in (550):

|       |  |                   |                     |             |            |
|-------|--|-------------------|---------------------|-------------|------------|
| (550) | <i>Ov!</i>   | <i>M'lomh.miu</i> | <i>wuov</i>         | <i>ndau</i> | <i>ni!</i> |
|       | ໄອ້!   | ມລົມ.ມົວ          | ວັງ                 | ເດາ         | ນີ!        |
|       | <i>o</i>   | <i>m lom</i>      | <i>miu</i>          | <i>dau</i>  | <i>ni</i>  |
|       | INTJ   | cat               | DEM <sub>DIST</sub> | ground      | SFP        |
|       | 'Look! The cat [is] just over there!'                      |                   |                     |             |            |
|       | (ium_20030906_03_CT_DA_WuonhYunh_WL#87_RuamJit;00.14.16-7) |                   |                     |             |            |

Though the distal demonstrative pronoun *wuov* ‘there’ refers to both a visible and invisible referent, the SFP calls the listener’s attention to the fact that what he/she was looking for is right there between the range of *naaic* [mid-range] and *wuov* [distal] (without *ni*) but beyond *naaiv* [proximal]. The language consultant’s explanation of the construction *wuov ndau ni!* is that “*buatc jienv aqv*” /puətɺ c̥en̥˥ a?˥/ [see CONT NSIT] ‘(both speaker and listener) are looking at (the cat)’. Due to the mutually shared situation the construction does not have a verb *yiem* ‘to be at/in/there’ like *M'lomh.miu yiem wuov ndau /m lom˥ miu˥ jem˥ uə˥ dau˥/* [cat be.in DEM<sub>DIST</sub> ground] ‘The cat is over there’.

### 8.10.3 Deictic Pronouns

An emphatic reference, or deictic use of demonstrative pronouns, is possible by the combination of *dongh* /toŋ˥/ and *naaiv* /na:i˥/, *naaic* /na:i˩/, and *wuov* /uə˥/. The identification particle *dongh* was first mentioned in Table 4 in §2.3.1.4 as Court (1986:95) pointed out as being a Chinese origin 同 ‘same’. They occur in the following sequences:

- (551) *dongh naaiv* /toŋ˥ na:i˥/ /  
[same DEM<sub>PRX</sub>] ‘exactly this’
- (552) *dongh naaic* /toŋ˥ na:i˩/ /  
[same DEM<sub>MID</sub>] ‘exactly this (close to the addressee)’
- (553) *dongh wuov* /toŋ˥ uə˥/ /  
[same DEM<sub>DIST</sub>] ‘exactly that’

The deictic construction *dongh naaiv* literally means ‘this same one’, hence ‘this very thing’; likewise, *dongh naaic* and *dongh wuov* ‘that (close to the addressee) same one’ and ‘that (distant from both addresser and addressee) same one’ respectively. These three constructions are referred by the native speakers as *nuqv nyei waac* /nu?˥ nei˥ wa:˩/ [point REL word] ‘pointing words’ or ‘referring words’.

## 8.11 Classifier Phrases

### 8.11.1 Morphosyntactic Characteristics of Classifier Phrases (including Numeral Classifier Phrases)

Primarily in counting a noun, a numeral classifier occurs obligatorily after a cardinal number and before the head noun, thus forming the structure [Numeral + Classifier + Noun]. According to Purnell, a numeral classifier in Iu Mien is

[a] word that is used to count a noun. A noun needs a classifier when it is counted, but different nouns take different classifiers (Purnell 2012:xxxv).

Not only in counting things but also in referring to some referents the classifiers are used in the phrase that has the same structure as mentioned above. Internally, the classifier phrases occur in the following three constructions (where the symbols ‘+’ and ‘±’ mean obligatory and optional):

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{ll} + \text{CARDINAL NUMBER} & + \text{CLF} \\ \pm \text{DEMONSTRATIVE} & \pm \text{CLF} \\ + \text{Question Word} & + \text{CLF} \end{array} \right\} + N_{HD}$$

A cardinal number is obligatory except for *yietc* /jet]/ ‘one’, which is the only optional number in the numeral classifier phrase (Court 1986:90). A classifier occurring after demonstratives (*wuov* ‘that’, *naav* ‘this’, *naaic* ‘NEAR THE HEARER’) is sometimes possible to be omitted. The question word *haaix* ‘which’ occurs in the third type of classifier phrase in an interrogative sentence, e.g., *haaix norm biauv?* ‘Which house?’.

Externally, the whole phrase functions like a noun in the positions of Topic or Focus in a sentence.

Below are presented examples of these three constructions. First, the basic structure [+ CARDINAL NUMBER + CLF + N<sub>HD</sub>] is exemplified in (554)(repetition of (431<sup>3</sup>)):

|                     |              |             |             |
|---------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (554)               | <i>yietc</i> | <i>joux</i> | <i>waac</i> |
| (431 <sup>3</sup> ) | ເຫື້ຍດ       | ໄຈ້ວ        | ໜວ່າ        |
|                     | jet]         | cəʊ̯]       | wa:]        |
|                     | one          | CLFWORLD    | word        |
|                     | ‘One word.’  |             |             |

(ium\_20150511\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;01.11.01-01.11.03)

The omission of the cardinal number *yietc* ‘one’ can be seen in (555)(repetition of (6<sup>-1</sup>)):

- (555) *Yie mbuo naaiv maaih norm hnangx-dauh (...)*  
 (6<sup>-1</sup>) ឃើយ ប៉ា ដោយ មោយ នែម ខេង-ត៉ៅ  
           iə́t̚ b̚uə́t̚ na:i̚v̚ ma:i̚t̚ n̚om̚ h̚n̚ang̚-d̚au̚  
           1 PL DEM<sub>PRX</sub> have CLF year-head  
           ‘Here (in this village too) we had a certain year (...’  
 (ium\_20120708\_01\_Olympus\_DA\_WuonhSiouc\_Lang  
 Policy;00.02.05-06)

Second, an example of the classifier phrase containing a demonstrative pronoun is shown in (556)(repetition of (6<sup>-3</sup>)):

- (556) *wuov norm ziangh.hoc*  
 (6<sup>-3</sup>) វុវ នែម ពីង.ហួ  
           nə́v̚ n̚om̚ ts̚j̚aŋ̚ ho̚  
           DEM<sub>DIS</sub> CLF time  
           ‘At that time’  
 (ium\_20120708\_01\_Olympus\_DA\_WuonhSiouc\_Lang  
 Policy;00.02.12-3)

Third, the classifier phrase containing the question word *haaix* is illustrated as in (557):

- (557) *haaix joux waac*  
       ហាយ ឈីវ អវា  
       ha:i̚t̚ c̚əv̚ wa:̚  
       which CLFWORD word  
       ‘which word, whatever comment’  
 (Purnell 2012:236)

Finally, at the sentence level, the classifier phrases occur in two places, i.e., topical and focal positions. A numeral classifier phrase functions as a topic of a sentence is exemplified in (558)(repetition of (141<sup>-3</sup>)):

- (558<sup>-1</sup>) [ *Yietc diuh ga’maeqc ndiangx*] *naaic*  
 [ ឃើយិត គីវ កោបេអែ ត៉ើយ ] នោយ  
       jet̚ diu̚ ga'maeq̚ ndiang̚ naai̚  
       one CLF corn tree TOP  
       ‘Talking about one corn stalk, (it is as big as)

- (558<sup>-2</sup>) *fu'jueiv faaux duqv nyei.*  
 ຝູ'ເຈວີຍ ຝ່າວ ຕຸ້ ໄລມບ.]  
*fu c<sup>w</sup>ei<sup>ŋ</sup> fa:u<sup>ŋ</sup> tu?<sup>ŋ</sup> nei<sup>ŋ</sup>*  
 child climb can ASST  
 a child can climb (it) up.'
- (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.02.43-45)

The phrase inside the brackets [ ] is marked by the topic marking demonstrative *naaic* as the topic of the sentence and it is followed by the focus part predicated an assertion in (558<sup>-2</sup>).

In contrast to the topical function of the classifier phrase in a sentence illustrated in (558<sup>-1,2</sup>), the classifier phrase *norm hynangx-dauh* ‘the year’ (from which the numeral *yietc* ‘one’ is omitted) in (555) occurs in the predicate focus position after the verb *maaih* ‘to have’ in the sentence.

### 8.11.2 Sortal and Measure Classifiers

Two types of classifiers are explained in this section: **sortal classifier** and **measure classifier**. In Iu Mien there is no formal distinction between count nouns and mass nouns. Both appear without morphological change, e.g., *porng* /p<sup>h</sup>ɔŋŋ<sup>ŋ</sup>/ ‘a hoe’ vs. *hmeiv* /m<sup>ɛ</sup>ei<sup>ŋ</sup>/ ‘rice’, and *cie* /ts<sup>h</sup>iə<sup>ŋ</sup>/ ‘car’ vs. *wuom* /uəm<sup>ŋ</sup>/ ‘water’. But count nouns are preceded by their specific classifiers as in (559):

- (559) *yietc zung porng*  
 ແຫືຂດ ໂູງ ພອງ  
*jet<sup>ŋ</sup> tsun<sup>ŋ</sup> p<sup>h</sup>ɔŋŋ<sup>ŋ</sup>*  
 one CLF hoe  
 ‘one hoe’  
 (ium\_20150513\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.06.00-1)

Another tool for work is *bouv* /pəu<sup>ŋ</sup>/ ‘an axe’, which consists of a metal blade (*bouv*) and a wooden handle (*baengx* /peŋ<sup>ŋ</sup>/). While the handle is termed as (560):

- (560) *yietc nqanx bouv-baengx*  
 ແຫືຂດ ນັກັນ ໄປົວ-ແບ່ງ  
*jet<sup>ŋ</sup> gan<sup>ŋ</sup> pəu<sup>ŋ</sup> peŋ<sup>ŋ</sup>*  
 one CLF axe-handle  
 ‘one piece of axe-handle’  
 (ium\_20150513\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.06.35-6)

The tool as a whole with all comprising parts is referred to as (561):

- (561) *yietc zung bouv*  
         ເຫີບດ ຫູ້ງ ໄປົວ  
         jet] tsuŋ† pəuv†  
         one CLF axe  
         ‘one axe’  
         (Field Notes 20150513, p. 103, KMB)

Thus, the classifiers are specific to a certain unit of counting.

Similar shape and material with an axe-handle can be found in a piece of firewood, which is counted by the classifier *nqanx* as in (562):

- (562) *yietc nqanx zaangh*  
 เที่ยบด អង់ន តាំង  
*jetɺ ganɻ tsa:iŋɻ*  
 one CLF firewood  
 'one piece of firewood'  
 (ium\_20150513\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB; 00.04.36-7)

In this way a classifier as a counting unit categorises objects into groups according to their characteristics or semantics. In other words, a classifier “**unitizes** the kind denoted by the noun” (Croft 2001:119). A *porng* ‘hoe’ and a *bouv* ‘axe’ are categorised in *zung* ((559) and (561)), *bouv-baengx* ‘axe-handle’ and *zaangh* ‘firewood’ are grouped in *nqanx* ((560) and (562)). This type of numeral classifiers, according to Croft (*ibid.* 120), are called “sortal classifier”. The sortals “describe the inherent state of the object” and “are a closed class” (*ibid.* 120).

In contrast, some nouns, especially mass nouns are counted by “measure classifiers”. Croft (*ibid.* 120) says, “measure classifiers describe a temporary state of the material” and “are an open class”. Iu Mien tends to use measuring vessels as a classifier for mass nouns as in (563):

- |       |                                       |                    |              |
|-------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| (563) | <i>yietc</i>                          | <i>tongv</i>       | <i>hmeiv</i> |
|       | ເຫີບດ                                 | ທັງ                | ເຮມື້ບ       |
|       | jet]                                  | t <sup>h</sup> oŋ˥ | m̥ei˥        |
|       | one                                   | bucket             | rice         |
|       | 'one bucket of rice'                  |                    |              |
|       | (Field Notes 1994-1995, Kun Mae Bong) |                    |              |

Or another measuring tool used for rice is woven basket as in (564):

|       |              |                     |   |
|-------|--------------|---------------------|---|
| (564) | <i>yietc</i> | <b><i>ndaan</i></b> | <i>hmeiv</i>  |
|       | ເຫັນຍດ       | ຕານ                 | ເຂມ້ອງ  |
|       | jet]         | da:n†               | ແມ່ຍ  |
|       | one          | woven.basket        | rice  |
|       |              |                     | ‘one woven basket of rice’                            |
|       |              |                     | (ium_20150513_02_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.01.06-8) |

If no container is used, a pile can be counted as in (565):

|       |          |                    |   |
|-------|----------|--------------------|---|
| (565) | <i>i</i> | <b><i>ndui</i></b> | <i>hmeiv</i>  |
|       | ີ        | ດູຢ                | ເຂມ້ອງ  |
|       | i†       | d <sup>w</sup> i†  | ແມ່ຍ  |
|       | two      | pile               | rice  |
|       |          |                    | ‘two piles of rice’                                   |
|       |          |                    | (ium_20150513_02_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.00.45-6) |

As noticed in the glossing above, *tongv* ‘bucket’ and *ndaan* ‘woven basket’ are a common noun, and *ndui* is a verb ‘to pile up in heap’, thus an open class.

Not only classifiers occur with numeral in order to modify a head noun, the slot of the numeral can be filled by a demonstrative (i.e., *naaiv/na:i*†/ ‘this’, *wuov/(?)ua*†/‘that’) as illustrated in (566)(a repetition of (6<sup>-3</sup>)):

|                    |                    |                    |   |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---|
| (566)              | <b><i>Wuov</i></b> | <b><i>norm</i></b> | <i>ziangh.hoc</i>   |
| (6 <sup>-3</sup> ) | ວ້ວ                | ນອມ                | ເຕື່ອງ.ໄທ໌  |
|                    | uə†                | nɔm†               | ts <sup>j</sup> aŋ <sup>j</sup> ho†                           |
|                    | DEM <sub>DIS</sub> | CLF                | time  |
|                    |                    |                    | ‘At that time’  |
|                    |                    |                    | (ium_20120708_01_Olympus_DA_WuonhSiouc_LangPolicy;00.02.12-3) |

Thus adding to the previous formula:

- Numeral/demonstrative + CLF + N<sub>HD</sub> (Numeral and demonstrative do not co-occur)

In a broad distinction, sortal classifiers are for count nouns; measure classifiers for mass nouns. An example of the distinction below is also termed as “arrangement classifier” for count nouns and “partitive classifier” for mass noun by Croft (2001:119).

#### Arrangement classifier:

- (567) *biaa baav dopc /p̥ia:ɻ pa:ɻ̥ topɻ/*  
[five CLF bean]  
'five bundles of beans' (not grains but stalks)

**Partitive classifier:**

- (568) *i beu njuov /iɻ̥ peuɻ̥ juəɻ̥/*  
[two CLF cake]  
'two packages of cakes' (pounded steam rice cake as a lump)  
(Purnell 2012:32)

Lombard & Purnell (1968:341-3) list 94 classifiers. To these more have been added from Purnell (2012) and our field notes presented in the following sections.

### 8.11.3 Sortal Classifiers

#### 8.11.3.1 Major sortal classifiers

Major sortal classifiers are listed from Lombard and Purnell (1968) with some notes and examples from Purnell (2012). A few items listed as sortal classifiers in Lombard and Purnell (1968), however, were not included in the following list because they have been identified as common nouns, rather than classifiers, by Purnell's (2012) new study. Some more examples have been added from our Field Notes as well in Table 43:

**Table 43. Sortal classifiers**

| Classifier    |                                |      | Definition (Lombard & Purnell 1968) when appropriate, details are added from Purnell 2012.  | Example (Purnell 2012)<br>Some are added from the researcher's field notes (FN)  |
|---------------|--------------------------------|------|---|--|
| <i>benv</i>   | pen <sup>ŋ</sup>               | ເບົນ | planks and long flat objects  | <i>yietc benv sou</i> ‘both left and right pages of an opened book’ (if one whole book, <i>yietc buonv sou</i> )   |
| <i>bom</i>    | pom <sup>ŋ</sup>               | ປົມ  | plants which grow in clumps   | <i>buo bom hlauv</i> ‘three clumps of bamboo’  |
| <i>buonc</i>  | p <sup>w</sup> ən <sup>ŋ</sup> | ບຸນ  | (i) families, household, (ii) sections or divisions of books; categories of knowledge, classical literature (L&P 1968:31) [(ii) is not listed in Purnell (2012), instead he defines it as ‘classifier for portions or shares’, whose example is shown in the phrase (iii) quoted in the right column] | (i) <i>ziepc buonc mienh</i> ‘ten families’, (ii) <i>Aengh Doih ziouc mingh maaiz zeiv daaih, ceu cuotv ninh nyei buonc sou dorh jienv nzuonx.</i> (FA 62.1)<br>(iii) <i>yietc buonc</i> (a) one part, share, or portion; (b) one-half (of piles). |
| <i>dauh</i>   | tau <sup>ŋ</sup>               | ເຕັ  | people, animals, doors  | <i>i dauh gaengh</i> ‘two doors’ (Purnell). <i>yietc duah mbiauz</i> ‘one fish’ (FN 20150513, p. 112)  |
| <i>deix</i>   | tei <sup>ŋ</sup>               | ເຕີ  | classifier for upper garments (shirts, coats, etc.) and trousers (Purnell 2012)   | <i>i deix lui</i> ‘two blouses or shirts’  |
| <i>diuh</i>   | tiu <sup>ŋ</sup>               | ຕົວ  | long narrow objects (as trees, trails, snakes, rivers).   | <i>buo diuh mbiauh</i> ‘three stalks of rice’ (Purnell). <i>yietc diuh naang</i> ‘one snake’ (FN 20150513, p. 112)   |
| <i>dorngh</i> | tɔŋ <sup>ŋ</sup>               | ດ້ອງ | classifier for ritual paper with the horse imprint or stamp that is burned in major ceremonies [not found in Lombard & Purnell 1968]  | <i>yietc dorngh zeiv-maaz</i> ‘one bunch of horse paper’ (FN 20150513)   |
| <i>jaax</i>   | ca: <sup>ŋ</sup>               | ຈາ   | (1) classifier for vehicles and airplanes; (2) classifier for tables (“frames”) and the items on them in certain ceremonies (Purnell p. 302)  | <i>i jaax nzangv-ndaix</i> ‘two airplanes’   |

| Classifier  |        |   | Definition (Lombard & Purnell 1968) when appropriate, details are added from Purnell 2012.   | Example (Purnell 2012)<br>Some are added from the researcher's field notes (FN)  |
|---|--------|---|--|--|
| <i>jieqv</i><br>( <i>gieqv</i><br>[kia'q]<br>in<br>L&P) | ciəʔ˥  | ເຈື້ອະ<br>(ເຈື້ອະ<br>[ຄົອະ]<br>in<br>L&P) | hands and feet.  | <i>yietc jieqv buoz</i> ‘one hand’,<br><i>i jieqv zaux</i> ‘two feet’<br>These are for counting living people and animals. When body parts are cut off for meat, the classifier <i>norm</i> is used: <i>yietc norm buoz-zuih</i> ‘one front leg (cooked and given to the officiating priest in a major ceremony)’, <i>yietc norm zaux-zuih</i> ‘one rear leg (meat)’ (FN 20150513, p. 103) |
| <i>joih</i>   | cɔi˥   | ຈົອຍ                                      | bunches or clusters of fruit; pyramid-shaped sections of cross-stitch designs.   | <i>yietc joih biangh</i> ‘one bunch of flowers’, <i>yietc joih biouv</i> ‘one cluster of fruits’ (FN 20150513, p. 103)   |
| <i>laanh</i>  | la:n˥  | ລ່ານ                                      | for people in general  | <i>biaa laanh mienh</i> ‘five people’  |
| <i>norm</i>   | nɔm˥   | ນອມ                                       | classifier for (1) round or rectangular things in general; (2) birds, fowl, turtles; (3) time words (e.g. day, week, month); (4) places (e.g. villages, towns, provinces, countries); (5) some fruits and vegetables; (6) souls, illness, dreams | <i>buo norm dieh</i> ‘three tables’ (Purnell). <i>yietc norm gaeng</i> ‘one bug’, <i>biaa norm qaa</i> ‘five prawns’, <i>buo norm nqimv-nquaiz</i> ‘three crabs’ (FN 20150513, p. 112)   |
| <i>ngaqv</i>  | ŋaʔ˥   | ກະ  | Classifier for lengths or sections of wood, for pieces of something somewhat long and round (as bamboo and banana trunks) (Purnell p. 534)   | <i>yietc ngaqv zaangh</i> ‘a stick of firewood’  |
| <i>paan</i>   | pʰa:n˥ | ພານ                                       | ‘classifier for wide, flat things such as nets, skirts, or blankets. <i>Usg</i> : Now often replaced by <i>kuaav</i> , except for mosquito nets which must remain <i>paan</i> ’ (Purnell p. 627)   | <i>biaa paan suangx</i> ‘five blankets’ (Purnell), <i>i paan ziqc</i> ‘two sheets of mats’ (FN 20150513, p. 104)   |

| Classifier   |                                  |      | Definition (Lombard & Purnell 1968) when appropriate, details are added from Purnell 2012.  | Example (Purnell 2012)<br>Some are added from the researcher's field notes (FN)  |
|--------------|----------------------------------|------|---|--|
| <i>peng</i>  | p <sup>h</sup> en <sup>g</sup> ˥ | ພົງ  | partitions or sections of walling   | <i>yietc peng njongc</i> ‘one side of the wall’ (FN 20150513, p. 104)  |
| <i>poux</i>  | p <sup>h</sup> əu <sup>˧</sup>   | ພ້ອ  | (i) ships, boats, (ii) scissors, pliers   | <i>buo poux nzangv-dorn</i> ‘three small boats’ (Purnell), <i>i poux njiuv</i> ‘two pairs of scissors’ (FN 20150513, p. 104)   |
| <i>topv</i>  | t <sup>h</sup> op <sup>˥</sup>   | ທົບ  | small boxes or packets (L&P), ‘Usg: Obsolete. Nowadays, matches are hard to find. If found, the classifier would be <b>beu</b> or the Thai words <i>gapv</i> [?] or <i>horc</i> [ຫ່ອ]’ (Purnell p. 702) | <i>biaa topv yangh horv</i> ‘five boxes of matches’ (Purnell), <i>yietc topv douz-limh</i> ‘one cigarette lighter’ (FN 20150513, p. 104)   |
| <i>torqv</i> | t <sup>h</sup> ɔʔ <sup>˥</sup>   | ຫ່ອງ | bunches (as bananas)  | <i>Yie hnaqv cuotv benx yietc torqv yietc torqv nyei.</i> ‘I cut the (hanging cluster of bananas) into separate hands.’ (Purnell). If several <i>torqv</i> grow in clusters, the whole tree is called <i>zung</i> (FN 20150513, p. 105). |

### 8.11.3.2 Sortal classifiers derived from common nouns

Some common nouns are also used as classifiers. Therefore this kind of sortal classifiers is not a closed class. They are shown in Table 44.

Table 44. Sortal classifiers derived from common nouns

| Classifier  |                  |      | Definition (Lombard & Purnell 1968) when appropriate, details are added from Purnell 2012.                                   | Example (Purnell 2012)  |
|-------------|------------------|------|--|---|
| <i>baav</i> | pa: <sup>˧</sup> | ບ້າວ | bundles of things  | <i>biaa baav dopc</i> ‘five bundles of beans’                                 |
| <i>bui</i>  | pui <sup>˧</sup> | ບູ   | •cups of tea (L&P),<br>•classifier for cups of a liquid (Purnell 2012)<br>•from Cantonese <i>bui</i> <sup>˧</sup> /pui˥/ (杯) | <i>buo bui zaah</i> ‘three cups of tea’, <i>i bui diuv</i> ‘two cups of wine’ |

| Classifier   |        |       | Definition (Lombard & Purnell 1968) when appropriate, details are added from Purnell 2012.  | Example (Purnell 2012)  |
|--------------|--------|-------|---|---|
| <i>bouv</i>  | pəʊv̩  | ບູວ   | classifier for a stroke of an axe < ‘an axe’  | <i>hnangv i bouv</i> ‘to cut with two strokes of an axe’  |
| <i>diemv</i> | t̩em̩  | ເຕືຍມ | classifier for dots, specks, drops, tears < ‘a dot, spot, speck, drop of liquid, pockmark’  | <i>yietc diemv</i> ‘a spot’   |
| <i>doic</i>  | t̩ɔi   | ຕ່ອຍ  | classifier for generation < ‘a generation’  | <i>ziepc lengh doic</i> ‘for more than ten generations’   |
| <i>hingv</i> | hiŋ̩   | ຂຶ້ງ  | classifier for opposite ends. < ‘an end’ Used of long objects with both ends exposed, as a log or bamboo pole or of opposite poles in time or space (Purnell p. 248). | <i>yietc hingv</i> ‘one end (of a long object). <i>Naav diuh hlauv, meih longc haaix hingv?</i> ‘This bamboo pole, which end do you want (to carry)?’ |
| <i>hlamx</i> | l̩am̩  | ໜສລັມ | classifier for sections between joints < ‘the sections between nodes, knuckles, or joints’  | <i>i hlamx hlauv</i> ‘two sections of bamboo’   |
| <i>jauv</i>  | cau̩   | ເຈົ້າ | classifier for distinguishing groups of travellers < ‘a path, trail, road, street, thoroughfare, way, faction’ (Purnell p. 312)                                       | <i>wuov jauv mienh</i> ‘that group of people’   |
| <i>joih</i>  | cɔi    | ໜອຍ   | ‘pyramid-shaped sections of cross-stitch designs’   | <i>ziex joih congx-biangh</i> ‘several groups of embroidery designs’  |
| <i>porng</i> | p̩ɔŋg̩ | ພອງ   | classifier for strokes of hoeing that a person does < ‘hoe’   | <i>Meih wetv duqv mbu ziex porng?</i> ‘How much hoeing did you get done?’   |
| <i>qongx</i> | c̩ɔŋg̩ | ໝາງ   | rooms, narrow fields, small spaces (L&P), ‘...divisions of a house, sections of long objects...’ (Purnell p. 645)   | <i>buo qongx gen</i> ‘three bed rooms’  |

### 8.11.3.3 Sortal classifiers for pairs

A small class of classifiers are designated for pairs as in Table 45.

**Table 45. Sortal classifiers for pairs (dual classifiers)**

| Classifier    |        |      | Definition<br>(Lombard<br>& Purnell 1968)                               | Example (Purnell 2012)<br>(One item from the<br>researcher's Field Notes)  |
|---------------|--------|------|---|--|
| <i>doix</i>   | tɔɪ̯˧˥ | ຕ້ອຍ | pairs or couples (as people and flashlight batteries, but not shoes)    | <i>i doix ngongh</i> 'two yoke of oxen'  |
| <i>laengc</i> | lɛŋ˥   | ແລັງ | pairs (as shoes)  | <i>buo laengc heh</i> 'three pairs of shoes'   |
| <i>sung</i>   | sun˥   | ຟຸງ  | pairs<br>(cf. Cantonese <i>söng</i> <sup>1</sup><br><i>/sceŋ˥/ (雙))</i> | <i>buo sung zouc</i> 'three pairs of chopsticks' (Purnell).<br><i>sung-</i> <i>buoz sung-zaux</i> 'both hands and both feet' (FN 20150513, p. 103) |

#### **8.11.3.4 Group classifiers**

The classifiers in this section are not necessarily the kind that encodes a category of nouns, but all the following classifiers count people. They are therefore not sortal strictly speaking but function to encode what kind of group people belong to. Croft (2001:119) calls them group classifiers. It is interesting to note that these group classifiers may reflect the Iu Mien's historical background that they were constantly on the move in search of settlement and farmland either voluntarily or by an urged evacuation.

**Table 46. Group classifiers**

| Classifier   |       |       | Definition (Lombard & Purnell 1968)<br>when appropriate, details are added from Purnell 2012.  | Example (Purnell 2012)  |
|--------------|-------|-------|--|---|
| <i>buoqv</i> | puəʔ˥ | ບູ້ວ  | an area, section, or side  | <i>yietc buoqv mienh</i> ‘one entire group of people set apart from others in some way’ |
| <i>guanh</i> | kʷan˥ | ກວ້ານ | classifier for herds, crowds, clusters, or groups (Purnell p. 229) (1) ‘a herd, crowd, cluster, group, work unit’ (2) ‘an association, organization’   | <i>i guanh ngongh</i> ‘two herd of cattle’  |
| <i>jauv</i>  | cau˥  | ຈ້າວ  | classifier for distinguishing groups of travellers (e.g., from different villages or arriving at different times) or groups with different responsibilities, for generational lines or lineages (Purnell p. 315) | <i>Buo jauv mienh daaih.</i><br>‘Three groups of travellers arrived.’                   |
| <i>kev</i>   | kʰe˥  | ເກົວ  | classifier for groups of people (Purnell 2012)   | <i>biaux daaih wuov kev mienh</i> ‘the people who moved into (the village)’             |
| <i>mbomz</i> | bom˥  | ມົມ   | a group of people (seated), ‘classifier for orderly groups or clusters of people in close proximity’ (Purnell p. 472)  | <i>yietc mbomz mienh</i> ‘one group or cluster of people close together’                |

### 8.11.3.5 Classifiers for language and literature

Due to the longitudinal contact with Chinese including literature, the Iu Mien have been literate in Chinese and even after arrival in Thailand they treasure written culture (cf. §2.4.4, §2.5.2.1, and §5.3.2). In conformity to one of the purposes of this grammar, i.e., language revitalisation or pedagogical use, classifiers for words and literature are listed separately in this section so that it may serve as an encouragement of the Iu Mien to talk about their language in Iu Mien. These classifiers belong to metalanguage in the sense that we use them in talking about Iu Mien language. They include general classifiers, which can be used to talk about language, and also specific classifiers for word, literature, and language.

The classifiers for metalanguage are listed in Table 47. Some of them are derived from common nouns or from a verb but used as a classifier.

**Table 47. Classifiers for language, literature and metalanguage**

| Classifier    |                                |         | Definition (Lombard & Purnell 1968)<br>When appropriate, details are added from Purnell (2012).  | Example (Purnell 2012)<br>A few examples were added from the researcher's field notes (FN)  |
|---------------|--------------------------------|---------|--|---|
| <i>benv</i>   | pen <sup>ŋ</sup>               | ເບົນ    | classifier for flat surfaces, opened pages (Purnell p. 29)   | <i>yietc benv sou</i> ‘both left and right pages of an opened book’   |
| <i>buonc</i>  | p <sup>w</sup> ən <sup>ŋ</sup> | ປ່ວນ    | clf. for sections or divisions; classical literature (L&P 1968:31)   | <i>yietc buonc</i> ‘one part’   |
| <i>buonv</i>  | p <sup>w</sup> ən <sup>ŋ</sup> | ປ່ວນ    | books  | <i>yietc buonv sou</i> ‘one book’   |
| <i>diemv</i>  | t <sup>j</sup> em <sup>ŋ</sup> | ເດືອນ   | dots or periods (L&P). ‘classifiers for dots, specks, drops, tears that drop or flow, etc.’ (Purnell p. 127)   | <i>yietc diemv</i> ‘a spot, dot, pockmark’  |
| <i>diuc</i>   | tiu <sup>ŋ</sup>               | ຕິວ     | sections, divisions, or verses of a story. ‘Classifier for reasons, arguments, topics’ (Purnell p. 132).   | <i>Ninh gorngv camv-diuc jauv</i><br>‘She talked about many things’.  |
| <i>diuh</i>   | tiu <sup>ŋ</sup>               | ຕິວ     | (1) classifier for laws, regulations, or stories, (2) classifier for songs, lines of songs, or song couplets (p. 132)  | <i>yietc diuh loz-hnoi nyei gou</i> ‘an old day’s story’, <i>baaux yietc diuh nzung</i> ‘sing one song’   |
| <i>hlengx</i> | len <sup>ŋ</sup>               | ເຫດສະດາ | (1) classifier for sections or groupings within a half-line of a line of a poem or song; (2) classifier for the two (or three) sections in a full line of a poem or song. < classifier for lobes of the liver (Purnell p. 270) | <i>Yietc diuh nzung maaih i hlengx</i> (or <i>i nqanx</i> ) ‘A line of a song has two half-sections’ (Purnell). <i>waa-hlengx</i> ‘phrase’ (FN 20150429, p. 69) |
| <i>joux</i>   | cəʊ <sup>ŋ</sup>               | ໄຈວ     | words or phrases (L&P), ‘...or segments of discourse’ (Purnell p. 328)   | <i>i joux waac</i> ‘two words’. <i>yietc joux bienx waac</i> ‘sesquisyllabic word’ (FN 20150429, p. 67)   |
| <i>kaang</i>  | k <sup>h</sup> aŋ <sup>ŋ</sup> | ຄາງ     | matters, affairs, sections, ‘stanzas’  | <i>kang jiex kang</i> ‘section after section’, <i>yietc kang jiex yietc kang</i> ‘from one stage to the next’   |

| Classifier   |        |        | Definition (Lombard & Purnell 1968)<br>When appropriate, details are added from Purnell (2012).                                     | Example (Purnell 2012)<br>A few examples were added from the researcher's field notes (FN)  |
|--------------|--------|--------|---|---|
| <i>liouz</i> | l̥əʊzʌ | លីូយ៉ា | classifier for rows (Purnell p. 377)  | <i>I liouz nzaangc</i> ‘two rows of letters or characters’. <i>I liouz nzaangc benx yietc diuh nzung</i> ‘Two rows of characters make a couplet of a song’. <i>Yietc liouz nzaangc maaih i nqanx nzung</i> ‘Each row has two sections’.   |
| <i>minc</i>  | minጀ   | អមិំន  | classifier for one side or surface of a page, as numbered pages in a book (Purnell p. 439)  | <i>Yie nyei sou maaih faaziepc cietv minc.</i> ‘My book goes up to page thirty-seven.’  |
| <i>njunc</i> | ጀunጀ   | អណុំន  | classifier for rolls of things (Purnell p. 549)   | <i>yietc njunc zuv-zong</i> ‘a rolled up set of spirit pictures’. <i>sou-njunc</i> ‘a scroll’   |
| <i>nqanx</i> | ganጀ   | អង់ន   | chunks, lumps; half sections of a unit  | <i>yietc diuh nzung maaih i nqanx.</i> ‘A line of a traditional song has two half-sections’. (Cultural note: A line of a song (or poem) contains 14 Chinese characters (or words) divided into two sets or sections ( <i>nqanx</i> , <i>hengx</i> ) with seven characters in each and a space between the two sections (Purnell p. 556).) |
| <i>pin</i>   | pጀinጀ  | ពិន    | classifier for double-sided pages (both sides of a single sheet) (Purnell p. 633)   | <i>I benv funx daaih benx yietc pin.</i> ‘Two sides of a sheet are considered to be one page.’ <i>hietc pin sou</i> ‘eight pages (double-sided) of a book.’ (p. 633)  |
| <i>wuonc</i> | wuənጀ  | អវេន   | verses or sections of a lyric < ‘classifier for vertical sections, steps, levels, tiers, areas, rungs of a ladder’ (Purnell p. 725) |   |
| <i>yiemc</i> | jemጀ   | អីំម   | parts, verses, layers, sections, or portions. Classifier for parts, verses, stanzas, sections, clauses in a document, charges in    | <i>ziepc faam wuov yiemc</i> ‘verse (or stanza) thirteen’   |

| Classifier |        |      | Definition (Lombard & Purnell 1968)<br>When appropriate, details are added from Purnell (2012). | Example (Purnell 2012)<br>A few examples were added from the researcher's field notes (FN) |
|------------|--------|------|---|--|
|            |        |      | an indictment, portions, layers.  |  |
| zaang      | tsaŋŋ̩ | ဇာ၁။ | chapters in a book  | da'betv zaang 'eight chapter', naav deix ziex zaang 'these several chapters'               |

#### 8.11.4 Measure Classifiers

As has been seen that some common nouns are used as a classifier, measure classifiers use containers or tools to count nouns in Table 44 in §8.11.3.2. The uncountable or mass nature of these nouns necessitate the use of containers. They are listed in Table 48.

**Table 48. Measure classifiers by container**

| Classifier   |        |         | Definition (Lombard & Purnell 1968) when appropriate, details are added from Purnell 2012.                   | Example (Purnell 2012)  |
|--------------|--------|---------|--|---|
| bienh<br>(盆) | pjən̩  | ပြေးမျှ | basinful of rice.<br>classifier for platefuls <'a platter plate, tray, shallow dish or bowl' (Purnell p. 39) | buo bienh hmeiv 'three plates of rice'  |
| biec         | pjəl̩  | ပြုခ    | a portion (as of grain)  | yietc biec hmeiv 'one tray of pounded rice'   |
| bipv         | pipl̩  | ပ္ပါး   | a dry measure, equalling approximately five-eighths of bushel (Purnell p. 46)                                |   |
| tongv        | tʰonŋ̩ | ဘုံး    | classifier for pails or buckets of (Purnell p. 702) <'pail, bucket, cauldron'                                | ziepc tongv wuom 'ten buckets of water'   |
| korqv        | kʰɔŋŋ̩ | ကြေး    | dry measure <'a bottle gourd, calabash, gourd container' (Purnell p. 344)                                    | i korqv lengh 'two and a half dippers of'. yietc korqv hmeiv 'a dipper of milled rice typically equal to what would be eaten in one meal' |

When containers are not available, the readily available measurement tools are body parts and the action of measuring using body parts often functions as a verb

as well as classifier. Classifiers body part-derived and verb-derived are listed in Table 49.

**Table 49. Measure classifier by body parts**

| Classifier    |                      |       | Definition   | Example (Purnell 2012)<br>A few examples were added<br>from the researcher's field<br>notes (FN)   |
|---------------|----------------------|-------|--|--|
| <i>ndorqc</i> | dɔ?ɔ̄                | ເດືອກ | cubits (from elbow to tip of middle finger) < 'to measure' (Purnell p. 526)  | <i>biei ndorqc hlang</i> 'four cubits high'  |
| <i>laamx</i>  | la:mɔ̄               | ໜາມ   | 'a step, stride' < 'to step' (Purnell p. 357)  | <i>yietc laamx jiex yietc laamx</i> 'one step after another' (p. 357). <i>i laamx jangv</i> 'two strides of width' (FN 20150513, GF, p. 105) |
| <i>mueic</i>  | m <sup>w</sup> eiɔ̄  | ເຫມວຍ | looks, < Chinese mù (目)<br>'eye'   | <i>mangc yietc mueic</i> 'to have a look, take a brief look at, glance briefly' (Purnell p. 445)   |
| <i>mbiec</i>  | biəɔ̄                | ເນື້ອ | 'classifier for steps or strides' < 'a stride, step' (Purnell p. 466)  | <i>i ziex mbiec</i> 'a few steps, several strides'   |
| <i>puangv</i> | p <sup>hw</sup> aŋɔ̄ | ພັງ   | double handfuls < 'to scoop up with both hands' (Purnell p. 639)   | <i>siec puangv hmeiv</i> 'seven double handfuls of milled rice'  |
| <i>zamh</i>   | tsamɔ̄               | ຕຳນ   | a nunit of length equal to a full armspan (between the fingertips of the middle fingers when the arms are fully extended to the side) (Purnell p. 762) | <i>juqv zamh ndaauv, biaa zamh jangv</i> 'six armspans long and five armspans wide'  |

A set of activity or a process that takes place over a certain period, like a religious ritual or farming from planting to harvest, can be unitised as a countable noun by the use of classifiers. Classifiers for activities, times, occasions, and cycles are listed in Table 50.

**Table 50. Classifiers for activities, times, occasions, and cycles**

| Classifier    |        |        | Definition (Lombard & Purnell 1968) when appropriate, details are added from Purnell 2012.   | Example (Purnell 2012)<br>A few examples were added from the researcher's field notes (FN)  |
|---------------|--------|--------|--|---|
| <i>bouc</i>   | pəʊ̯ŋ  | ବୁଙ୍କ  | classifier for steps or stages, stream crossings < ‘a step, stage (of a journey), section’   | ziepc <b>bouc</b> wuom ‘ten crossings of a stream’  |
| <i>bui</i>    | pui̯l  | ଉଇ     | •matching halves of an object (L&P), •classifier for throws for the divination pieces (Purnell 2012)   | yietc <b>bui</b> jaaux ‘one throw of the divination pieces’   |
| <i>buv</i>    | pu̯ŋ   | ବୁବ    | •classifier times or sessions of gambling (Purnell 2012)   | ndouv i <b>buv</b> zinh ‘to gamble twice’   |
| <i>donx</i>   | ton̯l  | ଡନ୍କ   | classifier for meals, rounds of scolding or berating (Purnell p. 141)  | mbenc daauh <b>donx</b> hnaangx ‘to prepare the first meal’ (Burgess & Gueix-Cing). hemx yietc <b>donx</b> ‘to give a rebuke or reprimand’ (p. 141)   |
| <i>nzunc</i>  | dzun̯l | ନ୍ତୁନ୍ | times or occurrences   | Ba 'hnyangx jopv-nyeic faanv i buo <b>nzunc</b> . ‘Last year there were two or three times when we had an infestation of hoppers.’ (p. 611)   |
| <i>torngx</i> | tʰɔŋ̯l | ତୋଙ୍କ  | classifier for crops, stages of work, marriages, bouts of illness, calamities. < ‘to carry or be carried away by a current’ (Purnell p. 704) | biei <b>torngx</b> zei-naanc ‘four calamities’. longc buo <b>torngx</b> nqox aqv ‘to have had three husbands’. yietc <b>torngx</b> dix sen ‘one crop of peanuts’ (p. 704). nzaaux ndaanh fim i <b>torngx</b> ‘to wash the core of rattan twice for cooking’, yietc <b>torngx</b> ga'maeqc ‘one harvest of corn’ (FN 20150513, GF, p. 105) |

Note that some measure classifiers that are related body parts in Table 49 derived from verbs (e.g. *ndorqc* ‘to measure by cubit’, *laamx* ‘to measure by a stride’, *zamh* ‘to measure by the spread arms’). It may be fitting to review one of the working principles of this grammar at this point:

**Principle 5.** A vague distinction between “parts-of-speech” is normal. A Noun-Verb distinction is flexible on the part of verbs in Iu Mien. A verb, an adjectival verb or even a clause can be treated as one (big) noun (§4.2.1).

As one piece of evidence for this principle, it is possible to consider that an action or a process depicted by the verb can function as a classifier, namely, a unit of measurement. The below is a presentation of some more verb-derived classifiers in Table 51.

**Table 51. Classifiers derived from verbs**

| Classifier    |         |        | Definition (Lombard & Purnell 1968) when appropriate, details are added from Purnell 2012.            | Example (Purnell 2012)<br>A few examples were added from the researcher's field notes (FN)  |
|---------------|---------|--------|---|---|
| <i>beu</i>    | peu     | ເບູ    | packages or bundles < ‘to package, wrap up, wrap around’ (Purnell p. 32)                              | <i>i beu njuov</i> ‘two packages of cakes’ (p. 32)  |
| <i>ndiepv</i> | d̥iep̥l | ເດືອບ  | drops < ‘to drip, trickle, dribble, ooze and form drops’ (Purnell p. 518)                             | <i>hopv yietc ndiepv ndie</i> ‘to take two drops of the medicine’. <i>yietc ndiepv maengc</i> ‘a drop of life’ (metaphorical expression of how feeble human life is. FN 20150513, GF, p. 104) |
| <i>ndui</i>   | d̥w̥iːl | ເຊີ    | piles of groups or heaps < ‘to pile up, amass, accumulate’  | <i>i ndui hmeiv</i> ‘two piles of rice’ (FN 20150513, GF, p. 103)   |
| <i>njiec</i>  | ɟiəl    | ເຫຼື່ຍ | doses or events in which several things happen at the same time < ‘to descend, sink’ (Purnell p. 544) | <i>yietc njiec</i> ‘all together, simultaneously’   |
| <i>nyau</i>   | jnaul   | ເນູ້ລ  | open handfuls < ‘to grasp’  | <i>buo nyau hmeiv</i> ‘three handfuls of rice’. <i>nduqc nyau mbuonv</i> ‘just a handful of flour. (p. 572)   |

## 8.12 Coordinated Noun Phrase

A coordination of two nouns, ‘A and B’, is expressed by a comitative verb *caux* /tsʰau:l/ ‘to accompany’ as in A *caux* B, but not by *yaac* /ja:l/ ‘and, also’. An example was encountered as early as (201<sup>3</sup>), repeated as (569):

|                      |   |   |
|----------------------|---|---|
| (569)                | {[Naiv laanh] caux [wuov laanh]}  | maiv horpc jaax.  |
| (201 <sup>-3</sup> ) | {[ນ້າຍ ລ່ານ] ແກ້ວ ລ່ານ} ນ້າຍ ລ່ານ   | ມ້າງ ມ້າ  |
|                      | na:i ^ la:n ^ ts:hau ^ u:e ^ la:n ^ mai ^ hɔp ^ ca:^                          | ນ້າຍ ລ່ານ ບໍ່ມ້າ ມ້າ  |
|                      | DEM CLF <sub>PERSON</sub> be.with DEM CLF <sub>PERSON</sub> NEG be.right RECP | DEM CLF <sub>PERSON</sub> be.with DEM CLF <sub>PERSON</sub> NEG be.right RECP |
|                      | 'This person and that person are not right with each other.'                  |   |
|                      | (Field Notes 20150906_WK_email)   |   |

It can be considered that the whole sequence {[NP]<sup>A</sup> *caux* [NP]<sup>B</sup>} is a coordinated NP since it stands as a topic followed by the predicate *maiv horpc jaax* ‘are not right with each other’.

While no native speaker bothers looking into the residue of verbal nature of *caux* in (569), a common combination of it with the continuous aspectual verb *jienv* reveals that it has not been completely bleached as in (570<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                      |  |             |
|----------------------|--|-------------|
| (570 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Mbenc ninh ganh nyei kuv</i>                              | <i>lai,</i> |
|                      | ເມັນ ນິ້ນ ກີ້ນ ເສູ່ນ ອຸ້ງ                                    | ໄລ,         |
|                      | ben ^ nin ^ kan ^ nei ^ k^h <u>u</u> ^                       | lai ^       |
|                      | prepare 3SG self POSS be.delicious vegetable                 |             |
|                      | ‘(The king) prepared his own delicious dishes,’              |             |
| (570 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>kuv hnaangx caux jienv</i>                                |             |
|                      | ອຸ້ງ ທ່ານາງ ແກ້ວ ເຈື້ນ                                       |             |
|                      | k^h <u>u</u> ^ nuaŋ ^ ts:hau ^ c'en ^                        |             |
|                      | be.delicious rice accompany CONT                             |             |
|                      | ‘delicious food together with’                               |             |
| (570 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>ninh nyei kuv diuv.</i>                                   |             |
|                      | ນິ້ນ ເສູ່ນ ອຸ້ງ ຕື້ວ.  |             |
|                      | nin ^ nei ^ k^h <u>u</u> ^ tiu ^                             |             |
|                      | 3SG POSS be.delicious wine                                   |             |
|                      | ‘his delicious wine.’  |             |
|                      | (ium_c1965_02_BASF_HCox_Guex-Cing et al._Daniel;00.01.03-08) |             |

This example also shows that when three NPs are coordinated, the conjunction occurs before the last item: A, B *caux jienv* C; and three items as a whole constitute a coordinated NP.

In contrast to the N-N connecter *caux*, clauses are connected by *yaac* ‘also, and’, which will be discussed in §18.2.2.

## 8.13 Pluralising Strategies

Nouns are pluralized in the following six ways to constitute noun phrases.

### 8.13.1 By Plural Suffix *mbuo* /buə̯˥/

All personal pronouns can be pluralised by postposing the morpheme *mbuo* /buə̯˥/. No tone sandhi is involved in the combination of [personal pronoun + *mbuo*]. See Table 28 in §4.4.2.4.

Other than personal pronouns, nouns of human referents can also be followed by *mbuo*. A proper name can take the plural marker *mbuo*, thus referring to the given person and his/her companies (i.e. an associative plural) as in (571):

|       |   |             |               |                         |                    |
|-------|---|-------------|---------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| (571) | <i>Gueix-Cing</i>   | <i>nyei</i> | <i>gorx</i>   | <i>Gueix-Yang</i>       | <b><i>mbuo</i></b> |
|       | ເກົວຍ-຺້ງ   | ເນູຍ        | ກ່ອ           | ເກົວຍ-ບ້າງ              | ບ້າ                |
|       | k <sup>w</sup> ei˥ ts <sup>h</sup> iŋ˥                        | nei˥        | kɔ˥           | k <sup>w</sup> ei˥ jaŋ˥ | buə̯˥              |
|       | Geui Cing   | POSS        | elder.brother | Guei Yang               | PL                 |
|       | 'Geui Cing's elder brother Guei Yang and his family members'  |             |               |                         |                    |
|       | (ium_2000_01_Cst_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.01.35-00.01.46) |             |               |                         |                    |

### 8.13.2 By Quantifier *deix* /tei˧/

Demonstrative pronouns are pluralised by postposing an approximate numeral *deix* 'some', followed by a head nouns:

- *naaiv deix N<sub>HD</sub>* /nai˧˥ tei˧ N<sub>HD</sub>/  
[DEM<sub>PROX</sub> some N<sub>HD</sub>] = NP  
'these Ns' (close to the speaker)
- *naaic deix N<sub>HD</sub>* /nai˧˩ tei˧ N<sub>HD</sub>/  
[DEM<sub>MID</sub> some N<sub>HD</sub>] = NP  
'these Ns' (close to the hearer)
- *wuov deix N<sub>HD</sub>* /uə̯˧˥ tei˧ N<sub>HD</sub>/  
[DEM<sub>DISTL</sub> some N<sub>HD</sub>] = NP  
'those Ns' (far from both the speaker and the hearer)

An example of such an NP is:

- (572) *naaiv deix mienh* /na:i˥ tei˧ miən˨/  
 [DEM<sub>PROX</sub> some people]  
 ‘these people’

### 8.13.3 By Numerals

When the number of the head noun is specified, the numeral classifier phrase must precede it as in (573):

- (573) *buo dauh mienh* /puə˧ tau˧ miən˨/  
 [three CLF<sub>ANIM</sub> person]  
 ‘three persons’

The numeral phrase can be preceded by the demonstrative phrase as in (574):

- (574) *naaiv deix buo dauh mienh* /na:i˥ tei˧ puə˧ tau˧ miən˨/  
 [DEM<sub>PROX</sub> some three CLF<sub>ANIM</sub> person]  
 ‘these three persons’

### 8.13.4 By the Quantifying Adjectival Verb /ts<sup>h</sup>am˨/ with Tone Sandhi

Instead of having a numeral before the classifier phrase, an adjectival verb *camv* /ts<sup>h</sup>am˥/ ‘to be many’ can be used to express the concept of plurality of the head noun. But a phonological difference is that the adjectival verb *camv* observes tone sandhi as in (575) while numerals (573) and demonstrative phrase (574) do not:

- (575) *camv-*      *nyungc*      *setv*  
 ດັນ-                  ໜູ້ງ                  ເຊີດ  
*ts<sup>h</sup>am˨*      *jŋuŋ˨*      *set˨*  
 be.many    kind       colour  
 ‘many colours’, ‘several colours mixed together’  
 (Panh’s translation 2002:24)

This is a compound structure with the tone sandhi. It commonly occurs in temporal expressions (all examples and translations from Purnell 2012:78) such as

(576) *camv-hlaax nyiec /ts<sup>h</sup>am\ la:i\:j niə\:j/*

[be.many month period]

‘several months’

(577) *camv-hnoi /ts<sup>h</sup>am\ nɔi\:j/*

[be.many day]

‘many days, several days, a number of days, for some time’

(578) *camv-baeqv hnyangx /ts<sup>h</sup>am\ pe?\:j ŋiaŋ\:j/*

[be.many hundred year]

‘many hundreds of years’

The numeral classifiers can also be modified by prefixing *camv-* in the compound construction [*camv*-CLF N], e.g., *camv-dauh dungz-dorn /ts<sup>h</sup>am\ tau\:j tur\:j tɔn\:j/* [be.many CLF piglet] ‘many piglets’ (Purnell 2012:78). The head noun can be omitted from this construction where it is contextually retrievable as in (579):

(579) *Aengx gorngv camv-nzunc (...)*

ແອງ ກົງ ຂົມ-ໜຸນ (...)

en\:j kɔŋ\:j ts<sup>h</sup>am\ dzun\:j

again say be.many CLFOCCASION

‘Again (the father-in-law) talked many times (about his son-in-law’s attempts of deceiving).’

(Burgess, 1970s, *Laangh Nduov Ong-Daa Nyei Gouv* [A Story of a Son-in-Law Deceiving his Father-in-Law], KMB)

### 8.13.5 By Reduplication of Classifier

Reduplication of a numeral classifier yields the meaning of ‘every, all’ in the head noun. This applies to both animate and inanimate beings. An example (580) is applied to people; and (581) and (582) to inanimate beings:

(580) *Dauh dauh mienh, yiem longx nyei saah<sub>z</sub>*

ເຕີ ເຕີ ເມື່ນ, ເຢີມ ອລກ ເຄູຍ ຈ່າກ

tau\:j tau\:j miən\:j jem\:j loŋ\:j nei\:j sa:\:j

CLF<sub>ANIM</sub> CLF<sub>ANIM</sub> people be.in be.good ASST Q

‘Everyone, you are all well, aren’t you?’

(Field Notes 1994-5)

Tone sandhi is assumed in the first *dauh* though its underlying tone *-h* /↓/ coincides with the result of sandhi.

With the inanimate head nouns, tone sandhi is evident in the reduplication:

- (581) **norm-norm biauv** /nɔm↓ nɔm↑ p̥au˥/

[CLF CLF house]

‘every house’, ‘all houses’

- (582) **norm-norm ziangh.hoc** /nɔm↓ nɔm↑ tsian˥ ho˩/

[CLF CLF time]

‘every hour’, ‘at all time’

The noun *ziangh.hoc* means both ‘hour’ and ‘minute’. To pluralise minute, reduplication of a different classifier *buon* (分) is used as in (583):

- (583) **buon-buon ziangh.hoc** /p̥ən↓ p̥ən↑ tsian˥ ho˩/

[CLF CLF time]

‘every minute’ (Purnell 2012:67)

### 8.13.6 By Chinese-loan Quantifiers

Attributive use of Chinese-loan quantifiers serves to make nouns plural. These do not co-occur with numerals. Though they precede a head noun, no tone sandhi occurs between the quantifiers and the head.

- *ziex* /tsiə˧/ (Cantonese *zhüi<sup>1</sup>* /tsvə˧/ 諸, Mandarin *zhū*) ‘several, a number of’
- *zuangx* /tsʷəŋ˧/ (Cantonese *zhung<sup>3</sup>* /tsuŋ˧/ 衆, Mandarin *zhòng*) ‘all, everyone’
- *maanc* /ma:n˧/ (Cantonese *maan<sup>6</sup>* /ma:n˧/ 萬 or 万) ‘ten thousand’ referring to entirety, collectiveness, inclusiveness (cf. §6.6.9)

First, to review the syntactic behaviour of the Chinese-loan adjectives or modifiers (cf. §6.5.2 and §7.2.1), let us compare *ziex* /tsiə˧/ ‘several, a number of’ and the Iu Mien adjectival verb *camv* /tsʰam˥/ ‘to be many’ ((575) in §8.13.4). First, a quantity expressed by *ziex* is smaller than *camv*. Second, *ziex* only attributively precedes the head noun but cannot be used predicatively nor be followed by aspectual markers (\**ziex nyei*, \**ziex mi'aqv*), nor be intensified (\**ziex haic*), nor be preceded by the comparison adverb (\**gauh ziex*) as opposed to *camv* that has all these

characteristics. However, regarding tone sandhi, the phrase *camv-nyungc* /tsʰam˧˥  
ɲuŋ˧˩/ ‘many kinds’ (575) observes it while *ziex* does not as in (584):

- (584) *Yiem Janx Kaeqv de'bung ziex baeqv doic.*  
 ເມືຍ່ມ ຈັ້ນ ແກະ ເຕີ'ປຸງ ເຫດີຍ ແປິ່ງ ຕ່ອຍ.  
 jem˧˥ can˧˥ kʰε˥ te puŋ˧˥ tsie˧˥ pε?˧˥ tci˧˩  
 be.in non-Mien Chinese country several hundred generation  
 ‘(The Iu Mien) lived in China several generations.’  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.03.51)

Other examples are:

- (585) *ziex norm guoqv /tsie˧˥ nɔm˧˥ kuə?˧˥/*  
 [several CLF country]  
 ‘several countries’
- (586) *ziex nyungc ga'naaiv /tsie˧˥ juŋ˧˩ ka na:i˥/*  
 [several CLF thing]  
 ‘several things’
- (587) *ziex fingx mienh /tsie˧˥ fiŋ˧˥ miən˧˩/*  
 [several tribe people]  
 ‘several ethnic people groups, various tribes’

Second, *zuangx* ‘all, everyone’ modifies a noun in the same word order with *ziex*, i.e. *zuangx* + N<sub>HD</sub>. However, *zuangx* exhibits some difference to *ziex*. *Zuangx* pluralises human only whereas *ziex* modifies both animate and inanimate beings. *Zuangx* does not co-occur with numeral classifiers as opposed to *ziex*. Also, a contrast to *mbuo* is that *zuangx* precedes the head noun whereas *mbuo* follows. And yet, unlike other Chinese-loan adjectives (e.g. *loz-* ‘old’, *siang-* ‘new’, or perhaps *domh* ‘big’), *zuangx* does not observe tone sandhi in the combination [*zuangx* + N]. Compare the order *meih mbuo* [2 PL] ‘you (PL)’ in (588<sup>-1</sup>) and *zuangx mienh* [every person] ‘every one, all’ in (588<sup>-2</sup>):

- (588<sup>-1</sup>) *Yie Gueix-Cing mbuox meih mbuo*  
 ເມືຂ ເກວີຍ-ເຈີງ ບັ້ງ ເມືຂ ບັ້ງ  
 ie˧˥ kʰεi˧˥ tsʰin˧˥ buə˧˥ mei˧˥ buə˧˥  
 1SG Guei Cing tell 2 PL  
 ‘I Guei Cing tell you’

|                      |                                 |                   |                  |                               |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| (588 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>zuangx</i>                   | <i>mienh</i>      | <i>goiv</i>      | <i>hnyouv</i>                 |
|                      | 呣ວງ                             | ເມື່ຍນ            | ກົອຍ             | ເສົ້າຍວ.                      |
|                      | ts <sup>w</sup> aŋ <sup>ŋ</sup> | miən <sup>ŋ</sup> | kɔi <sup>ŋ</sup> | ŋ <sup>ŋ</sup> ø <sup>ŋ</sup> |
|                      | all                             | person            | change           | heart                         |
|                      | 'every one to repent.'          |                   |                  |                               |

(ium\_1966\_03\_PERMATON\_ViggoSogaard\_Gueix-Cing;00.01.53-6)

The third quantifier *maanc* /ma:nŋ/ ‘all’ has been fully discussed in (405<sup>-1-5</sup>) – (412) in §6.6.9. It means the entirety of general things including people but not only people.

## 8.14 Relative Clauses

There are three types of relative clauses in Iu Mien. Two types were briefly previewed in §4.4.4 and Table 40 in §8.3. One is (I) ***nyei*-relative clause construction** (§8.14.1), the other (II) ***dongh*-relative clause construction** (§8.14.2). To characterise them concisely at this moment, the former construction is a restrictive relative clause, and the latter, a non-restrictive relative clause or a relative clause that is appositioned to the antecedent head. No tone sandhi is observed in both types of relative constructions.

The third type is (III) the **non-specific pronouns** used in a similar way to *whoever*, *whatever*, etc. in English, which are not interrogatives (§8.15). This construction can be referred to as *haaix*-relative clause. This construction includes *haaix dauh* ‘whoever’, *haaix nyungc* ‘whatever’, *haaix zanc* ‘whenever’, and *yiem haaix* ‘wherever’.

Of the three above, in fact, the subtype of (i), *nyei*-relative clause, has already been discussed extensively under the headings of **matter-nominalising phrase** (*nyei sic* /nei<sup>ŋ</sup> si<sup>ŋ</sup>/, §6.6.10), **way-nominalising phrase** (*nyei jauv* /nei<sup>ŋ</sup> cau<sup>ŋ</sup>/, §6.6.11), and **tool-nominalising phrase** (*nyei ga'naaiv* /nei<sup>ŋ</sup> ka na:i<sup>ŋ</sup>/, §6.6.12). Therefore, in this section a more general use of the *nyei*-relative clause will be presented only in a few instances. All these ten relative constructions in three types are listed in Table 52 as an extension of Table 40:

**Table 52. Three types of relative clause constructions**

|           | Modifier                       | Head                | Modifier   | Meaning                         |
|-----------|--------------------------------|---------------------|------------|---------------------------------|
| I. (i)    | CL + <i>nyei</i>               | N <sub>HD</sub>     |            | 'N <sub>HD</sub> that CL'       |
|           | (ii) CL + <i>nyei</i>          | <i>sic</i>          |            | 'the matter(s) of'              |
|           | (iii) CL + <i>nyei</i>         | <i>jauv</i>         |            | 'the way of'                    |
|           | (iv) CL + <i>nyei</i>          | <i>ga'naaiv</i>     |            | 'a tool for'                    |
| II. (v)   |                                | N <sub>HD</sub>     | dongh + CL | 'N <sub>HD</sub> , which CL'    |
| III. (vi) |                                | <i>haaix.dauh</i>   | + CL       | 'whoever CL'                    |
|           | (viii)                         | <i>haaix.nyungc</i> | + CL       | 'whatever CL'                   |
|           | (iv)                           | <i>haaix.zanc</i>   | + CL       | 'whenever CL'                   |
| (x)       | N <sub>ACTOR</sub> <i>yiem</i> | <i>haaix</i>        |            | 'wherever N <sub>ACTOR</sub> V' |

### 8.14.1 Restrictive Relative Clause Particle *nyei*

Verb phrases and clauses can be made into NPs by the particle *nyei* as has been discussed in §6.6.10 – §6.6.12. A close analogy to explain this particle *nyei* is the concept of “relative clause” in Chinese. About relative clauses in Chinese, B. L. Whorf, by summarising G. A. Kennedy’s “Complex attributive expressions in Chinese” (the Linguistic Society of America in Providence, R. I., 12/30/1940), wrote as follows:

[...] Chinese has no relative clauses, and that a different kind of ordering system rules the logic of such relationships. If the element *te*<sup>158</sup> [的] used in this logic be translated ‘-ish,’ then “The House that Jack Built” would go in Chinese: ‘This is Jack-ish build-ish house; this is Jack-ish build-ish house-ish in-ish lie-ish malt,’ etc. (Quoted by John Carroll in Whorf 2012:26 [1956]).

This observation felicitously expresses the constituent order that the preceding modifier clause is related to the following noun, which is modified by the similar particle *nyei* /nei/ in Iu Mien. Court (1986) names it in varying terms such as “Part<sub>SUBORD</sub>” (p. 31), “Possessive” (p. 193), “Relativizer” (p. 194), “subordinator” (p. 204), “subordinating particle” (p. 241) and finally a hybrid term “subordinate-cum-p possessive” particle (SBCP) (p. 107 passim).

<sup>158</sup> The Chinese relative particle 的 is usually written *de* these days in Pinyin.

Nonetheless, this multifunctional particle *nyei* is one of forms that nominalises verbs, verb phrases, and clauses through relativisation (besides its basic function of connecting possessor with possessed).

The restrictive nature of the *nyei*-relative clause construction is reflected in Court's naming it as "specificatory 'RC + *nyei*' structure" (1986:193). Interestingly, the strong restrictive nature of *nyei* in this construction has been found in Court's data in rather an unexpected way as in (589):

|       |                             |              |              |
|-------|-----------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| (589) | [ <i>zouv nyanc</i> ]       | <i>nyei</i>  | <i>norqc</i> |
|       | [ໄຕວ ແກ່ນ]                  | ໄມຢ          | ແນກ          |
|       | <i>tsəu^ŋ</i> <i>jnən</i> ] | <i>nei</i> ↑ | <i>nɔ?</i> ↓ |
|       | boil eat                    | REL          | bird         |

'a bird that is to be eaten by boiling'; Court (1986:193) translates 'bird that is boiled before it is eaten'

When this example was read aloud to a middle age female Iu Mien in Thailand, it immediately evoked a puzzled reaction from her. The example was from a young American Iu Mien (in his/her early 20s a few years before 1985, the year of Court's completion of the degree) with whom Court worked for his dissertation in California. Her reaction was "Why does he [Court] have to specify this particular kind of bird? Can't we eat any bird by any other cooking methods, like by *caauv* /tsʰa:u^ŋ/ 'to stir-fry', *ziqv* /tsi?ŋ/ 'to roast', *wuonh* /wəanŋ/ 'to stew, simmer', *zin* /tsinŋ/ 'to deep-fry'?" This was a natural reaction from the housewife's view and experiences. Court might have generated this example by applying the "PS-rules" he came up with or his informants' age and living environment (California) might have affected the production of the example. Nevertheless, the point is, the specificatory force of the particle *nyei* is strong.

Thus, it is this puzzled reaction that proves the rigidness of the specifying (i.e. "specificatory" in Court's term) function of [RC *nyei* N] construction. The N<sub>HD</sub> (*norqc* 'bird') is highly specified by the strong restrictive force of *nyei* even to the extent of arousing the unnatural feeling. For this reason, the construction containing *nyei* as a relativiser is named the restrictive relative clause.

### 8.14.1.1 V/V<sub>ADJ</sub> *nyei* N

In this construction both action verbs and adjectival verbs can be related to the following head noun by the particle *nyei*. Relative clauses never observe tone sandhi. The first, [V *nyei* N<sub>HD</sub>] is illustrated as in (590):

- (590) *borng nyei mienh*  
 บ่อง เนေ့မှု မိမားမြန်  
*pɔŋ₁ neɪ₁ miən₁*  
 assist REL person  
 ‘an assistant’  
 (ium\_20150505\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_CmmtryOn\_TradReligion\_  
 KMB;00.09.53)

The second, [V<sub>ADJ</sub> *nyei* N<sub>HD</sub>] is exemplified in (591<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (591<sup>-1</sup>) *Yiem-gen zangc.dongc naaiv se*  
 ရှိယံ-ကောင် ဆံ့ဝံးတံ့ခါး နားယ စော့  
*jem₁ ken₁ tsang₁ doŋ₁ na:i₁ se₁*  
 other.world.after.death above.place DEM<sub>PRX</sub> TOP  
 ‘The upper place of the other world after death, this is’

- (591<sup>-2</sup>) *wuov longx [nyei] dorngx.*  
 ဗုံး [လွှာင်] [နေ့မှု] တံ့ခါး  
*uə́₁ long₁ neɪ₁ tɔŋ₁*  
 DEM<sub>DIST</sub> be.good REL place  
 ‘that good place.’  
 (ium\_20150505\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_CmmtryOn\_TradReligion\_  
 KMB;01.00.31-6)

### 8.14.1.2 VP *nyei* N

The head noun can be modified by a verb phrase [V-O] forming the construction [VP *nyei* N<sub>HD</sub>] as in (592):

- (592) *[sipv mienv] nyei waac*  
 [စီပဲ] [မိမားမြန်] နေ့မှု ဘား  
*sip₁ miən₁ neɪ₁ wa:₁*  
 contact/administrate spirit REL word  
 ‘terminology related to contacting/administrating spirits’ (i.e. terminology  
 in Iu Mien belief or religious practice. lit. ‘word of contacting spirits’)  
 (ium\_20150505\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_CmmtryOn\_TradReligion\_  
 KMB;00.05.07-8)

### 8.14.1.3 Clause *nyei N*

The head noun can be modified by a clause [S-V] and the NP formed in this way [CL *nyei N<sub>HD</sub>*] can become a complement of the sentence as in (593<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |                                  |             |             |              |                    |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|
| (593 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>yie</i>                       | <i>yaac</i> | <i>beiv</i> | <i>naaic</i> | <i>hlaax-nyutc</i> |
|                      | ເມື່ອ                            | ຫຍ່າ        | ເນື້ອຍ      | ໜໍາຍ         | ຫອດາ-ຫວຸດ          |
|                      | iə́                              | ja:ʃ        | peɪ̄        | na:iʃ        | ʃa:ʃ nyutʃ         |
|                      | 1SG                              | also        | compare     | DEM          | moon-sunshine      |
|                      | 'I also compare that moon light' |             |             |              |                    |

|                      |  |             |                             |             |                              |
|----------------------|--|-------------|-----------------------------|-------------|------------------------------|
| (593 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>beiv</i>  | <i>taux</i> | <i>[lungh-ndorm nziouv]</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>nyutc.</i> <sup>159</sup> |
|                      | ເນື້ອຍ   | ເຄາ         | [ລູ່ງ-ດອມ ເຖິງໝາວ]          | ເແຍ         | ຫວຸດ.                        |
|                      | peɪ̄   | tʰauŋ       | luŋʃ dəm                    | dz̥əø̄      | neī ʃutʃ                    |
|                      | compare  | reach       | morning                     | be.early    | REL sunshine                 |
|                      | 'with the sun light of the early morning.'             |             |                             |             |                              |
|                      | (ium_20000415_06_CT_DA_FmCiang_God'sLight;00.07.27-38) |             |                             |             |                              |

In contrast to the **matter-nominalising phrase** *nyei sic*, which tends to form a shorter NP, discussed in §6.6.10, the generic *sic* ‘matter, affair’ in the relative construction can yield a longer NP as in (594<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |             |             |             |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (594 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>se</i>   | <i>maiv</i> | <i>ziez</i> |
|                      | ເຊ          | ໄມ້ວ່       | ເຕື້ອຍ      |
|                      | sē         | maī        | tseī       |
|                      | TOP         | NEG         | be.correct  |
|                      | 'It is not' |             |             |

|                      |  |                                    |             |
|----------------------|--|------------------------------------|-------------|
| (594 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>[gorngv baeqc nduov meih mbuo]</i>                                | <i>nyei</i>                        | <i>sic.</i> |
|                      | [ກ້ອງ ແປະ ດັວ ເມີ່ຂ ບັງ]   | ເແຍ                                | ສື່.        |
|                      | kɔŋv pɛ?ʃ duə̄ meī bəə̄ neī sī                                    | talk white deceive 2 PL REL matter |             |
|                      | 'deception of you.' (lit. 'matter of (our) deceiving you by lying.') |                                    |             |
|                      | (ium_1966_03_PERMATON_ViggoSogaard_Gueix-Cing;00.00.23-5)            |                                    |             |

<sup>159</sup> The text is edited. The original text contains some hesitations: *Yie yaac beiv... yaac beiv naaic hlaax-nyutc... beiv... beiv taux... lungh-ndorm nziouv nyei ... nyutc.* Observe the hesitant pause after *beiv /peɪ̄/* ‘to compare’, which occurs four times. This suggests that she was looking for a suitable item for comparison while she was speaking.

## 8.14.2 Non-restrictive Relative Clause with *dongh* ‘the same’

Another method of forming a relative clause is by the use of morpheme *dongh* /tonŋ˥/ ‘same’. Semantically, *dongh* means ‘the same’, probably loaned from Cantonese *tung<sup>4</sup>* /tuŋ˥/ (同) (cf. Mandarin *tóng*). As to its syntactic behaviour, two characteristics are in contrast with *nyei*-relative constructions. One is that while the modifying relative clause lead by the particle *nyei* precedes the head noun, the relative clause formed by *dongh* is postposed to it. The other is that the clause that is relativised is doubly marked clause-initially by *dongh* and clause-finally by one of the following constructions: the demonstrative *wuov* /uəŋ˥/, or *wuov* (+ number) + classifier, or *nyei N<sub>HD</sub>*. In other words, the relativised clause is bracketed by these marks functioning like a pair of bookends. For this reason, we propose to refer to this construction as **NP demarcation envelope construction**. The rationale for the naming will be presented after discussing examples.

What is meant by the **envelope construction** and the three types of *dongh*-relative constructions that utilise it are previewed in schematic forms as follows:

- $N_{HD} \leftarrow \text{dongh} + CL + wuov$  (the non-restrictive relative clause. The arrow signifies the modification relation.)
- $\text{dongh} + CL + wuov (+ \text{determiner/number}) + CLF (+ N_{HD})$  (headless relative clause or the classifier phrase is the head)
- $\text{dongh} + CL + nyei \rightarrow N_{HD}$  (a hybrid of *dongh* and *nyei*, the restrictive relative clause. The arrow signifies the modification relation.)

In the first type, *dongh*-relative clause is an apposition that functions as a supplementary explanation to the head noun. In the second and the third types, the relativiser *dongh* functions as an identifier of head (or a referent in the case of the headless relative clause) in its prototypical meaning ‘the same’ (同).

Firstly, the type in which the head noun receives a supplementary explanation by the apposition of *dongh*-relative clause is illustrated as in (595<sup>-1-3</sup>):

| (595 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Butv</i>      | <i>guqc</i> | <i>daaih</i> | <i>aeqv,</i> | <i>nqoi</i> | <i>biangh</i> |
|----------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
|                      | ပြမ              | ဂု          | တားယ         | ແအ္စား,      | မွေးယ       | ပြီးယံ        |
|                      | put <sup>4</sup> | ku?]        | ta:iN        | ɛ?]          | gɔi]        | p̥anŋ]        |
|                      | contract         | bend.over   | COME         | PDP          | open        | flower        |

‘When the poppy pods are all bent over, all flowers blossom,’

|                      |                    |                  |                                 |                |                   |
|----------------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|----------------|-------------------|
| (595 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <b>dongh</b>       | [butv            | guqc                            | mc             | zanc              |
|                      | ດ៉ុង               | [បូតុវ           | កុ                              | អម់            | អត្ថុន            |
|                      | ton <sub>J</sub>   | put <sup>γ</sup> | ku? <sub>J</sub>                | m <sub>J</sub> | tsan <sub>J</sub> |
|                      | REL <sub>IDF</sub> | contract         | bend.over                       | DEM            | time              |
|                      |                    |                  | ‘which in time of bending over’ |                |                   |

|                      |                                    |   |                  |                 |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|---|------------------|-----------------|
| (595 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <b>zengh.gengh</b>                 | guqc!   | guqc]            | <b>wuov.</b>    |
|                      | ផែង.កេង                            | កុ!   | កុ]              | វីរ.            |
|                      | tseŋ <sub>J</sub> ken <sub>J</sub> | ku? <sub>J</sub>                                  | ku? <sub>J</sub> | uə <sup>γ</sup> |
|                      | really                             | bend.over   | bend.over        | DEM             |
|                      |                                    | ‘are really bent over in that stooping position.’ |                  |                 |

(Burgess, the 1970s, *In Nyei Gouv(2) [A Story of Opium]*, KMB )

The underlined *biangh* ‘flower’ in (595<sup>-1</sup>) is the head noun, which is appositionally explained by the *dongh*-relative clause in (595<sup>-2-3</sup>). The relative clause marked by the square brackets is enveloped by two markers: clause-initially by *dongh* and clause-finally by the demonstrative *wuov*. This *wuov* refers to the state or condition of the head noun, *biangh* ‘flower’. The descriptive function of the demonstrative *wuov* can be tested by paraphrasing with the affirmative/assertive aspectual particle *nyei* as in the following pair:

(596) *mbopv baeqc nyei /bop<sub>J</sub> be?<sub>J</sub> nei<sub>J</sub>/*

[INTENSIFIER be.white ASST]

‘it is very much white’

(597) *mbopv-mbopv baeqc wuov /bop<sub>J</sub> bop<sub>J</sub> be?<sub>J</sub> uə<sup>γ</sup>/*

[INTENSIFIER-INTENSIFIER be.white DEM]

‘it is absolutely dazzling white’ (Field Notes 20150429, p. 60)

There can be a case that the antecedent head noun is repeated at the end of *dongh*-relative clause as in the construction {N<sub>HD</sub> ← *dongh* + Clause + *wuov* CLF + N<sub>HD</sub>} shown in (598<sup>1-3</sup>):

|                      |  |                                |                  |                                  |                  |              |
|----------------------|--|--------------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| (598 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <b>Gan</b>                                       | <b>jienv</b>                   | <b>aapv</b>      | <b>cuotv</b>                     | <b>gau</b>       | <b>aeqv,</b> |
|                      | កាំន   | តើំឃុំ                         | អាប              | ខ្សោគ                            | កោ               | នៅឯះ,        |
|                      | kan <sub>J</sub>                                 | c <sup>γ</sup> en <sup>γ</sup> | a:p <sub>J</sub> | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət <sub>J</sub> | kau <sub>J</sub> | ε?J          |
|                      | follow   | CONT                           | duck             | exit                             | after.which      | PDP          |
|                      | ‘When (the daughter) went out following a duck,’ |                                |                  |                                  |                  |              |

|                      |                    |              |                    |                                   |                     |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| (598 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>buatc</i>       | <i>maaih</i> | <i>nzong</i>       | <i>gaam-ziex</i> , <sup>160</sup> | <b><i>dongh</i></b> |
|                      | ປວດ                | ມ່າຍ         | ໜ                  | ກາມ-ເຫດີຍ,                        | ຕິ່ງ                |
|                      | p <sup>w</sup> at] | ma:iŋ        | dzoŋŋ <sup>1</sup> | ka:mŋ tsiəŋ                       | toŋŋ <sup>1</sup>   |

see have CLF<sub>FIELD</sub> sugar.cane same  
 ‘she saw there was a sugar cane field,’

|                      |               |             |            |              |                    |                    |                  |             |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------|
| (598 <sup>-3</sup> ) | [ <i>ninh</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>maa</i> | <i>zuov]</i> | <b><i>wuov</i></b> | <i>nzong</i>       | <i>gaam-ziex</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |
|                      | [ນິ້ນ         | ເລູຍ        | ມາ         | ຜ້າວ]        | ວ້ວ                | ໜ                  | ກາມ-ເຫດີຍ        | ອື່ບ.       |
|                      | ninŋ          | ŋeiŋ        | ma:ŋ       | tsuəŋ        | uəŋ                | dzoŋŋ <sup>1</sup> | ka:mŋ tsiəŋ      | a?ŋ         |

3SG SBCP mother watch DEM CLF<sub>FIELD</sub> suger.cane NSIT  
 ‘which her (dead) mother was watching, that sugar cane field.’

(Burgess and Yauz-Guangy, the 1970s, *Laaix Die Nyei Nding-Tong, Sieqv Duqv Zoux Hungh Nyei Auv Nyei Gouv* [A Story of a Daughter Becoming the King’s Wife Because of Her Father’s Leaking Basket], KMB)

In the second and third types, the identification function of *dongh* is evident in contrast to the supplementary explanation of it as an apposition to the head noun of the first usage. In the native speaker’s term, the word *dongh* “nuqv jienv” /nu?ŋ c̥enŋ/ [point CONT] ‘to refer to, point at’ the head noun. Though the second type of construction may omit the head noun leaving [*wuov* (± determiner/numeral) + classifier] only, the classifier phrase constitutes the head noun (hence the seemingly headless NP).

In the example (599<sup>-1-3</sup>), the relative clause in the brackets is marked by *dongh* at its onset and by the demonstrative *nv* (contraction form of *wuov* ‘that’)(with the determiner *deix* ‘some’ in this case) clause-finally. And this envelope construction, in turn, modifies the head NP indicated by underline. See this seemingly headless relative clause in (599<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                      |                 |           |              |
|----------------------|-----------------|-----------|--------------|
| (599 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Nqa'haav</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>lauh,</i> |
|                      | ະຈໍາ            | ມໍ        | ເລ່າ,        |
|                      | ga ha:ŋ         | mŋ        | lauŋ         |

later NEG be.long  
 ‘Not long after (that),’

<sup>160</sup> The spelling has been replaced as in Purnell’s dictionary, which reflects the constituents: *gaam* ‘to be sweet’ and *ziex* ‘plant having a sweet cane or stalk’. In the original text it is spelled phonetically as *gamh.ziex* reflecting the actual speech.

|                      | <b>dongh</b> | [wetv            | <i>janx-daic</i> ] | <b>nv</b>        | <b>deix</b>         | <i>i</i>       | <b>dauh</b>      |     |
|----------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|-----|
| (599 <sup>-2</sup> ) |              | ตែង [វេគ់        | ចំណាំ-ពីត់]        | ឯ                | នៅ                  | ី              | នៅ               |     |
|                      |              | ton <sup>↓</sup> | wet <sup>↑</sup>   | can <sup>↓</sup> | tai <sup>↓</sup>    | i <sup>↑</sup> | tau <sup>↓</sup> |     |
|                      |              | same             | dig                | non.Mien-die     | DEM <sub>DIST</sub> | some           | two              | CLF |

‘those who dug a dead body, (namely) the two (men)’

|                      |                  |                   |                  |                   |
|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (599 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>yaac</i>      | <i>zuqc</i>       | <i>heiv</i>      | <i>daaih.</i>     |
|                      | យាតា             | មទ្ធេ             | ឱះឃុំ            | តាម.              |
|                      | ja: <sup>↓</sup> | tsu? <sup>↓</sup> | hei <sup>↑</sup> | ta:i <sup>↓</sup> |
|                      | also             | TOUCH             | scare            | COME              |

‘were also frightened.’

(Burgess and Yauz-Guangv, the 1970s, *Janx-Daic Aengx Nangh Daaih Nyei Gouv* [A Story of the Dead Rising] KMB)

The third type is a hybrid of the *dongh*-relative clause and the *nyei*-relative clause. In this construction, an envelope structure has both markings of *dongh* clause-initially and *nyei* clause-finally as in (600<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                      |                    |                  |                                   |                   |
|----------------------|--------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| (600 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Nzaaux</i>      | <i>liuz,</i>     | <i>oix.zuqc</i>                   | <i>zorng.</i>     |
|                      | នោរាយ              | តិះ,             | អ៉ូយ មទ្ធេ                        | ធាន.              |
|                      | dza:u <sup>↓</sup> | liu <sup>↓</sup> | វិ <sup>↓</sup> tsu? <sup>↓</sup> | តសោរ <sup>↑</sup> |
|                      | wash               | PFTV             | must                              | dress             |

‘After (the bereaved children) washed (their parent’s body, they) have to dress (the body).’

|                      |                    |                   |                                |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| (600 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Se</i>          | <i>zuqv</i>       | <i>jienv</i>                   |
|                      | ឈើ                 | មុ                | ជីឃុំ                          |
|                      | se <sup>↓</sup>    | tsu? <sup>↑</sup> | c <sup>↓</sup> en <sup>↑</sup> |
|                      | COP <sub>TOP</sub> | wear              | CONT                           |

‘That is, (let the parent) wear’

Note that the whole relative clause from *dongh* to *lui-houx* in (600<sup>-3</sup>) is the object of the verb phrase *zuqv jienv* ‘wearing’ in (600<sup>-2</sup>).

A trial paraphrase of (600<sup>-2-3</sup>) into the restrictive *nyei*-relative clause construction (§8.14.2) without *dongh* (indicated by zero morpheme Ø) causes a vagueness of the NP demarcation as in (601<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- |                      |                                  |                   |                                |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| (601 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Se</i>                        | <i>zuqv</i>       | <i>jienv</i>                   |
|                      | ! <sup>צ</sup>                   | ! <sup>ע</sup>    | เจิ่น                          |
|                      | se <sup>1</sup>                  | tsu? <sup>1</sup> | c <sup>j</sup> en <sup>γ</sup> |
|                      | COP <sub>TOP</sub>               | wear              | CONT                           |
|                      | 'That is, (let the parent) wear' |                   |                                |

- (601<sup>-2</sup>) Ø [ninh mbenc weic zuqv] **nyei** *lui-houx.*  
Ø [นิ่น เม่น เหลว ใจ] เนய ลุย-ໂຫວ.  
nin<sub>1</sub> ben<sub>1</sub> wei<sub>1</sub> tsu?1 nei<sub>1</sub> lui<sub>1</sub> həu<sub>1</sub>  
3SG prepare for wear REL clothes  
‘the clothes that he/she had prepared to wear (at his/her own funeral).’  
(Field Notes 20150429, p. 58)

An evaluation of (601<sup>-1-2</sup>) by the language consultant is that “it is not wrong but not really complete and it is light” as expressed in (602<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- |                      |   |              |               |             |              |
|----------------------|---|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| (602 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Mv</i>   | <i>nangc</i> | <i>nzoih,</i> | <i>heng</i> | <i>nyei,</i> |
|                      | ມ້  | ໜັ້ງ         | ທ້ອຍ,         | ເຮັງ        | ເນູຍ,        |
|                      | m̥ŋ   | naŋ]         | dzɔi↓         | hen↑        | nei↑         |
|                      | NEG   | AUX          | be.complete   | be.light    | ASST         |
|                      | ‘(The sentence) is not so complete, it is light,’ |              |               |             |              |

<sup>161</sup> In Iu Mien custom, old people prepare well in advance things necessary for his/her own funeral such as a tomb, coffin, and clothes.

|                      |           |               |                                      |
|----------------------|-----------|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| (602 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>mv</i> | <i>dorngc</i> | <i>haiv.nyungc.</i>                  |
|                      | ນ້ຳ       | ດ່ອງ          | ໄຊ້.ໜູ້ງ.                            |
|                      | ນໍ້າ      | tɔŋ]          | haiŋ̚ nyunŋ]                         |
|                      | NEG       | be.wrong      | anything                             |
|                      |           |               | ‘(it is) not wrong at all (though).’ |
|                      |           |               | (Field Notes 20150429, p. 58)        |

A crucial difference between (600<sup>-2-3</sup>) and (601<sup>-1-2</sup>), which makes the evaluator feel the latter is not so complete, is the absence of the marking of the beginning of the relative clause. The lack of the onset marking by *dongh* causes the lack of demarcation of the big NP (i.e. the relative clause). Such a structure demands the hearer/reader to wait until reaching the relativiser *nyei* before realising that what has been said after the VP was actually its object in the form of relative clause.

Therefore, it is confirmed that *dongh* has the function of demarcation of the beginning of the relative clause, and that the envelope structure through doubly marking it by *dongh* and the relativiser particle *nyei* + N<sub>HD</sub> even makes the relative clause stand out semantically and syntactically.

By way of summarising all the above examples in this section, it is proposed to refer this doubly marked relative construction by *dongh* and *wuov/nyei* as **NP demarcation envelope construction**. The term “envelope” has been borrowed from the study of Hebrew poetry (Moulton 1896:53), to which the alternative naming is “inclusion” (the Latin *inclusio*). The “inclusio” or “envelope”<sup>162</sup> means “the repetition at or near the end of a poetic composition of key words (or phrases, or clauses, or concepts) employed at the beginning” (Stek 1974:19). In contrast to Mouton’s original terminology “Envelope Figure” that runs over several lines in poetry, the case in analysing the doubly marked relative construction in Iu Mien confines its scope within the clause. In addition, due to the highlighting effect of a lengthy noun phrase (i.e. relative clause), the delimiting phrase “NP demarcation” is added to “envelope construction”. Thus, the **NP demarcation envelope construction** is an effective device to explain an antecedent head noun, to profile a lengthy relative clause as a noun phrase when it occurs as an object of a verb phrase, to avoid vagueness of referent whether it occurs as a topic or a focus in a sentence, and to ensure a clear communication.

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<sup>162</sup> The term “envelope figure” was first introduced by R. G. Moulton (1896:53) in his *The Literary Study of the Bible*: “[...] perhaps the most important figure, and the one most attractive to the genius of Hebrew poetry, is the Envelope Figure, by which a series of parallel lines running to any length are enclosed between an identical (or equivalent) opening and close[sic]”.

## 8.15 Indefinite Pronouns (Non-specific Pronouns)

Indefinite pronouns or non-specific pronouns are not interrogative pronouns though their forms are the same in Iu Mien, e.g. *haaix.dauh* ‘whoever’ and ‘who?’ or *haaix.zanc* ‘whenever’ and ‘when?’ By the use of indefinite pronouns the speaker is not asking a question but making a statement. A sentence containing an indefinite pronoun is uttered with the statement intonation, not the question intonation. Interrogative pronouns will be delineated in §14.3.

See an example of the indefinite pronoun of persons *haaix.dauh* ‘whoever’ in (603<sup>-1</sup>) (where the contraction form *haiv.dauh* is used):

|                      |                                     |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (603 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Leiz hnangv wuov mv.baac</i>     |
|                      | ເລີ້ມ ຂັ້ນໆ ວ້ວ ມື່ປໍາ              |
|                      | <i>lei~ nqŋy~ uə~ m~ pa:~</i>       |
|                      | ritual like DEM <sub>DIST</sub> but |

‘But a ritual like that,’

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (603 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>haiv.dauh<sup>163</sup> zoux yaac m'daaih duqv nyei.</i> |
|                      | ໄຊວ.ດ້າວ ໂທດວ ແຍ່ ນດ້າຍ ຕຸ້ ໄສູຍ                            |
|                      | hai~ tau~ tsəb~ ja:~ m~ tai:~ tu?~ nei~                     |

whoever do TOP of.course be.able ASST  
of course, anyone can perform it.’  
(ium\_c1970\_03\_CT\_x\_y\_TradReligion\_3\_1;00.07.10-13)

An indefinite pronoun referring to time is exemplified in (604<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (604 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Haaix.zanc qiemx wuix dungz aeqv,</i>                          |
|                      | ຫາຍ.ຫດ້ັນ ເຄີຍມ ມາຢ ຕູ້ງ ແອື້ຂ,                                   |
|                      | ha:i~ tsan~ cʰiəm~ ui~ tuŋ~ ε?                                    |
|                      | whenever need feed pig PDP<br>‘Whenever (we) needed to feed pigs, |

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (604 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>mingh tor fai mingh niex.</i>   |
|                      | ມື່ງ ຖອ ໄຟ ມື່ງ ແນີຍ.  |
|                      | miŋ~ tʰɔ~ fai~ miŋ~ niə~   |
|                      | go drag or go carry.on.the.back<br>(we would) went (up the hill) to drag or carry (corn collected and piled in the hill-side field down back our home)’<br>(ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;) |

<sup>163</sup> *Haiv.dauh* = Q, K = *haaix.dauh*

The verb phrase *yiem haaix* means ‘where is/are?’ and the phrase *haaix ndau* can be both ‘wherever’ and ‘where?’ The combinations of them are used as indefinite pronouns as in (605):

|       |   |                     |                    |             |                |             |              |              |
|-------|---|---------------------|--------------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| (605) | <b><i>Yiem</i></b>  | <b><i>haaix</i></b> | <b><i>ndau</i></b> | <i>yaac</i> | <i>nziaauc</i> | <i>duqv</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>doic.</i> |
|       | ເຢີມ  | ໜາຍ                 | ເດາ                | ໜໍາ         | ໜົກຍ່າວ        | ຕູ້         | ນໍາຍ         | ຕ່ອຍ.        |
|       | jem↑  | hai↑                | dau↑               | ja↓         | dz'a:u↓        | tu?↓        | ma:i↓        | tci↓         |
|       | be.in   | where               | land               | TOP         | play           | GET/CAN     | have         | friend       |
|       | ‘Wherever (they) might be, (they) could have friends to play with.’ |                     |                    |             |                |             |              |              |

(A Story of Faam-Bae and Aeng-Doi, Arisawa (2006:233))

## 8.16 Heavily Modified Noun Phrases

The recursion of subordinate-cum-possessive particle (SBCP) *nyei* briefly mentioned in §4.2.3.4 is the principle that allows heavy modifications of noun phrases. The SBCP *nyei* possesses the versatility in both connecting (as a possessive particle, POSS) the preceding noun and connecting (as a relativiser, REL) the clause to the following head noun.<sup>164</sup> Thus, both

(a) *yie nyei biauv /iə↑nei↑p̄au^/*

[1SG POSS house]

‘my house’

and

(b) *yie gomv daaih nyei biauv /iə↑gom^↑ta:i↓nei↑p̄au^/*

[1SG build COME REL house]

‘the house which I have built’

are possible. When the recursion of *nyei* is allied with the relative constructions (i.e. both *nyei*-relative and *dongh*-relative constructions), it is possible to form a highly complicated NP.

Here again it is noted that the distinction between the noun phrases and the nouns modified by a relative clause depends on analyst’s interpretation, just as in the relationship between compound nouns and noun phrases (cf. §8.2 and

Table 39). It is feasible to take (b) as a long noun phrase as much as taking (a) as it is. Given the freedom of constructing a clause as long as a speaker wants until

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<sup>164</sup> These functions are only two of the four that the particle can perform. The others are the adverbialiser and the assertive (affirmative) aspectual particle presented in §4.4.4..

the particle *nyei* relativises it, it is theoretically possible to have an extraordinarily heavily modified noun phrase.

Not only in theory but in reality also such speech happens. The following example from an actual speech (606<sup>-1</sup>) exhibits a highly complicated NP. Words in the square brackets [ ] have been inserted to help understand the context but in the actual speech occasion they were not uttered. The head noun which receives the heavy modification or a long string of descriptive/attributive expression is *biauv* ‘house’ appearing in the brackets { } in the last sequence (606<sup>-6</sup>). That is, the sequence in the brackets { } is a big noun phrase. All preceding clauses are necessary to properly interpret the omission of words in the brackets [ ]. The situation the speaker is referring to is that his newly built house, including his two brothers’ houses, were instantly destroyed by the regional war that happened between the communist Hmong people and the Thai soldiers even without sleeping a single night in them. The word *sang’ga’six* in (606<sup>-4</sup>) is a loan word from Thai *sǎng-ka-sǐ* (ສັງກະສິ) for sheets of corrugated galvanized iron and a house roofed with them was considered a posh property among the ethnic minority peoples living in the mountains in the 1960s and the ’70s.

|   |                 |                  |                   |                                |                                   |                                |                    |                  |                   |
|---|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (606 <sup>-1</sup> )                              | <i>Ov</i>       | <i>yie</i>       | <i>mbuo</i>       | <i>zoux</i>                    | <i>ziangx</i>                     | <i>biauv</i>                   | <i>longx</i>       | <i>daic</i>      | <i>aqv.</i>       |
|   | ໄວ້             | ເຢີຍ             | ນັວ               | ໄທຄວາ                          | ແຫຼືຍງ                            | ແປ້ມ້າ                         | ຫລັງ               | ໄດ່              | ອ້ຂ.              |
|   | o: <sup>γ</sup> | i <sup>ə</sup> l | b <sup>u</sup> əl | t <sup>s</sup> əb <sup>l</sup> | ts <sup>j</sup> an <sup>γ</sup> l | p <sup>j</sup> au <sup>γ</sup> | lon <sup>γ</sup> l | tai <sup>l</sup> | a? <sup>γ</sup> l |
|   | INTJ            | 1                | PL                | make                           | PF                                | house                          | good               | die              | NSIT              |
| ‘Oh, we finished building extremely good houses.’ |                 |                  |                   |                                |                                   |                                |                    |                  |                   |

|   |                 |                                |                 |                |                    |                  |                   |
|---|-----------------|--------------------------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (606 <sup>-2</sup> )                            | <i>Ov</i>       | <i>corc</i>                    | <i>se</i>       | <i>mv</i>      | <i>duqv</i>        | <i>yiem</i>      | <i>aqv.</i>       |
|   | ໄວ້             | ໜ້ອ                            | ເຊ              | ນ້ຳ            | ຕຸ້                | ເຢີມ             | ອ້ຂ.              |
|   | o: <sup>γ</sup> | ts <sup>h</sup> ɔ <sup>l</sup> | se <sup>l</sup> | m <sup>γ</sup> | tu? <sup>γ</sup> l | jem <sup>l</sup> | a? <sup>γ</sup> l |
|   | INTJ            | still                          | TOP             | NEG            | GET                | be.in            | NSIT              |
| ‘Yet, alas, we did not manage to live in them.’ |                 |                                |                 |                |                    |                  |                   |

|   |                    |                    |                                 |                                   |                   |                  |
|---|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| (606 <sup>-3</sup> )                                  | <i>jang-jang</i>   | <i>zoux</i>        | <i>ziangx</i>                   | <i>wuov</i>                       | [norm             | <i>biauv</i> ]   |
|   | ຈັງຈາ              | ໄທຄວາ              | ແຫຼືຍງ                          | ວ້າ                               | [ນອມ              | ແປ້ມ້າ]          |
|   | caŋ <sup>γ</sup> l | caŋ <sup>γ</sup> l | ts <sup>s</sup> əb <sup>l</sup> | ts <sup>j</sup> an <sup>γ</sup> l | uə <sup>γ</sup> l | nɔm <sup>l</sup> |
|   | just               | make               | PF                              | DEM                               | CLF               | house            |
| ‘that [house] (which we) have just finished building’ |                    |                    |                                 |                                   |                   |                  |

- (606<sup>-4</sup>) *Maaih yie [nyei] i dauh gorx nyei sang'ga'six(cm.t)*  
 มໍາຍ ເຢີຍ [ເນູຍ] ອື ເຕ້າ ກ້ອ ເນູຍ ສັງກະສິ  
*ma:iŋ iəŋ neiŋ iŋ tauŋ kɔŋ neiŋ saŋŋ ka siŋ*  
 have 1 POSS two CLF old.brother POSS zinc.roof  
 'I had two elder brothers (and) their galvanized roof materials'
- (606<sup>-5</sup>) *[dongh] mingh wuov ndiev mungv Longh.Pambang maaiz*  
 [ດັ່ງ] ມຶ່ງ ວ້ວ ເດື້ອ ມູ້ງ ລ່າງ.ພັມບັງ ມໍາຍ  
*toŋŋ minŋ uəŋ diəŋ munŋŋ lonŋ pʰa ban ma:iŋ*  
 [which] go DEM lower.side town Luang Prabang buy  
 '(they) went down there to the town of Luang Prabang and bought (them)'
- (606<sup>-6</sup>) *{yie nyei [sang'ga'six]} [yie] daaih nc ndau*  
 {ເຢີຍ ເນູຍ [ສັງກະສິ]} [ເຢີຍ] ດ້າຍ ໜັ້ນ ເດາ  
*iəŋ neiŋ saŋŋ ka siŋ iəŋ ta:iŋ nŋ dauŋ*  
 1SG POSS zinc.roof 1SG come DEM<sub>MID</sub> ground
- (606<sup>-7</sup>) *Zingh.Haiv maaiz youc gomv daaih nyei biauv aqv}.*  
 ຊົງ.ໄຊ້ ມໍາຍ ໂຫຍ່ວ ກົມ ດ້າຍ ເນູຍ ເປົ້າ ອື່ບ}.  
*tsiŋŋ haiŋ ma:iŋ jəŋ komŋ ta:iŋ neiŋ pʰauŋ aŋ*  
 Chiang Rai buy then build COME REL house NSIT  
 '(It was) the house which was build with the roof material I bought in  
 Chiang Rai where I came over to this side (from Laos).' (lit. 'the house for  
 the building of which I came to this side (606<sup>-6</sup>) as far as Chiang Rai city to  
 buy the roof material (606<sup>-7</sup>).')  
 (ium\_20130528\_08\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng\_TheEndOfThisAge\_  
 KMB;00.07.31-45)

As previewed, one way to interpret the long noun phrase is to see the the string inside the brackets  $\{(606^{-7})\}$  as one unit. With this interpretation, the whole discourse translates as follows:

Oh, we finished building extremely good houses (606<sup>-1</sup>). Yet, alas, we did not manage to live in them (606<sup>-2</sup>). Those houses were just finished building (606<sup>-3</sup>). There were some galvanized iron sheets, which my two elder brothers went to the town of Luang Prabang to buy (606<sup>-4-5</sup>). And the house for the building of which I came to this side as far as Chiang Rai to buy the roof material (606<sup>-6-7</sup>) (including my two brothers' houses have just been destroyed by the war!).

Alternatively, keeping the cohesion between (606<sup>-1</sup>) and (606<sup>-6-7</sup>) in mind (both referring to “the house”), as well as interpreting (606<sup>-4-5</sup>) as a preliminary part of the relative clause (606<sup>-6-7</sup>) that modifies “the house”, an alternative noun phrase is even longer, namely, (606<sup>-4-7</sup>). Accordingly, its translation reads as follows:

Oh, we finished building extremely good houses (606<sup>-1</sup>). Yet, alas, we did not manage to live in them (606<sup>-2</sup>). Those houses were just finished building (606<sup>-3</sup>). The houses that we had built in such a way that, as for my elder brothers, as I had two, they went to the town of Luang Prabang to buy the galvanized sheets for roofing, {and the house for the building of which I came to this side as far as Chiang Rai to buy the roof material) ( 606<sup>-4-7</sup>)} (have just been destroyed by the war!).

## 8.17 Summary of Chapter 8

We have started this chapter in recognising the characteristics of the continuum across “parts-of-speech”, noun phrases, compounds, and clauses, all of which constitute noun phrases in various sizes. The NPs are comprised of the head noun modified by adjectival verbs, verbs, *nyei*-construction, personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, numeral classifiers, coordinating conjunction. The NPs can be pluralized through the morpheme *mbuo*, quantifiers (*camv*, *deix*, Chinese-loan *ziex*, *zuangx* and *maanc*), numerals, reduplication of classifiers.

Relative clauses also constitute a long string of NP. We have seen two kinds of relative clauses: the restrictive use of *nyei*-relative clause and the appositional use of *dongh*-relative clause. Within the latter, we have found the *inclusio* by *dongh* and *wuov*, which we named the NP demarcation envelope construction. Through these devices and due to the continuum across the units of various sizes, it is possible to construct a heavily modified long string of NP.

The numeral classifier system is rich in Iu Mien. Although copiously drawing upon the works of Lombard (1968) and Purnell (2012), and to some extent Panh (2002) on numeral classifiers, we have added to them the further investigation into two major classifications of them: the sortal and the measure classifiers with some subdivisions within them. The use of classifiers is closely related to culture both material and ways of perceiving actions, events, and nature. If the language is to be lost, a decline or simplification of use of the numeral classifiers may be the first area due to the change of life style.

Having finished seeing the nominals including onomastics (Chapter 5), compounding and word formation (Chapter 6), adjectival constructions (Chapter 7), and noun phrases (Chapter 8), we are about to proceed to look at larger units of

speech. First, how the verbs and sentences are modified through adverbial constructions will be investigated in Chapter 9.

# Chapter 9

## ADVERBIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

### 9.1 Introduction

Most typically and traditionally the word class adverb is defined as that of “modifying a verb or verb phrase” (Matthews 2007:10). This modification occurs at three levels, phrase, clause, and sentence. At the lowest level, adverbs modify adjectival verbs, that is, at the phrase level: e.g., *mbopv baeqc nyei /bop˥ pc?˨ nei˥/* [INTENSIFIER be.white ASST] ‘it is dazzlingly white’. At the clause level an adverb occurs as in *tiux siɛpv /tʰiu˥ siɛp˥/* [run fast] ‘to run fast/quickly’. At the highest level, “adverbial constructions are considered ‘adjuncts’ because they typically supplement the information contained by a proposition (i.e., the main clause) rather than serving as arguments of this proposition” (Whaley 1997:250). This modification takes place at the sentence level: e.g., *meih njang.hnoi oix mingh mungv /mei˥ jaŋ˥ ɳɔi˥ oɪ˥ miŋ˥ mun˥/* [2SG tomorrow want go town] ‘You want to go to town tomorrow’ (as a part of a composite sentence *If you want to go to town tomorrow, I would like to ask you to buy me medicine*). Thus we have adverbials at three levels: phrase, clause, and sentence.

Including those at three levels, the broadest description of what adverbs are by Schachter and Shopen (2007:20) from typological perspective can also be applied to Iu Mien: “adverbs function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns”.

With regard to the functions of adverbials at these three levels, Schachter and Shopen go on to say that they are:

*At the phrase level:* “modifiers of adjectives and adverbs commonly express degree”;

*At the clause level:* “modifiers of verbs or verb phrases commonly express time, place, direction, manner, etc.”;

*At the sentence level:* “Sentence modifiers [...] commonly express the speaker’s attitude toward the event being spoken of” (Schachter and Shopen 2007:20).

Given the notion is a matter of commonality, we need to make some adjustments in order to make them fit Iu Mien. First, at the phrase level, their term “adjectives” should be replaced by “adjectival verbs” for Iu Mien. A small class of intensifiers modify adjectival verbs. However, Chinese-loan adjectives do not undergo this modification. Second, in agreement with Schachter and Shopen the adverbs of

direction and manner occur at the clause level. Third, it is nouns of time and place, in Iu Mien used adverbially, that occur at the sentence level rather than “the speaker’s attitude” (e.g. *Hopefully, I was able to make it clear to the readers* or *Unfortunately, the example was not so felicitous.* etc.). Thus, tense in Iu Mien is expressed by temporal adverbial nouns (e.g. *yesterday, today, or tomorrow*) while it may be expressed by verbs in English and other European languages.

Because the adverbs modifying adjectival verbs at the phrase level have been investigated in §7.3.1, we will examine in this chapter the adverbial constructions at the clause and sentence levels. In the former, the majority of constructions fall into two patterns of syntactic behaviour: adverbs and adverbial phrases that occur before the main verb phrase (pre-VP adverbials) and those that occur after it (post-VP adverbials). Additionally the reciprocal construction, coordinated adverbial constructions, co-variational constructions and prosodic emphatic expressions will also be discussed.

## 9.2 Clause Level Adverbials

### 9.2.1 Pre-VP Adverbs and Adverbial Phrases

Adverbials that occur before the verb or verb phrase are grouped into two. One is a single lexeme whether it may be monosyllabic or disyllabic, such as *aengx* ‘again’ or *za'gengh* ‘really’. The other is adverbial phrases containing the assertive/stative aspectual particle *nyei* or the continuous aspectual marker *jienv*.

#### 9.2.1.1 Pre-VP adverbs

The class of the pre-VP adverbs include monosyllabic adverbs as in (607) and disyllabic adverbs as in (613).

|       |   |               |                      |             |
|-------|---|---------------|----------------------|-------------|
| (607) | <i>M'mbuo</i>   | <i>njongh</i> | <i>cuotv</i>         | <i>aqv.</i> |
|       | ນັບວ  | ຈົ່ງ          | ຂຶ້ວດ                | ອື່ນ.       |
|       | m buəl  | ɟɔŋ˥          | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət˥ | a?˥         |
|       | 2'PL  | quickly       | exit                 | NSIT        |
|       | 'You two go out quickly!'   |               |                      |             |
|       | (ium_20130528_06_H1_DA_DangcZanx-Seng_FaamCingCuotvSeix_KMB; 00.08.05-12) |               |                      |             |

Some other examples of the pre-VP adverbs of this kind include:

(608) *corc* - V ‘still V’

(609) *ganh* - V ‘additionally V’

(610) *zungv* - V ‘surely, definitely, absolutely, undoubtedly, certainly V’

(611) *gunv gorngv* ‘Go ahead and talk!’

(ium\_1967\_08\_BASF-LGS35\_HCox\_GueixSeng\_YSC-WII-p17;00.11.06-7)

Examples of sesquisyllabic pre-VP adverbs are in (612<sup>-1</sup>-3) and (613):

|   |           |             |                               |             |               |               |                        |             |
|---|-----------|-------------|-------------------------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|-------------|
| (612 <sup>-1</sup> )                    | <i>Mv</i> | <i>duqv</i> | <i>hai<sup>v</sup>.nyungc</i> | <i>nor;</i> | <i>hnyouv</i> | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>hai<sup>v</sup></i> | <i>nor?</i> |
| YJ                                      | ນ້ຳ       | ດູ້         | ໄຊ້.ໜູ່ງ                      | ນອ,         | ເຮັດວຽກ       | ຫນັ້ນ         | ໄຊ້                    | ນອ?         |
|   | NEG       | get         | anything                      | if.so/as    | heart         | like          | how                    | if.so/as    |
| 'How do you feel when you get nothing?' |           |             |                               |             |               |               |                        |             |

|   |               |                |                        |           |              |              |            |               |
|---|---------------|----------------|------------------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------|
| (612 <sup>-2</sup> )                    | <i>Hnyouv</i> | <i>m'daaih</i> | <i>hai<sup>v</sup></i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>nangc</i> | <i>yaauc</i> | <i>aqv</i> | <i>lorqc!</i> |
| WH                                      | ເຮັດວຽກ       | ມຕ້າຍ          | ໄຊ້                    | ນ້ຳ       | ຫນັ້ນ        | ຫຍ່າວ        | ອື້ນ       | ເຫດລາຍ!       |
|   | NEG           | heart          | of.course              | feel      | NEG          | AUX          | be.good    | NSIT          |
| 'Of course, we don't feel good at all!' |               |                |                        |           |              |              |            |               |

|                              |           |              |                |             |               |     |
|------------------------------|-----------|--------------|----------------|-------------|---------------|-----|
| (612 <sup>-3</sup> )         | <i>Mv</i> | <i>duqv,</i> | <i>a'dangh</i> | <i>kouv</i> | <i>hnangv</i> | @@@ |
| WH                           | ນ້ຳ       | ດູ້,         | ອະຕັ້ງ         | ໂຄ້ວ        | ຫນັ້ນ         | @@@ |
|                              | NEG       | get          | soon           | tired       | only          |     |
| Got nothing but exhaustion!' |           |              |                |             |               |     |

(ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_TableTalk;00.10.01-08)

*M'daaih* ‘naturally, of course’ in (612<sup>-2</sup>) is a contraction of *manc daaih* (Purnell 2012:401).

Another sesquisyllabic pre-VP adverb is (613):

|  |                  |                                   |                   |
|--|------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| (613)  | <i>ninh</i>      | <i>la'guaih</i>                   | <i>zoux</i>       |
|  | ນິ້ນ             | ຫລະໄກວ້າ                          | ໄທຫວາ             |
|  | nin <sup>v</sup> | la k <sup>w</sup> ai <sup>v</sup> | tsəʊ <sup>v</sup> |
|  | 3SG              | carelessly                        | do                |
| 'He does (it) carelessly.'                             |                  |                                   |                   |
| (ium_20130517_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.34.44-46) |                  |                                   |                   |

Other examples of sesquisyllabic pre-VP adverbs are:

(614) *za'gengh /tsa keŋv/* ‘actually/really’

- (615) *ca'bouc* /ts<sup>h</sup>a pəʊʃ/ ‘accidentally’  
 (616) *ca'lengc* /ts<sup>h</sup>a lenʃ/ ‘separately’

Disyllabic pre-VP adverbs are exemplified in (617):

- |       |                                   |              |
|-------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| (617) | <i>jaa-ndaangc</i>                | <i>mbuoŋ</i> |
|       | ຈາ-ດ້າງ                           | ບັງ          |
|       | ca:<br>beforehand                 | buəŋ<br>tell |
|       | 'to foretell, tell ahead of time' |              |
|       | (Purnell 2012:299)                |              |

A word of caution may be necessary in relation to the use of *jaa-ndaangc* by the new generation Iu Mien of Thailand. Through the influence of Thai, it seems that *jaa-ndaangc* is felt to be like Thai preposition *kɔn* (ก่อน) ‘before’. However, the true equivalent of *jaa-ndaangc* in Thai is *lūay.nâa* (ล่วงหน้า) ‘beforehand, in advance’. See (618<sup>1-2</sup>):

- |                      |                          |              |               |            |              |             |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------|---------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| (618 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Meih</i>              | <i>maaih</i> | <i>hnyouv</i> | <i>oix</i> | <i>daaih</i> | <i>nor;</i> |
|                      | เมี่ย                    | ม່າຍ         | ເຮັງມື້ຢົວ    | ອ້ອຍ       | ຕ້າຍ         | ນອ,         |
|                      | mei↓                     | ma:i↓        | ŋ̊ao̯p̊ai     | ɔi↓        | ta:i↓        | nɔ↓         |
|                      | 2SG                      | have         | heart         | want       | come         | if.so       |
|                      | 'If you intend to come,' |              |               |            |              |             |

- |  |  |                                |
|--|--|--------------------------------|
| (618 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <i>meih jaa-ndaangc mbuox ziangx</i>             | ( <i>yie</i> ). <sup>165</sup> |
| เมี่ย  | ชา-ด่าง  | ນ້ຳ                            |
| mei <sup>↓</sup>   | ca: <sup>↓</sup> da: <sup>↑</sup> ŋ <sup>↓</sup> | buə <sup>↓</sup>               |
| 2SG  | beforehand                                       | tell                           |
|  |  | PF                             |
|  |  | iə <sup>↑</sup>                |
|  |  | 1SG                            |
| ‘you tell (me) in advance (that you are coming to see me).’  |  |                                |
| (ium_20140503_01_H1_DA_Gueix-Fongc_MienhWaac_KMB:00.03.42-5) |  |                                |

A combination of the negative particle *maiiv* or its shortened form *mv* and an adverb *gengh*, the construction *maiiv gengh* or *mv gengh* means ‘not yet’ as in (619):

<sup>165</sup> In the original utterance, the personal pronoun *yie* is absent. But at 00.03.13-5 of the same audio file another utterance with *yie* is attested though the subordinate clause like (618<sup>-1</sup>) is absent: *Meih jaa-ndaangc mbuox ziangx yie*.

|                      |  |                  |                             |                              |                  |                  |
|----------------------|--|------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| (619 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Yietc.liuz</i>                        | <i>yaac</i>      | <i>mv</i>                   | <i>gengh</i>                 | <i>haiz</i>      | <i>jiex</i>      |
|                      | ເຫີ້ຍດ.ລົວ                               | ໜ່າ              | ນໍ້າ                        | ເກົ້າ                        | ໄຊ               | ເຈື້ອ            |
|                      | jet <sub>1</sub> liu <sub>2</sub>        | ja: <sub>1</sub> | m <sup>h</sup> <sub>1</sub> | ke <sup>h</sup> <sub>1</sub> | hai <sub>2</sub> | ciə <sub>1</sub> |
|                      | for.ever                                 | TOP              | NEG                         | yet                          | hear             | EXP              |
|                      | '(We) have never heard in our lives yet' |                  |                             |                              |                  |                  |

|                      |  |                               |  |                  |
|----------------------|--|-------------------------------|--|------------------|
| (619 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>yangh.yinh</i>  | <i>gorngv</i>                 | <i>janx-Kaeqv</i>                              | <i>waac.</i>     |
|                      | ຢ້າງ.ຢືນ   | ກ້ອງ                          | ຈຳນ-ແຄະ  | ໜວ່າ.            |
|                      | jan <sub>1</sub> jin <sub>2</sub>  | kɔŋ <sup>h</sup> <sub>1</sub> | can <sub>1</sub> k <sup>hε?</sup> <sub>2</sub> | wa: <sub>1</sub> |
|                      | Westerner  | speak                         | Chinese  | word             |
|                      | 'Westerners speaking Chinese (like those who came up to our village).'<br>(ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist:00.07.17-20) |                               |  |                  |

Some more examples of disyllabic pre-VP adverbs are:

- (620) *dongh.zanc* /tɔŋ<sub>1</sub> tsan<sub>2</sub>/ 'simultaneously' (Purnell 2012:762)
- (621) *aah.loc* /a:<sub>1</sub> lo<sub>2</sub>/ *Var:* (*a'loc*) /a lo<sub>2</sub>/ 'often, habitually'
- (622) *aav.lamh* /a:<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub> lam<sub>2</sub>/ 'almost, nearly'
- (623) *liemh.zeih* /liəm<sub>1</sub> tsei<sub>2</sub>/ 'suddenly'
- (624) *cin-maanc maiv dungx* /ts<sup>hin</sup><sub>1</sub> ma:n<sub>2</sub> mai<sup>h</sup><sub>1</sub> tuŋ<sub>2</sub>/ 'never'
- (625) *baac.baac* /pa:<sub>1</sub> pa:<sub>2</sub>/ 'purposefully, on purpose'
- (626) *lomh.nzoih* /lom<sub>1</sub> dzɔi<sub>2</sub>/ 'together'

The next example is a type of the disyllabic pre-VP adverbs but more specifically, it is reduplication as in (627):

|       |                                     |                  |                  |                     |
|-------|-------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| (627) | <i>laauh.laauh</i>                  | <i>mingh</i>     | <i>yietc</i>     | <i>nzunc</i>        |
|       | ລ້າວ.ລ້າວ                           | ມິ່ງ             | ເຫີ້ຍດ           | ໜຸ່ນ                |
|       | la:u <sub>1</sub> la:u <sub>2</sub> | miŋ <sub>1</sub> | jet <sub>1</sub> | dzun <sub>1</sub>   |
|       | long.long                           | go               | one              | CLF <sub>TIME</sub> |
|       | 'go once in a while'                |                  |                  |                     |
|       | (Field Notes 1995, Kun Mae Bong)    |                  |                  |                     |

Double adverbs can occur before a verb as in *ganh siang-ceix jiez* /kan<sub>1</sub> siəŋ<sub>1</sub> ts<sup>h</sup>ei<sub>1</sub> ciə<sub>1</sub>/ [again new-build raise] 'newly built'. In this construction *siang* 'newly' undergoes tone sandhi. Note that the construction does not mean that a builder rebuilds something twice but once despite the existence of two adverbs. Rather, the seemingly redundant use of *ganh* and *siang* is simply emphatic. See an example of the

double adverb with tone sandhi with the following verb /juŋ˧˩/ ‘to bear a child’ as in (628):

- (628) *Meih mbuo oix.zuqc ganh siang-yungz jie.*  
 ເມ່ຍ ບ້ວ ອ້ອຍ.ໜຸ ກັນ ເສີຍ-ຢູ່ງ ເຈີບ.  
 mei˧˩ buə˧˩ ɔi˧˩ tsu?˩˩ kan˧˩ s'iaŋ˧˩ juŋ˧˩ ciə˧˩  
 2 PL must again newly-born pass.through  
 ‘You must be born again.’

(*The Gospel according to St. John 3:7. Iu Mien Bible*, Thailand Bible Society.  
<http://www.thaibible.or.th/mienbible/>)

A similar double adverb but without tone sandhi before a verb is:

- (629) *ganh ca'lengc /kan˧˩ tsʰa leŋ˧˩/*  
 [again separately] ‘separately’ (cf. (827))

An adverbial phrase of comparison or simile phrase [*hnangv N nor*] [like N as] ‘just as N, as if N’ also occurs preverbally as in (630<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (630<sup>-1</sup>) *Yie mbuo nyei maengc se*  
 ເຢີຍ ບ້ວ ໄກູຍ ແກ້າງ ເຊ  
 iə˧˩ buə˧˩ nei˧˩ meŋ˧˩ se˧˩  
 1 PL POSS life COP  
 ‘Our life is’

- (630<sup>-2</sup>) *[hnangv mv norm dang nor] piex nyei.*  
 [ຫນັງ ມ ນອມ ດັງ ນອ] ເພີຍ ໄກູຍ,  
 hnang˧˩ m˧˩ norm˧˩ dang˧˩ nor˧˩ piex˧˩ nyei˧˩  
 like DEM CLF lamp as be.feeble ASST  
 ‘fragile just like this (oil) lamp.’  
 (ium\_196605\_02\_MAXELL\_ViggoSogaard\_Guex-Cing  
 DauxGaux;00.08.09-9)

### 9.2.1.2 Pre-VP adverbial phrases

Two kinds of adverbialisers (i) ‘V<sub>ADJ</sub> + V<sub>ADJ</sub> *nyei* V’, (ii) ‘V + *jienv* + V’ are presented below.

#### 9.2.1.2.1 Adverbialiser *nyei*

Adjectival verbs followed by the stative aspectual particle *nyei* functions as an adverbial phrase to modify the following verb. We may refer this aspectual particle adverbialiser. In (631) the underlined adverbial phrase is consisted of a duplicated adjectival verb and the adverbialiser particle:

- (631) *zorqv heh hietv jienv mbuo heng-heng nyei mingh*  
 ເຫາະ ເສ່ ເຮື້ຍດ ເຈີ້ນ ບ້ວ ເຮງາ ເລູຍ ມິ່ງ  
*tsɔʔ˥ he˥ çet˥ c˥en˥ bʊə˥ heŋ˥ heŋ˥ nei˥ miŋ˥*  
 take shoe put CONT 1PL light ADVZ go  
 ‘Remove our shoes (and) put (them aside, then) we go quietly.’  
 (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_TableTalk;00.08.06-09)

Not only adjectival verbs that can be adverbialised but also adjectives can become an adverbial phrase that occurs before the verb as in (632):

- (632) *Ninh aengx fih.hnangv nyei gorngv.*  
 ນິນ ແອ້ງ ພື.ອນ້ຳ ເລູຍ ກຶ່ອງ.  
*nin˥ en˥ fi˥ naŋ˥ nei˥ kɔŋ˥*  
 3SG again same ADVZ say  
 ‘He again said in the same way.’  
 (ium\_c1965\_01\_BASF\_HCox\_UvHiaangEtAl\_BagiYungh;00.05.45-47)

In this example another adverb *aengx* ‘again’ also appears before the adverbial phrase. Prosodically, there is no pause between *fih.hnangv nyei* ‘likewise’ and *gorngv* ‘to say, speak’.

Furthermore, a clause can be adverbialised by *nyei* as in (633):

- (633<sup>-1</sup>) *Ov [bueix njiec ndiangx-gorn] nyei*  
 ໄອີ [ບູ້ວຍ ເໜີ້ຍ ໂດີ້ງ-ກອນ] ເລູຍ  
*o:˥ p<sup>w</sup>eɪ˥ jɪə˥ d<sup>h</sup>aŋ˥ kɔŋ˥ nei˥*  
 INTJ lie descend tree.root ADVZ  
 ‘Oh, lying-down-at-the-foot-of-the-tree-ly’

- (633<sup>-2</sup>) *mornngx gau nzuih.baengx,*  
 ມມອງ ເກາ ຫຸ່ຍ.ແປ່ງ  
*mɔŋ˥ kau˥ dz<sup>w</sup>i˥ peŋ˥*  
 open after,which mouth-snout  
 ‘(he) opend his mouth, and then...’  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauhJaauz;00.02.16-19)

Observe that the clause in square brackets in (633<sup>-1</sup>) is linked to the verb *morngx* (633<sup>-2</sup>) by *nyei*.

Onomatopoeia is also adverbialised by *nyei*. Reduplication of it is common as in (634<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |                 |             |                           |                     |              |
|----------------------|-----------------|-------------|---------------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| (634 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>wuov</i>     | <i>norm</i> | <i>ta'leesaapc</i> (cm.t) | <i>yaac</i>         | <i>aengx</i> |
|                      | វូវ             | នរោម        | ពេលសាប (cm.t)             | យាំ                 | អេង          |
|                      | uəv̥            | nɔm̥        | tʰa le: sa:p̥             | ja:l̥               | ɛŋl̥         |
|                      | that            | CLF         | lake                      | also <sub>TOP</sub> | again        |
|                      | 'That lake also |             |                           |                     |              |

|                      |                                |                  |             |              |             |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| (634 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>zuqc</i>                    | <i>lomz-lomz</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>buonv</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |
|                      | ឡុក                            | តែម្ចាស់         | ឡើយ         | ប្រើន        | ឪខ.         |
|                      | tsu?l̥                         | loml̥ loml̥      | nei         | pʷən̥        | aʔl̥        |
|                      | TOUCH                          | rumble           | ADVZ        | shoot        | NSIT        |
|                      | was bombarded with rumblings.' |                  |             |              |             |

(ium\_20130528\_08\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng\_TheEndOfThisAge; 00.06.49-07.00)

The adversative passive verb *zuqc* [TOUCH] ‘negatively affected’ controls the whole verb phrase including *lomgz-lomgz nyei buonv* [rumbling rumbling ADVERBIALISER shoot].

Court (1986:241) observes in Lombard (1968:183) that in this construction there is a variation in which *nyei* is absent as in (635):

|       |   |              |                  |
|-------|---|--------------|------------------|
| (635) | <i>nongx</i>                                    | <i>nongx</i> | <i>corngh</i>    |
|       | អនោ   | អនោ          | ឆោះ              |
|       | noŋ̥  | noŋ̥         | tsʰɔŋ̥l̥         |
|       | be.good   | be.good      | consider.meaning |
|       | 'to consider the meaning carefully'             |              |                  |
|       | (Lombard (1968:183) quoted in Court (1986:241)) |              |                  |

Court rightly queries whether the adverbial phrase should have tone sandhi or not. Purnell (2012:98) shows that it should though the dialectical variation is *longx* ‘be good’ instead of *nongx* ‘be good’ as in (636):

- |       |  |                  |
|-------|--|------------------|
| (636) | <i>longx-longx</i>                         | <i>corngh</i>    |
|       | ຂອງ  | ສ່ອງ             |
|       | loŋ↓ loŋ↓                                  | tsʰɔŋ↓           |
|       | be.good- be.good                           | consider.meaning |
|       | 'to figure out the meaning of, understand' |                  |
|       | (Purnell 2012:98)                          |                  |

An audio attestation of tone sandhi in this construction is available though with a different verb *hnamgv* ‘to think’ and *an* ‘to place, put in’ as in (637<sup>1-2</sup>):



- |                     |   |           |              |             |             |                |
|---------------------|---|-----------|--------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| (637 <sup>2</sup> ) | <b>Longx-longx</b>  | <i>an</i> | <i>jienv</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>hnyouv.</i> |
|                     | หลงๆ  | อัน       | เจี้ยน       | เมี่ย       | ว้า         | ເຮັ້ນີ້ບາ.     |
|                     | loŋ˥  loŋ˧  | an˧       | c̥en˥        | mei˧        | uə˧         | ງິຈ່ອບ˧        |
|                     | be.good-be.good   | place     | CONT         | 2SG         | DEM         | heart          |
|                     | 'Let (that topic) sink deeply in your heart.'             |           |              |             |             |                |
|                     | (ium_1966_03 PERMATON_ViggoSogaard_Gueix-Cing;00.02.03-8) |           |              |             |             |                |

### **9.2.1.2.2 Adverbial phrase containing *jienv***

The continuous aspectual verb *jienv* ‘to be in the state of, in the process of’ is postposed to a verb to express continuous, progressive, simultaneous actions as in *nyanc jienv* ‘(he/she) is eating’, which is an SVC. A verb phrase consisting of the *jienv*-containing SVC can function as an adverbial phrase that occurs before a main verb. The main verb (or verb phrase) is thus modified by such an adverbial phrase composed of ‘V + *jienv* (NP)’ construction to express an additional detail of a manner or method of an action as in (638<sup>1-2</sup>):

|                      |   |              |             |             |             |
|----------------------|---|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (638 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>hlo</i>  | <i>daaih</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>haih</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |
|                      | ໄໂລ   | ຕໍ່າຍ        | ນັວ         | ໄສ່         | ອື່ບ.       |
|                      | ຫຼັ   | ta:i↓        | buə↑        | hai↓        | a?↑         |
|                      | be.big  | COME         | 1PL         | be.able     | NSIT        |
|                      | '(and then) as you grow you become able (to hunt animals).' (ium_20130515_01_H1_DA_WuonhKuonMbou_TableTalk;00.07.45-47) |              |             |             |             |

An action of *mingh* (going) is modified by *gan jienv ninh* (following him).

## 9.2.2 Post-VP Adverbs and Adverbial Phrases

### 9.2.2.1 Post-VP adverbs

There is a group of adverbs that occur postverbally. They are:

- *deix* /tei↓/ ‘some’ in VP - *deix*
- *haic* /hai↓/ ‘very’ in VP – *haic*
- *dangh* /taŋ↓/ ‘for a little while’ VP – *dangh*
- *dingc* /tiŋ↓/ ‘surely, firmly’ in VP - *dingc*
- *daic* /tai↓/ ‘extremely’ in VP – *daic*

The last two words, *dingc* and *daic*, are originally content verbs meaning ‘to determine, decide’ and ‘to die’ respectively but used adverbially to intensify a meaning of a preceding verb (as in (641) and (642)).

The first post-VP adverb *deix* softens or approximate the meaning of the VP as in (639):

|       |  |                 |             |              |  |
|-------|--|-----------------|-------------|--------------|--|
| (639) | <i>Haiz</i>  | <i>la'nyauv</i> | <i>deix</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |  |
|       | ໄຊ   | ຂລະເງູວ         | ເຕໍ່ຍ       | ເງູຍ.        |  |
|       | hai↓   | la nau↑         | tei↓        | nei↑         |  |
|       | feel   | be.confused     | some        | ASST         |  |
|       | 'I feel confused a bit.'                               |                 |             |              |  |
|       | (ium_20130517_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.25.25-27) |                 |             |              |  |

The second adverb *haic* ‘very’ is very common. Adjectival verbs like action verbs can be modified by a post-verbal adverb as in (640)(a repetition of (2<sup>-2</sup>)):

|                   |  |                |              |              |
|-------------------|--|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| (640)             | <i>se</i>  | <i>de'bung</i> | <i>longx</i> | <i>haic.</i> |
| (2 <sup>2</sup> ) | ເສ   | ເຕັ້ງ          | ຫລວງ         | ຫຼີ້ນ.       |
|                   | se↑  | te puŋ↑        | loŋ↑         | hai↓         |
|                   | TOP  | country        | be.good      | very         |
|                   | 'the country was very fertile.'                    |                |              |              |
|                   | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist; 00.01.05-6) |                |              |              |

The next two examples show that the main verbs are intensified by other verbs, *dingc* ‘to determine’ and *daic* ‘to die’, forming SVCs in the constructions V-*dingc* ‘definitely V’ and V-*daic* ‘terribly V’. In other words, these verbs are used as adverbs to modify the main verbs. Here is the point again that we are reminded of Principle 5: A vague distinction between “parts-of-speech” is normal.

Third, stronger than *haic* ‘very’ in (640) is a verb *dingc* ‘to determine, decide’ used in the adverbial sense ‘firmly’, ‘definitely’ as in (641):

|       |   |              |             |  |
|-------|---|--------------|-------------|--|
| (641) | <i>Kouv</i>   | <i>dingc</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |  |
|       | ໂຄວ   | ດື່ງ         | ອື່ນ.       |  |
|       | kʰəuŋ↑  | tiŋ↓         | aʔ↑         |  |
|       | tired   | decide       | NSIT        |  |
|       | 'I am definitely exhausted.'  |              |             |  |
|       | (ium_20130528_06_H1_DA_DangcZanx-Seng_FaamCingCuotvSeix_KMB;00.01.41-4) |              |             |  |

Fourth, *daic* ‘to die’ is a slang way of emphasising feeling but commonly used in a colloquial expression as in (642) (a repetition of (138)):

|       |   |  |             |             |              |             |               |
|-------|---|--|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| (642) | (...) <i>gamh nziex</i>   |  | <i>daic</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>naaic</i> | <i>houv</i> | <i>nyunc.</i> |
| (138) | ກົມ ແທ້ບ  |  | ໄຕ          | ເຢີມ        | ທນໍາຍ        | ໂສ້ວ        | ຫະຸນ          |
|       | kam↓dziə↑   |  | tai↓        | jem↑        | na:i↓        | həuŋ↑       | jun↓          |
|       | fear  |  | die         | be.at       | DEM          | pledge      | vow           |
|       | '(They) became really scared (so they) petitioned the spirit (for protection) there.' |  |             |             |              |             |               |
|       | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.02.29-00.02.31)                              |  |             |             |              |             |               |

The fifth post-verbal adverb is a time adverb, *dangh /tanj↓* ‘for a little while’. It is illustrated in (643<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (643<sup>-1</sup>) *Hieh dungz taux youc*  
*ເຂົ້າ ດູງ ຕາ ໄທປ່ວ*  
*hiə\ tunʒ\ tʰau\ jəu\*  
*wild pig arrive and.then*  
‘A wild pig came and then’

- (643<sup>-2</sup>) *bun nyorx hopv dangh.*  
*ບຸນ ໜ້ອມ ຂບ ຕ້ັສ*  
*pun\ ju\ hop\ tanʒ\*  
*give milk drink short.while*  
‘it gave (the three brothers) milk to drink for a while.’  
(ium\_20130528\_06\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng\_FaamCingCuotvSeix\_KMB;00.08.38-41)

Finally, returning to the adverb *haic* ‘very’, it should be pointed out that it can modify a clause at the end of it as in (644):

- (644) *Yie se [maaih baeng-orn hnyouv] haic.*  
*ເຍີຍ ເຊ [ມໍາຍ ແປ່ງ-ອອນ ເຮັດວຽກ] ໄກ໌.*  
*iə\ se\ ma:i\ peŋ\ c:n\ j̥i:əv\ hai\*  
*1SG TOP have peace heart very*  
‘As for me, I have a peaceful heart very much.’  
(ium\_c1960\_01\_SonyPR-150-52\_x\_Yauz-Orn\_PHist;00.09.02-4)

### 9.2.2.2 Post-VP adverbial phrases

An adverb itself can be modified by other adverbs, thus forms an adverbial phrase. Here we will see such adverbial phrases that occur post-verbally.

See the first example in (645):

- (645) *mai<sup>v</sup> nangc duqv aqv, duqv deix baav nziev.*  
*ໄມ້ ນັ້ງ ດູກວ ອື່, ດູກວ ເຕີ ບ້າ ໄຫື່*  
*mai^ naŋ\ tu?l a?l tu?l tei\ pa:^ džiə^*  
*NEG very<sub>NEG</sub> get NSIT get some a.few chipmunk*  
‘I’m not so good (at hunting), (I only) get very few chipmunks.’  
(ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_TableTalk;00.07.12-17)

Both pre-VP adverbs and post-VP can be used at the same time surrounding the verb phrase (underlined) as in (646):

- (646) *ninh gengh maaih noic haic njaaux mienh*  
 นิ่น เก็ง แมาย หน่อຍ ໄຫ້ ໂພາວ ເມື່ອນ  
*nin\ keŋ\ mai\ noi\ hai\ ja:u\ mien\*  
 3sg really have patience very teach people  
 ‘She is really truly patient in teaching people.’  
 (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_TableTalk;00.06.23-25)

A double adverb construction is also possible as in (647<sup>1-2</sup>):

- (647<sup>1</sup>) *n~<sup>166</sup> jangx naaic gengh haih jangx duqv*  
 ນ~ ຈຶ່ງ ນໍາຍ ເກັ້ງ ໄຂ່ ຈຶ່ງ ດູກວ  
 n̩ caŋ\ na:i\ keŋ\ hai\ caŋ\ tu?̩  
 (3SG) remember DEM<sub>TOP</sub> really able remember can

- (647<sup>2</sup>) *dingc haic \ wuov dauh ong.*  
 ດື່ງ ໄຫ້ \ ວ້າ ເດ້າ ອັງ.  
 ting\ hai\ uə\ tau\ oŋ\  
 decide very that CLF grandfather  
 ‘(His...) talking about (his) memory, (he) is really able to remember (old stories) very clearly, that old man.’  
 (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_Table Talk;00.01.34-37)

The adverb *gengh* ‘really’ precedes the verb phrase (underlined) and the VP is followed by, in this case, two post-verb adverbs *dingc* ‘firmly’ (<‘to decide’) and *haic* ‘very’. The last one *haic* ‘very’ modifies the adverbial use of the verb *dingc* ‘firmly’ (and ‘to decide’).

An onomatopoeia can be made into an adverb by *nyei*. A reduplicated onomatopoeia adverbialised by *nyei* and the phrase is placed after the VP as in (648):

- (648) *Dang-zorz buov youh zorz-zorz nyei.*  
 ດັງ-ຕ້ອ ບັວ ຍູ້ ຕ້ອງ ໥ෝຍ.  
 tan\ tsɔ\ pua\ jəu\ tsɔ\ tsɔ\ nei\  
 lamp-sizzling.noise burn oil sizzling.sizzling ASST  
 ‘(The) pressure lantern is burning oil with sizzling sound.’  
 (lit. sizzlingly) (20140829\_MuicYienx & Burgess\_KMB)

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<sup>166</sup> The mark ‘~’ stands for a fragment of word; speaker started saying a word but stopped to correct or change.

### 9.2.2.3 Post-VP locative adverbial noun phrases

The locative adverbs are expressed by a locative noun without any sort of marking such as English equivalent of “to” or “from”. This construction occurs with the verbs of directional movement like *mingh* ‘to go’, *nzuonx* ‘to return’, *ndortv* ‘to fall’, *faaux* ‘to climb, ascend’, *njiec* ‘to descend’, *dnorpc* ‘to collapse’, *cuotv* ‘to go out’. The term “locative” for Iu Mien indicates direction thereto, direction therefrom, and location therein.

Note that there is no preposition-like word between the verb and the following noun in (649). The noun can be interpreted as a locative adverb or a noun in s(OURE) semantic role:

- (649) *Yie mbuo cuotv biauv*(S).
- |      |       |                       |           |
|------|-------|-----------------------|-----------|
| ເຍີ່ | ນ້ວ   | ອຸດ                   | ແມໍ້າ(s). |
| iə́l | buə́l | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət̚l | p̚au̚ŋ    |
| 1    | PL    | exit                  | house     |
- ‘We are leaving home.’
- (ium\_20130517\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.41.30-31)

Admittedly, there can be two positions to interpret this example. One is to take *biauv* as the ‘directional adverb’ as in English *home* (Schachter and Shopen 2007:20) or as a noun-derived adverb like *tomorrow* (*ibid.* 21), and the other is to consider the clause to contain a transitive verb with an A and O argument. To the latter a similar stance can be found in Enfield (2007:390-4) with regard to the Lao locative verb *juu1* ‘to be located, to be at’ in saying that “[it] may take a theme as its subject and a location as its object”, i.e., *phen1 juu1 talaat5* [3.P be.at market] ‘She is at the market’ (Enfield 2007:390). Our approach, however, has much more affinity to the former position as has been argued for in §4.3.1 that pragmatics determines NP roles in a sentence. Also this may be another piece of evidence for Principle 5: a vague distinction between “parts-of-speech” (§4.2.1), in this case between nouns and adverbs.

The following idiomatic expression also has an adverbial noun after the verb as in (650), in which the adverbial noun is in G(OAL) role, an opposite to (649):

- (650) *Ninh maiv nangc cuotv zuangx*(G).
- |       |       |                     |                       |                      |
|-------|-------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| ນິນ   | ໄມ້   | ນັງ                 | ອຸດ                   | ຫວັງຊ(G).            |
| nin̚l | mai̚ŋ | nan̚l               | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət̚l | ts <sup>w</sup> an̚l |
| 3SG   | NEG   | very <sub>NEG</sub> | go.out                | everyone             |
- ‘He is not so sociable.’ (lit. He does not go out into the public so much.)  
 (20140326\_attested\_DA\_SL\_Phayao)

A demonstrative phrase [*wuov* + N] is also a very common locative adverbial phrase, which is in ALLATIVE role, as in (651):

- (651) *Dorh jienv mingh wuov lomc*(ALL).  
 ដែរ ជីយន មិះ វ៉ាវ អំពុំ(ALL).  
 t<sub>2</sub>\ c<sup>j</sup>en\ min\ uə\ lom\]  
 carry CONT go DEM forest  
 [When you go hunting for a few days] ‘Go to the forest there carrying (your pot and rice with you).’  
 (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_TableTalk;00.08.46-48)

By ALLATIVE is meant that the movement is directed thereto but it does not necessarily specify whether the speaker has arrived or not. If the arrival were to be encoded, the verb *taux* ‘to reach’ would be used before the NP, which is in GOAL role.

### 9.3 Sentence Level Adverbials

The temporal and locative adverbials occur at the sentence level. They set a stage in terms of time and space for the sentence.

#### 9.3.1 Temporal Adverbial Phrases

The temporal adverbial constructions occur in three possible positions in the sentence. The first two types are found in the indicative or declarative sentence, and the third one in the presentative/existential construction containing the verb *maaih* /ma:j\/ ‘there was, have’ typically used at the beginning of a narrative account referring to a past event but not restricted to that genre. These three are:

- (i) TOPIC(AGENT) – TemporalAdverbialNoun (Adv<sub>TEMP</sub>) – VP – NP(TH)  
*Var: TOP(A) – TemporalAdverbialPhrase (AdvP<sub>TEMP</sub>) – VP – NP(TH)*
- (ii) [Adv<sub>TEMP</sub>/AdvP<sub>TEMP</sub>]TOP – TOP(A) – VP – NP(TH)
- (iii) Adv<sub>TEMP</sub>/AdvP<sub>TEMP</sub> – *maaih* – NP(TOP/EVENT)

##### 9.3.1.1 *The temporal adverbials in the second position in the sentence*

Tense of a sentence is expressed by time nouns that function as temporal adverbials or adverbial phrases, not by verbal inflections as some other languages. A default word order with the temporal adverbial phrase in the second position after the topic/actor in a sentence is indicated by Cox (1967:45) as

Topic/Subject – Time – Verb – Locative.

This is illustrated as in (652):

|       |                                    |                          |              |             |              |               |
|-------|------------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| (652) | <i>Yie</i>                         | <b><i>njang.hnoi</i></b> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>ndiev</i> | <i>mungv.</i> |
|       | ເຢຍ                                | ນັງ.ອນອຍ                 | ມິ່ງ         | ວ້າ         | ເດືອຍ        | ນູ້ງ.         |
|       | iə́l                               | ŋaŋŋ₁ tǔci₁              | miŋŋ₁        | uə́ŋ        | diə́ŋ        | muŋŋ₁         |
|       | 1SG                                | tomorrow                 | go           | DEM         | lower.side   | town          |
|       | 'Tomorrow I'm going down to town.' |                          |              |             |              |               |

(Translation by Burgess 1996:55. ium\_1996\_02\_Burgess\_GF\_MienLgL2; 00.23.17-9, Cox 1967:45)

The past tense is indicated by nouns referring to any moment in the past such as ‘a few minutes ago’, ‘yesterday’, ‘last week’. See (653):

|       |  |                      |              |             |              |               |
|-------|--|----------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| (653) | <i>Yie</i>                                   | <b><i>a'hnoi</i></b> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>ndiev</i> | <i>mungv.</i> |
|       | ເຢຍ  | ອະອນອຍ               | ມິ່ງ         | ວ້າ         | ເດືອຍ        | ນູ້ງ.         |
|       | iə́l   | a tǔci₁              | miŋŋ₁        | uə́ŋ        | diə́ŋ        | muŋŋ₁         |
|       | 1SG  | yesterday            | go           | DEM         | lower.side   | town          |
|       | (ium_1996_02_Burgess_GF_MienLgL2;00.23.01-3) |                      |              |             |              |               |

Context determines an interpretation as Burgess (1996:55) observes as in (654a):

|        |                              |                       |              |             |              |               |
|--------|------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| (654a) | <i>Yie</i>                   | <b><i>ih.hnoi</i></b> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>ndiev</i> | <i>mungv.</i> |
|        | ເຢຍ                          | ອີ້ນອຍ                | ມິ່ງ         | ວ້າ         | ເດືອຍ        | ນູ້ງ.         |
|        | iə́l                         | i tǔci₁               | miŋŋ₁        | uə́ŋ        | diə́ŋ        | muŋŋ₁         |
|        | 1SG                          | today                 | go           | DEM         | lower.side   | town          |
|        | 'Today I went down to town.' |                       |              |             |              |               |

(Translation by Burgess (1996:55). ium\_1996\_02\_Burgess\_GF\_MienLgL2;00.23.17-9)

In addition to the above translation in the past tense, Burgess (1996:55) explains: “In certain contexts this could also mean ‘Today I am going to town’. Context makes the meaning clear if past tense or future tense particles are not present.” The cases with particles or tense indicators are:

- Sentence final particle *mi'aqv* [TELIC aspect] to indicate past
- Auxiliary verb *oix* ‘to want, will’ to indicate irrealis or future

An example (654b) is understood to refer to the future by the presence of the auxiliary *oix* ‘to want, will’:

|                                    |            |                |            |              |             |              |               |
|------------------------------------|------------|----------------|------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| (654b)                             | <i>Yie</i> | <i>ih.hnoi</i> | <i>oix</i> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>ndiev</i> | <i>mungv.</i> |
|                                    | ເມີຍ       | ອື່ນອຍ         | ອ້ອຍ       | ນຶ່ງ         | ວ້າ         | ເດືອນ        | ນູ້ງ.         |
|                                    | iə̥l       | iŋ hoi         | iɔ̥l       | miŋh         | uə̥ŋ        | diə̥ŋ        | muŋŋ          |
|                                    | 1SG        | today          | want       | go           | DEM         | lower.side   | town          |
| ‘Today I want to go down to town.’ |            |                |            |              |             |              |               |

The temporal adverb can express habitual action. The habitual adverbial phrases are devised by reduplication as in (655):

|   |             |                    |                                     |               |              |            |             |
|---|-------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|------------|-------------|
| (655)   | <i>Ninh</i> | <i>ndorm-ndorm</i> | <i>muonz-muonz</i>                  | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>naaic</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>zoux</i> |
|   | ນິນ         | ດອນໆ               | ນົ່ວນ-ນົ່ວນ                         | ຮນ້ັງ         | ໜ່າຍ         | ນອ         | ໄທດວ        |
|   | nin         | dɔ̥m dɔ̥m          | m <sup>w</sup> ən m <sup>w</sup> ən | ŋuŋŋ          | na:i         | nɔ̥l       | tsəuŋ       |
|   | 3SG         | morning-morning    | night-night                         | like          | DEM          | as         | do          |
| ‘Every morning and every evening, he lead (his sheep) like that.’ |             |                    |                                     |               |              |            |             |
| (ium_c1965_01_BASF_HCox_UvHiaangEtAl_BagiYungh;00.00.28-31)       |             |                    |                                     |               |              |            |             |

Other example of four syllable temporal adverbial phrase, not in the habitual sense as above, is *ziangh hnoi ziangh muonz* /tsiaŋŋ hñoi tsiaŋŋ muənŋ/ [all day all night].

Below are some more examples of temporal adverbials and their variations drawing on Purnell (2012) and Panh (2002)(the last item) as in Table 53:

**Table 53. Temporal adverbials and adverbial phrase**

| Temporal adverbials            | IPA                        | Gloss   |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| <i>jang</i>                    | /caŋŋ/                     | ‘just’  |
| <i>jang-jang</i>               | /caŋŋ caŋŋ/                | ‘just’  |
| <i>a'jang</i>                  | /a caŋŋ/                   | ‘just a short while ago’  |
| <i>koqv jang</i>               | /k <sup>h</sup> oʔŋ caŋŋ/  | ‘just now’  |
| <i>coqv hoqc (co'hoqc)</i>     | /ts <sup>h</sup> oʔŋ hoʔŋ/ | ‘just (recent time)’  |
| <i>koqv hoqc (ko'hoqc)</i>     | /k <sup>h</sup> oʔŋ hoʔŋ/  | ‘just now’  |
| <i>ba'hnoi</i>                 | /pa ñoi/                   | ‘a few days or months ago, not long ago, some time in the relatively recent past’ |
| <i>ba'hnyangx</i>              | /pa ñarŋ/                  | ‘last year’   |
| <i>jiex daaih wuov hnyangx</i> | /ciə̥l taih uə̥ŋ ñarŋ/     | ‘last month or the past month’ (Panh 2002:116)                                    |

### 9.3.1.2 The temporal adverbials in the sentence-initial position

The temporal adverbials can occur sentence-initially.

AdvP<sub>TEMP</sub> - Top - CL

Such a shift from the second position in the sentence is due to the contextual factors in the discourse.

The following data (656<sup>-1-6</sup>) show, in the first place, the flexibility of word order between {Actor-as-Topic}{Time} and {Time-as-Topic}{Actor} as in (656<sup>-1</sup>); and secondly the establishment of the latter order as the discourse continues as in (656<sup>-4</sup>). The data is the beginning part of a tape-recorded address by female speaker sent to retired missionaries in the U.S. First, the speaker's self-correction or spontaneous change resulting in an overlap of two constructions (underlined) can be observed: *yie ih.zanc* [1SG now] 'I now' and *ih.zanc yie* [now 1SG] 'now I'. Second, the latter order appears at (656<sup>-4</sup>):

|                                      |            |                       |            |            |               |             |             |
|--------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| (656 <sup>-1</sup> )                 | <i>yie</i> | <u><i>ih.zanc</i></u> | <i>yie</i> | <i>oix</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>deix</i> | <i>waac</i> |
|                                      | ເຢີ່ຂ      | ອື້ໝໍານ               | ເຢີ່ຂ      | ອ້ອຍ       | ກຶ່ອງ         | ເຕັ້ນ       | ໜວ່າ        |
|                                      | iéːl       | iጀ tsanጀ              | iéːl       | ciጀ        | kɔጀŋጀ         | teiጀ        | wa:ጀ        |
|                                      | 1SG        | now                   | 1SG        | want       | speak         | some        | word        |
| 'Now I would like to say some words' |            |                       |            |            |               |             |             |

|                              |              |                     |             |               |              |
|------------------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| (656 <sup>-2</sup> )         | <i>mbuox</i> | <i>muh.su(cm.c)</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>su.muv</i> | <i>mbuo,</i> |
|                              | ບັ້ງ         | ມູ.ສູ(cm.c)         | ບັ້ງ        | ຈູ.ມູ້        | ບັ້ງ,        |
|                              | buəl         | muጀ suጀ             | buəl        | suጀ muጀ       | buəl         |
|                              | tell         | pastor              | PL          | pastor(?)     | PL           |
| 'to pastor and your family.' |              |                     |             |               |              |

|   |                  |             |             |              |
|---|------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| (656 <sup>-3</sup> )                                | <i>Dorh.ziec</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>daaih</i> |
|   | ດ້ວ.ເຫຼື່ບ       | ແມ່ຂ        | ບັ້ງ        | ຕ້າຍ         |
|   | tsiጀ             | meiጀ        | buəl        | ta:iጀ        |
|   | thank            | 2           | PL          | come         |
| 'Thank you for coming (to our village in Thailand)' |                  |             |             |              |

- (656<sup>-3</sup>) *tengx yie mbuo camv haic.*  
 ເຕັງ ເຢີ່ຍ ບັວ ຂຶ້ນ ໄກ໌.  
 teŋ˥ iə˧˥ buə˧˥ tsʰam˥˧hai˩  
 help 1 PL be.many very  
 ‘to help us so much.’
- (656<sup>-4</sup>) *Ih.zanc mh mbuo nzuonx mingh,*  
 ອື່.ຫຼັ້ນ ມໍ ບັວ ນຫວານ ມິ່ງ,  
 i˧˥ tsan˩ m˧˥ buə˧˥ dzʷən˧˥ miŋ˩  
 now 2 PL return go  
 ‘Now that you have gone back (to your country),’
- (656<sup>-5</sup>) *yie mbuo caux meih nyei doic*  
 ເຢີ່ຍ ບັວ ແທກ ເມັ່ຍ ແຍ່ຍ ຕ່ອຍ  
 iə˧˥ buə˧˥ tsʰau˧˥ mei˧˥ nei˧˥ tɔi˩  
 1 PL accompany 2 SBCP friend  
 ‘we are here with your colleague,’
- (656<sup>-6</sup>) *Lorh Jaau Su<sup>167</sup> yiem naaiv.*  
 ລູ ຈາວ່ຽງ ເຢີ່ມ ນ້າຍ.  
 lɔ˧˥ ca:u˧˥ su˧˥ jem˧˥ na:i˥˧  
 Lo Jaau Su be.in DEM<sub>PRX</sub>  
 ‘Lo Jaau Su staying.’  
 (ium\_c1967\_06\_SCOTCH\_HCox\_Muangz-Mengh\_Voice  
 Letter;00.00.06-20)

The unmarked position of the temporal adverbials which is in the second position in the sentence shifts to the sentence-initial position as a discourse progresses. This fronting movement is to make contrast in time explicit i.e., “then” but “now”, as exemplified in (657<sup>-1-3</sup>) (a repetition of (181<sup>-10-12</sup>)):

- (657<sup>-1</sup>) *Yie wuov.zanc buov in hlo haic.*  
 (181<sup>-10</sup>) ເຢີ່ຍ ວັວ.ຫຼັ້ນ ປຶ້ງ ອິນ ໄກລ ໄກ໌.  
 GC iə˧˥ uə˥˧ tsan˩ puə˥˧ in˧˥ lo˧˥ hai˩  
 1 that.time smoke(v) opium be.big very  
 ‘At that time I (used to) smoke opium very heavily.’

<sup>167</sup> This person (i.e. Eric and Hellen Cox’s colleague) well could be referring to Silvia Lombard, the compiler of the dictionary.

|                       |          |                  |             |                    |           |                |
|-----------------------|----------|------------------|-------------|--------------------|-----------|----------------|
| (657 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <b>O</b> | <i>ih.zanc /</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>guangc</i>      | <i>in</i> | <i>mi'aqv?</i> |
| (181 <sup>-11</sup> ) | ໄໂຣ      | ອື້ອັນ /         | ແມ່ຍ        | ກວ້ງ               | ອິນ       | ມີອື່?         |
| A                     | →o:      | i↓ tsan↓         | mei↓        | k <sup>w</sup> aŋ↓ | in↑       | mi↓ a?]        |
|                       | INTJ     | now              | 2SG         | abandon            | opium     | TELIC          |

‘O, now you have completely given up opium, haven’t you?’

|                       |   |                  |            |                    |                |  |
|-----------------------|---|------------------|------------|--------------------|----------------|--|
| (657 <sup>-3</sup> )  | <i>Aeqc,</i>  | <i>ih.zanc /</i> | <i>yie</i> | <i>guangc</i>      | <i>mi'aqv.</i> |  |
| (181 <sup>-12</sup> ) | ແອະ,  | ອື້ອັນ /         | ເຢີຍ       | ກວ້ງ               | ມີອື່.         |  |
| GC                    | ε↓  | i↓ tsan↓         | iə↑        | k <sup>w</sup> aŋ↓ | mi↓ a?]        |  |
|                       | Yes   | now              | 1SG        | abandon            | TELIC          |  |
|                       | ‘Yes, now I have given (it) up.’  |                  |            |                    |                |  |
|                       | (ium_c1967_01_Aristocrat_#Burgess_Gueix-Seng_GR-Tape1-Trk1;00.04.03-10) |                  |            |                    |                |  |

The interjection *O* in (657<sup>-2</sup>) and the response *Aeqc* ‘yes’ are treated as extra-sentential elements, thus the temporal adverbials *ih.zanc* ‘now’ are in the sentence-initial position being fronted from the unmarked second position.

The temporal adverbials occur sentence-initially as a topic of the sentence without A(GENT) in the middle of a long discourse, not the initial part as in (658<sup>-1-4</sup>):

|   |             |             |              |           |           |                    |                 |
|---|-------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|-----------------|
| (658 <sup>-1</sup> )                          | <i>Saaū</i> | <i>lomc</i> | <i>naaic</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>naeh</i> (cm.t) | <i>nyuc~aex</i> |
|   | ໜາວ         | ໜຳມ         | ໜ່າຍ         | ເຊ        | ນີ້       | ແນ່ (cm.t)         | ໜູ່~ແອ້         |
|   | sa:u↑       | lom↓        | na:i↓        | se↑       | m̄↑       | ne↓                | nu↓ ε:↓         |
|   | stroll      | forest      | DEM          | TOP       | NEG       | sure               | (frg)           |
| ‘Hunting is an unpredictable thing, you see.’ |             |             |              |           |           |                    |                 |

|  |                          |              |             |             |             |               |
|--|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| (658 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <b><i>nzunc.baav</i></b> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>yaac</i> | <i>duqv</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>lorqc,</i> |
|  | ໜຸ່ນ.ປ້າ                 | ມຶ່ງ         | ຫຍ່າ        | ດີ້         | ເລູບ        | ເຫດາະ,        |
|  | dzun↓ pa:↑               | mir↓         | ja:↓        | tu?]        | nei↑        | ໄຕ?]          |
| sometimes go TOP get ASST SFP<br>Sometimes you get game of course, |                          |              |             |             |             |               |

|   |                          |              |             |           |                    |
|---|--------------------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|--------------------|
| (658 <sup>-3</sup> )  | <b><i>nzunc.baav</i></b> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>yaac</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>buangh</i>      |
|   | ໜຸ່ນ.ປ້າ                 | ມຶ່ງ         | ຫຍ່າ        | ນີ້       | ປົ້ງ               |
|   | dzun↓ pa:↑               | mir↓         | ja:↓        | m̄↑       | p <sup>w</sup> aŋ↓ |
| sometimes go TOP NEG encounter<br>other times though you go (into the forest) you won’t see anything. |                          |              |             |           |                    |

- (658<sup>-4</sup>) *yaac maaih nyei*  
 យោច មោី ឱសី  
*ja:ŋ ma:iŋ neiŋ*  
 TOP<sub>ADD</sub> have ASST  
 There is such a time too.'

A final remark in this section is about a regional variety. A temporal adverb *zin̥ ndaangc* /tsin᷑ da᷑ŋ/ [front before] ‘previously, in the past’ is normally used in Chiang Rai, Phayao, Chiang Mai, and Kamphaeng Phet. On the other hand, data from Nan province (in the audio file “TableTalk”) show examples of *ziex ndaangc* /tsi᷑ɛ᷑ da᷑ŋ/ with a diphthong in the first syllable in the same context of referring to the time in the past.

### **9.3.1.3 The temporal adverbials followed by the presentative verb maaih ‘to have, there is’**

Storytelling is an important element in Iu Mien culture. In it a presentative construction opens up a story. Similar to the construction in which the temporal adverbials are the topic of the sentence, the presentative-construction [*maaih* NP] is preceded by the temporal adverbials as in (659):

- (659) *Loz-hnoi* *maaih* *jienv* *sou* *nyei.*  
 ໂລ້ວ-ຮນອຍ ມ່າຍ ເຈື້ຍນ ໄຊວ ເນູຍ.  
*lo\ \n\w\c\i\w\* *ma:i\w\* *c\en\w\* *sə\w\* *nei\w\*  
 old-day have CONT book ASST  
 ‘In the old days there were books.’  
 (ium\_20130528\_08\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng  
 TheEndOfThisAge;00.05.28-9)

### 9.3.2 Locative Adverbial Phrases

A locative adverbial phrase below is extra-sentential and it is a topic, to which a focus is provided in the sentence. By the locative adverbial phrase the speaker refers to the Myanmar side of the border facing Mang Khang area of Thailand in (660<sup>1-2</sup>):

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (660 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>kungx zuangx in nyanc hnangv.</i>   |
|                      | ុង អោវាំង ិន ឃ្លាំង ខណែង.  |
|                      | <i>kunŋ˥ ts<sup>w</sup>aŋ˥ in˥ jnəŋ˥ nəŋ˥</i>  |
|                      | empty plant opium eat only   |
|                      | ‘(we) only planted opium to eat.’ (i.e. to make living by planting opium, not literally eat it.) |
|                      | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.05.21-24)   |

## 9.4 Reciprocal Constructions

Reciprocal constructions are also included in this chapter on the adverbials as they function to modify actions expressed by verbs. There are five variations of reciprocal constructions as follows:

- *Laanh caux laanh V jaax /la:n\ ts<sup>h</sup>au\ la:n\ V ca:\|/*  
 [CLF<sub>HUMAN</sub> accompany CLF<sub>HUMAN</sub> V RECP]  
 ‘V each other’
  - *NP<sup>1</sup> caux NP<sup>2</sup> V jaax /NP<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>au\ NP<sup>2</sup> V ca:\|/*  
 [NP<sup>1</sup> accompany NP<sup>2</sup> V RECP]  
 ‘NP<sup>1</sup> and NP<sup>2</sup> V with each other’
  - *Laanh V laanh /la:n\ V la:n\|/*  
 [CLF<sub>HUMAN</sub> V CLF<sub>HUMAN</sub> each.other]  
 ‘V each other’
  - *NP<sub>PL</sub> V jaax /NP<sub>PL</sub> V ca:\|/*  
 [NP<sub>PL</sub> V RECP]  
 ‘they V each other’

- *Meih* V *yie*, *yei* V *meih*. /mei↓ V iə↑, iə↑ V mei↓/  
[2SG V SG, 1SG V 2SG]  
'you and I V each other' (where both Vs are the same verbs)

First, the fullest expression, *laanh caux laanh* V *jaax* [CLF<sub>HUMAN</sub> accompany CLF<sub>HUMAN</sub> V each.other] 'V each other', is exemplified in (661):

| (661) | <b><i>laanh</i></b>                                       | <i>caux</i>         | <b><i>laanh</i></b>  | <i>mborqv</i> | <b><i>jaax</i></b> |
|-------|---|---------------------|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|
|       | ລ່ານ  | ເຫຼາ                | ລ່ານ                 | ເປົ້າະ        | ຈໍາ                |
|       | la:n↓   | ts <sup>h</sup> au↓ | la:n↓                | bɔ?↑          | ca:↓               |
|       | CLF <sub>HUMAN</sub>                                      | accompany           | CLF <sub>HUMAN</sub> | hit           | RECP               |
|       | '(They) hit each other.'                                  |                     |                      |               |                    |
|       | (ium_c1960_02_SonyPR-150-52_x_Yauz-Guangv_YT;00.15.44-46) |                     |                      |               |                    |

Other classifier for animate noun, i.e., *dauh*, cannot be used for reciprocal constructions of any kind listed above.

Second, a variation of the above construction, by subtracting the first *laanh* and by substituting the second *laanh* with any kind of animate NP, a simpler form NP<sup>1</sup> *caux* NP<sup>2</sup> V *jaax* [NP<sup>1</sup> accompany NP<sup>2</sup> V RECP] 'NP<sup>1</sup> and NP<sup>2</sup> V each other' is yielded as in (662<sup>-1-3</sup>):

| (662 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <b><i>Naang</i></b>                  | <i>cuotv</i>         | <i>gorv.nziex</i> | <b><i>laaic</i></b> |  |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--|
|                      | ນາງ                                  | ຂົວດ                 | ກົອ ເທິ່ງ         | ໜ່າຍ                |  |
|                      | na:ŋ↓                                | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət↓ | kɔŋ↑ dziə↓        | la:i↓               |  |
|                      | snake                                | exit                 | fear              | assume              |  |
|                      | 'The snake went out (and) feared if' |                      |                   |                     |  |

| (662 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <b><i>domh</i></b>                             | <i>norqc.jaangv</i> <sup>168</sup> | <i>nanv</i> | <i>jienv</i> | <b><i>naang-jaang</i></b> |
|----------------------|--|------------------------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------------|
|                      | ຕົ່ມ   | ເຫນາະ ຈຳງ                          | ນັ້ນ        | ເຈື້ນ        | ນາງ-ຈາງ                   |
|                      | tom↓   | nɔ?↓ caŋ↑                          | nan↑        | c̚en↑        | na:ŋ↓ caŋ↑                |
|                      | big  | eagle                              | grab        | CONT         | snake-neck                |
|                      | 'the eagle (might) grab the snake by the neck' |                                    |             |              |                           |

<sup>168</sup> For 'eagle' Panh (2002:95) has *domh jaangv*. Neither Panh (2002) nor Purnell (2012) has *norqc.jaangv*. According to Purnell (2012:304) *jaangv* means 'any of a group of large birds of prey', and *domh jaangv* = 'any of the large birds, such as the eagle, hawk, kite, or falcon'.

- |                      |  |              |               |              |
|----------------------|--|--------------|---------------|--------------|
| (662 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>caux</i>  | <i>naang</i> | <i>borngz</i> | <i>jaax.</i> |
|                      | ເຫຼາ   | ນາງ          | ປ່ອງ          | ຈ້າ.         |
|                      | <i>ts<sup>h</sup>auŋ</i>   | <i>naŋŋ</i>  | <i>pɔŋŋ</i>   | <i>ca:</i>   |
|                      | accompany  | snake        | fight         | RECP         |
|                      | '(and) fight with it.'   |              |               |              |
|                      | (Burgess and Yauz-Guangv, the 1970s, <i>Jai-Gorngx Mienh</i> [A Rooster Man], KMB) |              |               |              |

In this example NP<sup>1</sup> is *domh norqc.jaang* ‘big eagle’ followed by an insertion of an SVC *nanyi jieny naang-jaang* ‘grabbing the snake by the throat’ and NP<sup>2</sup> is *naang* ‘snake’.

Thirdly, subtracting *caux* ‘to accompany’ and *jaax* ‘each other’ from the first example (661), a construction *laanh V laanh* [ $\text{CLF}_{\text{HUMAN}} \text{ V } \text{CLF}_{\text{HUMAN}}$  each.other] ‘V each other’ is also used as in (663):

- (663) *Oix.zuqc laanh gan<sup>169</sup> laanh daux.gaux*  
           อ้อย.หมู ล่าن กัน ล่า� เด້າ.ເກ້າ  
           ၁။။ tsu?။ la:n။ kan။ la:n။ tau။ kau။  
           must CLF<sub>HUMAN</sub> be.with CLF<sub>HUMAN</sub> pray  
           '(You/we) must pray for one another.'

Considering the semantic similarity of *gan* ‘to be with, follow’ to *caux* ‘to accompany’ (and *tengx* ‘to help’ as in footnote), there may be a possibility that *gan* is a part of the reciprocal construction as an idiomatic expression. However, productivity by substituting it within the frame *laanh* V *laanh* with other verbs is also attested as in *laanh hnamy laanh* ‘to love one another’.

Fourthly, if the coordinated noun phrase NP<sup>1</sup> *caux* NP<sup>2</sup> 'NP<sup>1</sup> and NP<sup>2</sup>' in the second construction NP<sup>1</sup> *caux* NP<sup>2</sup> V *jaax* [NP<sup>1</sup> accompany NP<sup>2</sup> V RECP] 'NP<sup>1</sup> and NP<sup>2</sup> V each other' is reduced into a single plural NP (NP<sub>PL</sub>), it results in a construction NP<sub>PL</sub> V *jaax* [NP<sub>PL</sub> V RECP] 'they V each other'. Such an example can be found in (664):

- (664) *Ninh mbuo nzaeng nzunc jaax mi'aqv.*  
 นิ่น บัว แรง หยุ่น จะ หมาย อี๊ะ.  
 nin<sub>1</sub> buə<sub>1</sub> dze:ŋ<sub>1</sub> dzun<sub>1</sub> ca:<sub>1</sub> mi<sub>1</sub> aʔ<sub>1</sub>  
 3 PL quarrel CLF<sub>OCCASION</sub> RECP TELIC  
 ‘They have already had one quarrel.’  
 (Purnell 2012:590) (lit. They have already quarrelled each other once.)

<sup>169</sup> A new type of Iu Mien spoken by Christian Iu Mien would use *tengx* ‘to help’ instead of *gan* ‘to be with’ as in *Yie.mbuo laanh tengx laanh daux.gaux* [1.pl CLF<sub>HUMAN</sub> help CLF<sub>HUMAN</sub> pray] ‘We pray for each other’, perhaps influenced by Thai Christians’ expression ช่วยกันอธิษฐาน ‘to help each other in prayer’.

The presence of the classifier for times and occasions *nzunc* after the verb may suggest an extension of the structural formula to NP<sub>PL</sub> VP *jaax* [NP<sub>PL</sub> VP RECP].

Incidentally, the classifier for times or occasions *nzunc* in this example is a reduced form from the full construction *yietc nzunc /jet/ dzun/* [one CLF<sub>OCCASION</sub>] ‘once’ as the omission of the cardinal number one from the classifier phrase was discussed in §8.11.1.

Fifthly, the last construction for reciprocity uses personal pronouns and a verb only without the reciprocal verb *jaax* ‘each other’ as in (665<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |                                   |                 |              |                     |
|----------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------|---------------------|
| (665 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <b><i>Meih</i></b>                | <i>oix.zuqc</i> | <i>bangc</i> | <b><i>yie</i>,</b>  |
|                      | မော်                              | ခုခံပါ။ၢ။       | ပံ့          | ယီယ,                |
|                      | mei↓                              | ၃၁ tsu?↓        | panj↓        | iə↑                 |
|                      | 2SG                               | must            | depend.on    | 1SG                 |
| (665 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <b><i>yie</i></b>                 | <i>oix.zuqc</i> | <i>bangc</i> | <b><i>meih.</i></b> |
|                      | ယီယ                               | ခုခံပါ။ၢ။       | ပံ့          | မော်။               |
|                      | iə↑                               | ၃၁ tsu?↓        | panj↓        | mei↓                |
|                      | 1SG                               | must            | depend.on    | 2SG                 |
|                      | ‘We have to depend on each other’ |                 |              |                     |
|                      | (Purnell 2012:24)                 |                 |              |                     |

Besides the above example Purnell presents an alternative translation ‘You need to depend on me; I need to depend on you’. As this direct translation shows, the expression is a concrete way of confirming social solidarity in reciprocity (whose original force is somehow lost in the translation with the phrase “each other”).

It seems that the order of [the 2<sup>nd</sup> person V the 1<sup>st</sup> person] is conventionalised, rather than [the 1<sup>st</sup> person V the 2<sup>nd</sup> person]. To confirm it see one more attested speech of this construction as in (666<sup>-1-4</sup>):

|                      |                               |   |             |             |            |               |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|---|-------------|-------------|------------|---------------|
| (666 <sup>-1</sup> ) | (...)yaac                     | <i>cien-ceqv</i>                        | <i>yiem</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>aeqv</i> , |
|                      | (...)ဟဲ့                      | ငိုးပါ-အူး                              | အီယံ        | ဗျာ         | နဝ         | အော်း,        |
|                      | ja:↓                          | ts <sup>h</sup> ən↓ ts <sup>h</sup> e?↓ | jem↑        | սə↑         | nɔ↑        | ε?↓           |
|                      | also                          | relatives                               | be.at       | DEM         | as         | PDP           |
|                      | ‘As our relatives were there’ |   |             |             |            |               |

|  |                  |                  |                 |                 |                  |                  |                 |                   |
|--|------------------|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (666 <sup>2</sup> )  | <b>meih</b>      | <i>mbuox</i>     | <i>yie</i> ,    | <b>yie</b>      | <i>mbuox</i>     | <b>meih</b>      | <i>aengx</i>    | <i>daaih</i> ...  |
|  | ແມ່ຍ             | ນຳວ              | ເຢືຍ,           | ເຢືຍ            | ນຳວ              | ແມ່ຍ             | ແອ້ງ            | ຕ້າຍ ...          |
|  | mei <sup>1</sup> | buə <sup>1</sup> | iə <sup>1</sup> | iə <sup>1</sup> | buə <sup>1</sup> | mei <sup>1</sup> | ɛŋ <sup>1</sup> | ta:i <sup>1</sup> |
| 2SG tell 1 SG 1 SG tell 2 SG further come<br>‘we told to each other and came to’ |                  |                  |                 |                 |                  |                  |                 |                   |

|  |              |             |                   |                                     |
|--|--------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (666 <sup>3</sup> )                                  | <i>yuoqc</i> | <i>doic</i> | <i>daaih</i>      | <i>ziangh.naaic</i>                 |
|  | ຫໍ້ວະ        | ຕ່ອຍ        | ຕ້າຍ              | ເຊິ່ງ.ໜ່າຍ                          |
|  | juə?]        | tɔi]        | ta:i <sup>1</sup> | tsʰaŋ <sup>1</sup> nai <sup>1</sup> |
| invite friend come then<br>‘invite our friends then’ |              |             |                   |                                     |

|  |                   |                   |                  |                 |                   |             |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------|
| (666 <sup>4</sup> )  | <i>qunh</i>       | <i>qunh</i>       | <i>nyei</i>      | <i>oix</i>      | <i>biaux</i>      | <i>aqv.</i> |
|  | ຊຸນ               | ຊຸນ               | ເລຸຍ             | ອ້ອຍ            | ແປ້ງ້າ            | ອີ່.        |
|  | cʰun <sup>1</sup> | cʰun <sup>1</sup> | nei <sup>1</sup> | ci <sup>1</sup> | p̚au <sup>1</sup> | a?]         |
| move.as.a.group move.as.a.group ADVZ want escape NSIT<br>‘decided to move (from there) as a group (to this side of the Mekong River).’ |                   |                   |                  |                 |                   |             |

(ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.03.16-23)

## 9.5 Coordinated Adverb Construction *kungx V...hnangv* ‘only’

A coordinated adverb construction has a structure *kungx – VP – hnangv* ‘only VP’, or ‘nothing but VP’. It is exemplified in (667):

|  |                  |                  |                     |                   |                    |                       |
|--|------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (667)  | <i>Jomc</i>      | <i>haic</i> ,    | <b><i>kungx</i></b> | <i>maaic</i>      | <i>taanx</i>       | <b><i>hnangv</i>.</b> |
|  | ຈົມ              | ໄທ້              | ກູງ                 | ນ້າຍ              | ດານ                | ອນັ້ງ.                |
|  | com <sup>1</sup> | hai <sup>1</sup> | kun <sup>1</sup>    | ma:i <sup>1</sup> | tʰa:n <sup>1</sup> | ຖອງໆ                  |
| be.poor very be.empty sell charcoal only<br>‘(I am) very poor, (as I) only sell charcoal.’ |                  |                  |                     |                   |                    |                       |

(Burgess, the 1970s, *Baeqc Horqc Gouv* [A Story of White Flower], KMB)

## 9.6 Covariational Conditional Construction: *gunv...gunv...* ‘the more..., the more...’

Covariational conditional construction {The Xer the Yer} (e.g. *the more you think about it, the less you understand*) (Goldberg 2006:5) is expressed in the structure *gunv V, gunv V*. It may occur in the structure *gunv V<sub>ADJ</sub>, gunv V<sub>ADJ</sub>* or the combination

*gunv* V, *gunv* V<sub>ADJ</sub>. The Iu Mien tend to repeat this construction in storytelling as in (668):

|                      |              |           |             |                |              |
|----------------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|--------------|
| (668 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Mienh</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>duqv</i> | <i>hnaangx</i> | <i>nyanc</i> |
|                      | เมี่ยน       | ນໍ້       | ຕຸ້         | ຫອນາງ          | ຫຍຸ່ນ        |
|                      | miən\        | m̥ŋ̊      | tu?]        | ຫຼາງຈັກ        | ນານ]         |
|                      | people       | NEG       | get         | rice           | eat          |

‘People did not have food to eat,’

|                      |                |             |             |                   |              |
|----------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|--------------|
| (668 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>mv.baac</i> | <i>maiv</i> | <i>zeiz</i> | <i>liemh.zeih</i> | <i>daic.</i> |
|                      | ນໍ້ປ່າ         | ໄມ້ວີ       | ເຕີບ        | ເລື່ມ ເຕີບ        | ໄຕ           |
|                      | m̥ŋ̊ pa:]      | maiŋ̊       | tsei:]      | ໄຟມ\ tsei\        | tai:]        |

but NEG be.correct suddenly die  
‘but it didn’t mean that they died suddenly.’

|                      |                            |                    |             |                    |             |
|----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
| (668 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Ninh</i> <sup>170</sup> | <b><i>gunv</i></b> | <i>zoux</i> | <b><i>gunv</i></b> | <i>mau,</i> |
|                      | ນິ້ນ                       | ຖິ້ນ               | ໄທຄວ        | ຖິ້ນ               | ແມາ         |
|                      | nin\                       | kunŋ̊              | tsəuŋ̊      | kunŋ̊              | mauŋ̊       |

3SG the.more do the.more be.weak  
‘The longer they lived, the weaker they became,’

|                      |                    |             |                    |             |             |                 |             |             |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| (668 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <b><i>gunv</i></b> | <i>zoux</i> | <b><i>gunv</i></b> | <i>mau,</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>oix.zuqc</i> | <i>daic</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |
|                      | ຖິ້ນ               | ໄທຄວ        | ຖິ້ນ               | ແມາ         | ນິ້ນ        | ອ້ອຍ ທິ່ນ       | ໄຕ          | ອ້ຳ.        |
|                      | kunŋ̊              | tsəuŋ̊      | kunŋ̊              | mauŋ̊       | nin\        | ວິກ tsu?]       | tai:]       | a?]'        |

the.more do the.more be.weak 3SG must die NSIT  
‘the longer they lived, the weaker they became, (therefore) they had to die.’  
(ium\_c1960\_02\_SonyPR-150-52\_x\_Yauz-Guangv\_YT;00.26.42-50)

The verb *zoux* /tsəuŋ̊/ ‘to do’ in (668<sup>-3-4</sup>) is used in a general sense, which represents other specific verbs; in this case to lead a life. In this sense, *zoux* can be considered as a **pro-verb**. This is a rare case of the pro-verb since Iu Mien prefers to repeat a specific verb in referring to anaphoric occurrence or a verb used by a conversation partner.

## 9.7 Prosodically Emphatic Expressions

Not only the adverbs that explicitly form lexical constructions but also the prosody serves to modify the meaning of the whole sentence. Since this is one of the

<sup>170</sup> The 3rd person singular pronoun seems to refer to the people in the famine collectively.

important narrative techniques more examples are differed to §20.5.1, in the chapter on discourse and narrative arts. Here is one example of the prosodically emphatic expression as in (669<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |       |                        |                        |                           |                        |
|----------------------|-------|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| (669 <sup>-1</sup> ) | (...) | <i>yaac</i>            | <i>maiv</i>            | <i>la'kuqv</i>            | <i>ninh</i> ,          |
|                      |       | យាំ                    | មីវ                    | លាកុរិ                    | និន                    |
|                      |       | <i>ja:<sup>↓</sup></i> | <i>mai<sup>↑</sup></i> | <i>la k<sup>h</sup>u?</i> | <i>nin<sup>↓</sup></i> |
|                      |       | and                    | NEG                    | forget                    | 3SG                    |

‘(The father) never forgot him (i.e. his son),’

|                      |  |                               |                       |                                    |   |
|----------------------|--|-------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|---|
| (669 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>hnoi-</i>   | <i>hnoi<sup>↑</sup>i!</i>     | <i>mangc</i>          | <i>jienv</i>                       | <i>jauv-kuv.</i>                                  |
|                      | អនីយ-  | អនីយ!                         | ម៉ាង                  | តីឱន                               | ខោ-គូ   |
|                      | <i>h<i>oi<sup>↑</sup></i></i>  | <i>h<i>oi<sup>↑</sup></i></i> | <i>ma<sup>↓</sup></i> | <i>c<sup>↓</sup>en<sup>↑</sup></i> | <i>cau<sup>↓</sup> k<sup>h</sup>u<sup>↑</sup></i> |
|                      | day  | day                           | watch                 | CONT                               | road-mouth  |
|                      | ‘(but) was earnestly watching the mouth of the path day after day (waiting for his return).’ |                               |                       |                                    |   |

(ium\_c1965\_01\_AMPEX\_HCox\_Guex-Seng\_PrdgSonl;00.07.33-37)

The first *hnoi* /h*oi<sup>↑</sup>*/ ‘day’ undergoes tone sandhi, resulting in /h*oi<sup>↓</sup>*/, and the second is extremely prolonged in the high pitch. The effect is emotional.

## 9.8 Summary of Chapter 9

In this chapter, the adverbial constructions at the clause and sentence level have been discussed. In the former, were presented pre-VP adverbs and post-VP adverbs. Of the four functions of the particle *nyei*, the adverbialiser function was demonstrated. The continuous aspectual verb *jienv* also produces adverbial phrases.

The sentence level adverbials set stage for it in terms of time and space. Furthermore, the reciprocal construction, the coordinated adverb construction, and the covariational conditional construction were surveyed. Finally, at the discourse level, the prosodically emphatic modification was briefly previewed in anticipation for more discussion in Chapter 20.

Since we began investigating the materials at the sentence level in this chapter, in the next we shall delve into the fundamental binary structure of the sentence, namely, the markers for Topic and Focus.

# Chapter 10

## SENTENCE MEDIAL TOPIC MARKING CONSTRUCTIONS

### 10.1 Introduction

This chapter deductively investigates three different groups of constructions based on the fact that they all occur sentence-medially, functioning to distinguish the topic, which occupies the sentence-initial position, from the rest of the sentence, which is the focus or the predicate. They are (i) topic marking particles, (ii) equative particles, (iii) copular verbs. If inductively studied, the internal morphosyntactic characteristics reveal that (i) and (ii) are particles, and (ii) and (iii) are copular constructions, of which the third is a group of verbs. The rationale behind the decision of discussing three different constructions consisting of two different word classes (i.e. particles and verbs) under the single inclusive rubric, the sentence-medial topic marking constructions, is the dominance of the Topic-Focus structure in Iu Mien. For example, Court (1986:41) analyses the particle *se~sue* /se˥/~/sə˥/ ‘to be’ as “the topic-comment copula” or “copular particle”, whose “main function is to mark the beginning of the comment [our ‘focus’]” (*ibid.* 45) while at the same time he admits that the particle “actually acts very much like a verb [as his translation ‘to be’ suggests], but cannot be preceded by *maiv* /mai˥/ the negative particle” (*ibid.* 41-42). In other words, his attitude concerning this particle is to prioritise the pragmatic function of the copular construction though he recognises its morphosyntactic characteristics.

The dominance of the Topic-Focus structure, therefore, is epitomized in the first principle of the seven stated in Chapter 4, which reads:

**Principle 1.** A basic sentence pattern of Iu Mien has two parts of Topic and Focus (§4.2.1).

Whatever NP that occurs sentence-initially is considered as a topic or the starting point of the sentence. What comes after it is focus or what is said about the topic. In this basic structure of the sentence, the elements occurring sentence-medially mark a distinction between topic and focus.

In this chapter they are investigated in two major categories: the topicalising particles (topicalisers)(§10.3) and the copular constructions including the equative particles (Court’s “copular particle”)( §10.4.1) and the copular verbs § (10.4.2).

## 10.2 Definitions of Topic and Focus

We follow the definitions of topic and focus given by Lambrecht (1994). He defines topic as follows:

The topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence IS ABOUT. [...] Topics are not necessarily grammatical subjects, and grammatical subjects are not necessarily topics, at least in languages like English (1994:118).

And the focus is defined as follows:

[...] the focus of the proposition expressed by a sentence in a given utterance context, is seen as the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion DIFFER from each other. The focus is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech. It is the UNPREDICTABLE or pragmatically NON-RECOVERABLE element in an utterance. The focus is what makes an utterance into an assertion (1994:207).

## 10.3 Topicalising Particles

Topicalising particles occur at the border between topic and focus. An NP or a clause that occurs on the left side of the topic marker is a topic of the sentence. Another NP or a clause that occurs on the right-side of it is a focus of the sentence.

### 10.3.1 Topic + *yaac*

Generally, the sentence medial element *yaac* separates topic and focus, the two major parts of a sentence as in (670):

|       |   |              |             |             |             |             |             |
|-------|---|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (670) | <i>Mienh</i>  | <i>maanh</i> | <i>yaac</i> | <i>maiv</i> | <i>haih</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |
|       | เมื่อคน   | ม่าน         | ຢ່າຍ        | ໄມ້         | ໄຊ          | ເຍື່ນ       | ອີກ         |
|       | miən˧˥  | ma:n˧˥       | ja:˩        | mai˥        | hai˧˥       | jem˧˥       | a?˥         |
|       | people  | all          | TOP         | NEG         | be.able     | be.present  | NSIT        |
|       | ‘As for all the population it was impossible to live (in that area).’ |              |             |             |             |             |             |
|       | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.05.20-1)                     |              |             |             |             |             |             |

Furthermore, *yaac* is an additive topic marker, which is very similar to Thai *kɔ̄* (ກ່ອ) ‘also’. Thus, it could be glossed as ‘TOP<sub>ADD</sub>’ but a more apparent translation ‘also’ is

also appropriate. In the following example, the first clause (671<sup>-1</sup>) establishes a context, in which the topic is *Yauz-Jiem*; then in (671<sup>-2</sup>) the additional topic *yie* [1SG] is marked by *yaac*:

|                      |                                |                                    |  |                 |                  |                   |                  |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|--|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| (671 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Buatc</i>                   | <i>Yauz-Jiem</i>                   | <i>korv-lienh</i>  | <i>wuov</i>     | <i>deix</i>      | <i>mienh</i>      | <i>nyiemv,</i>   |
|                      | ปัวด                           | ເຢັ້ງ-ຈີ່ມ                         | ຄ້ອ-ເລື່ນ  | ວັ້ງ            | ເຕໍຍ             | ເມື່ນ             | ເນື້ມ,           |
|                      | p <sup>w</sup> at <sup>↓</sup> | jau <sup>↓</sup> ciem <sup>↑</sup> | k <sup>h</sup> ɔ <sup>↓</sup> l <sup>h</sup> ən <sup>↓</sup> | uə <sup>↑</sup> | tei <sup>↓</sup> | miən <sup>↓</sup> | jem <sup>↑</sup> |
|                      | see                            | Yau Jiem                           | be.compassionate   | DEM             | some             | person            | weep             |

‘Seeing Yau Jiem weeping out of his compassion toward those people,

|                      |                 |                         |                  |
|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| (671 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>yie</i>      | <i>yaac</i>             | <i>nyiemv.</i>   |
|                      | ເມື່ຍ           | ໜໍາ                     | ເນື້ມ.           |
|                      | iə <sup>↑</sup> | ja: <sup>↓</sup>        | jem <sup>↑</sup> |
|                      | 1SG             | TOP <sub>AD</sub> /also | weep             |

‘I also wept.’

(ium\_2005\_01\_Sony\_DA\_WuonhKuon\_CVP&Cplr;00.14.30-5)

This use of *yaac* can be termed as **additive topic marker**. Another example of the additive topic marker is (672<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                      |                                |                   |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| (672 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Qaqv</i>                    | <i>ngaatc.</i>    |
|                      | ຊະ                             | ໜາດ.              |
|                      | c <sup>h</sup> a? <sup>↓</sup> | ຖາ:t <sup>↓</sup> |
|                      | power                          | bite              |

‘(These tigers (leopards)) attacked (our livestock) very frequently.’

|                      |                   |                  |   |                  |                  |                   |                 |                  |
|----------------------|-------------------|------------------|---|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (672 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Maaih</i>      | <i>deix</i>      | <i>ziangh.hoc</i>                               | <i>yietc</i>     | <i>hnoi</i>      | <i>ngaatc</i>     | <i>[i</i>       | <i>dauh].</i>    |
|                      | ນ່າຍ              | ເຕໍຍ             | ເຕິ່ງໝ.ໄທ່                                      | ເຫັນຍດ           | ອນອຍ             | ໜາດ               | [i <sup>ī</sup> | ເຕົ້າ].          |
|                      | ma:i <sup>↓</sup> | tei <sup>↓</sup> | ts <sup>h</sup> aj <sup>↓</sup> ho <sup>↓</sup> | jet <sup>↓</sup> | ຖວິ <sup>↑</sup> | ຖາ:t <sup>↓</sup> | i <sup>↑</sup>  | tau <sup>↓</sup> |
|                      | have              | some             | time  | one              | day              | bite              | two             | CLF              |

‘Sometimes they attacked (our livestock) twice in a day.’

|                      |                  |                  |                         |                   |
|----------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| (672 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>[Buo</i>      | <i>dauh]</i>     | <i>/ yaac</i>           | <i>ngaatc.</i>    |
|                      | [ບູວ             | [ດ້າວ]           | /                       | ໜາດ.              |
|                      | puə <sup>↑</sup> | tau <sup>↓</sup> | ja: <sup>↓</sup>        | ຖາ:t <sup>↓</sup> |
|                      | three            | CLF              | TOP <sub>AD</sub> /also | bite              |

‘(not only that but) three times a day also came they to attack.’

(ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.12.33-7)

Observe that the classifier phrase *i dauh* ‘two (livestock)’, which is a headless NP, is an object argument of the verb *ngaatc* ‘to bite’ in (672<sup>-2</sup>). This object is fronted in (672<sup>-3</sup>) with an increase of number to ‘three’, thus marked by *yaac*. It is not the case that three livestock bite something, but they were attacked. As Lambrecht (1994:118) says, “[t]opics are not necessarily grammatical subjects”.

Clark (1991:87-107) argues that in the Mainland Southeast Asian languages, (specifically Vietnamese, White Hmong, and Black Tai) conjunctions have the topicalising function. She says

I will tentatively refer to such conjunctions as developmental or inchoative conjunctions to suggest that conjunction introduces a new development with respect to an element topicalized by the conjunction (Clark 1991:88). [...] With these conjunctions, the marking of both background and foreground is so explicit as to leave no doubt of immediate reception on the part of the audience of the “inchoative” message. Such immediate reception is of course the purpose of topicalization (*ibid.* 100).

Besides the terms “developmental or inchoative conjunctions”, she also refers to them (i.e. *thì* in Vietnamese, *los* in White Hmong, and *kò* in Black Tai) as “topicalizing conjunctions”. In the same line with her argument, the additive topicaliser *yaac* in Iu Mien also exhibits a similarity to the conjunction when it is used in the coordination construction [CL<sup>1</sup> *yaac* CL<sup>2</sup>] ‘CL<sup>1</sup> and CL<sup>2</sup>’ as in (673):

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (673 <sup>-1</sup> ) | [ <i>Maaih dorngx zoux liangx-ndeic camv</i> ]CL <sup>1</sup> |
|                      | [ມ້າຍ ຕ້ອງ ໄທຕວ ເລື່ອງ-ເດໍຍ ຂົມ]CL1                           |
|                      | <i>ma:iŋ tɔŋ˥ tsəuŋ˥ l̥iaŋ˥ dei˥ tsʰam˥</i>                   |
|                      | have place make farming.field be.many                         |

‘There were vast areas of the land to cultivate’

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (673 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>yaac</i> [nquen <sup>171</sup> -youh]CL <sup>2</sup>                            |
|                      | ຢ່າ [ເນວຍນ -ໄຢ່ວ]CL2   |
|                      | <i>ja:ŋ gʷenŋ jəŋŋ</i>   |
|                      | and/also be.happy  |
|                      | ‘and (people) were happy (in the proto-Mien area before the southward migration).’ |

(ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.01.06-10)

There is a contrastive use of *yaac*. In adding a new topic to a discourse, the added topic is semantically in comparison or contrast to the previous one. In two

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<sup>171</sup> *nquien* = Q, K = *njien*. Purnell (2012:545) has as the main entry *njien* ‘to have joy’, *nqien* and *nquien* as variants.

occurrences of *yaac* in the following example, the first one in (674<sup>-2</sup>) is the **contrastive topicaliser-*yaac*** and the second in (674<sup>-4</sup>) is the **additive topicaliser-*yaac*** (674<sup>-1-5</sup>):  
(674<sup>-1</sup>)

|   |                    |              |                   |             |
|---|--------------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------|
| <i>Mbuo</i> /   | <i>biauv-ziouv</i> | <i>daaih</i> | <i>daapc.ziec</i> | <i>mbuo</i> |
| บ້າວ  | ເປົ້າ-ເຕື່ອງ       | ຕ້າຍ         | ຕາບ.ເຫດື່ອງ       | บ້າວ        |
| buə̄l   | p̥aūl ts̥ə̄l      | ta:īl       | ta:p̥l ts̥ə̄l     | buə̄l       |
| PL  | house.lord         | come         | appreciate        | PL          |
| ‘As for us (the priests), the host of the family come to thank us (for our conducting a ceremony for them)’ |                    |              |                   |             |

|  |             |                  |                      |              |
|--|-------------|------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| (674 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <i>Mbuo</i> | <i>sai.mienh</i> | <i>yaac</i>          | <i>aengx</i> |
|  | บ້າວ        | ໃຈ.ມື່ນ          | ຢ່າງ                 | ແອ້ງ         |
|  | buə̄l       | saīl miə̄n      | ja:l                 | εŋ̥l         |
|  | PL          | priest           | TOP <sub>CNRST</sub> | also         |
| ‘It is we the priests by contrast also (who should realise)’ |             |                  |                      |              |

|  |              |             |             |             |              |              |              |             |
|--|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| (674 <sup>-3</sup> )   | <i>yietc</i> | <i>norm</i> | <i>yinh</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>mienh</i> | <i>daaih</i> | <i>tengx</i> | <i>mbuo</i> |
|  | ເກີບີດ       | ນອມ         | ຂິນ         | ເສູຍ        | ມື່ນ         | ຕ້າຍ         | ເດັກ         | บ້າວ        |
|  | jet̥l        | nɔm̥l       | jin̥l       | neīl       | miə̄n̥l      | ta:īl       | tʰεŋ̥l       | buə̄l       |
| one CLF ceremony POSS people come help PL<br>‘(that) the whole community came to help us to support the ceremony,’ |              |             |             |             |              |              |              |             |

|   |             |                   |           |                 |              |                   |
|---|-------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|
| (674 <sup>-4</sup> )  | <i>Mbuo</i> | <i>yaac</i>       | <i>se</i> | <i>oix.zuqc</i> | <i>aengx</i> | <i>daapc.ziec</i> |
|   | บ້າວ        | ຢ່າງ              | ເຊ        | ອ້ອຍ.ຫຼຸງ       | ແອ້ງ         | ຕາບ.ເຫດື່ອງ       |
|   | buə̄l       | ja:l              | se:l      | ɔīl tsu?l      | εŋ̥l         | ta:p̥l ts̥ə̄l     |
|   | PL          | TOP <sub>AD</sub> | TOP       | must            | also         | appreciate        |
| ‘(that’s why) we also are the ones who should thank (them)’ |             |                   |           |                 |              |                   |

|  |             |             |                |               |
|--|-------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| (674 <sup>-5</sup> )   | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>ga'hlen</i> | <i>mienh.</i> |
|  | ນຶ່ນ        | บ້າວ        | ກະເຂດນ         | ມື່ນ.         |
|  | nin̥l       | buə̄l       | ka:lə̄n̥l      | miə̄n̥l       |
| 3 PL side people<br>‘the neighbours (of the host family).’<br>(ium_c1970_03_CT_x_y_TradReligion_3_1;00.07.46-50) |             |             |                |               |

Just as has been pointed out that conjunctions have the topicalising function, so does the conjunction *mv.baac* ‘but’ in Iu Mien. In a same vein with the additive topicaliser-*yaac*, *mv.baac* can also be used to mark a topic but not in the sense ‘but’. Contrast (675a) and (675b):

- (675a) *Yie mv.baac mingh nyei.*  
 ເຢ້ຍ ພັບການ ມິ້ງ ໄນຍີ.  
 iə́l m̥˥ pa:˩ minj˧ nei˧  
 1SG also go ASST  
 'I will also go.'  
 (FN, GF 20150520)  
 (also, ium\_2005\_01\_Sony\_DA\_WuonhKuon\_CVP&Cplr.  
 WAV;00.17.33-4)

- (675b) *Mv.baac yie mingh nyei.*  
 ພັບການ ເຢ້ຍ ມິ້ງ ໄນຍີ  
 m̥˥ pa:˩ iə́l minj˧ nei˧  
 but 1SG go ASST  
 'But I will go.'

A condition for (675a) is that it must occur in response to the preceding utterance of another speaker. Regarding *mv.baac* in (675a), the native speaker explains as in (676):

- (676) *Fih.hnangv nyei mingh.*  
 ຝໍາຫນັງ ໄນຍີ ມິ້ງ  
 fi˧ ນາງ˥ nei˧ minj˧  
 same ADVZ go  
 '(I) will likewise go.'  
 (FN, GF 20150520)

The synonymous use of *mv.baac* in the sense additive topicaliser-yaac is made clear in the coordinated clauses that provides context as in (677):

- (677) *Meih maiv mingh nyei, yie mv.baac maiv mingh.*  
 ເມື່ອ ໄມ້ ມິ້ງ ໄນຍີ, ເຢ້ຍ ພັບການ ໄມ້ ມິ້ງ.  
 mei˧ maiv˧ minj˧ nei˧ iə́l m̥˥ pa:˩ mai˧ minj˧  
 2SG NEG go ASST 1SG also NEG go  
 'You are not going, I'm not going either.'  
 (Field Notes, 20155020, GF\_KMB)

A further confirmation that (675a) can be paraphrased as (678) is given by a native speaker:

- (678) "Yie **mv.baac** mingh", "Yie **yaac** mingh", *fih.hnangv.*  
 "ຢືບ ພັບ ມິງ", "ຢືບ ແຍ້າ ມິງ", ດີ່ນ້ຳ  
 iə˥ m˥ pa:˩ miŋ˥ iə˥ ja:˩ miŋ˥ fi˩ nɑŋ˥  
 1SG also/but go 1SG TOP<sub>ADD</sub> go same  
 '(To say) "I'm also going" and "I'm also going" are the same.'  
 (ium\_2005\_01\_Sony\_DA\_WuonhKuon\_CVP&Cplr;00.18.04-6)

It is similar to English *however* that occurs in the second position in the sentence.

Furthermore, *mv.baac* has a contrastive topic marking function as is explained in (679):

- (679) ("*mv.baa*") *nqenx cuotv daaih gorngv ganh nyungc.*  
 ("ມີປາ") ເໜນ ຂົວດ ຕ້າຍ ກົ່ອງ ກັນ ໄຜູ້ງ  
 m˥ pa:˩ gen˧ ts<sup>hw</sup>ət˥ ta:i˥ kɔŋ˥ kan˧ juŋ˥  
 "however" divide exit COME speak other kind  
 '(The word "mv.baa") separates (a thing) out to talk about (it) newly.'
- (Field Notes, 20155020, GF\_KMB)

### 10.3.2 Topic + *aeqv*

The particle *aeqv* /ɛʔ˥/ is virtually an Iu Mien equivalent of non-final (clause) markers found commonly across Southeast Asian languages and widely in clause chaining languages (cf. Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang 2007:242, 293; Slater 2003:242-74). Whenever the particle *aeqv* comes in a sentence, an element on the left-side of it is topic and another element on the right-side of it is focus. That is to say the particle is essentially a dividing marker between the topic and the focus.

This sentence medial particle *aeqv* is also a marker for suspension. It holds a clause suspended, namely, bounded: bounded to the main clause. Without the main clause, the clauses ending with *aeqv* cannot conclude an utterance. Thus, as long as the speaker keeps using *aeqv*, he/she can hold the floor of monologue as much as wanted or needed. By this particle, the speaker *borqv jienv mingh /pɔʔ˥ ciən˥ miŋ˥/* [connect CONT GO] 'keeps connecting' a speech (Gueix-Fongc, 29 April 2015). For this reason, *aeqv* is termed **pending particle** (PDP) as will be discussed below.

It can suspend both an NP, an VP, and a clause. The first example contains the sequence of the structure [NP + *aeqv*] and [V + *aeqv*] in the same sequence as in (680<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|  |                 |                  |                |                  |                    |                  |                   |                               |
|--|-----------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| (680 <sup>-1</sup> )                     | <i>Aa</i>       | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>i</i>       | <i>dauh</i>      | <b><i>aeqv</i></b> | <i>gapv</i>      | <i>zunv</i>       | <i>doic</i>                   |
|  | ອາ              | ນັວ              | ອີ             | ເຕ້າ             | ແອືະ               | ກົບ              | ຜູນ               | ຕ່ອຍ                          |
|  | a: <sup>1</sup> | buə <sup>1</sup> | i <sup>1</sup> | tau <sup>1</sup> | ε? <sup>1</sup>    | kap <sup>1</sup> | tsun <sup>1</sup> | t <sup>1</sup> i <sup>1</sup> |
|  | INTJ            | PL               | two            | CLF              | PDP                | unite            | together          | companion                     |
| 'Look! We two of us have been a couple.' |                 |                  |                |                  |                    |                  |                   |                               |

|   |                  |                    |                  |                  |           |                   |                            |
|---|------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| (680 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>daic</i>      | <b><i>aeqv</i></b> | <i>daaix</i>     | <i>dongh</i>     | <i>nv</i> | <i>nzunc</i>      | <i>aqv.</i> <sup>172</sup> |
|   | ໄຕ               | ແອືະ               | ຕ້າຍ             | ຕິ່ງ             | ນໍ້       | ໜ່າຍຸນ            | ອືະ                        |
|   | tai <sup>1</sup> | ε? <sup>1</sup>    | tai <sup>1</sup> | ton <sup>1</sup> | ຖ່າ       | dzun <sup>1</sup> | a? <sup>1</sup>            |
|   | die              | PDP                | presume          | same             | DEM       | CLF               | NSIT                       |
| 'If (we have to) die, this very occasion must be the time.' |                  |                    |                  |                  |           |                   |                            |
| (ium_20110919_01_Olympus_DA_ZoihZou_FlashFlood;00.00.43-8)  |                  |                    |                  |                  |           |                   |                            |

The second example contains the third construction. That is, the case where the topic marked by the particle *aeqv* is a clause: [CL + *aeqv*]. The following example (681<sup>-1-2</sup>) is a repetition of (3<sup>-5-6</sup>) from §2.2.3:

|                            |                                |                  |                                    |                      |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------|
| (681 <sup>-1</sup> )       | <i>Taux</i>                    | <i>norm</i>      | <i>hyangx-dauh</i>                 | <b><i>aeqv</i></b> , |
|                            | ເຄາ                            | ນອມ              | ຫອຍັງ-ເຕ້າ                         | ແອືະ,                |
|                            | t <sup>1</sup> au <sup>1</sup> | nɔm <sup>1</sup> | jiaŋ <sup>1</sup> tau <sup>1</sup> | ε? <sup>1</sup>      |
|                            | reach                          | CLF              | year-head                          | PDP                  |
| 'Reaching a certain year,' |                                |                  |                                    |                      |

|   |                         |                   |                  |                   |                |                  |                                |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| (681 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>lung<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>haanz</i>      | <i>buo</i>       | <i>hnyangx</i>    | <i>mv</i>      | <i>duih</i>      | <i>mbiungc.</i>                |
|   | ສູງ                     | ຮ້ານ              | ປຶ້ວ             | ຫອຍັງ             | ນໍ້            | ດຸບ              | ບຢູ່ງ.                         |
|   | lung <sup>1</sup>       | ha:n <sup>1</sup> | puə <sup>1</sup> | jiaŋ <sup>1</sup> | m <sup>1</sup> | tui <sup>1</sup> | b <sup>1</sup> uŋ <sup>1</sup> |
| sky arid three year NEG fall rain   |                         |                   |                  |                   |                |                  |                                |
| 'the sky [i.e. weather] was drought for three years and it did not rain (for that period).' |                         |                   |                  |                   |                |                  |                                |
| (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.01.22-6)   |                         |                   |                  |                   |                |                  |                                |

The clause (681<sup>-1</sup>) marked by the particle *aeqv* at the end constructs a subordinate clause. Functionally it is an adverbial clause with a role to provide a stage setting to the following clause (681<sup>-2</sup>), which is the main clause. The first clause is the topic, the second the focus. A suitable English translation would be given by using the present participle *-ing* or the *as*-clause, e.g., *as a certain year came by*.

<sup>172</sup> A lovely statement by the husband follows this: *mbuo yaac daic yaac hnyouuv.nqaai aqv* [PL TOP die TOP satisfied NSIT] 'Dying together (with you) I'm satisfied'. The wife responded him: *Ninh youc gornv* "Yietv jauv daic aeqv dongh ih.nzunc aqv loh!" [3SG then say "one way die PDP same now NSIT SFP"] 'She said (to me) "Now is the time to die at the same time!"'.

Pragmatically, furthermore, this particle *aeqv* can be used as many times as the speaker wants in one sentence. The proposed name **pending particle** (PDP) and an argumentation for the designation will follow the next example. Note two clauses are appended to the third one by the repetition of the particle *aeqv* in (682<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (682 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Ninh mbuo zuangx wuov zanc aeqv,</i>       |
|                      | ນິ້ນ ບ້ວ ທ່ອງ ວ້ວ ທັນ ແອ້,                    |
|                      | nin↓ buət↓ ts <sup>w</sup> aŋ↓ uəγ↓ tsan↓ ε?] |
| 3                    | PL plant DEM time PDP                         |
|                      | ‘When they plant (opium),’                    |

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (682 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>zorqv in-nyim haaz-haaz<sup>173</sup> jienv aeqv,</i>      |
|                      | ເຫກະ ອິນ-ຜູມ ສ້າງ ເຈີນ ແອ້,                                   |
|                      | tsə?↓ in↓ pim↓ ha:ŋ ha:ŋ c̥enγ↓ ε?]                           |
|                      | take opium-seed sow-sow CONT PDP                              |
|                      | ‘as they take opium seeds (and) keep sowing (over the soil),’ |

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (682 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>jun aengx jun bun in-nyim bieqc ndau gaih.ndiev<sup>174</sup></i>     |
|                      | ຈຸນ ແອ້ ຈຸນ ປຸນ ອິນ-ຜູມ ເປີບະ ເດາ ໄກ້.-ເຕີຍ                              |
|                      | cun↓ εŋ↓ cun↓ pun↓ in↓ pim↓ piə?↓ dau↓ kai↓ diəγ↓                        |
|                      | hoe again hoe give opium-seed enter soil underneath                      |
|                      | ‘(they) hoe repeatedly (the ground) to let the seeds go under the soil.’ |

(Burgess, 1970s, *In Nyei Gouw [A Story of Opium]*, KMB)

The argument for referring the particle *aeqv* as the **pending particle** has been carried out in the monolingual field method with the native speaker (cf. §1.5.1). Though it was not the “playback method” as an audio record was unavailable, the same principle was exploited by conducting monolingual discussion with Gueix-Fong on the transcribed story. It provided rich understanding and insights into the behaviour of the particle.

From the hearer’s perspective, the repeated use of *aeqv* holds the hearer to wait for more information from the speaker. The suspended state of the hearer is

<sup>173</sup> There are two versions of this story both transcribed by Burgess in the 1970s in Kun Mae Bong village. The first version has *haaz haaz* [sow sow] without tone sandhi mark. The second version has *haaz-haaz* with a hyphen as the tone sandhi indicator, suggesting she must have edited the first version by going through the original recording to produce the second version. Another example of editing found in her story collection is change from *mbietv mbietv* [cut cut] ‘to keep cutting’ in the first version to *mbietv-mbietv* in the edited version. *Mbietv* means ‘to cut with a horizontal slicing motion’ (Purnell 2012:468).

<sup>174</sup> Slightly edited on consultation with Gueix-Fong. The original transcription has *gaih.ndiev ndau gaih.ndiev*.

expressed in the adverb *corc* ‘still’, the continuous aspectual verb *jienv*, and the stative aspectual particle *nyei* as in (683):

- (683) *Aec corc zuov jienv nyei.*  
 ໄອ ຂົ້ອ ຜ້ວ ເຈື້ນ ເລຸຍ.  
 ε˩ ts<sup>h</sup>ɔ˩ tsuə˥ c<sup>j</sup>en˥ nei˧  
 yes still wait CONT ASST  
 ‘Yes, (the listener) is still waiting (to hear more once *aeqv* is uttered).’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.17.40-1)

From the speaker’s perspective, his/her act of storytelling is not over yet but he/she has more to say when the particle *aeqv* is used as described in (684):

- (684) *Gorngv mv gaengh ziangx.*  
 ກ້ອງ ມ້ ແກ້ງ ແຫດີຢາງ  
 kɔŋ˥ m˧ kɛŋ˥ tsʰanj˧  
 speak NEG yet PF  
 ‘(He/she) has not finished talking yet.’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.17.45-6)

In terms of content of the narrative, the presence of repeated *aeqv* indicates a series of many events or many steps in a procedure narrated in a sequential manner. Hear Gueix-Fongc explains it in (685<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (685<sup>-1</sup>) *Eix.leiz se hnangv ninh mbuo maaih*  
 ເຊຍ.ເລີຍ ເຊ ສນ້ຳ ນິນ ບັວ ມ່ຍ  
 ei˧ lei˧ se˥ hnang˥ nin˥ buo˥ maaih  
 meaning COP like 3 PL have  
 ‘The meaning (of using *aeqv*) is like that they have’

- (685<sup>-2</sup>) *ziex nyungc zoux orqci*  
 ເພີຍ ແນູ່ງ ໂທຕາ ເອະໄຟ  
 tsiə˧˥ jnun˧˥ tsəu˧˥ o?˧  
 several kind do Q  
 ‘many things to do, right?’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.17.50-3)

The sustainability that *aeqv* gives to the construction is explained in (686<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (686<sup>-1</sup>) *Mbuoqc.ziex nyungc zoux se*  
 ប៉ុន្មានភេទីយ៍ អល្អំង ពិអគវ ឈូ  
*buəʔ˥ tsiə˧˥ nyung˥ tsəʊ˧ se˧*  
 how.many kind do COP  
 ‘How many kinds (of tasks they) do,’
- (686<sup>-2</sup>) *m'daaih maaih yietc nyungc i nyungc nyei "aeqv"*  
 មត្តាយ ម៉ាយ មេហីឱក អល្អំង ី អល្អំង លោយ "អេខ់"  
*m̥ ta:i˧˥ ma:i˧˥ jet˩ nyung˥ i˧ nyung˥ nei˧ εʔ˥*  
 naturally have one kind two kind POSS PDP  
 ‘there should be *aeqv* of one kind (and *aeqv* of) another kind (and so on).’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.17.53-7)

That is, as many as the events or steps in a procedure is uttered, each one is sustained by attaching *aeqv*, like the steps of farming as in (687):

- (687) *Haaz haaz jienv aeqv, aengx jun jun aeqv*  
 ថា ថា ជីែន អេខ់ អេង ុន ុន អេខ់  
*ha:˨˩ ha:˨˩ c̥en˥ εʔ˥ εŋ˧ cun˧˥ cun˧˥ εʔ˥*  
 sow sow CONT PDP again scrape.with.a.hoe scrape PDP  
 ‘(You) sow and sow (seeds), and then repeatedly scrape (weeds) with a hoe, and then...’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.17.58-18.00)

Sequentially of events or actions that *aeqv* describes in the construction is explained in (688<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (688<sup>-1</sup>) *Se hnangv ninh zoux yietc nyungc,*  
 ឈូ សង់ និន ពិអគវ មេហីឱក អល្អំង  
*se˧˥ n̥aŋ˥ ni˧˥ tsəʊ˧˥ jet˩ nyung˥*  
 COP like 3SG do one kind  
 ‘That is, it’s like that they do one kind,’
- (688<sup>-2</sup>) *aengx maaih yietc nyungc se aengx maaih yietc nyungc.*  
 អេង ម៉ាយ មេហីឱក អល្អំង ឈូ អេង ម៉ាយ មេហីឱក អល្អំង  
*εŋ˧˥ ma:i˧˥ jet˩ nyung˥ se˧˥ εŋ˧˥ ma:i˧˥ jet˩ nyung˥*  
 again have one kind COP again have one kind  
 ‘and then they have one more thing to do; it is again that they have one more thing to do.’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.18.00-3)

The pragmatic aspect of this particle is well expressed in the following explanation. Note the user of the particle *aeqv* has certain intention or necessity such as ‘want’ and ‘must’ as in (689<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (689<sup>-1</sup>) *Eix.leiz oix borqv nyei waac,*  
 ເລື່ຍ.ເລີຍ ອ້ອຍ ເປົ້າ ເລູຍ ພວ່າ,  
*ei<sup>1</sup> lei<sup>1</sup> ci<sup>1</sup> pɔ?ŋ nei<sup>1</sup> wa:<sup>1</sup>*  
 meaning want connect REL word  
 ‘The meaning (of *aeqv*) is that it is a word (by which the speaker) wants to connect’

- (689<sup>-2</sup>) *maaih deix se hnangv oix.zuqc borqv jienv mingh.*  
 ມາຂ ເຕີບ ໃຊ ສນ້ ອ້ອຍ.ຫຼຸ ເປົ້າ ເຈື້ນ ມິ່ງ  
*mai<sup>1</sup> tei<sup>1</sup> se<sup>1</sup> nɔŋ<sup>1</sup> ci<sup>1</sup> tsu?<sup>1</sup> pɔ?ŋ c<sup>1</sup>en<sup>1</sup> miŋ<sup>1</sup>*  
 have some TOP like must connect CONT GO  
 ‘as for some people, they must continue to go on (in speaking).’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.18.23-7)

Note also that the particle’s function is connecting clauses (*borqv* ‘to connect’). Here *aeqv* is given a name in Iu Mien: *oix borqv nyei waac /ci<sup>1</sup> pɔ?ŋ nei<sup>1</sup> wa:<sup>1</sup>/* [want connect/continue REL word] ‘a word of wanting to connect/continue’.

A stylistic problem and gender difference are also addressed by the native speaker. Since it is possible to connect clauses as long as the speaker wishes due to the convenience of the pending function of *aeqv*, the sentence could be infinitely long. However, it causes a problem of style as pointed out in (690):

- (690) *Mv dorngc mv.baac haiz "aeqv" camv deix hnangv.*  
 ມ ຕ່ອງ ມ.ຢາ ໄສ "ແອຸ່ນ" ຂົມ ເຕີບ ສນ້  
*m<sup>1</sup> tɔŋ<sup>1</sup> m<sup>1</sup> pa:<sup>1</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> ε?<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>1</sup>am<sup>1</sup> tei<sup>1</sup> nɔŋ<sup>1</sup>*  
 NEG be.wrong but feel PDP be.many some only  
 ‘(It is) not wrong (to keep connecting clauses) but (it just gives you) a feeling that there are too many “aeqv”s.’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.19.13-7)

Female speakers tend to prolong speech by repeatedly using *aeqv* more than men according to our language consultant (who is male) (691<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|  |                |             |            |              |             |             |
|--|----------------|-------------|------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (691 <sup>-1</sup> )   | <i>M'jangc</i> | <i>dorn</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>deix</i> | <i>nyei</i> |
|  | ນ້ຳຈັງ         | ຕອນ         | ນອ         | ມ່າຍ         | ເຕື່ອ       | ເນູຍ        |
|  | ຫຼາ            | ກາງຈັງ      | ຕອນ        | ມາ:ີ         | ເຕີຈ        | ນີເຈ        |
|  | man            |             | as         | have         | some        | ASST        |
| ‘As for men, (there are) some (who use <i>aeqv</i> extensively)’ |                |             |            |              |             |             |

|                            |                |           |               |                     |              |
|----------------------------|----------------|-----------|---------------|---------------------|--------------|
| (691 <sup>-2</sup> )       | <i>mv.baac</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>ndongc</i> | <i>m'sieqv.dorn</i> | <i>camv,</i> |
|                            | ນ້ຳປໍາ         | ນ້ຳ       | ດົ່ງ          | ມເຊື້ອະ.ຕອນ         | ຂຶ້ນ,        |
|                            | ຫຼາ            | ໄພ        | ດອງຈັງ        | ຫຼາ ສີເອງຈັງ ຕອນ    | ຕສ້າມ່າ      |
|                            | but            | NEG       | as.much.as    | woman               | be.many      |
| ‘but not as many as women’ |                |           |               |                     |              |

|  |             |             |                  |
|--|-------------|-------------|------------------|
| (691 <sup>-3</sup> )                                   | <i>wuov</i> | <i>deix</i> | " <i>aeqv</i> ". |
|  | ວຸວ         | ເຕື່ອ       | "ແອິວ".          |
|  | ເວຍ         | ເຕີຈ        | ເຊ?              |
|  | DEM         | some        | PDP              |
| ‘(who would use) these “ <i>aeqv</i> ”s.’              |             |             |                  |
| (ium_20150429_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.19.37-43) |             |             |                  |

From the explanations above, therefore, it should be concluded that the particle *aeqv* has the function that suspends an element, whether it may be a single noun, NP, V, or a clause. It can be pragmatically manipulated by the speaker’s desire or necessity as to its frequency, until the main clause is supplied. These repeated elements marked by *aeqv* is a topic of the sentence, namely the starting point of it, providing a setting, background information, presenting a series of events or steps of a procedure to the main clause. Thus, it is termed as the **pending particle**. Too much use of it is felt as ill-styled and seems to be used more by female speakers than male.

As a summary of topic marker-*yaac* in §10.3.1 and the pending particle-*aeqv* in this section, see the case where both of them are used together as in (692<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                            |             |              |                        |                  |              |
|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| (692 <sup>-1</sup> )       | <i>Yiem</i> | <i>naaic</i> | <i>Janx-Kaeqv</i>      | <i>deic.bung</i> | <i>aeqv,</i> |
|                            | ເຢີມ        | ໜ່າຍ         | ຈຳນ.-ແຄວ               | ເຕື່ອ.ບູງ        | ແອິວ         |
|                            | jem         | na:i         | canຈ k <sup>h</sup> ε? | ເຕີຈ pun         | ເຊ?          |
|                            | be.in       | there        | China                  | country          | PDP          |
| ‘Living in there China was |             |              |                        |                  |              |

- (692<sup>-2</sup>)    *mbu'ziex hnyangx yaac mv hiuv.*  
 บْวะ เที่ยบ អូយ៉ាង យាគ មី ហូវ.  
*bu tsieʌ̚ jiaŋʌ̚ ja:ʌ̚ m̥ʌ̚ hiuʌ̚*  
 how.many year TOP NEG know  
 ‘how many years, (we) don’t know.’  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.02.03-06)

### 10.3.3 Topic + *nor, nor aeqv, and lorqc nor aeqv*

The topic marker *nor /nɔː̚/* means ‘as for, as far as Topic is concerned’. This can occur in phrases as *nor aeqv /nɔː̚ εʔ̚/* and *lorqc nor aeqv /lɔː̚ εʔ̚ nɔː̚ εʔ̚/*. The simplest form is exemplified in (693<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (693<sup>-1</sup>)    *Wuov norm ziangh.hoc*  
 វ៉ុវ នុំម តិះឃ.ហួ  
*սօវ նօմ տայն.հօ*  
 DEM CLF time  
 ‘At that time,’

- (693<sup>-2</sup>)    *ninh mbuo heuc Mae Sa Lorngv laangz.*  
 នីន ប៉ា ហ៊ោ មេស ឥឡូង ត៉ាង.  
*ninʌ̚ buə̚ heuʌ̚ me: sa lɔː̚ŋʌ̚ la:ŋʌ̚*  
 3 PL call Mae Sa’long village  
 ‘they called (the village we lived) Mae Sa Long village.’

- (693<sup>-3</sup>)    *Ih zanz nor, yie mbuo / nc norm laangz aeqv,*  
 ី ធម្មន នៅ, ើឃ ប៉ា / នុំ នុំម ត៉ាង ॥អី៖,  
*iː tsanʌ̚ nɔː̚ iə̚ buə̚ n̥ʌ̚ nɔː̚ m̥ʌ̚ la:ŋʌ̚ εʔ̚*  
 this time as.for 1 PL DEM CLF village PDP  
 ‘(if it is) today (however), concerning that village,’

- (693<sup>-4</sup>)    *ninh mbuo goiv daaih heuc Lau Sipv laangz norh.*  
 នីន ប៉ា កិូយ ត៉ាយ ហ៊ោ លាហិិប ត៉ាង នោ.  
*ninʌ̚ buə̚ kɔiʌ̚ ta:iʌ̚ heuʌ̚ lauʌ̚ sipʌ̚ la:ŋʌ̚ nɔː̚*  
 3 PL change COME call Lau Sip village RPOT  
 ‘they changed its name to Lau Sip village, as I heard.’  
 (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.05.08-15)

An example of the topic marking phrase *nor aeqv* is illustrated in (694):

|       |   |                  |                 |             |             |
|-------|---|------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| (694) | <i>sai-dorn</i>   | <i>nor aeqv,</i> | <i>oix.zuqc</i> | <i>saax</i> | <i>uix.</i> |
|       | ໄຊ-ຕອນ  | ນອ ແອື້ວ,        | ອ້ອບ.ຫຼຸ        | ສາ          | ຫວູຍ        |
|       | sai˥ tɔn˧   | nɔ˥ ε?˥          | ɔi˧ tsu?˥       | sa:˧        | ui˧         |
|       | priest-small  | as               | PDP             | must        | purify      |
|       | 'As for the junior priest, he must do (the ritual of) cleansing.' |                  |                 |             |             |
|       | (ium_c1970_03_CT_x_y_TradReligion_3_1;00.02.09-10)                |                  |                 |             |             |

The particle *nor* also means ‘if’ or ‘if so, (then)’ as in (695):

|                   |                |             |                               |             |
|-------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------------------------|-------------|
| 695 <sup>1)</sup> | <i>Mv.baac</i> | <i>benx</i> | <i>Por Sorx<sup>175</sup></i> | <i>nor,</i> |
|                   | ມ້ຳປໍາ         | ເປັນ        | ພ.ສ.                          | ນອ,         |
|                   | m̥˥ pa:˩       | pen˧        | pʰc̥s˧                        | nɔ˧         |
|                   | but            | be          | Buddhist.era                  | if.so       |

'But if it is in the Buddhist Era,'

|                    |                             |                   |             |                               |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| (695 <sup>2)</sup> | <i>janx-</i> <sup>176</sup> | <i>Yangh.Yinh</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>Por Sorx<sup>177</sup></i> |
|                    | ຈົ່ນ-                       | ຢັ້ງ.ຢືນ          | ເນູຍ        | ພ.ສ.                          |
|                    | can˧                        | jaŋ˧ jin˧         | nei˧        | pʰc̥s˧                        |
|                    | non-Mien                    | Western           | SBCP        | Budhist.era                   |

'in the Western Buddhist Era'

|                    |              |              |            |             |             |             |             |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (695 <sup>3)</sup> | <i>nziex</i> | <i>nengc</i> | <i>pan</i> | <i>gauv</i> | <i>roi⁹</i> | <i>haah</i> | <i>sipc</i> |
|                    | ເຫົ່າຍ       | ທິ່ນ         | ພັນ        | ເກົ້າ       | ຮ້ອຍ        | ຫ້າ         | ສົມ         |
|                    | dziə˧        | nəŋ˧         | pʰan˧      | kau˧        | rɔi˧        | ha:˧        | sip˩        |
|                    | be.afraid    | one          | thousand   | nine        | hundred     | five        | ten         |

'probably it was from 1949'

|                    |            |             |             |             |             |             |
|--------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (695 <sup>4)</sup> | <i>sic</i> | <i>sipc</i> | <i>gauv</i> | <i>taux</i> | <i>haah</i> | <i>sipc</i> |
|                    | ສີ         | ສົມ         | ເກົ້າ       | ເຕາ         | ຫ້າ         | ສົມ         |
|                    | si˩        | sip˩        | kau˧        | tʰau˧       | ha:˧        | sip˩        |
|                    | four       | ten         | nine        | reach       | five        | ten         |

'about '49 till '50'

<sup>175</sup> ພ.ສ. < ພຸຖະກິດຣາຊ (Buddhist Era)

<sup>176</sup> Though there is a pause (360ms) after *janx* /can˧/ its rising tone changed to falling –h tone /˧/ to show that *Janx-Yangh Yingh* is a compound noun. hence the hyphen.

<sup>177</sup> This should be *Kor Sorx* (ຄ.ສ.< ຄຣິສຕ່ົງກິດຣາຊ Christian Era). The speaker changed from Buddhist Era (ພຸຖະກິດຣາຊ) to Western year by correctly saying *janx-Yangh Yingh* (Western) but could not remember the abbreviation of Christian Era (ຄຣິສຕ່ົງກິດຣາຊ) or might have accidentally said *Por Sorx* (ພ.ສ.).

- (695<sup>-5</sup>)    *dongh nc deix dorngx mv bei lorqc.*  
 តែង នៃ ពេល តែង មី បៀ ឡាតាំង.  
*toŋ˥ tŋ˥ tei˧ tɔŋ˥ m˧˥ pei˧ lɔŋ˥*  
 same DEM some place NEG know SFP  
 ‘that is, around that time, I guess.’  
 (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.05.54-06.03)

### 10.3.4 Topic + *naaic*

The mid-range demonstrative pronoun *naaic* /na:i˥/ (close to the hearer) ‘that’ can be used as a topic marker. It is often followed by a phonological pause. The original referential function of the demonstrative seems to be extended to present or show the topic, followed by comment, predication, or explanation. An illustration is as in (696<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (696<sup>-1</sup>)    *Nc deix dorngx<sup>178</sup> naaic*  
 នៃ ពេល តែង នោយ  
*tŋ˥ tei˧ tɔŋ˥ na:i˥*  
 DEM some place DEM  
 ‘Talking about these places,’

- (696<sup>-2</sup>)    [yiem yie mbuo Namv. Gengx mingh nor]  
 [ឃើឱម ឃើឱ ប៉ា ណាំវ.កៅង មិំង នោរ]  
*jem˧ iə˧ bəo˧ nam˥ keŋ˥ ming˥ nɔː˧*  
 be.at 1 PL Nam Keng go if.so  
 ‘if we walk from our Nam Keng village,’

- (696<sup>-3</sup>)    *aengx maaih yietc hnoi lengh.*  
 អ៉ែង មោយ ហើយធត សនូយ តេះ.  
*ɛŋ˥ ma:i˥ jet˥ tŋɔi˧˥ leŋ˥*  
 again have one day over  
 (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.03.10-3)

A clause followed by *naaic* is both topicalised and treated as if it was a big noun phrase. This use of the demonstrative can be termed as **nominalising-*naaic***. The nominalising effect of *naaic* can be found in (697):

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<sup>178</sup> Huei Laai, N(L)ongc Dauv, Huei Sang, Huay Hokv

- (697<sup>-1</sup>) [Loz-hnoi yiem Naamh Ging koiv ngaanc] **naaic**  
[โล่-ชนอย เยี่ยม นำม กิ่ง ค้อบ ห่งน] หน่าย  
loŋ tʰɔiŋ jemŋ na:mŋ kiŋŋ kʰɔiŋ na:nŋ na:iŋ  
old-day be.at Nanking sea shore DEM  
‘Our living along the seashore of Nanking in the old days was
- (697<sup>-2</sup>) yie mbuo kungx baaix miuc hnangv,  
ីឃ ប៉ា ូង ប៉ាខ មុិគ អន៉ាង,  
iəŋ buəŋ kungŋ pa:iŋ miuŋ tʰaŋŋ  
1 PL empty worship idol/image only  
‘(that) we (Iu Mien) worshiped images only [not the veneration of spirits],’
- (697<sup>-3</sup>) hnangv Janx-Taiv nor.  
អន៉ាង ចំណ-ឃើញ នៅ  
tʰaŋŋ canŋ tʰaiŋ nəŋ  
like non.mine-thai as.if  
‘like Thai (do in the temple).’  
(ium\_1998\_03\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_ConvWtYJ;00.00.09-13)

A comment on the succession of two occurrences of *hnangv* is necessary: at the end of (697<sup>-2</sup>) and at the beginning of (697<sup>-3</sup>). In (697<sup>-2</sup>) the coordinated expression [*kungx* + CL + *hnangv*] means ‘only CL’, where *kungx* emphasises an adverb *hnangv* (cf. §9.5). Thus, *hnangv* ‘only’ in (697<sup>-2</sup>) is different to *hnangv* ‘like’ in (697<sup>-3</sup>).

It should be remembered that the original meaning of *naaic* is ‘that (closer to the hearer/addressee)’. This referential function and the topicalising function are well illustrated in an exchange of question and answer. The one who asks a question may pick up an item that he/she wants to ask of the other party as in (698<sup>-1</sup>). And the one who answers a question may pick up a question that is asked by his/her conversation partner and topicalise it as in (698<sup>-4</sup>):

- (698<sup>-1</sup>) Mienh gorngv [saax yuoqc zei gitv] **naaic aeqv**  
A เม៊ឃុន កែង [សាខ យុវច ឈើឱ កិតិវ] หน่าย នេះ,  
miənŋ kɔŋŋ sa:ŋ juəʔŋ tseiŋ kitŋ na:iŋ εʔŋ  
people say purify temptation(?) abstain filth DEM PDP  
‘Talking about the phrase *saax yuoqc jaiv gitv* that people say,’

- (698<sup>-2</sup>) *gorngv daaih zoux haiv.nyungc?*  
ก້ອງ ດ້າຍ ໂອດວ ໄຊ້.ໜູ່ງ?  
ກວຽ່ ຕາ:iນ ຕເບ່ານ ໃຫ່າຍ ປູງ  
say COME do what  
‘what exactly do they do?’

- (698<sup>-3</sup>) *nc deix dorngx aqh.*  
ໜ່ ເຕີຍ ຕ້ອງ ອື່.  
ນັ ຕີ່ ຕວຽ່ ພ  
DEM some place SFP  
‘I want to know that.’  
(ium\_c1970\_03\_CT\_x\_y\_TradReligion\_3\_1;00.03.09-14)

Immediately after this question, the one who received the question repeats the topic of the first speaker’s question with *naaic* as in (698<sup>-4</sup>):

- (698<sup>-4</sup>) *Oh [saax yuoqc zei gitv] naaic saah.*  
B ໄ້ [ສາ ເຫີບດ ເຫຍ ກິດ ] ນ່າຍ ທ່າງ  
o:N sa:i juə? tsei kit na:i sa:N  
INTJ purify temptation(?) abstain filth DEM<sub>TOP</sub> Q  
‘So, you are asking about the purification ceremony, aren’t you?’  
(ium\_c1970\_03\_CT\_x\_y\_TradReligion\_3\_1;00.03.15-8)

The speaker explains what it means in (705<sup>-1-2</sup>) using a phrase *eix.leiz se... /ei:l lei:s/* [meaning TOP<sub>COP</sub>] ‘the meaning is...’.

The demonstrative topicaliser-*naaic* has a demeaning effect as demonstrated in (699<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (699<sup>-1</sup>) *Haiv.@dauh(h`)* *yaac@(h`)* *gorngv@*  
ໄຊ້.ອ່າດ້າ(h`)
- hai` tau:l*
- ja:l*
- kວຽ່*
- 
- anyone TOP
- <sub>ADD</sub>
- say
- 
- ‘Everyone said (to my father),’

- (699<sup>-2</sup>) “*Meih(h`)* *naaic@(h`)* *nziex* *butv.ndin* *nyei* *mv.bei!*”  
“ມູ່ຍ(h`)
- mei:l*
- na:i:l*
- dziə:l*
- put` din:l*
- nei:l*
- m` pei:l*
- 
- 2SG TOP
- <sub>DEMEAN</sub>
- be.afraid be.crazy ASST wonder
- 
- “You fool must be crazy, we bet!”
- 
- (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.12.46-8)

Earlier, we have seen that the Iu Mien consider Chinese as their younger brother, not older, stated by then-93 year old man. A feeling of superiority is expressed by the demeaning topical demonstrative as in (700) (a repetition of (5) in §2.2.4):

- (700) *Janx-Kaeqv naaic yie mbuo nyei youz.*  
 (5) ຈັນ-ແກວ ແນ່ຍ ເຢີບ ບ້ວ ໄສູຍ ໄຢ້ວ.  
 can<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>εʔ? na:i<sup>1</sup> iə<sup>1</sup> buə<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup> jəu<sup>1</sup>  
 Chinese DEM<sub>TOP</sub> 1 PL POSS younger.brother  
 ‘When it comes to Chinese they are our younger brothers.’  
 (ium\_20130527\_03\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_Janx-KaeqvWaac\_Thammajarik; 00.00.13-5)

### 10.3.5 Topic + Pause

As has been exemplified in (150)(Figure 52), a prosodic gap or a pause marks the topic as in (701<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (701<sup>-1</sup>) *Zaangz / buonv nyeiζ*  
 YJ ຕ້າງ / ປຶ້ວນ ໄສູບໍ່  
 tsa:ŋ<sup>1</sup> p<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup>  
 elephant shoot Q  
 ‘What about elephants? Do you shoot them?’ (lit. Elephants, do you shoot them?)  
 (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_TableTalk;00.10.40-42)
- (701<sup>-2</sup>) *Zaangz / mv duqv buonv jiex.*<sup>179</sup> @  
 WH ຕ້າງ / ມໍ ດູ ປຶ້ວນ ເຈີ່ @  
 tsa:ŋ<sup>1</sup> m<sup>1</sup> tu? p<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>1</sup> ciə<sup>1</sup>  
 elephant NET GET shoot EXP  
 ‘(You ask me about) Elephants? I have never shot one.’  
 (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_TableTalk;00.10.42-45)

Alternatively, a pragmatically unmarked sentence which is a counterpart of the above example could be *yie mv duqv buonv jiex zaangz /iə<sup>1</sup> m<sup>1</sup> tu? p<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>1</sup> ciə<sup>1</sup>/* [1SG NEG GET shoot EXP elephant] ‘I have never shot an elephant’. In an actual

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<sup>179</sup> The example has been slightly edited, the original was *jiez* (= Q, K = *jiex*). That is, the actual utterance (Q) is *jiez*, the dictionary form (K) is *jiex*. The speaker is a middle age (apprx. early-50s) male person, who has shown a confusion or merger of the tones /-z/ and /-x/.

utterance of a natural conversation, however, the topic *zaangz* is left-positioned (i.e. marked by '/') with the prosodic gap immediately after it.

The same use of the pause as a topic marker is attested by Court (1986:24-25). Compare (702a) and (702b):

- (702a) *ninh zoux (,) mv longx.*  
 ນິນ ໂທດວາ (,) ມ້ ລອງ.  
*nin<sub>1</sub> tsəu<sub>1</sub> m<sup>1</sup> lon<sub>1</sub>*  
 3SG do TOP NEG good  
 ‘That he does it is not good.’  
 (Court 1986:25)

- (702b) *ninh zoux mv longx.*  
 ນິນ ໂທດວາ ມ້ ລອງ.  
*nin<sub>1</sub> tsəu<sub>1</sub> m<sup>1</sup> lon<sub>1</sub>*  
 3SG do NEG good  
 ‘He cannot do it well.’  
 (Court 1986:25)

He explains that “[t]he comma-break establishes what precedes it as a topic” (Court 1986:25).

### 10.3.6 Sentence Medial Interjection

An interjection can occur in the topic marking position, that is in the middle of the sentence as in (702<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (702<sup>-1</sup>) *Yie mbuo Iu Mienh nyei waac a~*  
 ເຢີບ ບັວ ອົວເມື່ອນ ເນູຍ ວ່ວ ອາ~  
*iə<sub>1</sub> bəu<sub>1</sub> iu<sub>1</sub> miən<sub>1</sub> nei<sub>1</sub> wa:<sub>1</sub> a:*  
 1 PL Iu Mien SBCP word PDP(frg)  
 ‘When it comes to our Iu Mien language,’

- (702<sup>-2</sup>) *Ov! maaih camv, maaih ndo, maaih camv.*  
 ໄວ! ມ່າຍ ຂຶ້ນ, ມ່າຍ ໄດ, ມ່າຍ ຂຶ້ນ.  
*o:<sub>1</sub> ma:i<sub>1</sub> ts<sup>h</sup>am<sup>1</sup> ma:i<sub>1</sub> do<sub>1</sub> ma:i<sub>1</sub> ts<sup>h</sup>am<sup>1</sup>*  
 INTJ have be.many have be.deep have be.many  
 ‘Oh! we have numerous words, words that are profound, so many!’  
 (ium\_20130523\_06\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_OldCustoms\_  
 Thammajarik;00.01.39-42)

After finishing saying the topic, ‘our Iu Mien language’, the speaker started to say a pending particle *aqv* without finishing it in (702<sup>1</sup>) but utters an interjection in (702<sup>2</sup>). The rest of the sentence is an assertion or the focus.

## 10.4 Copular Constructions

Copular constructions are used to express the relation between two elements in a sentence, roughly an equivalent of ‘A = B’. There are two groups of copular constructions. The one uses equative particles, and the other copular verbs. The list of them is shown in Table 54:

**Table 54. Copular Constructions**

|                       | Categories                             | Copulas                | Gloss                     |
|-----------------------|--|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Equative<br>Particles | Topic-Focus copula                     | <i>se</i><br>/se˥/     | ‘namely, that is’         |
|                       | Identification copula                  | <i>dongh</i><br>/toŋ˥/ | ‘the same’                |
| Copular<br>Verbs      | Ontological equation copula            | <i>benx</i><br>/pen˧/  | ‘to be, become’           |
|                       | Propositional presentation<br>copula   | <i>zeiz</i><br>/tsei˧/ | ‘to be correct, to be so’ |
|                       | Qualification or recognition<br>copula | <i>zoux</i><br>/tsəu˧/ | ‘to make, to act as’      |

### 10.4.1 Equative Particles

Equative particles do not co-occur with aspectual verbs e.g., *nzengc* ‘CONSUMPTIVE’, *jienv* ‘CONTINUOUS’, or the aspectual final particle *aqv* ‘NSIT’ or *mi'aqv* ‘TELIC’ whereas the copular verbs do (if tests are needed).

#### 10.4.1.1 Topic + *se*

The equative particle *se* marks a topic (COP<sub>TOP</sub>). *Se* cannot co-occur with aspectual markers: \**se nzengc* [COP consume], \**se mi'aqv* [COP TELIC], \**se nyei* [COP ASST]. It does not occur with the negative particle *maiv*. The complemental distribution of the non-verb nature of this particle is obvious when it is compared with the copular verb *zeiz* ‘to be correct’: *zeiz nzengc* /tsei˧ dzeŋ˥/ [be.correct CONSUME] ‘it is completely correct’, *zeiz mi'aqv* /tsei˧ mi a?˥/ [be.correct TELIC] ‘it has become correct’, *zeiz nyei* /tsei˧ nei˥/ [be.correct ASST] ‘it is correct’, and *maiv zeiz* /mai˥

tsei¬/ [NEG be.correct] ‘it is not correct’. Therefore, it is not a verb contrary to Court’s understanding (1986:218), Lombard’s translation ‘to be’ (1968:213) and Purnell’s translation ‘to be’ (2012:658).

The particle *se* topicalises N<sup>1</sup> and connects to the focus expressed by N<sup>2</sup>: [N<sup>1</sup> *se* N<sup>2</sup>] ‘N<sup>1</sup> is N<sup>2</sup>’, in which N<sup>1</sup> = Topic, and N<sup>2</sup> = Focus, as in (703):

- (703) *Ninh se fin-saeng.*  
 นิñ sez พິນ-ເສັງ  
 nin se fin saeng  
 3SG COP<sub>TOP</sub> teacher  
 ‘He/she is a teacher.’  
 (ium\_20150428\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.07.50-6)

Not only connecting two nouns, the topical NP marked by *se* receives full explanation by a clause that occurs in the focus position as in (704<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (704<sup>-1</sup>) *Diuv- zingh se*  
 ตີ່ວ- ຊົງ sez  
 tiu tsin se  
 liquor-fee COP<sub>TOP</sub>  
 ‘Betrothal money is’
- (704<sup>-2</sup>) [*gorngv sieqv wuov.zanc gorngv horpc*  
 กົອງ ເຊືະ ວ້າວ.ຫຼັ້ນ ກົອງ ອອນ  
 kɔŋ siə? wəŋ tsan kɔŋ hɔp  
 speak girl when speak be.right  
 ‘to agree at the time of betrothal’]

- (704<sup>-3</sup>) *yietc dauh cing-jaa duqv mbu'ziex mbaatv].*  
 ໄທີ່ຍົດ ເຕ້າ ຂຶງ-ຈາ ຕຸ ມັວະ ເຫຼືຍ ບຳດ].  
 jet tau ts<sup>b</sup>inj ca tu? bu tsiə ba:  
 one CLF bride’s.side.guest get how.much Bhat  
 ‘how much Bhat one guest from the bride’s side will get.’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.57.30-5)

As in the definition of the focus by Lambrecht (1994:207), it “is that portion of a proposition which cannot be taken for granted at the time of speech”. The focus, therefore, asserts new information. This is the reason why the word *eix.leiz* ‘meaning’ is very frequently marked by *se*; and it leads an explanation clause on the right-side of it as in (705<sup>-1-2</sup>)(cf. 698<sup>-1-4</sup>):

|  |              |             |                           |              |              |              |                 |                    |
|--|--------------|-------------|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (705 <sup>-1</sup> )   | <i>Jaeiv</i> | [saax]      | <i>yuoqc</i>              | <i>zei</i>   | <i>gitv]</i> | <i>nyei</i>  | <i>eix.leiz</i> | <i>se ...</i>      |
|  | ໄຈ້          | [ສາ]        | ຫັວະ                      | ເຕເຍ         | ກີ້ດີ]       | ແມ່ຍ         | ເອົບ.ລົບ        | ເຊ ...             |
|  | <i>cɛi˥</i>  | <i>sa:˧</i> | <i>juə?˩</i>              | <i>tseɪ˧</i> | <i>kit˧</i>  | <i>jnei˧</i> | <i>ei˧ lei˧</i> | <i>se˧</i>         |
|  | remove       | purify      | temptation <sup>(?)</sup> | abstain      | filth        | REL          | meaning         | TOP <sub>COP</sub> |
| ‘The meaning of the phrase <i>saax yietc zei gitv</i> is...’ |              |             |                           |              |              |              |                 |                    |

|   |               |              |                         |  |  |  |  |  |
|---|---------------|--------------|-------------------------|--|--|--|--|--|
| (705 <sup>-2</sup> )                              | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>jaeiv</i> | <i>zuiz.</i>            |  |  |  |  |  |
|   | ກົອງ          | ໄຈ້          | ຜູ້ຢ.                   |  |  |  |  |  |
|   | <i>kɔŋ˥</i>   | <i>cɛi˥</i>  | <i>ts<sup>w</sup>i˧</i> |  |  |  |  |  |
|   | say           | remove       | sin                     |  |  |  |  |  |
| ‘to say removal of sins.’                         |               |              |                         |  |  |  |  |  |
| (ium_c1970_03_CT_x_y_TradReligion_3_1;00.04.26-9) |               |              |                         |  |  |  |  |  |

Almost always, there is a pause after *se* before an explanation, definition, or description.

#### 10.4.1.2 Topic + *dongh*

The identification function of the Chinese-loan particle *dongh* /tɔŋ˥/ (from Cantonese *tung<sup>4</sup>* /tuŋ˥/ and Mandarin *tóng* (同)) was explained in §8.14.2. With the meaning ‘the same’ it equates elements on the left and right sides of it: topic and focus.

|  |                    |                     |                         |                     |            |             |  |
|--|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|------------|-------------|--|
| (706)  | <i>Aa^Han.Mix,</i> | <i>Aa^Han.Nguv,</i> | <i>Aa^Han.Suv^Tiqc</i>  | <b><i>dongh</i></b> | <i>yie</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |  |
|  | ອາ^ຫັນ.ໜີ່,        | ອາ^ຫັນ.ຝຶ່,         | ອາ^ຫັນ.ຝູ້ໜີ            | ຕ້ຳ                 | ເປີຍ       | ອື່ບ.       |  |
|  | <i>a: han mi˧</i>  | <i>a: han ŋu˥</i>   | <i>a: han su˥ tʰi?˩</i> | <i>tɔŋ˥</i>         | <i>iə˧</i> | <i>a?˥</i>  |  |
|  | brave.bear         | brave.snake         | brave.Suthi             | same                | 1SG        | NSIT        |  |
| ‘Bear the Brave, Snake the Brave, Suthi the Brave (whatever names people may call me by), that’s me myself!’ |                    |                     |                         |                     |            |             |  |
| (Burgess and Yunh Zoih, the 1970s, <i>Aa^Han Gouv</i> [A Story of Aahan], Arisawa (2006:269))                |                    |                     |                         |                     |            |             |  |

The use of *dongh* is similar to archaic use of *even* in English: ‘even’ = “archaic treat as equal or comparable” (*The Australian Oxford Dictionary*, ed. by Bruce Moore, 1999)<sup>180</sup>

<sup>180</sup> This kind of use of *even* in English can be found in an example: *but speaking the truth in love, we are to grow up in all aspects into Him who is the head, even Christ* (The Epistle to the Ephesians 4:15, *New American Standard Bible*), where *the head* and *Christ* are equated by *even*. This *even* as a mark of equation is alternatively rendered as *that is* in the *New International Version*: *Instead, speaking the truth in love, we will grow to become in every aspect the mature body of him who is the head, that is, Christ*. (However, in the original Greek New Testament *the head* and *Christ* are appositioned without a copula: ἡ κεφαλὴ, Χριστός [the head(nominative), Christ(nominative)]). The point is about the archaic English usage of *even* as an equator particle, which is appropriately translated in another version as *that is*, and these two linguistic expressions are comparable to *dongh* ‘same’ in Iu Mien.

An omission of a topic leaving only a focus that is marked by *dongh* inside the embedded complement is possible as in (707<sup>-1-4</sup>):

- (707<sup>-1</sup>) *Ninh nyei maa yaac mv hiuv.duqv*  
 ນິນ ໄສຍ ມາ ພໍາ ມ້ ຂຶ່ວ.ຕື່  
*nin↓ nei↑ ma:↑ ja:↓ m̥↑ hiu↑ tu?]*  
 3SG SBCP mother also NEG know  
 ‘The daughter’s mother did not recognise’

- (707<sup>-2</sup>) ⟨***dongh*** *ninh nyei sieqv*⟩.  
 ⟨ຕັ້ງ ນິນ ໄສຍ ເຊີ້ມະ⟩.  
*ton↓ nin↓ nei↑ siə?]*  
 same 3SG SBCP daughter  
 ‘(that) she was her daughter.’

- (707<sup>-3</sup>) *Ninh nyei sieqv yaac mv hiuv.duqv*  
 ນິນ ໄສຍ ເຊີ້ມະ ພໍາ ມ້ ຂຶ່ວ.ຕື່  
*nin↓ nei↑ siə?] ja:↓ m̥↑ hiu↑ tu?]*  
 3SG SBCP daughter also NEG know  
 ‘The mother’s daughter did not recognise either’

- (707<sup>-4</sup>) ⟨***dongh*** *ninh nyei maa*⟩.  
 ⟨ຕັ້ງ ນິນ ໄສຍ ມາ⟩.  
*ton↓ nin↓ nei↑ ma:↑*  
 same 3SG SBCP mother  
 ‘(that) she was her mother.’

(Burgess and Yauz-Guangv, the 1970s, *Laaix Die Nyei Nding-Tong, Sieqv Duqv Zoux Hungh Nyei Auv Nyei Gouv* [A Story of a Daughter Becoming the King’s Wife Because of Her Father’s Leaking Basket], KMB)

### 10.4.1.3 Topic + *se dongh*

In §8.14.2, the hybrid of the *dongh*-relative clause and the *nyei*-relative clause was investigated (600<sup>-1-3</sup>) as one of the NP demarcation envelope constructions. When such a construction occurs in the focus position lead by the topic marking equative particle *se*, the sequence *se dongh* marks the boundary between the topic and the focus as in (708<sup>-1-2</sup>)(a repetition of (289<sup>-1-2</sup>)):

(708<sup>-1</sup>) “Yangh ngongh” *se dongh*  
 (289<sup>-1</sup>) “ຢ່າງ ນົກ” ເຊ ຕັ້ງ  
 jaŋ˥ nŋoŋ˥ se˥ toŋ˥  
 yellow cow TOP same  
 ‘(The term) “yellow cow” is’

(708<sup>-2</sup>) [gox wuov baan mienh gorngv] nyei waac.  
 (289<sup>-2</sup>) [ໄກ໌ ວ້ວ ປານ ເມື່ນ ກ້ອງ] ໄເນຍ ອວ່າ.  
 ko˧ uəŋ˧ pa:n˧ miən˧ kɔŋ˧ nei˧ wa:˧  
 be.old DEM cohort person say REL word  
 ‘the language that the older generation uses.’  
 (ium\_20150427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB.WAV;00.07.52-4)

#### 10.4.1.4 Topic + *se hnangv CL*

The identification function of *se dongh* in the previous section (§10.4.1.4) is softened by replacing *dongh* ‘same’ with *hnangv* ‘like’ in the construction [Topic + *se hnangv CL*] ‘it is like that CL’. An example is a repetition of (685<sup>-1</sup>) as (708):

(708) *Eix.leiz se hnangv [ninh mbuo maaih...]*  
 (685<sup>-1</sup>) ເອີ້ນ.ເລີ່ມ ເຊ ຂັ້ນ [ນິ້ນ ບັວ ມ່າຍ...]  
 ei˧ lei˧ se˧ hnŋy˧ nin˧ buə˧ ma:i˧  
 meaning COP like 3 PL have  
 ‘The meaning is like that they have...’, ‘It means as if they had...’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.17.50-2)

#### 10.4.2 Copular Verbs

Three copular verbs were previewed in §5.5.4:

- *Ninh*(TH) *heuc Fux-Orn*(TH).  
 [3SG call Fu.Orn] ‘He is called Fu Orn.’ (184<sup>-1</sup>)
- *Ninh*(TH) *zoux baeqv*(TH).  
 [3SG make father’s.older.brother] ‘He is an uncle.’ (184<sup>-10</sup>)
- *Ninh*(TH) *benx mbuangz*(TH).  
 [3SG be daughter-in-law] ‘She is a daughter-in-law.’ (186<sup>-5</sup>)

They function to encode the identification or equation or recognition relation between two theme arguments: NP<sup>1</sup>(TH) = NP<sup>2</sup>(TH) or NP<sup>1</sup>(TH) ≈ NP<sup>2</sup>(TH).

In this chapter four more verbs are introduced:

- *zeiz* /tsei˧/ ‘to be correct’ (presentation of a proposition ‘=’)
- *funx* /fun˧/ ‘to count, recognize, consider’ (recognition ‘≈’)
- *dorngx* /tɔŋ˧/ ‘to regard, interpret’ (interpretation ‘≈’)
- *beiv* /pei˧/ ‘to compare’ (comparison ‘≈’)

### 10.4.2.1 Topic + *benx* ‘to be’

The ontological equation copular verb *benx* ‘to be’ expresses equation, intrinsic characteristics, and genetic relationship. Most typically, this kind of *benx* is used to describe a blood relationship within a family, relatives (*cien*) and clan. Note that in the next example the word *cien* ‘relatives’ provides the context to the use of *benx* as in (709<sup>-1-5</sup>):

|                      |  |             |               |             |             |
|----------------------|--|-------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| (709 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Fux-Jiem</i>  | <i>nyei</i> | <i>cien</i> / | <i>meih</i> | <i>mbuo</i> |
| YJ                   | ຝ-ຈິ່ມ   | ໄລຍ         | ເຈື້ນ         | ເມື່ຍ       | ບ້າວ        |
|                      | fu?˨ ciəm˥   | nei˥        | tsʰən˥        | mei˥        | buə˥        |
|                      | Fu Jiem  | POSS        | relative      | 2           | PL          |
|                      | ‘(All of you are) the relatives of Fu Jiem? You are...?’ |             |               |             |             |

|                      |                                     |                 |             |             |                |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| (709 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <b><i>Benx</i></b> <sup>181</sup>   | <i>Fux-Jiem</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>cien</i> | <i>nzengc.</i> |
| DZ                   | ເປັນ                                | ຝ-ຈິ່ມ          | ໄລຍ         | ເຈື້ນ       | ເຫຼັກ.         |
|                      | pen˧                                | fu?˨ ciəm˥      | nei˥        | tsʰən˥      | dzeŋ˥          |
|                      | be                                  | Fu Jiem         | POSS        | relative    | CONSUME        |
|                      | ‘(We) are all Fu Jiem’s relatives.’ |                 |             |             |                |

|                      |   |               |                              |              |
|----------------------|---|---------------|------------------------------|--------------|
| (709 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Orv</i>  | <i>hnangv</i> | ( <i>nc</i> ) <sup>182</sup> | <i>north</i> |
| YJ                   | ອ້ວ   | ຮນ້ງ          | (ນໍ້ນ)                       | ນ້ອງ         |
|                      | ɔ:˥   | ນ້າງ˥         | ນ˩                           | ນຕ˥          |
|                      | INTJ  | lile          | DEM <sub>MID</sub>           | RPOT         |
|                      | ‘Oh, are you?’ (lit. ‘Oh, is it like what you said?’) |               |                              |              |

<sup>181</sup> This *benx* ‘to be’ is provided by DZ to continue my (YJ) fragmental sentence *meih mbuo* ‘(all of you...’ in the previous line.

<sup>182</sup> An enunciation of this question should be *Hnangv naaic norh* [like DEM<sub>PRX</sub> SFP<sub>REPORT</sub>] ‘Is it like what you said?’ The proximate demonstrative *naaic* (close to listener) tends to be shortened and merged with the following nasal /n/ of *norh*, thus tends to disappear.

|                      |                 |                    |                              |
|----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| (709 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>Fux-Jiem</i> | <b><i>benx</i></b> | <i>youz</i> <sup>183</sup> . |
| DZ                   | ຝູເຈີ່ມ         | ເປັນ               | ໄຫ້ວ.                        |
|                      | fu? ciem        | pen                | jəu                          |
|                      | Fu Jiem         | be                 | younger.brother              |

‘Fu Jiem is (our) younger brother.’

|                      |                    |                   |                    |               |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| (709 <sup>-5</sup> ) | <i>Naaiv</i>       | <i>Fux-Dorngh</i> | <b><i>benx</i></b> | <i>gorx</i>   |
| DZ                   | ນ້າຍ               | ຝູ-ຕ້ອງ           | ເປັນ               | ກ້ອ           |
|                      | na:i               | fu? tɔŋ           | pen                | kɔ            |
|                      | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | Fu Dorng          | be                 | elder.brother |

‘This Fu Dorng is (Fu Jiem’s) elder brother.’

(ium\_20130514\_02\_H1\_DA\_LeizFuqcDorngh\_hnaav-Santiphaap;00.02.29-38)

*Benx* has a meaning ‘to become’ as in (710<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |  |              |             |                |             |             |               |
|----------------------|--|--------------|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| (710 <sup>-1</sup> ) | “ <i>Liouh</i> ”                                 | <i>maaih</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>mv.baac</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>gorngv</i> |
|                      | “ເລື້ຍ່າ”  | ມ່າຍ         | ເໝຍ         | ນໍ້ປໍາ         | ນິນ         | ບ້າ         | ກ້ອງ          |
|                      | Liou   | have         | ASST        | but            | 3           | PL          | say           |
|                      | ‘(We) have “Liou” (劉) clan but they say that...’ |              |             |                |             |             |               |

(ium\_20150513\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.15.33-8)

|                      |                    |              |                    |                    |                       |                    |                             |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| (710 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>nv</i>          | <i>fingx</i> | <i>naaiv</i>       | <b><i>benx</i></b> | <i>Janx-Kaeqv</i>     | <b><i>benx</i></b> | <i>daaih</i> <sup>184</sup> |
|                      | ນໍ້                | ຝຶງ          | ນ້າຍ               | ເປັນ               | ຈິ້ນ-ແຄະ              | ເປັນ               | ຕ້າຍ                        |
|                      | nv                 | fin          | na:i               | pen                | can k <sup>h</sup> ε? | pen                | ta:i                        |
|                      | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | clan         | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | be                 | Chinese               | become             | COME                        |

‘this clan is (the one who used to be Chinese but) became Mien.’

(ium\_20150513\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.15.33-8)

In line with the meaning “to become” of the verb *benx*, it can be used in a transitive sense “to make (something) into/to be” when accompanied by an action verb as in (711<sup>-1-4</sup>):

<sup>183</sup> DZ is Fux-Dorngh’s grandson but in referring to Fux-Jiem, his grandfather’s younger brother, DZ must use the kinship term *youz* ‘younger brother’ even though Fux-Jiem may be (and actually is) older than DZ. Thus DZ considers his whole family is the elder brother to Fux-Jiem’s whole family.

<sup>184</sup> The text is slightly edited. The original contains a few repetitions (underlined): *Liouh maaih nyei mv baac ninh mbuo gorngv nv fingx Mienh*, *nv fingx naaiv benx Janx-Kaeqv benx Mienh daaih*. The underlined part is [DEM<sub>PRX</sub> clan Mien] ‘this clan Mien’.

|                      |                              |   |                              |   |   |                                 |
|----------------------|------------------------------|---|------------------------------|---|---|---------------------------------|
| (711 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Ninh mbuo ziouc zorqv</i> | [ <i>ninh</i> <i>mbuo</i> <i>ziouc</i> <i>zorqv</i> ] | [นิ่น    บัว    ฯຕາ    ເຕກະ] | <i>nin\b{h} buə\b{t} ts\b{h}əp\b{t} tsə?\b{t}</i> | <i>nin\b{h} buə\b{t} nei\b{t} dzu?\b{t} da:u^{\gamma}</i> | <i>nyei</i> <i>nzuqc.ndaauv</i> |
|                      |                              |   |                              | 3    PL    then    take                           | 3    PL    POSS   | knife.long                      |
|                      |                              |   |                              | ‘They shall take their swords’                    |   |                                 |

|                      |                              |   |
|----------------------|------------------------------|---|
| (711 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>daav benx laih.bieiv,</i> | [ <i>daav</i> <i>benx</i> <i>laih.bieiv</i> ,                     |
|                      |                              | ตີ່    ເມື່ນ    ໄດ້.ເປັນຍໍ,                                       |
|                      |                              | <i>ta:\b{t} pen\b{t} lai\b{t} p\b{h}ei\b{t}</i>                   |
|                      |                              | beat    become    plow.head<br>‘beat (them to) become plowshares’ |

|                      |                              |   |
|----------------------|------------------------------|---|
| (711 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>[ninh mbuo nyei cang]</i> | [ <i>ninh</i> <i>mbuo</i> <i>nyei</i> <i>cang</i> ] |
|                      |                              | [นิ่น    บัว    ໄມຍ    ຕັງ]                         |
|                      |                              | <i>nin\b{h} buə\b{t} nei\b{t} ts\b{h}an\b{t}</i>    |

3    PL    POSS    spear  
‘(they take) their spears’

|                      |   |   |
|----------------------|---|---|
| (711 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>daav benx [piqv ndiangx-nquaah dueiv nyei limh.ngau]</i> | [ <i>daav</i> <i>benx</i> [ <i>piqv</i> <i>ndiangx-nquaah</i> ] <i>dueiv</i> <i>nyei</i> <i>limh.ngau</i> ]         |
|                      |   | ตີ່    ເມື່ນ    [ພິ    ເດືອງ-ຂວ່າ    ເຕວີຍ    ໄມຍ    ລຶມ.ເງາ]   |
|                      |   | <i>ta:\b{t} pen\b{t} p\b{h}i?\b{t} d\b{h}an\b{t} g\b{w}a:\b{t}</i> <i>t\b{w}ei\b{t} nei\b{t} lim\b{h} ngau\b{t}</i> |

beat    become    cut    tree-branch    tail    REL    sickle.curved  
‘beat (them to) become sickles of cutting branches’ ends.  
(*The Book of the Prophet Isaiah 2:4. Iu Mien Bible*, Thailand Bible Society.  
<http://www.thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php>)  
or ‘They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks’ in *English Standard Version*.

As an expression of quality, *benx* can mean ‘being wealthy’ as in:

- (712) *mienh benx mienh /miən\b{h} pen\b{t} miən\b{h}\/*  
[person be person]  
‘wealthy people’ (Panh 2002:179)

Therefore, the negation of *benx*, i.e., *mai* *benx* or *mv* *benx*, does not simply mean the negation of equation between topic and focus. Rather, it denies intrinsic characteristics or quality. A person’s quality and his/her role are distinguished by the verb *benx* and *zoux* /tsəʊə\b{t}/ ‘to make, act as’ as in (713<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                      |             |                    |              |             |                  |
|----------------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|------------------|
| (713 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Ninh</i> | <b><i>zoux</i></b> | <i>yietc</i> | <i>dauh</i> | <i>fin-saeng</i> |
|                      | ນິ້ນ        | ໂຫດວ               | ເກີບຍດ       | ເຕົາ        | ຟິນ-ແຮງ          |
|                      | nin↓        | tsəʊ̯s↓            | jet↓         | tau↓        | fin↓ seŋ↓        |
|                      | 3SG         | make               | one          | CLF         | teacher          |

‘If a person is a teacher’ (i.e. works as a teacher)

|                      |                |             |                    |                    |            |
|----------------------|----------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|------------|
| (713 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>mv.baac</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <b><i>maiv</i></b> | <b><i>benx</i></b> | <i>nor</i> |
|                      | ນິ້ນ.ປໍາ       | ນິ້ນ        | ໄມ້                | ເປັນ               | ນອ         |
|                      | m̄y pa:↓       | nin↓        | maīy              | pen↓               | nɔ↓        |

but 3SG NEG be if.so  
‘but he/she is not nice,’

|                      |             |               |             |             |                  |                    |  |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|--------------------|--|
| (713 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | “ <i>Nv</i> | <i>dauh</i> | <i>fin-saeng</i> | <b><i>maiv</i></b> | <b><i>benx</i></b> ”.  |
|                      | ນຳວ         | ກຶອງ          | “ນູ້        | ເຕົາ        | ຟິນ-ແຮງ          | ໄມ້                | ເປັນນວ່າ”.   |
|                      | buə↑        | kɔŋ̄y         | ນ̄ຍ         | tau↓        | fin↓ seŋ↓        | maīy              | pen↓   |
|                      | PL say      | DEM           | CLF         | teacher     | NEG              | be                 | ‘we say “That teacher is bad”.’ (i.e. He/she does not possess a quality of teacher.) |

(ium\_20150428\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.06.57-07.02)

Negation of copular relationship between A = B is done by *maiv zeiz /maīy tseī↓* / ‘not be correct’ as in (714):

|       |             |                  |                    |                   |
|-------|-------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| (714) | <i>Ninh</i> | <b><i>mv</i></b> | <b><i>zeiz</i></b> | <i>fin-saeng.</i> |
|       | ນິ້ນ        | ນໍ້              | ແລ້ວຢ              | ຟິນ-ແຮງ.          |
|       | nin↓        | m̄y              | tseī↓             | fin↓ seŋ↓         |

3SG NEG be.correct teacher  
‘He/she is not a teacher’.

(ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.04.40-1)

The phrase *maiv zeiz* negates the proposition that follows, thus the example’s meaning is: ‘It is not the case that he/she is a teacher’.

The nature of the biological equation by *benx* is well implied by an euphemism that refers to menstruation as in (715<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |               |                    |                      |              |
|----------------------|---------------|--------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| (715 <sup>-1</sup> ) | “ <i>Ninh</i> | <b><i>benx</i></b> | <i>m'siev.dorn</i> ” | <i>naaic</i> |
|                      | “ນິ້ນ         | ເປັນ               | ມະຊືບ.ຕອນ”           | ໜ່າຍ         |
|                      | nin↓          | pen↓               | m̄ siə̄l tɔn↓        | na:i↓        |

3SG(f) be woman DEM<sub>TOP</sub>  
‘To say that “she is becoming a lady”, ’

- (715<sup>-2</sup>)    *loz-hnoi mienh / ninh mbuo mv gorngv zaqc aex.*  
 ໄລ້-ຫນອຍ ເມື່ອນ / ນິນ ບ້າ ມ້ ກົ້ອງ ທະກະ ແອ້.  
*loŋ tɕoi˥ miən˩ nin˩ buə˧ mv˥ kɔŋ˥ tsa?˥ ε:˧*  
 old-day people 3 PL NEG say be.straight SFP  
 ‘is (because) the people in the old days did not say it (i.e. her period)  
 explicitly.’  
 (ium\_2005\_01\_Sony\_DA\_WuonhKuon\_CVP&Cplr;00.29.33-6)

*Benx* as a copula of ontological equation seems to be characteristic of Iu Mien of Thailand influenced by Thai copular verb *pen* (ເປັນ) ‘to be’. This function is assigned to the verb *zeiz* /tsei˧/ ‘to be correct’ in Iu Mien of China as will be seen in the next section.

In Iu Mien of China, *benx* (<Chinese *biàn* 变) means ‘to change’ as in (716), (717), and (718<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (716)    *Lungh benx aqv.*  
 ລຸ່ງ ເປັນ ອີ່.  
*lunj˩ pen˧ a?˥*  
 sky change(vi) NSIT  
 ‘The sky has changed.’ (天变了。)  
 (Mao 1992:149)

- (717)    *Ninh benx hnyouv aqv.*  
 ນິນ ເປັນ ເຮັດວຽບ ອີ່.  
*nin˩ pen˧ j̥i:˧ e˥ a?˥*  
 3SG change(vt) heat NSIT  
 ‘He/she has changed his/her heart.’ (他变心了。)  
 (Mao 1992:149)

The third example is an word of instruction in Pán’s primer as in (718<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (718<sup>-1</sup>)    *Zorqv gerhndiev naaiv deix ganhnzaangc*  
 ເຊາະ ກະເດືອນ ນ້າຍ ເຕືຍ ກຳນຫຼັງ  
*tsɔ?˥ ger˧ diə˧˥ na:i˧˥ tei˧ kan˧ dza:ŋ˥*  
 take below DEM<sub>PRX</sub> some Han.letter  
 ‘Take these Chinese characters below’

- (718<sup>-2</sup>) *mbienv benx* *mienhnzaangc.*  
 ເມື່ອນ ເບີນ ເມື່ອນຫຼັງ.  
*bien̩γ* *pen̩l* *miən̩l dza:ŋ]*  
 turn change(vi) Mien.letter  
 ‘(and) translate them into Mien.’ (lit. ‘turn them to be(come) Mien letters.’)  
 (Pán 1988:24)

The underlined verb phrase constitutes an SVC of transitive and resultative intransitive verbs. The same usage is found elsewhere (Pán 1988:21, 25, 42, 43, 45, and 57).

This usage of ‘to change’ is also found in Thailand Iu Mien though *goiv yienc* ‘to change’ or *tiuv benx* ‘to change into be’ are more popular. Example of *benx* ‘to change’ in Thailand, which already have been quoted are (710<sup>-2</sup>) and (711<sup>-1-4</sup>). To reiterate, *benx* as an ontological copular verb is only found in Iu Mien in Thailand, while *benx* as the verb of change of state is found both in China and Thailand.

#### 10.4.2.2 Topic + *zeiz* ‘be correct, become’

The basic meaning of *zeiz* is ‘to be correct’ as in (719):

- (719) *Zeiz* *nyei*, *horpc* *nyei.*  
 ເສີ, ແກ້ວ, ອອບ ແກ້ວ.  
*tsei̩l* *jnei̩l* *hɔp̩l* *jnei̩l*  
 be.correct ASST be.right ASST  
 ‘That’s correct, it’s right.’  
 (ium\_2005\_01\_Sony\_DA\_WuonhKuon\_CVP&Cplr;00.00.55-6)

As in (714), negation of [A *benx* B] is done by *mai⁹ zeiz* ‘not be correct’ as a negation of the proposition, rather than *mai⁹ benx*, which is a denial of quality or personality.

The propositional equation copular verb *zeiz* is not a particle but a verb because it is followed by the aspectual (directional) verb *daai⁹* ‘COME’ as in (720<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (720<sup>-1</sup>) *Yie.mbuo* *wuov* *jiex* *mienh* *nongc* *auv* *nongc* *nqox*  
 ເຢີ.ນ້າ ວ້າ ເຈີບ ເມື່ອນ ມັນ ເອົ້າ ມັນ ໄກມ  
*iə́l buə́l* *uə́ŋ* *ciə́l* *miən̩l* *loŋ̩l* *au̩ŋ̩l* *loŋ̩l* *go̩l*  
 1.PL yonder upper people take wife take husband  
 ‘Talking about the marriage custom of us the people of upper region,’

|                      |              |                |                |              |              |
|----------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|
| (720 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>nongc</i> | <i>daaih</i> , | <i>guangc</i>  | <i>mai</i> v | <i>duqv.</i> |
|                      | หน่ง         | ต້າຍ,          | ກວັງ           | ໄມ້          | ຕູ້.         |
|                      | <i>noŋ</i> ↓ | <i>ta:i</i> ↓  | <i>kʷanŋ</i> ↓ | <i>mai</i> ↖ | <i>tu?</i> ↑ |
|                      | take         | COME           | abandon        | NEG          | can          |

'once you take a spouse, you can't divorce.'

|                      |               |              |                |                       |               |              |              |
|----------------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|
| (720 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Haaix</i>  | <i>dauh</i>  | <i>guangc</i>  | <i>zeiz</i>           | <i>daaih</i>  | <i>mai</i> v | <i>benx.</i> |
|                      | ้าย           | ເດົາ         | ກວັງ           | ເແນ່ຍ                 | ຕ້າຍ          | ໄມ້          | ເປັນ.        |
|                      | <i>ha:i</i> ↓ | <i>tau</i> ↓ | <i>kʷanŋ</i> ↓ | <i>tsei</i> ↖         | <i>ta:i</i> ↓ | <i>mai</i> ↖ | <i>pen</i> ↓ |
|                      | who           | CLF          | abandon        | COP <sub>BECOME</sub> | COME          | NEG          | be           |

'Whoever (casually) divorces one's spouse becomes a bad person.'

(Lois & C. W. Callaway 1976:236)

A dialect of Iu Mien in China differs to that of Thailand Iu Mien in the use of *zeiz*. Pán (1988) shows the equation use of *zeiz* 'to be correct' as in (721<sup>-1-2</sup>), which otherwise is expressed by the equative particle *se* or copular verb *benx* 'to be' in Iu Mien of Thailand:

|                      |                    |               |                            |
|----------------------|--------------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| (721 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Naaiv</i>       | <i>zeiz</i>   | <i>haaixyungc(nyongc)?</i> |
|                      | ນ້າຍ               | ເແນ່ຍ         | ຫາຂຫຼຸງ(ຫຼຸງ)?             |
|                      | <i>na:i</i> ↖      | <i>tsei</i> ↖ | <i>ha:i</i> ↓ <i>jun</i> ↓ |
|                      | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | be.correct    | what                       |

'What is this?'

|                      |                    |               |              |
|----------------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------|
| (721 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Naaiv</i>       | <i>zeiz</i>   | <i>batv.</i> |
|                      | ນ້າຍ               | ເແນ່ຍ         | ປຶດ.         |
|                      | <i>na:i</i> ↖      | <i>tsei</i> ↖ | <i>pat</i> ↑ |
|                      | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | be.correct    | pen/pencil   |

'This is a pen.'

(Pán 1988:49)

### 10.4.2.3 Topic +zoux

An occupation, profession, social role, or anything that requires some period of training to assume the role, is expressed by the verb *zoux* 'to make, do' as in (722<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |                    |             |            |             |
|----------------------|--------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| (722 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i>         | <i>nyei</i> | <i>die</i> | <i>yaac</i> |
|                      | ເຢີ່ຍ              | ແນູຍ        | ເຕື້ຍ      | ໜຢ່າ        |
|                      | iə̯t̪              | ŋnei̯t̪     | tiə̯t̪     | ja:ŋ        |
|                      | 1SG                | POSS        | father     | TOP         |
|                      | 'As for my father' |             |            |             |

|                      |   |             |             |                         |
|----------------------|---|-------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| (722 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>zoux</i>   | <i>deix</i> | <i>baav</i> | <i>fiu-daauh.mienh.</i> |
|                      | ໂທດວ  | ເຕ້ຍ        | ປ້າ         | ພິວ-ຕ້າວ.ເມື່ອນ.        |
|                      | tsəuŋ   | teiŋ        | pa:ŋ        | fiuŋ taruŋ miəŋ         |
|                      | do/make   | some        | a.few       | small-head.man          |
|                      | 'he was a leader (of the village) in some ranking.'   |             |             |                         |
|                      | (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.06.42-5) |             |             |                         |

The verb *zoux* can be used to express an interpretation or recognition or substitution: *zoux* ‘as’ in complement clause. It is like English *as* in the construction *longc A zoux B* [use A make B] ‘to use A as B’. The underlying semantics of the following example of [A *zoux* B] construction is *waac zoux zingh.nyeic* [word ≈ gift] ‘word as gift’, interpreting *waac* as *zingh.nyeic*. An example is (723<sup>-3</sup>):

|                      |   |              |                    |              |                            |             |                    |
|----------------------|---|--------------|--------------------|--------------|----------------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| (723 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Mv</i>   | <i>maaih</i> | <i>haiv.nyungc</i> | <i>buang</i> | <i>mbuo</i> <sup>185</sup> | <i>zoux</i> | <i>zingh.nyeic</i> |
|                      | ນີ້   | ມ່າຍ         | ໄກ້.ໜຸ່ງ           | ປ່ວງ         | ນ້ຳ                        | ໂທດວ        | ຕິ່ງ.ເຫຼຸ່ງ        |
|                      | ŋ   | ma:iŋ        | haiŋŋŋ             | pʷaŋŋ        | buəŋ                       | tsəuŋ       | tsiŋŋŋŋ neiŋ       |
|                      | NEG   | have         | what               | bless        | PL(2)                      | make        | gift               |
|                      | 'I don't have anything to bless you with as a gift.'                    |              |                    |              |                            |             |                    |
|                      | (ium_20130523_03_H1_DA_GueixZoih_93rdBirthday_ Thammajarik;00.00.38-40) |              |                    |              |                            |             |                    |

|                      |  |             |              |              |             |
|----------------------|--|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| (723 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Dorh</i>                                    | <i>waac</i> | <i>daaih</i> | <i>buang</i> | <i>mbuo</i> |
|                      | ດ້ວ  | ພວ່າ        | ຕ້າຍ         | ປ່ວງ         | ນ້ຳ         |
|                      | tɔŋ  | wa:ŋ        | ta:iŋ        | pʷaŋŋ        | buəŋ        |
|                      | bring  | word        | COME         | bless        | PL          |
|                      | 'I have only brought some words to bless you.' |             |              |              |             |

<sup>185</sup> The plural personal pronoun *mbuo* here is used to exclude the first person, the speaker himself. It is used to refers to the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural, ‘you all’, meaning all the guests who came to celebrate his birthday. Had he used *meih mbuo* ‘you all’ explicitly, he might have come across more detached from the guests. Yet by not using *yie mbuo* ‘we all’, he also placed himself inside of *mbuo*, though addressing the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural, as a part of whole gathering of receiving the blessing. This ambi-reference plural *mbuo* may be called rapport-taking-*mbuo*.

|                      |   |                    |              |             |                |
|----------------------|---|--------------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|
| (723 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <b>zoux</b>   | <i>zingh.nyeic</i> | <i>buang</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>hnangv.</i> |
|                      | ໄຫວາ  | ຕິ່ງ.ເຫັນຢ່າ       | ປວັງ         | ນັວ         | ອນີ້ນ          |
|                      | tsəuŋ   | tsinŋ neiŋ         | pʷanŋ        | buəŋ        | nuaŋŋ          |
|                      | make  | gift               | bless        | 1PL(2)      | only           |
|                      | '(only speaking some words) as a gift bless I you all.' |                    |              |             |                |
|                      | (ium_20130523_03_H1_DA_GueixZoih_93rdBirthday_          |                    |              |             |                |
|                      | Thammajarik;00.00.41-4)                                 |                    |              |             |                |

In a situation of *nyiemc cien* ‘to acknowledge kinship’, after finding out that both interlocutors belong to the same *fingx* ‘clan’ and asking questions who is younger or older, they call each other by kinship terms by using *zoux* ‘to make’ in the sense of regarding, recognising, or interpreting that the other party is to be a kinsman. No matter how thin the blood-relation may be, they regard/acknowledge/interpret each other as brothers, thus the underlying relation of [A *zoux* B] is [A ≈ B] as in (724<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |   |             |             |              |             |             |                  |
|----------------------|---|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|
| (724 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Six.gorngv</i>   | <i>ninh</i> | <i>gauh</i> | <i>lunx,</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <b>zoux</b> | <i>youz</i>      |
|                      | ສື.ກຶ່ອງ  | ນິ່ນ        | ເກ້າ        | ຫລຸນ,        | ນິ່ນ        | ໄຫວາ        | ໄຍ້ວ             |
|                      | siŋ kɔŋŋ  | ninŋ        | kauŋ        | lunŋ         | ninŋ        | tsəuŋ       | jəuŋ             |
|                      | if  | 3SG         | more        | be.young     | 3SG         | make        | youngcer.brother |
|                      | 'If (it turned out that) he is younger (than I), he is (interpreted/regarded as my) younger brother;' |             |             |              |             |             |                  |
|                      | (ium_20150513_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.09.25-7)   |             |             |              |             |             |                  |

|                      |  |             |             |            |             |               |                |
|----------------------|--|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| (724 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>yie</i>   | <i>gauh</i> | <i>gox,</i> | <i>yie</i> | <b>zoux</b> | <i>gorx</i>   | <i>mi'aqv.</i> |
|                      | ເມື່ອ  | ເກ້າ        | ໂກ໌,        | ເມື່ອ      | ໄຫວາ        | ກ່ອ           | ໜີ່ ອື່ະ       |
|                      | iəŋ  | kauŋ        | koŋ         | iəŋ        | tsəuŋ       | kɔŋ           | miŋ aŋ         |
|                      | 1SG  | more        | be.old      | 1SG        | make        | elder.brother | NSIT           |
|                      | '(if he is older than I am), I have turned out to be (his) older brother.' |             |             |            |             |               |                |
|                      | (ium_20150513_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.09.27-8)                      |             |             |            |             |               |                |

Note that the presence of the new-situation aspectual particle *mi'aqv* in (724<sup>-2</sup>) proves that *zoux* is a verb, not a particle, and that this aspect gives the sense of a new realisation after a process of inquiry.

A person who is biologically and ontologically male but tries to be a female is described by using *zoux benx* in the sense of pretence as in (725):

- (725) (*Ninh*) ***zoux*** ***benx*** *m'sieqv.dorn*  
 (ນິນ) ໂກຄວ ເປັນ ມເຈີຍະ.ຕອນ  
*nin<sup>1</sup>* *tsəu<sup>1</sup>* *pen<sup>1</sup>* *m siə?<sup>1</sup>* *tɔn<sup>1</sup>*  
 3SG make be woman  
 '(He) is pretending to be a girl.'  
 (ium\_20150429\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.13.02-4)

An attempt of the equation by a wrong verb *zoux* invites a hilarious reaction as in (726):

- (726) “*Aengh Doih* ***zoux*** *m'jangc.dorn*” *naaic* *mv* *(h')ma~ @@@*  
 “ເອັງ ຕ້ອຍ ໂກຄວ ມົ່ງ.ຕອນ” ນໍາຍ ມໍ *(h')ມະ~ @@@*  
*ɛŋ<sup>1</sup>* *tɔi<sup>1</sup>* *tsəu<sup>1</sup>* *m caŋ<sup>1</sup>* *tɔn<sup>1</sup>* *na:i<sup>1</sup>* *m<sup>1</sup>* *ma~*  
 Aeng Doi do/make man DEM NEG have(frg)  
 ‘It’s impossible that “Aeng-Doi (gets training to) be a boy”!’  
 (ium\_2005\_01\_Sony\_DA\_WuonhKuon\_CVP&Cplr;00.26.26-30)

“Aeng Doi” is a female character in a famous story. If she is predicated with the verb *zoux* ‘to make’ followed by a male person as the focus, the sentence denotes either of two things: (a) she has gone through a formal training to become a male person and works in an occupation of being a man, or (b) she creates/produces male human beings.

Finally, in this section, in a similar vein with the use of *zoux* in the sense of interpretation, recognition, comparison, pretence as exemplified in (723<sup>1-3</sup>), below are suggested verbs of similar function:

- *beiv* /peɪ<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to compare’ (Comparison ‘A ≈ B’)
- *dormgx* /tɔŋ<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to replace, to exchange for’ (Panh 2002:51) (Interpretation ‘A ≈ B’)
- *funx* /fʊn<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to count, recognize, consider’ (Recognition ‘A ≈ B’)

They are exemplified below:

- (727) *Naaiv* ***beiv*** *yie* *nyei* *sin.*  
 ນໍາຍ ເບີຢ ເຢ ໄຢ ສິນ.  
*na:i<sup>1</sup>* *peɪ<sup>1</sup>* *iə<sup>1</sup>* *nei<sup>1</sup>* *sin<sup>1</sup>*  
 DEM<sub>PRX</sub> compare 1SG POSS body  
 ‘This (piece of bread) compares with my [Christ’s] body.’  
 (ium\_2005\_01\_Sony\_DA\_WuonhKuon\_CVP&Cplr;00.32.02-6)

|       |   |                      |                  |                         |                   |
|-------|---|----------------------|------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| (728) | <i>longc</i>                                      | <i>ja'waanh</i>      | <i>mingh</i>     | <i>dorngx</i>           | <i>nyaanh</i>     |
|       | หลัง  | จะว่านา              | มีง              | ต้อง                    | ญี่นา             |
|       | lon <sub>J</sub>                                  | ca wa:n <sub>J</sub> | min <sub>J</sub> | tɔŋ <sub>J</sub>        | ja:n <sub>J</sub> |
|       | use   | neck.ring            | go               | be.virtually.as.same.as | money             |
|       | 'to use a neck ring (as payment) in lieu of cash' |                      |                  |                         |                   |
|       | (Purnell 2012:152)                                |                      |                  |                         |                   |

|                      |   |                  |                        |                    |
|----------------------|---|------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| (729 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Yietc</i>                                | <i>norm</i>      | <i>Man</i>             | <i>naaic</i>       |
|                      | ເຫີ່ຍດ                                      | ນອມ              | ມັນ                    | ໜ່າຍ               |
|                      | jet <sub>J</sub>                            | nɔm <sub>J</sub> | man <sub>J</sub>       | na:i <sub>J</sub>  |
|                      | one   | CLF              | old.French.silver.coin | DEM <sub>TOP</sub> |
|                      | 'As for one French silver coin (from Laos)' |                  |                        |                    |

|                      |   |                    |                  |                                  |                      |
|----------------------|---|--------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|
| (729 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>wuov.zanc</i>                                      | <i>naaic</i>       | <i>funx</i>      | <i>ziepc</i>                     | <i>Mbaatv(cm.t.)</i> |
|                      | ວັງ.ໜັກນິນ  | ໜ່າຍ               | ຝູນ              | ເຫດືອນ                           | ບັດ(cm.t.)           |
|                      | uə: <sub>J</sub> tsan <sub>J</sub>                    | na:i <sub>J</sub>  | fun <sub>J</sub> | ts: <sub>J</sub> əp <sub>J</sub> | ba:t <sub>J</sub>    |
|                      | DEM.time  | DEM <sub>TOP</sub> | count            | ten                              | Bhat                 |
|                      | 'was equal to ten Thai Bhat in those days.'           |                    |                  |                                  |                      |
|                      | (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.04.26-8) |                    |                  |                                  |                      |

## 10.5 Summary of Chapter 10

It was not a purpose of this chapter to discuss the theoretical issues of the information structure in terms of topic and focus. Rather, the grammatical constructions that separate the topic and focus in a sentence have been our concern. These two major parts of the sentence are separated by two groups of constructions: the topic marking constructions and the copular constructions.

First, the topic part of the sentence is marked by the six constructions. They are (i) topic + *yaac*, (ii) the pending particle *aeqv*, (iii) the variations of *nor*, *nor aeqv*, *lorqc nor aeqv*, (iv) the topicalising use of the demonstrative pronoun *naaic*, (v) the prosodic pause, and (vi) the sentence medial interjection.

Second, the two groups of copular constructions also demarcate the border between the topic and focus. One is the group of four equative particles, including the stage setting or presentative topic marker *se*, the identification topic particle *dongh*, the combination of *se dongh*, and the structure *se hnangv* + clause. The other is the group of verbs: the ontological, intrinsic equation verb *benx* 'to be', the propositional

presentative verb *zeiz* ‘to be correct’, and the functional, occupational, social role equation verb *zoux* ‘to do, make’.

Thus, the discussion centred around the relationship ‘A = B’ or ‘A ≈ B’. We, then, will proceed on to the discussion on the relationship ‘A HAPPENED’, ‘A DOES B’, ‘A DOES B TO C’ etc. in the next chapter. Chapter 11 investigates the argument structure in relation to different types of verbs.

# Chapter 11

## VERBS AND ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

### 11.1 Introduction

The main theme of this chapter is the argument structure. Two important sections are (i) the structures with one-, two-, and three-argument (§11.2), and (ii) the issue of the seemingly post-verbal subject, which has the order V-NP (§11.3 and §11.4). Admittedly the former category needs further research (e.g. distinction between obvious transitive verbs and ambitransitive verbs in two-argument structures, and change of ditransitive (three-argument) structures to coverb-containing clauses), but a main purpose of this chapter is limited to present basic forms of each construction. The latter construction will be analysed in terms of the entity-presentative constructions (§11.3.1) and the event-presentative constructions (§11.3.2). The construction [V-NP] encodes natural (meteorological) happening, unexpected emergence/appearance, and inexorability (§11.4). On the other hand, the construction [NP-V] encodes volitional agent.

Prior to these analyses, the tests for verbhood will be surveyed.

#### 11.1.1 Verbhood: How Verbs Are Identified

A class of lexical items are identified as verbs by applying three tests. As has been established that the Iu Mien adjectivals are verbs (as opposed to Chinese-loan adjectives) in §7.2.1 and §7.2.2, these tests are also applicable to identify adjectival verbs. Verbs (and adjectival verbs) can 1) immediately be preceded by the negative particle *maiv* (or *mv*), 2) take aspectual verbs and particles, and 3) modify a head noun in the construction  $[N_{HD} \leftarrow V]$  to form a noun phrase. Let us examine these tests:

- Negation test, i.e.,  $[maiv + V]$
- Aspectual marking tests, i.e., (i)  $[V + \text{aspectual verb}]$ , (ii)  $[V + nyei]$  [ASSERTIVE/STATIVE]
- Head Noun-modifying test, i.e.,  $[N_{HD} \leftarrow V]_{NP}$

### 11.1.1.1 Negation test

According to Matisoff (1982:193) and Court (1986), with regard to Lahu and Iu Mien respectively, verbs are identified by the fact that they can directly follow the negative particle *maiv* /mai<sup>v</sup>/ ‘not’ or its contract form *mv* /m<sup>v</sup>/ are verbs. Court (1986:213) defines Iu Mien verbs “as that form-class which can occur in the syntactic environment immediately following the negative particle”. Not only verbs, in the case of Iu Mien in our analysis, but also adjectival verbs (excluding the Chinese-loan adjectives) and auxiliary verbs are also identified by this test. Thus, the following test:

- **Negation test:** *Maiv X*; if passed, X is a verb or an adjectival verb or an auxiliary verb; if failed, X is a noun or other kinds of particle.

Observe that the form immediately after *maiv* [NEG] ‘not’ is a verb as in (730a<sup>1-2</sup>), in comparison with an unacceptable example in (b):

|   |            |             |             |                   |             |               |                   |
|---|------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------|
| (730a <sup>1</sup> )                                      | <i>yie</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>Naamh Ging</i> | <i>koiv</i> | <i>ngaanc</i> | <i>wuov.zanc,</i> |
|   | ເມື່ຂ      | ບ້າວ        | ເມື່ຍນ      | ນໍາມ ກິງ          | ຄ້ອຍ        | ທ່ານ          | ວ້ວ.ຫົ້ນ,         |
|   | iə́        | bua̯ə́      | jem̯ə́      | na:m̯ kin̯ə́      | kʰɔi̯ə́     | ŋa:n̯ə́       | uə́ tsan̯ə́       |
|   | 1          | PL          | be.at       | Nanking           | sea         | shore         | DEM.time          |
| ‘When we (Iu Mien) lived alongside the shore of Nanking,’ |            |             |             |                   |             |               |                   |

|  |             |                             |               |
|--|-------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| (730a <sup>2</sup> )                               | <i>maiv</i> | <i>zangc</i> <sup>186</sup> | <i>mienv.</i> |
|  | ໄມ້         | ຫົ້ງ                        | ມີ້ນ.         |
|  | mai̯        | tsaŋ̯ə́                     | miən̯ə́       |
|  | NEG         | venerate                    | spirit        |
| ‘(we) did not venerate spirits.’                   |             |                             |               |
| (ium_1998_03_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_ConvWtYJ;00.00.01-4) |             |                             |               |

Subtraction of the verb *zangc* ‘to venerate’ from (730a<sup>2</sup>) is unacceptable as in (730b):

|        |               |              |
|--------|---------------|--------------|
| (730b) | * <i>maiv</i> | <i>mienv</i> |
|        | ໄມ້           | ມີ້ນ.        |
|        | NEG           | spirit       |

A contracted form of *maiv*, i.e., *mv*, is also found to negate a verb as in (731):

<sup>186</sup> Var: *zaangc*

- (731) *Mv jangx aqv.*  
 ມໍ ຈັງ ອົບ.  
*m̥˥ caŋ˧ a?˥*  
 NEG remember NSIT  
 'I don't remember.'  
 (ium\_20130506\_01\_H1\_DA\_LaaiWaangc\_OngSeng-KL;00.09.12-3)

An adjectival verb immediately follows the negative particle as in (732)(a repetition of (201<sup>-3</sup>) and (733):

- (732) *Naaiv laanh caux wuov laanh maiiv horpc jaax.*  
 (201<sup>-3</sup>) ນ້າຍ ລ່ານ ເຫຼາ ວ້ວ ລ່ານ ໄກສ ໂອບ ຈໍາ,  
*na:i˥ la:n˧ tsʰau˧˥ uə˥ la:n˧ mai˥ hɔp˧ ca:˧*  
 DEM CLF\_PERSON be.with DEM CLF\_PERSON NEG be.right RECP  
 '(that is,) this person and that person are not right with each other.'  
 (20150906\_WK\_email)

- (733) *Ninh auv nyanc yaac maiiv kuv.*  
 ນິນ ເອົ້າ ແຜູ້ນ ພໍາ ໄກສ ສຸ.  
*nin˧ au˥ jnан˧ ja:˧ mai˥ kʰu˥*  
 3SG wife eat and NEG be.delicious  
 'His wife ate (it) and (she found it was) not delicious.'  
 (ium\_1996\_05\_Burgess\_GF\_MienLgL5;00.49.04-5)

An auxiliary verb can immediately follow the negative particle as in (734<sup>-1,2</sup>) (a repetition of (3<sup>-29-30</sup>) in §2.2.3):

- (734<sup>-1</sup>) *mingh gau, nzaangv maiiv haih jiex*  
 (3<sup>-29</sup>) ມິ່ງ ເກ, ຫ້າງ ໄກສ ໄກ່ ເຈີຍ  
*minj˧ kau˧ dza:ŋ˥ mai˥ hai˧ ciɛ˧*  
 go then ship NEG be.able pass  
 'after setting out, (they) were not able to pass'

- (734<sup>-2</sup>) *mv bung ziqc koiv aeqv,*  
 (3<sup>-30</sup>) ມໍ ບຸງ ຊົດ ຄອບ ແລ້ວ,  
*m̥˥ puŋ˧ tsi?˥ kʰɔi˥ ε?˥*  
 DEM\_PRX side on/to.the.other.side.of sea PDP  
 'to this side of the sea, so'  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.02.15-8)

### 11.1.1.2 Post-verbal aspectual marking test

Furthermore, two kinds of aspectual marking tests confirm the verbhood. Firstly, verbs can be identified by the occurrence of the post-verbal aspectual verbs in the construction [V + aspectual verb]. These aspectual verbs include *jienv* /ciən˥/ ‘CONTINUOUS’, *liuz* /liu˨˩/ ‘PERFECTIVE’, *baac* /pa:˩/ ‘COMPLETIVE’, *ziangx* /tsiaŋ˧/ ‘PERFECT’, *nzengc* /zeŋ˧/ ‘CONSUMPTIVE’, etc. The following frame *jienv mingh* [CONT GO] ‘to keep –ing’, for example, confirms the verbhood though other aspectual verbs also can serve the purpose in the frame for test:

- **Post-verbal aspectual marking test:** X *jienv mingh*: if passed, X is a verb or an adjective verb; if failed, X is a noun or other kinds of particle.

The test frame is bracketed in [ ] in (735<sup>-2</sup>) of (735<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                              |           |                   |             |
|------------------------------|-----------|-------------------|-------------|
| (735 <sup>-1</sup> )         | <i>Mv</i> | <i>hitv.kuonx</i> | <i>nor;</i> |
|                              | մ         | հիծ.խան           | նօ,         |
|                              | m˥        | hit˥ kʰən˥        | nɔ̄         |
|                              | NEG       | rest              | if.so       |
| ‘If (he) doesn’t take rest,’ |           |                   |             |

|  |               |             |            |               |              |                 |              |                 |
|--|---------------|-------------|------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| (735 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>naaiv</i> | [ <i>gorngv</i> | <i>jienv</i> | <i>mingh</i> ], |
|  | հնայ          | բա          | նօ         | հնայ          | նայ          | [գօն            | յեն          | մին],           |
|  | դայ           | buə˥        | nɔ̄        | դայ           | na:i˥        | kɔŋ˥            | c'en˥        | miŋ˥            |
| like PL as.if like DEM talk CONT GO<br>‘like us, (that is,) like we are keep talking,’ |               |             |            |               |              |                 |              |                 |

|  |               |           |              |
|--|---------------|-----------|--------------|
| (735 <sup>-3</sup> )   | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>duqv.</i> |
|  | գօն           | մ         | դ.           |
|  | kɔŋ˥          | m˥        | tu?˥         |
|  | talk          | NEG       | can          |
| ‘he can’t talk.’<br>(ium_20130528_06_H1_DA_DangcZanx-Seng_FaamCingCuotvSeix<br>_KMB;00.03.39-42) |               |           |              |

The test frame can be extended by other aspectual verbs:

| <b>Verb</b>              | <b>Aspectual verb</b> |  |
|--------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| <i>gorngv</i> ‘talk’     | +                     | <i>jienv mingh</i> (e.g. ‘keep talking’)     |
| <i>yiem</i> ‘be.at’      |                       | <i>liuz</i> (e.g. ‘after having stayed’)     |
| <i>zaangc</i> ‘venerate’ |                       | <i>baac</i> (e.g. ‘(have) venerated’)        |
| <i>baaix</i> ‘worship’   |                       | <i>zhangx</i> (e.g. ‘(have) worshiped’)      |
| <i>jangx</i> ‘remember’  |                       | <i>nzengc</i> (e.g. ‘remembered thoroughly’) |

Naturally any combinations are possible for testing each verb: for example if we want to test if the word *jangx* is a verb or not, one can try connecting it with all the aspectual verbs: *jangx jienv mingh*, *jangx liuz*, *jangx baac*, *jangx ziangx*, and *jangx nzengc*. All these are possible and acceptable. Therefore, *jangx* is a verb (likewise others examples).

Adjectival verbs also pass this test with most of the aspectual verbs. How to distinguish adjectival verbs from action verbs will be discussed in §11.1.2.1.

### 11.1.1.3 Sentence-final aspectual marking test

Secondly, the stative aspectual sentence-final particle (SFP) *nyei* or the completive aspectual sentence-final particle *mi'aqv* can be used to test if the given form preceding it is a verb or not in the following frame:

- **Sentence-final aspectual marking test:** X *nyei* and X *mi'aqv*: if passed, X is a verb or an adjective verb; if failed, X is a noun or other kinds of particle.

Affirming a state of affairs, the assertive/stative aspectual SFP *nyei* confirms that the preceding *mingh* is a verb as in (736):

|  |               |
|--|---------------|
| (736) <i>Mingh</i>   | <i>nyei</i> . |
| မိုး   | နေ့.          |
| minj\  | nei\          |
| go   | ASST          |
| ‘(yes) I am going.’  |               |
| (ium_1967_11_BASF-LGS35_HCox_GueixSeng_YSC-WII-p22;00.10.38-9) |               |

Similarly, another SFP *mi'aqv* ‘TELIC’ that follows the given form demonstrates that it is a verb as in (737):

|       |  |            |             |             |                |
|-------|--|------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| (737) | <i>O:::v!</i>  | <i>maa</i> | <i>aeqv</i> | <i>daic</i> | <i>mi'aqv.</i> |
|       | ໄຟ້::!   | ມາ         | ເອົກ        | ໄຕ          | ແມ່ ອະ.        |
|       | o:::ŋ  | ma:ŋ       | εʔŋ         | taiŋ        | miŋ aŋ         |
|       | INTJ   | mother     | PDP         | die         | TELIC          |
|       | 'O! as for (their) mother, she has died.'                                |            |             |             |                |
|       | (ium_20130528_06_H1_DA_DangcZanx-Seng_FaamCingCuotvSeix_KMB;00.08.28-32) |            |             |             |                |

Because both particles occur sentence-finally, it is possible that other elements come in between them and verbs in a sentence. However, the direct connection of them with the form in question (e.g. *mingh nyei* or *daic mi'aqv*) proves that the given form is a verb. Especially in the use of *mi'aqv* there is no doubt about the fact that the tested element is a verb. On the other hand, a native speaker may also say a sequence [N + *nyei*] is possible with the possessive sense of *nyei*, therefore the N could be mistakenly deemed to be a verb. Thus, applying the frame [X + *nyei*] only may not be enough but both it and the frame [X + *mi'aqv*] should be used to ensure X is a verb by passing both tests.

#### 11.1.1.4 Head Noun-modifying test

The third test is to check if the given form X can modify a head noun from the right side, that is, from the rear.

- **Head Noun-modifying test**, i.e.,  $[N_{HD} \leftarrow X]_{NP}$ : If X can modify  $N_{HD}$  to form an NP, then X is a verb or an adjectival verb.

See (738), a repetition of (1<sup>7</sup>) from §2.2.2.5, where *hnaangx* ‘rice’ as a head is modified by *nyanc*, which is a verb:

|                   |  |              |                |               |  |
|-------------------|--|--------------|----------------|---------------|--|
| (738)             | <i>Mv</i>  | <i>maaih</i> | <i>hnaangx</i> | <i>nyanc.</i> |  |
| (1 <sup>7</sup> ) | ນໍ້  | ມ່າຍ         | ຫວັງຊ          | ໜູ້ນ.         |  |
|                   | m̥ŋ  | ma:iŋ        | hnaŋŋ          | nanŋ          |  |
|                   | NEG  | have         | rice           | eat           |  |
|                   | 'There was no food to eat.'  |              |                |               |  |
|                   | (ium_20130527_01_H1_DA_GueixZoih_12Tribes_Thammajarik;00.00.29-31) |              |                |               |  |

To sum up, verbs can be identified by the negation test, two kinds of aspectual marking tests, and the head-noun-modifying test.

## 11.1.2 Types of Verbs

### 11.1.2.1 Adjectival verb elimination test

All that pass all the three tests, i.e., the negation test, the aspectual marking test, and the head noun modifying test, are verbs including adjectival verbs. To reiterate the method of distinguishing adjectival verbs from action verbs in §7.2.3, the *kuh*-test should be applied. *Kuh* /k<sup>h</sup>u\ followed by a verb means ‘easy to V’ or ‘comfortable to V’ or ‘be suitable to V’ in the construction *kuh* V, e.g., *kuh gorngv* ‘be easy to say’ (923). Furthermore, what Enfield (2007:241-2) refers to as “state verbs” (as a subcategory of “stative verbs”) in Lao (e.g. *have* or *live* etc.), can pass the test for Iu Mien. For example, *kuh hnamgv* [be.easy.to love] ‘be lovable, cute’ and *kuh yiem* [be.easy.to be.in/at] ‘to be easy to live in, comfortable to be in/at’ as in a popular phrase (480a):

|        |  |             |                   |              |
|--------|--|-------------|-------------------|--------------|
| (739a) | <i>kuh</i>   | <i>yiem</i> | <i>kuh</i>        | <i>nyanc</i> |
|        | ៥  | ຢືມ         | ៥                 | ໜັນ          |
|        | k <sup>h</sup> u\  | jem\        | k <sup>h</sup> u\ | nan\         |
|        | be.suitable.for  | be.at       | be.suitable.for   | eat          |
|        | ‘to be prosperous, comfortable (with possessions), well-off’ |             |                   |              |
|        | (Purnell 2012:346).  |             |                   |              |
|        | ‘rich, wealthy’ (Panh 2002:128).                             |             |                   |              |

However, this test eliminates adjectival verbs as ungrammatical (480b-c):

|        |                 |                  |
|--------|-----------------|------------------|
| (480b) | * <i>kuh</i>    | <i>nzueic</i>    |
|        | be.suitable.for | be.beautiful     |
| (480c) | * <i>kuh</i>    | <i>juangv</i>    |
|        | be.suitable.for | be.cold(weather) |

Therefore, an identification of adjectival verbs from among those forms that passed the previous three tests (i.e. negation test, aspectual marking test, noun-head modifying test) is conducted by elimination of them by applying *kuh*-test.

- ***Kuh-X test (adjectival verb elimination test)*:** In the construction *kuh-X*, if X passed it with the meaning ‘easy to X, comfortable to X, suitable to X’, X is an action/state verb. If not, X is an adjectival verb.

Court (1986) refers to this class as “stative verbs”, which is slightly different to Enfield’s (2007:242) taxonomy. Enfield, obviously following Vendler’s (1967) analysis of English verbs, divides all Lao verbs into two major groups: active and stative verbs. Under the latter are included two subclasses: adjective verbs (e.g. *suung3* ‘tall’) and state verbs (e.g. *mii2* ‘to have’). We shall follow Court rather than Enfield with regard to the Iu Mien adjectival verbs as noted in Table 27 in §4.4.1. That is, he does not have “adjective” in his analysis of Iu Mien parts of speech. Rather, he rightly recognises the verbal properties of adjectival verbs in Iu Mien throughout his dissertation. These properties (i.e., passing all of negation test (§11.1.1), two aspectual marking tests (§§11.1.1.2–3), and head noun modifying test (§11.1.1.4)) are in contrast to the characteristics of stative verbs in Lao. Lao “stative verbs”, Enfield (2007:241) states, “(a) do not normally take marking for progressive aspect, and (b) when marked with the postposed perfective *lèèw4*, entail their own truth at the moment of speech”. These (a) and (b) do not hold with Iu Mien. Therefore, we continue to use the term “adjectival verbs” for Iu Mien.

### **11.1.2.2 Distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs**

Existence of a transitivity-intransitivity distinction of verbs is argued for diachronically and synchronically in this section.

In §5.5.3, the problem of interpreting the transitivity and intransitivity of the verb *cuotv* /ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]/ has been pointed out: namely, ‘to exit/go out/appear/emerge’ vs. ‘to issue/emit/vent/produce/pay (money)’. Especially, the interpretation of the construction [V + NP], where NP appears to be a subject of the clause, e.g., *cuotv waac* [exit word] ‘there happened a problem’ is problematic, which will be discussed in §11.4.

Nevertheless, the distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs does exist in Iu Mien. Some historical evidences are given below. Downer (1973) discusses:

Curiously enough, the best example of this suggested grammatical function of prenasalization is found in a pair of Mien words of Chinese origin: 開 *koi*<sup>187</sup> /kʰɔi˥/ “to open” is a transitive, active verb, occurring in *koi kaengh* /kʰɔi˥ kɛŋ˥/ “to open the door”, and so on, while *nqoi* /gɔi˥/ “to open” is intransitive, as found in *hnyouv nqoi* /ɲ̥jøu˥ gɔi˥/ “the heart opens: to be happy”, *nqoi biangh* /gɔi˥ piaŋ˥/ “to blossom” and so on — both may occur in the same phrase, as in *koi mv nqoi* “cannot get it open” (Downer 1973:14, 16).

He also suggests with some uncertainty the following pair:

---

<sup>187</sup> Downer’s original transcription is replaced with modern spelling in the Unified Script with an addition of IPA.

(740) *caeqv /ts<sup>h</sup>εʔ]/* (折) ‘to pull down’

vs.

*nzaeqv /dzeʔ]/* ‘to be cracked (as earth)’ (Downer 1973:16. Cf. §2.3.2, also Ratliff 2010:208).

Another example pair is:

(741) *tutv /t<sup>h</sup>ut]/* (脱) ‘to remove, take off (shoes, socks, gloves)’ (Purnell 2012:706)

vs.

*ndutv /dut]/* ‘to come apart from, be separated from’ (ibid. 529)

By the same token, Court (1986) also states:

Now let us take a case where prenasalization has precisely the opposite semantic effect: from the adjective *baengh*<sup>188</sup> /pεŋ˥/ ‘to be level’ (with voiced<sup>189</sup> [sic] initial), prenasalization has yielded *mbaengh* /bεŋ˥/ ‘to make level, smooth; to be equal in level to’ (Court 1986:95).

Moreover, Haudricourt and Strecker (1991) argue for tone derivational processes contributed to three-way differentiation among the state verb (in Enfield’s sense, i.e. ‘to have’), the out-going verb (i.e. ‘to sell’), and the in-coming verb (i.e. ‘to buy’). In analogy with Ratliff (1986), they write:

If so [i.e. tone has morphological functions in Proto-Hmong-Mien], the words for “buy” and “sell” developed within Hmong-Mien, derived from the verb “to have”, and subsequently were borrowed into Chinese (Haudricourt and Strecker 1991:341).

Thus:

(742) *maaih /ma:i˧/* ‘to have’  *maaic /ma:i˩/* ‘to sell’ (売)  
*maaiz /ma:i˨/* ‘to buy’ (買)

Slightly different to Haudricourt and Strecker’s proposal but still concerning the direction of energy in the verb, we have the following contrastive example:

(743) *daix /tai˧/* ‘to kill’ vs. *daic /tai˩/* ‘to die’

<sup>188</sup> Court’s original transcription is replaced with modern spelling in the Unified Script with an addition of IPA. He used Lombard (1968:19, 48) as his source.

<sup>189</sup> Shouldn’t it be voiceless? Synchronously the contrast between /pεŋ˥/ ‘to be level’ and /bεŋ˥/ ‘to make level, smooth’ is the un aspirated voiceless bilabial stop vs. the voiced bilabial stop.

Thus far, the evidence shown above suggests that there may have been, at some point in the history, a productive transitivity alternation. Below, then, are shown some synchronic evidence for a transitivity distinction. They are shown in the following four steps.

Firstly, a reverse order of NP<sup>1</sup> and NP<sup>2</sup> in a two-argument structure [NP<sup>1</sup> V NP<sup>2</sup>] shows that NP<sup>1</sup> is an A argument and NP<sup>2</sup> an O/P argument, and that thus V is a transitive verb, because the change of the order affects the meaning of the clause. Example (744a) is an attested utterance containing a two-argument structure [NP<sup>1</sup> V NP<sup>2</sup>], to which a reverse order test is applied as in (744b):

- (744a) [Yie    **daix**    *jai-gorngx-im*]    [bun    meih    nyanc    liuz    aqv].  
[ເຢີ່ຢ    ໄຕ໊    ໄຈ-ກໍອງ-ອິມ]    [ບຸນ    ໝ່ຍ    ໜູ້ນໍ້າ    ດົວ    ອື່].  
iə́    tai˥    cai˥ kɔŋ˥ im˥    pun˥    mei˥    jan˥    liu˧ a?˥  
1SG    kill    capon                give    2SG    eat              PFTV    NSIT  
‘I have killed (my) capon to let you eat it.’

(Burgess, 1970s, *Laangh Nduov Ong-Daa Nyei Gouv* [A Story of a Son-in-Law Deceiving his Father-in-Law], KMB)

- (744b) \**Jai-gorngx-im*    **daix**    *yie*.  
‘ຈ-ກໍອງ-ອິມ                  ໄຕ໊                  ເຢີ່ຢ  
caɪ˥ kɔŋ˥ im˥    tai˥    iə́  
capon                kill    1SG  
‘A capon killed me.’

A situation or semantics described in (744b) is unrealistic (except for a case like an act of a poisoner) and creates an odd reading. This shows that in a two-argument structure with the constituents of [NP<sup>1</sup> V NP<sup>2</sup>], NP<sup>1</sup> normally is A, NP<sup>2</sup> O/P, and V is transitive.

Another two-argument structure can be extracted from (744a) as in (744c), and its reverse order is semantically/realistically impossible as in (744d):

- (744c) *Meih*    **nyanc**    *jai-gorngx-im*    *liuz*    *aqv*.  
ເມ່ຍ    ໜູ້ນໍ້າ    ໄຈ-ກໍອງ-ອິມ    ດົວ    ອື່.  
mei˥    jan˥    cai˥ kɔŋ˥ im˥    liu˧ a?˥  
2SG    eat    capon                PFTV    NSIT  
‘You have eaten the capon.’

- (744d) \**Jai-gorngx-im nyanc meih liuz aqv.*  
 ໄຈ-ກ່ອງ-ອິມ ນຢັນ ມ່ຍ ລື້ວ ອີ່ວ.  
 cai↓ kɔŋ↓ im↑ jan↓ mei↓ liu↓ a?↑  
 capon eat 2SG PFTV NSIT  
 ‘The capon has eaten you.’

Secondly, a substitution test reveals a transitivity distinction. In the two-argument structure with the constituents [NP<sup>1</sup> V NP<sup>2</sup>], it is obvious that NP<sup>1</sup> is an A argument and NP<sup>2</sup> an O argument as in (745a)(repetition of (541)), where the V is deemed to be a transitive verb:

- (745a) *Ninh ganh daix ganh.*  
 (541) ນຶ່ນ ກັ້ນ ໄດ ກັ້ນ.  
 nin↓ kan↓ tai↓ kan↓  
 3SG self kill self  
 ‘He committed suicide.’ (lit. ‘He himself killed himself’)  
 (Cf. Purnell 2012:198)

Substituting *daix* for *daic* results in an untranslatable sequence as in (745b), showing a possibility that an intransitive verb cannot occur in a two-argument structure:

- (745b) \**Ninh ganh daic ganh.*  
 ນຶ່ນ ກັ້ນ ໄດ ກັ້ນ.  
 nin↓ kan↓ tai↓ kan↓  
 3SG self die self

However, deletion of NP<sup>2</sup> from (745b) yields a one-argument structure where the V is deemed to be an intransitive verb as in (745c):

- (745c) *Ninh ganh daic.*  
 ນຶ່ນ ກັ້ນ ໄດ  
 nin↓ kan↓ tai↓  
 3SG self die  
 ‘He himself died’ or ‘He died alone.’

Thirdly, a TH(eme)/experiencer argument in a one-argument structure occurs preverbally and in such a structure the verb is intransitive. Similar to (745c), a part of an attested narrative shows a one-argument structure as in (746a)(repetition of (15<sup>6</sup>)):

- (746a) (...)*maa*    *daic*    *mi'aqv.*  
 ມາ                  ໄຕ                  ນມ້ ອີ່.  
*ma:t*    *tai* ]    *mi* ] *a?* ]  
 mother    die        TELIC  
 '(Their) mother died.'  
 (ium\_20130528\_06\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng\_FaamCingCuotvSeix\_KMB;00.08.02-04)

The substitution of *daix* for *daic* as in (746b) prompts a native speaker to ask 'Who/what did the mother kill?', suggesting a requirement of a two-argument structure:

- (746b) ?*Maa*    *daix*    *mi'aqv.*  
 ມາ                  ໄຕ                  ນມ້ ອີ່.  
*ma:t*    *tai* ]    *mi* ] *a?* ]  
 mother    kill        TELIC  
 'Mother killed...'

Fourthly, there are cases in which both a transitive verb and an intransitive verb co-occur in a mutually differential way in one clause as in (747a<sup>-2</sup>):

- (747a<sup>-1</sup>) *Se.gorngv*    *hnangv*    *meih*    *gorngv*    *nor*    *aeqv.*  
 ສි ກීං                  ຜන්                  ເມේ                  ກීං                  ນອ                  ແອື້  
*se:t kɔŋγ*    *nɔŋγ*    *meiN*    *kɔŋγ*    *nɔ:t*    *ε?* ]  
 if                  like                  2SG                  say                  if.so                  PDP  
 'If you, suppose you talk (about it),'

- (747a<sup>-2</sup>) *mv*<sup>190</sup>    *zung*    *nzuqc.dorn*    *daix*    *meih*    *daic*    *aqv.*  
 ມີ                  ຜູງ                  ທຸກ.ຕອນ                  ໄຕ                  ເມේ                  ໄຕ                  ອີ່.  
*m^*    *tsunj* ]    *dzu? tɔn* ]    *tai* ]    *meiN*    *tai* ]    *a?* ]  
 DEM<sub>PRX</sub>    CLF                  knife.small                  kill                  2SG                  die                  NSIT  
 'this dagger will kill you (and) you'll (surely)<sup>191</sup> be dead.'  
 (Burgess, the 1970s, *Yangh Yinh Nduov Mienh Nyei Gouv [A Story of Westerners Deceiving the Iu Mien]*, KMB)

Breakdown of the SVC contained in (747a<sup>-2</sup>) is shown in (747b):

<sup>190</sup> A variation of *naaiv* /na:i^/ [DEM<sub>PRX</sub>] 'this'.

<sup>191</sup> The English translation by the adverb *surely* reflects the inchoative aspect of the new-situation-aspect particle (NSIT) *aqv.*

|  |                    |                   |                                    |                  |                  |                  |                  |                 |
|--|--------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (747b)   | [ <i>mv</i>        | <i>zung</i>       | <i>nzuqc.dorn</i>                  | <i>daix</i>      | <i>meih</i> ],   | [ <i>meih</i>    | <i>daic</i>      | <i>aqv</i> ].   |
|  | [ມີ]               | ຕູ່ງ              | ທັງ.ດອນ                            | [ໄສ]             | ແມ່ຍ],           | [ມິນ             | [ໄສ]             | ອະ].            |
|  | ມໍາ                | tsuŋ <sup>1</sup> | dzuʔ <sup>1</sup> tɔn <sup>1</sup> | tai <sup>1</sup> | mei <sup>1</sup> | mei <sup>1</sup> | tai <sup>1</sup> | aʔ <sup>1</sup> |
|  | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | CLF               | knife.small                        | kill             | 2SG              | 2SG              | die              | NSIT            |
| ‘This dagger will kill you (and as a result) you will (surely) die.’ |                    |                   |                                    |                  |                  |                  |                  |                 |

Thus the first clause is a two-argument structure, and the second a one-argument structure.

Therefore, based on both the diachronic and synchronic evidence, it is possible to say that there is a distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs in Iu Mien. However, this fact does not nullify our claim that Iu Mien is not primarily an SVO language but pragmatics plays more important role in the word-order choice. Note the contrastive examples of Downer (1973:14-16), quoted above, between the transitive clause (748) and the intransitive clause (749):

|       |                   |                  |
|-------|-------------------|------------------|
| (748) | <i>koi</i>        | <i>gaengh</i>    |
|       | ຄອຍ               | ແກ້ງ             |
|       | kʰɔi <sup>1</sup> | keŋ <sup>1</sup> |
|       | open(vt)          | door             |
|       | ‘open the door’   |                  |
|       | (Downer 1973:16)  |                  |

|       |                  |                   |
|-------|------------------|-------------------|
| (749) | <i>nqoi</i>      | <i>biangh</i>     |
|       | ມອຍ              | ເບື້ອງ            |
|       | gɔi <sup>1</sup> | pʰan <sup>1</sup> |
|       | open(vi)         | flower            |
|       | ‘to blossom’     |                   |
|       | (Downer 1973:16) |                   |

Why the reverse order *biangh nqoi* [flower open] is unacceptable must be discussed in §11.4

Another reminder that we do not abandon our stance that Iu Mien is not strictly an SVO language comes from LaPolla’s (2002) argument as follows:

[...] a language that has not grammaticalized the syntactic category of subject will often have a relatively free word order based on pragmatics (usually information structure and/or animacy); [...] Assuming agent is equivalent to subject in all languages then is very problematic.

Most studies on word order take a sentence type with two full lexical NP’s as the basic order order, and from this draw conclusions about the

entire grammar of the language, but it has been shown that in natural discourse this type of sentence is relatively rare and marked (LaPolla 2002:206).

## 11.2 Argument Structure

### 11.2.1 One-Argument Structure

A one-argument structure commonly occurs with intransitive verbs and adjectival verbs. It occurs in the pattern NP - V, where NP is an EXPERIENCER and V is in an intransitive clause as in (750):

|       |  |              |
|-------|--|--------------|
| (750) | <i>Ong-Seng</i> <sup>192</sup>                           | <i>daic.</i> |
|       | ອັງ-ເສົງ   | ໄຕ           |
|       | oŋ˥ sɛŋ˥   | tai˩         |
|       | Grandfather-Seng   | die          |
|       | ‘(my husband) Ong Seng died.’                            |              |
|       | (ium_20130506_01_H1_DA_LaaiWaangc_OngSeng_KL;00.03.56-7) |              |

Adjectival verbs occur in the one-argument structure as in (751):

|       |  |            |             |              |                           |              |
|-------|--|------------|-------------|--------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| (751) | <i>Dungz</i>   | <i>hlo</i> | <i>duqv</i> | <i>siepv</i> | <i>gor</i> <sup>193</sup> | <i>norh.</i> |
|       | ດູງ  | ໂລ         | ດູ          | ເສີບ         | ກອ                        | ນ່ອ.         |
|       | tun˧˥  | lo˧˥       | tu?˥        | s̥ep˥        | kɔ˥                       | nɔ˥          |
|       | pig  | be.big     | GET         | be.fast      | very                      | RPT          |
|       | ‘He said “The pig can grow so fast”.’                                    |            |             |              |                           |              |
|       | (ium_20140403_04_SonyHDR-MV1_DA_BungzCunFouv_Nda'maauhJaauz;00.06.27-29) |            |             |              |                           |              |

The verb *hlo* ‘to be big’ is an intransitive verb meaning ‘to grow big’ here. The guise of [N-V<sub>ADJ</sub>] is not the [N<sub>HQ</sub> + attributive/modifier adjective] but the predicative structure. If a modified N was meant, tone sandhi must be present, i.e., *dungz-hlo* /tun˧˥ lo˧˥/. Without tone sandhi the construction *dungz hlo* is a sample of one-argument structure.

### 11.2.2 Two-Argument Structure

In discussing the two-argument structures, apart from obvious transitive clauses such as (752) and (753), further critical investigations are necessary in the

<sup>192</sup> Referring to the speaker’s husband, Mr Gueix-Seng, she uses the kinship term ‘Grandfather’ (*ong*) according to the way that village’s majority used to call him with respect and intimacy.

<sup>193</sup> *gor* = Q, K = *gau*.

future with regard to the clauses containing ambitransitive verbs, which can be interpreted either as the verbs of traverse with locative NPs or the verbs of traverse with locative adverbs as in (759) – (771).

The two-argument construction [NP(A) V NP(TH)] in the transitive clause in its simplest form is exemplified in (752):

- (752) *Ninh(A) nyanc hnaangx(TH).*  
 นິນ(A) ແກ້ວນ ທ່ານາງ(TH)  
 nin↓ jnan↓ n̥a:n̥g↓  
 3SG eat rice  
 ‘He eats rice.’  
 (ium\_1967\_05\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p8;00.02.47-9)

The following example has a THEME comprising an NP as in (753):

- (753) *mbuo(A) baaux [njuov-ziang<sup>194</sup> nzung](TH)*  
 ນ້ຳ(A) ປ້າວ [ນູວ-ເຊີງ ນຸ່ງ](TH)  
 buo↓ pa:u↓ juə↓ ts:jaiŋ↓ dzun↓  
 1PL sing ceremonial.cake song  
 ‘We sing a song of the ceremonial cakes.’  
 (ium\_c1970\_03\_CT\_x\_y\_TradReligion\_3\_1;00.01.35-7)

Verbs of traverse motion, e.g., *mingh* ‘to go’, *daaih* ‘to come’, *faaux* ‘to ascend’, *njiéc* ‘to descend’, *cuotv* ‘to exit’, require frame semantics in order to correctly interpret their argument structure. Goldberg (1995) argues:

Verbs, as well as nouns, involve frame-semantic meaning; that is, designation must include reference to a background frame rich with world and cultural knowledge (Goldberg 1995:27).

As she claims as a Construction Grammarian, many verbs in Iu Mien require rich cultural knowledge in order to rightly interpret their semantics. For example, the verb *cuotv* has to be interpreted in a context whether it is a transitive verb ‘to issue, emit’ or an intransitive verb ‘to exit’.

Examples (754) and (755) show that *cuotv* is an intransitive verb:

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<sup>194</sup> The compound noun *njuov-ziang* [cake take] is a specially baked by a specially appointed old lady for a special occasion of ceremony. The *njuov-ziang* *nzung* is a special song for this occasion. As to this cake, my language consultant described as a kind of taboo name: *mienh maiv doic goringv cuotv naaiv norm mbuox* [people NEG (have) company say exit DEM CLF name] ‘People are scared of say this name’. (ium\_20150504\_GF)

|                    |   |                                      |                     |                      |           |                      |             |
|--------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-----------|----------------------|-------------|
| (754)              | Zoux  | <i>cun-gaeng</i>                     | <i>zuangx</i>       | <i>ga'naaiv</i>      | <i>mv</i> | <b><i>cuotv</i></b>  | <i>aqv.</i> |
| (3 <sup>11</sup> ) | ໄທ້ວາ   | ຫຸນ-ແກງ,                             | ຫົວໜັງ              | ກະນ້າຍ               | ນໍ້       | ຫຼັດ                 | ອື່ນ.       |
|                    | tsəp̚   | ts <sup>h</sup> un <sup>↓</sup> kεŋ̚ | ts <sup>w</sup> aŋ̚ | ka na:i <sup>↓</sup> | m̚        | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət̚ | a?̚         |
|                    | make  | crop                                 | plant               | thing                | NEG       | exit                 | NSIT        |
|                    | '(though they) farm (or) plant things, nothing sprouted.' |                                      |                     |                      |           |                      |             |
|                    | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.01.32-5)         |                                      |                     |                      |           |                      |             |

The noun *ga'naaiv* ‘thing’, in this case ‘plants’, is an object or a THEME of the verb *zuangx* ‘to plant’, and at the same time, as well as the THEME of the verb *cuotv*.

Similarly, the verb *cuotv* in (755)(a repetition of (283a)) occurs in the intransitive clause (i.e. the first three words only):

|   |                                  |                      |                  |             |                 |                  |                  |                                 |
|---|----------------------------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------------------|
| (755)   | [ <i>Domh-juv</i> (TH)]          | <b><i>cuotv</i></b>  | <i>daaih</i> ]   | <i>zong</i> | <i>yie</i>      | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>nyei</i>      | <i>cie.</i>                     |
| (283a)  | [ຕົ້ມ-ຈູ(TH)]                    | ຫຼັດ                 | ຕ້າຍ]            | ຕາງ         | ເມືຂ            | ບັນ              | ເຄູນ             | ເຮືບ.                           |
|   | tom <sup>↓</sup> cu <sup>↑</sup> | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət̚ | tai <sup>↓</sup> | tsoŋ̚       | iə <sup>↓</sup> | buə <sup>↓</sup> | nei <sup>↓</sup> | ts <sup>hi</sup> ə <sup>↓</sup> |
|   | big-dog                          | exit                 | come             | collide     | 1               | PL               | POSS             | vehicle                         |
| 'A huge dog came out (to the road) and hit our motorcycle.' |                                  |                      |                  |             |                 |                  |                  |                                 |
| (Field Notes, WS, attested in May 2014, Thammajarik)        |                                  |                      |                  |             |                 |                  |                  |                                 |

The verb *cuotv* in a transitive clause is exemplified in (756)(a repetition of (2<sup>6</sup>)) and (757)(a repetition of (202b)):

|   |                |                     |                      |              |                   |                   |
|---|----------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (756)   | <i>Mv.zuqc</i> | <b><i>cuotv</i></b> | [ <i>laangh</i>      | <i>zin̚h</i> | <i>laangh</i>     | <i>cov</i> ](TH). |
| (2 <sup>6</sup> )                                 | ນໍ້.ຫຸ         | ຫຼັດ                | [ລ່າງ                | ຕິ່ນ         | ລ່າງ              | ໄຫຼ້](TH).        |
|   | m̚             | tsu?̚               | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət̚ | la:iŋ̚       | tsin <sup>↓</sup> | la:iŋ̚            |
|   | no.need        | pay                 | crop                 | coin         | crop              | tax               |
| 'they did not have to pay tax for crop.'          |                |                     |                      |              |                   |                   |
| (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.01.12-4) |                |                     |                      |              |                   |                   |

|   |                  |                      |                                |                  |                  |
|---|------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| (757)   | <i>Ninh(A)</i>   | <b><i>cuotv</i></b>  | <i>qiex</i> (TH)               | <i>junh</i>      | <i>nyei.</i>     |
| (202b)  | ນິ້ນ             | ຫຼັດ                 | ເນື້ອ(TH)                      | ຈຸ່ນ             | ເຄູນ             |
|   | nin <sup>↓</sup> | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət̚ | c <sup>h</sup> iə <sup>↓</sup> | cun <sup>↓</sup> | nei <sup>↓</sup> |
|   | 3 SG             | produce              | air/voice                      | be.clear         | ASST             |
| 'He/she pronounces (words) clearly.'                                |                  |                      |                                |                  |                  |
| (Field Notes 1994, attested in winter dry season at Takwan village) |                  |                      |                                |                  |                  |

In the meteorological expressions, the verb *cuotv* may well be interpreted as intransitive in the structure [V - NP] even though the surface structure appears to be SVO as in (758) (a repetition of (1<sup>6</sup>)):

- (758) *Normh.ziu ndiangx naaic cuotv douz*(TH).
- (1<sup>6</sup>) នំម តិវ តើយ ហ្មាយ ខ្ញែត ពួគ  
 nɔm↓ tsiu↑ d̥aij↑ na:i↓ ts<sup>hw</sup>ət↓ təw↓  
 Banana tree TOP<sub>DEM</sub> emit fire  
 ‘As to banana trees, they burst into flame (by themselves).’  
 (ium\_20130527\_01\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_12Tribes\_  
 Thammajarik;00.00.24-9)

The NP *normh.ziu ndiangx* ‘banana tree’ is likely to be a preposed topic as it is marked by the topical demonstrative *naaic* ‘as for that’. It may also be possible to take the NP as an agent of issuing/emitting fire. The issue of the seemingly post-verbal subject will be discussed in §11.4.

The following constructions require more cultural knowledge with regard to their interpretation. Example (759) with the verb *cuotv* requires the reading of allative (ALL) for the NP:

- (759) *(Ninh) cuotv jauv*(ALL).
- (នីន) ខ្ញែត តៀវ(ALL).  
 nin↓ ts<sup>hw</sup>ət↓ cau↑  
 (3SG) exit road  
 ‘(He/she) set out on a journey.’  
 (Field Notes 20145003, KMB)

Despite the same surface structure as (759), the postverbal NP has a different interpretation, namely, the source reading as in (760):

- (760) *(Ninh) cuotv biauv*(S).
- (នីន) ខ្ញែត បៀវា(S).  
 nin↓ ts<sup>hw</sup>ət↓ p̥au↑  
 (3SG) exit house  
 ‘(He/she) left the house.’  
 (Field Notes 20145003, KMB)

The interpretation of (760) is (761):

- (761) *Yiem biauv cuotv ga 'nyiec*(G).
- ឃើម បៀវា ខ្ញែត កែលុំ(G).  
 jem↑ p̥au↑ ts<sup>hw</sup>ət↓ ka niə↓  
 be.at house exit outside  
 ‘(He/she) came/went outside from the house.’  
 (Field Notes 20145003, KMB)

The collocation *cuotv gaengh* ‘to go out from the door’ has a culturally specific meaning concerning a bride as in (762):

- (762) *Sieqv cuotv gaengh.*  
 ເຈື່ອວ ຂັວດ ແກ້ງ.  
 siəʔ˥ ts<sup>hw</sup>ət˥ kɛŋ˥  
 daughter exit door  
 ‘(Our) daughter has become a bride.’  
 (Field Notes 20145003, KMB)

The traverse motion verb *faaux* ‘to ascend’ takes the region NP post-verbally as in (763):

- (763) *aengx faaux [wuov jiex nv bung](Rg)*  
 ແອງ ຝາວ [ວູວ ່ິຂ ນຸ ປຸງ](Rg)  
 ɛŋ˧ fə:u˧ uə˥ ciə˥ n˥ pŋ˥  
 again ascend DEM upper.side DEM direction  
 ‘Further (he) went up there in this direction.’  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauhJaauz;00.03.51-54)

The allative NP(ALL) and goal NP(G) must be distinguished. The following two examples demonstrate that in the first case S has not reached the goal and that in the second case S has reached the goal. A single use of *nzuonx* ‘to return’ takes an NP in allative role as in (764):

- (764) *Gorqv-mienh nzuonx [gorqv-mienh nyei biauv](ALL).*  
 ເກົະ-ເມື່ຍນ ພກວນ [ເກົະ-ເມື່ຍນ ເສູຍ ເປີບໍາ](ALL).  
 kɔ?˩ miən˧ dz<sup>w</sup>ən˧ kɔ?˩ miən˧ nei˧ p̥au˥  
 each-person return each-person POSS house  
 ‘Each one returns to each one’s home.’  
 (Burgess & Cunh Luangh, 197105, *Hienx Sieqv, Zoux Cing-Jaa Nyei Gouw* [A Story of Promiscuity and Wedding], Bo Si Liem, Phayao)

On the other hand, the SVC *nzuonx taux* ‘to return and reach’ takes NP in the goal role as in (765):

- (765) **Nzuonx** *taux* *biauv(G)* *daaih.*  
 ນຸວນ ເຄາ ເປັ້ນ(G) ຕ້າຍ.  
*dz<sup>w</sup>ənɔ̄* *t<sup>h</sup>auɔ̄* *p<sup>j</sup>auɔ̄* *ta:iŋ*  
 return reach house come  
 '(He) came back home.'  
 (A Story of Three Piglets, Arisawa (2006:206))

The state verb (in Enfield's sense, i.e. non-action verb 2007:242) also, as opposed to the traverse verbs like (765), can be followed by the NP that is in the goal role (G) as in (766<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (766<sup>-1</sup>) **Meih** *mingh* *taux* **bueix** *gienv*<sup>195</sup> *ndiangx-gorn(G).*  
 ເມືຂ ມິ່ງ ເຄາ ເປົ່ງ ເຖິງ ເດືອງ-ກອນ(G).  
*meiŋ* *minŋ* *t<sup>h</sup>auɔ̄* *p<sup>w</sup>eiɔ̄* *k<sup>j</sup>enɔ̄* *d<sup>j</sup>anŋ kɔnɔ̄*  
 2SG go reach lie CONT tree-base  
 'You go there (then) lie down at the bottom of a tree'

- (766<sup>-2</sup>) **morngx** *wuov* *nzuih.baengx* *maah!*  
 ມອອງ ວ້ວ ຖ່າຍ.ແປ່ງ ມໍາ!  
*mɔŋ* *wɔ̄* *dz<sup>w</sup>iŋ pεŋ* *ma:ŋ*  
 open DEM mouth SFP  
 '(wait) there with our mouth open (for fruits to fall into)!'  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauhJaauz;00.02.06-12)

The next five examples contain the same verb *ndortv* /dət]/ 'to fall' followed by the NPs in different semantic roles. The first has the GOAL (G) as in (767):

- (767) **ninh** *mbuo* *gamh.nziex* *haic* **ndortv** *koiv(G)*  
 ນິນ ບ້ວ ກົມ.ເນົ້າຍ ໄກ ຊຼອດ ຄູບ(G)  
*nin* *buə̄* *kam* *dziə̄* *hai* *dət]* *k<sup>h</sup>ɔiŋ*  
 3 PL fear very fall sea  
 'They were afraid of falling into the sea.'  
 (ium\_20150506\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz\_KMB;00.02.58-03.01)

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<sup>195</sup> *gienv* [cienŋ] = Q, K = *jienv* [teenŋ]. The latter nowadays in Thailand is pronounced extremely close to Thai ອ /te/ as used throughout in Thanyalak Saeliao (2012).

The second shows that the verb *ndortv* takes an NP that is a SOURCE (S) as in (768)(a repetition of (155a)):

- (768) *Ninh(EX) ndortv coux(S) daic.*  
 (155a) นิ่น(EX) ตื้อต ໄທຫວ(宋) ໄຕ.  
 nin↓ dət↓ tsʰəu↓ tai↓  
 3SG fall bed die  
 'She fell off the bed (and) died.'  
 (Field Notes 20140517, MS, Nan)

The third and fourth examples have the same surface structure but two interpretations are possible. The one is that the postverbal NP is the SOURCE (S) as in (768) and (769), the other is the THEME (TH) as in (770):

- (769) *Ninh(EX) ndortv cie(S).*  
 นิ่น(EX) ตื้อต เร็ย(S).  
 nin↓ dət↓ tsʰiə↑  
 3SG fall vehicle  
 'He/she fell off from the car [very likely a pick-up-truck]'  
 (Field Notes 20140517, p. 163)

The fourth example (770) requires a more cultural interpretation:

- (770) *Ninh(EX) ndortv cie(TH).*  
 นิ่น(EX) ตื้อต เร็ย(S).  
 nin↓ dət↓ tsʰiə↑  
 3SG fall vehicle  
 'He/she missed a bus.'  
 (Field Notes 20140517, p. 163)

The preverbal NP of the verb *ndortv* is the THEME as in (771), as opposed to the EXPERIENCER in previous examples (768), (769) and (770):

- (771) *Cie(TH) ndortv (wuov ndiev)(G)*  
 เร็ย(TH) ตื้อต (ວັງ ເດືອນ)(G)  
 tsʰiə↑ dət↓ uəv̥ diəv̥  
 vehicle fall DEM lower.side  
 'A car fell (off from the road down to a ditch or bottom of a bank).'  
 (Field Notes 20140517, p. 163)

In response to a question, the answer clause can omit an agent argument but the verb is obligatory as exemplified in an exchange between two speakers in (772<sup>-1</sup>-<sup>2</sup>):

|                      |                  |                     |                   |
|----------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| (772 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Meih</i>      | <b><i>mingh</i></b> | <i>haaix?</i>     |
| A                    | ເມືຂ             | ມື້ງ                | ຫາຍ?              |
|                      | mei <sup>↓</sup> | min <sup>↓</sup>    | ha:i <sup>↓</sup> |
|                      | 2SG              | go                  | where             |

‘Where are you going?’

|                      |                        |                  |
|----------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| (772 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <b><i>Mingh</i></b>    | <i>mungv.</i>    |
| B                    | ມື້ງ                   | ມູງ.             |
|                      | min <sup>↓</sup>       | mun <sup>↑</sup> |
|                      | go                     | town             |
|                      | ‘(I’m) going to town.’ |                  |

(ium\_1996\_01\_Burgess\_GF\_MienLgL1;00.00.18-9)

### 11.2.3 Three-Argument Structure: Ditransitive Construction

The three-argument structure or the ditransitive construction occurs in the order:

|                 |   |                 |                 |
|-----------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| NP <sup>1</sup> | V | NP <sup>2</sup> | NP <sup>3</sup> |
| A(gent)         | V | TH(eme)         | R(recipient)    |

An example is in (773):

|   |                  |                 |                  |                  |                   |                  |                      |                     |
|---|------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| (773)   | <i>Faaux</i>     | <i>wuov</i>     | <i>jiex</i>      | <i>yaac</i>      | <i>mienh</i>      | <i>bun</i>       | <b><i>nyaanh</i></b> | <b><i>ninh.</i></b> |
|   | ຝາວ              | ວູວ             | ຈີຂ              | ໜ່າ              | ເມື່ນ             | ບຸນ              | ຢູ່ານ                | ນິນ.                |
|   | fau <sup>↓</sup> | uə <sup>↑</sup> | ciə <sup>↓</sup> | ja: <sup>↓</sup> | miən <sup>↓</sup> | pun <sup>↑</sup> | na:n <sup>↓</sup>    | nin <sup>↓</sup>    |
|   | ascend           | DEM             | upper.side       | also             | people            | give             | money                | 3SG                 |
| ‘As he went up there also, people gave him money.’                              |                  |                 |                  |                  |                   |                  |                      |                     |
| (ium_20140403_04_SonyHDR-MV1_DA_BungzCunFouv_Nda'maauh Jaauz;00.03.57-00.04.00) |                  |                 |                  |                  |                   |                  |                      |                     |

This is the unmarked (default) order of the three argument structure as the native speaker consultant says that there is no particular element that is emphasised.

Once the recipient role (R) is contextually established, it can be eclipsed as in (774), which is a continuation of the same story in (773):

- (774) *Cuotv*   *wuov*   *ndiev*   *yaac*   *mienh*   *bun*   *nyaanh.*  
 ចូតវ   វូវ   នីដីវ   យាគ   មិះង   បុន   ញ្ចាន.  
*ts<sup>hw</sup>ət̚l*   *uə̄l*   *diə̄l*   *ja:l*   *miən̚l*   *pun̚l*   *ja:n̚l*  
 exit   DEM   lower.side   also   people   give   money  
 ‘As he went down there also, people gave money.’  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauhJaauz;00.03.56-57)

The theme role (TH) immediately follows the verb, and the NP<sup>3</sup> position can be occupied with other roles such as recipient (R) or goal (G). Observe two examples in (775) and (776):

- (775) *Fin-saeng(A)*   *njaaux*   *sou(TH)*   *hoqc.saeng(R).*  
 ឃិន-សេង(A)   អណ្តារ   ីចាំ(TH)   ីខែ.សេង(R).  
*fin̚l seŋ̚l*   *ɟa:uŋl*   *səuŋl*   *hoʔl seŋ̚l*  
 teacher   teach   book   student  
 ‘The teacher teaches the students books.’  
 (Field Notes 20150513, GF\_KMB, p. 115)

- (776) *Gauv-Hiaang(A)*   *dinh*   *youh(TH)*   *cie(G).*  
 កៅ-មិង(A)   ពិន   ីយោ(TH)   ីឱិែ(G).  
*kauŋ çə:ŋ̚l*   *tin̚l*   *jəuŋl*   *ts<sup>hiə̄l</sup>*  
 Gau Hiaang   fill   petrol   car  
 ‘Gau Hiang filled his car/mortercycle with petrol/gasoline.’  
 (Field Notes 20150513, GF\_KMB, p. 115)

Compare the unmarked ditransitive structure in the previous example (773) with the following examples to note that the SVC construction profiles the manner of action as in (777) and (778):

- (777) *Mienh(A)*   [*zorqv*   *nyaanh(TH)*]   *bun*   *ninh(R).*  
 មិះង(A)   [ិទាង   ញ្ចាន(TH)]   បុន   ិីុន(R).  
*miən̚l*   *tsɔ?l*   *ja:n̚l*   *pun̚l*   *nin̚l*  
 people   take   money   give   3SG  
 ‘People took money (and) gave (it to) him.’  
 (Field Notes 20150520, GF\_KMB, p. 143)

- (778) *Mienh(A) [dorh nyaanh(TH)] bun ninh(R).*  
 ເມື່ນ(A) [ດ້ວຍ ນໍານ(TH)] ບຸນ ນິ້ນ(R).  
 miən\ tɔ\ nya:n\ bun nin\  
 people bring money give 3SG  
 ‘People brought money (and) gave (it to) him.’  
 (Field Notes 20150520, GF\_KMB, p. 143)

Furthermore, an elaboration of relationship between arguments can be executed by converting the ditransitive structure into the SVC. The native speaker consultant evaluates that (779) is *cou nyei /tsʰəʊŋ̚ nei/* [be.rough ASST] ‘it is rough, sloppy’ whereas (780) is *waac gauh muonc /wa:l kauŋ mʷəŋ/* [word more be.fine] ‘the sentence is more detailed’:

- (779) *Faam(A) an [norm yienv](TH) dieh(G).*  
 ຝາມ(A) ອັນ [ນອມ ເຢີນ](TH) ເຕີ່ງ(G).  
 fa:m\ an\ nɔm\ jen\ tiə\  
 Faam put CLF bowl table  
 ‘Faam put a bowl on the table.’  
 (Field Notes 20150513, GF\_KMB, p. 115)

- (780) *Faam(A) zorqv [norm yienv](TH) an dieh(G).*  
 ຝາມ(A) ເຕັກ [ນອມ ເຢີນ](TH) ອັນ ເຕີ່ງ(G).  
 fa:m\ tsɔ?l\ nɔm\ jen\ an\ tiə\  
 Faam take CLF bowl put table  
 ‘Faam took the bowl (and) put (it) on the table.’  
 (Field Notes 20150513, GF\_KMB, p. 115)

Finally, in this section, an interesting three argument structure has been found from as early as the 1960s, when Christianity was still very new to the Iu Mien. The VP consists of SVcs; and the TH occurs in the position of NP<sup>3</sup>, which is usually occupied by a recipient, as in (781<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (781<sup>-1</sup>) *Tov Meih(A) zoux gong mienz.cuotv*  
 ໃທ້ ເມີ່(A) ໂຫດວ ກອ ເມື່ນ.ຊົວດ  
 tʰoŋ̚ mei\ tsəuŋ̚ koŋ̚ mienz tsʰwət\  
 beseech 2SG do work forgive.exit  
 ‘(Lord) please work (in our hearts and) purge/forgive’

|                      |   |                                     |
|----------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| (781 <sup>-2</sup> ) | [ <i>yie mbuo nyei hnyouv</i> ] (S)(..) | [ <i>yie mbuo nyei zuiz</i> ] (TH). |
|                      | [ເຢືຍ ນັວ ເລູຍ ເຮນູ້ຍາ](S)(..)          | [ເຢືຍ ນັວ ເລູຍ ຊຸບ](TH).            |
| iə <sup>1</sup>      | bua <sup>1</sup>                        | nei <sup>1</sup>                    |
| 1                    | PL                                      | POSS                                |
|                      |   | heart                               |
|                      |   | iə <sup>1</sup>                     |
|                      | bua <sup>1</sup>                        | nei <sup>1</sup>                    |
|                      |   | ts <sup>wi</sup> ~                  |
|                      |   | poss                                |
|                      |   | sin                                 |

‘our hearts of our sins.’

(ium\_196605\_02\_MAXELL\_ViggoSogaard\_Guex-Cing  
DauxGaux;00.01.35-9)

Note the similarity of the tight sequence between the verb *cuotv* and the source role both in (781<sup>-1-2</sup>) and (760). There is a slight prosodic pause between the source argument and the theme argument.

## 11.3 Presentative Constructions

### 11.3.1 Entity-Central Presentative Verb: *maaih*

The verb *maaih* in its basic meaning is possession ‘to have’ and it is this common verb that is used to present an entity or state of affairs. See the basic meaning of ‘to have’ first in (782<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |                  |                  |                                   |                  |                         |
|----------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| (782 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Meih</i>      | <b>maaih</b>     | <i>fu'jueiv</i>                   | <i>nyei</i>      | <i>saah<sub>z</sub></i> |
| A                    | ແມ່ຂ             | ມ່າຍ             | ຝູຈິວີ້ຍ                          | ເລູຍ             | ຊ່າະ                    |
|                      | mei <sub>N</sub> | mai <sub>N</sub> | fu c <sup>w</sup> ei <sup>~</sup> | nei <sup>1</sup> | sa <sub>N</sub>         |
|                      | 2SG              | have             | child                             | ASST             | Q                       |

‘You have children, don’t you?’

|                      |                  |                  |                  |                |                  |                  |                  |                  |               |
|----------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|
| (782 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <b>Maaih</b>     | <i>nyei,</i>     | <b>maaih</b>     | <i>i</i>       | <i>dauh</i>      | <i>dorn,</i>     | <i>yietc</i>     | <i>dauh</i>      | <i>sieqv.</i> |
| B                    | ມ່າຍ             | ເລູຍ,            | ມ່າຍ             | ອື             | ເຕ້າ             | ຕອນ,             | ເຫີິດ            | ເຕ້າ             | ເຈື້ອ.        |
|                      | mai <sub>N</sub> | nei <sup>1</sup> | mai <sub>N</sub> | i <sup>1</sup> | tau <sub>N</sub> | tɔn <sup>1</sup> | jet <sub>N</sub> | tau <sub>N</sub> | siə?~         |
|                      | have             | ASST             | have             | two            | CLF              | son              | one              | CLF              | daughter      |

‘Yes, I do. I have two sons and one daughter.’

(ium\_1967\_08\_BASF-LGS35\_HCox\_GueixSeng\_YSC-WII-p17;00.12.57-13.08)

The presentative construction starts a narrative by introducing a new participant into a discourse. It can occur at the very beginning of a story or in the middle of a narrative in order to introduce a new (additional) participant. It has a structure [*maaih* + NP] as in (783):

- (783) *Maaih* *dauh* *mienh.*  
 ມາຍ ເຕີ້ ເມື່ນ.  
*ma:i\* *tau\* *miən\*  
 have CLF person  
 ‘There was a man.’  
 (ium\_1996\_05\_Burgess\_GF\_MienLgL5;00.20.33-4)

### 11.3.2 Event-Central Presentative Construction

In the previous section we have seen the entity-central presentative verb *maaih*, in which the NP follows the verb. In the following example which shows the same word order V-NP, it is an event that is presented. Thus, in contrast to the one in the previous section, the construction in this section can be referred to as event-central presentative word order or event-central presentative construction as discussed in LaPolla and Poa (2006:9).

Observe that the order is V-NP; and the verb *yungz* in (784<sup>-1</sup>) is a transitive verb, but the verb *daic* in (784<sup>-2</sup>), an intransitive verb:

- (784<sup>-1</sup>) *Yietc buon yungz [buo dauh],*  
 ເຫີ່ດ ປວນ ຢູ້ງ [ປ້ວ ເຕີ້],  
*jet\ puən\ jun\* *puə\ tau\*  
 one minute give.birth.to three CLF<sub>ANIMATE</sub>  
 ‘(In Thailand today) three babies are born in every minute,’ (lit. ‘(they) give birth to three (babies in every) three minute.’)

- (784<sup>-2</sup>) *daic [i dauh].*  
 ໄຕ [ອ ເຕີ້]  
*tai\ i\ tau\*  
 die two CLF<sub>ANIMATE</sub>  
 ‘two persons die (in every minute).’  
 (ium\_20130214\_28\_Olympus\_DA\_WuonhSiouc\_yungz  
 3dauh;00.00.15-6)

This V-NP event-central presentative construction occurs also in a question as in (785):

|       |             |                     |                      |   |
|-------|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|---|
| (785) | <i>Mbuo</i> | <b><i>daaih</i></b> | [ <i>mbuoqc.ziex</i> | <i>dauh</i> ]?<br>ນັວ ຕ້າຍ [ນັວະ.ເຫດີຍ ເຕີ]?                            |
|       | buə̄₁       | ta:iₙ               | buə?₁ tsiə̄₁         | tauₙ  |
|       | PL          | come                | how.many             | CLFANIMATE  |
|       |             |                     |                      | ‘How many of you have come?’  |
|       |             |                     |                      | (ium_20130528_06_H1_DA_DangcZanx-Seng_FaamCingCuotvSeix_KMB;00.03.57-9) |

It is true that (784<sup>-1</sup>) can be analysed as topic-focus order. However, see the analysis of a similar Chinese clause by LaPolla and Poa (2006), (22b.4) *qī suì shí sǐ-le fùqīn* [seven years.old time die-ASP father] ‘when he was seven his father died’ (ibid. 278) as follows:

The clause form in (22b.4) involves two parts, a topic and a comment [i.e. focus]. What seems to make this clause unusual is that the comment [i.e. focus] takes the form of an event-central presentative clause. Event-central presentative clauses assert the existence (happening) of an event. These clause do not have a two-part topic-comment [i.e. topic-focus] structure; they are thetic rather than categorical (LaPolla and Poa 2006:279).

## 11.4 A Seemingly Post-verbal Subject: Argument Structure of V + NP.

The purpose of this section is to respond to the following analyses by Sposato (2014) particularly concerning with the “VS order”:

As the examples below show, all eleven Miao-Yao languages [Hmong, Hmu, Xong, Iu Mien, Bunu, Biao Min, Baheng, Suang, Younuo, Jiongnai, She] examined are predominantly SV. The opposite order, VS, does occur in many of these languages as well, but it does so far less often. In most cases VS order also seems to be restricted to particular verbs and/or discourse-pragmatic environments, though these issues are rarely afforded any explicit discussion by the authors<sup>196</sup> of the sources used here (Sposato 2014:114).

Despite the scarcity of the discussion on the restricted choice of verbs that occur in the “VS order” and its discourse-pragmatic-conditions by the authors he used, the following delineations are presented from our data. To summarise them beforehand, endorsing the argumentation for Chinese by LaPolla (1995) and LaPlla and Poa (2006), it is analysed that so-called “VS order” in Iu Mien occurs in an “entity-central presentative” construction and an “event-central presentative” construction. In both

<sup>196</sup> Liu [Thanyalak Saeliao] (2012), Mao (2004), Mao & Li (1997), Mao & Li (2002), Mao & Li (2007), Mao & Meng (1986), Meng (2001), Wang (1986), Yang (2004), Yu (2011).

constructions, the NP referring to an entity or an event occurs postverbally in the focal point, which is clause-final.

For example, in presenting entities and events such as natural phenomena, weather, unexpected appearance, emergence/revelation, disaster, illness, which is readily observable to a viewer (speaker), the construction V-NP is used.

- duih mbiungc* [fall rain] ‘it rains, it’s raining’
- duih borqc* [fall hailstone] ‘hailstones (are) fall(ing)’
- gitv sorng* [freeze snow] ‘it snows’
- borngz nziaaux* [blow wind] ‘wind blows’
- borngz mba’ling* [blow lightning] ‘lightning flashes’
- cuotv loc* [emit/gush runoff] ‘runoff gushes out’
- cuotv dopc* [issue/emit smallpox] ‘infected by smallpox’
- cuotv nziaamv* [issue/emit blood] ‘it is bleeding’
- cuotv sic* [issue/emit/emerge incident/problem] ‘problem happens’
- ndortv biouv* [fall fruit] ‘a fruit falls’
- ndortv naanc* [fall calamity] ‘be in distress because of calamities’

At first glance, the constructions look like having an order Verb – SubjectNoun, as Matthew and Yip (1994:69-71) so analyse for Cantonese. However, the so-called SubjectNoun (the post-verbal NP) in the clause is not a subject in the sense that it is an agent. Rather, it is a naturally observable manifestation of an event, which is pragmatically placed at the end of the clause, the place of focal point.

All the examples above can independently occur as they are in actual speech events, showing that all NPs therein are postverbal NPs in a one-argument clause. Because argument structure matters in Iu Mien as presented in §11.2, the postverbal NPs in a one-argument clause should be considered as a different phenomenon compared to postverbal NPs in a two-argument clause.

Through the following investigation we will claim that the S is actually not an agent but an NP in focal point of observer’s (speaker’s) attention. Furthermore, generalization is made in two points. Firstly, a volitional, active, agent occurs as a pre-verbal NP and non-volitional NP or an unexpected event expressed by a clause appears in a post-verbal position. Secondly, the post-verbal (i.e. clause-final) position is occupied with a noun expressing phenomenon of inexorability and unpredictability.

### 11.4.1 Natural Happening in Post-Verbal Position

Anything that falls from the sky is expressed in the post-verbal position (not only rain!). The first example is from a well-known Iu Mien folktale *Nda'maauh Jaauz Nyei Gou* ‘A Story of a Wildcat’. In it when a man who is a main character lies down under a tree waiting for a fruit to drop with his mouth open, a wildcat, instead of a fruit, fell down from it (786):

- (786) ***ndortv***    *norm*    *nda'maauh.jaauz*  
 ตื้อດ         ນອມ         ດະມ່າວ.ຈ້າວ  
 dət̪l         nɔm̥l         da ma:uŋ ca:uŋ  
 fall            CLF          wildcat  
 ‘a wildcat fell down’  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_  
 Nda'maauhJaauz;00.02.19-21)

The constituent order of this clause is V-NP, where NP comprises classifier and a noun. A usual full NP with numeral classifier has three elements; especially when the number is bigger than two, e.g., *buo norm nda'maauh jaauz* [three CLF wildcat] ‘three wildcats’ but number one is often omitted.

The next sequence from the same story contains three similar constructions in one sentence including {blow}{wind} (787<sup>1-2</sup>):

- (787<sup>1</sup>) ***Aengx ndortv***    *norm, borngz*    *nziaaux*  
 ແອ້ງ         ຕັດ         ນອມ, ປິອງ         ຫ້າຍາ  
 εŋ̥l         dət̪l         nɔm̥l         pɔŋ̥l         dzia:uŋ  
 again        fall        CLF        blow        wind  
 ‘One more (fruit) dropped (from the tree). (Then) a wind blew,

- (787<sup>2</sup>) ***aengx ndortv***    *mingh yietc norm.*  
 ແອ້ງ         ຕັດ         ມິ່ງ         ເຫີຍດ         ນອມ.  
 εŋ̥l         dət̪l         miŋ̥l         jet̪l         nɔm̥l  
 again        fall        GO        one        CLF  
 so still one more (fruit) dropped (into his mouth).’  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_  
 Nda'maauhJaauz;00.02.06-29)

The third construction in this sentence has a structure VP-NP, where VP comprises V and an aspectual verb *mingh* ‘GO’. The important point is that this does not show an

order {drop}NP{GO}, but rather, the actual order as appears in the speech has the NP at very end of the clause.

More typical meteorological phenomena are exemplified both in affirmative and in negative constructions, the NPs are in the square brackets in the post-verbal position. See (788<sup>-1-2</sup>) for an affirmative:

|                              |              |               |               |               |                        |                  |
|------------------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|------------------|
| (788 <sup>-1</sup> )         | <i>Dong</i>  | <i>bung</i>   | <i>maengx</i> | <i>fiau</i> x | [ <i>dorv</i>          | <i>mbuonx</i> ], |
|                              | ດង           | បុំង          | មេង           | ភាត           | [ព័ត៌មាន]              | ,                |
|                              | <i>toŋ</i> ↑ | <i>punj</i> ↑ | <i>meŋ</i> ↓  | <i>fa:u</i> ↓ | <i>tɔŋ</i> ↑           | <i>buən</i> ↓    |
|                              | east         | direction     | side          | ascend        | CLF <sub>CLUSTER</sub> | cloud            |
| ‘In the east appear clouds,’ |              |               |               |               |                        |                  |

|  |              |               |               |               |                     |                   |
|--|--------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| (788 <sup>-2</sup> )                       | <i>fai</i>   | <i>bung</i>   | <i>maengx</i> | <i>maaih</i>  | [ <i>gorng</i>      | <i>nziaaux</i> ]. |
|  | ឲិ           | បុំង          | មេង           | ម៉ាយ          | [កុង                | អណ្ឌយាង].         |
|  | <i>fai</i> ↑ | <i>punj</i> ↑ | <i>meŋ</i> ↓  | <i>ma:i</i> ↓ | <i>kɔŋ</i> ↑        | <i>dz'a:u</i> ↓   |
|  | west         | direction     | side          | have          | CLF <sub>WIND</sub> | wind              |
| ‘there occurs a gust of wind in the west.’ |              |               |               |               |                     |                   |

(ium\_1966\_03\_PERMATON\_ViggoSogaard\_Gueix-Cing;00.01.29-34)

Negation of the V-NP construction (789<sup>-1-2</sup>) are a repetitions of (3<sup>-6-7</sup>):

|   |              |               |              |                |              |              |                     |
|---|--------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------|
| (789 <sup>-1</sup> )  | <i>lungh</i> | <i>haanz</i>  | <i>buo</i>   | <i>hnyangx</i> | <i>mv</i>    | <i>duih</i>  | [ <i>mbiungc</i> ]. |
| (3-6)   | តុំង         | សោន           | ប៉ា          | អនុញ្ញា        | វី           | តួយ          | [បុំង].             |
|   | <i>luŋ</i> ↓ | <i>ha:n</i> ↓ | <i>puə</i> ↑ | <i>j̥naj</i> ↓ | <i>m̥y</i> ↑ | <i>tui</i> ↓ | <i>b̥unj</i> ↑      |
| sky arid three year NEG fall rain<br>‘the sky was drought for three years and it did not rain (for that period).’ |              |               |              |                |              |              |                     |

|   |              |              |                |              |              |               |                   |
|---|--------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|
| (789 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>mv~ /</i> | <i>buo</i>   | <i>hnyangx</i> | <i>mv</i>    | <i>njiéc</i> | [ <i>norm</i> | <i>mbiungc</i> ], |
| (3-7)   | វី~ /        | ប៉ា          | អនុញ្ញា        | វី           | ឡើឃី         | [នុំម៉ា]      | ,                 |
|   | <i>m̥y</i> ↑ | <i>puə</i> ↑ | <i>j̥naj</i> ↓ | <i>m̥y</i> ↑ | <i>jiə</i> ↓ | <i>nɔm</i> ↑  | <i>b̥unj</i> ↑    |
| (frg) three year NEG descend CLF rain<br>‘... for three years there was not a single drop of rain.’ |              |              |                |              |              |               |                   |

(ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.01.24-9)

### An Observable Phenomenon in Post-Verbal Position

What is happening in front of the speaker’s eyes is placed in the post-verbal position. This construction typically occurs in expressing phenomena in nature and something that happens on the surface of a body. In example (790) the first line (YJ) is the researcher’s question, the second (GF) answers it.

- (790)YJ    “***Cuotv***    *dopc*”    *fai*    “*dopc*”    *cuotv*”    *fai...?*  
 “ຂ້ວດ”    ຕົບ”    “ໄຟ”    “ຕົບ”    ຂ້ວດ”    “ໄວ...?  
*ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]*    top↓    *fai↑*    top↓    *ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]*    *fai↑*  
 exit    smallpox    or    smallpox    exit    Q  
 ‘(Would you say) “emit smallpox” or “smallpox emit”? ’

- (790)GF    ***Cuotv***    *dopc*.  
 ຂ້ວດ    ຕົບ.  
*ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]*    top↓  
 exit    smallpox  
 ‘(We say) suffer from smallpox.’ (lit. let.out smallpox)  
 (ium\_20140503\_03\_H1\_DA\_Gueix-Fongc\_cuotv\_KMB;00.09.20-25)

Inflammation on the skin is a visible phenomenon and it occurs post-verbally.

In (791) a native speaker talks about the constituent order involved in the verb *cuotv* ‘to exit’ or ‘to emit, let out, issue’:

- (791<sup>-1</sup>)    *Zien.zien*    *nor;*    *benx*    “*nziaamv*    *cuotv*”    *mv.baac*  
 ເຕීຍන.ເຕීຍන    ນອ,    ເປັນ    “ຖໍ່າມ    ຂ້ວດ”    ມ້ປ້າ  
*ts<sup>j</sup>en↑ ts<sup>j</sup>en↑*    *nɔ↑*    *pen↓*    *dz<sup>j</sup>a:m^*    *ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]*    *m^ pa:↓*  
 really              TOP    be        blood            exit          but  
 ‘It’s true that blood comes out (of the nose) but...’

- (791<sup>-2</sup>)    *Mienh*    *nyei,*    “***cuotv***    *nziaamv*” @@@@  
 ເມື່ອນ    ເສູ່ຍ,    “ຂ້ວດ    ທໍ່າມ” @@@@  
*miən↓*    *nei↑*    *ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]*    *dz<sup>j</sup>a:m^*  
 Iu Mien    SBCP    exit        blood  
 (the order) of Iu Mien is “emit blood”. ’

- (791<sup>-3</sup>)    *Nziaamv*    *cuotv*    *mv.baac*    ***cuotv***    *nziaamv*@@@@  
 ທໍ່າມ    ຂ້ວດ    ມ້ປ້າ    ຂ້ວດ    ທໍ່າມ@@@@  
*dz<sup>j</sup>a:m^*    *ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]*    *m^ pa:↓*    *ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]*    *dz<sup>j</sup>a:m^*  
 blood    exit    but            exit    blood  
 ‘(Actually) blood comes out but (we say) “comes out blood”. ’

- (791<sup>-4</sup>) *Mienh waac da'gangx deix*  
 เมี่ยน หว่า ตะกั่ง เดี๋ยว  
*miən˧˥ wa:˩˧ ta kaŋ˧˥ tei˧˥*  
 Iu Mien language reverse some  
 '(It seems that) Mien language somehow reverses order, (doesn't it?)'

- (791<sup>-5</sup>) *mba'zorng cuotv nziaamv.*  
 บะ黜อง ชื้วດ ทขໍາມ.  
*ba tsɔŋ˧˥ tsʰwət˥ dz̥ia:m˥*  
 nose exit blood  
 'The nose bleeds' (lit. 'the nose lets blood out')  
 (ium\_20140503\_03\_H1\_DA\_Gueix-Fongc\_cuotv\_KMB;00.10.03-23)

The last clause (791<sup>-5</sup>) shows two arguments that are entailed by the verb: the source of blood and the blood that came out to the surface for observer's eyes. Though the appearance of the word order is SVO, the focus is not on the agent (or Sbj) but the result or phenomenon. And the result, the blood, is not an undergoer (patient in a sense of a noun in accusative) of a volitional act of the source. Rather, the visible result of bleeding is placed post-verbally, that is a focal point.

Example (792) demonstrates a native speaker's intuition that proper NPs must occur in the proper positions of the clause.

- (792) @@ *nziaamv cuotv mba'zorng @@@*  
 @@ ທຂໍາມ ชื้ວດ บະ黜อง @@@  
*dz̥ia:m˥ tsʰwət˥ ba tsɔŋ˧˥*  
 blood emit nose  
 '(It's impossible that) blood produces noses!'  
 (ium\_20140503\_03\_H1\_DA\_Gueix-Fongc\_cuotv\_KMB;00.10.52-56)

Since the post-verbal position is an observable/obvious focal point of speaker's attention, the picture the clause evokes is that noses are everywhere coming out from the blood.

The verb *cuotv* is also used in describing a phenomenon in the nature. Example (793<sup>-1-4</sup>) is a common incident in the six-month rainy season in Iu Mien villages located on the hillsides of Thailand:

|                      |                                  |                 |                  |                                |                                |                   |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| (793 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Eix.leiz</i>                  | <i>se</i>       | <i>duih</i>      | <i>mbiungc</i>                 | <i>njiec</i>                   | <i>daaih</i>      |
|                      | ເລື້ອຍເລື້ອຍ                     | ເຫຼື            | ດຸ້ບ             | ນມູ່ງ                          | ເທົ່າຍື                        | ຕ້າຍ              |
|                      | ei <sup>1</sup> lei <sup>1</sup> | se <sup>1</sup> | tui <sup>1</sup> | b <sup>1</sup> un <sup>1</sup> | ji <sup>1</sup> o <sup>1</sup> | ta:i <sup>1</sup> |

meaning COP fall rain descend come

‘It means that the rain water that fell down,’

|                      |             |             |              |             |             |                |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| (793 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>wuov</i> | <i>deix</i> | <i>wuom,</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>deix</i> | <i>wuom...</i> |
|                      | ວ້າ         | ເຕໍບ        | ວວມ,         | ວ້າ         | ເຕໍບ        | ວວມ...         |

ນອ່າ tei<sup>1</sup> nəm<sup>1</sup> nə<sup>1</sup> tei<sup>1</sup> nəm<sup>1</sup>

DEM some water DEM some water

‘these waters, these waters that came from the rainfall’

|                      |            |              |            |             |             |              |
|----------------------|------------|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| (793 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>gan</i> | <i>ndau,</i> | <i>gan</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>ndau</i> | <i>mingh</i> |
|                      | ກັນ        | ເດາ,         | ກັນ        | ວ້າ         | ເດາ         | ມິ່ງ         |

kan<sup>1</sup> dau<sup>1</sup> kan<sup>1</sup> nə<sup>1</sup> dau<sup>1</sup> miŋ<sup>1</sup>

follow ground follow DEM ground go

‘flows along, flows on the ground’

|                      |           |               |              |             |                |               |
|----------------------|-----------|---------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|---------------|
| (793 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>nv</i> | <i>deix /</i> | <i>mienh</i> | <i>heuc</i> | “ <i>cuotv</i> | <i>loc</i> ”. |
|                      | ນ້ຳ       | ເຕໍບ /        | ເມື່ຍນ       | ເຫຼວ        | “ຂົວດ          | ໄຫດ”.         |

ຖ່າ tei<sup>1</sup> miən<sup>1</sup> heu<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>hw</sup>ət<sup>1</sup> lo<sup>1</sup>

DEM some people call exit runoff

‘people call it “flows runoff”.’

(ium\_20140503\_03\_H1\_DA\_Gueix-Fongc\_cuotv\_KMB;00.11.44-55)

In the last clause (793<sup>-4</sup>) the constituent order is V-NP. Notice that there is another occurrence of this construction in the first clause *duih mbiungc* [fall rain] ‘it rains’.

A starting of a fire by itself in the extremely hot weather is expressed in the order V-NP as in (794):

|       |           |             |              |             |             |              |             |              |
|-------|-----------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| (794) | <i>Ih</i> | <i>hnoi</i> | <i>yuoqv</i> | <i>gau,</i> | <i>haih</i> | <i>njopc</i> | <i>douz</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|       | ອື້       | ຮນອຍ        | ບ້າວ         | ເກາ,        | ໄຊ່         | ໜຄນ          | ໄຕ້ວ        | ເຄູຍ.        |

i<sup>1</sup> tħ<sup>1</sup> jə<sup>1</sup> kau<sup>1</sup> hai<sup>1</sup> jop<sup>1</sup> tə<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup>

this day be.hot very be.possible ignite fire ASST

‘It’s so extremely hot today that fire can start by itself.’

(ium\_20130517\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.05.57-06.00)

It is clearly explained by the native language consultant that the non-volitional event is expressed in the construction [V-NP], whereas the volitional action is in the construction [NP-V] as in (795):

|                      |                             |                     |                 |            |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------|
| (795 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Gorngv</i>               | <i>“njopc douz”</i> | <i>eix.leiz</i> | <i>se</i>  |
|                      | กື່ອງ                       | “ໜົບ                | ໄຕ້ວ່າ          | ເອີ້ນ.ເຄີຍ |
|                      | kɔŋ                         | “jop                | təu             | ei̯ lei̯   |
|                      | say                         | ignite              | fire            | meaning    |
|                      | “To say “njopc douz” means” |                     |                 | TOP        |

|                      |                          |              |                  |              |
|----------------------|--------------------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|
| (795 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>mv</i>                | <i>maaih</i> | <i>haiv.dauh</i> | <i>zoux,</i> |
|                      | ນໍ້າ                     | ມ່າຍ         | ໄຊ້.ເຕ້າ         | ໄທດວ,        |
|                      | m̥                       | ma:i         | hai̯ təu         | tsəu         |
|                      | NEG                      | have         | anyone           | do           |
|                      | ‘(that) nobody does it.’ |              |                  |              |

|                      |   |               |           |              |              |
|----------------------|---|---------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|
| (795 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>“douz</i>  | <i>njopc”</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>mienh</i> | <i>zoux.</i> |
|                      | “ໄຕ້ວ່າ   | ໜົບ”          | ເຈ        | ເມື່ຍນ       | ໄທດວ.        |
|                      | təu   | jop           | se        | miən         | tsəu         |
|                      | fire  | ignite        | TOP       | person       | do           |
|                      | ‘(but to say) “douz njopc” means that someone does it.’ |               |           |              |              |

(ium\_20130517\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.09.02-8)

As a person is deliberately making fire like arranging fire wood or blowing to them, the fire starts. In the deliberate action the common phrases would be: *bun douz njopc* [give fire ignite] ‘let fire start’ or *bun douz hiaangx* [give fire be.prosperous] ‘to make fire bigger’.

#### 11.4.2 Unexpected Emergence in Post-Verbal Position

An event of an unexpected, surprising appearance, manifestation, or emergence occurs post-verbally as in (796<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |                      |            |                    |             |
|----------------------|----------------------|------------|--------------------|-------------|
| (796 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Hnangv</i>        | <i>nor</i> | <i>lungh.ndorm</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |
|                      | ຫັ້ງ                 | ນອ         | ລຸ່ງ.ດອມ           | ອືະ.        |
|                      | naŋ                  | no         | luŋ dɔm            | a?          |
|                      | like                 | if.so      | morning            | NSIT        |
|                      | ‘Then, a dawn came.’ |            |                    |             |

- (796<sup>-2</sup>) *Aengx mingh taux, cuotv [dauh sieqv] da'aqv.*<sup>197</sup>
- ແອັງ ມິ່ງ ເກາ, ຂ້ວດ [ເຕົ້າ ເສືບະ] ຕະອີ່ມ.  
 ຂັ້ນ ມີງ ຖ້າວ ຕໍ່າວ ຕໍ່າວ ສີເຫຼັງ ຕໍ່າວ ຕໍ່າວ  
 again go reach emerge CLF girl COME.NSIT  
 (He) further went on (and) arrived (at a certain place); there came out a  
 young woman!  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauh  
 Jaauz; 00.08.54-59)

Further, a sudden emerging expressed by [daaih + NP] as in (797<sup>-1</sup>). A body part's appearance is expressed in [Topic + cuotv + NP] as in (797<sup>-3</sup>):

- (797<sup>-1</sup>) *Daaih [yietc dauh mienh].*
- ຕ້າຍ [ເຫັນຄ ເຕົ້າ ເມື່ຍນ].  
 tai:ŋ jetŋ tauŋ miənŋ  
 come one CLF person  
 'One man appeared.'

- (797<sup>-2</sup>) *Ov! domh ong, ov hlo nzueic gau.*
- ໄວ! ດົມ ອົງ, ໄວ ໄຂລ ແຫວ່າຍ ເກາ.  
 →o:: tomŋ onŋ intj large grandfather INTJ  
 dzʷeiŋ kauŋ be.big be.handsome very  
 'Oh! a big old man; Wow! (he is) very handsome.'

- (797<sup>-3</sup>) *Ong cuotv siaam suz-suz nyei.*
- ອົງ ຂ້ວດ ຜໍາາມ ສູ້ ໄສູ່.  
 onŋ tsʰwətŋ s'a:mŋ suŋ suŋ neiŋ  
 grandfather exit beard very.bushy<sub>ONOM</sub> ASST  
 'The old man grows beard very bushy (beared).'  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_  
 Nda'maauhJaauz;00.11.45-51)

An act of TV watching is a volitional event but what appears on screen is something that a viewer cannot control. In this situation the event-presentative construction V-NP is used as in (798<sup>1-2</sup>):

<sup>197</sup> A contraction form of *daaih aqv* [COME NSIT].

- (798<sup>-1</sup>) *Dongh* *wuov* *hnoi* *wuov* *muonz*  
 ຕິ່ງ ວ້າ ສນອຍ ວ້າ ມ້ວນ  
*toŋ↓* *uə̄y* *t̥iɔ̄y* *uə̄y* *muə̄y*  
 same DEM day DEM night  
 '(You mean) that thing which on that day, that night,'

- (798<sup>-2</sup>) *cuotv* [TV *wuov*] (S) *orqcɔ̄z*  
 ຂ້ວດ [TV ວ້າ] (S) ເອະໄຫ  
*ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]* *t̥i: wi:↑* *uə̄y* *ɔ?↓*  
 exit television DEM Q  
 '(a certain event) appeared on TV, right?'  
 (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_TableTalk;00.28.31-5)

An expected appearance on TV is in the construction [*cuotv* + NP] and this construction constitutes the compliment of the main verb *buatc* 'to see'. It is also important to notice that the main verb is not the volitional verb *mangc* 'to look at, watch', but *buatc* 'to see' as in (799):

- (799) *Yie buatc cuotv kaauc[cm.t](TH).*  
 ເບ ປວດ ຂ້ວດ ຂ່າງ[cm.t](TH).  
*iə̄l p<sup>w</sup>at]* *ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]* *k<sup>h</sup>a:u]*  
 1SG see exit news  
 'I watched (it) appeared in the news (on TV).'  
 (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_TableTalk;00.28.42-8)

### 11.4.3 Volitional Agent in Pre-Verbal Position

In contrast to the unexpected appearance in (796<sup>-2</sup>), and similarly to the volitional act in (795<sup>-3</sup>), when an agent wilfully comes out, the order is [A + *cuotv*] as in (800):

- (800) [ *Yie die* ] (A) *cuotv, cuotv daaih naaiv nor,*  
 [ເບ ເຕີຢ່າງ] (A) ຂ້ວດ, ຂ້ວດ ຕ້າຍ ນ້າຍ ນອ,  
*iə̄l tiə̄l ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]* *ts<sup>hw</sup>ət]* *ta:i↓ na:īy nɔ̄l*  
 1SG father exit exit come here if.so  
 'When my father comes out,'  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauhJaauz;00.09.27-31)

#### 11.4.4 Inexorability in Post-Verbal Position

Things that people cannot prevent are expressed in the post-verbal position. (801) is an attested example in a conversation regarding illegal labourers in foreign countries:

- (801) *Mv maaih sou nor, aav dangh cuotv sic.*  
 ມໍ ມ່າຍ ໂົງ ນອ, ອື້າ ຕັ້ງ ຂັດ ສີ.  
*m̥˥ ma:i˥ səo˥ nor, a:˥ tang˥ tsʰwət˥ sic.*  
 NEG have document TOP soon emit/emerge problem  
 ‘If they don’t have documents, they will face problems soon or later.’  
 (Field Notes 20140325, ZM, Phayao)

An inevitable result *sic* ‘event, incident, problem’ of the circumstance is placed post-verbally. Notice that an adverb precedes V, not necessarily NP<sub>1</sub>-V-NP<sub>2</sub>. This is another evidence that the structure V-NP does not fit the frame of SVO, from which S is deleted. The source of the problem is the circumstance described in the subordinate clause marked by *nor* ‘TOP’.

The same V-NP order is found in the following example but with an intricate semantic extension. Usually, a phrase “I am tired” is rendered as *yie kouv nyei* [1SG be.tired ASST]. However, see a different order {tired}{you}{particle}, which means “thank you” in (802). Let us see why this does not simply mean “you are tired” but “thank you”:

- (802) *Kouv meih oc.*  
 ໄກວ ເມຂ ໄອ.  
*kʰəu˥ mei˥ o:˥*  
 be.tired 2SG PLT  
 ‘Thank you (for services rendered). / I have been a bother to you.’  
 (Lombard 1968:137. Cf. Panh 2002:128)

This common phrase of appreciation is uttered to the service offered voluntarily. The situation of diligent serving is there in front of a person who receives the service. The situation itself is taking place regardless of the feeling of being obliged on the part of the receiver. The verb *kouv* ‘to be tired’ describes the situation and the whole event of busy serving of *meih* ‘you’ is something that the recipient of the service cannot control. The central person of hearty hospitality that is inexorable to the recipient/speaker is placed post-verbally in the clause, as if he or she is observing an irresistible hospitality that flows like a runoff. Hence, the simple descriptive phrase ‘you are tired’ means ‘Thank you for all your troubles’.

## 11.5 Summary of Chapter 11

This chapter started with four tests to identify verbs, the elimination of adjectival verbs given they were discussed in Chapter 7, and the recognition of transitive and intransitive verbs. These were preliminary issues.

The main themes are (i) the argument structure, (ii) the presentative constructions, and (iii) distinction between two types of word order constructions: [V-NP] and [NP-V].

First, the one-argument structure, the two-argument structure, and the three-argument structure were investigated. Second, the entity-presentative construction using *maaih* ‘there was/were’ and the event-presentative construction were discussed.

The last part, which received a considerable space, explicated that the seemingly post-verbal subject [V-NP] encodes natural (meteorological) happening, unexpected emergence/appearance, and inexorability. On the other hand, the pre-verbal NP in the construction [NP-V] encodes volitional agent.

Therefore, it is not so meaningful to say that Iu Mien is an SVO language. Rather, the speaker’s attitude and perception, i.e., volitionality or non-volitionality, determines the word order.

As we have discussed the argument structure, namely, the verbs and their relations with themes around them, the next thing we shall consider are the internal structure of action (i.e. aspects) and the speaker’s attitude toward events (i.e. modality).

# Chapter 12

## OVERVIEW OF AUXILIARY, ASPECT AND MODALITY

### 12.1 Introduction

In this chapter an overview of auxiliary, aspectual verbs and particles and constructions that express modality will be given.

The compound auxiliary verbs such as below are not discussed here since they have been presented in §6.7.4.8, consequently they are not included in this chapter.

- *oix.zuqc* /ɔiɿ tsu?]/ [want TOUCH<sub>ADVERSAIVE</sub>] ‘must’
- *horpc.zuqc* /hɔp] tsu?]/ [be.right TOUCH<sub>ADVRS</sub>] ‘should’
- *qiemx.zuqc* /cʰjemɿ tsu?]/ [be.necessary TOUCH<sub>ADVRS</sub>] ‘need to’
- *mai⁹.zuqc* /mai¹ tsu?]/ [NEG TOUCH<sub>ADVRS</sub>] and its contracted form *mv.zuqc* /m¹ tsu?]/ ‘need not (to)’

All constructions used in auxiliary, aspect, and modality consist in verbs and sentence final particles. Auxiliaries are pre-verbal verbs that modify the central meaning of the main verb in terms of the speaker’s attitude. Aspect is expressed by the post-verbal verbs that encode the internal structure of action, event, and state of affairs expressed by the main verb. Modality is also expressed by verbs in terms of the speaker’s judgment of what he/she sees, hears, thinks and assumes. In the modality section, we will touch on the issues of evidentials and mirativity.

As far as the aspect and modality are concerned, the sentence final particles also play an important role besides verbs.

### 12.2 Auxiliary Verbs: Preamble

Auxiliary verbs (abbreviated as V<sub>AUX</sub> following Chao’s “Vx” 1968:731ff) have two opposite sides in nature. They have some verbal properties and yet are “not full-fledged verbs” as summarized by Li and Thompson (1989:172) with regard to Mandarin Chinese.

In Iu Mien there are seven monosyllabic auxiliary verbs, almost all of which are borrowed from Chinese:

- *gaamv* /ka:m¹/ ‘to dare (to)’,
- *kangv* /kʰaŋ¹/ ‘to be willing (to do)’,

- *haih* /hai˧/ ‘to be able (to do)’,
- *oix* /ɔi˧/ ‘to want (to do)’
- *nyunc* /ɲun˧/ ‘to be willing (to do)’.
- *maiv nangc* /mai˥ naŋ˧/ ~ *mv nangc* /m˥ naŋ˧/ ‘cannot’, ‘not so’
- *maiv dungx* /mai˥ tuŋ˧/ ~ *maiv dungv* /mai˥ tuŋ˥/ ~ *mv dungv* /m˥ tuŋ˥/ ‘do not’

There are some restrictions in their use as well as freedom in their behavior. For example *nangc* only co-occurs with the negative particle, and *oix* can take an NP as object like a transitive verb does.

## 12.3 Seven Auxiliary Verbs

Five auxiliary verbs, out of six, are used in both affirmative and negative clauses. Two others, *nangc* and *dungx* (*dungv*), are only used with the negative clause.

### 12.3.1 *gaamv* /ka:m˥/ ‘to dare (to)’

The first auxiliary *gaamv* /ka:m˥/ ‘to dare (to)’ was probably borrowed from Cantonese *gam*<sup>2</sup> /kem˧/ (敢) (Matthews and Yip 1994:237)(Cf. Mandarin Chinese *gǎn* (敢) (Chao (1968:744), Li and Thompson (1989:183)). Observe that *gaamv* occurs before the Coverb Phrase (CvP), which is followed by the main verb as in (803).

|       |             |                     |           |                      |                |
|-------|-------------|---------------------|-----------|----------------------|----------------|
| (803) | <i>Ninh</i> | <b><i>gaamv</i></b> | [caux     | <i>baeng-bieiv</i> ] | <i>nzaeng.</i> |
|       | ນິ້ນ        | ກ້າມ                | [ນ່າຫວາ   | ແບ່ງ-ເປັນຍີ]         | ແພຳ.           |
|       | nin˧        | ka:m˥               | tsʰau˧    | pɛŋ˧ p̥ei˥           | dze:ŋ˧         |
|       | 3SG         | dare                | accompany | soldier-leader       | quarrel        |

‘She dared to argue with the officer.’  
(Purnell 2012:191)

### 12.3.2 *kangv* /kʰanŋ˥/ ‘to be willing (to)’

The second auxiliary *kangv* /kʰanŋ˥/ ‘to be willing (to)’ was borrowed from Chinese *kěn* (肯) (cf. Chao (1968:740), Li and Thompson (1989:183)).

*Kangv* in affirmative clause is illustrated in (804<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (804<sup>-1</sup>) *Janx zuqc loz-hnoi mbuo Mienh,*  
 ຈັນ ແຜູ້ ໄລສ-ອນອຍ ບ້າ ເມື່ອນ,  
*can↑ tsu?↑ lo↓ ຖວີ↑ buə↑ miən↑*  
 remember TOUCH old.day PL Iu Mien  
 ‘We remembered that we Iu Mien in the old days (had a method in which)’

- (804<sup>-2</sup>) *zoux jienv nda'maauh.jaauz liuh,*  
 ໂທດວ ເບື້ນ ດະມ່ວງ.ຈ້າວ ລົວ,  
*tsəu↑ c'en↑ da ma:u↑ ca:u↑ liu↑*  
 make CONT wild.cat hut  
 ‘they made a hut for wild cats,’

- (804<sup>-3</sup>) *nda'maauh.jaauz kangv bieqc jai-zeix,*  
 ດະມ່ວງ.ຈ້າວ ຄັງ ເບີ່ຂ ໄຈ-ໄທດຍ,  
*da ma:u↑ ca:u↑ kʰanj↑ piə?↑ cai↑ tsei↑*  
 wild.cat be.willing enter chicken-coop  
 ‘(if) a wild cat was willing to enter the chicken coop,’

- (804<sup>-3</sup>) *ngaatc jai nor; ninh mbuo zorqv nda'maauh.jaauz.*  
 ນາດ ໄຈ ນອ, ນິ້ນ ບ້າ ເຕາະ ດະມ່ວງ.ຈ້າວ.  
*ŋa:t↑ cai↑ nɔ↑ nin↑ buə↑ tsə?↑ da ma:u↑ ca:u↑*  
 bite chicken if.so 3 PL take wild.cat  
 ‘(and when the wild cat) bit a chicken, they would catch it.’  
 (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.12.53-13.01)

In the negative clause, *kangv* is preceded by *maiV* as in (805):

- (805) *Ninh maiV kangv mingh.*  
 ນິ້ນ ໄມ້ ຄັງ ມື່ງ.  
*nin↑ mai↑ kʰanj↑ minj↑*  
 3SG NEG be.willing go  
 ‘He isn’t willing to go.’

(M’Naix Nquenc & Burgess, 1970s, *Saan Hin Zaev Nyei Gouv [Story of Saan Hin Zae]*)

### 12.3.3 *haih* /hai˧/ ‘to know how (to), be able (to), be possible’

The third auxiliary *haih* /hai˧/ ‘to be able (to)’ is borrowed from Chinese *huì* (会) (Cf. Chao 1968:736, Li and Thompson 1989:183).

An ability is expressed by *haih* in (806)(a repetition of (401)):

|  |              |              |             |             |             |             |             |
|--|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (806)  | <i>Mienh</i> | <i>maanh</i> | <i>yaac</i> | <i>mai⁹</i> | <b>haih</b> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |
| (401)  | เมี่ยน       | ม່ານ         | ໜ່າ         | ໄມ້         | ໄຊ          | ເມືຍມ       | ອື່.        |
|  | miən˧        | ma:n˧        | ja:˩        | mai⁹        | hai˧        | jem˧        | a?˥         |
|  | people       | PEOPLE       | TOP         | NEG         | be.able     | be.at       | NSIT        |
| ‘All people (population) were not able to live.’ |              |              |             |             |             |             |             |
| (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih;00.05.20-21)       |              |              |             |             |             |             |             |

*Haih* also expresses possibility or a chance as in (807)(a repetition of (13<sup>-3</sup>)):

|  |             |               |              |  |  |  |  |
|--|-------------|---------------|--------------|--|--|--|--|
| (807)  | <b>Haih</b> | <i>ndortv</i> | <i>koiv.</i> |  |  |  |  |
| (13 <sup>-3</sup> )  | ໄຊ          | គីត           | គីឃ          |  |  |  |  |
|  | hai˧        | dɔ:t˥         | kʰɔi˧        |  |  |  |  |
|  | be.able     | fall          | sea          |  |  |  |  |
| ‘(They) could fall into the sea.’                            |             |               |              |  |  |  |  |
| (ium_20150506_01_H1_DA_GF_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz_KMB;00.03.11-2) |             |               |              |  |  |  |  |

### 12.3.4 *oix* /ɔi˧/ ‘to want (to)’

The fourth auxiliary *oix* /ɔi˧/ ‘to want (to)’ is borrowed from Cantonese *oi<sup>3</sup>* ~ *ngoi<sup>3</sup>* /ɔi˧/ ~ /ŋɔi˧/ (愛) with regard to the phonological resemblance. Semantically, however, Cantonese *oi<sup>3</sup>* ~ *ngoi<sup>3</sup>* means (i) ‘to need (to)’ and (ii) ‘to love’, not the modal meaning ‘to want (to)’ like Iu Mien *oix* ‘to want (to)’. Rather, in Cantonese ‘to want (to)’ (wish or desire) is expressed by *song<sup>2</sup>* /sɔŋ˧/ (想) (Matthew and Yip 1994:235-6).

Iu Mien *oix* is followed by a verb as in (808)(a repetition of (13<sup>-7</sup>)):

|   |             |              |             |             |            |             |              |
|---|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|--------------|
| (808)   | <i>Taux</i> | <i>wuov,</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <b>oix</b> | <i>jauv</i> | <i>sung.</i> |
| (13 <sup>-7</sup> )   | ເຕາ         | ວັງ,         | ນິ້ນ        | ນັວ         | ອ້ອຍ       | ເຈົ້າ       | ຟັງ          |
|   | tʰau˧       | wəŋ˧         | nin˧        | bua˧        | ɔi˧        | cau˧        | sun˧         |
|   | reach       | DEM          | 2           | PL          | want       | compensate  | be.settled   |
| ‘As (they) arrive there, they wanted to compensate all (the debt).’ |             |              |             |             |            |             |              |
| (ium_20150506_01_H1_DA_GF_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz_KMB;00.03.22-3)        |             |              |             |             |            |             |              |

A negation of desire or wish to do something is expressed by [maiv oix V] as in (809):

- (809) *Maaih deix youc maiv oix nyanc aah.*  
 เมี่ยน เตี้ย ໄయ່ວ່າ ໄມ້ ອ້ອຍ ແຜົນ ອ້າ  
 ma:iŋ teiŋ jəuŋ maiŋ ciŋ janŋ aŋ  
 have some TOP NEG want eat SFP  
 ‘Some people don’t want to eat [sweets].’  
 (ium\_20130506\_01\_H1\_DA\_LaaiWaangc\_OngSeng\_KL;00.44.22-4)

Desiring of prohibition is expressed by [oix maiv dungx V] as in (810):

- (810) *Oix maiv dungx duih mbiungc hlo.*  
 ອ້ອຍ ໄມ້ ຕູ້ງ ຕຸ້ຍ ບູ້ງ ໄສດ.  
 ciŋ maiŋ tunŋ tuiŋ b̥unŋ loŋ  
 want NEG AUX fall rain be.big  
 ‘(We) want the rain not to fall hard.’ (i.e. ‘It is OK that the rain should fall but don’t let it fall hard.’)  
 (ium\_20150511\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.17.11-3)

Wanting someone/something to do something is expressed in [oix NP V] ‘to want NP to V’. Conversely, wanting someone/something not to do something is expressed in [maiv oix NP V]. The latter, as an explanation of the previous expression (810), is illustrated in (811):

- (811) *Mv oix lungh duih mbiungc.*  
 ມ້ ອ້ອຍ ສູ່ ຕຸ້ຍ ບູ້ງ.  
 m̥ŋ ciŋ lunŋ tuiŋ b̥unŋ  
 NEG want sky fall rain  
 ‘(We) don’t want the rain to fall.’  
 (ium\_20150511\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.17.44-5)

### 12.3.5 *nyunc /nunŋ/ ‘be willing to’*

A positive willingness is expressed by *nyunc* as in (812):

- (812) *Nyunc*      *muangx.*  
                 អូន់      អុវង.  
*nun]*      *m<sup>w</sup>aŋ]*  
 be.willing    listen  
 ‘to be willing to listen or obey’  
 (Panh 2002:222)

It can occur in a four-syllable elaborate expression as in (813):

- |       |   |                      |              |             |
|-------|---|----------------------|--------------|-------------|
| (813) | <i>nyunc</i>  | <i>congh</i>         | <i>nyunc</i> | <i>ziev</i> |
|       | អូន់  | ចង់                  | អូន់         | តីវិ        |
|       | jun]  | ts <sup>h</sup> onj] | jun]         | tsiə̯v      |
|       | be.willing  | support.the.cause    | be.willing   | agree       |
|       | 'to be willing to put up with something, no matter how difficult, because of a desire to possess something' |                      |              |             |
|       | (Purnell 2012:583)  |                      |              |             |

### 12.3.6 *maiv nangc* /mai<sup>˥</sup> naŋ<sub>˨</sub>/ ‘can not, not so’

The sixth and the seventh auxiliaries occur in negative clause. One of them, *nangc* /naŋ]/ ‘can’ was borrowed from Chinese néng (能) (cf. Chao (1968:735), Li and Thompson (1989:172ff)). It only occurs with negative particle *maiv* (or *mv*) as in (814) and (815):

- |       |  |             |              |                  |              |              |
|-------|--|-------------|--------------|------------------|--------------|--------------|
| (814) | <i>In-ndeic</i>                                      | <i>yaac</i> | <i>maiiv</i> | <i>nangc</i>     | <i>maiiv</i> | <i>benx.</i> |
|       | ອິນ-ເດ່ຍ   | ຫຍໍາ        | ໄມ້          | ໜັງ              | ໄມ້          | ເປັນ.        |
|       | in\ dei\   | ja:\        | mai\         | nan\             | mai\         | pen\         |
|       | opium-field  | TOP         | NEG          | V <sub>AUX</sub> | NEG          | be           |
|       | 'As for the opium-field, it wasn't very productive.' |             |              |                  |              |              |
|       | (ium 2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.01.33)  |             |              |                  |              |              |

- |       |                              |                    |           |                  |             |              |
|-------|------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|------------------|-------------|--------------|
| (815) | <i>Ninh</i>                  | <i>muangx</i>      | <i>mv</i> | <i>nangc</i>     | <i>haiz</i> | <i>benx.</i> |
|       | นິນ                          | ໝວງ                | ມີ        | ໜັ້ງ             | ໄຊ້         | ເປັນ.        |
|       | nin↓                         | m <sup>w</sup> aŋ↓ | m̥ŋ̥      | naŋ↓             | hai↓        | pen↓         |
|       | 3SG                          | listen             | NEG       | V <sub>AUX</sub> | hear        | be           |
|       | 'He is not so able to hear.' |                    |           |                  |             |              |

(ium\_20130528\_06\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng\_FaamCingCuotvSeix\_KMB:00.01.13-6)

### 12.3.7 *maiv dungx /mai˥ tuŋ˧/* ‘Do not...!’

The last of the seven, the second of the negative auxiliaries, is prohibition: *maiv dungx /mai˥ tuŋ˧/* ‘Do not...!’. This form can occur in a colloquial tone *dungv /tuŋ˥/*, and also depending on whether full or shortened form of *maiv*, the combination varies: *maiv dungv /mai˥ tuŋ˥/* or *mv dungv /m˥ tuŋ˥/*.

The first example has *dungx* form as in (816) (a repetition of (189<sup>-1</sup>)):

|                      |  |              |             |                  |                     |              |
|----------------------|--|--------------|-------------|------------------|---------------------|--------------|
| (816)                | <i>Nyaam</i>   | <i>aac</i> , | <i>meih</i> | <b><i>mv</i></b> | <b><i>dungx</i></b> | <i>bouh.</i> |
| (189 <sup>-1</sup> ) | ນູ້ມາມ   | ອ່າ,         | ແມ່ຂ        | ີ້               | ດູ້ງ                | ໄປ້ວ         |
|                      | <i>ja:m˥</i>   | <i>a:˩</i>   | <i>mei˥</i> | <i>m˥</i>        | <i>tuŋ˧</i>         | <i>pəu˩</i>  |
|                      | daughter-in-law  | VOC          | 2SG         | NEG              | AUX                 | lift         |
|                      | ‘Daughter-in-law! Don’t you carry (these bowls).’                    |              |             |                  |                     |              |
|                      | (ium_20130523_06_H1_DA_GueixZoih_OldCustoms_Thammajarik;00.00.18-20) |              |             |                  |                     |              |

Second example appears in the *dungv* form as in (817):

|       |   |                     |              |             |               |  |
|-------|---|---------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|--|
| (817) | <b><i>Mv</i></b>  | <b><i>dungv</i></b> | <i>hietv</i> | <i>wuom</i> | <i>camv.</i>  |  |
|       | ີ້  | ດູ້ງ                | ເຮັດ         | ວາມ         | ສິນ.          |  |
|       | <i>m˥</i>   | <i>tuŋ˥</i>         | <i>çet˥</i>  | <i>uəm˥</i> | <i>tsʰam˥</i> |  |
|       | NEG   | AUX                 | put          | water       | be.many       |  |
|       | ‘Don’t put too much water (in my tea cup).’             |                     |              |             |               |  |
|       | (ium_20130506_01_H1_DA_LaaiWaangc_OngSeng_KL00.38.04-6) |                     |              |             |               |  |

More discussion on the negative imperative will be found in §13.8.

## 12.4 Overview of Tense, Aspect, Modality, and Mood

It has been customarily the practice that tense, aspect, and modality or mood are treated as trilogy under the rubric TAM with the assumption that they belong to the same category. It is quite interesting to notice that even some renowned linguists, like Comrie (1976), assume<sup>198</sup> that tense, aspect, mood are “verbal categories” but the assumption does not hold in Iu Mien. Tense in Iu Mien is expressed by time NPs (e.g. yesterday, today, and tomorrow), because verbs do not have morphological inflections to signal time deixis. It is the case that aspect and modality are expressed by verbs in Iu Mien. However, this is just a half of the whole story. The SFPs play an important part to encode aspect and modality. Iu Mien employs time NPs to indicate tense,

<sup>198</sup> The assumption is unconsciously disclosed in the first line of his book: “...the term ‘aspect’ tends to be less familiar to students of linguistics than are terms for other verbal categories such as tense or mood” (Comrie 1976:1).

aspectual verbs and SFPs to express aspect, and modal verbs and SFPs to signify modality.

**Tense.** According to Comrie (1976) “[t]ense relates the time of the situation referred to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking (ibid. 1-2). [...] Since tense locates the time of a situation relative to the situation of the utterance, we may describe tense as deictic” (ibid. 2). The Iu Mien do have concept of time passage from the past through the present to the future as is shown in the existence of such nouns as *zinh ndaangc* [front before] ‘formerly, in the past’, *ih zanc* [now time] ‘now’, and *nqa’haav hingy* [back end<sup>199</sup>] ‘later, in the future’. If we follow Comrie (1976), who never mentions verbal category as the definition of tense quoted above, Iu Mien does have tense system although he might call it “tenseless languages” similar to Burmese (Comrie 1986:50-53). Timberlake (2007:283), also without referring to verbal category, defines tense as “a deictic operation that locates events and their contextual occasions<sup>200</sup> with respect to the here-and-now of speech”.

Therefore, whether the elements like *zinh ndaangc*, *ih zanc*, *nqa’haav hingy* are classified as nouns or adverbs as a subclass of nouns (Schachter and Shopen 2007:19-20), what they do is to deictically locate events expressed in a sentence to contextual occasions in relation to the here-and-now of speech. We shall refer to these elements as time words or temporal adverbs (Timberlake 2007:304). Thus, tense in Iu Mien is “lexicalised time reference” rather than “grammaticalised time reference” (Comrie 1976:6). These time reference lexemes or temporal adverbs occur either after topic/subject of a sentence (e.g. {we}{tomorrow morning}{go}{to rice field}) or before it, i.e., as a time topic, ({tomorrow morning}{we}{go}{to rice field}). They will be discussed in Chapter 9.

**Aspect.** In contrast to tense being “situation-external time”, aspect is “situation-internal time” (Comrie 1976:4). Comrie defines that “aspects are different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation” (ibid. 3). Iu Mien is rich in this category utilising (i) aspectual verbs appearing immediately after main verbs and (ii) SFPs. Firstly, the aspectual verbs still have their own lexical meaning, e.g., *jienv* as in *nyanc jienv* [eat in.the.state.of] ‘to be eating’ is CONTINUOUS <*jienv* ‘to be firm, fixed securely, stable’. Given an aspectual verb immediately following the main verb, if a modal verb occurs before the main verb as its rightful position, the sentence comprises multiple verbs in succession (i.e. three verbs in succession in this

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<sup>199</sup> *Hingy* is also used as a noun classifier for “opposite ends” of “long objects with both ends exposed, as a log or bamboo pole or of opposite poles in time or space” (Purnell 2012:248). This reveals a mental construal of the Iu Mien considering time as a thin, long, extended object.

<sup>200</sup> “Contextual occasion” is the “point of perspective” that “the speaker [...] invites the addressee [...] to adopt” in observing events (Timberlake 2007:283).

case); and if this type of string occurs in succession without overt conjunctions between them, they manifest as a multi-verb construction (an MVC), which may include SVCs. The repertoires of aspectual verbs are also rich, e.g., *baac* ‘COMPLETIVE’, *liuz* ‘PERFECTIVE’, *ziangx* ‘PERFECT’, *nzengc* ‘CONSUMPTIVE’, *dorng* ‘CESSATIVE’, and *jienv* ‘CONTINUOUS’ (all tentative analyses only). Differentiation between them will be presented in §12.5.1. Secondly, different SFPs give sentences variety of nuances of aspect. The example above can be further modified by an addition of SFP *nyei* as *nyanc* *jienv nyei* [eat CONT ASST] ‘still eating’, in which *nyei* signifies ‘ASSERTIVE/AFFIRMATIVE’ aspect. Two more aspectual SFPs are *aqv* ‘new-situation aspect (NSIT)’(sometimes used as INCHOATIVE) and *mi’aqv* ‘TELIC’. Thus, an Iu Mien sentence has two places to be marked with respect to aspect: post-verbally with aspectual verbs and sentence-finally with aspectual final particles.

**Modality.** According to Timberlake (2007:315) modality is defined: “consideration of alternative realities mediated by an authority”. Alternative realities include “necessity and possibility” (Lyons 1977:787-93), epistemic relation of speakers to the world (i.e. directness vs. indirectness of the source of knowledge) (ibid. 793-809), and “obligation and permission” (ibid. 823-41).

Modality in Iu Mien is expressed by verbs, an adverb, and SFPs. For example, modal verbs includes *daaix* ‘it seems that...’ (epistemic modality), *oix zuqc* ‘must’ (deontic modality), and *haiz* ‘I hear’ (evidential modality), to name a few. One kind of dynamic modality is expressed by adverb *a’hneiv* – V [be.willing V] (volitive). Modality constructions which are involved with SFPs include quotative particle *north* ‘they say’ (reported speech), *mv bei* [NEG know] ‘I wonder’ (speculative), and a combination of a modal verb and an SFP *duqv nyei* [can STAT] ‘you may’ (permissive).

There is another grammatical category of mirativity. This is marked by an extended use of evidential modality in Iu Mien, i.e. the hearsay SFP *north* used in the 2<sup>nd</sup> person (e.g. *you dare say!?*) and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person (e.g. *he/she/they did [such a thing!]?*).

Imperative (i.e. command), request, and optative (i.e. wishes) also come under Timberlake’s term “alternative realities mediated by an authority” (2007:315). Including these, a comprehensive treatment of modality will be found in Chapter 12.

**Mood.** The grammatical category involving such speech-act as command, requests, entreaties, warnings, recommendations, and exhortations are traditionally called mood (Lyons 1977:746ff). Mood also includes a change of declarative statement to questions and negative statements.

Negation in Iu Mien is marked by the negative particle *mai<sup>v</sup>* / *mai<sup>ŋ</sup>*/ or its contraction form (i.e. syllabic nasal) *mv* /*m<sup>ŋ</sup>*/ ‘not’ placed immediately before the verbals (i.e. verbs, copular verbs, modal verbs, and adjectival verbs). An example is *ninh mai<sup>v</sup> daaih*

[3sg neg come] ‘he doesn’t come’. More details including negation of imperative, modals and double negation will be discussed in Chapter 13.

## 12.5 Aspect

### 12.5.1 Kinds of Aspectual Verbs and Markers

In an unpublished hand-written notes “Chinese Influence On Miao-Yao” (n.d., page 2) Downer records six aspectual categories of Iu Mien as in Table 55:<sup>201</sup>

**Table 55. Downer’s fieldnote on verbal aspect**

| Downer’s field note on aspect |                               |                       | Additional notes    |                      |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Iu Mien                       | Chinese<br>(Pin Yin<br>added) | Meaning               | Iu Mien<br>spelling | Iu Mien<br>in IPA    |
| [kiən <sup>3</sup> ]          | 緊 ( <i>jǐn</i> )              | ‘simultaneous action’ | <i>jienv</i>        | /c <sup>j</sup> en˥/ |
| [kia <sup>5</sup> ]           | 過 ( <i>guò</i> )              | ‘past indefinite’     | <i>jiex</i>         | /ciə˧/               |
| [liu <sup>4</sup> ]           | 了 ( <i>liǎo</i> )             | ‘completion’          | <i>liuz</i>         | /liu˨˩/              |
| [paa <sup>6</sup> ]           | 罷 ( <i>bà</i> )               | ‘finish’              | <i>baac</i>         | /pa:˩/               |
| [dzeŋ <sup>6</sup> ]          | 淨 ( <i>jìng</i> )             | ‘all (gone)’          | <i>nzengc</i>       | /dzeŋ˩/              |
| [dzɔi <sup>2</sup> ]          | 齊 ( <i>qí</i> )               | ‘altogether’          | <i>nzoih</i>        | /dzɔi˩/              |

They are all post-verbal aspectual markers, e.g., *Ninh gorngv jienv waac* [3SG speak SIMULTANEOUSACTION/CONTINUOUSASPECT word] ‘He/she is speaking.’ From Downer’s glossing, the following grammatical labels are assigned to these aspectual markers:

- V-*jienv* [CONTINUOUS]
- V-*jiex* [EXPERIENCE] (Downer’s Chinese 过 (*guò*) means ‘to pass through’, signifying ‘passing through events of life’, hence ‘experience’.)
- V-*liuz* [PERFECTIVE] (following Ratliff’s (2010:228) glossing in Hmong and Chinese, see Table 5 in §2.3.1.7. It also implies a successful result.)

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<sup>201</sup> In Downer’s original manuscript, “[tsuq<sup>8</sup>] (着) ‘exactly’ [zuqc /tsuʔ˥/]” is also listed but has been set aside for now for the sake of discussion on aspectual verbs. The IPA transcription with the tone category number with superscript, Chinese characters, and the English gloss are by Downer. Pin Yin in parentheses, Iu Mien in the Unified Script followed by IPA have been supplied in the two additional columns to the right. Special thanks go to Prof. David Bradley who made this rare document available for me.

- V-*baac* [COMPLETIVE] (derived from Downer's 'finish', it simply signifies a completed action, not necessarily implying a successful result.)
- V-*nzengc* [CONSUME] (CONSUMPTIVE aspect derived from Downer's 'all gone', i.e. 'nothing is left')
- V-*nzoih* [PLENARY] (derived from Downer's 'altogether', an opposite notion to *nzengc*)

To this list three more post-verbal aspectual verbs can be added: *dorng* /tɔŋ˥/ 'to conclude', *ziangx* /tziəŋ˧/ 'to complete', and *guenx* /kʷen˧/ 'to be accustomed' (in senses of regular verb). Their regular verbal senses according to Purnell (2012) are as follows:

**dorng** v. to finish, complete, conclude (2012:148).

**ziangx** v. to complete, finish (ibid. 777).

**guenx** v. to be accustomed to, used to, in the habit of, familiar with (ibid. 231).

Derived from these senses, these verbs express aspect when they are postposed to the main verb:

- V-*dorng* [CESSATIVE] 'to conclude after a prolonged period of events or a series of arranged activities (e.g. of three-year schooling)'
- V-*ziangx* [PERFECT] 'to complete with reference to a preceding situation and a present situation as a result of an action' (cf. Comrie 1976:52)
- V-*guenx* [HABITUATED] 'to be accustomed to V' (different to HABITUAL aspect)

One important point should be noted, namely, a differentiation between *liuz* and *ziangx*. *Liuz* PERFECTIVE signifies a completed action with an implication of a successful result and in such a sense it is also resultative. *Ziangx* PERFECT, however, signifies an action done / an event happened in the past relating "some state to a preceding situation" and "the continuing present relevance of a past situation" (Comrie 1976:52). In a connected discourse, a clause containing *liuz* marks that it is a subordinate clause and thus the whole subordinate clause demands a continuing speech to conclude in an upcoming main clause. This use of *liuz* is called an **intra-sentence sequential marker** (§20.3). On the other hand, *ziangx* does not have such a discourse function.

Moreover, two post-verbal aspectual verbs that are grammaticalised from directional verbs: *daaih* /ta:i↓/ ‘to come’ and *mingh* /minj↓/ ‘to go’, both used for PERFECT aspect.

Furthermore, there are three more aspects that are expressed by the sentence final particles (SFPs). They are:

- *nyei* /nei↑/ [ASSERTIVE](almost exclusively used in a affirmative sentence)
- *aqv* /a?↑/ [NEWSITUATION/CHANGEOFSTATE], NSIT. It is sometimes used for INCHOATIVE.
- *mi'aqv* /mi↓ a?↑/ [TELIC].

Thus, Iu Mien has twelve aspectual markers: nine verbs used as aspectual markers and three SFPs. They will be illustrated in the following sections. It should be pointed out that further work in differentiating them accurately is needed, especially with regard to *liuz* ‘PERFECTIVE’, *baac* ‘COMPLETIVE’, *ziangx* ‘PERFECT’.

## 12.5.2 Post-verbal Aspectual Markers

### 12.5.2.1 *jienv* ‘CONTINUOUS’

Three examples of *jienv* presented below are from the story of *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv* /p<sup>h</sup>iu↓ jiui ciə↓ k<sup>h</sup>oi↑/ (漂遙過海) ‘The Sea Crossing Odyssey’ cited in §2.2.3.

First, *jienv* ‘to be stable’ as a regular verb is exemplified in (818):

| (818)  | <i>Yietc.zungv</i>  | <i>aec</i> | <i>ngorc</i> | <i>nzengc</i> | <i>daaih</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>jienv.</i>      |
|--------|---|------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|--------------------|
| (3-12) | ເຫີຍດ.ຜູ້ງ  | ແອ່        | ໜ່ວ          | ເຫັ່ງ         | ຕ້າຍ         | ເບື້ມ       | ນີ້       | ເຈິ້ນ.             |
|        | jet↓ tsuŋ↑  | ε:↓        | ຖວ↓          | dzeŋ↓         | ta:i↓        | jem↑        | ນີ↑       | c <sup>h</sup> en↑ |
|        | ‘Everything   | HEST       | starve       | CONSUME       | COME         | live        | NEG       | be.stable          |
|        | ‘Everything, well, got drought all together and could not survive.’ |            |              |               |              |             |           |                    |
|        | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.01.35-8)                   |            |              |               |              |             |           |                    |

Second, the continuous aspectual marker V+*jienv* denotes the simultaneous action with the other verb that follows as in (819):

| (819)               | <i>Nzaeng</i>   | <i>jienv</i>       | <i>biaux</i>       | <i>jiex</i> | <i>koiv.</i>       |
|---------------------|---|--------------------|--------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| (3 <sup>-17</sup> ) | ແກງ   | ເຈິ້ນ              | ເປົ້າ              | ເຈິ້ຍ       | ຄ້ອຍ.              |
|                     | dzeŋ↑   | c <sup>h</sup> en↑ | p <sup>h</sup> au↓ | ciə↓        | k <sup>h</sup> oi↑ |
|                     | paddle  | CONT               | escape             | pass        | sea                |
|                     | ‘(they) crossed the sea by paddling (ships) to escape.’ |                    |                    |             |                    |
|                     | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.01.44-6)       |                    |                    |             |                    |

This aspectual function of *jienv* was analysed as a part of the adverbial phrase that occurs before a main verb in §9.2.1. In the above example, the aspectual marker-containing adverbial phrase *nzaeng jienv* '(lit.) paddling-ly' modifies the main verb *biau* 'to escape'.

Third, the continuous action or a stable condition is expressed by *jienv* as in (820):

|                    |   |           |              |            |             |               |
|--------------------|---|-----------|--------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| (820)              | <i>Mbuo</i>                                       | <i>mv</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>sou</i> | <i>fiev</i> | <i>jienv.</i> |
| (3 <sup>-3</sup> ) | ບ້າ   | ນໍ້າ      | ມ່າຍ         | ໄຈວ        | ເຖື່ງ       | ເຈື້ອນ.       |
|                    | ບາວ   | ມໍາ       | ມາ:ນ         | ສອນ        | ຝຶກ         | ຈົນ           |
|                    | 1PL   | NEG       | have         | book       | write       | CONT          |
|                    | 'We don't have any written record.'               |           |              |            |             |               |
|                    | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.01.20-2) |           |              |            |             |               |

Fourthly, not from 'the Sea Crossing Odyssey', the habitual behaviour denoted by *jienv* is attested as in (821):

|                      |   |             |                   |            |             |            |             |             |            |
|----------------------|---|-------------|-------------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|
| (821 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Wuov</i>                                       | <i>norm</i> | <i>ziangh.hoc</i> | <i>yie</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>die</i> | <i>corc</i> | <i>buov</i> | <i>in.</i> |
|                      | ວ້າ   | ນອມ         | ເຕີ່ງ.ໂທ໌         | ເຢີ້ຍ      | ເລູບ        | ເຕີ້ຍ      | ຫັ້ອ        | ປ້ຳ         | ອິນ.       |
|                      | ນອ່າຍ   | ນອມ         | ts'arŋ ho]        | iə̯l       | ŋei̯l       | tia̯l      | tsʰɔ̯l      | puə̯l       | in̩l       |
|                      | DEM   | CLF         | time              | 1SG        | POSS        | father     | still       | smoke       | opium      |
|                      | 'At that time my father was still smoking opium.' |             |                   |            |             |            |             |             |            |

|                      |  |             |              |           |              |
|----------------------|--|-------------|--------------|-----------|--------------|
| (821 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Corc</i>  | <i>buov</i> | <i>jienv</i> | <i>in</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|                      | ຫັ້ອ   | ປ້ຳ         | ເຈື້ອນ       | ອິນ       | ເລູບ.        |
|                      | tsʰɔ̯l   | puə̯l       | c̩en̩l       | in̩l      | ŋei̯l        |
|                      | still  | smoke       | CONT         | opium     | ASST         |
|                      | '(he) would still smoke opium.'                        |             |              |           |              |
|                      | (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.11.38-42) |             |              |           |              |

### 12.5.2.2 *jiex* 'EXPERIENCE'

As we have already seen in the names of important documents for the people of Iu Mien, *Jiex Sen Borngv* /ciə̯l sen̩l pɔ̯ŋŋ̩l/ [pass mountain proclamation] 'Mountain Passport' and *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv* /pʰiuŋ̩ jiuŋ̩ ciə̯l kʰɔ̯iŋ̩l/ [float be.far pass sea] 'The Sea Crossing Odyssey', the verb *jiex* means 'to pass'. The use in the ordinary meaning is illustrated as in (822) (a repetition of (3<sup>-17</sup>)):

|                     |   |              |              |             |              |  |
|---------------------|---|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--|
| (822)               | <i>Nzaeng</i>   | <i>jienv</i> | <i>biaux</i> | <i>jiex</i> | <i>koiv.</i> |  |
| (3 <sup>-17</sup> ) | ແຫງ   | ເສື້ນ        | ແປ້າ         | ເຈີຍ        | ຄ້ອຍ.        |  |
|                     | dze:ŋŋ  | c'enŋ        | p'auŋ        | ciəŋ        | kʰwiŋ        |  |
|                     | paddle  | CONT         | escape       | pass        | sea          |  |
|                     | '(they) crossed the sea by paddling (ships) to escape.' |              |              |             |              |  |
|                     | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist; 00.01.44-6)      |              |              |             |              |  |

The construction [V-*jiex*] that expresses one's experience is exemplified, in affirmative (823) and in negative in (824<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |  |                   |              |            |              |             |   |             |              |
|----------------------|--|-------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|-------------|---|-------------|--------------|
| (823)                | <b>Ov!</b>   | <i>Gueix-Cing</i> | <i>gorx,</i> | <i>yie</i> | <i>buatc</i> | <i>jiex</i> | <i>meih</i>   | <i>nyei</i> | <i>niaa.</i> |
| (181 <sup>-7</sup> ) | ໄວ!  | ເກວ່ຍ-ື້ງ         | ກ່ອ,         | ເມືຍ       | ປວດ          | ເຈີຍ        | ແມ່ຍ  | ເລູຍ        | ນີ້ອາ.       |
|                      | ⁽'o:   | kʷeiŋ tsʰinŋ      | kɔŋ          | iəŋ        | pʷətŋ        | ciəŋ        | meiŋ  | jneiŋ       | niaŋ         |
|                      | Oh   | Guei Cing         | old.brother  | 1          | see          | EXP         | 2SG   | ASST        | SFP          |
|                      | 'Oh, Elder brother Guei Cing, I have seen you before!' |                   |              |            |              |             | (ium_c1967_01_Aristocrat_#Burgess_Gueix-Seng_GR-Tape1-Trk;00.03.55-7) |             |              |

|                      |                                |             |             |             |                   |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
| (824 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i>                     | <b>maiv</b> | <i>doqc</i> | <i>jiex</i> | <i>sou(59ms),</i> |
|                      | ເມືຍ                           | ໄຟ້         | ໂດະ         | ເຈີຍ        | ໄຊ(59ms),         |
|                      | iəŋ                            | maiŋ        | toʔŋ        | ciəŋ        | səbŋ              |
|                      | 1SG                            | NEG         | read        | EXP         | book              |
|                      | 'I have never been to school.' |             |             |             |                   |

|                      |  |              |                      |
|----------------------|--|--------------|----------------------|
| (824 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Maiv</i>  | <i>maaih</i> | <i>horqc.dorngħ.</i> |
|                      | ໄຟ້  | ມ່າຍ         | ເທາະ.ຕ້ອງ.           |
|                      | maiŋ   | ma:iŋ        | həʔŋ tɔŋŋ            |
|                      | NEG  | have         | school               |
|                      | 'There is no school (here in the mountain).'                 |              |                      |
|                      | (ium_c1967_04_SCOTCH_HCox_Gueix-Cing_Testimony_a;00.00.14-6) |              |                      |

Observe that the experience construction *doqc jiex* [read EXP] behaves as an inseparable unit taking the THEME argument *sou* 'book' after it, not \**doqc sou jiex*.

Another point, i.e., cultural one, is that the expression *doqc sou* [read book] means to get (formal) education. It is not just simply reading books for personal pleasure, as the paraphrase after 59ms in (824<sup>-2</sup>) 'there was no school' implies that an act of *doqc sou* 'to get education' formally happens in school.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>202</sup> This is somehow similar to the UK use of *read* in English as in *reading for the Bar* or *reading theology at Cambridge*.

A occurrence of an experience construction and a coverb phrase is exemplified in (825), where the main verb is followed by the experience aspectual verb *jiex*:

- (825) *Ninh mbuo [tengx mienh] dangx jiex in.*  
 นิ่น บัว [ເຕັງ ເມື່ຍນ] ດັກຂ ເຈື້ຍ ອິນ.  
 nin<sup>1</sup> buə<sup>1</sup> t<sup>h</sup>en<sup>1</sup> miən<sup>1</sup> tang<sup>1</sup> ciə<sup>1</sup> in<sup>1</sup>  
 3 PL help people break.off EXP opium  
 ‘They have helped people break off opium.’  
 (ium\_c1960\_01\_SonyPR-150-52\_x\_Yauz-Orn\_PHist;00.01.02-5)

As will be discussed in detail in §15.3.2, in the V1-V2 combination (i.e. *tengx* ‘help’ (V1) — *dangx* ‘to break off’ (V2)) the V2 is the main verb, to which beneficiary, manner, instrument, etc. are supplementarily pre-posed by V1, namely, in the form of coverb phrase (CvP), bracketed in [ ] in (825). Hence, the experience aspectual marker *jiex* is postposed to the whole coverb phrase *tengx mienh dangx* [help people break.off], but the connection between *dangx* and *jiex* is stronger than that of V2 and the THEME argument *in* ‘opium’, i.e., *dangx jiex in* [break.off EXP opium], not \**dangx in jiex* (cf. (824<sup>-1</sup>)).

The aspectual verb *jiex* can be used to refer to a situation in the future. In this case it means a repetition (repetitive) as in (826):

- (826) *Njang ndorm aengx buangh jiex.*  
 ນ້ຳ ດອມ ແອັງ ປວັງ ເຈື້ຍ.  
 jaŋ<sup>1</sup> dɔm<sup>1</sup> en<sup>1</sup> p<sup>w</sup>aŋ<sup>1</sup> ciə<sup>1</sup>  
 be.bright morning again encounter REPET  
 ‘See you tomorrow morning again.’  
 (ium\_20150427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.09.51-3)

A similar expression with the same repetitive-*jiex* but not referring to a specific date is exemplified in (827):

- (827) *Ganh zoix buangh jiex.*  
 ກົນ ຫດອຍ ປວັງ ເຈື້ຍ.  
 kan<sup>1</sup> tsɔi<sup>1</sup> p<sup>w</sup>aŋ<sup>1</sup> ciə<sup>1</sup>  
 separately repeat encounter REPET  
 ‘See you again (some day).’  
 (ium\_20150427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.10.20-2)

The repetitive meaning is re-enforced by the co-occurrence with *ganh zoix* ‘separately repeat’, which can be explained by the phrase *ca'lengc aengx buangh /ts<sup>h</sup>a len<sub>J</sub> εŋ<sub>J</sub> p<sup>w</sup>arŋ<sub>J</sub>/* [separately again encounter] (cf. (628)).

### 12.5.2.3 *liuz* ‘PERFECTIVE’

As a regular verb, *liuz* mean ‘to finish’ as in (828):

- (828) *Liuz* *aqv.*  
 ลิว ອັບ.  
*liu<sub>J</sub>* *aʔ<sub>J</sub>*  
 finish NSIT  
 ‘I have finished (talking).’ (lit. ‘(All talking) has finished.’)  
 (ium\_c1967\_03\_SCOTCH\_HCox\_Cun-Nquenc\_Testimony;00.02.13-4)

As Ratliff labels the corresponding Chinese *liǎo* as “perfective marker”, so do we with Iu Mien *liuz* (see Table 5 in §2.3.1.7).

As an perfective marking verb: *liuz* immediately after the main verb followed by an object NP.

- (829) *Nyanc liuz hnaangx,*  
 ນຸ້ນ ລິວ ທ່ານາງ,  
*jnən<sub>J</sub> liu<sub>J</sub> naŋ<sub>J</sub>*  
 eat finish rice  
 ‘After finished eating meal,’  
 (ium\_1967\_08\_BASF-LGS35\_HCox\_GueixSeng\_YSC-WII-p17;00.11.39-41)

The clause that contains the aspectual verb *liuz* is very often bound as a subordinate to the main clause that comes after as in (830<sup>1-5</sup>)(the situation is an explanation of the custom *nyiemc cien* ‘acknowledgement of kinship’, the data (182<sup>2-6</sup>) from §5.4.2.6 is repeated):

- (830<sup>1</sup>) [ *Ninh gorngv liuz ninh nyei mbuox*] CL<sub>SUB</sub>,  
 (182-2) [ນິນ ກ້ອງ ລິວ ນິນ ໄນຍ ບັງ] CL<sub>SUB</sub>,  
*nin<sub>J</sub> kɔŋ<sub>J</sub> liu<sub>J</sub> nin<sub>J</sub> nei<sub>J</sub> buə<sub>J</sub>*  
 3SG say finish 3SG POSS name  
 ‘After the other party (he, i.e. a visitor from other Iu Mien village) having introduced himself with his first name’

(830<sup>-2</sup>) [gorngv *liuz* *ninh* *nyei* *fingx* *nor* *aeqv*]CL<sub>SUB</sub>,  
 (182-3) [ກົ່ອງ ສິ່ວ ນິນ ໄລຍະ ພິງ ນອ ແອື້ນ]CL<sub>SUB</sub>,

kɔŋ̚y̚ liu᳚ nin᳚ nei᳚ fing᳚ nor ae?]

say finish 3SG POSS clan TOP PDP

‘(and) introduced himself with his clan name,’

(830<sup>-3</sup>) [hnangv *mbuo* *yaac* *maaih* *deix* *wuov* *nyungc* *mienh*  
 (182-4) [ຮັນ້າ ບ້ວ ທ່າ ມ່າຍ ເຕັບ ວ້າ ຜູ້ ເມືນ  
 nuan᳚ buə᳚ ja:᳚ ma:i᳚ tei᳚ ue᳚ juŋ᳚ miən᳚  
 like 1PL also have some DEM kind people

‘like [i.e. for example] our side also have that (same) clan,’

(830<sup>-4</sup>) *yiem* *mbuo* *nyei* *cien-ceqv* *nor*]CL<sub>SUB</sub>,  
 (182-5) ເຍີມ ບ້ວ ໄລຍະ ເຈືຍນ-ເສະ ນອ]CL<sub>SUB</sub>,  
 jem᳚ buə᳚ nei᳚ ts<sup>h</sup>ən᳚ ts<sup>h</sup>e?]

be.in 1PL POSS relative as

‘among our relatives,’

(830<sup>-5</sup>) [ziouc *haiz* *haih* *lorz* *aqv*]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>.  
 (182-6) [ຊາວ ໄສ ໄສ ດອ ອື້ນ]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>.  
 ts<sup>h</sup>əu᳚ hai᳚ hai᳚ lor᳚ a?]

then feel be.able seek NSIT

‘then (we) feel (worth) seeking (more questions about the relationships and) possibly (find them out).’

(ium\_20130427\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Greetings-KMB;00.04.50-00.05.05)

### 12.5.2.4 *baac* ‘PAST’

As a regular verb *baac* also means ‘to finish’. From a narrative cited in §2.5.2.3, the influence of Buddhism in most Iu Mien villages is described by *baac* as in (831)(a repetition of (17)):

(831) *Mv.baac* *ih.zanc* *baac* *nzengc* *aqv.* *Baac* *mi'aqv.*  
 (17) ມໍ.ປໍາ ອື່.ຫັນ ປໍາ ເຫັ່ງ ອື້ນ. ປໍາ ມີ.ອື້ນ.  
 m᳚ pa:᳚ i᳚ tsan᳚ pa:᳚ dzeŋ᳚ a?]

but now finish CONSUME NSIT finish TELIC

‘But now (it) is finished altogether. It ended completely.’

(ium\_20150506\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz\_KMB;00.20.05-12)

As a postverbal aspectual marker, *baac* is exemplified in (832<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|   |              |             |               |             |               |
|---|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|
| (832 <sup>-1</sup> )                                      | <i>Baaix</i> | <i>baac</i> | <i>dorngħ</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>ndorm,</i> |
|   | ပါးယ         | ပါး၊        | တို့က         | သာ          | ထօမ,          |
|   | pa:i         | pa:ʃ        | tɔŋ           | uə          | dɔm           |
|   | bow.down     | CMPL        | place         | DEM         | morning       |
| 'In the morning when the couple finished paying respect,' |              |             |               |             |               |

|  |              |             |            |              |               |               |
|--|--------------|-------------|------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| (832 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <i>ndamv</i> | <i>wuom</i> | <i>bun</i> | <i>mienh</i> | <i>nzaaux</i> | <i>hmien.</i> |
|  | ဒီမ          | သာမ         | ပျံ့န      | မီးယ်        | ဟ္မဘာ         | အော်ယ်.       |
|  | dam          | uəm         | pun        | miən         | dza:u         | tiən          |
|  | dip.out      | water       | give       | people       | wash          | face          |
| '(they) would offer water (in a basin) to the guests for washing faces.'                                   |              |             |            |              |               |               |
| (Burgess and Gueix-Cing, the 1970s, <i>Gorngv Sieqv Nyei Yietc Nyeic [The Procedure of Wedding]</i> , KMB) |              |             |            |              |               |               |

### 12.5.2.5 *nzengc* ‘CONSUMPTIVE’

According to Downer the aspectual meaning of *nzengc* is ‘all gone’ as his glossing shows in Table 55 in §12.5.1. In Chinese *jìng* (淨) means ‘to be clean’ and ‘with nothing left’. The profiled meaning is that nothing is left as a result of consumption, extinction, and exhaustion, hence thoroughness is implied.

Consumption of a physical object (by fire in this case) is illustrated in (833):

|   |              |             |                 |             |                  |                |
|---|--------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|------------------|----------------|
| (833 <sup>-1</sup> )                                  | <i>Zorqv</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>youz</i>     | <i>nyei</i> | <i>dungz-zoh</i> | <i>nzengc,</i> |
|   | ເຫກະ         | ນິ້ນ        | ໄບ້ວ            | ແງ່ຍ        | ຖົງ-ໄຕ່          | ເຫດັກ,         |
|   | tsɔ?         | nin         | jəʊz            | nei         | tun              | tso            |
|   | take         | 3SG         | younger.brother | POSS        | pig.trough       | CONSUME        |
| 'He took away his brother's pig trough all together,' |              |             |                 |             |                  |                |

|   |                   |             |              |             |              |                   |
|---|-------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|
| (833 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>guaengv</i>    | <i>wuov</i> | <i>douz,</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>huaav</i> | <i>douz-nzauc</i> |
|   | ແກງົງ             | သာ          | ໄດ້,         | သာ          | ဆວာ          | ໄດ້-ເຫດ           |
|   | k <sup>w</sup> ɛŋ | uə          | təʊz         | uə          | ma:          | təʊ dzau          |
|   | throw             | DEM         | fire         | DEM         | yonder       | fire-hearth       |
| '(and) threw it into the fire there, into the hearth over there,' |                   |             |              |             |              |                   |

- (833<sup>-3</sup>)    *buoqv    nzengc    mi' aqv.*  
 ပြား      အောင်      မျှိုးစွဲ.  
*puə?]*    *dzeŋ]*      *mi a?]*  
 burn        CONSUME     TELIC  
 'burnt it completely.'  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_  
 Nda'maauhJaauz;00.06.55-00.07.02)

The consumptive meaning in more abstract concept is exemplified as in (834<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (834<sup>-1</sup>)    "Zutc    *zong*"    *naaic*    *gorngv*  
 "ဆူမှု"      ဇဝ်"      ဟနား      ကိုခံ  
*tsut]*    *tsoŋ]*      *na:i]*      *kɔŋ]*  
 extinct    ancestor    DEM<sub>TOP</sub>    say  
 'As for (the term) "zutc zong", we talk (about)'

- (834<sup>-2</sup>)    *zutc    nzengc,*    *mai*v    *maaih*    *aqv.*  
 ဆူမှု      အောင်,      ဦးမှု      မှုခါ      ခိုး.  
*tsut]*    *dzeŋ]*      *mai]*    *mai]*    *a?]*  
 extinct    CONSUME    NEG      have      NSIT  
 '(that the family of that ancestor) having been completely extinct (and)  
 nothing is left.'  
 (ium\_20130523\_06\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_OldCustoms\_  
 Thammajarik;00.01.29-32)

In (834<sup>-2</sup>) the situation of *zutc nzengc* is paraphrased *mai*v *maaih aqv* 'not have anything' as the result of *nzengc*. For this reason it is proposed to term it **consumptive aspect**.

The consumptive aspectual verb *nzengc*, by extension, also means thoroughness as in (835):

- (835)    *Hiuv    nzengc    nyei    lorqc,    mienv*    *nyei    jauv    naaic.*  
 ဦးသာ      အောင်      ဧည့်      ဟောဇာ,      မီးယံး      ဧည့်      ဇား      ဟနား.  
*hiu]*    *dzeŋ]*      *nei]*    *lɔ?]*      *miən]*    *nei]*    *cau]*    *na:i]*  
 know    CONSUME    ASST    ASST    spirit/ghost    SBCP    way    DEM  
 '(I) know it thoroughly, the details of the spirit worship.'
- (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_TableTalk;00.43.40-1)

### 12.5.2.6 *nzoih* ‘WHOLESMOME’, ‘PLENARY’ aspect

Somewhat opposite to *nzengc* is *nzoih*; that is, it describes that the necessary parts are all gathered. In other words, *nzengc* means ‘nothing is left, whereas *nzoih* ‘everything is there’, thus meaning PLENARY aspect. The meaning ‘altogether, wholesome’ is exemplified in (836<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                      |              |              |                    |             |  |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------|--|
| (836 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Baaix</i> | <i>daaih</i> | <i>nzunc.hnoi</i>  | <i>jouc</i> |  |
|                      | ປ້າຍ         | ດ້າຍ         | ຫົກ່ານ.ອນອຍ        | ໄຈວ         |  |
|                      | <i>pa:i↓</i> | <i>ta:i↓</i> | <i>dzun↓ tūci↓</i> | <i>cəb↓</i> |  |
|                      | venerate     | COME         | this.time          | then        |  |

‘After (the priests) venerated, then this time,’

|                      |  |                     |               |  |  |
|----------------------|--|---------------------|---------------|--|--|
| (836 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>sipv</i>  | <b><i>nzoih</i></b> | <i>nzengc</i> |  |  |
|                      | ສືບ  | ທ່ອຍ                | ເຫັນ          |  |  |
|                      | <i>sip↓</i>  | <i>dzoi↓</i>        | <i>dzeŋ↓</i>  |  |  |
|                      | contact  | PLENARY             | CONSUME       |  |  |
|                      | ‘(they) conduct all the procedures of contacting,’ |                     |               |  |  |

|  |             |               |              |               |               |             |
|--|-------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| (836 <sup>-3</sup> )   | <i>[jaa</i> | <i>zienh</i>  | <i>nyiec</i> | <i>gueiv]</i> | <i>nzengc</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |
|  | [ຈາ         | ເລື່ອນ        | ເຫຼື່ຂ       | [ເກວິ່ງ]      | ເຫັນ          | ອໍ້ຊ.       |
|  | <i>ca:↑</i> | <i>ts'en↓</i> | <i>jiə↑</i>  | <i>kʷei↑</i>  | <i>dzeŋ↓</i>  | <i>a?↓</i>  |
|  | house       | god           | outside      | demon         | CONSUME       | NSIT        |
| ‘house gods and demons of the dirt outside leaving nothing.’ |             |               |              |               |               |             |
| (ium_c1970_03_CT_x_y_TradReligion_3_1;00.00.13-8)            |             |               |              |               |               |             |

The wholesomeness expressed by *nzoih* is concretely elaborated in a couple of disyllabic compound nouns, *jaa.zienh* ‘house gods’ and *nyiec.gueiv* ‘outside demons’.

### 12.5.2.7 *dorng* ‘CESSATIVE’

As a lexical verb *dorng* /tɔŋ↓/ is illustrated as in (837<sup>-1-2</sup>)(a repetition of (369<sup>-2</sup>) from §6.6.1):

|                      |            |                |  |  |  |
|----------------------|------------|----------------|--|--|--|
| (837 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i> | <i>hnyaapv</i> |  |  |  |
| (369 <sup>-1</sup> ) | ເຢີ        | ສ່ວົນ          |  |  |  |
|                      | <i>iə↑</i> | <i>jə:p↓</i>   |  |  |  |
|                      | 1SG        | pull.out       |  |  |  |

‘I pulled (weeds) out,’

|                      |  |             |             |             |                     |                   |             |
|----------------------|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| (837 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>yie</i>   | <i>zoux</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>gong</i> | <b><i>dorng</i></b> | <i>ndeic-dauh</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |
| (369 <sup>-2</sup> ) | ເມື່ອ  | ໄທຫວາ       | ເນູຍ        | ກງ          | ຕອງ                 | ເດືອ-ເຕົ້າ        | ອື່ຂ.       |
|                      | iə̯l   | tsəʊ̯l      | nei̯l       | kɔŋ̯l       | tɔŋ̯l               | dei̯l tau̯l       | a?l         |
|                      | 1SG  | do          | REL         | work        | conclude            | field-head        | NSIT        |
|                      | 'The work I was doing has come to an end/edge of the field.' |             |             |             |                     |                   |             |
|                      | (ium_20000415_01_CT_DA_FmCiang_PHist;00.08.47-50)            |             |             |             |                     |                   |             |

The verb *dorng* encodes completion of a process or sequence that is marked by a beginning (*jiez gorn*) and an end (*setv mueiz*). Thus an end of a religious ceremony that takes from a few hours to days is described by *dorng* as in (838):

|       |  |              |           |                     |             |
|-------|--|--------------|-----------|---------------------|-------------|
| (838) | <i>Hnangv</i>  | <i>naaiv</i> | <i>se</i> | <b><i>dorng</i></b> | <i>aqv.</i> |
|       | ຮນ້າງ  | ນ້າຍ         | ໃຊ        | ຕອງ                 | ອື່ຂ.       |
|       | ŋnaŋ̯l   | na:i̯l       | se:l      | tɔŋ̯l               | a?l         |
|       | like   | this         | TOP       | conclude            | NSIT        |
|       | '(Doing) like this is the end (of the ceremony)' (lit. this concludes) |              |           |                     |             |
|       | (ium_c1970_03_CT_x_y_TradRelgn_3_1;00.00.00-02)                        |              |           |                     |             |

As a postverbal aspectual marker, *dorng* indicates CESSATIVE aspect in a sense that a prolonged activity has been concluded as in (839):

|       |                                   |             |                     |             |
|-------|-----------------------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|
| (839) | <i>Ninh</i>                       | <i>doqc</i> | <b><i>dorng</i></b> | <i>sou.</i> |
|       | ນິນ                               | ໂດະ         | ຕອງ                 | ໄສ້າ.       |
|       | nin:l                             | to?l        | tɔŋ̯l               | səʊ̯l       |
|       | 3SG                               | read        | CESS                | book        |
|       | 'He has graduated (from school).' |             |                     |             |
|       | (Arisawa 2006:64)                 |             |                     |             |

Iu Mien people in Thailand use *dorng* in place of Thai *jòb* /cop.l/ (ຈບ) in the sense of completing a formal education for the duration of three to four years as in *doqc dorng biei hnyangx sou* /to?l tɔŋ̯l p̄ei̯l ŋnaŋ̯l səʊ̯l/ [read conclude four year book] 'to graduate from the three years of school'. By this the amount of work that is achieved seems to be profiled.

### 12.5.2.8 *ziangx* ‘PERFECT’

The postverbal aspectual marker *ziangx* indicates that a course of action or event is finished. It signifies the PERFECT aspect in the sense that it “relates some state to a preceding situation” (Comrie 1976:52) and a present situation as a result of an action. It is non-perfective, unlike the PERFECTIVE aspect implies a successful result of

a completed action. In the PERFECT aspect, one has stopped an activity for a time but does not necessarily mean that elements contained in the activity are thoroughly consumed. This point of the PERFECT aspect is contrastive to the CONSUMPTIVE aspectual marker *nzengc* and the CESSATIVE aspectual marker *dorng*.

Note the contrast between *ziangx* in (840<sup>-1-3</sup>) and *nzengc* in (841<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |                                |              |                |             |                       |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| (840 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i>                     | <i>nyanc</i> | <i>hnaangx</i> | <i>taux</i> | <b><i>ziangx.</i></b> |
|                      | ເມືຍ                           | ໜູ້ນ         | ຫອນາງ          | ເດາ         | ເຫດີຍ.                |
|                      | iə́t                           | jnan̥        | t̥aŋx̥         | t̥au̥       | ts̥aŋx̥               |
|                      | 1SG                            | eat          | rice           | reach       | PF                    |
|                      | 'I have finished eating meal.' |              |                |             |                       |

|                      |                  |                |
|----------------------|------------------|----------------|
| (840 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Beuv</i>      | <i>mi'aqv,</i> |
|                      | ເປົວ             | ໝົມ໌ ອື່,      |
|                      | peu̥             | mi̥l a?̥       |
|                      | be.full          | TELIC          |
|                      | 'I am full now,' |                |

|                      |                                      |                  |             |              |              |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| (840 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>mv.baac</i>                       | <i>hnaangx /</i> | <i>corc</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|                      | ມໍ.ປໍາ                               | ຫອນາງ /          | ໜົກ່ອ       | ມໍາຍ         | ແຄູບ.        |
|                      | m̥y pa:̥                             | t̥aŋx̥           | ts̥hɔ̥l     | mai̥l        | nei̥l        |
|                      | but                                  | rice             | still       | have         | ASST         |
|                      | 'but there is still some rice left.' |                  |             |              |              |

(Field Notes, 20030905, p. 55 WuonYunh\_Juam Jit)

In contrast, the consumptive aspect is exemplified as in (841<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |                                    |              |                |             |                       |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| (841 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i>                         | <i>nyanc</i> | <i>hnaangx</i> | <i>taux</i> | <b><i>nzengc.</i></b> |
|                      | ເມືຍ                               | ໜູ້ນ         | ຫອນາງ          | ເດາ         | ເຫັກ.                 |
|                      | iə́t                               | jnan̥        | t̥aŋx̥         | t̥au̥       | dzeŋ̥                 |
|                      | 1SG                                | eat          | rice           | reach       | CONSUME               |
|                      | 'I have eaten rice till all gone.' |              |                |             |                       |

|                      |                    |              |             |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------|
| (841 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Mv</i>          | <i>maaih</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |
|                      | ມໍ                 | ມໍາຍ         | ອື່.        |
|                      | m̥y                | mai̥l        | a?̥         |
|                      | NEG                | have         | NSIT        |
|                      | 'Nothing is left.' |              |             |

(Field Notes, 20030905, p. 55 WY\_Ruam Jit)

### 12.5.3 Aspect Expressed by Directional Verbs

The verb *daaih* ‘to come’ in which no spatial traverse is involved is treated as an aspectual marker. It is considered as conceptual metaphorical extension of proximity in time to the speaker: what has come closer to self in timeline is an action/event that has just happened.

In the aspectual *daaih* ‘COME’, the focus is on the presence but it is a presence as a result of the past activity as in (842):

|       |   |                     |             |               |             |              |
|-------|---|---------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|
| (842) | <i>Mbenc</i>  | <b><i>daaih</i></b> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>gouv /</i> | <i>seix</i> | <i>maah.</i> |
|       | ເມັນ  | ຕ້າຍ                | ເງິນ        | ໄກ້ວ່າ /      | ເສຂ         | ນ່າະ.        |
|       | ben↓  | ta:i↓               | nei↓        | kəu↑          | sei↓        | ma:N         |
|       | prepare   | COME                | REL         | story         | try         | SFP          |
|       | ‘A story I have prepared to tell (and therefore at hand), let me try (it).’ |                     |             |               |             |              |
|       | (ium_20130528_06_H1_DA_DangcZanx-Seng_FaamCingCuotvSeix_KMB; 00.06.10-3)    |                     |             |               |             |              |

The aspectual *mingh* ‘GO’ indicates that an event happened in the long past as in (843):

|       |   |             |              |             |                     |             |             |
|-------|---|-------------|--------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|
| (843) | <i>Yie</i>                                      | <i>nyei</i> | <i>m'gux</i> | <i>daic</i> | <b><i>mingh</i></b> | <i>lauh</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |
|       | ເຊີຍ  | ເງິນ        | ມຸກູ້        | ໄດ່         | ມື້ງ                | ເດ່າ        | ອໍະ.        |
|       | iø↑   | nei↓        | m̥ ku↓       | tai↓        | min↓                | lau↓        | a?↑         |
|       | 1SG   | POSS        | grandmother  | die         | GO                  | be.long     | NSIT        |
|       | ‘My grandmother has been dead for a long time.’ |             |              |             |                     |             |             |
|       | (Field Notes, 20150520, p. 150a, GF_KMB)        |             |              |             |                     |             |             |

As postverbal aspectual verbs both *daaih* and *mingh* have the continuous meaning also.

### 12.5.4 Sentence-final Aspectual Particles

#### 12.5.4.1 *nyei* ‘ASSERTIVE, AFFIRMATIVE’

Court (1986:218, 219, *passim*) glosses *nyei* as “assertive particle” to indicate the state of affair, condition, and situation. As it is frequently, but not exclusively, used in affirmative statement, it may be safe to name it ‘affirmative stative aspectual particle’.

Observe the contrast between (844a) and (844b):

- (844a) *Yie nyanc hnaangx nyei.*  
 ເຢ້ຍ ແກູ່ນ ພອນາງ ໄເມຍ.  
 iə́l jnan̥ l nɑ:ŋχ l nei̥l  
 1SG eat rice ASST  
 '(Yes) I eat a meal.' (in response to the host's offer)  
 (Field Notes 20030905, p. 55, WY\_Ruam Jit)

- (844b)\* *\*Yie maiv gengh nyanc hnaangx nyei.*  
 1SG NEG yet eat rice ASST  
 (Field Notes 20030905, p. 55, WY\_Ruam Jit)

#### 12.5.4.2 *aqv* ‘New-Situation (NSIT), INCHOATIVE’

Court (1986:219, *passim*) glosses *aqv* as “New-Situation-Aspect” (NSIT). This, or change-of-situation, is the broadest meaning of this particle and is applicable to variety of situations.

It was told that when the Iu Mien were still by the sea in China, they were well-off with abundant harvest in the fertile land. But as the time went by, the severe drought assailed them and as a result the land came to be unproductive (cf. §2.2.3). This change of situation is expressed in *aqv* in (845)(a repetition of (3<sup>-11</sup>)):

- (845) *Zoux cun-gaeng, zuangx ga'naav mv cuotv aqv.*  
 (3<sup>-11</sup>) ໂທຕວ ຜູນ-ແກງ, ທດວັງ ກະນ້າຍ ມ້ ຕົວດ ອ້ວ.  
 tsəu̥l tsʰun̥l kɛŋ̥l tsʷaŋ̥l ka na:i̥l m̥l tsʰwət̥l a?l  
 make crop plant thing NEG exit NSIT  
 '(though they) farm (or) plant things, nothing sprouted.'  
 (ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.01.33-5)

#### 12.5.4.3 *mi'aqv* ‘TELIC’

The telic aspectual marker *mi'aqv* is a grammaticalised contraction of *mingh* ‘to go’ and the new-situation-aspectual marker *aqv* (NSIT). That is, (846a)(INCHOATIVE) + (846b)(PERFECT) = (846c)(TELIC):

- (846a) *Ninh nyanc aqv.*  
 នីន អញ្ញន អ៊ែ.  
*nin↓ jpan↓ aʔ↑*  
 3SG eat INCHOATIVE/NSIT  
 lit. ‘He eats or has eaten or is about to eat as a result of changed situation implying previously he did not eat.’  
 (Field Notes 20051027, p. 101, Fingv\_CM)

- (846b) *Ninh nyanc mingh.*  
 នីន អញ្ញន មិេង.  
*nin↓ jpan↓ minj↓*  
 3SG eat GO/PF  
 ‘He has eaten.’  
 (Field Notes 20051027, p. 101, Fingv\_CM)

- (846c) *Ninh nyanc mi'aqv.*  
 នីន អញ្ញន អមី អ៊ែ.  
*nin↓ jpan↓ mi↓ aʔ↑*  
 3SG eat TELIC  
 ‘He has finished eating.’  
 (Field Notes 20051027, p. 99,MD; 101, Fingv\_CM)

As an evidence of entrenchment of the telic aspect in (846c), another example (847) is provided. In it, the main lexical verb *mingh* ‘to go’ has to be present beside the aspectual marker *mi'aqv*. This suggests that the contract form *mi'* is bleached of the lexical meaning.

- (847) *Ninh mingh mi'aqv.*  
 នីន មិេង អមី អ៊ែ.  
*nin↓ minj↓ mi↓ aʔ↑*  
 3SG go TELIC  
 ‘He’s gone.’ (depending on the context it could mean ‘He’s gone and dead’.)  
 (Field Notes 20051027, p. 101, Fingv\_CM)

## 12.6 Modality

Modality is defined as “consideration of alternative realities mediated by an authority” (Timberlake 2007:315). For instance, in a situation where a reality is that

there is no water in a scorching weather and an alternative is one has water, then a speaker would address to this reality a possible utterance like: (i) *Yie oix hopv wuom* [1SG want drink water] ‘I want to drink water’, (ii) *Meih qiemx zuqc wuom* [2SG need TOUCH water] ‘You need water’, (iii) *Tov wuom hopv* [ask water drink] ‘Please, give me water to drink’, (iv) *Gamh.nziex daic mv bei* [fear die NEG know] ‘I am afraid I may die.’ etc. Those in bold face are modal constructions.

Modality is expressed by modal verbs and SFPs and by the combination of them in Iu Mien. Semantic categories of modality are summarised in Palmer (2001:22) and their corresponding constructions in Iu Mien are presented in Table 56:

**Table 56. Categories and Constructions of Modality**

| Categories             |                     |                          | Constructions in Iu Mien  |
|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|---|
| Propositional Modality | Epistemic Modality  | Speculative              | (i) <i>daaix-CL</i> ‘it seems that’<br>(ii) <i>CL-mv bei</i> ‘I wonder if’<br>(iii) <i>haih-V</i> ‘may’ |
|                        |                     | Deductive <sup>203</sup> | <i>horpc zuqc-V</i> ‘must’  |
|                        |                     | Assumptive               | (i) <i>nziex-CL</i> ‘it looks like, perhaps’<br>(ii) <i>ga'laaic</i> ‘assume’                           |
|                        | Evidential Modality | Reported                 | <i>haiz gorngv-CL-norh</i> ‘hear say that’  |
|                        |                     | Sensory                  | (i) <i>haiz</i> ‘feel’ (tactile)<br>(ii) <i>haiz</i> ‘hear’ (auditory)                                  |
|                        | Deontic Modality    | Permissive               | <i>CL-duqv nyei</i> ‘you can’   |
|                        |                     | Obligative               | (i) <i>oix zuqc-V</i> ‘must’<br>(ii) <i>horpc zuqc-V</i> ‘ought to, should’                             |
|                        |                     | Commissive               | (i) <i>yie laengz-V</i> ‘I promise that...’<br>(ii) <i>yie dingc hnyouv-V</i> ‘I’m resolved that...’    |
| Event Modality         | Dynamic Modality    | Abilitive                | (i) <i>CL-duqv</i> ‘can’,<br>(ii) <i>haih-CL-duqv</i> ‘possess an ability to’                           |
|                        |                     | Volitive                 | (i) <i>oix-V</i> ‘want to’,<br>(ii) <i>a'hneiv-V</i> ‘happy/willing to’                                 |

Since most of the event modality have been addressed to in the sections of the auxiliaries in §6.7.4.8 and §12.2, only the propositional modality will be surveyed in the following sections.

## 12.6.1 Propositional Modality

### 12.6.1.1 Epistemic modality: speculative

Speculation is expressed by *daaix* as in (848<sup>1-2</sup>):

<sup>203</sup> Palmer’s (2001:22-23) example of “deductive” is MUST in *John must be in his office*, that is, “the speaker makes a firm judgment, on the basis of evidence”.

- (848<sup>-1</sup>) *Ov!*    *muangx*,    *muangx*    *haiz*    *daaix*    *zuqc*  
 ໂອ້!  
 ໜມວັງ,  
 ໜມວັງ    ໄສ  
 ຕ້າຍ  
 ທ່າຍ  
 ທ່າຍ  
 tsu?]  
 INTJ    listen    listen    hear    speculate    TOUCH  
 ‘Oh, as they listened (to that noise) carefully it seemed that’

- (848<sup>-2</sup>) *za'gengh*    *mv*    *zeiz*    *mba'ong*    *mbui.*  
 ທະເກີ່ງ  
 ມ້  
 ເຕື່ຍ  
 ບະອງ  
 ນຸ່ງ.  
*tsa keŋ˥*    *m̥˥*    *tsei˧*    *ba oŋ˥*    *bui˧*  
 really    NEG    be.true    thunder    be.loud  
 ‘it really wasn’t a thunder’s rumbling.’  
 (ium\_20130514\_01\_H1\_DA\_LeizFuqcDorngh\_Gouv-Santiphaap;00.01.00-04)

### 12.6.1.2 Epistemic modality: *assumptive*

The assumptive *laaic* ‘to assume’ indicates the speaker’s judgment is usually wrong as in (849)

- (849) *Ninh*    *mbuo*    *laaic*    *mbuo*    *zoux*    *Janx*    *Kaeqv.*  
 ນິ້ນ  
 ບ້ວ  
 ແລ້ຍ  
 ບ້ວ  
 ໂທດວ  
 ຈຶ່ນ  
 ແກະ.  
*nin˧*    *buə˧*    *la:i˧*    *buə˧*    *tsəb˧*    *can˧*    *kʰε?˥*  
 3    PL    assume    PL    make    non-Mien    Chinese  
 ‘They (wrongly) assume that you two are Chinese.’  
 (ium\_20150429\_02\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.07.42-4)

Phonological variations of *laaic* are *ga'laaic* and *gorv laaic*.

### 12.6.1.3 Evidential modality: *quotative SFP-norh and mirativity*

A quoted speech is marked by the particle *norh* /nɔ˧/ at the end of a sentence, hence naming it quotative SFP (though sometimes further followed by another SFP). Basically, *norh* is used simply to quote someone’s speech. Whether or not the source of the report is certified to the speaker varies depending on the context. The construction has the pattern: *ninh gorngv* <quotation> *norh* [3SG talk <> QUOTATIVEPARTICLE] ‘he said that <>’ or simply without the introductory phrase *ninh gorngv*: <quotation> *norh* ‘it is said <>’.

However, when the quotative SFP-*norh* is used to quote or replicate a speech of the 2<sup>nd</sup> person, it indicates the proposition is new to the speaker. The grammatical marking to code “unexpected information” is referred to as mirative (DeLancey 1997,

2001). In Iu Mien mirativity is expressed in the derived use of *north*, that is, [the 2<sup>nd</sup> person's speech –*north*] 'you (dare) say'. It sometimes has meaning of reprimand, 'you shouldn't say'. The mirative use of *north* will be discussed in §12.7.1.

The following two examples are of simple quotative. Consider the following reporting of a past event, a flash flood. In the first half of the speaker's report, he quotes his own speech (St<sup>1</sup> – St<sup>4</sup> bracketed by ⟨ ⟩) at the time of the event to me, and in the latter half (St<sup>5</sup> – St<sup>6</sup> bracketed by ⟨ ⟩) he replicates his father's response to the first reported speech. In both sets of sentences, the clauses bracketed by ⟨ ⟩ are immediately followed by the quotative SFP *north* as in (850<sup>-1-10</sup>):

|                      |           |            |             |              |                 |              |
|----------------------|-----------|------------|-------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| (850 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Aa</i> | <i>die</i> | <i>aac,</i> | <i>gengh</i> | <i>ih.ndorm</i> | <i>naaic</i> |
| St <sup>1</sup>      | ⟨ oa      | เตีຍ       | ອ່າ,        | ເກົງ         | ອື້ອມ           | ໜ່າຍ         |
|                      | a:₁       | tiə₁       | a:₁         | keŋ₁         | iጀ dɔm₁         | na:i₁        |

PRT<sub>AFFECTION</sub> father VOC really this.morning TOP

'Ah, Dad, talking about this morning, (it was) really'

|                      |              |               |              |            |            |
|----------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|------------|------------|
| (850 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>gengh</i> | <i>maengc</i> | <i>longx</i> | <i>aqv</i> | <i>ov!</i> |
|                      | ເກົງ         | ແມ່ນ່ງ        | ຫລັງ         | ອື່ະ       | ໄວ້!       |
|                      | keŋ₁         | mɛŋ₁          | loŋ₁         | a?₁        | o:₁        |

really life be.good NSIT INTJ

'(we were) extremely lucky!'

|                      |               |               |           |              |            |              |
|----------------------|---------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| (850 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Hnangv</i> | <i>maengc</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>longx</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>aeqv,</i> |
| St <sup>2</sup>      | ຂັ້ນຈີ້ງ      | ແມ່ນ່ງ        | ນີ້       | ຫລັງ         | ນອ         | ແອື່ະ,       |
|                      | ŋaŋ₁          | mɛŋ₁          | m₁        | loŋ₁         | nɔ₁        | ɛ?₁          |

like like NEG be.good as TOP

'If we hadn't been lucky like this,'

|                      |                  |             |              |               |             |
|----------------------|------------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| (850 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>i hmuangv</i> | <i>daic</i> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>mi'aqv</i> | <i>loh!</i> |
|                      | ີ ຂມວິ້ງ         | ໄຕ          | ມິ່ງ         | ໝົມ ອື່ະ      | ໄລ່!        |
|                      | iጀ mጀwŋ₁         | tai₁        | miŋ₁         | mi₁ a?₁       | ጀ lo₁       |

husband.and.wife die GO TELIC INTJ

'we husband and wife would have been dead, you see!'

(850<sup>-5</sup>) *Wuom torngx jienv yie mbuo cuotv> norh,*  
 ST<sup>3</sup> ວາມ ຕອງ ເຖິງ ເຢີ ມ້ວ ຂ້ວດ> ນ່ອ,  
 ສອມ။ t<sup>h</sup>ະງູ။ c<sup>h</sup>ັນ။ i<sup>h</sup>။ bue။ ts<sup>hw</sup>ະຕ။ ນກ  
 water carry CONT 1 PL exit RPOT  
 ‘I said, “The waters were carrying us out from the stream”.’

(850<sup>-6</sup>) <*gan jienv ndoqv cuotv> norh.*  
 ST<sup>4</sup> <ກັນ ເຖິງ ໄດະ ຂ້ວດ> ນ່ອ.  
 kan။ c<sup>h</sup>ັນ။ do?။ ts<sup>hw</sup>ະຕ။ ນກ  
 follow CONT streem exit RPOT  
 ‘I said, “(We) came out along the stream”.’

(850<sup>-7</sup>) *Ninh gorngv <Oov! hnangv nor aeqv,*  
 ST<sup>5</sup> ນິ້ນ ກົງ *<ອູ!* ຂນັ້ນ ນອ ແອື້ນ,  
 nin။ k<sup>h</sup>ົງ။ o:။ n<sup>h</sup>ັງ။ n။ ε?။  
 3SG talk INTJ like as TOP  
 ‘He said, “Oh! as that was the case,’

(850<sup>-8</sup>) *cingx.daaih aa weih kuv ziangh.hoc na'maah.*  
 ST<sup>6</sup> ແຮິງ.ຕ້າຍ ອາ ເວີ້ ອຸ ເຕື່ງ.ໂທ ນ່າ ມ່າ  
 ts<sup>h</sup>inj။ ta:i။ a: wei။ k<sup>h</sup>u။ ts<sup>h</sup>anj။ ho။ na ma:။  
 therefore HEST consider.as be.good time SFP  
 ‘then, (we should) reckon that you were lucky, don’t you?’

(850<sup>-9</sup>) *Mv zeiz kuv ziangh.hoc nor aeqv,*  
 ST<sup>6</sup> ມ້ ເຊີ້ ອຸ ເຕື່ງ.ໂທ ນອ ແອື້,  
 m<sup>h</sup>။ tsei။ k<sup>h</sup>u။ ts<sup>h</sup>anj။ ho။ n။ ε?။  
 NEG be.true be.good time as TOP  
 ‘If it hadn’t been the lucky time,’

(850<sup>-10</sup>) *mv maaih mbuo i dauh aqv> norh.*  
 ST<sup>6</sup> ມ້ ມ່າຍ ມ້ວ ອີ ເຕ້າ ອີ> ນ່ອ.  
 m<sup>h</sup>။ ma:i။ bue။ i။ tau။ a?။ ນກ  
 NEG have PL two CLF NSIT RPOT  
 ‘I would have lost two of you’.‘  
 (ium\_20110919\_01\_Olympus\_DA\_ZoihZou\_FlashFlood;00.03.43-58)

Since both quotations are the narrator's own experience, this *norh* is used with a certainty of the source of knowledge in both the quotation of the 1<sup>st</sup> person's speech and the quotation of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person's speech.

### 12.6.1.4 Evidential modality: sensory

The sensory verb *haiz* /hai˧/ can be read in several different ways: 'to feel', 'to taste', and 'to hear'. All these are concerned with the speaker's first-hand experience. There is one construction, however, which encodes hearsay or evidentiality: *haiz gorngv* [hear say] 'they say'.

The following three examples are a basic, ordinary use of the verb *haiz*. Three sensory meanings, i.e. (i) tactile, (ii) auditory, and (iii) cognitive use of *haiz*, are exemplified below. All of them have to do with the direct knowledge of the speaker. First, the tactile-*haiz* 'to feel, taste' is in (851):

- (851) *Nyanc haiz kuv nyei.*  
 ໜູ້ນ ໄຊ ຄຸ່ ເນັບ  
  nan˩ hai˧ kʰu˥ nei˧  
 eat feel be.delicious ASST  
 '(I) ate (it and it) tasted delicious.'  
 (Arisawa (2006:225), "Why Cicadas don't Have Intestines?")

Second, auditory-*haiz* 'hear' is in (852<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (852<sup>-1</sup>) [Yauz-Jiem fin-saeng aac, meih duqv **haiz** nor,] CL<sub>SUB</sub>  
 [ຢ້າ-ຈື່ມ ພິນ-ແຮງ ອໍາ, ແມ່ ຕຸ້ ໄຊ ນອ,] Cl<sub>sub</sub>  
 jau˧ ciəm˧ fin˧ səŋ˧ a:˧ mei˧ tu?˧ hai˧ nɔ˧  
 Yau Jiem teacher VOC 2SG GET hear as  
 'Pastor Yau Jiem, if you got to listen (to this tape),'

- (852<sup>-2</sup>) [tov meih yaac tengx yie daux.gaux] CL<sub>MAIN</sub><sup>204</sup>  
 [ໄທ໌ ແມ່ ໜໍາ ເດັ ເຍ້ ເຕ້າ.ເກ້າ] Cl<sub>MAIN</sub>  
 tʰo˥ mei˧ ja:˧ tʰen˧ iə˧ tau˧ kau˧  
 beseech 2SG also help 1SG pray  
 'please you also pray on behalf of me.'  
 (ium\_20000415\_03\_CT\_DA\_FmCiang\_Dream;00.05.24-00.05.34)

The third example is cognitive-*haiz* 'feel' as in CL<sup>1</sup> of (853<sup>-1-2</sup>):

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<sup>204</sup> The text is slightly edited. The main clause of the original full text in which the omitted part is underlined reads: *tov meih yaac tengx yie daux gaux mh deix fu'jueiv oc* [DEM some child PLT] 'Please, you also pray on behalf of me for these children'.

The verb *haiz* in CL<sup>2</sup> is used metaphorically as if ‘God’s grace’ was sensed by tongue having *mueix* ‘taste’.

As against these three examples, the evidential reading, i.e. where the speaker is not sure of the source of knowledge, is coded in the construction *haiz gorngv* [hear say] as in (854<sup>1-2</sup>):



- (854<sup>-2</sup>) *se Naa^saa^letv Mungv nyei Yesu).*  
 ເຊ ນາ້າຫາເລືດ ມູງ ເນູຍ ເບ່ຳ  
 se<sup>1</sup> na: sa: let<sup>1</sup> mun<sup>1</sup> yei<sup>1</sup> je<sup>1</sup> su<sup>1</sup>  
 COP Nazareth town SBCP Jesus  
 ‘was Jesus the Nazarene.’  
*(The Gospel according to St. Mark 10:47. Iu Mien Bible, Thailand Bible Society.*  
[http://www.thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php#ch10v47\)](http://www.thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php#ch10v47)

## 12.7 Evidentiality and Mirativity

The SFP *norh* marks that the sentence is a reported one. It is used to quote a speech by the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, the 2<sup>nd</sup> person and the 1<sup>st</sup> person or self-reporting. But when quoting the 2<sup>nd</sup> person, it yields mirativity.

A question may be raised how mirativity presented in the following two sections differs to ordinary rhetorical questions. The former encodes surprise while the latter expresses other illocutionary forces such as command, statement, or evaluation. Friedman (1986) defines “admirative” (his term for mirative) as follows:

Although the admirative is traditionally defined as a mood expressing surprise, it is also used to express irony, doubt, reportedness, etc. In all its uses the admirative somehow refers to the speaker’s present or past nonconfirmation of the truth of the statement. This is obvious when the admirative is used to express irony or doubt [...], but it is also the case when the admirative is used for surprise [...] or reported speech [...]. [...] It should be noted that surprise is not to be limited to expressions of strong amazement. Any expressive relation of the speaker to the speech event in which there is some nuance of the unexpected can be included in this use of surprise (Friedman 1986:180-1).

### 12.7.1 Mirative SFP *norh* ;

In §12.6.1.3 we considered the report or quotative SFP *norh*. Now, compare the repetition of Purnell (2012) (855a<sup>-1-2</sup>) and the altered example (855b<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                       |                    |                   |                    |               |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------|
| (855a <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Haaix</i>       | <i>dauh</i>       | <i>yaac</i>        | <i>gorngv</i> |
|                       | หาย                | เตี้า             | หย่า               | ก้อง          |
|                       | ha:i: <sup>1</sup> | tau: <sup>1</sup> | ja: <sup>1</sup>   | kɔŋγ̚         |
|                       | what               | CLF               | TOP <sub>ADD</sub> | talk          |
|                       | ‘Everybody said,   |                   |                    |               |

|  |                 |                     |                  |                   |                  |                                  |                   |                 |
|--|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (855a <sup>-2</sup> )                          | “ <i>Ov</i> ,   | <i>m’dauh</i>       | <i>lov</i>       | <i>nyei</i>       | <i>auv</i>       | <i>nzueic</i>                    | <i>haic</i> ”     | <i>norh</i> .   |
|  | “ໄອີ້,          | ມເຕົາ               | ໄລ້              | ເນູຍ              | ເອົາ             | ແຫກວ່າຍ                          | ໄຟ້໌”             | ນອ.             |
|  | o: <sup>1</sup> | m tau: <sup>1</sup> | lo: <sup>1</sup> | nei: <sup>1</sup> | au: <sup>1</sup> | dz <sup>w</sup> ei: <sup>1</sup> | hai: <sup>1</sup> | no <sup>1</sup> |
|  | INTJ            | DEM.CLF             | guy              | POSS              | wife             | be.beautiful                     | very              | RPOT            |
| “Wow, that fellow’s wife is really beautiful”. |                 |                     |                  |                   |                  |                                  |                   |                 |
| (Purnell 2012:499)                             |                 |                     |                  |                   |                  |                                  |                   |                 |

|                              |                                   |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (855b <sup>-1</sup> )        | <i>Meih gorngv</i>                |
|                              | ເມື່ອ ກ້ອງ                        |
|                              | mei <sup>↓</sup> kɔŋ <sup>↑</sup> |
|                              | 2SG say                           |
| ‘You dare say/shouldn’t say’ |                                   |

|  |   |
|--|---|
| (855b <sup>-2</sup> )                          | “ <i>Ov, m'dauh lov nyei auv nzueic haic” norh.</i>   |
|  | “ໄອ້, ມເຕ້າ ໄລ້ ເສູຍ ເອົ້າ ແຫວ່ຂໍ “ໄໜ໌” ນ່ອ.  |
|  | o: <sup>↑</sup> m tau <sup>↓</sup> lo <sup>↑</sup> nei <sup>↑</sup> au <sup>↑</sup> dz <sup>w</sup> ei <sup>↓</sup> hai <sup>↓</sup> nɔ |
|  | INTJ DEM.CLF guy POSS wife be.beautiful very RPOT   |
| “Wow, that fellow’s wife is really beautiful”. |   |
| (Burgess & GF, 20150317)                       |   |

The reading of (855b<sup>-2</sup>) would be “How come you could say ‘Wow, that fellow’s wife is really beautiful?’” or “You dare say...”. Zanh Gueix-Fongc terms this use of *north* as *naaic nyei waac* [inquire SBCP word] ‘question’<sup>205</sup> and also gives connotation *Meih maiv horpc zuqc gorngv* [2SG NEG right TOUCH say] ‘You shouldn’t say that!’<sup>206</sup>, it is distinct from the normal quotative particle with the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

It is interesting to note the tone of *north* /nɔ↓/ is identical with the falling question intonation /i:/ (Bloomfield 1933:92, 114-5, 171. See also “Conventions Used in Text Transcription”). Furthermore, it is also interesting to note DeLancey’s terms “mirative intonation contour” (2001:377) for Hare and English corresponds that of *north* /nɔ↓/ in Iu Mien. Let us orthographically mark it with ‘↓’, though it is not conventional among the users of the Unified Script.

## 12.7.2 Mirative Questions

DeLancey (2001:377) argues an extended use of mirative can be found in English as “attention noise”, “minimal positive response” “the polite response to being told something, the sound of encouragement to a narrator, the sound that a listener makes periodically as feedback to the speaker”. Japanese also has such corresponding particles as /he:/ ‘Is that so?!’ or /ho:/ ‘Amazing!’. The following Iu Mien example is a typical conversation encourager (856):

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<sup>205</sup> Personal communication in May 2014.

<sup>206</sup> Burgess reporting Gueix-Fongc on 17 May 2015.

- (856) *Hhangv nc norh<sub>i</sub>*  
 ဆန္ဒ် မား နေ့  
*နှေ။* မူး နား  
 like DEM<sub>MID</sub> RPOT<sub>MIRATIVE</sub>  
 '(You say) so?'

This is regarded by the native speakers as a question. This kind of question should be called a mirrative question.

For other mirrative questions in Iu Mien, consider Purnell's analysis:

*fungc* [Contraction of *feix-nyungc* or *fih nyungc*] Var: *fiungc*. Adv. 'how then, how possibly, how come, why.' Usg: Used with a measure of surprise in questions that are contrary to expectations (2012:182).

- (857) *Ninh mbuo fungc ndongc naaic hnongx?*  
 นิ่น บាំ ຝົງ ດ້ວນ ນາ້າຍ ຂອນງ?  
*nin<sub>1</sub> buə<sub>1</sub> fuŋ<sub>1</sub> ndɔŋ<sub>1</sub> nai<sub>1</sub> ḥnɔŋ<sub>1</sub>*  
 3 PL how.come as.much.as DEM be.stupid  
 'How could they be so stupid?'  
 (Purnell 2012:182)

It is important to note that *fungc* construction has rising intonation contour (?) as opposed to the mirrative SFP *norh* (j).

## 12.8 Imperatives

The imperative or command is expressed by an auxiliary verb followed by a main verb: *oix zuqc*-V. An example is (858):

- (858) *Meih mbuo.. oix.zuqc goiv hnyou!*  
 ເມື່ຍ ບាំ.. ອ້ອຍ.ຫຼຸ ກີ້ອຍ ເຮັດີ້ຍາ!  
*mei<sub>1</sub> buə<sub>1</sub> oix tsu<sub>1</sub>? kɔi<sub>1</sub> j̥n̥d̥əu<sub>1</sub>*  
 2 PL must change heart  
 '(You) repent!'  
 (ium\_1966\_03\_PERMATON\_ViggoSogaard\_Gueix-Cing;00.01.02-4)

The negative imperative will be presented in Chapter 13.

## 12.9 Requests and Optatives *Tov!* ‘to ask’

A request is made by the verb *tov* ‘to ask’ as in (859<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|  |                   |               |
|--|-------------------|---------------|
| (859 <sup>-1</sup> )                                       | <i>Aengh.Doih</i> | <i>gorngv</i> |
|  | ແອງ.ດູຍ           | ກົງ           |
|  | ຂ່າວ ຕີ່          | ກວ່າ          |
|  | Aeng Doi          | say           |
| ‘Aeng Doi said (to her servants from on top of the horse)’ |                   |               |

|   |                               |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |
|---|-------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| (859 <sup>-2</sup> )                        | <i>tov</i>                    | <i>bun</i>       | <i>ninh</i>      | <i>njiec</i>     | <i>dangh</i>     | <i>ndau.</i>     |
|   | ໂທ                            | ປຸນ              | ນິ້ນ             | ເຫຼື້ນ           | ຕັ້ງ             | ເດາ.             |
|   | t <sup>h</sup> o <sup>ŋ</sup> | pun <sup>1</sup> | nin <sup>1</sup> | jiə <sup>1</sup> | taŋ <sup>1</sup> | dau <sup>1</sup> |
| ask give 3SG descend short.while ground     |                               |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |
| ‘please let me (her) dismount for a while.’ |                               |                  |                  |                  |                  |                  |

(*A Story of Faam-Bae and Aeng-Doi*, Arisawa (2006:247))

In the request construction *tov* in the data from the 1960s, there found an instance, which may be referred to as **jussive** *oix* /ɔi<sup>h</sup>/ ‘let it be, may it be’. The irrealis auxiliary verb *oix* ‘to want’ is used as jussive in a prayer construction of *yie tov meih* ‘I ask you that...’ as in (860<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                               |                 |                               |                  |                             |                                 |                                 |
|-------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (860 <sup>-1</sup> )          | <i>Yie</i>      | <i>to::v!</i>                 | <i>meih...</i>   | <i>Njoux</i> <sup>207</sup> | <i>Ziouv</i>                    | <i>Yev^su,</i>                  |
|                               | ເຢີ             | ໂທ!                           | ເມ່ຍ...          | ເຫຼື້ວ                      | ເຕື້ວ                           | ເຢ້່າ,                          |
|                               | iə <sup>1</sup> | t <sup>h</sup> o <sup>ŋ</sup> | mei <sup>1</sup> | jiə <sup>1</sup>            | ts <sup>h</sup> əu <sup>1</sup> | je <sup>1</sup> su <sup>1</sup> |
|                               | 1SG             | beseech                       | 2SG              | save                        | lord                            | Jesus                           |
| ‘I beseech you Saviour Jesus’ |                 |                               |                  |                             |                                 |                                 |

|  |                  |                 |  |                 |                  |                                   |
|--|------------------|-----------------|--|-----------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (860 <sup>-2</sup> )                         | <i>meih</i>      | <i>oix</i>      | <i>korv-lienh</i>  | <i>yie</i>      | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>Iu-Mienh.</i>                  |
|  | ເມ່ຍ             | ອ້ອຍ            | ຄ້ອ-ເລື່ນ  | ເຢີ             | ນ້າ              | ຫິວ-ເມື່ນ.                        |
|  | mei <sup>1</sup> | ɔi <sup>h</sup> | k <sup>h</sup> ɔ <sup>h</sup> l <sup>h</sup> ən <sup>1</sup> | iə <sup>1</sup> | buə <sup>1</sup> | iu <sup>1</sup> miən <sup>1</sup> |
|  | 2SG              | JUSS            | pity   | 1               | PL               | Iu Mien                           |
| ‘that you would have mercy upon us Iu Mien!’ |                  |                 |  |                 |                  |                                   |

(ium\_196605\_02\_MAXELL\_ViggoSogaard\_Gueix-CingDauxGaux;00.00.09-15)

<sup>207</sup> *Njoux* [K = /j/, Q: *nqiox* ]. Spelled in the Unified Script as *njoux* [dʒou]<sup>h</sup> ‘to save’ with the voiced postvelar affricate onset, the speaker’s actual pronunciation in the 1960’s is [Jou]<sup>h</sup> with the voiced palatal plosive, and its representation in the Unified Script would be *nqiox*.

## 12.10 Summary of Chapter 12

In this chapter three main topics have been discussed: auxiliaries, aspect, and modality. First, seven auxiliary verbs were investigated. Second, the aspect is encoded by three strategies: (i) the postverbal aspectual verbs (eight of them), (ii) the directional verb-turned aspectual markers, *daaih* ‘COME’ and *mingh* ‘GO’, and (iii) three sentence final particles. Third, the modality of speculation, assumption, quotation were investigated. Additionally, the mirative constructions, imperatives, and request construction were discussed.

This chapter demonstrates the versatility of verbs in the language. The Principle 4 in §4.2.1 reads:

**Principle 4.** Iu Mien is a verb-versatility language, which utilises verbs for aspect and modality, multi-verb constructions (MVCs) including serial verb constructions (SVCs), and preposition-like (i.e. oblique) coverb phrases (CvPs).

Having perceived this characteristics in this chapter, we are ready to launch investigations into MVCs, SVCs, and CvPs. But before that, the negation and questions need to be discussed because they are closely related to modality, which is defined as “consideration of alternative realities mediated by an authority” (Timberlake 2007:315).

# Chapter 13

## NEGATION

### 13.1 Introduction

Negation is marked by the particle *maiv /mai˥/* ‘not’, placed immediately before verbs, adjectival verbs, and auxiliary verbs. In a rapid and colloquial speech, the particle is often contracted to a syllabic nasal *mv /m˥/*. The particle’s phonetic similarity with the negative particles in other languages might have been due to the areal contacts as can be seen in Thai *mái* (ไม) and Chinese *méi* (没), one of two negative particles, the other being *bù* (不)(Wiedenhof 1994:93-124).

This chapter addresses (i) the simple negation (§13.3), (ii) the modification of negation in auxiliaries and emphatic negation (§13.4), (iii) the negation of copular verbs (§13.5), (iv) the double negation both with the negative proposition and the affirmative proposition as a result (§13.6), (v) the scope of negation in SVCs and coverb constructions (§13.7), and (vi) the negative imperative (§13.8), including straightforward prohibition and polite prohibition.

### 13.2 The Negative Particle *maiv /mai˥/* and Its Contracted Form *mv /m˥/*

Preverbal negative particle *maiv /mai˥/* has its contracted syllabic nasal *mv /m˥/* except one case which will be explained after the following examples. They can be used interchangeably as in the contrast between (861<sup>-3</sup>) and (862<sup>-3</sup>) spoken by the same speaker on the same occasion:

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (861 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Ninh m'daaih zinh.ndaangc yiem janx-Lauv de'bung,</i> |
|                      | นิ่น มต้าย ฉื่น.ด่าง เยีຍມ ຈິ່ນ-ເລ້າ ເຕັກູງ,             |
|                      | <i>nin↓ m ta:i↓ tsin↓ da:ŋ↓ jem↑ can↓ lau↑ te puŋ↑</i>   |
|                      | 3SG obviously earlier be.in non.Mien-Lao country         |
|                      | ‘Since the time when he [my father] had been in Laos,’   |

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (861 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>m'daaih a'loc lorz baeng-orn yaac</i>            |
|                      | ມຕ້າຍ ອະໄຫດ໌ ລົ້ວ ແປົງ-ອອນ ໜໍາ                      |
|                      | <i>m ta:i↓ a lo↓ lorz peŋ↓ c:a↑ ja:↑</i>            |
|                      | obviously habitually seek peace TOP                 |
|                      | ‘he was always searching for peace (in his heart),’ |

- (861<sup>-3</sup>) lorz **mai<sup>v</sup>** **buatc.**  
 လ္မား မှို့မှီ ပြားတ.  
 lɔ:z mai<sup>v</sup> p<sup>w</sup>at<sup>z</sup>  
 seek NEG see  
 ‘and yet didn’t find any.’  
 (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.10.25-9)

The same underlying structure *mai<sup>v</sup> buatc* ‘not see’ does occur in a contraction form as in (862<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (862<sup>-1</sup>) “Fong maeqv ga'maeqc faaux duqv nyei”,  
 “နွှေ မော် ကဗျာမော် မား တို့ အျော်”,  
 foŋ<sup>z</sup> mɛ?<sup>z</sup> ka mɛ?<sup>z</sup> fa:u<sup>z</sup> tu?<sup>z</sup> nei<sup>z</sup>  
 be.easier peel.off corn climb can ASST  
 ‘(Since the land is so fertile and) corn stalks are so big that you can climb up them to pick corn off’,

- (862<sup>-2</sup>) *ninh mbuo hnangv naaic gorngv*.  
 ငို့န် ဗား ထန္တံ့ ဟနားခါး ဂုဏ်ဂျား  
 nin<sup>z</sup> buə<sup>z</sup> nəŋ<sup>v</sup> na:i<sup>z</sup> kɔŋ<sup>v</sup>  
 3 PL like DEM say  
 ‘that was what they said,’

- (862<sup>-3</sup>) *Yie mbuo yaac mv buatc.*  
 ယီယာ ဗား ဟံသာ မှီ ပြားတ.  
 iə<sup>z</sup> buə<sup>z</sup> ja:<sup>z</sup> m<sup>v</sup> p<sup>w</sup>at<sup>z</sup>  
 1 PL TOPCNTRST NEG see  
 ‘As far as we are concerned, we didn’t see (as they said though).’  
 (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.02.45-8)

The constructions in which the contraction form *mv* occurs are limited in number. The first, very common, is the conjunction *mv.baac /m<sup>v</sup>pa:<sup>z</sup>/* ‘but’ as in (863<sup>-2</sup>):

- (863<sup>-1</sup>) *Nc deix yangh.yinh faaux daaih*  
 ဟံသာ တော် ထံ့ခို့ မားခို့ မား တားယာ  
 မူး tei<sup>z</sup> jaŋ<sup>z</sup> jin<sup>z</sup> fa:u<sup>z</sup> ta:i<sup>z</sup>  
 DEM some Westerner ascend come  
 ‘Those Westerners came up (to our village),’

|                      |                                     |           |             |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------------|
| (863 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>mv.baac</i>                      | <i>nc</i> | <i>deix</i> | <i>yangh.yinh</i> |
|                      | ນ້ຳ.ປ້າ                             | ທນ່       | ເຕັຍ        | ຢື່ງ.ຢືນ          |
|                      | ນພໍາ pa:ŋ                           | ນ         | teiŋ        | janŋ jinŋ         |
|                      | but                                 | DEM       | some        | Westerner         |
|                      | 'but these Western (missionaries),' |           |             |                   |

|                      |  |             |               |              |             |              |             |             |             |
|----------------------|--|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (863 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>ninh</i>                                  | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>⟨ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>zien!</i> | <i>zien</i> | <i>jauv</i> | <i>nor;</i> |
|                      | ນິ້ນ   | ບ້າວ        | ກົ້ອງ         | 〈ນິ້ນ        | ບ້າວ        | ເຕີຍນ!       | ເຕີຍນ       | ເຈົ້າ       | ນອ,         |
|                      | ninŋ   | buəŋ        | kɔŋŋ          | ninŋ         | buəŋ        | tsʰenŋ       | tsʰenŋ      | cauŋ        | ncŋ         |
|                      | 3  | PL          | say           | 3            | PL          | be.true      | be.true     | way         | if.so       |
|                      | 'they said (to us that) as a matter of fact' |             |               |              |             |              |             |             |             |

|                      |   |                  |              |                   |
|----------------------|---|------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| (863 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>maiv</i>   | <i>hiuv.duqv</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>Iu-Mienh</i> . |
|                      | ໄມ້   | ຫົວ.ດູກວ         | ມ່າຍ         | ບົວ-ເມື່ອນ        |
|                      | maiŋ  | hiuŋ tuŋ         | maiŋ         | iuŋ miəŋ          |
|                      | NEG   | know             | have         | Iu Mien           |
|                      | '(they) had had no knowledge of an existence of the Iu Mien.' |                  |              |                   |
|                      | (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.09.12-9)         |                  |              |                   |

The uncontracted form \**maiv.baac* in the sense 'but' does not exist.

Two more examples of constructions which contain the contraction form *mv* are *mv.bei* 'I wonder' and *mv.zei* 'otherwise, if not'. An example of *mv.bei* has been quoted earlier as (3<sup>-2</sup>), repeated as (371):

|                    |  |              |             |                     |                       |
|--------------------|--|--------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| (864)              | <i>taux</i>  | <i>haaix</i> | <i>norm</i> | <i>hnyangx-dauh</i> | <b><i>mv.bei.</i></b> |
| (3 <sup>-2</sup> ) | ເຄາ  | ຫາຍ          | ນອມ         | ຫອຍັງ-ເຕົ້າ         | ນ້ຳ.ປ່າຍ.             |
|                    | tʰauŋ  | hai:iŋ       | nɔm         | ŋyanŋ tauŋ          | ນພໍາ peiŋ             |
|                    | reach  | which        | CLF         | year-head           | I.wonder              |
|                    | 'I wonder which year could be that.'               |              |             |                     |                       |
|                    | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.01.19-21) |              |             |                     |                       |

Except for these three (*mv.baac*, *mv.bei*, *mv.zei*), the two forms of negative particle *maiv* and *mv* are interchangeably used to put verbs and adjectival verbs into a negative sentence.

### 13.3 Simple Negation of Verbs by *maiv* /*mai*˥/

Action verbs ( $V_{ACT}$ ), existential verbs (*maaih* ‘to have, there is/are’ and *yiem* ‘to be/stay/ in/at’), copular verbs (*benx* ‘to be’, *zeiz* ‘to be correct’, *zoux* ‘to make’), and adjectival verbs ( $V_{ADJ}$ ) are all alike negated by the negator particle *maiv* /*mai*˥/ or its contracted syllabic nasal form *mv* /*m*˥/ preceding them.

First, negation of an active verb is shown in (865<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (865<sup>-1</sup>) *Aaa!*      ***maiv***      *sienx.*  
                         အေ!                  မှိုး                  စီယံ.  
                         —`a:::      ***mai*˥**      s̥en̥  
                         INTJ                NEG                believe  
                         ‘Ah! (they would) not believe!’

- (865<sup>-2</sup>) *Ninh mbuo*      ***maiv***      *sienx.*  
                         ငို့န်      မာ္ဌာ      မှိုး      စီယံ.  
                         nin̥<sub>1</sub>      buə<sub>1</sub>      ***mai*˥**      s̥en̥<sub>1</sub>  
                         3                PL                NEG                believe  
                         ‘They would not believe (the turtle’s word that brother and sister as the only survivors had to get married to leave posterity).’  
                         (ium\_20130514\_01\_H1\_DA\_LeizFuqcDorngh\_Gouv-  
                         Santiphaap;00.04.34-6)

Second, negation of the existential verb *maaih* ‘to have, there is/are’ is exemplified in (866):

- (866) *Nzunc hnoi aeqv,*      ***maiv***      *maaih*      *nyorx*      *hopv.*  
                         ဘူး၊      ဆန်း၊      အော်၊      မှိုး      မား၊      လည်း၊      ဆပ်。  
                         dzun<sub>1</sub>      ထွေါ<sub>1</sub>      εʔ<sub>1</sub>      ***mai*˥**      mai<sub>1</sub>      ဂျာ<sub>1</sub>      hop<sub>1</sub>  
                         CLF            day           PDP           NEG           have           milk           drink  
                         ‘This time, there was no milk to drink.’  
                         (ium\_20130528\_06\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng\_FaamCingCuotvSeix\_-  
                         KMB;00.08.32-6)

Third, negation of an adjectival verb is in (867):

- (867) *Mv mun aqv loh!*  
 ໝ ມຸນ ອັກ ໄດ້!  
 m̥̄ NEG be.hurt NSIT SFP  
 ‘It doesn’t hurt at all!’  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauhJaauzNyeiGouv.MP4;00.12.37-9)

In the same vain but with the full form of *maiv* can be seen in (868):

- (868) *Naaiv mbuo maiv siaau oh!*  
 ນ້າຍ ພ້ວ ມີເມື່ອ ຈະບາວ ໄດ້!  
 naiī̥ PL NEG be.possible INTJ  
 ‘This is impossible for us (spirits [to touch the swords])!’  
 (Yauz-Guangv & Burgess, 1970s, *Mienh Nduov Yienh Fiu Mien Nyie Gouw* [A Story of Men Deceiving Spirits of Banyan Trees], KMB)

## 13.4 Modification of Negation

### 13.4.1 Negation of Auxiliary Verbs

Li and Thompson (1989:172) for Mandarin Chinese define auxiliary verbs as forms which “have some verbal properties and yet are not full-fledged verbs”. For Iu Mien the three forms *gaengh*, *kangv*, and *nangc* only occur with the negative particle in the following constructions:

- Maiv gaengh V* ‘not yet V’  
*Maiv kangv V* ‘not willing to V’  
*Maiv nangc V<sub>ADJ</sub>* ‘not very V<sub>ADJ</sub>’

First, an example of *maiv gaengh V* ‘not yet V’ as in (869):

- (869) *Wuov zanc mv gaengh buatc jiex Li.Sorv*  
 ຫ້ວ ຂຕ້ນ ຝ ແກັງ ປວດ ເຈິ່ນ ດີ.ຊ້ອ  
 uə̥̄ tsan̥̄ m̥̄ kεŋ̥̄ pʷat̥̄ ciə̥̄ li sɔ̥̄  
 DEM time NEG AUX see EXP Lisu  
 ‘At that time we had never seen the Lisu people yet.’  
 (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist; 00.01.53-5)

Second, *maiv kangv* ‘not willing to V’ may be seen in (870<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |   |             |               |             |  |
|----------------------|---|-------------|---------------|-------------|--|
| (870 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i>                                | <i>butv</i> | <i>baengc</i> | <i>aeqv</i> |  |
|                      | ເຢີ່ຍ                                     | ບູດ         | ແບ່ງ          | ແອື້ຂ       |  |
|                      | iə́l                                      | put̚ŋ       | pɛŋŋ          | ɛʔŋ         |  |
|                      | 1SG                                       | contract    | illness       | PDP         |  |
|                      | '(I told my doctor that) when I get sick, |             |               |             |  |

|                      |   |               |              |                |            |                             |
|----------------------|---|---------------|--------------|----------------|------------|-----------------------------|
| (870 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>maiv</i>   | <i>kangv</i>  | <i>nyanc</i> | <i>hnaangx</i> | <i>aqv</i> | <i>norh.</i> <sup>208</sup> |
|                      | ໄມ້ວ  | ຄັ້ງ          | ຫຍຸ້ນ        | ຫຮນາງ          | ອື້ຂ       | ນ່ອ.                        |
|                      | mai̚ŋ   | kʰan̚ŋ̚ŋ      | jn̚ŋ         | ŋa:ŋ̚ŋ         | aʔŋ        | nɔ̚ŋ                        |
|                      | NEG   | be.willing.to | eat          | rice           | NSIT       | RPOT                        |
|                      | 'I become unwilling to eat rice (but vegetables only)'    |               |              |                |            |                             |
|                      | (ium_20130506_01_H1_DA_LaaiWaangc_OngSeng_KL;00.00.18-20) |               |              |                |            |                             |

Third, an illustration of [*maiv nangc V<sub>ADJ</sub>*] can be seen in (871<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |                     |                    |           |             |  |
|----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-----------|-------------|--|
| (871 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Wuov</i>         | <i>ngongh.dorn</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>benx</i> |  |
|                      | ວັງ                 | ໜົງ.ດອນ            | ເຊ        | ເປັນ        |  |
|                      | uə́ŋ                | ŋoŋŋ tɔŋŋ          | se̚ŋ      | pen̚ŋ       |  |
|                      | DEM                 | cattle.small       | TOP       | be          |  |
|                      | 'As for that calf,' |                    |           |             |  |

|                      |  |               |              |            |             |               |                |
|----------------------|--|---------------|--------------|------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| (871 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>nda'maauh.mbeux</i> ,                               | [ <i>maiv</i> | <i>nangc</i> | <i>hlo</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>norm</i> ] | <i>ngaatc.</i> |
|                      | ດະມ່ວງເນິ້ວ,   | ໄມ້ວ          | ໜັ້ງ         | ໂຮລ        | ວັງ         | ນອມ]          | ໜາດ.           |
|                      | da maauŋ beuŋ  | mai̚ŋ         | naŋŋ         | ŋo̚ŋ       | uə́ŋ        | tɔm̚ŋ         | ŋa:t̚ŋ         |
|                      | leopard  | NEG           | AUX          | be.big     | DEM         | CLF           | bite           |
|                      | 'a leopard, which was not so big, bit it.'             |               |              |            |             |               |                |
|                      | (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.12.39-41) |               |              |            |             |               |                |

The NP marked with the square brackets is appositional to the antecedent noun *nda'maauh.mbeux* 'leopard'. Inside the brackets is the construction [*maiv nangc V<sub>ADJ</sub>*].

The repetition of a verb with the negative particle occurring in the middle, i.e., [V - NEG – V], means 'whether or not' as in (872<sup>-1-2</sup>):

<sup>208</sup> The reporting particle here reports her own speech addressed to her doctor sometime before. The quoted speech is from the beginning to the new situation particle *aqv*.

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (872 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Maaih mienh jaapv-zaangv buangv mai<sup>v</sup> buangv yaac daic</i> |
|                      | ມ່າຍ ເມື່ອນ ຈຳນ-ຜ້າງ ປຸ້ກ ໄກ້ ປຸ້ກ ແກ່າ ໄຕ                              |
|                      | ma:i\: miən\: ca:p\: tsa:ŋ\: p:wŋ\: mai\: p:wŋ\: ja:\ tai\:             |
|                      | have people life.span fill NEG fill TOP die                             |

‘There are people who die whether their life span is full or not yet,’

|                      |                                       |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (872 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>meih mbuo yaac hiuv.duqv nyei.</i> |
|                      | ເມ່ຍ ບ້ວ ກໍາ ສິວ.ຕີ ເນັບ.             |
|                      | mei\: buə\: ja:\ hiu\: tu?\ nei\:     |
|                      | 2 PL TOP know ASST                    |

‘such a fact you also know.’

(ium\_1966\_03\_PERMATON\_ViggoSogaard\_Gueix-Cing;00.00.39-43)

### 13.4.2 Emphatic Negation

The degree of negative state is emphasised by the adverbial phrase *yietc deix* as in (873), a repetition of an earlier example:

|       |                                |
|-------|--------------------------------|
| (873) | <i>Maiv mbienc yietc deix.</i> |
|       | ໄມ້ ເບີ່ອນ ເຢີຍດ ເຕຍ.          |
|       | mai\: b'en\: jet\: tei\:       |
|       | NEG be.convenient one some     |

‘(It) is not convenient at all.’

(ium\_20130528\_06\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng\_FaamCingCuotvSeix\_KMB;00.01.34-5)

Other phrases that intensify the negation are:

- *Maiv ... yietc dangh* [NEG ... one moment] ‘not a minute’
- *Maiv ... yaac aax* [NEG ... also particle] ‘not at all’

### 13.5 Negation of Copular Verbs

The copular verbs that are negatable are *zeiz* ‘to be correct’ and *zoux* ‘to make’. The equative particles *se* ‘that is’ and *dongh* ‘the same’ do not occur with the negative particle.

Negation of the copular verb *zeiz* ‘to be correct’ occurs in two structures. The one negates an NP, i.e., [*maiv zeiz NP*]; the other, a clause, i.e., [*maiv zeiz CL*]. In the latter case *zeiz* negates a proposition. First, negation of an NP is shown in (874):

|   |              |                     |             |           |             |                |             |                     |
|---|--------------|---------------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|----------------|-------------|---------------------|
| (874)   | <i>Maaih</i> | <i>cie</i>          | <i>yaac</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>zeiz</i> | <i>ih.zanc</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>cie</i>          |
|   | မား          | ၏။                  | ဟံ          | နဲ့       | အော်        | ခို့။၁၌        | ဧၢ          | ၏။။                 |
|   | ma:i\        | ts <sup>h</sup> iə\ | ja:\        | m\`       | tsei\       | i\ tsan\       | nei\        | ts <sup>h</sup> iə\ |
|   | have         | car                 | TOP         | NEG       | be.correct  | now            | SBCP        | car                 |
| ‘As for a car, it wasn’t a car of the present time.’  |              |                     |             |           |             |                |             |                     |
| (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.04.43-5) |              |                     |             |           |             |                |             |                     |

One more example of [*maiv zeiz NP*] has an appearance of negating a clause but observe that the clause is nominalised by the relative particle *nyei sic* [REL thing] forming a long NP in (875):

|                      |           |             |             |
|----------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| (875 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>se</i> | <i>maiv</i> | <i>zeiz</i> |
|                      | ၅         | ၍ၤ          | အော်        |
|                      | se\       | mai\`       | tsei\`      |
|                      | TOP       | NEG         | be.correct  |

|  |                      |              |             |             |             |                |
|--|----------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------|
| (875 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <i>[gorngv-baeqc</i> | <i>nduov</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>sic]</i> NP |
|  | [ကြံဗျား-ပေါး        | တို့         | မော်        | ဗာ          | ဧၢ          | ၏။]            |
|  | kɔŋ\ pə?]            | duə\`        | mei\        | buə\`       | nei\`       | si\`           |
|  | lie                  | deceive      | 2           | PL          | REL         | thing          |
| (lit.) ‘This is not the case that it is a thing of lying (and) it is a thing of deceiving you.’ (=>‘This does not mean that I am telling you a lie to deceive you.’) |                      |              |             |             |             |                |
| (ium_1966_03_PERMATON_ViggoSogaard_Gueix-Cing;00.00.23-5)  |                      |              |             |             |             |                |

*Gorngv-baeqc* ‘to lie’ is a compound verb forming a part of the SVC with *nduov* ‘to deceive’. The whole SVC phrase *gorngv-baeqc* ... *mbuo* is nominalised by *nyei sic* ‘a thing of’, which is negated by *maiv zeiz* ‘it is not’.

Secondly, a clause is negated by *maiv zeiz* as in (876):

|                              |             |             |
|------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| (876 <sup>-1</sup> )         | <i>Maiv</i> | <i>zeiz</i> |
|                              | ၍ၤ          | အော်        |
|                              | mai\`       | tsei\`      |
|                              | NEG         | be.correct  |
| ‘It is not the case that...’ |             |             |

|                     |   |               |                    |               |              |                 |
|---------------------|---|---------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|
| (876 <sup>2</sup> ) | [gorngv   | <i>⟨maaih</i> | <i>haiv.nyungc</i> | <i>ndongc</i> | <i>haaix</i> | <i>jienv⟩].</i> |
|                     | [ก້ອງ   | 〈ມ່າຍ         | ໄຊ້.ຫຼູ່ງ          | ດໍ່ງ          | ໝາຍ          | ເຈື້ນ〉].        |
|                     | kɔŋ   | ma:iŋ         | haiŋ jnŋ           | dɔŋ           | ha:iŋ        | c'enŋ           |
|                     | say   | have          | anything           | as.much.as    | how          | be.important    |
|                     | ‘...I am saying (that) there is anything so important (in this custom of birthday meal).’ |               |                    |               |              |                 |
|                     | (ium_20130523_04_H1_DA_GueixZoih_Jaapv-Zaangv_ Thammajarik;00.02.45-7)                    |               |                    |               |              |                 |

In this case, the proposition is negated.

Negation of the copular verb *benx* ‘to be’ yields meaning that is more than just an opposite of it; rather, it expresses a negative evaluation of the quality or condition as in (877):

|       |   |             |             |              |                    |                     |
|-------|---|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| (877) | <i>In-ndeic</i>                                       | <i>yaac</i> | <i>mai⁹</i> | <i>nangc</i> | <b><i>mai⁹</i></b> | <b><i>benx.</i></b> |
|       | ອິນ-ເດີຍ  | ໜໍາ         | ໄໝ້         | ໜັ້ງ         | ໄໝ້                | ເປັນ.               |
|       | in\ deic\   | ja:\        | mai⁹        | nanj         | mai⁹               | pen\                |
|       | opium-field   | TOP_ADD     | NEG         | AUX          | NEG                | be                  |
|       | ‘Opium fields were also not so productive/fruitful.’  |             |             |              |                    |                     |
|       | (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.01.33-5) |             |             |              |                    |                     |

## 13.6 Double Negation

Two types of double negation occur. The one results in a negative, the other in an affirmative. In the first type, one of the two negative particles negates the main verb and the other negates the auxiliary, resulting in a simple negation, not the reversal of one negation. In the second type, a fronted negative topic clause is negated in the focus, rendering the assertion of the whole sentence strongly affirmative.

### 13.6.1 Negation of Main Verb Plus Negation of Auxiliary = Negative

The first type of double negation is still a negation. The first negative particle negates an auxiliary verb and the second the main verb as in (878). Morphologically, both full form *mai⁹* and contracted form *mv* can occur in one sentence in three ways:

- (i) *mai⁹ V<sub>AUX</sub>, mai⁹ V<sub>MAIN</sub>*; (ii) *mai⁹ V<sub>AUX</sub>, mv V<sub>MAIN</sub>*; (iii) *mv V<sub>AUX</sub>, mv V<sub>MAIN</sub>*.

- (878) *In-ndeic*      *yaac*      ***mai<sup>v</sup>***      *nangc*      ***mai<sup>v</sup>***      *benx.*  
 (877) อิน-เดี่ย      ဟဲး      မြှေ့      ဟန်း      ဟန်း      ပြေား.  
 in\ dei\ ja:\ mai^ naŋ\ mai^ pen\  
 opium-field TOP<sub>ADD</sub> NEG AUX NEG be  
 ‘Opium fields were also not so productive/fruitful.’  
 (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.01.33-5)

A resultative SVC preceded by an auxiliary verb can be negated on both the auxiliary and the resultative verb as in (879):

- (879) *Yie*    *mbuo*    *ganh*    *se*    ***mv***    *haih*    *mingh*    ***mv***    *taux.*  
 ဧယ် ဗျာ ကို အဲ နဲ့ ဘွဲ့ မှိုး တာ.  
 iə\ bʊə\ kan\ se\ m^\ hai\ min\ m^\ tʰau\  
 1 PL self TOP NEG be.able go NEG reach  
 ‘As for us, we are not able to come to visit (you).’  
 (ium\_c1967\_06\_SCOTCH\_HCox\_Muangz-Mengh\_VoiceLetter;00.01.45-6)

One more such example is (880<sup>-1</sup>):

- (880<sup>-1</sup>) *Yaac*    *haiz*    *gorngv*    *daaih*  
 ဟဲး ၍၌ ကိုဝ် တာယ  
 ja:\ hai\ kɔŋ\ ta:i\  
 also feel talk COME  
 (ium\_20000415\_06\_CT\_DA\_FmCiang\_God'sLight;00.05.04-8)

- (880<sup>-2</sup>) ***mv***    *haih*    *gorngv*    ***mv***    *zuqc.*  
 နဲ့ ၍၌ ကိုဝ် နဲ့ ဟဇူး.  
 m^\ hai\ kɔŋ\ m^\ tsu?\  
 NEG be.able talk NEG TOUCH  
 ‘I can't say it right.’ (i.e. difficult to express it properly.)  
 (ium\_20000415\_06\_CT\_DA\_FmCiang\_God'sLight;00.05.04-8)

In the above two examples, the surface structure of having three verbal forms (e.g. *haih* ‘to be able’, *mingh* ‘to go’, *taux* ‘to reach’) while having only two occurrences of the negative particle may need an explanation. In both (879) and (880<sup>-2</sup>), the auxiliary verb phrase *haih gorngv* ‘to be able to talk/speak’ as a unit is negated by the first negative particle *mv*, and the resultative verbs *taux* ‘to reach’ and *zuqc* ‘to TOUCH’ are negated by the second negative particle *mv*. The pattern, therefore, is that the auxiliary verb phrase comprising two verbal forms occurs with only one negative

particle rather than each of them being negated separately.

In the native speaker's evaluation, double negation of both the main verb and the auxiliary is semantically more weighty, syntactically more well-formed, stylistically more tasteful; thus it is a language of story-telling as stated in (881<sup>-1-4</sup>):

|                      |             |                 |             |              |             |             |
|----------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (881 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>gauh</i> | <i>hnyiev</i> , | <i>gauh</i> | <i>borqv</i> | <i>duqv</i> | <i>zuqc</i> |
|                      | ເກົ້າ       | ເຮັດວຽກ,        | ເກົ້າ       | ເປົ້າ        | ຕຸ້ງ        | ຫຼາດ        |
|                      | kau↓        | jiə?̚           | kau↓        | pɔ?̚         | tu?̚        | tsu?̚       |
|                      | more        | be.heavy        | more        | connect      | GET         | be.right    |

'(The sentence) is more weighty (and) it connects more properly,'

|                      |             |               |             |             |               |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| (881 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>benx</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>gouv</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>waac</i> , |
|                      | ເປືນ        | ກຶອງ          | ໄກ້ວ່າ      | ເຄູຍ        | ຫວ່າ,         |
|                      | pen↓        | kɔŋ̚          | kəb̚        | nei↓        | wa:↓          |
|                      | be          | say           | story       | REL         | word          |

'it is a language of story-telling.'

|                      |            |             |             |              |             |                    |             |
|----------------------|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|
| (881 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>bun</i> | <i>gouv</i> | <i>gauh</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>deix</i> | <i>mueix</i>       | <i>aqv.</i> |
|                      | ບຸນ        | ໄກ້ວ່າ      | ເກົ້າ       | ມ່າຍ         | ເຕີຂ        | ເໜັວຍ              | ອື່ບ.       |
|                      | pun↓       | kəb̚        | kau↓        | ma:i↓        | tei↓        | m <sup>w</sup> ei↓ | a?̚         |
|                      | give       | story       | more        | have         | some        | taste              | NSIT        |

'(it) makes a story more tasteful.'

|                      |               |             |             |               |
|----------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| (881 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>Gorngv</i> | <i>gouv</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>jauv</i> . |
|                      | ກຶອງ          | ໄກ້ວ່າ      | ເຄູຍ        | ເຈົ້າ.        |
|                      | kɔŋ̚          | kəb̚        | nei↓        | cau̚          |
|                      | say           | story       | REL         | way           |

'(it is) a story-telling technique.'

(ium\_20150511\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.12.11-13.40)

### 13.6.2 Negation of a Negative Topic = Affirmative

In this construction, *mai<sub>V</sub> + mai<sub>V</sub>* = affirmative. The order of the constituents is [NEG V<sub>MAIN</sub>] + [NEG V<sub>AUX</sub>], which is opposite to the pattern in §13.6.1. The first negative phrase is a fronted a topic, and the second negative phrase is a focus as in (882):

- (882) *Maiv mingh / mv duqv.*  
 ໂ້າວ ມິ່ງ / ມ້ ດູກວ.  
 mai<sup>~</sup> miŋ<sup>~</sup> m<sup>~</sup> tu?<sup>~</sup>  
 NEG go NEG CAN  
 ‘It’s impossible not to go.’ (i.e. ‘I/you must go.’)  
 (Field Note 201404)

It will be obvious that the first negative phrase is the topic by the insertion of a topic marker *yaac* as in (883):

- (883) *Maiv mingh yaac mv duqv.*  
 ໂ້າວ ມິ່ງ ຍ້າກ ມ້ ດູກວ.  
 mai<sup>~</sup> miŋ<sup>~</sup> ja:<sup>~</sup> m<sup>~</sup> tu?<sup>~</sup>  
 NEG go TOP NEG CAN  
 ‘Not going is not possible.’ (i.e. ‘I/you must go.’)  
 (Field Note 201404)

## 13.7 Scope of Negation: Coverb Phrases and SVCs

### 13.7.1 Negation of SVCs

Negation of SVC, *mingh maiv taux* [go NEG reach] ‘to go but not reach’ show the separability of the SVC, when V2 is result/achievement of V1. The situation that an attempt was made and achieved to some extent but not completely is exemplified in (884):

- (884) *Ih.zanc naaiv yie yaac jangx maiv nzengc.*  
 ເໜີ.ໜ້ານ ນ້າຍ ເຢີ ພ້າກ ຈັ້ງ ໂ້າວ ແຮງກ.  
 i<sup>~</sup> tsan<sup>~</sup> na:i<sup>~</sup> i<sup>~</sup> ja:<sup>~</sup> can<sup>~</sup> mai<sup>~</sup> dzeŋ<sup>~</sup>  
 now DEM<sub>PRX</sub> 1SG TOP recall NEG CONSUME  
 ‘As for me I cannot remember them all.’  
 (ium\_20000415\_05\_CT\_DA\_FmCiang\_Thankful;00.01.02-6)

### 13.7.2 Negation of Coverb Constructions

The coverb phrase (CvP) in an oblique position and the following main VP are inseparable. The negative particle *maiv* (or *mv*) must occur before the CvP. Compare (885a) and (885b):

- (885a) *Yie mai<sup>v</sup> [div meih]CvP [lorz ndie].*  
 ເຢ້ຍ ໄມ້ ແດ້ [ເມີຍ]CvP [ລ້ອ ໂດືຍ].  
 iə́ 1SG NEG replace 2 SG seek medicine  
 ‘I will not look for medicine for you.’

- (885b) \**Yie div meih mai<sup>v</sup> lorz ndie.*  
 1SG replace 2 SG NEG seek medicine  
 (Field Notes 20150520, p. 149, GF\_KMB)

### 13.7.3 Negation of Causative Constructions

By the same token with (885a), the causative verbs *aapv* ‘to force (to do something)’ and *heuc* ‘to order/command (to do something)’ are negated at the start of the coverb phrase (CvP) as in (886):

- (886<sup>-1</sup>) (...) *yaac mai<sup>v</sup> aapv meih mbuo sienx*  
 (...) ແຍ່ ໄມ້ ອ້າບ ເມ່ຍ ບ້ວ ເສີນ  
 ja:ʃ also mai<sup>v</sup> a:pʃ force 2 PL believe  
 ‘Also I do not force you (all) to believe,’

- (886<sup>-2</sup>) *yaac mai<sup>v</sup> heuc meih mbuo sienx.*  
 ແຍ່ ໄມ້ ແກ້ວ ເມ່ຍ ບ້ວ ເສີນ.  
 ja:ʃ mai<sup>v</sup> heuʃ command 2 PL believe  
 ‘nor do I command you to believe (the message of the Gospel).’  
 (ium\_1966\_03\_PERMATON\_ViggoSogaard\_Gueix-Cing;00.00.48-52)

## 13.8 Negative Imperative

### 13.8.1 Just Forbidding

The negative imperative construction *Maiv dungx V* [NEG AUX V] ‘Don’t – V’ was surveyed in the section of the auxiliary in §12.3.7.

Instead of negating an action verb, the negative imperative of an adjectival verb can also occur as in (887):

|       |  |                 |                  |                   |
|-------|--|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (887) | <i>Meih</i>                                    | <i>mv</i>       | <i>dungv</i>     | <i>nzauh.</i>     |
|       | ມ່ຍ  | ມໍ              | ຕູ້ງ             | ໄທ່.              |
|       | mei <sup>N</sup>                               | m̄ <sup>Y</sup> | tun <sup>Y</sup> | dzau <sup>N</sup> |
|       | 2SG  | NEG             | AUX              | be.sad            |
|       | 'Don't you be sad!'                            |                 |                  |                   |
|       | (ium_20130523_04_H1_DA_GueixZoih_Jaapv-Zaangv_ |                 |                  |                   |
|       | Thammajarik; 00.01.41-2)                       |                 |                  |                   |

The psycho-collocation  $[V_{ADJ} \cdot N]_{CMPD}$  (§6.7.4.4) is negated by the negative imperative phrase *maiv dungx* (var. *maiv dungv*) preceding it, e.g., *maiv dungx faix hnyouv* [NEG AUX be.small hear] ‘don’t be discouraged’ or ‘Go ahead, don’t be afraid’ (Purnell 2012:168). But the negation of a psycho-collocation  $[N \cdot V_{ADJ}]_{CMPD}$  (§6.7.4.5) requires the causative verb *zoux* ‘to make’ in the sense {do not}{make}{heart}{cold} as in (888<sup>-1</sup>):

|                      |                             |                  |                  |                  |                   |                   |                  |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| (888 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Meih</i>                 | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>maiv</i>      | <i>dungv</i>     | <i>zoux</i>       | <i>hnyouv</i>     | <i>namx;</i>     |
|                      | ມ່ຍ                         | ນ້າ              | ໄໝ               | ຕູ້ງ             | ໂຫດວ              | ເຮັ້ນຢາ           | හນນ;             |
|                      | mei <sup>N</sup>            | buə <sup>1</sup> | mai <sup>Y</sup> | tun <sup>Y</sup> | tsəu <sup>1</sup> | j̄əu <sup>Y</sup> | nam <sup>1</sup> |
|                      | 2                           | PL               | NEG              | AUX              | make              | heart             | be.cold          |
|                      | 'Don't you be indifferent;' |                  |                  |                  |                   |                   |                  |

|                      |  |                  |                              |
|----------------------|--|------------------|------------------------------|
| (888 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>oix.zuqc</i>  | <i>jorm</i>      | <i>hnyouv</i> <sup>209</sup> |
|                      | ອ້ອຍ.ຫຼຸ   | ຈອມ              | ເຮັ້ນຢາ                      |
|                      | ci <sup>1</sup> tsu <sup>2</sup> ]                         | cəm <sup>1</sup> | j̄əu <sup>Y</sup>            |
|                      | must   | be.hot           | heart                        |
|                      | 'but be diligent!'   |                  |                              |
|                      | (ium_1966_03_PERMATON_ViggoSogaard_Gueix-Cing;00.00.18-22) |                  |                              |

Note that the psycho-collocation *jorm.hnyouv* in (888<sup>-2</sup>) is preceded by the compound auxiliary *oix.zuqc* ‘must’. Similarly, if (888<sup>-2</sup>) is turned to a negative imperative, the prohibition phrase *maiv dungx* should precede the psycho-collocation  $[V_{ADJ} \cdot N]_{CMPD}$ , e.g., *maiv dungx jorm hnyouv* ‘Don’t be diligent’.

Let us turn to a negation of the double auxiliary construction. Negation of the auxiliary verb *gaengh* ‘yet’ is *maiv gaengh* [NEG yet] meaning ‘not yet’. If a prohibition is meant ‘Don’t – V yet’, the double auxiliary is yielded: *Maiv dungx gaengh V* [NEG AUX yet V] ‘Don’t – V yet’. Often in an allegro speech, it happens that the negative auxiliary

<sup>209</sup> Observe that L1 and L2 constitute a synonymous parallelism in that L1 is a negation of antonym to L2.

*dungx* /tuŋ˥/ is pronounced *dungv* /tuŋ˥˧/, and the reduced variant of *dungv* /tuŋ˥˧/ sounds almost the same as *duqv* /tu?˥/ ‘can’ as in (889):

|       |  |                    |                      |              |            |  |
|-------|--|--------------------|----------------------|--------------|------------|--|
| (889) | <i>Mv</i>  | <b><i>duqv</i></b> | <b><i>gaengh</i></b> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>oc.</i> |  |
|       | ນ້ຳ  | ດູ້                | ແກ້ງ                 | ມື່ງ         | ໄອ໌.       |  |
|       | ນ້າ  | tu?                | ເກນັງ                | ມີນັງ        | ອ:         |  |
|       | NEG  | AUX                | yet                  | go           | PLT        |  |
|       | ‘Please, don’t go yet.’  |                    |                      |              |            |  |
|       | (ium_20140403_04_SonyHDR-MV1_DA_BungzCunFouv_Nda'maauhJaauzNyeiGouv.MP4;00.11.08-10) |                    |                      |              |            |  |

### 13.8.2 Polite Negative Imperative

Polite negative imperative is expressed in the construction [*tov* + *mai<sup>v</sup>* *dungx* V] as in (890<sup>-1,2</sup>):

|                      |  |              |             |               |            |              |             |             |
|----------------------|--|--------------|-------------|---------------|------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (890 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i>                               | <i>zien!</i> | <i>zien</i> | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>kuinx</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>mbuo</i> |
|                      | ເຢີຍ                                     | ເຕີຍນ!       | ເຕີຍນ       | ຫນັງ          | ນອ         | ຂວິນ         | ແມ່ຍ        | ບ້າວ        |
|                      | iə̥˥                                     | ts̥˥en˧      | ts̥˥en˧     | ຖາງ˥          | nɔ̥˧       | kʰwɪn˧       | mei˧        | buə̥˧       |
|                      | 1  | really       | really      | like          | as         | exhort       | 2           | PL          |
|                      | ‘I hereby sincerely encourage you (all)’ |              |             |               |            |              |             |             |

|                      |  |             |             |                               |                     |                |                |
|----------------------|--|-------------|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|----------------|----------------|
| (890 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <b><i>tov</i></b>  | <i>meih</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <b><i>mai<sup>v</sup></i></b> | <b><i>dungv</i></b> | <i>ngaengc</i> | <i>hnyouw.</i> |
|                      | ໂກ້  | ແມ່ຍ        | ບ້າວ        | ໄມ້                           | ດູ້                 | ແທ່ງ           | ເຮັ້ງໝາ.       |
|                      | tʰo˥   | mei˧        | buə̥˧       | mai˥                          | tuŋ˥                | ຖະນັງ          | jī̥eub˥        |
|                      | beseech  | 2           | PL          | NEG                           | AUX                 | be.hard        | heart          |
|                      | ‘please, do not be obstinate.’                             |             |             |                               |                     |                |                |
|                      | (ium_1966_03_PERMATON_ViggoSogaard_Gueix-Cing;00.02.17-21) |             |             |                               |                     |                |                |

Another pattern of polite negative imperative is expressed by the combination of command *mv.dungv* and the polite particle *oc* as in (891):

|       |   |              |            |                    |                 |              |            |
|-------|---|--------------|------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|
| (891) | <b><i>Mv.dungv</i></b>  | <i>gaeqv</i> | <i>oc.</i> | <i>Naaic</i>       | <i>mv.gengh</i> | <i>zuoqc</i> | <i>oc.</i> |
|       | ນ້າດູ້ງ   | ແກ້ງ         | ໄອ໌.       | ໜ່າຍ               | ນ້ຳເກົ່ງ        | ຫຼວມະ        | ໄອ໌.       |
|       | ນ້າ   | tuŋ˥         | ke?˥       | o˩                 | na:i˩           | ນ້າ          | tsuə?˩     |
|       | don’t   | pick         | PLT        | DEM <sub>MID</sub> | not.yet         | be.ripe      | PLT        |
|       | ‘Don’t pick (them) [pineapples of the back yard]. They are not ripe yet.’ |              |            |                    |                 |              |            |
|       | (ium_20150429_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.13.55-6)                     |              |            |                    |                 |              |            |

The addition of reason for forbidding in the second sentence with another polite particle further alleviates a brusque tone of the command.

### 13.9 Summary of Chapter 14

In this chapter different types of negative constructions have been investigated, all of which contain the negative particle *maiv* or its shortened form *mv*. Areas covered are (i) the simple negation, (ii) the modification of negation in auxiliaries and emphatic negation, (iii) the negation of copular verbs, (iv) the double negation both with the negative proposition and the affirmative proposition, (v) the scope of negation in SVCs and coverb constructions, and (vi) the negative imperative, i.e., prohibition, including negation of two different types of psycho-collocations.

The investigation concentrated on the structural side and further study into the semantics of negation is awaited.

Since the negation of SVCs and coverb construction were considered in this chapter, the topic of the multi-verb constructions (including SVCs and coverbs) should get more attention, which will be in Chapter 15. Before that, we will briefly survey the structures of questions in the next chapter.

## Chapter 14

# QUESTIONS

### 14.1 Introduction

There are three kinds of questions: (i) the polar question using the sentence final particle *fai*, (ii) the polar question that is indicated by a falling intonation, and (iii) the content question using interrogative words. Since the second kind was presented in §§3.3.4.3–4, this chapter will show only one instance of that type.

### 14.2 Interrogative SFPs

The polar question is indicated by the sentence final particle *fai* in a rising intonation as in (892)(cf. (131) in §3.3.4.3):

- (892) *Meih koi jienv nyei ↗fai?*  
        ເມືຂ ຄອບ ຈຶ່ນ ້ຢ ຮັກ?  
        mei<sup>↓</sup> k<sup>h</sup>oi<sup>↑</sup> c<sup>j</sup>en<sup>↖</sup> nei<sup>↑</sup> ↗fai<sup>↑</sup>  
        2SG open CONT ASST Q  
‘Are you playing (this tape recorder)?’ (lit. ‘Are you opening it?’)  
(ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.00.15-6)

In contrast, a falling intonation is also used in asking a question expecting an affirmative reply by the use of the SFP *saah* (and variation with glottal ending, *saqh*) as in (893)(a repetition of (489<sup>-1</sup>)) (cf. (133) for falling intonation contour in §3.3.4.4):

- (893) *Meih yiem naaiv lauh nyei ↘saahζ<sup>210</sup>*  
(489<sup>-1</sup>) *ເມືຂ ເຍືມ ນ້າຍ ເລ້າ ້ຢ ຮັກζ*  
        mei<sup>↓</sup> jem<sup>↑</sup> na:i<sup>↖</sup> lau<sup>↓</sup> nei<sup>↑</sup> ↘saahζ<sup>210</sup>  
        2SG be.at DEM be.long ASST Q  
‘You will be here for a long time, won’t you?’  
(ium\_1967\_08\_BASF-LGS35\_HCox\_GueixSeng\_YSC-WII-p17;00.12.39-4)

Though not a polar question, the sentence final phrase *mv bei* ‘I wonder’ with a mid-level sustained intonation indicates a self-question as in (894):

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<sup>210</sup> See the Conventions Used in Transcriptions of Text for ζ. This has been adopted from Bloomfield’s analysis on English questions with falling intonation contour (Bloomfield 1933:92, 114-5, 171).

|                   |  |                               |                               |   |                                 |
|-------------------|--|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| (894)             | <i>Taux</i>  | <i>haaix</i>                  | <i>norm</i>                   | <i>hnyangx-dauh</i>                             | <b><i>mv.bei.</i></b>           |
| (3 <sup>2</sup> ) | លោ   | មាយ                           | នអុម                          | នអរ្ស៉ាង-តែវា                                   | មី.លូអ,                         |
|                   | t <sup>h</sup> au <sup>l</sup>                     | hai <sup>i</sup> <sup>l</sup> | n <sup>o</sup> m <sup>l</sup> | j <sup>ñ</sup> an <sup>l</sup> tau <sup>l</sup> | m <sup>ñ</sup> pei <sup>l</sup> |
|                   | reach  | which                         | CLF                           | year-head                                       | not.know                        |
|                   | 'I wonder which year could that be,'               |                               |                               |   |                                 |
|                   | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.01.19-21) |                               |                               |   |                                 |

In this phrase, the negative particle *mv* never occurs in the full form *mai<sup>v</sup>*.

### 14.3 Interrogative Constructions

The most basic interrogative pronoun is *haaix* ‘what’ and this is combined with other elements such as time, classifier, adverbs etc. to express all other kinds of questions. The interrogative constructions are listed in Table 57.

**Table 57. Interrogative constructions**

| Interrogative Constructions   |   | Gloss                          |
|---|---|--------------------------------|
| <i>haaix</i>  | /ha:i <sup>l</sup> /  | ‘What?, where?’                |
| <i>haaix dauh</i> [what CLF <sub>ANIMATE</sub> ]<br>(Var: <i>hai<sup>v</sup> dauh</i> ) | /ha:i <sup>l</sup> tauh <sup>l</sup> /  | ‘Who?’                         |
| <i>haaix nyungc</i> [what kind]<br>(Var: <i>hai<sup>v</sup> nyungc</i> )                | /ha:i <sup>l</sup> ñunj <sup>l</sup> /<br>/hai <sup>ñ</sup> ñunj <sup>l</sup> /                                 | ‘What?, which?,<br>what kind?’ |
| <i>haaix zanc</i> [what time]<br>(Var: <i>hai<sup>v</sup> zanc</i> )                    | /ha:i <sup>l</sup> tsan <sup>l</sup> /<br>/hai <sup>ñ</sup> tsan <sup>l</sup> /                                 | ‘When?’ (future)               |
| <i>ziangx haaix</i> [finish what]   | /ts <sup>ian</sup> <sup>l</sup> ha:i <sup>l</sup> /   | ‘When?’ (past)                 |
| <i>haaix dnau</i> [what ground]<br>(Var: <i>hai<sup>v</sup> ndau</i> )                  | /ha:i <sup>l</sup> dau <sup>l</sup> /<br>/hai <sup>l</sup> dau <sup>l</sup> /                                   | ‘Which place?<br>Where?’       |
| <i>yiem haaix</i> [be.at what]  | /jem <sup>l</sup> ha:i <sup>l</sup> /   | ‘Where?’                       |
| <i>hnangv haaix nor</i> [like what as] (Var:<br><i>hnangv hai<sup>v</sup> nor</i> )     | /ñan <sup>ñ</sup> ha:i <sup>l</sup><br>nɔ <sup>l</sup> /  | ‘How?’                         |
| <i>weic haaix diuc</i> [for what CLF] ( <i>weic</i><br><i>hai<sup>v</sup> diuc</i> )    | /wei <sup>l</sup> ha:i <sup>l</sup> tiu <sup>l</sup> /<br>/wei <sup>l</sup> hai <sup>ñ</sup> tiu <sup>l</sup> / | ‘Why?’                         |
| <i>mbuoqc ziex</i> [as.much.as many] (Var:<br><i>mbu'ziex</i> )                         | /buə?l tsie <sup>l</sup> /<br>/bu?l tsie <sup>l</sup> /   | ‘How many?’                    |
| <i>ndongc haaix + V<sub>ADJ</sub></i> [as.much.as<br>what]                              | /don <sup>l</sup> ha:i <sup>l</sup> /   | ‘How adj?’                     |

A few selected examples are shown below.

The question phrase itself can stand as a topic/actor (895)(a repetition of (603)) or an object (896) in the sentence as shown in the following examples:

- (895) ***Haiv.dauh zoux?***  
 (603) ໄສ්.ເຕා ໂທດວ  
       hai`ŋ tauŋ tsəuŋ  
       who do  
       ‘Who does (it)?’  
 (ium\_c1970\_03\_CT\_x\_y\_TradReligion\_3\_1;00.07.12-3)

- (896) ***Meih daaih lorz haiv.dauh?***  
         ແມ່ຍ ຕ້າຍ ລ່ອ ໄສ්.ເຕා  
         meiŋ tə:iŋ lɔŋ hai`ŋ tauŋ  
         2SG come seek who  
         ‘Who have you come to look for?’  
 (Field Notes 1994-5)

Asking for reason ‘why’ the phrase *weic haaix diuc* is used preverbally (or pre-clause) as in (897<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (897<sup>-1</sup>) ***Faaux dieh nyei ziangh.hoc,***  
         ຝາວ ເຕීຍ ເນුຍ ເຕීຢ.ໂທ,  
         fa:uŋ tiəŋ neiŋ tsʰanŋŋ hoŋ  
         ascend table REL time  
         ‘When you (the bride’s side as guests) come around the table,’

- (897<sup>-2</sup>) ***oix.zuqc bouc diuv daaih gorngv ninh mbuo***  
         ອ້ອຍ.ຫຼຸງ ໂປ່ງ ດີວ ຕ້າຍ ກົ້ອງ ນິ້ນ ບ້າ  
         ວິ່ງ tsu?ŋ pəuŋ tiuŋ ta:iŋ kɔŋŋ ninŋ buəŋ  
         must lift liquor come say 3 PL  
         ‘you must toast and say to the host’

- (897<sup>-3</sup>) ***weic haaix diuc daaih.***  
         ເຫວ່ຍ ແກ້ໄຂ ດີວ ຕ້າຍ.  
         weiŋ haa:iŋ diuŋ ta:iŋ  
         for what reason come  
         ‘why you have come here.’

(Burgess and Gueix-Cing, the 1970s, *Gorngv Sieqv Nyei Yietc Nyeic [The Procedure of Betrothal]*, KMB)

While the phrase *weic haaix diuc* is a formal way to ask for reason, a more direct question can be used as a colloquial expression, namely, *zoux haiv.nyungc* [do what] ‘why?’. The phrase can simply be preposed to the clause or postponed to it. See the latter case in (898<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|   |                  |                 |                   |                                |                    |                                |                   |
|---|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|
| (898 <sup>-1</sup> )                            | <i>Meih</i>      | <i>aengx</i>    | <i>zoux</i>       | <i>jienv</i>                   | <i>naaiv</i>       | <i>biauv</i>                   | <i>daaih</i>      |
|   | ເມື່ຍ            | ແອ້ງ            | ໄທຕວ              | ເຈີນ                           | ນ້າຍ               | ເປົ້າ                          | ຕ້າຍ              |
|   | mei <sup>1</sup> | ɛŋ <sup>1</sup> | tsəʊ <sup>1</sup> | c <sup>1</sup> en <sup>1</sup> | nai <sup>1</sup>   | p <sup>1</sup> au <sup>1</sup> | ta:i <sup>1</sup> |
|   | 2SG              | again           | make              | CONT                           | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | house                          | COME              |
| ‘You are making another cage near (the house),’ |                  |                 |                   |                                |                    |                                |                   |

|                      |                   |                  |                   |
|----------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (898 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>zoux</i>       | <i>haiv</i>      | <i>nyungc?</i>    |
|                      | ໄທຕວ              | ໄສ້              | ທຸກ່ງ?            |
|                      | tsəʊ <sup>1</sup> | hai <sup>1</sup> | jnuŋ <sup>1</sup> |
|                      | do                | what             | kind              |
|                      | ‘why?’            |                  |                   |

(ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.13.51-3)

It is completely acceptable to reverse the order to (898<sup>-2</sup>)- (898<sup>-1</sup>): *Zoux haiv.nyungc meih aengx zoux?* ‘Why are you making another...?’

As for “Where?”-question, the topic/subject must occur in the first place in the sentence as in (899):

|   |                 |                  |                                     |                  |                   |                   |
|---|-----------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (899)                                     | <i>Yie</i>      | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>mienh.maanh</i>                  | <i>yiem</i>      | <i>haaix</i>      | <i>daaih?</i>     |
|   | ເບີຍ            | ນັວ              | ເມື່ຍນ.ມ່ານ                         | ເຢີມ             | ຫາຍ               | ຕ້າຍ?             |
|   | iə <sup>1</sup> | bəu <sup>1</sup> | miən <sup>1</sup> ma:n <sup>1</sup> | jem <sup>1</sup> | ha:i <sup>1</sup> | ta:i <sup>1</sup> |
|   | 1               | PL               | people.all                          | be.at            | what              | come              |
| ‘Where did we as human beings come from?’ |                 |                  |                                     |                  |                   |                   |

(ium\_196605\_02\_MAXELL\_ViggoSogaard\_Guex-Cing-DauxGaux;00.08.04-6)

In the question phrase *yiem haaix /jem<sup>1</sup> ha:i<sup>1</sup>/*, the second syllable never changes to the shortened form *haiv /hai<sup>1</sup>/* unlike *haiv.nyungc /hai<sup>1</sup> jnuŋ<sup>1</sup>/* from *haaix nyungc /ha:i<sup>1</sup> jnuŋ<sup>1</sup>/* ‘what, what kind’.

To ask about a manner of an action the ‘how’-question is used in the construction *hnangv haaix* (var: *haiv*) *nor* [like what as] ‘how’. The question phrase itself can behave as a topic noun as in (900<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|  |                |                    |                        |            |             |
|--|----------------|--------------------|------------------------|------------|-------------|
| (900 <sup>-1</sup> )   | <i>Mv.baac</i> | <i>se / hnangy</i> | <i>hai<sup>v</sup></i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>yaac</i> |
|  | մայ            | թ / անց            | իշ                     | նօ         | այն         |
|  | մ՞ յ pa:ʃ      | se:ʃ               | դայ՞                   | hai:ʃ      | nɔ:ʃ ja:ʃ   |
|  | but            | COP                | like                   | what       | as TOP      |
| ‘But by whatever methods they may perform (various ceremonies),’ |                |                    |                        |            |             |

|   |                    |              |              |             |              |
|---|--------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| (900 <sup>-2</sup> )                                  | <i>buatc</i>       | <i>maaih</i> | <i>mienh</i> | <i>zoux</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|   | պատ                | մայ          | մեյն         | ໄຫດວ        | ເສູ່ຍ.       |
|   | p <sup>w</sup> atʃ | ma:i:ʃ       | miənʃ        | tsəuʃ       | ŋeɪʃ         |
|   | see                | have         | people       | do          | ASST         |
| ‘you will see (that) there are people who do (them).’ |                    |              |              |             |              |
| (ium_c1970_03_CT_x_y_TradReligion_3_1;00.06.43-6)     |                    |              |              |             |              |

## 14.4 Summary of Chapter 14

Questions are marked by (i) the question particles *fai?* and *saah<sub>c</sub>*, (ii) the rising question intonation, (iii) the falling question intonation, and (iv) the interrogative phrases for content questions.

Among the interrogative constructions listed in Table 57 *haaix dauh* ‘who?’ and *haaix nyungc* ‘what?’ are interrogative pronoun phrases while the others are interrogative adverbial phrases, e.g., *haaix zanc* ‘when?’ and *haaix ndau* ‘where?’. The interrogative phrases, both pronouns and adverbs, can also occur in the topic position or the focus position in a sentence.

# Chapter 15

## MULTI-VERB CONSTRUCTIONS INCLUDING

### COVERBS<sup>211</sup>

#### 15.1 Introduction

One may be amazed, taking a close look at an Iu Mien sentence, to realise how lavishly verbs are used in it; sometimes one encounters a string of five verbs without any insertion between them, e.g., *gin-gaengh ... mbaang king ndutv ndortv njiec* [bed.room-door ... collapse fall come.off drop descend]. In this chapter what is termed Serial Verb Constructions (SVCs), verb serialisation, verb concatenation, verb strings etc., is discussed under the broader term, multi-verb constructions (MVCs) following Enfield (2007, 2008) in his description of Lao. Coverbs are also discussed within the framework of MVCs.

Regarding the definition of SVCs, lack of consensus seems to be the only agreement among linguists. Hence, the choice of the term coined by Enfield as it is the broadest. He, avoiding the term SVCs as being “too narrowly suggestive of certain specific types of construction” (2007:339), gives a very broad description, not a definition, of what MVCs look like: an MVC is a sentence in the appearance of “contiguous verbs” “in a single prosodically integrated unit, with no inflection or explicit marking of the grammatical relationship between them” (Enfield 2008:83). MVCs are also said to be “unmarked V1-V2 sequences” (2008:104), where Enfield considers V to represent both a verb and a verb phrase.

#### 15.2 Mono-Clausal and Multi-Clausal MVCs

The MVCs in Iu Mien are grouped into two major divisions: mono-clausal and multi-clausal. The mono-clausal MVCs are, in effect, SVCs in Jarkey’s sense that “Serial Verb Constructions” are “juxtaposed verbs which work together to describe a single proposition, but do not involve subordination” (Jarkey 1991:88). She distinguishes them from other kinds of serialisations: “juxtaposed verbs representing a series of distinct actions” and “juxtaposed verbs involving subordination (including a relationship of purpose)” (*ibid.*). The latter two kinds are, in our term, the multi-

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<sup>211</sup> Some parts of this chapter were presented under the title “Multiverb Constructions in Iu Mien: Focussing on Coverbs” at the 24th Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asia Linguistics Society (SEALS 24) held at Yangon University, Yangon, Myanmar, 27-31 May 2024. I would like to thank all comments from the participants, which encouraged me to clarify some issues. Among them, special thanks are due to Nerida Jarkey and Randy LaPolla.

clausal MVCs, because they contain, i.e., various types of clauses such as purposive, resultative, juxtaposed, complement, and overlapping.

In the first division, there are nine types of mono-clausal MVCs presented. Types 1 – 5 have already been discussed in the chapters on Adverbial Constructions (Chapter 9) and Auxiliary, Aspect and Modality (Chapter 12) (see the relevant section numbers below), hence will not be treated in this chapter.

Type 1. {S/A} {Preverbal Adverb} V,

(e.g. *ninh gaanv zoux*. ‘He did (it) quickly.’ [3SG **quickly** do] (cf. §9.2.1.1)

Type 2. {S/A} {Preverbal Adverbial VP} V,

(e.g. *ninh mbuo zaqv jienv mingh*. ‘They went as they were slashing.’ [3 PL **slash** CONT go]) (cf. §9.2.1.2)

Type 3. {S/A} {Preverbal Auxiliary Verb} V,

(e.g. *yie oix mingh*.<sup>212</sup> ‘I want to go.’ [1SG **want** go]) (cf. §12.3)

Type 4. {S/A} V {Postverbal Aspectual Verb},

(e.g. *yie nyanc ziangx*. ‘I have eaten.’ 1SG eat FINISH) (cf. §12.5.2)

Type 5. {S/A} V {Postverbal Directional Verb},

(e.g. *ninh faaux mingh*. ‘S/he went up.’ [3SG ascend GO]) (cf. §12.5.3)

The following two types will be discussed in §17.3.1 and §18.4 respectively:

Type 6. {S/A} V {Postverbal Modal Verb},

(e.g. *yie nyanc duqv*. / *yie nyanc mv duqv*. ‘I can eat (it).’ [1SG eat **be.able**] / ‘I can’t eat (it).’ [1SG eat NEG **be.able**]) (cf. §17.3.1)

Type 7. {S/A} V {Postverbal Complement-taking Verb} {Complement N/Clause},

(e.g. *yie gonrgv taux loz-hnoi nyei jauv*. ‘I talk about things of old days.’ [1SG talk **reach** old.day SBCP way] (cf. §18.4)

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<sup>212</sup> The underlined word is the main verb or the head of the construction. The word in bold letters “from a closed class provides a modificational specification” (Aikhenvald 2006:21).

It is Type 8 and Type 9 that we will examine in this section of the mono-clausal MVCs:

Type 8. {S/A} V {Resultative Complement Verb},  
(e.g. *yie zoux waaic*. ‘I broke (it).’ [1SG make **be.bad**])

Type 9. {S/A} {Semantic Role VP} VP,  
(e.g. *yie longc zouc nyanc hnaangx*. ‘I eat rice with chopsticks.’ [1SG **use** **chopstick** eat rice])

In all these nine types, the Vs (and VP in Type 9) outside of the brackets {} are main verbs, i.e., the head verb of the construction. All of these are asymmetrical SVCs in Aikhenvald’s (2006:21) sense. Type 8 is, “tight serialization”, in Goddard’s (2005:120-4) terms. Type 9 is what most Chinese scholars treat as coverbs, where the semantic role VP can be interpreted as an equivalent of preposition in English (e.g. Mathews 2006:71). The semantic role VP signifies, for example, instrumental, locative, source, causative, benefactive, malefactive, and so on.

Secondly, multi-clausal MVCs involve five constructions: purpose clauses, resultative clauses, juxtaposed VP/clauses, overlapping clauses, and complement clauses. All of these can be distinguished from the mono-clausal MVCs by the conjunction-insertability test (i.e. what Enfield (2008:105) calls “clause separability”), using *yaac* ‘and’, *ziouc* ‘and then’, *cingx daaih* ‘therefore’, *weic* ‘in order to, so that, for the sake of’. In addition, the adverb *aengx* ‘further, again, also’ can also be used to test, by its insertion between constituents, whether the construction is composed of multiple-clauses or not.

To the second division, another seemingly multi-clausal MVC should be mentioned because of its surface resemblance (i.e. long string of verbs without any insertion of NP in-between) even though this last structure has nothing to do with SVCs or multi-clausal constructions. It is simply intensification or elaboration of the motion/action in the sentence. One more string of verbs that falls into this group is listing of VPs.

## 15.3 Mono-clausal MVCs

### 15.3.1 Type 8. Resultative Complement Verb

Some verbs occur as a complement of a head verb indicating the result of an action of the head. The structure, schematically, is [A V<sub>TR</sub> V<sub>CPL</sub>], where the V<sub>CPL</sub> is the

result of the A performing the act of the transitive verb V<sub>TR</sub>. The argument which underwent ellipsis in this construction is an O after the V<sub>TR</sub> and at the same time it is the S of the V<sub>CPL</sub>. Thus, an agent in (901<sup>-1-3</sup>) {beat O (i.e. a wild cat)} {(as a result, it died)}:

|   |              |              |                     |             |                     |                    |
|---|--------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| (901 <sup>-1</sup> )  | <i>Hlopv</i> | <i>jienv</i> | <i>nzuonx</i>       | <i>gau,</i> | <i>nzuonx</i>       | <i>taux</i>        |
|   | ဆលប          | តីំឃន        | អទវាន               | កោ,         | អទវាន               | តោ                 |
|   | lop]         | c'en̄        | dz <sup>w</sup> ən̄ | kaū        | dz <sup>w</sup> ən̄ | t <sup>h</sup> aū |
|   | embrace      | CONT         | return              | after,which | return              | reach              |
| ‘After (Big brother) came back carrying (the wild cat) (by holding it), (and) arrived at’ |              |              |                     |             |                     |                    |

|   |                   |                             |             |                      |                    |
|---|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| (901 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>biauv-hlen</i> | <i>qiex.jiez</i>            | <i>haic</i> | <b><i>mborqv</i></b> | <b><i>daic</i></b> |
|   | មេខា-សេលន         | តីឃ.តីឃ                     | ឱះ          | ម៉ីង                 | ឬត់                |
|   | p̄aūl̄ len̄      | c <sup>h</sup> iə̄l̄ ciə̄l̄ | haīl̄      | bɔ?̄l̄               | taīl̄             |
| house.side get.angry very hit die<br>‘the side of the house, he became very angry (then) beat it to death,’ |                   |                             |             |                      |                    |

|   |            |             |              |                    |              |
|---|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|--------------|
| (901 <sup>-3</sup> )  | <i>zoi</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>huaav</i> | <i>lomc-mbioqc</i> | <i>mingh</i> |
|   | ធមួយ       | វីរ៉ា       | មវាំ         | លេំម-ិុបែ          | មិំង         |
|   | tscīl̄    | uə̄l̄       | ma:̄l̄       | lom̄l̄             | minj̄l̄      |
| throw DEM yonder forest.thick GO<br>‘(and) threw it over into the thick bush.’    |            |             |              |                    |              |
| (Burgess and Yauz Guangv, 1970s. <i>Nda'maauh Jaaux Gouv</i> [Wild Cat] (1), KMB) |            |             |              |                    |              |

Very similar to (901<sup>-2</sup>) but different in transitivity/intransitivity of V2 is found in (902<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|  |              |              |            |              |
|--|--------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| (902 <sup>-1</sup> )                                     | <i>Wuonx</i> | <i>jienv</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>aeqv,</i> |
|  | អទវាន        | តីំឃន        | ននៅ        | នឹង,         |
|  | uə̄n̄l̄      | c'en̄        | n̄ōl̄     | ɛ?̄l̄        |
|  | confine      | CONT         | if.so      | PDP          |
| ‘As (my father and we) confine (the tiger in the cage),’ |              |              |            |              |

|                      |   |             |               |                 |             |             |              |
|----------------------|---|-------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| (902 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>maaih</i>  | <i>deix</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | “ <i>Mborqv</i> | <i>daix</i> | <i>aqv”</i> | <i>norh.</i> |
|                      | ນ່າຍ  | ເຕັມ        | ກົ່ອງ         | “ນີ້ກະ          | ໄຕ້         | ອື່ນ”       | ນ່ອ.         |
|                      | <i>ma:i\</i>  | <i>tei\</i> | <i>kɔŋ\</i>   | <i>bɔ?l</i>     | <i>tai\</i> | <i>a?l</i>  | <i>nɔ\</i>   |
|                      | have  | some        | say           | hit             | kill        | NSIT        | RPOT         |
|                      | ‘Some people said “Kill by beating.”’                 |             |               |                 |             |             |              |
|                      | (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.14.26-9) |             |               |                 |             |             |              |

When V2 is an intransitive verb as in (901<sup>-2</sup>), *mborqv daic* [hit die] means ‘to beat (it) to death’. This first sequence is the resultative complement SVC. On the other hand, when V2 is a transitive verb as in (902<sup>-2</sup>), *mborqv daix* [hit kill] means ‘to kill by beating’.

### 15.3.2 Type 9. Semantic Role Coverb Constructions

The ninth type of MVC is the semantic role coverb construction (SRCvC). The SRCvC is a sentence that contains a coverb phrase (CvP) modifying or specifying a manner of the action denoted by the main verb phrase. In our study SRCvCs are treated as a part of MVCs due to their serial characteristic in the sentence. That is, the sequence [CvP][main verb] corresponds to Enfield’s (2008) term V1-V2 because he allows V to be a verb phrase as well as a single verb.

In Iu Mien the SRCvCs specify in what manner the action of the main verb is performed. Different semantic roles such as instrument, locative, causative are expressed by coverb, which is placed in an oblique position, i.e., after the topic (A/S) and before the main verb or VP. The structure of the SRCvC is:

{Topic} {Coverb Phrase} {Main Verb Phrase} ± {Sentence-final Particle}

Clark (1978:128), in her study of coverbs and case in Vietnamese, notes that “[t]he coverb phenomenon is one of the areal features of Southeast Asia, one of the features characteristics of the languages of the area, possibly as a result of language contact”.

That the SRCvP is oblique while the verb phrase which comes after it is the main or the head is generally tested by omission of the latter. Native speakers do not get any meaning of the sentence without the main verb phrase while the omission of coverb phrase still allows the sentence to convey the most important message. It is important to recall Principle 2, posited in §4.2.1:

**Principle 2.** Iu Mien has a rightward multilayered focus (RMF) structure. The more rightward a constituent goes (i.e. toward the end of a sentence), the more focus it gets.

That is, omission of the rightward focus causes a fundamental damage to the central information of the sentence.

### 15.3.2.1 Source (*S*) coverb phrases

The source role is “the point from which an entity comes or derives” (Blake 1991:61), and “the point of origin of a state of affairs” (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:86). In Iu Mien the verb *yiem* /jem˧/ ‘be at/in’ is used to indicate the source NP. First, the regular sense of ‘to be at/in, live in/at, located’ of *yiem* will be shown in (903<sup>-1-2</sup>). Then, the source use will follow.

|  |            |             |                  |               |             |                  |
|--|------------|-------------|------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|
| (903 <sup>-1</sup> )                       | <i>Yie</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>Iu-Mienh/</i> | [ <i>yiem</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>dorngx</i> ], |
|  | ເມື່ອ      | ນັ້ງ        | ບີ້ວ-ເມື່ອນ/     | [ເຍື່ນ        | ແລູນ        | ຕ້ອງ],           |
|  | iə˥        | bua˥        | iu˥ miən˥        | jem˧          | nei˧        | tɔŋ˧             |
|  | 1          | PL          | Iu Mien          | be.in/live    | REL         | place            |
| ‘As for we Iu Mien, our residential areas’ |            |             |                  |               |             |                  |

|  |             |                                    |  |
|--|-------------|------------------------------------|--|
| (903 <sup>-2</sup> )                                       | <i>yiem</i> | <i>mbong-zangc.</i> <sup>213</sup> |  |
|  | ເຍື່ນ       | ບັງ-ຫຼັງ.                          |  |
|  | jem˧        | borŋ˥ tsanŋ˥                       |  |
|  | be.in       | mountain-area                      |  |
| ‘are in the mountains.’                                    |             |                                    |  |
| (ium_1966_03_PERMATON_ViggoSogaard_Gueix-Cing;00.00.27-31) |             |                                    |  |

In two occurrences of *yiem* the first in (903<sup>-1</sup>) is in the relative clause that comprises an NP *yiem nyei dorngx* ‘residential areas’. So (903<sup>-1</sup>) consists of two units or two topics: ‘as for us Iu Mien’ and ‘(as for) ‘places of living’. In (903<sup>-2</sup>) the verb *yiem* predicates the whole of (903<sup>-1</sup>).

Now, the source reading of *yiem* ‘from’ requires a verb of traverse as a main verb. Thus the construction has the structure [*yiem* NP<sub>SOURCE</sub> + V<sub>MAIN</sub>], where [*yiem* NP<sub>SOURCE</sub>] is a coverb phrase (CvP). Common verbs of traverse used as a main verb in this construction are *daaih* /taii˨/ ‘to come’, *mingh* /minj˨/ ‘to go’, *faaux* /faau˧/ ‘to

<sup>213</sup> Purnell’s dictionary (2012:472) does not indicate tone sandhi in this combination while other combinations such as *mbong-hlang* [mountain be.high] ‘high mountain’, *mbong-hlen* [mountain side] ‘the side of the mountain, mountain-side, hillside’ are treated as compound nouns with tone sandhi indicated by the hyphen.

ascend’, *njiéc* /ʃiəl/ ‘to descend’, *suih* /sui˧/ ‘to move (place)’, *biaux* /p̥au˧/ ‘to escape’, *jiex* /ciəl/ ‘to pass or cross’. See example (904):

- (904) *Yie mbuo yiem wuov ngaanc(S) daaih.*  
 ເີຍ ບ້ວ ເຢືມ ວ້ວ ນ່າງນ(ສ) ດ້າຍ.  
 iəl buəl jem˧ uə˥ ŋa:nl ta:i˧  
 1 PL be.at DEM side come  
 ‘We came from the other side (of the Mekong River).’  
 (ium\_1967\_08\_BASF-LGS35\_HCox\_GueixSeng\_YSC-WII-p17;00.12.50-2)

### 15.3.2.2 Instrumental coverb phrases

The semantic role “instrument” is “the means by which an action is carried out” (Blake 1991:60). The instrumental semantic role is expressed by the verb *longc* ‘to use’. The verb of the left-headed coverb phrase is in bold type and the head is underlined as in (905a):

- (905a) *Ninh longc porng wetv ndau.*  
 ນິນ ແລ້ງ ພອງ ເວັດ ເດາ  
 nin˧ lon˧ pʰɔŋ˧ wet˧ dau˧  
 3SG use hoe dig ground  
 ‘S/he digs the ground with a hoe.’  
 (Field Notes, 201505, Guex-Fong, KMB)

To show that the semantic role coverb is an oblique constituent, consider that an insertion of the aspectual verb *jienv* ‘CONTINUE’ is not acceptable as in (905b):

- (905b) \**Ninh longc **jienv** porng wetv ndau*  
 3SG use CONT hoe dig ground

Further, to show that the verb phrase which comes at the end of the sentence is the head, consider that an insertion of the *jienv* after the verb *wetv* ‘to dig’ as in (905c):

- (905c) *Ninh longc porng wetv **jienv** ndau*  
 ນິນ ແລ້ງ ພອງ ເວັດ ເຈີນ ເດາ  
 nin˧ lon˧ pʰɔŋ˧ wet˧ c̥en˧˥ dau˧  
 3SG use hoe dig CONT ground  
 ‘S/he is digging the ground with a hoe.’  
 (Field Notes, 201505, Guex-Fong, KMB)

Similar to instrumental meaning, but not exactly, an example of using an authoritative source can be seen in (906<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                            |            |                              |                   |             |              |
|----------------------------|------------|------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------|
| (906 <sup>-1</sup> )       | <i>Yie</i> | <b><i>dengv</i></b>          | <i>hungh.diex</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>mbuox</i> |
|                            | ឃិ៍        | ពេង                          | ឱ្យែ.ពិឃ          | លើឃ         | ប៉ា          |
|                            | iə́        | teŋ̚ŋ̚                       | hung̚             | tiə́        | nei̚         |
|                            | 1SG        | bring.name.of <sup>214</sup> | king.father       | POSS        | name         |
| ‘In the name of the king,’ |            |                              |                   |             |              |

|                              |                    |             |                      |              |
|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------|----------------------|--------------|
| (906 <sup>-2</sup> )         | <b><i>hatc</i></b> | <i>meih</i> | <i>cuotv</i>         | <i>daaih</i> |
|                              | អ័គ្រ              | មៀហ         | ខ្សោគ                | តាម          |
|                              | hat̚               | mei̚        | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət̚ | ta:i̚        |
|                              | command            | 2SG         | come.out             | COME         |
| ‘I command you to come out.’ |                    |             |                      |              |
| (Purnell 2012:125)           |                    |             |                      |              |

The verb *zorqv* ‘to take’ can replace the verb *longc* ‘to use’ in the instrumental CvP but the action finding and bringing an instrument from elsewhere would be more profiled as in (907<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                       |                     |             |                     |             |             |                             |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| (907 <sup>-1</sup> )  | <i>Hnangv.naaic</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <b><i>zorqv</i></b> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>biaav-</i> <i>mbiaac</i> |
|                       | ធនំ.ណាយ             | នីន         | ឡក់                 | នីន         | លើឃ         | បីា- បយា                    |
|                       | tu:ŋ̚ŋ̚ na:i̚       | nin̚        | tsɔ?̚               | nin̚        | nei̚        | p̚a:̚ b̚a:̚                 |
|                       | therefore           | 3SG         | take                | 3SG         | POSS        | cane                        |
| ‘So he took his cane’ |                     |             |                     |             |             |                             |

|  |                      |            |            |               |
|--|----------------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| (907 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <b><i>mborqv</i></b> | <i>doc</i> | <i>huv</i> | <i>mingh.</i> |
|  | បីះវ                 | ទិះ        | ឲ្យ        | មិះ.          |
|  | bɔ?̚                 | to̚        | hu:̚       | miŋ̚          |
|  | strike               | turtle     | crush      | GO            |
| ‘(and) smashed the turtle into pieces.’                      |                      |            |            |               |
| (ium_20150506_01_H1_DA_GF_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz_KMB;00.24.21-5) |                      |            |            |               |

<sup>214</sup> My language consultant paraphrased the verb *dengv* in Iu Mien as *dorh wuov dauh nyei mbuox zoux*, [bring that CLF SBCP name do] in our monolingual discussion while Purnell (2012:125) translates into English prepositional phrase “to do in the name of”.

### 15.3.2.3 Path coverb phrase

The semantic role “path” is defined as “the course over which an entity moves” (Blake 1991:61). The path through which or along which the movement takes place is expressed by verbs like *gan* ‘to follow’ and *yangh* ‘to walk’. The first example is *gan* ‘to follow’ translated as ‘along’ in English as in (908):

- (908) *Sai-diex meih manc-manc gan jauv mingh*  
 ໄຊ-ເຕີບ ເມ່ຍ ມມ້ນໆ ກັນ ່ຳ ມຶງ  
 sai˥ tia˥ mei˥ man˥ man˥ kan˥ cau˥ min˥  
 teacher 2SG slowly follow road go  
 ‘Teacher, you go slowly along the road.’  
 (ium\_20130514\_01\_H1\_DA\_LeizFuqcDorngh\_Gouv-  
 Santiphaap;00.17.50-54)

Incidentally, to show again that the tight relation between the semantic role coverb and the verbal head, the wave form of this utterance is helpful. Note that there is no prosodic pause between *gan jauv* and *mingh* shown in Figure 60:

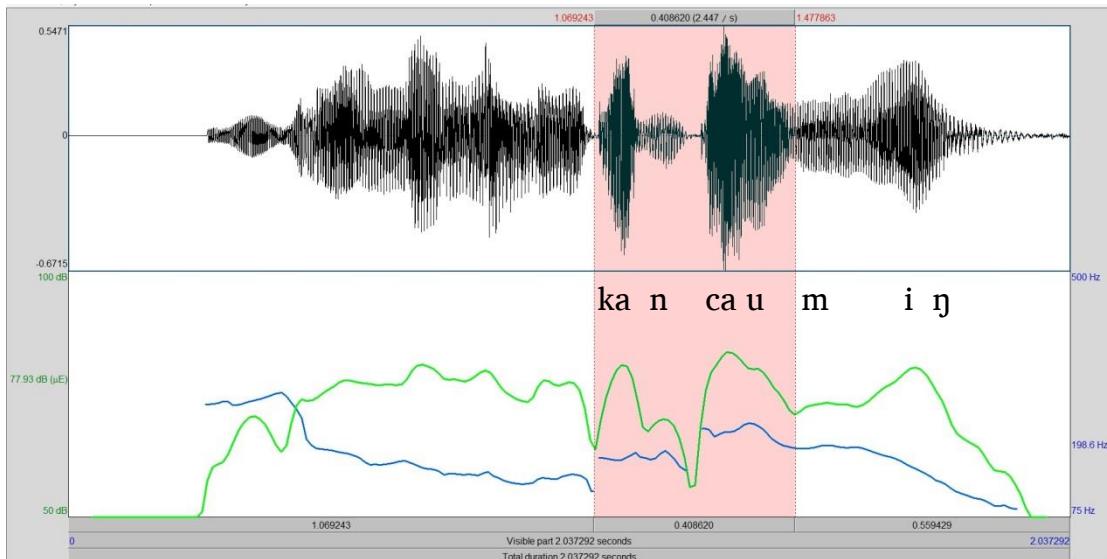


Figure 60. No pause between coverb phrase and main verb

In addition, *mingh gan jauv* {go}{follow}{road} is not possible. (It could mean ‘Go somewhere else to follow the road there’.)

The semantic role coverb *gan* ‘to follow’ can take the continuous aspectual verb *jienv* ‘CONT’. This may appear contradictory to (905b) in the instrumental role coverb ‘to use’, forbidding the insertion of *jienv* ‘CONT’ before the main verb. In the story of flash flood, the phrase *gan jienv* [follow CONT] expresses a duration of running for life

escaping from the flash flood, while the main verb *cuotv* ‘to come out’ has more telic meaning rather than duration as in (909):

| (909) | <i>Yie</i>   | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>i.hmuangv</i> | <i>gan</i> | <i>jienv</i> | <i>ndoqv</i> | <u><i>cuotv</i></u> |
|-------|--|-------------|------------------|------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------|
|       | ເຢີ່ຍ  | ບ້າວ        | ອື່ນວັງ          | ກັນ        | ເຈື້ອນ       | ໄດ້ວະ        | ຫົວດ                |
|       | iə̄l   | buə̄l       | īl m̄waj̄y      | kan̄l      | c̄en̄y       | do?̄l        | ts̄hwə̄t̄l          |
|       | 1SG  | PL          | husband.and.wife | follow     | CONT         | stream       | exit                |
|       | ‘My wife and I came out (from the valley) all along the stream.’ |             |                  |            |              |              |                     |
|       | (ium_20110919_01_Olympus_DA_ZoihZou_FlashFlood;00.00.16-9)       |             |                  |            |              |              |                     |

The second example of the path role is expressed by *yangh* ‘to walk’, taken from a legend in which three deities are discussing in the mother’s womb who should go outside first and through which path. One deity tells to another to exit through mother’s left side armpit as in in (910).

| (910) | <i>Meih</i>   | <i>yangh</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>zaaix</i> | <i>maengx</i> | <i>ba'sei-ndiev</i> | <u><i>cuotv</i></u> |
|-------|---|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|
|       | ແມ່ຍ  | ຢັ້ງ         | ແມ່ຍ        | ເລຸຍ        | ຫຕາຍ         | ແໜນງ          | ປະເໜຍ-ເດີຍ          | ຫົວດ                |
|       | meīl   | jaŋ̄l        | meīl       | neīl       | tsa:īl      | meŋ̄l         | pa seīl diə̄y      | ts̄hwə̄t̄l          |
|       | 2SG   | walk         | 2SG         | POSS        | left         | side          | armpit              | exit                |
|       | ‘You go out through the (mother’s) left side armpit.’                   |              |             |             |              |               |                     |                     |
|       | (ium_20130528_06_H1_DA_DangcZanx-Seng_FaamCingCuotvSeix_KMB;00.07.54-7) |              |             |             |              |               |                     |                     |

It seems the meaning of physical walking on foot is considerably bleached in the story where there is no road or ground to step on.

### 15.3.2.4 Causative coverb phrases

As Newman (1996) argues, grammaticalisation of the verb *GIVE* as a causative marker with the meaning ‘to have someone do something’ is commonly found in many languages including Thai *hây* (ໄໝ້) (1996:173) and Mandarin Chinese *gěi* (给) (1996:174). The same usage of *bun* ‘to give’ in Iu Mien is exemplified as in (911):

| (911) | <i>Gorngv</i>   | <i>yie</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>mbuox</i> | <b><i>bun</i></b> | <i>meih</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <u><i>hiuv.</i></u> |
|-------|---|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|
|       | ກໍອງ  | ເຢີ່ຍ      | ເລຸຍ        | ບ້າວ         | ບູນ               | ແມ່ຍ        | ບ້າວ        | ຫົວ                 |
|       | kɔ̄ŋ̄y  | iə̄l       | neīl       | buə̄l        | pun̄l             | meīl       | buə̄l       | hiūy               |
|       | speak   | 1SG        | POSS        | name         | give/let          | 2           | PL          | know                |
|       | ‘Let me introduce myself to you both.’ (lit. ‘I will say my name to let you know.’) |            |             |              |                   |             |             |                     |
|       | (ium_20000415_08_CT_DA_FmCiang_Serving;00.00.15-8)                                  |            |             |              |                   |             |             |                     |

In the meaning ‘to have someone do something’ are found different degrees in force of causing, e.g. from the mildest *oix* ‘to want’, *mbuox* ‘to tell’, *sueih* ‘to depend, allow’, *beqv mienh* V ‘to urge’ *heuc* ‘to call, order’, *hatc* ‘to command’ to the most forceful *aapv* ‘to force’.

The causative *heuc* ‘call, order to V’ is exemplified in (912<sup>-1-2</sup>), a repetition of (3<sup>-42-43</sup>) from §2.2.3:

|                      |  |                   |                    |                   |                 |                   |
|----------------------|--|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| (912 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <b><i>Hieuc</i></b> <sup>215</sup>   | <i>mienv</i> ,    | <b><i>heuc</i></b> | <i>naamh</i>      | <i>geh</i>      | <i>mienv</i>      |
| (3 <sup>-42</sup> )  | ເຫຼັກວ່າ   | ເມື້ນ,            | ເກ່ວ               | ນໍາມ              | ເກີ             | ເມື້ນ             |
|                      | h <sup>ː</sup> eu <sup>ː</sup>   | miən <sup>ː</sup> | heu <sup>ː</sup>   | na:m <sup>ː</sup> | ke <sup>ː</sup> | miən <sup>ː</sup> |
|                      | call   | spirit            | call               | south             | ridge           | spirit            |
|                      | ‘(they) called upon the spirits, (that is), the southern mountain ridge spirits’ |                   |                    |                   |                 |                   |

|                      |                                      |                 |                  |                  |                   |            |                   |                   |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (913 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <b><i>dorh</i></b>                   | <i>yie</i>      | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>jiex</i>      | <i>naaic</i>      | ..ae..     | <i>koiv</i>       | <i>daaih</i> ,    |
| (3 <sup>-43</sup> )  | ຕ້ອ                                  | ເຢີຍ            | ນ້ຳ              | ເລື້ອຍ           | ໜ້າຍ              | ..<br>ແອ.. | ຄ້ອຂ              | ຕ້າຍ,             |
|                      | tɔ <sup>ː</sup>                      | iə <sup>ː</sup> | bua <sup>ː</sup> | cia <sup>ː</sup> | na:i <sup>ː</sup> | ε:         | kʰɔi <sup>ː</sup> | ta:i <sup>ː</sup> |
|                      | carry.on.shoulder                    | 1               | PL               | pass             | DEM               | HEST       | sea               | come              |
|                      | ‘(to) carry us cross over that sea.’ |                 |                  |                  |                   |            |                   |                   |

(ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.02.35-9)

The variants *hieuc* /çeu<sup>ː</sup>/ and *heuc* /heu<sup>ː</sup>/ have the same meaning (see footnote of (3<sup>-42</sup>)). The first phrase *hieuc mienv* /çeu<sup>ː</sup> miən<sup>ː</sup>/ presents a general topic while the second specifies what kind of ‘spirits’ they called upon (i.e. *naamh geh mienv* /na:m<sup>ː</sup> ke<sup>ː</sup> miən<sup>ː</sup>/) and the complement VP is lead by *dorh* /tɔ<sup>ː</sup>/ ‘to lead, carry on the shoulder’.

*Nduov* ‘to deceive, entice’ in the causative construction is exemplified in (914):

|       |  |                 |                     |                 |                     |                   |                     |                  |
|-------|--|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| (914) | <b><i>Ninh</i></b>                       | <i>oix</i>      | <b><i>nduov</i></b> | <i>wuov</i>     | <i>dauh</i>         | <i>sieqv</i>      | <b><i>hnamv</i></b> | <i>ninh.</i>     |
|       | ນິ້ນ                                     | ອ້ອຍ            | ດົ້ວ                | ວັ້ງ            | ເຕົ້າ               | ເຈືະບະ            | ອນັ້ນ               | ນິ້ນ.            |
|       | nin <sup>ː</sup>                         | ɔi <sup>ː</sup> | duə <sup>ː</sup>    | uə <sup>ː</sup> | tau <sup>ː</sup>    | siə? <sup>ː</sup> | ŋam <sup>ː</sup>    | nin <sup>ː</sup> |
|       | 3SG                                      | want            | entice              | DEM             | CLF <sub>ANIM</sub> | girl              | love                | 3SG              |
|       | ‘He wanted to get the girl to love him.’ |                 |                     |                 |                     |                   |                     |                  |

(Purnell 2012:529)

Some other constructions in this type are:

|                     |                 |                        |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| <i>oix mienh</i> V  | [want person V] | ‘to want someone to V’ |
| <i>beqv mienh</i> V | [urge person V] | ‘to urge someone to V’ |

<sup>215</sup> Two variations of *hieuc* ‘to call’ and *heuc* ‘to call’ occur in the same speaker.

|                              |                       |                          |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>yuoqc mienh V</i>         | [invite person V]     | ‘to invite someone to V’ |
| <i>aapv mienh V</i>          | [force person V]      | ‘to force someone to V’  |
| <i>hatc mienh oix.zuqc V</i> | [order person must V] | ‘to order someone to V’  |

### 15.3.2.5 Beneficiary coverb phrases

Blake (1991:61) defines the semantic role beneficiary as “the entity on behalf of whom/which an activity is carried out”.

In the performative nomination construction introduced in §5.4.3.2 appears an oblique coverb phrase, which is in effect a beneficiary coverb phrase as in (915) (a repetition of (204)):

|       |  |
|-------|--|
| (915) | <i>Yie mbuo tengx ninh cuotv mbuox heuc Yauz-Jiem.</i>               |
| (204) | ເຢີບ ບ້ວ ເຄ ນິນ ຂ້າດ ບ້ວ ເຫວ ເຢ້າ-ເຈີມ.                              |
|       | iə́l buə́l tʰenj₁ nin tsʰwə́t₁ buə́l heu₁ jau₁ ciəm₁                 |
|       | 1 PL help 3SG to.issue name(n) to.call Yau Jiem                      |
|       | ‘We name him “Yau Jiem”. (lit. ‘We for him issue a name call “YJ”.’) |
|       | (Kun Mae Bong Church, Doi Luang District, Chiang Rai, 1994)          |

Though it is feasible in many cases to translate the beneficiary *tengx* ‘to help’ into an English prepositional phrase *for someone*, one has to carefully observe the context in which the construction occurs. The post-oblique main VPs or clauses have important factors to determine the overall meaning of the sentence according to Principle 2: the more rightward a constituent goes, the more focus it gets (see §4.2.1). In the following example, VPs (916<sup>-2</sup>) and (916<sup>-3</sup>) determines how the beneficiary CvP in (916<sup>-1</sup>) should be translated, in which case *from* (due to the departure of calamities) rather than a mechanical rendering as *for*:

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (916 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Mv.baac za'gengh corc tengx yie</i>                  |
|                      | ມື້ປ່າ ທະແກ້ງ ອົ່ວ ເຄ ເຢີຍ                              |
|                      | ㄇໍາ pa:₁ tsa kerŋ₁ tsʰw₁ tʰenj₁ iə́l                    |
|                      | but really still help 1SG                               |
|                      | ‘But (God) really, still, drove all the hardship (and)’ |

|                      |                                     |
|----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (916 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>zorqv naanc.zingh nzauh.kouv</i> |
|                      | ເຊາະ ພ່ານ.ຕິ່ງ ເຫຸ່າ.ໂຄ້ວ           |
|                      | tsɔ₂l na:n₁ tsip₁ dzau₁ kʰəu₁       |
|                      | take hardship sorrow                |
|                      | ‘took hardship (and) sorrow’        |

| (916 <sup>3</sup> ) | <u>zunc</u>  | <u>cuotv</u>         | <u>nzengc</u> | <u>mingh.</u> |
|---------------------|--|----------------------|---------------|---------------|
|                     | ຫົ່ວນ  | ຂ້າວດ                | ເຫັນ          | ມື່ງ          |
|                     | tsun↓  | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət↓ | dzeŋ↓         | minj↓         |
|                     | drive  | exit                 | CONSUME       | GO            |
|                     | 'drove (them) completely away from me.'            |                      |               |               |
|                     | (ium_20000415_10_CT_DA_FmCiang_Clouds;00.04.10-19) |                      |               |               |

The concept ‘on behalf of’ is expressed by *diqv* ‘to replace’ (probably from Chinese *dài* 代) as in (917):

| (917)   | (...)   | <i>meih</i> | <i>lorz</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>duqv,</i> | <i>yie</i> | <i>div</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>lorz</i> |
|---|---|-------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
|   |   | (...) ແມ່ຍ  | ຄ້ອ         | ນໍ້       | ຕູ້,         | ເບີ້ນ      | ຕີ້        | ແມ່ຍ        | ຄ້ອ         |
|   |   | mei↓        | lɔ~         | m̄ŋ̄      | tu?↓         | iə↑        | tiŋ̄       | mei↓        | lɔ~         |
|   |   | 2SG         | search      | NEG       | be.able      | 1SG        | replace    | 2SG         | search      |
| '(because) you can't look for (it by yourself), I will do so in place of (i.e. for you.)' |   |             |             |           |              |            |            |             |             |
|   | (ium_20140503_01_H1_DA_Gueix-Fongc_MienhWaac_KMB;00.06.08-10) |             |             |           |              |            |            |             |             |

### 15.3.2.6 Comitative coverb phrases

The comitative refers to “case or case role with the meaning ‘together with, accompanied by’” (Matthews 2007:64). In Iu Mien the verb *caux* ‘to accompany’ is used for comitative role CvP as in (918)(a repetition of (803)):

| (918) | <i>Ninh</i>                            | <i>gaamv</i> | <i>caux</i>          | <i>baeng-bieiv</i> | <u><i>nzaeng.</i></u> |
|-------|--|--------------|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| (803) | ນິ້ນ                                   | ກໍາມ         | ເຫຼາ                 | ແປງ-ເປີ້ຍ          | ແພັງ.                 |
|       | nin↓                                   | ka:m̄ŋ̄      | ts <sup>h</sup> aui↓ | pɛŋ̄ p̄eiŋ̄        | dze:ŋ̄i               |
|       | 3SG                                    | dare         | accompany            | soldier-leader     | quarrel               |
|       | 'She dared to argue with the officer.' |              |                      |                    |                       |
|       | (Purnell 2012:191)                     |              |                      |                    |                       |

### 15.3.2.7 Manner (dependency) coverb phrases

The manner role refers to “the way in which an activity is carried out” (Blake 1991:61). The verb *sueih* /s<sup>w</sup>ei↓/ ‘to comply with, yield’ (< 隨 Downer 1973:17) is used to the manner of dependency as in (919<sup>1-2</sup>):

|  |              |             |             |                    |             |             |             |
|--|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (919 <sup>-1</sup> )   | <i>Sieqv</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>bung</i> | <i>sueih</i>       | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>ganh</i> |
|  | ເສີບຂະ       | ວ້າ         | ບຸງ         | ເຫວັຍ              | ນິ່ນ        | ນັວ         | ກັນ         |
|  | siəʔ˥        | uə˧˥        | pun˩        | s <sup>w</sup> ei˩ | nin˩        | buə˧˥       | kan˩        |
| girl DEM side comply 3 PL self<br>‘The bride’s side depending on their (circumstance)’ |              |             |             |                    |             |             |             |

|  |              |             |             |             |             |                   |
|--|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------|
| (919 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <i>mbenc</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>ganh</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>gorx-youz.</i> |
|  | ແມ່ນ         | ນິ່ນ        | ນັວ         | ກັນ         | ເຄູຍ        | ກໍອ-ໄຫ້ວ.         |
|  | ben˩         | nin˩        | buə˧˥       | kan˩        | nei˩        | kɔ˩ jəu˩          |
| prepare 3 PL self POSS elder.brother-younger.brother<br>‘entertain their own relatives.’ |              |             |             |             |             |                   |

(Burgess and Guex-Cing, the 1970s. *Gorngv Sieqv Nyei Yietc Nyeic [The Procedure of Betrothal]*, KMB)

## 15.4 Prepositions and Coverbs

### 15.4.1 A Gradient Relation between Prepositions and Coverbs

The survey carried out in the previous section (§15.3.2) is likely to give us an impression that these coverb phrases behave like prepositional phrases. For instance, Clark considers coverbs in Vietnamese (1978) and in Hmong (1979a, 1979b) as “synchronously derived prepositions”. Her (1978:127) definition of coverbs in Vietnamese is “prepositions which have corresponding homophonous and synonymous verbs”. With regard to Hmong she (1979a:1) explicitly states that “[a] coverb, as I am using the term here, is not a verb but a preposition which has a synchronic corresponding verb which is homophonous and broadly synonymous with the preposition”.<sup>216</sup> Goddard (2005:125-6) calls this type of serial verbs constructions a “quasi-preposition”.

In Iu Mien, however, we recognise both prepositions and coverb phrases in which the coverb has not been fully bleached of its verbal nature. The former can be termed, for the purpose of distinction, as a pure preposition in the sense that it never co-occurs with aspectual marking verbs (i.e. *jienv* ‘CONTINUOUS’, *nzengc* ‘CONSUMPTIVE’, *ziangx* ‘PERFECT’, *liuz* ‘PERFECTIVE’ etc.) nor with the negative particle *mai* ‘not’.

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<sup>216</sup> Though there is a prudent preamble to the *Working Papers* (1979b), which includes Clark’s work, that papers therein should be acknowledged as being “tentative and preliminary”, she supplies her evidence from Vietnamese (1978), and Hmong (1979a, 1979b, 1980).

The purpose of this section is to argue that there is a gradient relationship from (i) a pure preposition which shows no trace of verbal properties, (ii) the coverb construction in which the coverb is fully bleached of verbal properties, hence which is virtually a preposition, (iii) the coverb constructions in which the coverb is not fully bleached as in an intermediate stage, and to (iv) the full verbs used in the coverb construction.

In the following sections, we will investigate the only pure preposition (*weic* /*wei*/ ‘for’), one fully bleached coverb that is a preposition (*ziqc* /*tsi?*/ ‘across’), one case of bleached coverb (*zuijh* /*ts<sup>w</sup>ei*/ ‘along’), and one well-entrenched coverb that is still a full verb (*laaix* /*la:i*/ ‘dependent of, due to, because of’).

As has been observed in the semantic role coverb constructions in §15.3.2, they resemble prepositional phrases in some languages such as Thai, English and other European languages except in their position in the sentence. In terms of the constituent’s position, the semantic role coverb construction in Iu Mien occupies the oblique position, that is, after Topic argument and before the main verb phrase, as opposed to the sentence final position in the case of Thai. This is due to the Principle 2 presented in §4.2.1: i.e., *Iu Mien has a rightward multilayered focus (RMF) structure. The more rightward a constituent goes (i.e. toward the end of a sentence), the more focus it gets.*

Differentiating coverb phrases from pure prepositions is important. Iu Mien has both a (pure) preposition and grammaticalised prepositions which are deverbalised from coverbs. Criterion for differentiation between them is that the pure preposition does not co-occur with aspectual marking verbs whereas the verbs used in the semantic role coverb phrase exhibit some range of possibility to co-occur with certain aspectual verbs. Yet both the prepositional phrases and the coverb phrase containing deverbalised preposition occur in the (pre-main verb) oblique position in the sentence.

### 15.4.2 Preposition *weic* /*wei*/ ‘for’

The only pure preposition in Iu Mien is the Chinese-loan *weic* /*wei*/ ‘for’ (<*wèi* 為, 为). Although Chinese *wèi* is a coverb (*jiècí* 介詞) as well as a full verb, *weic* in Iu Mien is not: no instance of *weic* co-occurring with any of the aspectual markers has been found in our data. The benefactive preposition *weic* is exemplified in (920):

(920) *yie zoux weic meih.*

ឱីឃ ឪអុំ ឃេវឃ មិះ.

iə́ tsəʊ̯ wei̯ mei̯

1SG do for 2 SG

‘I did it for you.’

(Purnell 2012:716)

According to Principle 2 or the rightward focus structure, the prepositional phrase *weic ninh* ‘for him’ is in a focal point as opposed to its usual oblique position (i.e. *yie weic meih zoux*). Thus an interpretation of (920) should be ‘it was<sup>217</sup> for you that I did it’.

In contrast to the prepositional phrase in the focal position of the sentence (920), a usual occurrence is in the oblique position. Observe that the prepositional phrase is synonymously paraphrased by a coverb construction (in the square brackets) in the pre-main verb position (underlined) as in (921<sup>-1-2</sup>):

(921<sup>-1</sup>) *Yiem naaic daaih / ninh mbuo yaac*

ីឱឃ នាំឃ តាំឃ / ីិន ូវ ឃោះ

jem̯ na:i̯ tai̯ nin̯ buə̯ ja:̯

be.at DEM COME 3 PL TOP

‘Since then, they [missionaries](began to)’

(921<sup>-2</sup>) *[weic yie], [tengx yie] daux.gaux.*

[ឃេវឃ ឱីឃ], [ទេង ឱីឃ] ត៉ែក.ក៉ោ.

wei̯ iə́ tʰeŋ̯ iə́ tau̯ kau̯

for 1SG help/for 1SG pray

‘pray for me, for me.’

(ium\_1960s\_01\_SonyORT\_X\_Yauz-Orn-Testimony;00.01.44-8)

Two things should be mentioned regarding (921<sup>-2</sup>). First, even though *tengx* can be used as a full verb in other contexts meaning ‘to help’, here in this context it is the coverb functioning to specify how (i.e. for whom) the one who received the request should pray. One should be reminded that the verb *daux.gaux* ‘to pray’ is in the focal point in the sentence; thus, *tengx* in the oblique position does not bear full verbal force according to Principle 2. In other words, the presence of both *weic* and *tengx* does not imply such an interpretation as “pray for me that I will receive a help or be helped”. Furthermore, there is a prosodic gap between [*weic yie*] and [*tengx yie*],

<sup>217</sup> Depending on context it is possible to interpret it as the present tense: ‘it is for you that I do it’.

where as there is none between [*tengx yie*] and *daux.gaux*. This fact suggests that [*tengx yie*] is a repetition of the meaning of [*weic yie*] as a paraphrase or a parenthetical insertion before the main verb. If he hadn't paraphrased with [*tengx yie*], there would not have been a prosodic pause between [*weic yie*] and *daux.gaux* either. The point is that *tengx* here is a coverb in equal status with the preposition *weic* in their function.

Second, a choice between the benefactive *weic*-prepositional phrase and the benefactive *tengx*-coverb phrase is a matter of register. In essence, the former tends to be used in a formal context, perhaps due to its prestigious Chinese origin, the latter in an informal, colloquial, context. Observe the contrast between the coverb phrase *tengx meih* in (922a) and the questionable prepositional construction in (922b):

- (922a) *Yie [tengx meih] zoux biauv.*  
 ເີຍ [ເຕັກ ໝ່າຍ] ໂຫດວ ເປົ້າ.  
 iə́l tʰeŋx̥ meiŋ tsəuŋ p̥auŋ̥  
 1SG help 2 SG make house  
 'I will build you a house.' (i.e. 'I will build a house for you.')  
 (ium\_20140503\_01\_H1\_DA\_Gueix-Fongc\_MienhWaac\_  
 KMB;00.18.19-21)

- (922b)? *Yie [weic meih] zoux biauv.*  
 ເີຍ [ແວ່ຍ ໝ່າຍ] ໂຫດວ ເປົ້າ.  
 iə́l weiŋ̥ meiŋ tsəuŋ p̥auŋ̥  
 1SG for 2 SG make house  
 'I will build a house for you.'

Structurally (922b) is possible but is not considered to be preferable or natural.

It is worth noting the native speaker's contrastive evaluation of (922a) and (922b). Regarding the register of (922a) it is described as (923):

- (923) *Gauh liangv, gauh kuh gorngv.*  
 ເກ້າ ເລື້ອງ, ເກ້າ ຄູ ກື່ອງ.  
 kauŋ l̥iaŋ̥ kauŋ kʰuŋ̥ kɔŋ̥  
 more be.shallow more be.easy.to say  
 'It is more straightforward and easier to say.'  
 (ium\_20140503\_01\_H1\_DA\_Gueix-Fongc\_MienhWaac\_KMB;00.17.35-8)

On the other hand, (922b) is considered as (924<sup>1-2</sup>):

|  |             |             |                    |             |               |
|--|-------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|---------------|
| (924 <sup>-1</sup> )                       | <i>Waac</i> | <i>gauh</i> | <i>mbueiz</i>      | <i>deix</i> | <i>nyei</i> , |
|  | หว่า        | ເກ້າ        | ມບູ້ຍ              | ເຕັບ        | ແມູນ,         |
|  | wa:ʃ        | kauŋ        | b <sup>w</sup> eiŋ | teiŋ        | neiŋ          |
|  | word        | more        | be.concealed       | some        | ASST          |
| ‘The word [weic-phrase] is more abstract,’ |             |             |                    |             |               |

|   |                        |                  |                  |                  |             |             |
|---|------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| (924 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>mai<sup>v</sup></i> | <i>nangc</i>     | <i>nqaengc,</i>  | ... <i>ninh</i>  | <i>gauh</i> | <i>ndo.</i> |
|   | ໄຟ້                    | ກັນ້ງ            | ແພົ່ງ,           | ... ນິນ          | ເກ້າ        | ໂດ          |
|   | mai <sup>v</sup>       | nan <sup>v</sup> | geŋ <sup>v</sup> | nin <sup>v</sup> | kauŋ        | dɔŋ         |
|   | NEG                    | AUX              | be.obvious       | 3SG              | more        | be.deep     |
| ‘It is not concrete...it is more profound.’                   |                        |                  |                  |                  |             |             |
| (ium_20140503_01_H1_DA_Gueix-Fongc_MienhWaac_KMB;00.17.27-46) |                        |                  |                  |                  |             |             |

Given the distinction between *weic*-construction and *tengx*-construction is a matter of register, it is not the case that the former is categorically discarded (Note the question mark ‘?’ with (922b) rather than an asterisk ‘\*’ for unacceptableness or ungrammaticalness). What is described in (924<sup>-1-2</sup>) is reflected in the example (925<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                      |                 |                   |                  |                   |             |                  |
|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------|------------------|
| (925 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i>      | <i>yaac</i>       | [ <i>weic</i>    | <i>naaiv</i>      | <i>deix</i> | <i>yungh</i> ]   |
|                      | ເຢີ             | ຫຍໍາ              | [ເວົ້ວຍ          | ນ້າຍ              | ເຕັບ        | ຢູ່ງ]            |
|                      | iə <sup>v</sup> | ja:ʃ              | wei <sup>v</sup> | na:i <sup>v</sup> | teiŋ        | jun <sup>v</sup> |
|                      | 1SG             | TOP <sub>AD</sub> | for              | DEM               | some        | sheep            |

|  |                  |                 |             |                  |
|--|------------------|-----------------|-------------|------------------|
| (925 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <i>siev</i>      | <i>yie</i>      | <i>nyei</i> | <i>maengc.</i>   |
|  | ເຊື້ອ            | ເຢີ             | ແມູນ        | ແພົ່ງ.           |
|  | siə <sup>v</sup> | iə <sup>v</sup> | neiŋ        | meŋ <sup>v</sup> |
|  | sacrifice        | 1SG             | POSS        | life             |
| ‘I lay down my life for the sheep.’ (i.e. Christ authoritatively sacrifices his life for his believers.)                                       |                  |                 |             |                  |
| <i>(The Gospel according to St. John 10:15. Iu Mien Bible, Thailand Bible Society, translation in English Standard Version.</i>                |                  |                 |             |                  |
| <i><a href="http://thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php#ch10v15">http://thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php#ch10v15</a></i> |                  |                 |             |                  |

The situation is that just as English esteems groups of words that have Greek and Latin origins, so does Iu Mien Chinese-loan words as prestigious.

Summing up, although Iu Mien uses the Chinese-loan preposition, the coverb construction is preferred as straightforward, easier to say, clearer, and not abstract.

### 15.4.3 A Fully Bleached Coverb That Is a Preposition

Tentatively, as far as our data is concerned, we propose that there are only three prepositions:

- *weic* /wei˥/ ‘for’,
- *zueih* /ts<sup>w</sup>ei˥/ ‘along’,
- *ziqc* /tsi?˥/ ‘across’

These three never co-occur with the aspectual verbs nor with aspectual SFPs.

However, there is a hesitation concerning the last item, *ziqc*, in claiming that it is a pure preposition. It is due to one datum, which is an idiomatic expression of apology: *ziqc zuiz meih* /tsi?˥ tsui˧ mei˥/ [across sin 2SG] ‘I am sorry’. Suspending a discussion that *ziqc* in the idiom may preserve verbal character till a later occasion, let us see the locative/spatial meaning of it in the story of *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv* ‘Sea Crossing Odyssey’ in §2.2.3. There can be seen an expression ‘this side of the sea’ as in (926)(a repetition of (3<sup>-31</sup>)):

|                      |   |             |                |             |             |             |
|----------------------|---|-------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (926 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Mingh</i>                                      | <i>gau,</i> | <i>nzaangv</i> | <i>maiv</i> | <i>haih</i> | <i>jiex</i> |
| (3-30)               | ມິ່ງ  | ກາ,         | ໜ້າງ           | ໄມ້         | ໄຊ          | ຈີ້ຍ        |
|                      | min˥  | kau˥        | dza:n˥         | mai˥        | hai˥        | ciə˧        |
|                      | go  | then        | ship           | NEG         | be.able     | pass        |
|                      | ‘after setting out, (they) were not able to pass’ |             |                |             |             |             |

|                      |   |             |                         |                    |              |
|----------------------|---|-------------|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------|
| (926 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>mv</i>   | <i>bung</i> | <i>ziqc</i>             | <i>koiv</i>        | <i>aeqv,</i> |
| (3-31)               | ນີ້   | ນູ້ງ        | ໜ້າມ                    | ຄ້ອຍ               | ແອ້ວ,        |
|                      | m˥  | pun˥        | tsi?˥                   | k <sup>h</sup> ci˥ | ε?           |
|                      | DEM <sub>PRX</sub>                                | side        | on/to.the.other.side.of | sea                | PDP          |
|                      | ‘to this side of the sea, so’                     |             |                         |                    |              |
|                      | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.02.15-8) |             |                         |                    |              |

A referent of *ziqc* is the other side of the NP that occurs after it.

Observe the same situation in (927<sup>-1-4</sup>):

|                      |  |             |             |                |           |
|----------------------|--|-------------|-------------|----------------|-----------|
| (927 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Wuov</i>                                      | <i>bung</i> | <i>ziqc</i> | <i>zorng</i>   | <i>se</i> |
|                      | ວົວ  | ນູ້         | ໜ້າມ        | ຄອງ            | ເຊ        |
|                      | uə˥  | pun˥        | tsi?˥       | tsɔn˥          | se˧       |
|                      | DEM  | direction   | across      | mountain.range | TOP       |
|                      | ‘On the other side across (this) mountain range’ |             |             |                |           |

|                      |                           |              |             |              |
|----------------------|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| (927 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>njiec</i>              | <i>mingh</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>ndiev</i> |
|                      | ເໜີ່ຍ                     | ມື່ງ         | ວັງ         | ເດືອນ        |
|                      | ŋjə̄l                     | min̄g↓       | uə̄ŋ        | diə̄ŋ        |
|                      | descend                   | go           | DEM         | lower.side   |
|                      | '(if you) go down there,' |              |             |              |

|                      |   |             |            |             |               |
|----------------------|---|-------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| (927 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>taux</i>                             | <i>wuov</i> | <i>aiv</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>dorngx</i> |
|                      | ເຖາ                                     | ວັງ         | ໄອ້        | ເລູນ        | ຕ້ອງ          |
|                      | t̄au↓                                   | uə̄ŋ        | aīŋ       | neīl       | tɔŋ↓          |
|                      | reach                                   | DEM         | be.low     | REL         | place         |
|                      | '(then) you will reach the lower place' |             |            |             |               |

|                      |   |             |             |            |           |             |                     |
|----------------------|---|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------|-------------|---------------------|
| (927 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>hnangv</i>   | <i>wuov</i> | <i>bung</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>benx</i> | <i>Janx-Yaangv.</i> |
|                      | ຮັ້ງ  | ວັງ         | ປຸງ         | ນອ         | ເຊ        | ເປັນ        | ຈິ້ນ-ຢ້າງ.          |
|                      | ŋaŋ̄ŋ   | uə̄ŋ        | pun̄g↓      | nɔ↓        | se↓       | pen↓        | can↓ ja:ŋ̄ŋ         |
|                      | like  | DEM         | direction   | as         | TOP       | be          | Karen               |
|                      | 'for example, there will be (a village of) Karen people.' |             |             |            |           |             |                     |
|                      | (ium_20150520_05_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.16.45-53)    |             |             |            |           |             |                     |

In an analogy with the above two examples, a speculation is made to propose that *ziqc* in the idiomatic expression may preserve a verbal nature, specifically in a ditransitive clause. But before the proposal is argued for, a proviso should be considered. That is, concerning the use of *ziqc* in (926<sup>-2</sup>) and (927<sup>-1</sup>), none of the aspectual marker tests did work: it does not co-occur with *nyei* ‘ASST’, *jienv* ‘CONT’, *nzengc* ‘CONSUMPTIVE’, *ziangx* ‘PERFECT’, *liuz* ‘PERFECTIVE’. This is in fact enough to say that *ziqc* is a preposition. However, to leave a possibility for further research, let us consider the following parallel relation between (928) and (929):

|       |                                    |                                |     |                    |              |
|-------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----|--------------------|--------------|
| (928) | <i>Yie</i>                         | <i>ziqc</i>                    |     | <i>zuiz</i>        | <i>meih.</i> |
|       | ເຢີ                                | ໜີ                             |     | ຕຸ່ງ               | ແມ່ຍ.        |
|       | iə̄l                               | tsi?↓                          |     | ts <sup>wi</sup> l | mei↓         |
|       | 1SG                                | PLACE.ONSELF.ON.THE.OTHER.SIDE | sin | 2SG                |              |
|       | 'I am sorry.'                      |                                |     |                    |              |
|       | (Field Notes 20150504, KMB, p. 75) |                                |     |                    |              |

- (929) *Yie baqv ndie juv.*<sup>218</sup>
- ເຢີ່ຍ ບ້າກວ ໙ໍດີ່ຍ ຈຸວ໌
- iə́  pa?˥ diə́ cu˥
- 1SG inject medicine dog
- ‘I gave a dog a shot.’

(Field Notes 201405, Thammajarik)

If (928) is a ditransitive clause parallel to (929), the following interpretation is posited: A(GENT) or Topc (1SG) gives TH(EME) (*zuiz* ‘sin’) to R(ECIPIENT) (*meih* ‘you’). By doing so A places himself/herself on the other side of R (‘you’) across TH (‘sin’). In other words, the speaker is expressing a deep hesitation to have a face to face talk with the hearer. As a result it is an expression of apology.

Finally, one example of *zueih* is given in (930):

- (930) *Zueih mungv zueih laangz*
- ແຫວ່ຍ ມູ້ງ ແຫວ່ຍ ລ້າງ
- ts<sup>w</sup>ei˥ muŋ˥ ts<sup>w</sup>ei˥ laŋ˥
- along town along village
- ‘(travel) throughout the towns and villages’

(Field Notes 20130517, p. 42-43)(Purnell 2012:809)

*Zueih* never co-occurs with the aspectual verbs nor with aspectual SFPs.

#### 15.4.4 *laaix /la:i˧/* ‘dependent on’ on the Way to a Preposition

One should not be led to assume that such coverb phrases as presented in §15.3.2 are prepositions just because they are fit to be translated into English as prepositions. Evidence against such attitude of imposing English grammar upon Iu Mien are given below.

For example, it is true that *laaix /la:i˧/* is glossed as a preposition or a prepositional phrase in English by two lexicographers. That is, it is glossed as ‘for, on behalf of, for the sake of, because’ by Panh (2002:132) and as ‘because of, on account of’ by Purnell (2012:356). In (931) *laaix* leads the NP bracketed in [ ]:

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<sup>218</sup> The text is slightly edited. The original utterance was: *Yie mbuo mingh baqv ndie juv* [1 PL go inject medicine dog] ‘We (as village volunteers for the local health centre) are going (around in our village) to give the dogs injections’.

- (931) *Qiez.jiez* *haic* *laaix* [nc diuc... wuov biouv-naa ndiangx].  
 ເື່ບ.ເຈີ້ຍ ໄທ໌ ພລາຍ [ໜນ ດີວ... ວ້າ ເປີ່ວ-ນາ ເດື່ອງ].  
*c<sup>h</sup>iø̄ ciø̄* *hai* la:i<sup>h</sup> n<sup>h</sup> tiu<sup>h</sup> uø̄ pø̄n na:<sup>h</sup> d<sup>h</sup>au<sup>h</sup>  
 be.angry very due.to DEM CLF DEM fruit-naa tree  
 '(He) was very angry because of that naa-fruit tree.'  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauh  
 Jaauz;00.05.22-29)

However, *laaix* shows some properties of verbs: i.e., it can immediately follow the negative particle *maiv* (cf. Negation test in §11.1.1.1) and it can be followed by an aspectual verb *jienv* ‘continuous’ (cf. Aspectual marking test in §11.1.1.2) as in (932<sup>-1</sup>-<sup>2</sup>) and (933<sup>-1</sup>-<sup>3</sup>):

- (932<sup>-1</sup>) *Aa* *daaih* *biaux* *Taiv* *Deic* *nyei* *gorn-baengx* *aeqv*,  
 ອາ ທ້າຂ ເປັກ ໄທ໌ ເຊີ່ຂ ແມ່ຍ ກອນ-ເປັ້ນ ແອື້ນ,  
*a:<sup>h</sup>* *ta:i<sup>h</sup>* *p<sup>h</sup>au<sup>h</sup>* *t<sup>h</sup>ai<sup>h</sup>* *tei* *nei<sup>h</sup>* *kɔn<sup>h</sup> peŋ<sup>h</sup>* *ɛ?<sup>h</sup>*  
 INTJ come escape Thai land REL cause/reason PDP  
 ‘The cause of coming over to Thailand (from Laos)’

- (932<sup>-2</sup>) *maiv* *laaix* *haaix.nyungc.*  
 ໂັບ ພລາຍ ຫາຍ.ຫຸ່ງ.  
*mai<sup>h</sup>* *la:i<sup>h</sup>* *hai<sup>h</sup> juŋ<sup>h</sup>*  
 NEG because.of anything  
 ‘was not because of anything.’  
 (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.01.25-30)

*Laaix* followed by the aspectual marker *jienv* has the meaning ‘dependent of a chance/opportunity’ as in (933<sup>-1</sup>-<sup>3</sup>):

- (933<sup>-1</sup>) *Dongh* *wuov* [gan jienv wuov dauh daaih wuov dauh]  
 ຕັ້ງ ວ້າ [ກັນ ເຈີ້ນ ວ້າ ເຕ້າ ທ້າຂ ວ້າ ເຕ້າ]  
*ton<sup>h</sup>* *uø̄* *kan<sup>h</sup>* *c<sup>h</sup>en<sup>h</sup>* *uø̄* *tau<sup>h</sup>* *ta:i<sup>h</sup>* *uø̄* *tau<sup>h</sup>*  
 same DEM follow CONT DEM CLF come DEM CLF  
 ‘The one who came along with that person (a main guest)’

|                      |  |               |              |              |             |              |
|----------------------|--|---------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| (933 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>se</i>  | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>laaix</i> | <i>jienv</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>dauh,</i> |
|                      | ເສ   | ຫນິ້ງ         | ລາຍ          | ຈີ່ນ         | ວ້າ         | ເຕົ່າ,       |
|                      | se↑  | ຫຼາຍ໌         | la:i↑        | c'en↑        | uə↑         | tau↓         |
|                      | TOP  | like          | DEPEND       | CONT         | DEM         | CLF          |
|                      | 'is like dependent on him (i.e. the main guest)' |               |              |              |             |              |

|                      |   |             |              |             |             |                     |               |
|----------------------|---|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|---------------------|---------------|
| (933 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>cingx.daaih</i>  | <i>duqv</i> | <i>bieqc</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>cie</i>          | <i>mingh.</i> |
|                      | ທີ່ງ.ຕໍ່າຍ  | ດຸ          | ເປີບ         | ແມ່ຍ        | ເຄູຍ        | ເຮືບ                | ມິ່ງ.         |
|                      | ts <sup>h</sup> iŋ↑ ta:i↓   | tu?↑        | piə?↑        | mei↓        | nei↑        | ts <sup>h</sup> iə↑ | minj↓         |
|                      | therefore   | GET         | enter        | 2SG         | POSS        | car                 | go            |
|                      | 'as a result he (the dependent) was able to get in your car to travel.' |             |              |             |             |                     |               |
|                      | (ium_20140510_02_H1_DA_Gueix-Fongc_laaix jienv_KMB;00.00.27-33)         |             |              |             |             |                     |               |

Besides *jienv*, *laaix* cannot occur with other aspectual markers such as *baac* ‘COMPLETIVE’, *liuz* ‘PERFECTIVE’, and *nzengc* ‘CONSUMPTIVE’. This means *laaix* does not show complete properties of a full verb.

Both examples (932<sup>-1-2</sup>) and (933<sup>-1-3</sup>) are the evidence that the characteristics of being a verb in *laaix* has not been completely bleached. Thus, *laaix* could be considered to be somewhere on the way to becoming a preposition from a verb.

## 15.5 Multi-Clausal MVCs

### 15.5.1 Purpose Clauses

The guise of MVC in purpose clauses (934a) can be revealed by an insertion of *weic* ‘for’, ‘in order to’ (934b):

|        |                                 |             |              |              |                |
|--------|---------------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|
| (934a) | <i>Yie</i>                      | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>gaeqv</i> | <i>zaangh.</i> |
|        | ເຢີຍ                            | ນັວ         | ມິ່ງ         | ໄກ້ວ         | ຕ່າງ           |
|        | ?iə↑                            | buə↑        | minj↓        | ke?↑         | tsa:ŋ↓         |
|        | 1                               | PL          | go           | cut          | firewood       |
|        | 'We are going to cut firewood.' |             |              |              |                |
|        | (H. Cox 1967:20)                |             |              |              |                |

- (934b) *Yie mbuo mingh weic gaeqv zaangh.*  
 ເມື່ອ ນັວ ມິ່ງ ແກ້ວຍ ແກິຂ ຕ່າງ  
 iə́l buə́l min̥ŋ̥ wei̥l ke?l tsa:ŋ̥l  
 1 PL go for cut firewood  
 ‘We are going in order to cut firewood.’  
 (Field Notes, 20140510, GF\_KMB)

The appearance of {NP - V1 - V2 – N - V3 – N} in (935) is actually NP V1[V2 NP][V3 NP], with the last clause being the purpose clause:

- (935) *Yie mingh lorz ga’naaiv [bun yie nyei dorn].*  
 ເມື່ອ ມິ່ງ ລົ່ວ ກະນ້າຍ [ບຸນ ເມື່ອ ໄລຸຍ ຕອນ  
 iə́l miŋ̥l lɔ́l ka na:iŋ̥l pun̥l iə́l nei̥l tɔ́n̥l  
 1SG go search thing give 1SG POSS son  
 ‘I am going to look for something to give my son.’  
 (ium\_1965\_02\_TDK\_VOP\_y\_YLL3a;00.07.49-52)

### 15.5.2 Result Clauses

The resultative clause is indicated in the brackets as in (936a):

- (936a) *Zorqv ongx mborqv [huv mingh].*  
 ເຕາະ ອັງ ເບີ້າະ [ຫຼູ ມິ່ງ].  
 tsɔ?l oŋ̥l bɔ?l huŋ̥ ming̥  
 take jar hit shatter GO  
 ‘He took the jar (and) crushed (it) into pieces.’  
 (Burgess and Fux-Zou, the 1970s, *Mbiauz-Nzung Nyei Gouv [A Story of Loach]*, KMB)

The result clause can be tested by inserting *cingx.daaih* ‘therefore’ or *ziouc* ‘then’, ‘as a result’ as in (936b):

- (936b) *Zorqv ongx mborqv cingx.daaih huv mingh.*  
 ເຕາະ ອັງ ເບີ້າະ ແຮື້ງ.ຕ້າຍ ຫຼູ ມິ່ງ.  
 tsɔ?l oŋ̥l bɔ?l tsʰin̥ŋ̥l tai:iŋ̥l huŋ̥ ming̥  
 take jar hit therefore shatter GO  
 ‘He took the jar (and) hit (it); therefore it is shattered.’

### 15.5.3 Juxtaposed VPs/Clauses

The following example (937<sup>-1-2</sup>) contains five verbs but the whole sentence is composed of two juxtaposed clauses:

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (937 <sup>-1</sup> ) | [ <i>Yie nyei sieqv mingh Siang-Lorh]</i> |
|                      | [ເຢີ່ຍ ເນູຍ ເສື່ບະ ມິ້ງ ເຊີ່ຍ-ລ່ວ]        |
|                      | iə́l nei̯l siə?l mingl s̥iaŋl lorl        |
|                      | 1SG POSS daughter go Bangkok              |
|                      | 'My daughter went to Bangkok.'            |

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (937 <sup>-2</sup> ) | [ <i>ga'sie hlo jienv] nzuonx daaih</i> ]. |
|                      | [ກະເສື່ຍ ໄສດ ເຈື້ນ] ພກວນ ຕ້າຍ].            |
|                      | ka siə́l lo̯l c̥en̥l dzʷən̥l ta:i̯l        |
|                      | belly be.big CONT return come              |
|                      | '(and) came back pregnant.'                |
|                      | (2014, source de-identified)               |

The juxtaposed VP/clauses can be tested by inserting *yaac* 'and then' or *aengx* 'further' between them.

### 15.5.4 Overlapping Clauses

The following overlapping clauses (938) can be broken down into individual clauses as (938a-c):

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| (938) | <i>Zorqv nda'maauh bieqc mingh wuonx jienv.</i>                     |
|       | ເຫກະ ດະມ່ວາ ເປີບະ ມິ້ງ ອວວນ ເຈື້ນ.                                  |
|       | tsɔ?l da ma:u:l piə?l mingl nən̥l c̥en̥l                            |
|       | seize tiger enter go confine CONT                                   |
|       | '(My father) seized a tiger, (the tiger) entered (the cage).'       |
|       | (ium_20040304_01_Sony_DA_FuqcHin_HisFatherCaught ATiger;00.02.42-4) |

- (938a) *Zorqv* *seize* *nda'maauh* tiger ‘(he) caught a tiger’
- (938b) *nda'maauh* tiger *bieqc* enter *mingh* go ‘the tiger enter (the cage)’
- (938c) *nda'maauh* tiger *zuqc* TOUCH<sub>ADVS</sub> *wuonx* confine *jienv* CONT ‘it was kept (in the cage)’

### 15.5.5 Intensification/Elaboration of Actions/Motions

Concatenation of synonymous verbs elaborates one event as in (939<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (939<sup>-1</sup>) *Yie* *nyei* *gin-gaengh* *ndoh* *jienv* *hlieqv-finx* *nyei*  
 ເຢີບ ເຢູ່ຍ ກິນ-ແກ້ງ ໂດ້ ເຈື້ຍນ ເຮລີບະ-ຝຶນ ເຢູ່ຍ  
*iə́l* *nei̥l* *kin kεŋl* *doł* *c̥en̥l* *nei̥l*  
 1SG POSS bedroom-door bind CONT iron-wire ASST  
 ‘My bedroom door was fixed (to the door post) by a wire’

- (939<sup>-2</sup>) *mv.baac* *mbang* *king* *ndutv* *ndortv* *njieč*  
 ມ້ຳປ໏ ນັ້ງ ຄື່ງ ຕຸ້ດ ຕົວດ ເຫດີ່ຍ  
*m̥y pa:ł* *baŋ̥l* *kʰin̥l* *dut̥l* *dɔtl* *jiəł*  
 but collapse fall come.off drop descend  
 ‘but it came off, collapsed, fell down,’

- (939<sup>-3</sup>) *ga 'nyiec* *maengx* *mingh.*  
 ກະເໜີ່ຍ ແມ່ງ ມິ່ງ.  
*ka niəł* *meŋ̥l* *miŋ̥l*  
 outside side go  
 ‘dropped outside!’  
 (ium\_1960s\_01\_SonyORT\_X\_Yauz-Orn-Testimony;00.04.42-9)

It does not matter whether the sequence of the motion of the door is logical or physically feasible (i.e. note that the verb *ndutv* ‘come off (from the hinge)’ should occur before *mbaang* ‘to collapse’). Rather, the point is, according to the native speaker consultant, that this wordiness is *kuv muangx* ‘to be pleasant to listen to’ in a sense that the listener can mentally picture the scene.

### 15.5.6 Listing of VPs

There is a situation where a narrator lists many events in the form of strung verb phrases in a storytelling. This is not a MVC nor an SVC as illustrated in (940<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|   |              |                        |                         |               |                          |              |
|---|--------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| (940 <sup>-1</sup> )                                    | <i>Mbeix</i> | <i>buatc</i>           | <i>ndiangx</i>          | <i>nauv</i> , | <i>cuotv</i>             | <i>loc</i> , |
|   | ເມັຂ         | ປວດ                    | ເດືອງ                   | ແນ້າ,         | ຫົວດ                     | ໄທດ່,        |
|   | <i>bei</i>   | <i>p<sup>w</sup>at</i> | <i>d<sup>j</sup>ang</i> | <i>nau</i> ŋ  | <i>ts<sup>hw</sup>ət</i> | <i>lo</i>    |
|   | dream        | see                    | tree                    | snap          | exit                     | muddy.water  |
| 'Dreaming, breaking of a tree, gushing of muddy water,' |              |                        |                         |               |                          |              |

|   |             |              |                         |                    |               |             |             |
|---|-------------|--------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| (940 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>daix</i> | <i>dungz</i> | <i>lo.haaix</i> ,       | <i>yietc.zungv</i> | <i>mienv</i>  | <i>nyei</i> | <i>sic.</i> |
|   | ໄຕ          | ຖົງ          | ໄລ.ຫາຍ,                 | ແກ້ມີຍດ.ຫຼິ້ງ      | ເມື່ບນ        | ເຄູບ        | ສີ.         |
|   | <i>tai</i>  | <i>tun</i>   | <i>lo</i> i <i>ha:i</i> | <i>jet</i> tsurŋ   | <i>miən</i> ŋ | <i>nei</i>  | <i>si</i>   |
|   | kill        | pig          | etc.                    | all.together       | spirit        | SBCP        | matter      |
| 'killing pigs and so forth, are all spirit-related matters.'            |             |              |                         |                    |               |             |             |
| (ium_c1967_01_Aristocrat_#Burgess_Gueix-Seng_GR-Tape1-Trk1;00.11.18-23) |             |              |                         |                    |               |             |             |

## 15.6 Summary of Chapter 15

This chapter has elaborated the multi-verb constructions. Due to the versatility of verbs, the MVCs consist of the aspectual verbs, the auxiliaries, the adverbial phrases produce a long string of verbs. Including all of these, nine types of MVCs are recognized. However, seven types have been excluded from the discussion in this chapter, as they have been examined in other chapters. This leaves only Type 8 (the resultative complement verb) and Type 9 (the semantic role coverb constructions) to this chapter.

The MVCs are divided into two major groups: the mono-clausal and multi-clausal MVCs. Within the former division, there are two sub-divisions discussed in this chapter: Type 8 and Type 9. In Type 9, seven semantic role coverb constructions were recognized. Because the characteristic of Type 9 is very similar to English (and Thai) prepositions, some space has been devoted to discuss the similarity between the coverb phrases and prepositions. Iu Mien recognizes three prepositions: *weic* 'for', *zueih* 'along', and *ziqc* 'across'.

The second large division is the multi-clausal MVCs. Within this, five constructions were investigated: the purpose clause, the result clause, the juxtaposed VPs/clauses, the overlapping clauses, and the intensification/elaboration of action.

As we have established that there are three prepositions in the language, the next chapter will examine whether the spatial constructions use prepositions or not.

## Chapter 16

### SPATIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

#### 16.1 Introduction to Chapters 16 and 17

This and the next chapters are concerned with “egocentric viewing arrangement” in Langacker’s (1987:130-1, 488-9) term though we are not delving into the details of his Cognitive Grammar per se. It is only in the sense that Iu Mien tends to conceptualise spaces and locations around oneself egocentrically expressed in grammar (Chapter 16) and one’s relationship with events outside oneself from the perspective whether they are beneficial or adversative in relation to ego (Chapter 17). Langacker defines:

**egocentric viewing arrangement** A viewing arrangement in which the objective scene is expanded beyond the region of perceptual optimality to include the observer and his immediate surroundings (Langacker 1987:488-9).

It will be shown in Chapters 16 and 17 that some of the spatial constructions and auto-benefactive/auto-malefactive constructions can be better explained when seen from the egocentric viewing arrangement.

This chapter discusses the grammatical constructions that express such concepts as location, source, and goal: in other words, what is commonly termed “locatives”. However, why the term “locative” is avoided here and the term “spatial construction” instead has been chosen is to secure precision with regard to the distinction between semantic roles of spatial relations and discourse analysis. Grimes (1975) argues that the term “locatives” should be used restrictively in the following context of discourse information study:

Where, when, and under what circumstances actions take place constitute a separate kind of information called SETTING. Setting is important in the study of discourse not only because it characteristically involves distinctive grammatical constructions like locatives, but also because it is a common basis for segmentation of sequential texts into their constituent parts (1975:51).

Thus leaving the term “locative” to the study of “setting” in discourse analysis, we will discuss spatial constructions and predication by using Grime’s alternative notion of “Range” or “(R)” as he defines it as “In an expression of motion, range indicates the path or area traversed” (1975:120-1, in §4.3.1). Iu Mien uses four types of constructions to express spatial predictions: (i) zero marking but spatial semantic

role nouns, (ii) deictic pronouns, (iii) postpositional and prepositional relator nouns, and (iv) semantic role markers or SVCs.

## 16.2 Preamble

It is important to note two aspects in analysing spatial constructions in Iu Mien: one is cultural, i.e., language specific, and the other universal. There are four ways of expressing spatial predication in Iu Mien:

- Spatial constructions that do not use markers but nouns with spatial semantic roles
- Spatial constructions coded by deictic pronouns
- Spatial constructions coded by postpositional and prepositional relator nouns
- Spatial constructions coded by semantic role marking verbs (i.e. SVCs)

The first point, i.e., the unmarked spatial constructions, needs to be treated taking Iu Mien's familiar living environment into consideration. Traditionally the Iu Mien lived (majority are still living) in mountainous regions. Directions in spatial relations such as high and low, up and down, are experiential facts that need to be explained from the speaker's vantage point typically in a village situation located on a slope of hills. As such, some verbs of movement, e.g., *yangh* /jaŋ˥/ 'to walk', *faaux* /fa:u˧/ 'to ascend', *njiɛc* /ʃiə˧/ 'to descend', *ndortv* /dɔt˥/ 'to fall', *ndorpc* /dɔp˥/ 'to tumble', need to take frame-semantics with cultural knowledge into consideration to analyse their spatial relation.

At the same time, secondly, such physical environments as mentioned above can contribute to grammar as a universal tendency of humans as Goldberg (2006) from Construction Grammar perspective says:

[...] constructionist approaches agree that there are recurring semantic prototypes ("conceptual archetypes" in Langacker's terminology) across languages, owing to the fact that humans are overall, more alike than different: we are all born with the same basic conceptual apparatus, with the same basic communicative demands, and we all live in the physical world with forces of gravity, bodies, and night and day (cf. Lakoff 1987; Webelhunth and Ackerman 1998)(Goldberg 2006:16).

Therefore, the cultural background in which the spatial constructions are used and the universal aspect of the speaker's spatial, orientational, locative relations to physical environment should be born in mind in analysing spatial constructions.

### 16.3 Spatial Semantic Role Nouns without Marking

In discussing the two argument structure in §11.2.2, it was found that the verbs of traverse *mingh* ‘to go’, *daaih* ‘to come’, *cuotv* ‘to exit’, *faaux* ‘to ascend’, *nzuonx* ‘to return’, *ndortv* ‘to fall’ etc. do not require a spatial or locative marking, but simply NPs that refer to place occur postverbally.

In the following examples spatial relationship is not marked by any means but expressed in the lexical meaning of the verb *mingh* ‘to go’ and the locative noun *ndeic* ‘field’ only. Compare (941a) in which the noun is in allative (ALL) semantic role in that one cannot tell the speaker has arrived at the destination or not, with (941b) in which the goal (G) is marked by V2 of the SVC:

- (941a) *Yie mingh ndeic(ALL).*  
ເຍ້ ມຶງ ເດືອ(ALL).  
iə́ míŋ̚ deí̚  
1SG go field(agricultural)  
'I will go to the field.'  
(ium\_1967\_04\_Permaton\_HCox\_y\_YSC-WI-Tape3-p6;00.07.13)

- (941b) *Ninh mingh taux ndeic(G) aqv.*  
ນິ້ນ ມຶງ ເຕາ ເດືອ(G)  
nin̚ míŋ̚ tʰau̚ deí̚ aʔ̚  
3SG go reach field NSIT  
'He has arrived at the field.'

When there is no mark like *taux*, the semantic roles of the postverbal locative NPs must be interpreted according to the context in terms of ablative(AB), allative(ALL), goal(G), region(RG), and source(S)(cf. §4.3.1 and §11.2.2)

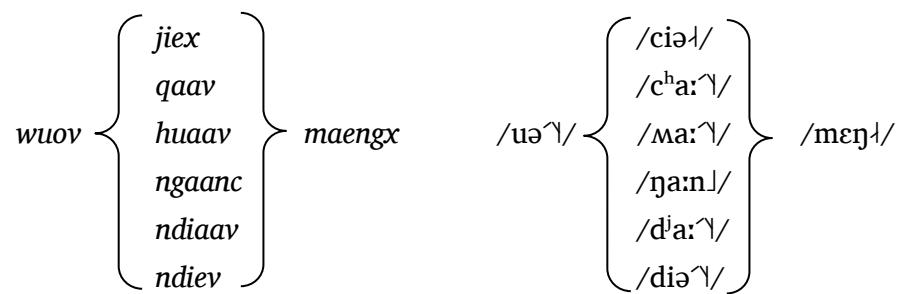
### 16.4 Spatial Constructions in Egocentric Viewing Arrangement

To re-enforce the premise that grammar tends to be conditioned by the fact that “we all live in the physical world with forces of gravity, bodies, and night and day” (Goldberg’s 2006:16), we draw on Langacker’s (1991) **egocentric viewing arrangement**. In order to consider the spatial constructions. Langacker (1991) defines egocentric viewing arrangement as follows:

An arrangement in which the objective scene is expanded beyond the region of perceptual optimality to include the observer (or analogously, the conceptualizer) and his immediate surroundings (Langacker 1991:547).

Thus, the system of the spatial deictic constructions are arranged in such a way that the observer or the speaker is at the centre of conceptualising his/her relation to the physical environment.

The spatial deictic constructions consist of three constituents: [demonstrative *wuov* ‘that’] + [morpheme encoding level of height and distance] + [relator noun *maengx* ‘side, area’]. There are six morphemes that come in between *wuov* and *maengx*:

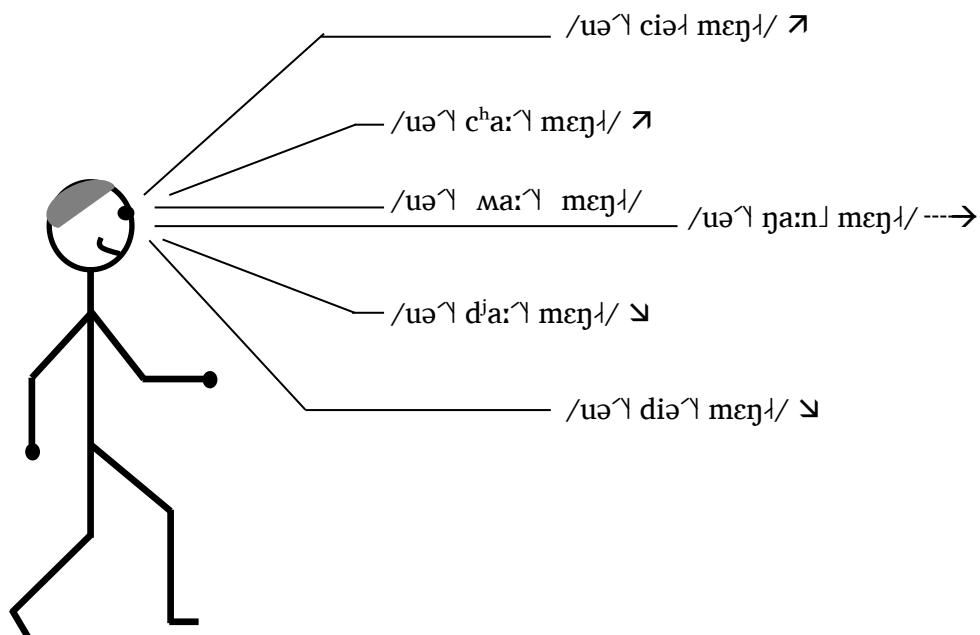


Thus, we have six spatial deictic constructions as below (definitions of these given by Purnell (2012) are modified in conformity to the egocentric viewing arrangement):

- *Wuov jiex maengx /uə̄l ciə̄l məŋ̄l/*  
[DEM<sub>DIST</sub> upper side]  
'pointing to an area above and at some distance from ego/SELF'
- *Wuov qaav maengx /uə̄l cʰa:̄l məŋ̄l/*  
[DEM<sub>DIST</sub> close.upper side]  
'pointing to an area above but not very far from ego/SELF'
- *Wuov huaav maengx /uə̄l ma:̄l məŋ̄l/*  
[DEM<sub>DIST</sub> same.level side]  
'pointing to an area on the same level as ego/SELF'
- *Wuov ngaanc maengx /uə̄l ŋa:n̄l məŋ̄l/*  
[DEM<sub>DIST</sub> shore side]  
'pointing to an area (shore) across something intervening between it and ego/SELF'

- *Wuov ndiaav maengx /uə̄ŋ d̥ia:ŋ̄ mεŋ̄/*  
[DEM<sub>DIST</sub> close.lower side]  
'pointing to an area below but not very far from ego/SELF'
- *Wuov ndiev maengx /uə̄ŋ diə̄ŋ̄ mεŋ̄/*  
[DEM<sub>DIST</sub> distant.lower side]  
'pointing to an area below and at some distance from ego/SELF'

Burgess (1996:108) summarises them in a diagram (Figure 61), which has been slightly modified to the above definitions based on (Purnell 2012) in relation to the height and proximity-distance from ego:



**Figure 61. Egocentric height, proximity, and distance of the six spatial deictic constructions (Burgess 1996:108)**

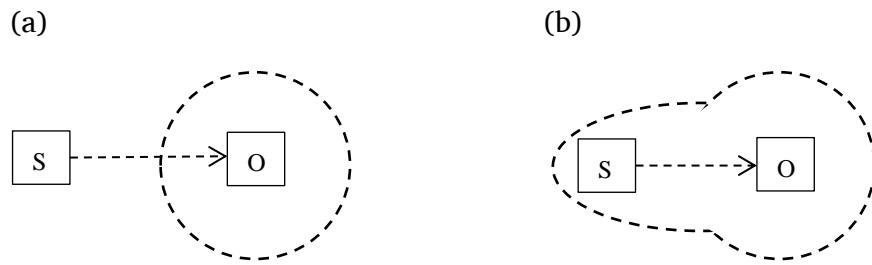
The distance indicator *ngaanc* /ŋa:n̄l/ in *wuov ngaanc maengx* means 'shore' from Cantonese *ngon<sup>6</sup>* /ŋɔ:n̄l/ (岸), rather than Mandarin pronunciation *àn*.

#### 16.4.1 Spatial Construction Applied to "Time"

Unlike Thai word order, *tūŋ wela* [reach time] (ถึงเวลา) 'It's time', Iu Mien say {time}{reach}. That is, conceptually *ziangh.hoc* 'time' approaches ego, not that ego approaches time as in (942<sup>-1-2</sup>):

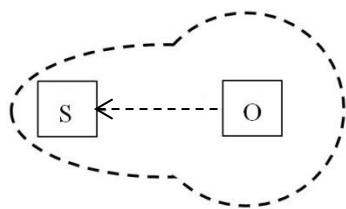
- (942<sup>-1</sup>) “*Ziangh.hoc*   *taux*   *aqv*”   *gauh*   *horpc.*  
 “ເຕື່ອງ.ໂທ໌”   ເຄາ   ອື້ນ”   ເກົ່າ   ຂອບ.  
*ts<sup>j</sup>arŋ<sub>J</sub> ho<sub>J</sub>*   *t<sup>h</sup>au<sub>J</sub>*   *aʔ<sub>J</sub>*   *kau<sub>J</sub>*   *hɔp<sub>J</sub>*  
 time        arrive     NSIT    more    be.right  
 ‘(The expression) “time has come” is correct.’
- (942<sup>-2</sup>) “*taux*   *ziangh.hoc*”   *naaic,*   *ninh*   *da'gangx*   *mi'aqv.*  
 “ເຄາ   ເຕື່ອງ.ໂທ໌”   ພນ່າຍ,   ນິນ   ຕະກົ່ງ   ທີ່ມີ ອື້ນ  
*t<sup>h</sup>au<sub>J</sub>*   *ts<sup>j</sup>arŋ<sub>J</sub> ho<sub>J</sub>*   *na:i<sub>J</sub>*   *nin<sub>J</sub>*   *ta kaŋ<sub>J</sub>*   *mi<sub>J</sub> aʔ<sub>J</sub>*  
 arrive   time        DEM<sub>TOP</sub>    3SG    be.reversed   TELIC  
 ‘To say “*taux ziangh.hoc*” is topsy-turvy.’ (lit. ‘To say “taux ziangh.hoc” is, that’s reversed (i.e. a wrong order).’  
 (ium\_20110624\_01\_Olympus\_DA\_MeixZoih\_ZianghHoc  
 Taux;00.12.57-13.02)

More and more young Iu Mien nowadays use the structure *taux ziangh.hoc* [reach time] instead of *ziangh.hoc taux*. What is the conceptual difference between the two? Langacker argues that the objective viewing arrangement is different to the subjective viewing arrangement in that the former does not include the speaker (or ‘S’ for self) whereas the latter includes the speaker in viewing the object (‘O’ for object or others). The optimal viewing arrangement (Langacker 1987:129) is schematised in Figure 62:



**Figure 62. Langacker's optimal viewing arrangement. 'S' stands for the viewer, or SELF; 'O' for the object being observed (1987:129)**

In analysing the conceptual structure of *ziangh.hoc taux* [time reach], we can alter the direction of the arrow in (b) of Figure 62 to show that O (time) approaches S (the speaker) and that the speaker perceives the event subjectively schematised in Figure 63:



**Figure 63. Subjective viewing arrangement of the conceptual structure *ziangh.hoc taux* [time reach]. 'S' stands for the viewer, or SELF; 'O' for the object being observed**

The future time is also perceived as approaching ego by the speaker in the 1960s as in (943):

|                      |                   |                 |              |                   |             |              |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------|
| (943 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Gamh.nziex</i> | <i>nqa'haav</i> | <i>hingv</i> | <i>nyutc.zeiv</i> | <i>taux</i> | <i>daaih</i> |
|                      | ກັມ.ເຫົ່າຍ        | ນະໝ້າ           | ີ້ງ          | ໜຸດ.ເຕື່ອຍ        | ເຄາ         | ຕ້າຍ         |
|                      | kam\dziə\         | ga ha:\ ^       | hiŋ\ ^       | nut\ts ei\ ^      | t^au\       | ta:i\        |
|                      | afraid            | rear            | end          | appointed.time    | reach       | COME         |

'I am fearful that (when) the appointed time has come in the future'

|                      |                  |                  |                                   |                    |                     |                 |                                  |
|----------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| (943 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>meih</i>      | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>corc</i>                       | <i>hnangv</i>      | <i>naaiv</i>        | <i>nor</i>      | <i>norqc</i>                     |
|                      | เมี่ย            | ນັວ              | ຫົ່ວ                              | ຫນິ້ງ              | ນ້າຍ                | ນອ              | ເຫນາະ                            |
|                      | mei <sup>N</sup> | buə <sup>1</sup> | ts <sup>h</sup> ɔ̄ <sup>2</sup> ‿ | ຖາງ <sup>4</sup> ‿ | na:i <sup>7</sup> ‿ | nɔ <sup>1</sup> | nɔ <sup>2</sup> ? <sup>1</sup> ‿ |
| 2                    | PL               | still            | line                              | DEM                | if.so               | so              |                                  |

‘then if you still live like that,’

|                      |                  |                  |                                   |                        |                    |                    |
|----------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (943 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>meih</i>      | <i>mbuo</i>      | <i>ziouc</i>                      | <i>mai<sup>V</sup></i> | <i>duqv</i>        | <i>njioux.</i>     |
|                      | เมี่ย            | ນັວ              | ຊາວ                               | ໄມ້                    | ດີ                 | ເທົ່າຍາ.           |
|                      | mei <sup>N</sup> | buə <sup>1</sup> | ts <sup>h</sup> əu <sup>2</sup> ‿ | mai <sup>7</sup> ‿     | tu? <sup>1</sup> ‿ | jəu <sup>1</sup> ‿ |
| 2                    | PL               | then             | NEG                               | GET                    | save               |                    |

‘then (I am afraid) you won’t be able to get saved.’

(ium\_1966\_03\_PERMATON\_ViggoSogaard\_Gueix-Cing;00.00.28-33)

## 16.5 Spatial Relator Nouns

Relator nouns are illustrated by Blake (2001:16) as “words like *top* in *It stands on top of the cupboard* and *front* as in *She is sitting in front of the house*”. In some other languages, the elements with the same concept are referred to as “locative-marked nouns” or “locative particles” (for Chinese, Li and Thompson 1988:391ff). Iu Mien use this class of nouns to specify a spatial relationship extensively rather than prepositional phrases as Thai or English.

There are two word orders in the spatial relator noun constructions. The one is a postpositional relator noun construction, and the other, a prepositional relator noun construction. To express the spatial relationship *inside the house* in English or Thai we use the prepositional construction. Its counterpart in Iu Mien, however, uses the opposite order, i.e., *biaov ga’nyuuoz /p̥au<sup>7</sup> ka juə<sup>1</sup>/* [house inside]. In contrast, the reverse order *ga’nyuuoz biaov* [inside house] means ‘around the general area of inside toward the house’. Thus, the postpositional relator noun constructions and the prepositional relator noun constructions differ in semantics. Confusion about the distinction among the young Iu Mien is due to the fact that the latter kind of use is absent in Thai even though the structure {inside}{house} (ข้างในบ้าน) has the same appearance with the Iu Mien *ga’nyuuoz biauv /ka juə<sup>1</sup> p̥au<sup>7</sup>/* [inside house]. This problem will be solved at the end of this section.

### 16.5.1 Postpositional Relator Noun Constructions

In the postpositional relator noun constructions, relator nouns are postponed to the head noun to express the spatial relation. Unlike Thai, which uses prepositional

phrases, the relation ‘inside the bucket’ in Iu Mien is expressed as {bucket}{inside} as in (944):

|       |   |              |                          |                        |
|-------|---|--------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| (944) | <i>Cuqv</i>                                   | <i>yiem</i>  | <i>tongv</i>             | <i>ga'nyuoz.</i>       |
|       | ¶   | ເຢີມ         | ທ້ງ                      | ກະລູ້ວ.                |
|       | <i>ts<sup>h</sup>u?</i> ]                     | <i>jem</i> ↑ | <i>t<sup>h</sup>oŋ</i> ˥ | <i>ka</i> <i>ŋuə</i> ↓ |
|       | unmilled.rice                                 | be.in        | bucket                   | inside                 |
|       | ‘Unmilled rice is in the bucket.’             |              |                          |                        |
|       | (ium_1996_02_Burgess_GF_MienLgL2;00.16.09-10) |              |                          |                        |

It is possible to paraphrase *tongv ga'nyuoz* ‘in a bucket’ into *tongv nyei ga'nyuoz* [bucket SBCP inside] ‘inside of a bucket’. Thus, the combination *tongv ga'nyuoz* can be interpreted as a compound without tone sandhi by the rule {N<sup>1</sup>·N<sup>2</sup> < N<sup>1</sup> *nyei* N<sup>2</sup>}, discussed in Chapter 6. Given the absence of tone sandhi, each element of the combination is quite transparent.

However, compounds with tone sandhi can be formed by the deletion of the initial (and minor) syllable of the relator noun (i.e. *ga'ndiev* ‘underneath’ > *ndiev*) and the observance of tone sandhi.<sup>219</sup> See some examples:

- zaux-hlen* /tsauŋ ɻen˧/ [foot side] ‘at the foot of’ (*hlen* < *ga'hlen* ‘side’)
- koiv-hlen* /kʰɔuŋ ɻen˧/ [sea side] ‘sea side, shore, beach’
- buoz-ndiev* /puəŋ diə˥/ [hand underneath] ‘under the authority/control of’  
(*ndiev* < *ga'ndiev*)
- ndau-ndiev* /dauŋ diə˥/ [ground underneath] ‘underground’

### 16.5.2 Prepositional Relator Noun Constructions

Prepositional relator nouns refer to a general area, vicinity, direction of the following noun. Thus, *ga'ndiev ndau* [lower.part ground] does not mean ‘under the ground’, but it means ‘the lower part (of your body), which is the ground’. The resemblance on the surface structures, i.e., {underneath}{ground}, to Thai prepositional phrase *tāai din* (ใต้ดิน) ‘under the ground’ is the cause of confusion among the young Iu Mien who are familiar with Thai and the Iu Mien in the U.S.

The speakers in their 50s and above demonstrate the traditional variety of prepositional relator noun construction as in (945).

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<sup>219</sup> Conversely, with regard to *tongv ga'nyuoz* ‘in the bucket’ a reduced form with tone sandhi \**tongv-nyuoz* ‘in the bucket’ has not been attested.

- (945) *Biu njiec ga'ndiev ndau.*  
 ปิว เนี่ย กะเดีย เดา  
*piu↑ jie↑ ka diə↑ dau↑*  
 jump descend underneath ground  
 '(A monkey) jumped down to the ground.'  
 (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_TableTalk;00.11.01-03)

In this example, the situation the speaker was describing was this: that a monkey which was up in a tree jumped down to the ground. The monkey could not have descended lower than the ground but *ga'ndiev* means the general lower area compared to the upper area of the tree.

Furthermore our main native speaker consultant explains that the construction *ga'ndiev ndau* refers to the surface of the ground where the speaker is standing on. That is, *ga'ndiev* points to the lower part from the speaker's perspective and *ndau* refers to the referent 'ground' within the lower region as in (946<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (946<sup>-1</sup>) “*ga'ndiev ndau*” *se hnangv*  
 กะเดีย เดา เช หันง  
*ka diə↑ dau↑ se↑ ဏ္ဏ္မာ*  
 lower.part ground TOP like  
 ‘(The expression) *ga'ndiev ndau* means (that) like’

- (946<sup>-2</sup>) *mbuo nuqv jienv naaiv benx “ga'ndiev ndau” aqv.*  
 บัว 奴 จីឃុំ នោយ បែន កែវ “កែវីឃុំ” នោវ អិវ.  
*buə↑ nu?↑ c'en↑ na:i↑ pen↑ ka diə↑ dau↑ a?↑*  
 PL point CONT DEM<sub>PRX</sub> be lower.part ground NSIT  
 ‘we are pointing here [physically pointing the area around of his own feet] as *ga'ndiev ndau*.’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.54-8)

Also a female speaker in her 60s explains as in (947<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (947<sup>-1</sup>) *Yiem naaiv mbuo buatc ga'ndiev ndau hnangv nor;*  
 ឃីឃុំ នោយ បោ ប្រាត កែវីឃុំ នោវ ហៅងវ នរ,  
*jem↑ na:i↑ buə↑ p<sup>w</sup>at↑ ka diə↑ dau↑ ဏ္ဏ္မာ*  
 be.at DEM PL see lower.part ground like as  
 ‘(When) we are seeing the ground of lower part (of our body) like this,’

|                      |                                |                       |                        |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| (947 <sup>-2</sup> ) | " <i>ndau</i> "                | <i>wuov</i>           | <i>nyungc</i> ,        |
|                      | "เดา"                          | ว້າ                   | ໜູ່ງ,                  |
|                      | <i>dau<sup>1</sup></i>         | <i>uə<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>ŋuŋ<sup>1</sup></i> |
|                      | ground                         | DEM                   | kind                   |
|                      | '(that is,) this ground here,' |                       |                        |

|  |                        |                        |                           |                        |                 |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| (947 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <i>mbuo</i>            | <i>gorngv</i>          | " <i>ga'ndiev</i>         | <i>ndau</i> "          | <i>orqcɔ̄</i>   |
|  | ນ້າ                    | ກົອງ                   | "ກະເດືອຍ                  | ເດາ"                   | ເອະໄ            |
|  | <i>buə<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>kɔŋ<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>ka diə<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>dau<sup>1</sup></i> | ɔ? <sup>1</sup> |
|  | PL                     | say                    | lower.part                | ground                 | Q               |
| 'we say <i>ga'ndiev ndau</i> , don't we?'                    |                        |                        |                           |                        |                 |
| (ium_201106_01_Olympus_DA_MeixZoih_ZianghHocTaux;00.16.15-8) |                        |                        |                           |                        |                 |

It is important to note that the verbs both speaker use undoubtedly refer to the surface, not the underneath, of the ground: *nuqv* 'to point to' (946<sup>-2</sup>) and *buatc* 'to see' (947<sup>-1</sup>).

Let us refer the postpositional relator noun constructions as **Postpositional RNCs** and the prepositional relator noun constructions as **Prepositional RNCs**.

### 16.5.3 The Distinction between the Postpositional RNCs 'specific spatial relationship' and Prepositional RNCs 'general area' Further Explained

This section will confirm that the two constructions are distinct from each other. Admittedly, there is a confusion among the younger generation and those who are in their 40s with regard to the clear distinction between the postpositional RNC (i.e. [N + RN]) and the prepositional RNC (i.e. [RN + N]). In fact, among the young Iu Mien, the former is absent because there is no equivalent construction in Thai, which is now so familiar to them. They only use the latter, which resembles on the surface with the Thai prepositional construction [preposition + N<sub>HD</sub>] (e.g. *tāai din* (ใต้ ดิน) 'under the ground'), whose meaning is opposite to the Iu Mien RNC [RN + N].

First, it is true that there is a confusion within the same speaker. Observe a normal use of the postpositional RNC (i.e. [N + RN]) in (948)(a repetition of (682<sup>-3</sup>)):

|                      |  |                 |                  |                  |                                   |              |                  |                                   |
|----------------------|--|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (948)                | <i>Jun</i>   | <i>aengx</i>    | <i>jun</i>       | <i>bun</i>       | <i>in-nyim</i>                    | <i>bieqc</i> | <i>ndau</i>      | <i>gaih.ndiev.</i> <sup>220</sup> |
| (682 <sup>-3</sup> ) | ຖុន  | ແອ៉ែង           | ຖុន              | បុន              | ិន-ឯុម                            | ពិមុ         | តោ               | កើត.តីឃី                          |
|                      | cun <sup>1</sup>   | ɛŋ <sup>1</sup> | cun <sup>1</sup> | pun <sup>1</sup> | in <sup>1</sup> nyim <sup>1</sup> | piə?         | dau <sup>1</sup> | kai <sup>1</sup> diə?             |
|                      | hoe  | again           | hoe              | give             | opium-seed                        | enter        | soil             | underneath                        |
|                      | '(they) hoe repeatedly (the ground) to let the seeds go under the soil.' |                 |                  |                  |                                   |              |                  |                                   |
|                      | (Burgess, 1970s, <i>In Nyei Gouv [A Story of Opium]</i> , KMB)           |                 |                  |                  |                                   |              |                  |                                   |

This sentence was in fact corrected by our main native language consultant from its original writing (transcribed by Burgess from an audio tape). The original repeats the relator noun before and after the head noun: *gaih.ndiev ndau gaih.ndiev* [beneath ground beneath]. It may be a case that the confusion or hesitation of determining which construction should be used even within the same speaker of the 1970s.

However, the consultant's proofreading eliminated the first relator noun *gaih.ndiev* and explained the remaining sequence *ndau ga'ndiev* as 'underneath the ground' in (949):

|                      |   |             |                   |                 |                   |            |             |  |
|----------------------|---|-------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|------------|-------------|--|
| (949 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Hnangv</i>   | <i>wuov</i> | <i>maaih</i>      | <i>aengx</i>    | <i>maaih</i>      | <i>nie</i> | <i>aeqv</i> |  |
|                      | សង់   | វា          | មោយ               | ແອ៉ែង           | មោយ               | នីឃី       | ແអីះ        |  |
|                      | naŋ <sup>1</sup>                                      | uə?         | ma:i <sup>1</sup> | ɛŋ <sup>1</sup> | ma:i <sup>1</sup> | niə?       | ɛ?          |  |
|                      | like  | DEM         | have              | further         | have              | soil       | PDP         |  |
|                      | '(It's) like this there is (the surface of) the soil, |             |                   |                 |                   |            |             |  |

|                      |   |                                |   |             |
|----------------------|---|--------------------------------|---|-------------|
| (949 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>biopv</i>  | <i>jienv</i>                   | <i>guh.nguaaic</i>  | <i>aqv.</i> |
|                      | បិឃុប   | តីឃីន                          | កូ.ងុវាយ  | ីុ.         |
|                      | p <sup>1</sup> op <sup>1</sup>                                  | c <sup>1</sup> en <sup>1</sup> | ku <sup>1</sup> n <sup>1</sup> ɳ <sup>1</sup> w <sup>1</sup> a:i <sup>1</sup> | a?          |
|                      | burry   | CONT                           | above   | NSIT        |
|                      | '(ndau ga'ndiev means that) soil is covering over (something).' |                                |   |             |
|                      | (ium_20150429_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.22.39-43)          |                                |   |             |

That is, the phrase *ndau ga'ndiev* describes the relation that the soil is over the seeds, the seeds are underneath the soil. As for the opposite order *ga'ndiev ndau*, it is possible to *haaz nyim ga'ndiev ndau* [sow seeds lower.area ground] but not *bieqc ga'ndiev ndau* [enter underneath ground] by simply sowing. It is only possible to *bun nyim bieqc ndau ga'ndiev* [let seed enter ground underneath].

Therefore, Purnell's example *jun bun nyim bieqc ga'ndiev ndau* should be amended to match his translation 'to hoe so the seeds go in under the soil' (Purnell

<sup>220</sup> *Gaih.ndiev*: a variation of *ga'ndiev*.

2012:331). According to Gueix-Fong a correct use of *ga'ndiev* in Iu Mien is the postpositional relator noun, not a preposition, thus the sentence should be *jun bun nyim bieqc ndau ga'ndiev*. Or if the order *ga'ndiev ndau* is to be sued, it should be *nyim ndortv ga'ndiev ndau* [seed fall lower.part ground] ‘seeds fell on the ground that is lower than your eye level’.

Further confirmation is available. The prepositional RNC *gu'nguaaic lungh* [upper.area sky] and the postpositional RNC *lungh gu'nguaaci* [sky above] are contrasted in the discourse by a female speaker in her 60s as in (950<sup>-1-5</sup>):

- (950<sup>-1</sup>) (...)*mbuo magnc naaiv buatc gu'nguaaic nor;*  
 (...)ນ້ວ ໜັງ ນ້າຍ ປວດ ຖູ້ ຂອງໄພ ນອ,  
*buə̥l maŋ˥ na:i˥ pʷat˩ ku ngʷai:˩ nɔ̥l*  
 PL look.at DEM see upper.area if.so  
 ‘When we are looking at the sky above (ourselves)’

- (950<sup>-2</sup>) *mbuo gorngv “gu'nguaaic lungh”.*  
 ນ້ວ ກົ່ອງ “ບູ້ ຂອງໄພ ສູ່”.  
*buə̥l kɔŋ˥ ku ɳʷai:˩ lunŋ˧*  
 PL say upper.area sky  
 ‘we say “*gu'nguaaic lungh*”’

- (950<sup>-3</sup>) *Se.gorngv aengx “lungh gu'nguaaic” nor aeqv,*  
 ສີ ກົ່ອງ ແອ້ງ “ສູ່ ຂອງໄພ” ນອ ແອື້ກ,  
*kɔŋ˥ ɳŋ˧ lunŋ˧ ku ɳʷai:˩ nɔ̥l ε?˥*  
 if further sky upper.area if.so PDP  
 ‘If (we) then say “*lungh gu'nguaaic*”,’

- (950<sup>-4</sup>) *aengx maaih kang [gu'nguaaic nyei lungh] gu'nguaaic*  
 ແອ້ງ ມ່າຍ ຄັງ [ບູ້ ຂອງໄພ ເນີ ສູ່] ບູ້ ຂອງໄພ  
*ɳŋ˧ ma:i˥ kʰaŋ˥ ku ɳʷai:˩ nei˥ lunŋ˧ ku ɳʷai:˩*  
 further have level upper.area SBCP sky upper.area  
 ‘there is one more level of upper area above the sky (that) we are seeing,’

- |                      |  |                    |               |             |                |
|----------------------|--|--------------------|---------------|-------------|----------------|
| (950 <sup>-5</sup> ) | <i>wuov</i>  | <i>kang</i>        | <i>mi'aqv</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>nyungc.</i> |
|                      | ว້າ  | ຄັງ                | ໝີ່ ອີ່       | ວ້າ         | ໝູ່ງ.          |
|                      | սօՂ  | k <sup>h</sup> այշ | միշ ա՛լ       | սօՂ         | յնոյշ          |
|                      | DEM  | level              | TELIC         | DEM         | kind           |
|                      | ‘(the phrase “ <i>lungh gu'nguaaic</i> ” referring to) that level of that kind.’ |                    |               |             |                |
|                      | (ium_201106_01_Olympus_DA_MeixZoih_ZianghHoc                                     |                    |               |             |                |
|                      | Taux;00.17.26-33)  |                    |               |             |                |

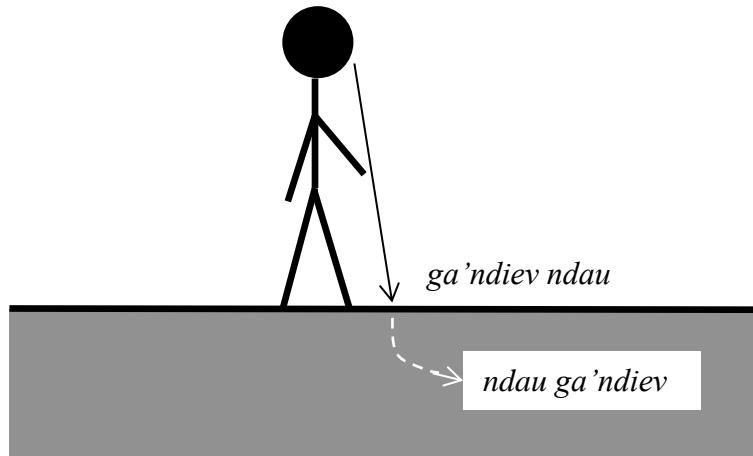
Her daughter in her mid-40s also provided a confirming data that the postpositional RNC is the equivalent of Thai locative prepositional phrase *nai bâan* [in house] ([ในบ้าน] as in (951<sup>1-2</sup>):

- |                                     |                       |                   |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| (951 <sup>-1</sup> )                | <i>Biauv ga'nyuaz</i> | naaic,            |
| “បីវិញ្ញានា”                        | កន្លែង្វ័យៗ”          | អនាមេរោគ          |
| p <sup>j</sup> au <sup>ŋ</sup>      | ka juə <sup>ŋ</sup>   | na:i <sup>ŋ</sup> |
| house                               | inside                | TOP               |
| ‘To say “ <i>biauv ga'nyuoz</i> ”,’ |                       |                   |

- |                      |  |             |             |            |              |
|----------------------|--|-------------|-------------|------------|--------------|
| (951 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>hnangv</i>  | <i>jang</i> | <i>gauh</i> | <i>ndo</i> | <i>deix.</i> |
|                      | ຂນ້ັງ  | ຈັງ         | ເກ້າ        | ໄດ         | ເຕືຍ.        |
|                      | ŋanŋ̚  | caŋ̚₁       | kauŋ        | do₁        | tei₁         |
|                      | like   | just        | more        | be.deep    | some         |
|                      | 'is just like (to refer to) the deeper part (of the house).' |             |             |            |              |
|                      | (ium_201106_01_Olympus_DA_MeixZoih_ZianghHoc                 |             |             |            |              |
|                      | Taux;00.19.59-20.01)   |             |             |            |              |

Her meaning of the comparison is that *biauv ga'nyuož* is deeper than the phrase *ga'nyuož biauv* [inner.area house] ‘a house that is at the generally inner area’. The latter phrase, the prepositional RNC, can occur in a typical situation where a small group of women gather around out in the front area of the house doing embroidery pointing to the house which is at the further inner area than a gate of the property fence.

To conclude, the prepositional RNC signifies the general area from the perspective of the speaker/viewer, and the postpositional RNC refers to the specific spatial relation between two objects (e.g. ‘seeds’ and ‘ground’). The distinction between the prepositional RNC *ga’ndiev ndau* ‘ground that is lower than the eye level’ and the postpositional RNC *ndau ga’ndiev* is summarised in Figure 64.



**Figure 64. Prepositional RNC ‘GENERAL REGION’ and Postpositional RNC ‘SPECIFIC SPATIAL RELATION’**

## 16.6 Summary of Chapter 16

In this chapter the spatial constructions have been analysed in terms of egocentric viewing arrangement lightly drawing on Construction Grammar and Cognitive Grammar. Mainly two types of spatial constructions were discussed: the deictic spatial construction and the spatial relator nouns.

The deictic spatial constructions are arranged from the perspective of the speaker/viewer in terms of levels higher, horizontal with, or lower than him/her and the distance from him/her.

As for the spatial relator nouns, there are two constructions. One is the postpositional relator noun and the other is the prepositional relator noun. The former signifies the specific spatial relation between objects, the other refers to the general area from the perspective of the speaker. The latter use seems to be disappearing from the repertoire of the young Iu Mien.

In this chapter the egocentric view in relation to the physical world was investigated. In the next chapter, furthermore, the grammatical coding that connects ego and the world in terms of benefit or misfortune.

# Chapter 17

## BENEFACTIVES AND MALEFACTIVES: FOCUSING ON /tuʔ]/ ‘GET’ AND /tsuʔ]/ ‘TOUCH’

### 17.1 Introduction

In this chapter two verbs, *duqv* /tuʔ]/ ‘to get’ and *zuqc* /tsuʔ]/ ‘to touch’, are analysed in terms of a contrast between an auto-benefactive and an auto-malefactive characteristic from the perspective of ego-centric viewing arrangement (in the case of the first person argument) and the perspective of an experiencer or a recipient (in the case of the third person argument). That is to say, the ego-centric viewing arrangement utilised in Chapter 16 is extended in this chapter to the recipient of benefactive/malefactive effects whether she/he is the speaker of the sentence or the participant in it. As to the prototypical meanings of the verbs, *duqv*, on the one hand, signifies that something beneficial, favourable, desirable approaches to and received by the speaker (first person argument) or the beneficiary (third person argument). On the other hand, *zuqc* means that something malicious, adversative, unfavourable approaches to and touches the speaker (first person argument) or the experiencer (third person argument). Hence the extension of these prototypical senses can explain the modal meaning of *duqv* ‘can’ as a successful attainment of benefit due to the agent’s ability; and the so-called “passive” construction in which *zuqc* marks an effect of ‘being adversely touched’ from the perspective of the speaker (first person argument) or the affected/victim (second or third person argument).

The contrast between *duqv* and *zuqc* in this perspective is as follows:

- An agent of the verb *duqv* or a preverbal topic NP in a sentence is a recipient of the benefit in an auto-benefactive sense, i.e., beneficiary.
- An argument in contact with the verb *zuqc*, whether it may be a preverbal NP or a postverbal NP, is a recipient of the harm, i.e., maleficiary.

Restricted to the first person argument only, the same concept of the speaker being the beneficiary versus the affected/victim can be applied to analyse the extended meanings of *daaih* /ta:iŋ]/ ‘to come’ and *mingh* /miŋ]/ ‘to go’. Both verbs can be used as aspectual markers to indicate an event has occurred not long ago. Besides that, benefactive and malefactive meanings can be conveyed by them. The perfect *daaih* can be used to mean that a favourable event has come closer to the speaker.

And the continuous aspect *mingh* can mean that benefit the speaker possessed has departed and is moving away from him/her, thus malefactive. These usages occur more frequently than the case that *daaih* meaning the malefactive is approaching the speaker and the case that *mingh* meaning the malefactive departing from the speaker.

The following sections include the multifunctionality of *duqv* in comparison with *daj<sup>4</sup>* in Lao analysed by Enfield (§17.2), the benefactive use of *duqv* (§17.3), the basic meaning of *zuqc* ‘to touch’ (§17.4), the non-volitional contact-*zuqc* (§17.5), the malefactive contact-*zuqc* (§17.6), and *daaih* ‘to come’ and *mingh* ‘to go’ (§17.7).

## 17.2 Multifunctional /tuʔ˥/ *duqv* ‘to GET (benefit)’

### 17.2.1 Enfield’s Five Functions of *daj<sup>4</sup>* in Lao

Multifunctionality of /tuʔ˥/ *duqv* ‘to get’ in Iu Mien exhibits similarity with Thai *daj* (ດັ່ງ), Vietnamese /đuoc/ (*đuoc*), and Lao *daj<sup>4</sup>*; also some sort of connection with Chinese *dé* (得) has been suggested (Matisoff 1991:420).<sup>221</sup> Li’s (1991) study on the “attainment aspect marker” *tau* ‘to attain, obtain’ in Green Hmong reveals striking similarity to Iu Mien *duqv*. Although Enfield’s (2003) analyses of Lao *daj<sup>4</sup>* differs to our Iu Mien *duqv*, it is worth considering his five meanings of *daj<sup>4</sup>* in the following headings:

(i) x daj<sup>4</sup> y

Something happens at one moment; because of this *x* has *y* (Enfield 2003:84)

It can be translated ‘come to have (something)’ (ibid. 157). This is a basic use *daj<sup>4</sup>* as a main verb [in Lao].

(ii) x daj<sup>4</sup> y

*x* can V *y*, because *x* knows some things (because *x* has V’d *y* before) (ibid. 90)

It can be translated ‘know and be able to perform (something)’ (ibid. 157)

(iii) x daj<sup>4</sup>

something happens (*p*);

*p* happened because *x* did something before this;

*x* did this because *x* wanted *p* to happen (ibid. 95)

As an intransitive “achievement verb” it means ‘succeed, win’ (ibid. 94, 158)

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<sup>221</sup> Though Matisoff (1991:420) assumes that Thai *thùuk* (ຖຸກ) is phonologically and functionally related to Iu Mien *duqv*, it should rather be semantically associated with Iu Mien *zuqc* /tsuʔ˥/ ‘to adversively touch’ as will be discussed in §17.6.

(iv) V *daj*<sup>4</sup>

can V (p. 101)

Postverbal use in the modal sense ‘can’ (ibid. 101, 158)

(v) *Daj*<sup>0</sup>-V

V; because of something else that happened before this (ibid. 142)

Preverbal use in the modal sense ‘result of prior event’ (ibid. 158)

Syntactically, the usage (i) and (ii) are an object-taking (i.e.  $y = \text{NP}$ ) construction, (iii) is used intransitively, (iv) postverbally, and (v) preverbally. Enfield applied these analyses to other languages of Mainland Southeast Asia, (Khmer, Kmhmu Cwang, Hmong, Vietnamese) including Iu Mien (Enfield 2003:331). The following examples ((952) – (953<sup>1-2</sup>), (961), and (964) – (968)) are data from Enfield’s own fieldwork (Enfield 2003:68) and his quotations of Matisoff’s descriptions of “Samsao Yao” (1991:420).<sup>222</sup>

It is pointed out below that Iu Mien *duqv* has the same usage with Enfield’s *daj<sup>4</sup>* in the senses (i), (iv), and (v); Iu Mien uses *haih /hai↓/* ‘to be able’ for Lao *daj<sup>4</sup>* in (ii), and *hingh /hiŋ↓/* ‘to win’ for (iii). Our data show different results to Enfield’s survey as far as (ii) and (iii) are concerned, contrary to his claim that “it is established that Mien *tu?*<sup>42</sup> (i.e. *duqv*) performs the basic range of functions performed by ACQUIRE in the languages examined already in this work” (Enfield 2003:332). In the following sections, Enfield’s five types of *dai<sup>4</sup>* in Lao are used to provide a template of comparison with Iu Mien in Thailand. Where the senses or functions are the same, a few examples from Thailand are added to show the similarity. Where it differs, an alternative constructions to Enfield’s analysis will be provided from Thailand data.

### **17.2.1.1 As a transitive main verb *duqv /tuʔ˥/* means ‘to come to have (something)’**

As a main verb, the very basic meaning of *duqv* is ‘to come to have’ or more simply ‘to get’. Enfield’s data and his quotation of Matisoff of this meaning are as in (952) and (953<sup>1-2</sup>):

---

<sup>222</sup> Transcriptions have been converted to the Iu Mien Unified Script for the sake of easy comparison.

|       |                       |            |             |               |
|-------|-----------------------|------------|-------------|---------------|
| (952) | <i>duqv</i>           | <i>buo</i> | <i>dauh</i> | <i>mbiauz</i> |
|       | ຖី                    | ប៉ា        | ត៊ា         | បេយា          |
|       | tu?]                  | puə̄]      | tau]        | b̄'au]        |
|       | come.to.have          | three      | CLF         | fish          |
|       | '(I) got three fish.' |            |             |               |
|       | (Enfield 2003:331)    |            |             |               |

|                      |              |              |                   |             |             |
|----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|
| (953 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Biaux</i> | <i>njiéc</i> | <i>Hueih.jorh</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>nor,</i> |
|                      | ឃើម          | លើម          | សេវយ់.ខៀន         | ឱិយម        | នអ,         |
|                      | p̄au]        | jíə̄]        | h̄'wei] co]       | jem]        | nɔ̄]        |
|                      | flee         | descend      | H.                | live        | then        |

|  |           |             |            |              |                    |
|--|-----------|-------------|------------|--------------|--------------------|
| (953 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <i>nv</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>auv</i> | <i>duqv</i>  | <i>guh.nguaaz.</i> |
|  | ន័        | ឈើម         | អ៉ា        | ធម្មី        | កូងរាន់.           |
|  | n̄y       | nei]        | aū]       | tu?]         | ku]                |
|  | 1SG       | POSS        | wife       | come.to.have | baby               |
| 'My wife had ('got') a baby after we had fled down to Huey.jo to live.'<br>(Matisoff's (1991:420) translation, quoted in Enfield 2003:331) |           |             |            |              |                    |

From our data, this basic use of *duqv* is also attested to mean that the speaker comes to possess a physical object as a favourable gain. Typically, game which is obtained in hunting is an object of *duqv* in (954<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|  |              |              |          |              |            |             |            |              |
|--|--------------|--------------|----------|--------------|------------|-------------|------------|--------------|
| (954 <sup>-1</sup> )   | <i>Bueix</i> | <i>muonz</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>muonz</i> | <i>gau</i> | <i>duqv</i> | <i>orv</i> | <i>naaic</i> |
|  | ឃើម          | ម៉ោន         | ី        | ម៉ោន         | កោ         | ធម្មី       | ីអោ        | អនោម         |
|  | p̄'ei]       | m̄'an]       | i]       | m̄'an]       | kau]       | tu?]        | ɔ̄]        | nai]         |
| sleep night two night then get meat DEM <sub>TOP</sub><br>'After sleeping one or two nights (in the forest), then (if we) get game,' |              |              |          |              |            |             |            |              |

|   |               |              |               |                 |
|---|---------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (954 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>nyiex</i>  | <i>jienv</i> | <i>nzuonx</i> | <i>daaih @@</i> |
|   | ឃើម           | ីឱុណ         | ុទាន          | ធម្មយ @@@       |
|   | jíə̄]         | c̄'en̄]      | dz̄'ən̄]      | ta:i]           |
|   | carry.on.back | CONT         | return        | come            |
| (we would) come back carrying it on our back.'              |               |              |               |                 |
| (ium_20130515_01_H1_DA_WuonhKuonMbou_TableTalk;00.09.35-39) |               |              |               |                 |

Another example is in a situation of acquiring financial profit as in (955)(a repetition of (367<sup>-2</sup>)):

|                     |  |               |             |               |                    |
|---------------------|--|---------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|
| (955)               | <b>“Duqv</b>   | <i>leic</i> ” | <i>wuov</i> | <i>nyungc</i> | <i>ndaauv-dauh</i> |
| (367 <sup>2</sup> ) | “ <b>ទី</b>  | លេត់ម៊ូ”      | វាំ         | អណ្តែង        | គោរ-ពោា            |
|                     | tu?l   | lei;l         | uə~         | ŋun;l         | da:u;l tau;l       |
|                     | come.to.have   | profit        | DEM         | kind          | profit             |
|                     | ‘(The word) “ndaauv-dauh” means that which you “come to have profit”.’ |               |             |               |                    |
|                     | (ium_20130427_02_H1_DA_GF_Greetings-KMB;00.23.13-5)                    |               |             |               |                    |

Negation of *duqv* occurs before it just as other verbs are likewise negated as in (956<sup>-1-4</sup>):

|                      |                                  |                          |             |             |  |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------|-------------|--|
| (956 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Se.gorngv</i>                 | <i>mv</i> <sup>223</sup> | <b>duqv</b> | <i>orv,</i> |  |
|                      | តី កៀង                           | ម៉ា                      | ទី          | ឪៗ,         |  |
|                      | kɔŋ~                             | m̥~                      | tu?l        | ~           |  |
|                      | if                               | NEG                      | get         | meat        |  |
|                      | ‘If they didn’t get (any) game,’ |                          |             |             |  |

|                      |   |             |              |             |                  |             |            |             |
|----------------------|---|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| (956 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>ninh</i>   | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>aengx</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>camv-hnoi</i> | <i>deix</i> | <i>gau</i> | <i>saau</i> |
|                      | និន   | ប័វ         | ឃៅង          | ើឱម         | ចិម-សនុយ         | ពេី         | កោ         | មាតា        |
|                      | nin;l   | buə;l       | ɛŋ;l         | jem;l       | tsʰam;l នួជី;l   | tei;l       | kau;l      | sa:u;l      |
|                      | 3   | PL          | again        | be.at       | many-day         | some        | then       | stroll      |
|                      | ‘they continue to stay and explore a few more days (in the forest)’ |             |              |             |                  |             |            |             |

|                      |   |            |             |             |           |             |
|----------------------|---|------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| (956 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>i</i>  | <i>buo</i> | <i>hnoi</i> | <i>yaac</i> | <i>mv</i> | <b>duqv</b> |
|                      | ី   | ប័វ        | សនុយ        | ហោា         | ម៉ា       | ទី          |
|                      | i;l   | puə;l      | នួជី;l      | ja:l        | m̥~       | tu?l        |
|                      | two   | three      | day         | also        | NEG       | get         |
|                      | ‘(spending) two or three days (and yet still) did not get (anything)’ |            |             |             |           |             |

|                      |   |                |               |             |               |           |             |
|----------------------|---|----------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|-------------|
| (956 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>mv.baac</i>  | <i>m'daaih</i> | <i>nzuonx</i> | <i>aqv,</i> | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>nc</i> | <i>nor.</i> |
|                      | ម៉ា.បោា   | មតោឃ           | ខាងវា         | ឪៗ,         | ឈន៉ែង         | ឃន់       | នោ.         |
|                      | m̥~ pa:;l   | m̥ tai:i;l     | dzʷən;l       | a?l         | នួរ៉ែង        | ន;l       | នោ;l        |
|                      | but   | of.course      | return        | NSIT        | like          | DEM       | as          |
|                      | ‘nevertheless, they have to come home (empty-handed) anyway, just like that.’ |                |               |             |               |           |             |
|                      | (ium_20130515_01_H1_DA_WuonhKuonMbuo_Table Talk;00.09.35-39)                  |                |               |             |               |           |             |

<sup>223</sup> The text is slightly edited. In the original, the negative particle *mv* is hesitantly repeated three times.

The object of *duqv* can be an NP composed of a head and its modifying verb as in (957<sup>-1</sup>)(a repetition of (3<sup>8-9</sup>) from our *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv* ‘the Sea Crossing Odyssey’ in §2.2.3):

|                      |                                      |           |              |                  |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------|--------------|------------------|
| (957 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>nv.nzunc.hnoi</i>                 | <i>mv</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>cun-gaeng</i> |
| (3-8)                | ນ້ຳ.ຫຼຸ່ມ.ຮນອຍ                       | ມໍ້       | ມໍາຍ         | ຂູນ-ແກງ          |
|                      | ຫ່າຍ dzun↓ ຖົມີ້                     | ມໍ້       | ມາ:ີ         | ຕສັນ↓ ກະງິ       |
|                      | so.then                              | NEG       | have         | harvest          |
|                      | ‘so then (we) did not have harvest.’ |           |              |                  |

|                      |                            |                    |                           |
|----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| (957 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>mv</i>                  | <b><i>duqv</i></b> | [ <i>hnaangx nyanc</i> ]. |
| (3-9)                | ມໍ້                        | ຖື                 | [ຫອນາງ ພັນ].              |
|                      | ມໍ້                        | tu?]               | ນູາ:ັງ↓ ລັນ↓              |
|                      | NEG                        | get                | rice eat                  |
|                      | ‘did not get food to eat.’ |                    |                           |

(ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.01.29-31)

To sum, the basic meaning of *duqv* as a main verb is ‘to get/come to have an NP as a benefit to the speaker’.

### 17.2.1.2 As a transitive verb *duqv* means ‘to know and be able to perform (something).

Enfield (2003) does not show any example of this function in Iu Mien: i.e., [*duqv* NP] in the sense of being able to perform NP. No data in Iu Mien of Thailand corresponding to this usage has been found either.

Rather, this function is expressed by *haih* /hai↓/ ‘be able’ in Thailand Iu Mien. However, this use is only a colloquial expression that underwent deletion of the main verb as in (957a):

|        |                       |                    |               |              |
|--------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------|
| (957a) | <i>Ninh</i>           | <b><i>haih</i></b> | <i>nzangc</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|        | ນຶ່ນ                  | ໄຊ                 | ໜ້ຳ           | ເນູຍ.        |
|        | nin↓                  | hai↓               | dzan↓         | nei↓         |
|        | 3SG                   | be.able            | letter        | ASST         |
|        | ‘He/she is literate.’ |                    |               |              |

The fuller expression of (957a) has the verb *doqc* ‘to read’ or *fiev* ‘to write’ as in (957b):

- (957b) *Ninh haih doqc/fiev nzangc nyei.*  
 ນິນ ໄກ ໂດກ/ໄຟ ນ້າງ ໄນຍ.  
 nin<sub>1</sub> hai<sub>1</sub> toʔ<sub>1</sub>/fiə̯<sub>1</sub> dzaŋ<sub>1</sub> nei<sub>1</sub>  
 3SG be.able read/write letter ASST  
 ‘He/she is literate.’ (lit. He/she is able to read/write characters.)  
 (Field Notes 1994-5)

It seems the sequence [*haih* + NP] is limited to certain NPs only such as *nzang* /dzaŋ<sub>1</sub>/ ‘letter’ or *sou-nzangc* /səu<sub>1</sub> dzaŋ<sub>1</sub>/ ‘literature’. Other common NPs seem to require full form of [*haih* V NP], e.g., *haih nyouv cie* /hai<sub>1</sub> n̥jəu<sub>1</sub> tsʰiə̯<sub>1</sub>/ [be.able drive/turn car] ‘to be able to drive a car’, or *haih ziouh wuom* /hai<sub>1</sub> ts̥jəu<sub>1</sub> uəm<sub>1</sub>/ [be.able swim water] ‘to be able to swim’. Conversely, for these sequences to express ‘to be able to perform NP’, it is impossible to use *duqv* in the following sequences: \**duqv cie* [get car] or \**duqv wuom* [get water] (since they mean ‘to get a car’ or ‘to come to possess water’).

### 17.2.1.3 As an intransitive verb *duqv* means ‘to succeed, win’.

Enfield (2003) does not present any example in this use for Iu Mien. In Thailand Iu Mien, *hingh* /hiŋ<sub>1</sub>/ ‘to win’ is most likely to be used to express this meaning with the combination with *duqv* as in (958):

- (958) *Doix ndiangx gorngv duqv hingh.*  
 ດ້ອຍ ເດືອງ ກົ້ອງ ຕຸ້ ອື່ງ.  
 tɔi<sub>1</sub> d̥iaŋ<sub>1</sub> kɔŋ<sub>1</sub> tuʔ<sub>1</sub> hiŋ<sub>1</sub>  
 correspond tree talk get win  
 ‘Facing (these) trees (we have to) persuade them (that we are going to chop them down to make field for farming).’  
 (Burgess and Yauz-Guangv, 1970s, *M'gux Zomv Nyei Gouv* [A Story of Old Basket Lady],<sup>224</sup> KMB)

The opposite concept, i.e., unsuccessful gain, can be expressed by substituting *duqv* with *mai⁹* as in (959):

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<sup>224</sup> A rather detailed summary of this legend can be found in Purnell (2012:792-3).

- (959) *Zoux mv hingh gong.*  
 ໄ້ໜວ ມໍ ອິ່ງ ກອງ.  
 tsəʊ̯ ɔ̯ m̥˥ hiŋ˥ koŋ˥  
 do NEG win work(n)  
 '(we) can't manage to do the work.'  
 (Burgess and Fuqv-Zou Liemh, 1970s, *Mbiauz-Nzung Nyei Gouv [A Story of Loach]*, KMB)

A simple notion of ‘winning’, rather than the sense ‘manage to/successfully win’, is expressed in *hingh jiex* [win surpass] without using *duqv* as in (960):

- (960) *hingh jiex zei-naanc*  
 ອິ່ງ ເຈີຍ ເຊຍ-ໜ່ານ  
 hiŋ˥ ciə̯ tseiŋ naːn˥  
 win surpass difficulty/disaster  
 ‘to overcome the difficulties/disaster’  
 (Panh 2002:89)

#### 17.2.1.4 Postverbally, *duqv* means ‘can’.

The postverbal *duqv* means ‘can’, which is a modal usage (Enfield 2003:88, 331). Enfield shows an example in the negative sentence as in (961):

- (961) *Mingh mv duqv.*  
 ມິ່ງ ມໍ ດູກວ̥  
 miŋ˥ m̥˥ tu?˥  
 go NEG can  
 ‘(I) cannot go.’  
 (Enfield 2003:331)

The postverbal *duqv* for ‘can’ in an affirmative sentence is exemplified from our data as in (962):

- (962) *Naaic duqv nyei oc.*  
 ນໍາເຢ ດູກວ̥ ້ຢ ໄອ̥  
 naii˥ tu?˥ neil o˥  
 ask CAN ASST SFP  
 ‘You can ask (me anything).’  
 (ium\_20150814\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_AdjVIntensifiers;00.00.43-4)

Retrospectively, it was pointed out that the construction which contains the postverbal modal *duqv* is one of the MVCs, i.e. Type 6, presented in §15.2. A further illustration of this is in (963<sup>1-2</sup>):

- |                      |       |   |            |             |                   |             |             |
|----------------------|-------|---|------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|
| (963 <sup>-1</sup> ) | (...) | <i>daaih</i>  | <i>buo</i> | <i>norm</i> | <i>ziangh.hoc</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>jauv</i> |
|                      | (...) | ต້າຍ  | ປ້ວ        | ນອມ         | ເຄື່ອງ.ໄທ໌        | ເລູຍ        | ເຈົ້າ       |
|                      |       | taii᳚   | puə᳚       | nɔm᳚        | tsjan᳚ ho᳚        | nei᳚        | cau᳚        |
|                      |       | come  | three      | CLF         | hour              | SBCP        | road        |
|                      |       | '(Talking about water situation in Myanmar, we used to) come (to Thailand side) on three-hour trip' |            |             |                   |             |             |

- |                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| (963 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>cingx.daaih nyiex duqv yietc nzunc wuom (...)</i>  |
|                      | හේං.තායි නෙශුද්‍ය ගු නෙශිජ් හැතුන් ව්‍යව (...)  |
|                      | ts <sup>h</sup> iŋ <sup>l</sup> ta:i <sup>l</sup> jiə <sup>l</sup> tu?l jet <sup>l</sup> dzun <sup>l</sup> uəm <sup>l</sup> |
|                      | therefore carry.on.back be.able one CLF <sub>TIME</sub> water   |
|                      | ‘so that (we) could carry water once.’  |
|                      | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_  |
|                      | GueixZoih_MigHist;00.05.06.710-00.05.13.830)  |

**17.2.1.5** As a preverbal aspect-modal marker, duqv means ‘to have the chance to V’, ‘get to V’ implying an enabling factor of ‘prior event’.

Enfield shows under this category two examples, (964) and (966):

- |       |  |               |             |       |                |               |
|-------|--|---------------|-------------|-------|----------------|---------------|
| (964) | <i>Yie</i>   | <i>duqv</i>   | <i>doqc</i> | [i]   | <i>hnyangx</i> | <i>sou</i> ]. |
|       | ເຢີບ   | ດູກວ          | ໂດະ         | [ທີ່] | ຫອນັງ          | ໄຈວາ.         |
|       | ié+  | tuʔ˥          | toʔ˩        | i˧    | ງ້ານງ˧         | səu˧          |
|       | 1SG  | rslt.prr.evnt | read        | two   | year           | books         |
|       | 'I had the opportunity to ('get to') study for two years.' |               |             |       |                |               |
|       | (Matisoff 1991:420, quoted in Enfield 2003:332)            |               |             |       |                |               |

Before looking at Enfield's (966), let us note that Matisoff (1991:420) contrasts (964) to the following example (965):

|       |   |             |                 |            |                |               |
|-------|---|-------------|-----------------|------------|----------------|---------------|
| (965) | <i>Yie</i>                                      | <i>doqc</i> | <i>duqv</i>     | [ <i>i</i> | <i>hnyangx</i> | <i>sou</i> ]. |
|       | ເຢີ່ຍ   | ໄດະ         | ຕຸ້             | [ທົດ       | ຫອນູ້ງ         | ໄຊງ].         |
|       | iə†   | to?]        | tu?]            | i†         | ຈຳນາງ†         | səu†          |
|       | 1SG   | read        | temp.complement | two        | year           | books         |
|       | 'I've completed two years of study.'            |             |                 |            |                |               |
|       | (Matisoff 1991:420, quoted in Enfield 2003:331) |             |                 |            |                |               |

Matisoff's analysis is that *duqv* in both (964) and (965) are auxiliary. Contrastive features are that (a) (964) is "pre-head auxiliary" with the meaning 'have an opportunity', (b) while (965) is "post-head auxiliary" with the meaning 'successful gain/completion'. Thus, Enfield's interpretation that *duqv* means 'to have the chance to V' concurs with Matisoff's (a) in (964).

However, with regard to (965), unlike Enfield's analysis, *duqv* does not take "descriptive complement" (2002:331) but in fact it takes the NP *i hnyangx sou* [two year book] 'two years of education'. As will be seen, our analysis is different to his. We would rather consider *duqv* in all (964), (965), and (966) as "attainment aspectual verb" following Li (1991:25-58). Especially, we have a doubt about Enfield's two kinds of translations in (966):

|       |  |               |              |              |                  |  |
|-------|--|---------------|--------------|--------------|------------------|--|
| (966) | <i>Yie</i>   | <i>duqv</i>   | <i>mingh</i> | <i>ndiev</i> | <i>lau-gaai.</i> |  |
|       | ເຢີ່ຍ  | ຕຸ້           | ມິ່ງ         | ເດືອກ        | ເລາ-ກາຍ.         |  |
|       | iə†  | tu?]          | minj†        | diə†         | lau† ka:i†       |  |
|       | 1 SG   | rslt.prr.evnt | go           | loc          | L.               |  |
|       | i. 'I have to go to Lao Cai.'  |               |              |              |                  |  |
|       | ii 'I (will) get to go to Lao Cai.'                                      |               |              |              |                  |  |
|       | (data from Iu Mien in Sapa, Vietnam and translation by Enfield 2003:332) |               |              |              |                  |  |

In Thailand Iu Mien, the most common interpretation of (966) is 'I went to Lao Cai', and secondarily, Enfield's second interpretation (i.e. future tense) is also possible depending on context, but definitely not 'I have to go...'. An obligation 'have to, must' in Thailand Iu Mien is expressed by *oix.zuqc* 'must' or simply by *zuqc* as in *yie zuqc mingh* 'I have do go', but not *duqv*. Furthermore, his description that the preverbal use refers to 'result of prior event' (2002:158) is not the case in Iu Mien in Thailand.

So far in Thailand Iu Mien (ii), (iii) and (v) are not found. Therefore, Enfield's claim has to be amended: "Thus, it is established that Mien *tu?*<sup>42</sup> performs the basic range of functions performed by ACQUIRE in the languages examined already in this work" (2002:332). Enfield's (ii) 'know and be able to perform (something)' is

expressed by *haih* in Iu Mien. His (v) could be better analysed as “**attainment aspect**” (following Li (1991) for Hmong) in the case of Iu Mien in Thailand.

Strangely, Enfield’s following two examples (967) and (968) do not fit any of the above (i) – (v):

|       |                                |                    |                                |
|-------|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| (967) | <i>tiuv</i>                    | <b><i>duqv</i></b> | <i>siepv</i>                   |
|       | ທົວ                            | ດູ                 | ເຊື້ອບ                         |
|       | t <sup>h</sup> iu <sup>v</sup> | tu? <sup>v</sup>   | s <sup>j</sup> ep <sup>v</sup> |
|       | run                            | manner.complement  | fast                           |
|       | ‘(He) runs/can run fast.’      |                    |                                |
|       | (Enfield 2003:331)             |                    |                                |

|       |                          |                                |                    |  |                   |                  |
|-------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------|--|-------------------|------------------|
| (968) | <i>yie</i>               | <i>muangx</i>                  | <b><i>duqv</i></b> | [ <i>hiuv</i>                                  | <i>Mienh</i>      | <i>waac</i> ].   |
|       | ເຢີ                      | ໝາງ                            | ດູ                 | [ຫິວ   | ມື່ນ              | ໜ່ວ].            |
|       | iə <sup>v</sup>          | m <sup>w</sup> aŋ <sup>v</sup> | tu? <sup>v</sup>   | hiu <sup>v</sup>                               | miən <sup>v</sup> | wa: <sup>v</sup> |
|       | 1SG                      | listen                         | rslt.comp          | know   | Mien              | language         |
|       | ‘I can understand Mien.’ |                                |                    | (Matisff 1991:420, quoted in Enfield 2002:331) |                   |                  |

If his (iv) is extended to include postverbal descriptive complement constructions, (967) and (968) should be categorised in it. Even though (967) and (968) are placed under such category in Enfield (2003:331), they have no place to fit in any of (i) - (v) on pages 157-8; (iii) in page 158 is intransitive and (iv) includes only postverbal modal ‘can’. Alternatively our analysis subsumes examples like (967) and (968) under a subcategory of the **attainment aspect**.

### 17.2.2 Five Functions of *duqv* in Iu Mien in Thailand

Having finished reviewing Enfield’s five functions of *daj*<sup>4</sup> in Lao, we propose the five functions of *duqv* in Iu Mien of Thailand. We propose the following five functions:

- (i) *Duqv* as a main transitive verb ‘to get, come to have (something)’ (same as Enfield’s (i))
- (ii) An intransitive *duqv* in the sense ‘will do’, ‘it’s enough’, ‘it’s OK, I agree’. (similar to Enfield’s (iii) only in the sense it is intransitive verb)
- (iii) Postverbal *duqv* in the modal sense ‘can’. (same as Enfield’s (iv))

The following two types are **attainment aspectual** usages:

- (iv) Postverbal descriptive complement-taking *duqv* in the construction [V *duqv* X] ‘V by successfully X’. An attained complement X can be a clause or an NP.
- (v) Preverbal attainment aspectual *duqv* meaning ‘to have the chance to V’ and ‘to get to V’. (similar to Enfield’s (v) except his designation “an enabling factor of prior event” or the interpretation ‘have to’ or ‘must’.)

All of these have been demonstrated by our own data in addition to Enfield’s discussion in the previous section. We will focus on what differs to his analyses, namely (iv) and (v) in the next section from the perspective of benefactives.

### 17.3 Benefactive Use of *duqv*: Attainment Aspect

Inspired by Li (1991), Arisawa (2008) argued that *duqv* as the attainment aspectual marker epistemologically connects the speaker with the event or the state of affairs in the world whether it is expressed in a clause or an NP. A further step is made to subsume the **attainment aspect** of *duqv* into the contrastive parameter between the **benefactive** and the **malefactive** so that the discussion on the verb *zuqc* ‘to touch’ will also be included.

#### 17.3.1 Postverbal Benefactive *duqv*

The postverbal benefactive *duqv* taking an NP is exemplified as in (969):

|       |  |              |                    |             |                  |             |
|-------|--|--------------|--------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|
| (969) | <i>Yie</i>   | <i>zorqv</i> | <b><i>duqv</i></b> | <i>dauh</i> | <i>nda'maauh</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |
|       | ເຢີ  | ເຕະວ         | ດູ                 | ເດ້າ        | ດະມ່ວ            | ອື່ນ.       |
|       | ເອົາ   | tsɔʔ˥        | tu?˥               | tau˥        | da ma:u˥         | a?˥         |
|       | 1SG  | seize        | GET                | CLF         | tiger            | NSIT        |
|       | ‘I’ve just successfully managed to catch the tiger.’ |              |                    |             |                  |             |
|       | (A Story of Aahan, Arisawa (2006:264))               |              |                    |             |                  |             |

The postverbal benefactive *duqv* taking a clause as a complement is illustrated in (970):

|                      |  |              |               |                |              |
|----------------------|--|--------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|
| (970 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>O::v!</i>                               | <i>lungh</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | “ <i>Dungz</i> | <i>jaic.</i> |
|                      | ໄອ!  | ລູ່ງ         | ກົ່ອງ         | “ດູ້ງ          | ຈິ່.         |
|                      | — <i>o::</i>                               | luŋ˥         | kɔŋ˥          | tuŋ˥           | caɪ˥         |
|                      | INTJ                                       | sky          | say           | pig            | thin         |
|                      | ‘O! the sky said “(That) pig is (so) thin’ |              |               |                |              |

- (970<sup>-2</sup>) *Norq cjaangv nyau duqv [faaux lungh nyet]” norh.*  
 ເກນະຈຳຈາງ ໄກ້າ ຕື່ ແກ້ວ ສູງ ໄກູບ]” ນໍອ.  
 nɔ? ca:n̩y̩ tu?l fə:u lūŋ̩ nei l nɔ:l  
 eagle grab GET ascend sky ASST RPOT  
 ‘(that) an eagle is able to grab it into the sky!”’  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauh Jaauz;00.06.45-49)

Noting that the postverbal *duqv* precedes another verb *faaux* ‘to ascend’, taking the complement clause. This *duqv* in relation to *faaux* is an auxiliary denoting achievement ‘manage to ascend’ (cf. Enfield 2007:243 for Lao *daj*), thus benefactive.

### 17.3.2 Preverbal Benefactive *duqv*

The preverbal benefactive *duqv* meaning ‘to have the chance to V’ and ‘to get to V’ is illustrated as in (971).

- (971) *Mv gaengh duqv yiem yietc dangh.*  
 ມ ແກ້ງ ຕື່ ເມີມ ເຫັນ ຕັ້ງ.  
 m̩ kəŋ̩ tu?l jem̩ jet̩ tan̩  
 NEG yet GET be.in one short.while  
 ‘(We) did not have a chance to be in (that house) for a minute.’  
 (ium\_20130528\_08\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng\_TheEndOfThisAge\_KMB;00.07.53-6)

The description of the drought in the “Sea Crossing Odyssey” contains an example of this kind as in (972):

- (972) *Zuangx ga'naaiv / mv duqv nyanc.*  
 ຫດວັງ ກະນ້າຍ / ມ ຕື່ ແຜູ້ນ.  
 ts<sup>w</sup>aŋ̩ ka na:i m̩ tu?l jaŋ̩  
 plant thing NEG GET eat  
 ‘Though people planted seeds, they didn’t get to eat (the harvest).’  
 (ium\_20150511\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;01.09.34-5)

Enfield (2003:150-3) argues for Lao that the preverbal *daj*<sup>4</sup> can express formality and politeness mainly because of (i) the objectiveness derived from “distancing the predication in the VP from the direct responsibility of the subject” and (ii) phonological “wordiness”. As to the similar use of the preverbal negative-*duqv* in the refusal of an offer, we propose an alternative reasoning from the perspective of

benefactive nature of the construction. That is, a politeness in refusal comes from the denial of the speaker's own benefit exemplified as in (973):

- (973) *Tov zuiz, njang.hnoi yie mv duqv mingh.*  
 ໄຟ້ ໜູ້ຢີ, ນັງ.ຮນອຍ ເບີຍ ມີ ຕຸ້ ມິງ.  
*t<sup>h</sup>oŋ ts<sup>w</sup>iŋ jaŋt<sup>h</sup>oi iəl m<sup>h</sup> tuʔl miŋ*  
 beseech sin tomorrow 1SG NEG GET go  
 'I am sorry I might not be able to come (to respond to your invitation/appointment with you) tomorrow.'  
 (Field Notes 20150428, p. 23, GF\_KMB)

### 17.3.3 Mid-verbs Benefactive *duqv*

A variation of the preverbal benefactive *duqv* is in the structure [V1 *duqv* V2] meaning 'an attempt of V1 with the successful resultative attainment of V2'. The construction in the affirmative in (974)(a repetition of (172<sup>-3</sup>)) and in the interrogative in (975)(a repetition of (181<sup>-13</sup>)) are illustrated:

- (974) *hnangv.naaic aengv duqv taux ninh.*  
 (172<sup>-3</sup>) ຂນ້ຳ.ໜ່າຍ ແອິງ ຕຸ້ ເຕາ ນິ້ນ.  
*n<sup>h</sup>aŋŋ<sup>h</sup> na:iŋ t<sup>h</sup>au<sup>h</sup> nin*  
 so.that echo GET reach 3SG  
 'so that (your voice of calling him) can reach him.'  
 (ium\_20150810\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Sesqui\_Cmpd\_MC;00.04.50-7)

- (975) *Meih hnangv haaix nor guangc duqv ndutv?*  
 (181<sup>-13</sup>) ເມື່ຂ ຂນ້ຳ ທ່າຂ ນອ ກວ້ຳ ຕຸ້ ດຶດ?  
*meiŋ n<sup>h</sup>aŋŋ<sup>h</sup> haa:iŋ nɔŋ k<sup>w</sup>aŋ<sup>h</sup> tuʔl dut*  
 2 like how as abandon be.able detach  
 'How did you manage to give it up?'  
 (ium\_c1967\_01\_Aristocrat\_#Burgess\_Gueix-Seng\_GR-Tape1-Trk1;00.03.43-00.04.12)

More details of the mid-verbs benefactive *duqv* is discussed under the heading "involvement modality" (affective, active, accomplishment) in Arisawa (2008:5-8).

## 17.4 Basic Meaning of /tsuʔ]/ zuqc ‘TOUCH’

This section is concerned with a polysemous verb /tsuʔ]/ zuqc, whose wide meaning range covers ‘to be correct, hit, make contact with’. These are divided into three senses by Purnell (2012:817-8):

- 1) v. (1) to hit, meet, make contact with; (2) to have something done to one by another person (Usage: This is a secondary verb used as a marker or complement of successful result, whether the effect is positive or negative)
- 2) v. to be exactly right, correct, right on
- 3) part. indicator of the passive (with unfavourable consequences)

As a starting point of the discussion on zuqc, an example of the sense 2) is glossed with the maximum breadth as in (976):

|       |                                       |      |               |  |         |
|-------|---------------------------------------|------|---------------|--|---------|
| (976) | Gorngv                                | duqv | zuqc          |  | nyei.   |
|       | ກ້ອງ                                  | ດູ   | ຫຼຸດ          |  | ເນື່ອຍ. |
|       | kɔŋ                                   | tuʔ] | tsuʔ]         |  | nei̥]   |
|       | say                                   | GET  | hit.correctly |  | ASST    |
|       | ‘to speak or say something correctly’ |      |               |  |         |
|       | (Purnell 2012:818)                    |      |               |  |         |

We hypothesise that the sense 2) ‘to be exactly right, correct, right on’ is extended to the sense 1) ‘to hit, meet, make contact with’, and by analogy to the sense 3) ‘indicator of the passive with unfavourable consequences’. The underlying central meaning is proposed to be an accidental correct hit or touch. From this, two major derivations are proposed: the non-volitional contact and the malefactive contact.

## 17.5 Non-volitional Contact-zuqc ‘TOUCH’

How the Iu Mien arrived at Guei Ziou, an alleged landing point in *Guǎngdōng* province (廣東省) after the Sea-Crossing Odyssey is described as in (977)(a repetition of (3<sup>-19</sup>)):

|                     |   |       |      |       |        |                 |                |          |
|---------------------|---|-------|------|-------|--------|-----------------|----------------|----------|
| (977)               | Ndortv  | zuqc  | ninh | mbuo  | nyei   | ..er..          | Gueix Ziou     | fouv,    |
| (3 <sup>-19</sup> ) | ດົວດ  | ຫຼຸດ  | ນິ້ນ | ນ້ຳ   | ເນື່ອຍ | .. <i>ເວີ..</i> | ເກົ່າບ ເລື້ຍາ  | ໄຟ້ວ,    |
|                     | dɔt̚]   | tsuʔ] | nin] | buḁ] | nei̥]  | ə:              | kʷei̥] tsʰəu̥] | fəu̥]    |
|                     | fall  | TOUCH | 3    | PL    | SBCP   | HEST            | Guìzhōu        | province |
|                     | ‘(they) ended up landing on Guìzhōu province.’    |       |      |       |        |                 |                |          |
|                     | (ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist;00.01.51-5) |       |      |       |        |                 |                |          |

Their arrival at a certain place was beyond their control, which is expressed by *zuqc*, the indicator of an accidental contact.

The unwanted contact is expressed in an example (978):

- (978) *Naaiv maaih haaix.nyungc paanx zuqc yie mbuo?*  
 น້າຍ ມ່າຍ ທ້າຍ.ຫຼູງ ພານ ແຫຼຸກ ເຢີຍ ບ້ວ?  
*nai:ŋ ma:iŋ ha:iŋ nyungŋ pʰa:nŋ tsu?ŋ iəŋ bənəŋ*  
 this have what involve TOUCH<sub>ADVS</sub> 1 PL  
 ‘What does this have to do with us?’  
 (Purnell 2012:627)

Non-volitional verb *zuqc* ‘TOUCH’ can express modesty of a speaker as in (979<sup>1</sup>):

- (979<sup>1</sup>) ... *yaac goux, goux, goux.jiu-baang.mienh*  
 ... ໂຍໍາ ໄກ້ວ, ໄກ້ວ, ໄກ້ວ.ຈິວ-ປັງ.ເມືອນ  
*ja:ŋ kəuŋ kəuŋ kəuŋ ciuŋ pa:ŋŋ mienŋ*  
 also care.for care.for church.caretaker  
 ‘(at that time in that village) I also took care of... took care of... I was a church caretaker.’

- (979<sup>2</sup>) *yiem wuov Huay Jo....*  
 ເຢີມ ວ້ວ ຫ້ວຍ ໂຈ....  
*jemŋ uəŋ hʷeiŋ coŋ*  
 be.at there Huay Jo  
 ‘in that Huay Jo village’

- (979<sup>3</sup>) *Janx-Kaeqv yaac yie goux zuqc.*  
 ຈັ້ນ-ແຄວ ໂຍໍາ ເຢີຍ ໄກ້ວ ແຫຼຸກ.  
*canŋ kʰεʔŋ ja:ŋ iəŋ kəuŋ tsu?ŋ*  
 Chinese also 1SG care.for TOUCH  
 ‘I happened to be responsible for Chinese church too (besides the Iu Mien church).’  
 (ium\_20140226\_01\_H1\_DA\_CN\_LiepcJiuBaang;00.00.41-48)

Before reaching *zuqc* ‘TOUCH’ in the third line, the speaker has already started showing his hesitation of boasting by the repetition of *goux* ‘to take care of...’ at the outset (979<sup>1</sup>). While a sentence without *zuqc* as in *Janx-Kaeqv yaac yie goux* ‘I was also responsible for Chinese church’ sounds quite proud, the actual example shows the

speaker's humble attitude by the use of the non-volitional verb (979<sup>-3</sup>). It is in a sense that “contrary to my intention, I was thrown into touch with the caretaker position of Chinese church as well”.

Non-volitional verb *zuqc* ‘TOUCH’ can express regret and apology of a speaker as in (980<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|  |                   |                        |                     |             |             |              |
|--|-------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| (980 <sup>-1</sup> )   | <i>Tov</i>        | <i>zuiz, a'hmuangx</i> | <i>ndanc</i>        | <i>zuqc</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>mbuo.</i> |
|  | ໄຟ້               | ຜູ້ຢືນ, ອະຫຍມວັງ       | ດັ່ນ                | ໜຸ້ມ        | ເມືຂ        | ນ້າວ.        |
|  | t <sup>h</sup> oŋ | ts <sup>w</sup> iŋ     | a m <sup>w</sup> aŋ | dan         | tsuʔ        | mei          |
| ask.for sin last.night irritate TOUCH 2 PL                               |                   |                        |                     |             |             |              |
| 'I apologise to you for bothering you (two by making noise) last night.' |                   |                        |                     |             |             |              |

|   |            |                     |             |               |              |
|---|------------|---------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| (980 <sup>-2</sup> )                        | <i>Yie</i> | <i>caux</i>         | <i>ninh</i> | <i>nzaeng</i> | <i>jaax.</i> |
|   | ເຢີຍ       | ເຫັນ                | ນິ້ນ        | ແພັງ          | ຈ້າ.         |
|   | iət        | ts <sup>h</sup> auŋ | nin         | dze:ŋ         | ca:ŋ         |
|   | 1SG        | accompany           | 2SG         | quarrel       | RECP         |
| 'I had a quarrel with him.'                 |            |                     |             |               |              |
| (attested, 20140307. speaker de-identified) |            |                     |             |               |              |

Non-volitional verb *zuqc* ‘TOUCH’ is also used in a situation of confession of wrongdoing as in (981):

|   |            |              |             |                    |                    |
|---|------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (981)                                       | <i>Yie</i> | <i>longc</i> | <i>zuqc</i> | <i>domh.zuangx</i> | <i>nyaanh.</i>     |
|   | ເຢີຍ       | හລ່າງ        | ໜຸ້ມ        | ຕົ້ມ.ຫົວວັງ        | ຄູ່ກ່ານ.           |
|   | iət        | loŋ          | tsuʔ        | tom                | ts <sup>w</sup> aŋ |
|   | 1SG        | use          | TOUCH       | big.everyone       | money              |
| 'It happened that I used the public money.' |            |              |             |                    |                    |
| (attested. speaker and date de-identified)  |            |              |             |                    |                    |

The meaning is “I didn't mean to but I fell into touching the (unauthorised) public money contrary to my intention”. The sentence has a tone of both courageous honesty and recognition of defeated and compromised integrity.

Furthermore, *zuqc* can express a non-forceful attitude to the listener as in (982):

|       |   |             |             |               |              |
|-------|---|-------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| (982) | <i>Yiem</i>   | <i>zuqc</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|       | ເຢີມ  | ຫ້າງ        | ແມ່ຍ        | ກົ່ວຈ         | ໄສງຍ.        |
|       | jem↑  | tsu?↓       | mei↓        | kɔŋ↑          | nei↑         |
|       | be.in   | TOUCH       | 2SG         | say           | ASST         |
|       | ‘It’s up to you how you say.’                         |             |             |               |              |
|       | (ium_20150429_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.19.07-9) |             |             |               |              |

## 17.6 Malefactive Contact-*zuqc*: Does Iu Mien Have Passive Constructions?

Whether or not Iu Mien has a passive construction depends on how we define it. To conclude at the outset, in this study we postulate that Iu Mien does not have a passive construction. Dixon (1994) defines a passive as follows:

- (a) applies to an underlyingly transitive clause and forms a derived intransitive;
- (b) the underlying O NP becomes S of the passive;
- (c) the underlying A NP goes into a peripheral function, being marked by a non-core case, preposition, etc.; this NP can be omitted, although there is always the option of including it;
- (d) there is some explicit formal marking of a passive construction (generally, by a verbal affix or else by a periphrastic element in the verb phrase—such as English *be...-en*—although it could be marked elsewhere in the clause). (Dixon 1994:146)

However, before reaching that conclusion, a comparison with Thai, the language of the region with which Iu Mien is in contact, may be appropriate because *thùuk* in Thai has both original meaning of ‘to touch’ and the derived meaning of passive marker as *zuqc* in Iu Mien also has the sense ‘to touch’. On the basis of her historical survey, Amara (2006) argues that Thai has a passive construction. If we adopt a definition employed in Amara’s study of passive in Thai, Iu Mien does not have passive. Quoting Siewierska (1984), Amara (2006:116) presents three defining characteristics of passive:

- a. Its grammatical subject is the object of its corresponding active construction;
- b. The subject of the active counterpart is expressed in the passive in the form of an agentive adjunct or is left unexpressed;

- c. The verb in the passive construction corresponds to the transitive verb in the active counterpart and is marked passive. (Amara 2006:116)

On the other hand, if we follow Givón's serial-verb "adversive passive" (i.e. adversative passive), Iu Mien has it.

In some languages, the passive clause arises diachronically from, and still resembles structurally, an adversive serial-verb construction. In the process of grammaticalization, an adversive serial verb such as 'suffer' first becomes the grammaticalized marker of an adversive passive, as in Mandarin Chinese, Japanese, Thai or Vietnamese (Givón 2008:20).

An example Givón puts forth is from Mandarin by Li and Thompson 1981:494 (983a).

|                                   |           |            |                 |                  |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|------------------|
| (983a)                            | <i>tā</i> | <i>bèi</i> | <i>(gōngsi)</i> | <i>chèzhí-le</i> |
|                                   | 3sg       | suffer     | (company)       | fire-pfv         |
| ‘s/he was fired (by the company)’ |           |            |                 |                  |

Compare (983a) with (983b) in Iu Mien:

|   |               |             |              |              |
|---|---------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| (983b)  | <i>(Ninh)</i> | <i>beic</i> | <i>mienh</i> | <i>hoic.</i> |
|   | (ນິ້ນ)        | ເບີຍ        | ເມື່ອນ       | ຫ້ອຍ.        |
|   | nin\          | pei\        | miən\        | hɔi\         |
| 3SG      suffer     person     harm(v)<br>'He/she was harmed by someone, became a victim, prosecuted.'<br>(Purnell 2012:27) |               |             |              |              |

It is suggested that the latter sense of passive, i.e., the adversive/adversative passive construction, exists in Iu Mien, whether adopting Fuller's (1985:56) term "adversity passive" or Givón's (2008:20) "adversive passive". This sense of passive corresponds with the *thùuk* passive marker at the sixth stage of the eight historical developments in Thai studied by Amara (2006). The use of *zuqc* 'to hit, meet, make contact with' (Purnell 2012:817) has not reached the stages of the seventh (auxiliary verb for neutral passive) nor the eighth (grammatical marker for passive) found by Amara in Thai.

We would like to propose that the problem of passive construction in Iu Mien should be analysed in the same framework introduced in Ch 17, the egocentric viewing arrangement, in terms of "Is it good or bad for me?", i.e., benefactive or malefactive to ego, the first person speaker; (or auto-benefactive or auto-malefactive to the affected when she/he is a participant, not the speaker, in a sentence).

Compare (984a) and (984b):

|        |              |               |             |
|--------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| (984a) | <i>Ninh</i>  | <i>mborqv</i> | <i>yie.</i> |
|        | ນິ້ນ         | ເມົ້ງວ        | ເອີບ.       |
|        | nin\         | bɔ?]          | iə\         |
|        | 3SG          | hit           | 1 SG        |
|        | 'He hit me.' |               |             |

|        |                     |                    |             |                |
|--------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------|----------------|
| (984b) | <i>Yie</i>          | <b><i>zuqc</i></b> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mborqv.</i> |
|        | ເຢີຍ                | ຫະຸກ               | ນິ້ນ        | ເມົ້ງວ.        |
|        | iə\                 | tsu?]              | nin\        | bɔ?]           |
|        | 1 SG                | TOUCH              | 3SG         | hit            |
|        | 'I was hit by him.' |                    |             |                |

(Field Notes 20140503 GF\_KMB)

To the inquiry which of the two constructions is felt more hurtful, the native speaker consultant's response is (984b). The explanation is that while (984a) describes an event objectively, (984b) expresses more emotion. An interesting difference in comparison with the English passive construction is revealed. In English the passive is sometimes used to demote the agent or to mitigate the impact of an actor whereas the active sentence *He hit me* would be more violent. In Iu Mien, however, the adversative passive is more affective and subjective to the speaker. Thus, the malefactive contact-*zuqc* encodes subjectivity.

Let us modify Langacker's "optimal viewing arrangement" presented in Figure 62 (Langacker 1987:129) in order to express malefactive experience of ego/SELF. Figure 65, where 'S' stands for the viewer/speaker, or the SELF; and 'O' for other or object. The active construction (984a) is depicted in (a) in Figure 65 where the impact of hitting is directed to S objectively. On the other hand, the malefactive touch construction (984b) is schematised in (b), where the hitting touches S subjectively.

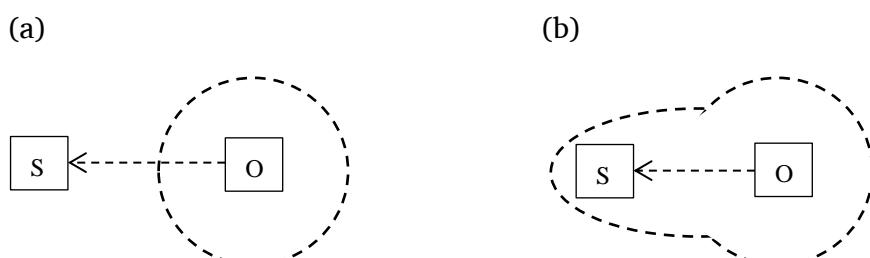


Figure 65. Malefactive experience viewed objectively versus subjectively

By now it would be clear why *duqv* and *zuqc* are treated as an polar concepts in terms of benefactive and malefactive to ego (or auto-benefactive and auto-malefactive to the recipient of the effect of an action/event). Compare (984b) and (985<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (984b) *Yie zuqc ninh mborqv.*  
 ໃມ່ຍ ຂ້າ ນິ້ນ ເມື່ງ.  
 iə́ tsu?↓ nin↓ bɔ?↑  
 1 SG TOUCH 3SG hit  
 'I was hit by him.'  
 (Field Notes 20140503 GF\_KMB)

- (985<sup>-1</sup>) *Ninh mbuo a'hneiv mienh ceng ninh mbuo*  
 ນິ້ນ ບ້າວ ອະເຫັນໜ້າ ເມື່ຍນ ເຮັງ ນິ້ນ ບ້າວ  
 nin↓ buə↑ a nei↑ mien↓ tsʰeŋ↑ nin↓ buə↑  
 3 PL be.happy people praise 3 PL  
 'They loved human praise'

- (985<sup>-2</sup>) *gauh camv [duqv Tin-Hungh ceng].*  
 ແກ້າ ທີ່ນ [ດູກວ ຖິນ-ຫຼັງ ເຮັງ].  
 kau↓ tsʰam↑ tu?↑ tʰin↓ hunj↓ tsʰeŋ↑  
 more be.many GET God praise  
 'more than praise from God.'

(*The Gospel according to St. John 12:43. Iu Mien Bible*, Thailand Bible Society, translation in *New International Version*.  
<http://thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php>)

## 17.7 *daaih /ta:i↓/ ‘to come’ and mingh /minj↓/ ‘to go’*

When the directional verb *daaih* ‘to come’ occurs in a construction and denotes no physical movement or traverse, then it should be considered to be an aspectual marker or a benefactive marker.

Three different use of *daaih* in the same connected narrative discourse of *Piu-Yiu Jiex Koiv* ‘The Sea Crossing Odyssey’ (§2.2.3) are presented below:

*Daaih* meaning physical/spatial traverse:

|                     |                                |                  |                                |                                  |                                |                     |                  |                 |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (986)               | <i>Biaux</i>                   | <i>jiex</i>      | <i>koiv,</i>                   | <i>nzaeng</i>                    | <i>jienv</i>                   | <b><i>daaih</i></b> | <i>gau</i>       | <i>aeqv,</i>    |
| (3 <sup>-17</sup> ) | ແບ້າ                           | ເຈື້ຍ            | ກ້ອຍ,                          | ແຫງ                              | ເຈື້ນ                          | ທ້າຍ                | ເກາ              | ແອ້ວ,           |
|                     | p <sup>j</sup> au <sup>↓</sup> | ciə <sup>↓</sup> | k <sup>h</sup> ɔi <sup>↓</sup> | dze: <sup>ŋ</sup> u <sup>↓</sup> | c <sup>j</sup> en <sup>↓</sup> | tai: <sup>↓</sup>   | kau <sup>↓</sup> | ɛ? <sup>↓</sup> |
|                     | escape                         | pass             | sea                            | paddle                           | CONT                           | come                | after.which      | PDP             |

‘As they crossed the sea, after coming by paddling,’

*Daaih* as the aspectual marker:

|                     |                    |                   |                 |                 |                     |                   |                  |                |
|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|
| (987)               | <i>Yietc zungv</i> | <i>aec</i>        | <i>ngorc</i>    | <i>nzengc</i>   | <b><i>daaih</i></b> | <i>yiem</i>       | <i>mv</i>        | <i>jienv.</i>  |
| (3 <sup>-12</sup> ) | ເຫີບດ ຜູ້ງ         | ແອ                | ໜ່ອ             | ເຫັກ            | ທ້າຍ                | ເລື້ມ             | ນີ້              | ເຈື້ນ.         |
|                     | jet <sup>↓</sup>   | tsun <sup>↓</sup> | ε: <sup>↓</sup> | ຖວ <sup>↓</sup> | dzen <sup>↓</sup>   | tai: <sup>↓</sup> | jem <sup>↓</sup> | m <sup>↓</sup> |

‘Everything HEST starve CONSUME COME live NEG be.stable  
‘Everything, well, got drought all together and could not survive.’

*Daaih* indicates an achievement obtained:

|                     |                  |                  |                   |                     |                 |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| (988)               | <i>gapv</i>      | <i>domh</i>      | <i>nzangv</i>     | <b><i>daaih</i></b> | <i>aeqv,</i>    |
| GZ                  | ກົນ              | ດົ່ມ             | ທັງ               | ທ້າຍ                | ແອັະ            |
| (1 <sup>-16</sup> ) | kap <sup>↓</sup> | tom <sup>↓</sup> | dzaŋ <sup>↓</sup> | tai: <sup>↓</sup>   | ɛ? <sup>↓</sup> |

assemble big boat COME PDP  
‘they assembled large boats and then,’

An aspectual marking *mingh* ‘GO’ does not refer to an object’s physical/spatial traverse but denotes a departure of benefit, privilege, fortune etc. from the speaker as in (989):

|       |  |                   |                  |                   |                      |
|-------|--|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| (989) | <i>Domh</i>  | <i>mienh</i>      | <i>daic</i>      | <i>nzengc</i>     | <b><i>mingh.</i></b> |
|       | ດົ່ມ   | ເມື່ນ             | ໄດ້              | ເຫັກ              | ມິຈ.                 |
|       | tom <sup>↓</sup>   | miən <sup>↓</sup> | tai <sup>↓</sup> | dzen <sup>↓</sup> | min <sup>↓</sup>     |
|       | big  | person            | die              | CONSUME           | GO                   |
|       | ‘(His) both parents have died all.’  |                   |                  |                   |                      |
|       | (ium_20140403_04_SonyHDR-MV1_DA_BungzCunFouv_Nda'maauh JaauzNyeiGouv;00.01.03-5) |                   |                  |                   |                      |

A combination of *zuqc* ‘TOUCH<sub>ADVERSATIVE</sub>’ and *mingh* ‘GO’ in the sense of “loss of fortune” can occur. Despite the double misfortune in the combination, the expression depicts a voluntary, determined, and on-going fight against adversity as in (990<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (990<sup>-1</sup>) *Maaih deix mienh naaic*  
 ມ້າຍ ເຕີຍ ເມື່ນ ນໍາຍ  
*ma:iŋ teiŋ miənŋ na:iŋ*  
 have some people TOP  
 ‘As far as some people [God’s servants] are concerned,
- (990<sup>-2</sup>) *mv.baac za'gengh zuqc guangc jienv<sup>225</sup> maengc mingh*  
 ມັປ໏ ອະະເກິ່ງ ຂອງ ກວ້າ ເລື້ນ ແມ່ງ ມື່ງ  
*m̥ŋ pa:ŋ tsa kerŋ tsu?ŋ kʷanŋ c'enŋ meŋŋ miŋŋ*  
 but really TOUCH sacrifice CONT life GO  
 however, they had to keep going forward till actually sacrificing their lives.’  
 (ium\_20140420\_02\_H1\_DA\_SpkerDeIdentified\_Martyr;00.02.43-6)

The maleficative *mingh* is in (991<sup>-2</sup>), and *daaih* is used in an unhappy situation in (991<sup>-3</sup>). The latter is in this case the PERFECT aspect:

- (991<sup>-1</sup>) *Taux ndaamv-jauv*  
 ເຕາ ນໍາມ-ເຈົ້າ  
*tʰauŋ da:mŋ cauŋ*  
 reach half-way  
 ‘On the way,’
- (991<sup>-2</sup>) *mienh zorqv nzengc (yie mbuo) in mingh*  
 ເມື່ນ ເຫກ ເຫຼຳ (ຢືຍ ບັງ) ອິນ ມື່ງ  
*miənŋ tsɔ?ŋ dzeŋŋ iøŋ bueŋ inŋ miŋŋ*  
 people take CONSUME 1 PL opium GO  
 ‘(Thai) people confiscated our opium,’
- (991<sup>-3</sup>) *Hnyouv mv baeng-orn daaih.*  
 ເຮັດວຽບ ມີ ແປົງ-ອອນ ຕ້າຍ.  
*ŋ̥jøv m̥ŋ baengŋ œnŋ ta:iŋ*  
 heart NEG be.peaceful COME  
 ‘(so) we have become restless in our heart.’  
 (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.11.12-5)

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<sup>225</sup> In reality if one gave up his/her life, one cannot live on, which is seemingly contradictory to the presence of the continuous aspectual marker *jienv*. But here the meaning of the continuous aspectual marker is an on-going self-denial while still alive to the point of a sacrificial actual death.

## 17.8 Summary of Chapter 17

This chapter has analysed two sets of contrastive verbs: *duqv* ‘GET’ and *zuqc* ‘TOUCH’, and *daaih* ‘COME’ and *mingh* ‘GO’. They were analysed in terms of benefactive and malefactive in relation to ego; in other words, “Is the event, situation, state of affairs good or bad to the speaker?” Additionally, the extended use of the ego-centric view point regarding *duqv* and *zuqc* applied to the recipient of the effect of an action/event was also shown in terms of the auto-benefactive/auto-malefactive to the participant in a sentence; namely, “Is the event, situation, state of affairs good or bad to the participant?” The egocentric viewing of events are useful to analyse the spatial constructions in Chapter 16 and the concept of benefactive and malefactive in Chapter 17.

Reviewing and applying partially Enfield’s five functions of *daj<sup>4</sup>* in Lao to Iu Mien, three constructions of *duqv* were discussed: the postverbal benefactive, preverbal benefactive, and the mid-verbs benefactive. *Duqv* functions to connect the speaker with the world in the favourable state.

In contrast, *zuqc* denotes the malefactive contact between the speaker and the world. The adversative passive using *zuqc* was explained in this framework utilizing the Langacker’s subjectivity/objectivity parameter.

Also the aspectually grammaticalised *daaih* and *mingh* were analysed within the same frame of benefactive and malefactive.

This chapter’s embracing idea is that *duqv* and *zuqc* connect a speaker with the world. Now we will turn to consider how one clause connects to the other: the clause linking methods.

# Chapter 18

## SENTENCES COMPRISING LINKED CLAUSES

### 18.1 Introduction

In this chapter, four kinds of clause linking relations are discussed. They are juxtaposition, coordination (i.e. parataxis), subordination (i.e. hypotaxis), and complementation (i.e. embedded clauses as a direct object of certain verbs).

Longacre's (2007:372-420) account that sentences are "combinations of clauses" applies to Iu Mien. Sentences in Iu Mien comprise various types of clauses in the above mentioned three relations (i.e. coordination, subordination, and complementation) and these combinations are bound or grounded by optional SFPs. These four relations are schematised as:

- Sentence (ST) = Clause (CL)<sup>1</sup> – Clause<sup>2</sup> (juxtaposition)
- ST = CL<sup>1</sup> – Conjunction – CL<sup>2</sup> (coordination)
- ST = [CL<sup>1</sup> – SubordinatingMarker]<sub>SUBORDINATE</sub> – [CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> (subordination)
  - Variant: ST = [CL<sup>1</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> – [SubordinatingMarker – CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub>
- ST = CL<sup>1</sup> ⟨CL<sup>2</sup>⟩ (complementation)

Juxtaposition and coordination are categorised in the parataxis, which are quite straightforward.

Hypotaxis operates on two different principles in regard to the order of subordinate clause and main clause: one is the principle of topic and focus, the other, the principle of iconicity. Except the variant sentence pattern (i.e. the main clause placed at the sentence-initial position), here again the overall structure of margin-nucleus (i.e. the margin is on the left, nucleus the right) is evident. That is, the subordinate clause always occurs first (i.e. on the left) followed by the main clause (on the right). This works on the basis of the topic-focus order. Three exceptions to this order, however, are the cases of the purpose clause, the reason clause, and the simile clause, which often occur at the end of the sentence. The fact that the subordinate clauses occurring sentence-finally, i.e., in the focal point, seemingly violates the principle of the right-ward focus structure (as a part of the second principle or RMF, viz., right-ward multilayered focus structure. See §4.2.1). The rationale to these phenomena will be given based on iconicity: a concrete event is stated in a main clause which is stated first in the sentence, i.e., occurring sentence-initially or on the left; an abstract, additional information (purpose, reason, and

simile) follows that, being located sentence-finally. The speaker who observes a concrete event states it in the first position of the sentence, then adds supplement information at the end of the sentence. This order is intuitive, immediate to the actual event happening in front of the speaker's eyes, hence, iconic.

Complementation is argued in a simple way of presenting various examples of verbs that take a clause as a direct object. The main point in this presentation is that these verbs do not take a complementiser. Iu Mien does not mark the beginning of complement clause typically among the old generation speakers, in contrast to such a particle as *that* in English (e.g. *I believe that (he is coming to see us).*).

## 18.2 Parataxis

For clause coordination, the conjunction *yaac* ‘and’ is used. For nominal coordination the verb *caux* ‘to accompany with’ is used, e.g., *meih caux yie* [2SG accompany 1SG] ‘you and I’. Since this chapter as a whole is concerned with clause linking and the nominal coordination has already been discussed in §8.12, this section presents coordination at the clause level.

There are four types of coordination in Iu Mien as follows:

- CL<sup>1</sup>, CL<sup>2</sup> ‘CL<sup>1</sup> so/then CL<sup>2</sup>. (Juxtaposition)
- CL<sup>1</sup>*yaac* CL<sup>2</sup> ‘CL<sup>1</sup> and CL<sup>2</sup>. (Conjunctive coordination)
- CL<sup>1</sup>*mv.baac* CL<sup>2</sup> ‘CL<sup>1</sup> but CL<sup>2</sup>. (Adversative coordination)
- CL<sup>1</sup>*fai* CL<sup>2</sup> ‘CL<sup>1</sup> or CL<sup>2</sup>. (Disjunctive coordination)

### 18.2.1 Juxtaposition

Juxtaposition is “[r]elation of sequence between adjacent units” (P. H. Matthews 2007:209). At the sentence level, CL<sup>1</sup> and CL<sup>2</sup> are simply adjacent to each other without a conjunction. Court (1986:24) analyses this type of sentence as a “typical parataxis” as in (992):

|       |  |           |               |            |           |              |
|-------|--|-----------|---------------|------------|-----------|--------------|
| (992) | <i>Ninh</i>                                      | <i>mv</i> | <i>daaih,</i> | <i>yie</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>mingh</i> |
|       | ນິນ  | ມ້        | ດ້າຍ,         | ເຢີບ       | ມ້        | ມື່ງ         |
|       | nin↓   | m̥ŋ       | ta:i↓         | iə↑        | m̥ŋ       | min↓         |
|       | 3SG  | NEG       | come          | 1SG        | NEG       | go           |
|       | (a) ‘He is not coming, I am not going.’          |           |               |            |           |              |
|       | (b) ‘If/when he doesn’t come, I won’t/don’t go.’ |           |               |            |           |              |
|       | (Both translations by Court (1986:24))           |           |               |            |           |              |

The two interpretations (a) and (b) are both possible as Court provides the translations.

Various possible readings of a set of juxtaposed clauses are reduced to the most intended one by the context. The relationship of juxtaposed clauses occurring in an event that is customarily, culturally, situationally tightly perceived as one set can easily be understood without conjunctions. An example from a tightly connected procedure of a ritual performed by an Iu Mien spirit priest (*sai mienh*) is expressed by juxtaposition as in (993a<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|   |                         |                          |                               |
|---|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (993a <sup>-1</sup> )                                       | <i>Bun</i>              | <i>nzoih</i>             | <i>nzengcCL<sup>1</sup></i> , |
|   | ပုန်                    | အံ့ဩ                     | အော်မြင် CL1,                 |
|   | <i>pun</i> <sup>1</sup> | <i>dzoɪ</i> <sup>1</sup> | <i>dzeŋ</i> <sup>1</sup>      |
|   | give                    | PLEN                     | CONSUME                       |
| '(When the priest has) given (a spirit) all (paper money),' |                         |                          |                               |

|  |                         |                         |                             |   |
|--|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| (993a <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>mborqv</i>           | <i>duqv</i>             | <i>jaaux</i> <sup>226</sup> | <i>aqvCL<sup>2</sup></i> . <sup>227</sup> |
|  | မြို့ခာ                 | တို့                    | ချော်                       | ခိုး CL2.                                 |
|  | <i>bɔ?</i> <sup>1</sup> | <i>tu?</i> <sup>1</sup> | <i>ca:u</i> <sup>1</sup>    | <i>a?</i> <sup>1</sup>                    |
| strike      can      divination.piece      NSIT<br>(he) can (now) throw the divination pieces down (on the floor).'<br>(ium_c1970_03_CT_x_y_TradReligion_3_1;00.01.31-4) |                         |                         |                             |   |

The procedure of throwing the divination pieces being a tightly conventionalised step of one ritual, there is no need to use conjunctions to explicitly say what the relationship between CL<sup>1</sup> and CL<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>226</sup> Two pieces of wooden or bamboo, about 15 cm in length, are made from one piece that is split in half. A spirit priest (*sai mienh*) throws a pair of *jaaux* down on the floor to see how the two pieces lie. There are three possibilities how these pieces lie on the floor: (i) both pieces lie face-up (the insides of the split bamboo facing up, that is, *yaangh jaaux*), (ii) both pieces lie face-down (*yiem jaaux*), and (iii) one piece face-up and the other face-down (*saeng jaaux*). The spirit priest tells a spirit which of the three choices he (the priest) wants, then, throws the pair of *jaaux* down on the floor. As the pieces lie on the floor in one of the three possibilities, the priest interprets the meaning of what a spirit tells him. If the combination of lying of *jaaux* turns out as the priest has told a spirit, the answer from the spirit's world to him is correct or affirmative. If the form after throwing differs from what the priest has told to a spirit, he would interprets that it has not answered him yet and so continues with different questions or performs different kinds of ceremonies until it will answer.

<sup>227</sup> This sentence is preceded by the following one: *Kuinx nyei diuv aeqv, torqv zinh.zeiv* [advise POS wine TOP, offer money.paper] 'As to advisory wine (in divination ceremony), (we) offer (spirits) paper money'. The verb *torqv* 'offer' in this sentence is replaced by *bun* 'give' in the next sentence as quoted in the body text.

Even though it is possible to use following three subordinating markers, i.e., *liuz* ‘after V-ing’, *wuov zanc* ‘at that time’, and *weic zuqc* ‘because’, in (993b-d), Iu Mien native speakers would say that they are not necessary (glossing of CL<sup>2</sup> is omitted).

- (993b) [Bun nzoih nzengc *liuz*]CL<sub>SUB</sub> [mborqv duqv jaaux aqv]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>.  
[ບຸນ ທ່ອຍ ເຫດຳ ລື້ວ]CL<sub>SUB</sub> [ມບ້ອງ ດູກ ຈາອ ອີ້ວ]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>.  
pun↑ dzɔi↓ dzeŋ↓ liu↓ bɔ?↑ tu?↑ ca:u↓ a?↑  
give PLEN CONSUME PFTV the priest can throw *jaaux*.  
‘(The priest) finished giving (a spirit) all (paper money), he can now throw *jaaux*.’
- (993c) *Bun* *znoih* *nzengc* *wuov.zanc*CL<sub>SUB</sub>, " "  
[ບຸນ ທ່ອຍ ເຫດຳ ວັວ.ຫດັ່ນ]CL<sub>SUB</sub>,  
pun↑ dzɔi↓ dzeŋ↓ uə?↑ tsan↓  
give altogether CONSUME DEM.time  
‘When (the priest) gave (a spirit) all (paper money), " ".’
- (993d) *Weic.zuqc* *bun* *nzoih* *nzengc*CL<sub>SUB</sub>, " "  
ເຫວຍ.ຫດູ ບຸນ ທ່ອຍ ເຫດຳ  
wei↓ tsu?↓ pun↑ dzɔi↓ dzeŋ↓  
because give PLEN CONSUME  
‘Because (the priest) gave (a spirit) all (paper money), " ".’

Besides these possible but unnecessary markers for subordinate clauses, the following constructions are unacceptable: *nyei ziangh.hoc* [REL time.mark] ‘at the time of’ as a substitution for (993c), and *laaix* ‘due to the fact that’ for substitution for (993d). These subordinate markers and some others in hypotaxis will be discussed in detail in §18.3.

Another text is a case of juxtaposing a negated clause and an affirmative clause where CL<sup>1</sup> can be read as a subordinate in a sense that it provides a time setting but without a conjunction as in (994):

- (994<sup>-1</sup>) [Naaiv deix sic mv gaengh cuotv]CL<sup>1</sup>,  
[ນ້າຍ ເຕີຍ ສີ ມ ກັງ ຂົວດ]CL1,  
na:i↑ tei↓ si↓ m↑ keŋ↓ ts<sup>hw</sup>ət↓  
DEM<sub>PRX</sub> some things NEG yet appear  
‘These things have not yet happened,

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| (994 <sup>-2</sup> ) | [ <i>yie jaa-ndaangc mbuox meih mbuo</i> ]CL <sup>2</sup> .  |
|                      | [ເມື່ອ ຈາ-ດ້າງ ນໍ້ວ ໝໍ່ ນໍ້ວ]CL <sup>2</sup> .   |
| iə <sup>1</sup>      | ca <sup>N</sup> da <sup>N</sup> ]  |
| 1SG                  | beforehand tell  |
|                      | mei <sup>N</sup> buə <sup>1</sup> 2 PL   |
|                      | 'I have told you (all predicted eschatological omens) beforehand.'   |
|                      | ( <i>The Gospel according to St Mark</i> 13:23. <i>Iu Mien Bible</i> , Thailand Bible Society.   |
|                      | <a href="http://www.thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php#ch13v23">http://www.thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php#ch13v23)</a> |

This “not-yet” construction can be interpreted as if it was a subordinate clause in the juxtaposed clauses [N *mv.gaengh*-CL<sup>1</sup><sub>SUB</sub>, CL<sup>2</sup><sub>MAIN</sub>]. It could be used as an English equivalent of the structure {*Before* CL<sup>1</sup><sub>SUB</sub>, CL<sup>2</sup><sub>MAIN</sub>}. In Iu Mien there is no prepositional construction that is corresponding to a Thai structure {*kɔŋ tʰi ca?* (ก่อนที่จะ) + V} ‘before V-ing’, therefore, to express it in Iu Mien the “not-yet”-CL<sup>1</sup> construction can be juxtaposed with, that is, preposed to/preceding CL<sup>2</sup> that expresses an event or action done prior to CL<sup>1</sup>.

### 18.2.2 Conjunctive Coordination, *yaac* ‘and’

Coordination of nouns is carried out by *caux* ‘to accompany’ as has been discussed in §8.12.

To combine two (or more) clauses, the additive topic marker *yaac* /ja:/ ‘and, also’ is used. The pattern is:

- CL<sup>1</sup> *yaac* CL<sup>2</sup> ‘CL<sup>1</sup> and CL<sup>2</sup>’.

As has been discussed in §10.3.1, the element *yaac* is in fact a topic marker. Being an additive topic marker, it also functions to add CL<sup>2</sup> to CL<sup>1</sup>. In the structure NP<sub>TOP</sub> - *yaac*<sub>TOP</sub> - CL<sub>FOCUS</sub>, the marker *yaac* indicates that the preceding NP is a topic and that it leads the CL<sub>FOCUS</sub> as a predicate. Thus, [NP *yaac* CL] means ‘NP also CL’.

There is no subordinating or embedding relation between the two clauses as in (995). The situation of the story is that after three deities were born they were fed by animal’s milk, first by a deer, because their mother had died at the time of giving birth.

- (995) [njaih taux] **yaac** [bun nyorx hopv dangh].  
[ນ້າ ແກາ] ແມ່ນ ນູ່ອ ສນ ຕັງ].  
jaiŋ tʰauŋ ja:ŋ punŋ mɔŋ hopŋ tanŋ  
deer arrive and give milk drink moment  
‘A deer came and fed (them) with milk for a while.’  
(ium\_20130528\_06\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng\_FaamCingCuotvSeix\_KMB;00.08.42-46)

In the following, CL<sup>1</sup> and CL<sup>2</sup> which contain different Top/Agent respectively are connected by *yaac*-conjunction as (996<sup>-1-3</sup>) shows. Incidentally there is one more *yaac* in CL<sup>2</sup>, where it is used as a topic marker.

- (996<sup>-1</sup>) [Wuov.zanc daaih yiem wuov jiex mbong]CL<sup>1</sup> **yaac**  
[ວົວ.ຫົ້ນ ຕ້າຍ ເຢີມ ວົວ ເຈີ້ຍ ບົງ]CL1 ແມ່ນ  
uəŋ tsanŋ ta:iŋ jemŋ uəŋ ciəŋ boŋŋ ja:ŋ  
DEM.time come be.in DEM upper mountain and  
‘Then (we) came to live there upper side of the mountain and’

- (996<sup>-2</sup>) [naaiv **yaac** paanc<sup>228</sup> daaih  
[ນ້າຍ ແມ່ນ ຜ່ານ ຕ້າຍ  
na:iŋ ja:ŋ pʰa:nŋ ta:iŋ  
DEM TOP pass COME  
‘this itself was already’

- (996<sup>-3</sup>) duqv feix hmz ziepc hnyangx aqv] CL<sup>2</sup>  
[ດູ ເຟີ ຂມໍ ເຫຼືບນ ອຫຍັງ ອີ່] CL<sup>2</sup>  
tu?ŋ feiŋ mɔŋ tsʰəpŋ jianŋ a?ŋ  
GET fourth fifth ten year NSIT  
‘forty or fifty years ago.’  
(ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.00.40-45)

In a colloquial speech, however, the distinction between *yaac* and the nominal coordinating conjunction *caux* is not strict. This mixed treatment of *yaac* and *caux* is found both among the old and the young Iu Mien. The following example is by a speaker in his 70s. Observe that CL<sup>2</sup> lead by *caux* is not an NP but a clause in (997<sup>-1-2</sup>):

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<sup>228</sup> (cm.t) ຜ່ານ ‘to pass’.

|                      |                    |                    |                     |  |
|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--|
| (997 <sup>-1</sup> ) | [ <i>wuov.zanc</i> | <i>naaic</i>       | <i>zuangx</i>       | <i>in ...</i> (760ms)] CL <sup>1</sup> |
|                      | [ວົວ.ຫດັ່ນ         | หน่าຍ              | ຫດວັງ               | ອິນ ...](760ms)] CL <sup>1</sup>       |
|                      | uə́ŋ tsan]         | naxi]              | ts <sup>w</sup> aŋ] | in <sup>1</sup>                        |
|                      | DEM.time           | DEM <sub>TOP</sub> | plant               | opium                                  |

‘Talking about that time (we would) plant opium...’

|                      |                     |                     |             |                  |                 |             |                               |
|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| (997 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>caux</i>         | [ <i>zuangx</i>     | <i>deix</i> | <i>baav</i>      | <i>ga'maeqc</i> | <i>wuix</i> | <i>dungz</i> ]CL <sup>2</sup> |
|                      | ເຫຼາ                | [ຫດວັງ              | ເຕີບ        | ປຶ້າ             | ກະແໜນະ          | ຫວຸຂ        | ຜູ້]CL <sup>2</sup>           |
|                      | ts <sup>b</sup> au] | ts <sup>w</sup> aŋ] | tei]        | pa: <sup>1</sup> | ka mε?]         | ui]         | tunŋ]                         |

accompany      plant      some      a.few      corn      feed      pig  
 ‘and (we would) plant some corn to feed pigs.’  
 (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.00.50-54)

### 18.2.3 Adversative Coordination *mv.baac* ‘but’

An adversative relation like *but* is expressed by the construction /m̥ pa:] / *mv.baac* in Iu Mien. Literally its components mean [NEG finish], that is, ‘(a story is) not yet finished’. In other words, the speaker has already spoken one or more sentences *but* still wants to continue to say something contrary to what has been said. This additive function as in (675a) and (678) was discussed in §10.3.1.

As has been already done in the previous chapters without notation, the two morphemes will be combined as one construction by a dot as in *mv.baac* henceforth. The pattern of adversative coordination is thus:

- CL<sup>1</sup> *mv.baac* CL<sup>2</sup> ‘CL<sup>1</sup> but CL<sup>2</sup>’

|       |             |              |             |                |              |             |               |
|-------|-------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|
| (998) | <i>Dorc</i> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>mv.baac</i> | <i>nziez</i> | <i>mai⁹</i> | <i>mingh.</i> |
|       | ດອ          | ມິ່ງ         | ໄສ້ຍ        | ມໍ.ປໍາ         | ເຕີບ         | ໄມ້         | ມິ່ງ.         |
|       | tɔ]         | miŋ]         | ŋei]        | m̥ pa:]        | dziə̄]       | maī        | miŋ]          |

elder.sister    go      ASST    but      younger.sister    NEG      go  
 ‘The older sister are going but the younger sister is not.’  
 (ium\_1996\_03\_Burgess\_GF\_MienLg3;01.00.08-10)

The next example comprises three clusters of lines, the first being a background, the second CL<sup>1</sup>, and the third CL<sup>2</sup>. The propositions in CL<sup>1</sup> and CL<sup>2</sup> are in contrast in meaning coordinated by *mv.baac* ‘but’ as in (999<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|  |                        |                    |                 |                     |                 |
|--|------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| (999 <sup>-1</sup> )                                     | <i>Yauz-Jiem</i>       | <i>naaiv</i>       | <i>se</i>       | <i>Ih Bunc</i>      | <i>oc.</i>      |
|  | ເຢັ້ງ-ຈີ່ຍມ            | ນ້າຍ               | ເຊ              | ອື່ງປຸນ             | ໂອ.             |
|  | jauŋ ciəm <sup>1</sup> | na:iŋ <sup>1</sup> | se <sup>1</sup> | iŋ pun <sup>1</sup> | o: <sup>1</sup> |
|  | Yau Jiem               | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | COP             | Japan               | PLT             |
| ‘Yau Jiem (who is) here (with us) is Japanese, you see.’ |                        |                    |                 |                     |                 |

|                                    |                  |                   |                  |                       |
|------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| (999 <sup>-2</sup> )               | <i>[mv zeiz</i>  | <i>yie mbuo</i>   | <i>Iu-Mienh]</i> | <i>CL<sup>1</sup></i> |
|                                    | [ມີ ເຕີເບ        | ເມືບ ບັວ          | ບົວ-ເມື່ຍນ]      | CL <sup>1</sup>       |
|                                    | m̥ŋ <sup>1</sup> | tsei <sup>1</sup> | iə <sup>1</sup>  | buə <sup>1</sup>      |
|                                    | NEG              | be.correct        | 1                | PL                    |
| ‘(He is) not (one of) us Iu Mien.’ |                  |                   |                  |                       |

|                                      |                       |                             |                  |                                  |                 |                       |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| (999 <sup>-3</sup> )                 | <b><i>mv.baac</i></b> | <i>[ninh cuotv yie mbuo</i> | <i>Iu-Mienh</i>  | <i>nyei</i>                      | <i>mbuox]</i>   | <i>CL<sup>2</sup></i> |
|                                      | ນໍ້າກ                 | [ນິນ ຂ້າດ ເມືຍ ບັວ          | ບົວ-ເມື່ຍນ       | ເນູຍ                             | ບັງ             | CL <sup>2</sup>       |
|                                      | m̥ŋ <sup>1</sup>      | pa: <sup>1</sup>            | nin <sup>1</sup> | ts <sup>hw</sup> ət <sup>1</sup> | iə <sup>1</sup> | buə <sup>1</sup>      |
|                                      | but                   | 3SG                         | issue            | 1                                | PL              | Iu Mien               |
| ‘but he was given our Iu Mien name.’ |                       |                             |                  |                                  |                 |                       |

(ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist;00.00.40-43)

A brief comment on the phonetic characteristics of *mv.baac* may be fitting. Given the syllabic nasal /m̥ŋ<sup>1</sup>/ is a shortened form of /mai<sup>1</sup>/, it is rarely the case that the full word is pronounced /mai<sup>1</sup> pa:<sup>1</sup>/, thus *mv.baac* is felt as a single word of adversative conjunctive function, that is, a grammaticalised construction.

### 18.2.4 Disjunctive Coordination, *fai* ‘or’

The third construction in coordinating clauses is disjunctive coordination. The “yes-no” interrogative is expressed by the sentence final question particle *fai* with a sharp rising intonation. However, when the question particle *fai* is used in the middle of two clauses, the reading is ‘or’. In the latter case, *fai* is pronounced with its original tone, i.e., mid-level tone. The pattern of coordination is:

- CL<sup>1</sup>*fai* CL<sup>2</sup> ‘CL<sup>1</sup> or CL<sup>2</sup>’

See the example (1000<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                       |                    |              |           |             |             |             |             |                               |
|-----------------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| (1000 <sup>-1</sup> ) | [ <i>Biouv-naa</i> | <i>biouv</i> | <i>nc</i> | <i>norm</i> | <i>meih</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>haiz</i> | <i>jiex</i> ] CL <sup>1</sup> |
|                       | [บีอู-นา]          | บีอู-        | หน        | นوم         | เมะ         | บัว         | ไฮ-         | เจ๊]                          |
|                       | p̥əuŋ naː          | p̥əuŋ        | n̥        | nɔm         | meiŋ        | buaː        | haiː        | ciəː                          |
|                       | a.kind.of.fruit    | fruit        | DEM       | CLF         | 2           | PL          | hear        | EXP                           |

‘Have you two heard (a story of) Biou-naa fruits?’

|                       |  |              |             |                                 |
|-----------------------|--|--------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| (1000 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>fai</i>   | [ <i>mai</i> | <i>haiz</i> | <i>mv.bei</i> ] CL <sup>2</sup> |
|                       | ไฟ   | [ไม]         | ไฮ-         | มี.เปล]                         |
|                       | faiː   | maiː         | haiː        | m̥ː peiː                        |
|                       | or   | NEG          | hear        | I.wonder                        |
|                       | ‘or have you not, I wonder.’                                     |              |             |                                 |
|                       | (ium_20140403_04_SonyHDR-MV1_DA_BungzCunFouv_Nda'maauhJaauz.MP4) |              |             |                                 |

Unlike the distinction between the clause level coordinating conjunction *yaac* ‘and’ and the NP level coordinating conjunction *caux* ‘and’, *fai* ‘or’ can be used at both levels. That is, the coordination [NP<sup>1</sup> *fai* NP<sup>2</sup>] ‘NP<sup>1</sup> or NP<sup>2</sup>’, besides the above-exemplified [CL<sup>1</sup> *fai* CL<sup>2</sup>], is possible.

For the high-rise intonation of the question particle *fai*, see §3.3.4.3 and §14.2.

### 18.3 Hypotaxis<sup>229</sup>

Inspired by Li and Thompson’s (1989:632ff) terms “forward linking” and “backward linking”, it is proposed here that *pre-pendent clauses* and *post-pendent clauses* designate the subordinate clauses that occur before the main clause and the subordinate clauses that occur after the main clause respectively in discussing hypotaxis in Iu Mien. Both pre-pendent clauses and post-pendent clauses are dependent clauses since once they are marked by one of subordinating markers, the speaker cannot stop there without completing the whole sentence by supplying a main clause. Classification of hypotaxis is done with regard to (i) the position and kinds of subordinating markers whether they appear clause-initially or clause-finally, and (ii) the sequential order whether the subordinate clause precedes the main clause or comes after it. By reasons of (i), i.e., subordinating markers making the clause dependent and holding the listener suspended, and of (ii), i.e., dependent clause being

<sup>229</sup> This section was presented entitled ‘The Hypotactic Structure in Sentences in Iu Mien’ at the 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asia Linguistics Society (SEALS 25) held at Payap University, in Chiang Mai, Thailand, 27-29 May 2015. I deeply appreciate the interest, questions and valuable comments from the floor that helped me to improve the original paper.

prepositioned or postpositioned in relation to the main clause, they are termed as pre-pendent clauses and post-pendent clauses.

The hypotaxis in Iu Mien is classified into the following six patterns:

- 1) Pre-pendent clauses that are marked clause-initially
- 2) Pre-pendent clauses that are marked clause-finally
- 3) Pre-pendent clauses that are marked clause-medially
- 4) Pre-pendent clauses that are marked both clause-initially and clause-finally
  
- 5) Post-pendent clauses that are marked clause-initially
- 6) Post-pendent clauses that are marked both clause-initially and clause-finally

The following ten subordinate clauses are grouped under the six types:

- Pre-pendent clauses that are marked clause-initially
  - (i) Cause clause *laaix*-CL [due.to CL] ‘due to the fact that CL’
  - (ii) Concessive clause *mai.v.gunv*-CL [NEG.control CL] ‘although CL’
  
- Pre-pendent clauses that are marked clause-finally
  - (iii) Temporal clause *Cl-nyei.ziangh.hoc* [REL time sign CL] ‘at the time when CL’
  - (iv) Temporal clause *Cl-wuov.zanc* [CL DEM.time] ‘when CL’
  
- Pre-pendent clauses that are marked clause-medially
  - (v) Temporal clause *yietv*-CL [once CL] ‘as soon as CL’
  - (vi) Temporal clause [V-*gau*]CL [V and.then] ‘CL and then’
  
- Pre-pendent clause that are marked both clause-initially and clause-finally
  - (vii) Conditional clause *se.gorngv*-CL-*nor* [if CL as] ‘if CL’
  
- Post-pendent clauses that are marked clause-initially
  - (viii) Purpose clause *weic*-CL [for CL] ‘in order that CL’
  - (ix) Reason clause *weic.zuqc*-CL [for.TOUCH<sub>ADVERSATIVE</sub>] ‘because CL’
  
- Post-pendent clauses that are marked both clause-initially and clause-finally
  - (x) Simile clause *hnangv*-CL-*wuov.nor* [like CL DEM.as] ‘as if CL’ or ‘just like CL’

The temporal subordinate clause (iv) needs more elaboration than other constructions. Just briefly, the *wuov.zanc*-construction in (iv) has more frequency to

occur at the beginning of the main clause rather than the above-mentioned type of “clause-final” marking. Its delineation will be given in due course.

These variations are also found in other constructions of the ten types with regard to the order of subordinate-main clauses. It is important to note that the above-listed classification is based on frequency, in other words, common occurrences of these constructions. Li and Thompson (1989:632-3) in discussing clause linking in Chinese say that the use of “forward linking” elements (our pre-pendent clause markers) versus non-use varies “because of the speaker’s intention”. Similarly, Iu Mien speakers may link clauses without using the markers and may also alter the order of a subordinate clause and a main clause. However, there should be reason for such alternation. It is, in fact, crucially important to note that the order {main clause} – {subordinate clause} goes against the overall principle of the “right-ward multilayered focus” (RMF) (the second principle presented in §4.2.1). That is, Why the subordinate clauses occurs in the position of focus? Why three types of clauses, i.e., purpose clause, reason clause, and simile clause, occur sentence-finally contrary to the principle of the right-ward focus structure? We would like to provide an answer to the question differently than “because of the speaker’s intention”. It will be discussed in terms of iconicity of event perception in §§18.3.5–6.

One more remark should be appropriate before we start investigating individual constructions. It should be noted that Iu Mien exhibits a relative freedom in use of “redundant” conjunctions. An example is given here by comparing Iu Mien and English. In English, as long as a subordinate clause is marked by a conjunction, a main clause needs no marking, e.g., *Although he was sick, he got out of bed to help our moving*. In Iu Mien, by contrast, it is possible to have markers on both clauses, e.g., {**although** he was sick}, {**but** he got out of bed to help our moving}. In this case too, it is known to native speakers that the clause {**although** he was sick} is subordinate because it cannot stop just that; the listener would wait till it is completed by a supply of the main clause.

### 18.3.1 Pre-pendent Clauses That Are Marked Clause-initially

#### 18.3.1.1 *Cause clause preceded by laaix ‘due to’*

The cause clause is expressed by *laaix* ‘because of, on account of’ (Purnell 2012:356) in the following pattern:

- *Laaix CL<sup>1</sup>, CL<sup>2</sup>. [due.to CL<sup>1</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub> – [CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> ‘due to CL<sup>1</sup>, CL<sup>2</sup>’*

There is a tendency of using *laaix* in a negative or undesirable context as reflected in the mother-tongue lexicographer Panh's (2002:132) translations of the following phrases: *laaix ninh* [due.to 3SG] 'his or her fault', *laaix yie ganh* [due.to 1SG self] 'my own fault'. Purnell (2012:356) notes that "[a]lthough *laaix* can be used when the results are positive, it is most commonly used when they are negative". See an example of a negative context first in (1001<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (1001<sup>-1</sup>) [Laaix yie mv maaih die]CL<sub>SUB</sub><sup>230</sup>  
[ລາຍ ເຢີ່ ມ້ ມ່າຍ ເດືອນ]CL<sub>SUB</sub>  
la:i| iə| m̥| ma:i| tiə|  
due.to 1SG NEG have father  
'Due to the fact that I don't have father,'

- (1001<sup>-2</sup>) [ndortv naanc]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>  
[ດືອດ ນໍານຳ]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>  
dɔ:t| na:n|  
fall hardship  
'hardship fell (on me).'  
(ium\_20000415\_03\_CT\_DA\_FmCiang\_Dream;00.02.00-05)

The next example, then, is in a positive context (1002<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (1002) Se yietc norm yinh se  
ເຊ ເຫີຍດ ນອມ ຍິນ ເຊ  
se↑ jet↑ nɔ:m↑ jin↓ se↑  
TOP one CLF ceremony TOP  
'Talking about having a ceremony,'

- (1002<sup>-2</sup>) [laaix mienh camv]CL<sub>SUB</sub>  
[ລາຍ ເມື່ຍນ ຂຶ້ມ]CL<sub>SUB</sub>  
la:i| miən| tsʰam|  
due.to people be.many  
'because of many people's attendance'

---

<sup>230</sup> An unedited original utterance is *Laaix yie mv maaih die, mv maaih domh.mienh, ndortv naanc cingx.daaih zuqc ndongc naaiv nzauh.* [due.to 1SG NEG have father, NEG have big.person (i.e. parents), fall hardship therefore TOUCH as.much.as be.sad] 'Because I don't have a father nor parents, I suffered hardships till I had to grieve this much.'

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| (1002 <sup>-3</sup> ) | [mbuo ziouc zoux duqv cuotv]CL <sub>MAIN</sub>           |
|                       | [ນັວ ຊອງ ຫຼວ ດູ ຜວດ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub>                   |
|                       | buəl ts <sup>j</sup> əu] tsəu] tu?] ts <sup>hw</sup> ət] |
|                       | 1PL then do GET issue                                    |
|                       | ‘we [priests] are able to make (a ceremony) realised.’   |
|                       | (ium_c1970_03_CT_x_y_TradRelgn_3_1;00.07.54-8)           |

### 18.3.1.2 Concessive clause marked by *maiv gunv* ‘although’

The concessive clause is marked by *maiv gunv* ‘although, even though’. Its components are *maiv* [NEG] and *gunv* ‘to control, rule, govern’. Both the full form *maiv gunv* and a contracted form *mv gunv* are used. Henceforth, they will be treated as one construction in example presentations as *maiv.gunv* and *mv.gunv*. The basic concessive sentence pattern is as follows:

- *Maiv.gunv CL<sup>1</sup>, CL<sup>2</sup>.* [although CL<sup>1</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub> – [CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> ‘although CL<sup>1</sup>, CL<sup>2</sup>’

Two other elaborated constructions also occur. One is that CL<sup>2</sup> is preceded by *mv.baac* ‘but’ besides having *maiv.gunv* ‘though’ in front of CL<sup>1</sup> as schematised as below:

- *[Maiv.gunv CL<sup>1</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub> – [mv.baac CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> ‘although CL<sup>1</sup>, CL<sup>2</sup>’*

The other has an extended marker on CL<sup>1</sup> *maiv.gunv ndongc haaix* [although same.as.what] ‘no matter what/how’ in addition to the above-mentioned *mv.baac* in CL<sup>2</sup>:

- *[Maiv.gunv ndongc haaix CL<sup>1</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub> – [mv.baac CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> ‘no matter what CL<sup>1</sup>, CL<sup>2</sup>’*

First, the most basic form is exemplified in (1003<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| (1003 <sup>-1</sup> ) | [ <b>Maiv.gunv</b> ziangh fai daic]CL <sub>SUB</sub> |
|                       | [ມ້າວ.ກຸນ ເຊື່ອງ ພັກ ໄຕ]CL <sub>SUB</sub>            |
|                       | maiŋ kунŋ ts <sup>j</sup> aŋ faiŋ taiŋ               |
|                       | although be.alive or die                             |
|                       | lit. ‘Although I may be alive or die.’               |

- (1003<sup>-2</sup>) [nyunc caux meih yietc ndui]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>  
 [ណុំ នៅ មេយ ហើយគ គុប]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>  
 jnun ts<sup>h</sup>au<sup>h</sup> mei<sup>h</sup> jet<sup>h</sup> d<sup>w</sup>i<sup>h</sup>  
 be.willing.to accompany 2SG one heap  
 '(I) am willing to be with you (like) one heap.'  
 'No matter what happens I'll stick with you forever.'  
 (an idiomatic translation by Purnell (2012:424))

Second, the pattern which has *mv.baac* in CL<sub>MAIN</sub> besides *mv.gunv* is in (1004<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (1004<sup>-1</sup>) [**mv.gunv** ninh m'daaih ndongc naaic gox]CL<sub>SUB</sub>  
 [មី.កូន នីន មតាយ គង នាញ កែវ]  
 m<sup>h</sup>γ kun<sup>h</sup> nin<sup>h</sup> m<sup>h</sup>ta:i<sup>h</sup> doŋ<sup>h</sup> na:i<sup>h</sup> ko<sup>h</sup>  
 although 3SG of.course as.much.as DEM elderly  
 'Though he is obviously as old as that'

- (1004<sup>-2</sup>) [**mv.baac** ninh mv.zquc dangh muo-ziux mangc]CL<sub>MAIN</sub><sup>231</sup>  
 [មី.បា នីន ម.ទុ ពេង ម្ហាម-ទិុ ម៉ោង]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>  
 m<sup>h</sup>γ pa:<sup>h</sup> nin<sup>h</sup> m<sup>h</sup>tsu?<sup>h</sup> taŋ<sup>h</sup> muən tsiu<sup>h</sup> maŋ<sup>h</sup>  
 but 3SG no.need wear spectacles look.at  
 '(nonetheless) he does not have to wear glasses to look at (things).'  
 (ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_Table  
 Talk;00.02.12-18)

Thirdly, the extended concessive marker can be found in (1005<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (1005<sup>-1</sup>) [**Maiv.gunv** yie ndongc haaix jomc]CL<sub>SUB</sub><sup>232</sup>  
 [មី.កូន ឃឹម គង ហាយ ចំ]CL<sub>SUB</sub>  
 mai<sup>h</sup> kun<sup>h</sup> iə<sup>h</sup> doŋ<sup>h</sup> haaix com<sup>h</sup>  
 although 1SG same.as what poor  
 'No matter how poor I am,'

<sup>231</sup> The text is slightly edited so that it can serve the point. The original text reads *Mv gunv ninh .. m'daaih ndongc naaic gox, mv baac .. ninh .. maaih deix yaac ninh mv zuqc dangh muo-ziux mangc* (the underlined part has been omitted in the above example) 'Despite the obvious fact that he is as old as that, he, in some cases, does not have to wear glasses to look at (things)'.

<sup>232</sup> The unedited original utterance, with deleted parts underlined, was *Gunv yie, maiv.gunv yie ndongc haaix jomc, ndongc haaix kouv, yie yaac mh.daaih hnampy Tin-Hungh hnangv [rule 1SG, though 1 SG same.as what poor, same.as what be.afflicted, 1SG TOP of.course love God only]* 'Even though I, no matter how I am poor and afflicted, I only love God for sure.'

|                       |   |             |                 |              |                  |                                   |
|-----------------------|---|-------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1005 <sup>-2</sup> ) | [ <i>yie</i>                                      | <i>yaac</i> | <i>mh'daaih</i> | <i>hnamv</i> | <i>Tin-Hungh</i> | <i>hnangv</i> ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub> |
|                       | [ເມື່ອ]   | ໜ່າ         | ມຕ້າຍ           | ຫນິນ         | ທິນ-ຫຼຸງ         | ຫນິນ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub>           |
|                       | iə́   | ja:́        | m̥ ta:i:́       | t̥nam̥       | t̥hin̥ hui:́     | t̥naŋ̥                            |
|                       | 1SG   | TOP         | certainly       | love         | God              | only                              |
|                       | 'I only love God for sure.'                       |             |                 |              |                  |                                   |
|                       | (ium_20000415_03_CT_DA_FmCiang_Dream;00.04.24-29) |             |                 |              |                  |                                   |

### 18.3.2 Pre-pendent Clauses That Are Marked Clause-finally

In this section we have three temporal subordinate clause constructions. By contrast to the clause-initially marked pre-pendent clauses, these three temporal clauses are, broadly speaking, marked clause-finally.

#### 18.3.2.1 Temporal clause marked by a prosodic pause

The first method of marking subordinate clause, without an overt subordinate particle, is a prosodic pause that functions as a boundary between the temporal clause and the main clause as in (1006<sup>-1-3</sup>):

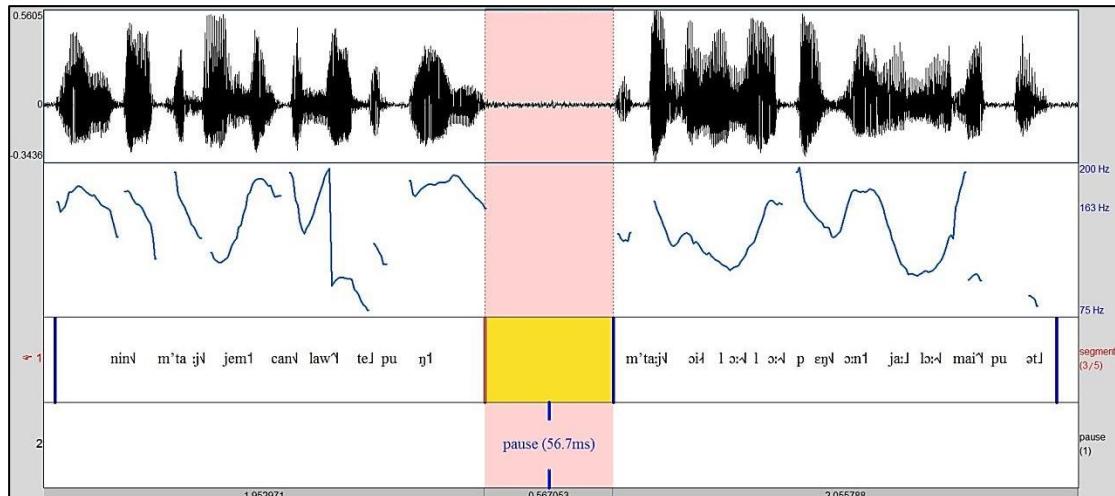
|                       |  |                |                     |             |                  |  |
|-----------------------|--|----------------|---------------------|-------------|------------------|--|
| (1006 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Ninh</i>                                      | <i>m'daaih</i> | <i>zin̥.ndaangc</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>janx-Lauv</i> | <i>de'buning</i> <sup>233</sup> (56.7ms) |
|                       | ນິນ  | ມຕ້າຍ          | ຜົນ.ດ່າງ            | ເມື່ອນ      | ຈິນ-ເຄົາ         | ເຕັກ                                     |
|                       | nin̥   | m̥ ta:i:́      | tsin̥ daŋ̥          | jem̥        | can̥ lau:́       | te̥ puŋ̥                                 |
|                       | 3SG  | of.course      | formerly            | be.in       | Laos             | country                                  |
|                       | 'He (my father) of course formerly was in Laos.' |                |                     |             |                  |  |

|                       |   |            |               |             |                  |
|-----------------------|---|------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|
| (1006 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>m'daaih</i>                          | <i>oix</i> | <i>lorz</i> , | <i>lorz</i> | <i>baeng-orn</i> |
|                       | ມຕ້າຍ                                   | ອ້ອຍ       | ດ້ວ,          | ດ້ວ         | ແປງ-ອອນ          |
|                       | m̥ ta:i:́                               | ɔi̥        | lɔ:́          | lɔ:́        | pɛŋ̥ɔ:k̥         |
|                       | of.course                               | want       | seek          | seek        | peace            |
|                       | 'obviously wanted to search for peace.' |            |               |             |                  |

|                       |   |             |              |               |
|-----------------------|---|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| (1006 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>yaac</i>   | <i>lorz</i> | <i>mai</i> v | <i>buatc.</i> |
|                       | ໜ່າ   | ດ້ວ         | ໄມ້          | ປວດ.          |
|                       | ja:́  | lɔ:́        | mai̥         | p̥w̥at̥       |
|                       | TOP   | seek        | NEG          | see           |
|                       | 'yet did not find one.'                               |             |              |               |
|                       | (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.10.25-9) |             |              |               |

<sup>233</sup> *de'bung* = Q, K = *deic-bung*

Even though there is no subordinating particle, (1006<sup>-1</sup>) provides the temporal setting to the following clause (1006<sup>-2-3</sup>). These two parts are marked by the 56.7 ms pause. To visualise the pause in relation to the temporal setting and the main clause, see Figure 66:



(ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.10.25-9)

**Figure 66. Temporal setting clause marked by a pause**

There are cases where the temporal clause is doubly marked by a prosodic pause and an overt lexical element as in (1007<sup>-1-2</sup>):

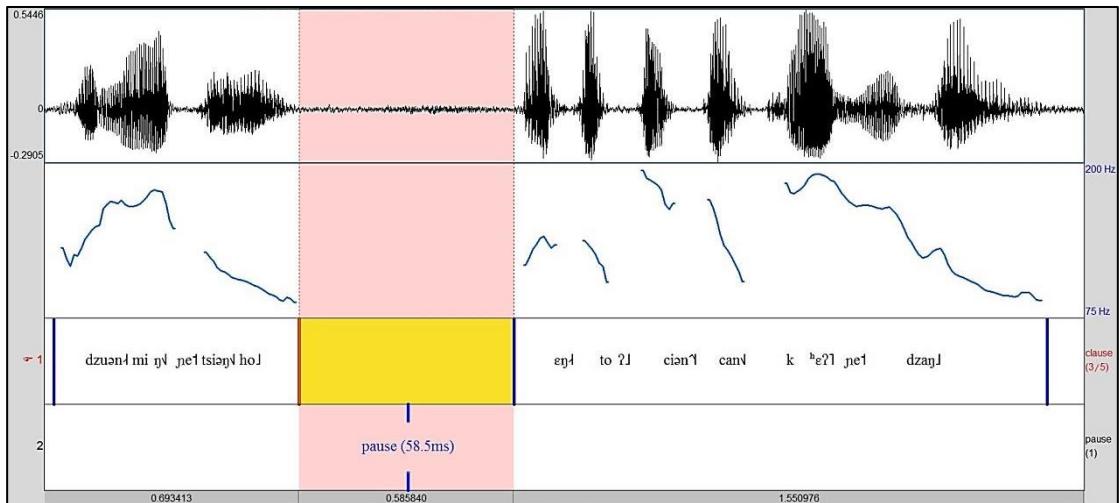
- (1007<sup>-1</sup>) [Nzuonx mingh nyei ziangh.hoc(58.58ms)]CL<sub>SUB</sub>  
 [ໜວນ ມິ່ງ ໄໝຍ ເຊື້ອງໂທ(58.58ms)]CL<sub>SUB</sub>  
 dz<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>1</sup> min<sup>V</sup> nei<sup>T</sup> ts<sup>j</sup>aŋ<sup>V</sup> ho<sup>J</sup>  
 return go REL time

‘When they [the Western missionaries] (were about to) leave (us),’

- (1007<sup>-2</sup>) [aengx doqc jienv Janx-Kaeqv nyei nzangc.<sup>234</sup>]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>  
 [ແອ້ງ ໂດກ ່ີ້ນ ຈັ້ນ-ແກະ ໄໝຍ ແຫ່ງ.]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>  
 εŋ<sup>V</sup> to?J c'en<sup>V</sup> can<sup>J</sup> k<sup>h</sup>εʔ<sup>V</sup> nei<sup>T</sup> dzaŋ<sup>J</sup>  
 again read CONT Chinese SBCP character  
 ‘they would again read Chinese writings (for us).’
- (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.10.06-9)

<sup>234</sup> These Chinese writings are called *cuonh daan* ‘omnibus book’ and explained by Fux-Hin who witnessed his father’s and his own first encounter with two Chinese-speaking Western missionaries in 1948: bun mienh doqc mangc hiuv.duqv Tin-Hungh nyei eix.leiz wuov nyungc ga’naaiv sou [let people read look.at know God SBCP meaning DEM kind thing book] ‘a kind of book that guides people to know

Leaving a detailed discussion of the temporal construction *nyei ziangh hoc* [REL time mark] ‘at the time of’ with the next section, note the prosodic gap after it as a marker shown in Figure 67:



(ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.10.06-9)

**Figure 67. Subordinate clause with double markings of a pause and lexicon**

### 18.3.2.2 Temporal clause marked by *nyei ziangh hoc* ‘at the time of’

The temporal construction *nyei ziangh hoc* [REL time sign] has already been quoted in the preceding section with regard to its prosodic marking. The second temporal construction has a relative clause *nyei ziangh hoc* [REL time sign], in which the nominal compound *ziangh.hoc* means ‘time’. Hence the translation of the whole construction can be ‘at the time of REL clause’. The sentence pattern is as follows:

- CL<sup>1</sup> *nyei ziangh.hoc*, CL<sup>2</sup>. [CL<sup>1</sup> at.the.time.of]<sub>SUB</sub> – [CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> ‘at the time of CL<sup>1</sup>, CL<sup>2</sup>’

The following example has been taken from a cultural situation of a spirit ritual and linguistically it is a part of a procedural discourse. The prior situation to this sentence is the time of calling spirits down to the earth, then (1008<sup>-1-2</sup>) talks about the time of sending them off again:

---

the meaning of God by reading and looking at’ (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist; 00.10.14-8).

- (1008<sup>-1</sup>) [mbuo fuoqv<sup>235</sup> nyei ziangh.hoc]CL<sub>SUB</sub>  
 [ນ້ວຍ ພົວະ ໄສຍ ເຊີຍງ.ໂທ່າ]CL<sub>SUB</sub>  
 buə̥l fuə̥ʔ˥ nei˧ ts'anj˥ ho˩  
 1PL send.spirits.off REL time  
 ‘When we send spirits back (to their world after finishing a ritual in this world),’

(1008<sup>-2</sup>) [oix.zuqc zueih faix fuoqv mingh hlo]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>  
 [ອ້ອຍ.ຫຸດ ເຕັກ່າ ໄຟ ພົວະ ມິ້ງ ໄຫດ]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>  
 ɔi˥ tsuʔ˥ ts<sup>w</sup>ei˧ fai˧ fuə̥ʔ˥ minj˥ lo˧  
 must in.order.of small send.spirits.off go big  
 ‘we must send them off in the order from the small spirits and then to the big ones.’

(ium\_c1970\_03\_CT\_x\_y\_TradRelgn\_3\_1;00.06.09-12)

There is a case that *yaac* is inserted between  $\text{CL}^1_{\text{SUB}}$  and  $\text{CL}^2_{\text{MAIN}}$ . Recall that *yaac* can be used both as a topic marker (§10.3.1) and the clause level conjunctive coordination element (§18.2.2). Though it may appear ambiguous whether *yaac* is topical or conjunctive, the structure exhibits the pattern [NP (nominalised by *nyei ziangh.hoc*) TOP  $\text{CL}^2$ ] in (1009<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- |  |   |                   |                                 |                  |                      |                   |
|--|---|-------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| (1009 <sup>-1</sup> )  | [ <i>Yie mingh nyei ziangh.hoc...</i> (1.06s)]CL <sub>SUB</sub>     | <i>yaac</i>       |                                 |                  |                      |                   |
|  | [ເຢີ່ຢ ມຶ້ງ ໄນຍ ເຊື້ອງໂຫ້...(1.06s)]CL <sub>MAIN</sub>              | ໜໍາ               |                                 |                  |                      |                   |
| iə <sup>1</sup>  | min <sup>1</sup>  | ŋei <sup>1</sup>  | ts <sup>1</sup> an <sup>1</sup> | ho <sup>1</sup>  | ja: <sup>1</sup>     |                   |
| 1SG  | go  | REL               | time                            |                  | TOP                  |                   |
| 'At that time when I went (to the place of drinking water near the field)' |   |                   |                                 |                  |                      |                   |
| (1009 <sup>-2</sup> )  | [ <i>mv maaih! haaix ndau maaih laanh mienh</i> ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub> |                   |                                 |                  |                      |                   |
|  | [ມ້ ມ່າຂ! ຫ້າຍ ເດາ ມ່າຂ ລ່ານ ເມື່ອນ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub>              |                   |                                 |                  |                      |                   |
| m̩ <sup>1</sup>  | —\ma:i <sup>1</sup>   | ha:i <sup>1</sup> | dau <sup>1</sup>                | mai <sup>1</sup> | la:n <sup>1</sup>    | miən <sup>1</sup> |
| NEG  | have  | what              | place                           | have             | CLF <sub>HUMAN</sub> | person            |
| 'there was no place where a single person could be seen.'                  |   |                   |                                 |                  |                      |                   |
| (ium_20000415_03_CT_DA_FmCiang_Dream;00.00.27-33)                          |   |                   |                                 |                  |                      |                   |

<sup>235</sup> The sense ‘to send spirits off’ is listed neither in Panh (2002) nor in Purnell (2012). However, Purnell’s third sense (after *fuoqv*<sub>1</sub> ‘to plane with a plane’, *fuoqv*<sub>2</sub> ‘to shoot, fire (a gun)’, *fuoqv*<sub>3</sub> ‘to push or whisk scattered small bits or items together using quick, short, scraping movements with the hand or an object such as a piece of wood’ (2012:184) can reasonably be extended to mean ‘to send spirits off’ back into heaven or a spiritual realm.

### 18.3.2.3 Temporal clause marked by *wuov zanc* ‘when’

The third temporal clause is *wuov zanc* [DEM time] ‘when’.

- CL<sup>1</sup> *wuov zanc*, CL<sup>2</sup>. [CL<sup>1</sup> that.time]<sub>SUB</sub> – [CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> ‘when CL<sup>1</sup>, CL<sup>2</sup>’

The temporal clause marked by *wuov zanc* ‘that time’ is placed at the end of a clause, which precedes the main clause: CL<sup>1</sup> + *wuov zanc*, CL<sup>2</sup> (=main clause) ‘When CL<sup>1</sup>, CL<sup>2</sup>’. In the following example the temporal subordinate clause *Buov wuov zanc* ‘when (they) smoke’ is bracketed by [ ] as in (1010); the rest, i.e. *ninh mbuo hnamv jienv* ... ‘they are thinking...’, is the main clause:

|   |               |  |               |             |               |                |
|---|---------------|--|---------------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| (1010)  | [ <i>Buov</i> | <b><i>wuov.zanc</i></b> ]CL <sub>SUB</sub> | [ <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>hnamv</i>  | <i>jienv</i>   |
|   | [ပ္မာ]        | သုံးဆန်]CL <sub>SUB</sub>                  | [နိုင်        | ပ္မာ        | ဆန္မာ         | ဂီးယံ          |
|   | <i>puə̄</i>   | <i>uə̄ tsan]</i>                           | <i>nin</i> \  | <i>buə̄</i> | <i>ဗုဏ်</i> \ | <i>c̥en̄</i> \ |
|   | smoke         | that.time                                  | 3             | PL          | think         | CONT           |
| ‘When (they) smoke (opium for the second time), they are thinking,’ |               |  |               |             |               |                |

|  |              |            |             |             |                                |
|--|--------------|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>da'faam</i>   | <i>nzunc</i> | <i>yie</i> | <i>mv</i>   | <i>buov</i> | <i>aqv</i> ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub> |
| တော်မာ   | ဟူ့ုံး       | ရှိယ       | မ္          | ပ္မာ        | ခုံး]CL <sub>MAIN</sub>        |
| <i>ta fa:m<sup>1</sup></i>   | <i>dzun]</i> | <i>iə̄</i> | <i>m̄</i> \ | <i>puə̄</i> | <i>a?</i> \                    |
| third  | CLF          | 1SG        | NEG         | smoke       | NSIT                           |
| “‘I’ve resolved <sup>236</sup> that I will not smoke (opium) the third time’.” |              |            |             |             |                                |
| (Burgess, 1970s, <i>In Nyei Gouv</i> [ <i>Opium Story</i> ])                   |              |            |             |             |                                |

#### A difference between *nyei ziangh.hoc*-clause and *wuov.zanc*-clause.

An incidence where *nyei ziangh.hoc* and *wuov.zanc* are used in the same connected speech reveals the difference in semantics between them. Consider (1011<sup>1-5</sup>):

|  |                |             |                        |   |            |
|--|----------------|-------------|------------------------|---|------------|
| (1011 <sup>1</sup> )                     | [ <i>Mienh</i> | <i>daic</i> | <b><i>nyei</i></b>     | <b><i>ziangh.hoc</i></b> ]CL <sub>SUB</sub> |            |
| ST1                                      | [မြို့်ုံး     | ၏           | အျေး                   | အော်ယံ.၏။]CL <sub>SUB</sub>                 |            |
|  | <i>miə̄n</i>   | <i>tai]</i> | <i>jəi<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>ts̥aj<sup>1</sup></i>                    | <i>ho]</i> |
|  | person         | die         | REL                    | time  |            |
| ‘At the time of a person’s passing away’ |                |             |                        |   |            |

<sup>236</sup> The new-situation aspectual marker (NSIT) in this example indicates change of mind and attitude of the speaker; hence, the resolution of quitting an opium smoking habit emerges in the translation.

- (1011<sup>-2</sup>) [dorn-hlo maaih leiz oix.zuqc bouh jienv  
[ตอน-ໂຮລ ມ່າຍ ເລີຍ ອ້ອຍ.ຫະຸ ໂປ້ວ ເຈືບນ  
tɔn˥ lɔŋ˥ ma:iŋ lei˧ ɔi˧ tsu?˥ pəŋ˧ c̥en˥  
son.elder have right must hold.up CONT  
‘an elder son has right to hold up’
- (1011<sup>-3</sup>) domh mienh nyei m'nqorngv bun ninh mbuo daic]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>  
[ຕົ່ມ ເມື່ຍນ ເໝຍ ນັ້ງ ປຸນ ນິ້ນ ບັວ ໄດ້]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>  
tom↓ miən↓ nei↑ m gɔŋ˥ pun↑ nin↓ buə↑ tai↓  
parent POSS head give 3 PL die  
‘the parent’s head to let him/her pass away.’
- (1011<sup>-4</sup>) [Daic wuov.zanc]CL<sub>SUB</sub>  
ST2 [ໄດ້ ວ້ວ.ຫຼັກ]CL<sub>SUB</sub>  
tai↓ uə˥ tsan↓  
die DEM.time  
‘When he/she (actually) has died,’
- (1011<sup>-5</sup>) [mienh buonv buo norm congx]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>  
[ເມື່ຍນ ປິວນ ປົວ ນອມ ຂອງ]CL<sub>MAIN</sub>  
miən↓ p<sup>w</sup>ən˥ puə↑ nɔm↑ ts<sup>h</sup>oŋ↓  
person shoot three CLF rifle  
‘people [relative or neighbour] shoots three shots of rifle.’  
(Guex-Cing & Burgess, c1970, *Biopv Sei Neyi Leiz Nyeic* [Funeral Orders]. Re-transcribed from Burgesse’s Thai-based Iu Mien Script into Unified Script by Tamami Arisawa in July 2014.)

The act of the eldest son lifting up his dying parent’s head slightly (1011<sup>-3</sup>) is said to help take the final breath peacefully. This means the *nyei ziangh.hoc* construction entails a period of time covering from the parent still having breath till actually passing away. Such a length of time is also implied by (1007<sup>-1-2</sup>)(i.e. though the missionaries were about to leave a village, they still had time to read a Chinese catechetical book with the villagers).

In contrast to that, the act of shooting a rifle to let the whole villagers know of the person’s death (1011<sup>-5</sup>) is quite time-specific, which is expressed by *wuov zanc* construction. In (1010) also, the moment one is smoking opium that is expressed by *wuov zanc* he is thinking that he will never do it again. It is understandable that this is so by virtue of the demonstrative pronoun *wuov* in the construction, yielding a

deictic function. It seems, then, *nyei ziangh.hoc* refers a certain length of time whereas *wuov zanc* points to the moment of an event that is happening.

### **Wuov.zanc occurring sentence-initially.**

As pre-empted briefly at the outset (before §18.3.1), the *wuov.zanc*-construction in the temporal subordinate clause (iv) has as high frequency to occur at the beginning of the main clause as the above-mentioned clause-final subordination marker. Thus, *wuov.zanc*, on the one hand, virtually functions as an inter-sentential conjunction. This, on the other hand, does not happen to *nyei ziangh.hoc* since the subordinating marker construction with that construction is bound to the preceding clause by the relative clause particle *nyei*.

Observe the two occurrences of the same form in different functions are found in a conversation between two Iu Mien men as in (1012<sup>-1-5</sup>), (where (1012<sup>-4-5</sup>) are the separate new sentence by the second speaker):

|                       |  |               |               |                     |
|-----------------------|--|---------------|---------------|---------------------|
| (1012 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Fux-Hin</i>                                 | <i>gorx</i>   | [ <i>meih</i> | <i>zinh.ndaangc</i> |
| ZM                    | ຝ-ຫິນ  | ກ້ອ           | [ເມ່ຍ         | ຕື່ນ.ດ່າງ           |
|                       | fu?˩ hin˥                                      | kɔ˥           | mei˥          | tsin˥ da:ŋ˥         |
|                       | Fu Hin   | elder.brother | 2SG           | formerly            |
|                       | 'Elder brother Fu Hin, when you were formerly' |               |               |                     |

|                       |                   |             |             |                                   |
|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1012 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>yiem</i>       | <i>Lauv</i> | <i>Deic</i> | <i>wuov.zanc]CL<sub>SUB</sub></i> |
| ZM                    | ເຢີມ              | ເລົ້າ       | ເຕັບ        | ວ້າ.ຫຼັ້ນ]CL <sub>SUB</sub>       |
|                       | jem˧              | lau˥        | tei˩        | ນອ່າ tsan˩                        |
|                       | be.in             | Laos        | country     | DEM.time                          |
|                       | 'living in Laos,' |             |             |                                   |

|                       |  |              |             |               |                               |
|-----------------------|--|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| (1012 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>[yiem</i>   | <i>haaix</i> | <i>norm</i> | <i>laangz</i> | <i>fai?]CL<sub>MAIN</sub></i> |
| ZM                    | [ເຢີມ  | ໜາຍ          | ນອມ         | ຄໍ້າງ         | ໄຟ?]CL <sub>MAIN</sub>        |
|                       | jem˧   | ha:i˧        | nom˧        | la:ŋ˧         | fai˧                          |
|                       | be.in  | which        | CLF         | village       | Q                             |
|                       | 'which village were you ?'                             |              |             |               |                               |
|                       | (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.00.00-05) |              |             |               |                               |

|                       |  |            |             |             |                  |                  |
|-----------------------|--|------------|-------------|-------------|------------------|------------------|
| (1012 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <b><i>Wuov.zanc</i></b>                        | <i>yie</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>Janx-Lauv</i> | <i>Deic.bung</i> |
| FH                    | ວັນ.ຫຼັນ                                       | ເມືຍ       | ນ້າວ        | ເມືຍມ       | ຈິ່ນ-ເລົາ        | ເຕັບ.ນູ່ງ        |
|                       | սອຍ tsan˥                                      | iə˥        | buaə˥       | jem˧        | can˥ lau˥        | tei˥ punj˧       |
|                       | DEM.time                                       | 1          | PL          | be.in       | non.Mien-Laos    | country          |
|                       | ‘At that time, we were in the county of Laos,’ |            |             |             |                  |                  |

(1012<sup>-5</sup>) *yiem* *Namv Gengx.*

FH ເມືຍມ ນັ້ນ ເກົງ.

jem˧ nam˥ keŋ˥

be.in Nam Keng

‘(that is,) in Nam Keng village.’

(ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.00.07-12)

While the clause-final temporal marker *wuov.zanc* in (1012<sup>-2</sup>) forms the subordinate clause before the main one, which in this case is the question (1012<sup>-3</sup>), the other *wuov.zanc*-construction in (1012<sup>-4</sup>) stands at the front of the independent sentence. Hence the glossing has been adjusted to differentiate two different functions appearing in the same form: the subordinate marker-*wuov.zanc* in (1012<sup>-2</sup>) ‘when’, in contrast to the inter-sentential conjunction-*wuov.zanc* in (1012<sup>-4</sup>) [DEM.time] ‘at that time’.

Incidentally, it should be noted that the second principle (RMF) is at work in (1012<sup>-4</sup>) and (1012<sup>-5</sup>): the broader locative setting is presented in the first place (the country of Laos), i.e., the left position; on the other hand the more specific, narrower focus comes second (the village), i.e., on the right position. (Cf. Principle 2 in §4.2.1).

(Back from a small digression), strictly speaking about the above-mentioned term “inter-sentential conjunction”, the first sentence (1012<sup>-1</sup>)(spoken by ZM) and the second (1012<sup>-4</sup>)(by FH) belong to two different persons, not that two connected sentences are spoken by one speaker. To provide a *bona fide* example of two sentences uttered by one speaker with the inter-sentential conjunction-*wuov.zanc* on ST2, see an example (1013<sup>-1</sup>), a part of which was already quoted in (869):

(1013<sup>-1</sup>) *yie* *mbuo* *wuov* *ngaanc* *deic.bung*

St1 ເມືຍ ນ້າວ ວ້າ ແກ່ານ ເຕັບ.ນູ່ງ

iə˥ buaə˥ սອຍ ຖານ˥ tei˥ punj˧

1 PL DEM shore country

‘We (were) there on the other side (of the Mekong river)’

(1013<sup>-2</sup>) *yaac mv maaih Li.Sorv.*  
 ໜ່າ ມີ ມ່າຍ ດີ.ຊ້ອ.  
*ja:<sub>L</sub> m<sup>Y</sup> ma:i<sub>N</sub> li<sub>L</sub> sc:<sup>Y</sup>*  
 TOP NEG have Lisu  
 ‘and there were no Lisu people.’

(1013<sup>-3</sup>) *Wuov.zanc mv gaengh buatc jiex Li.Sorv*  
 (=869) ST2 ວວ.ຫດ້ນ ມີ ແກ້ງ ປວັດ ເຈື້ບ ດີ.ຊ້ອ  
*uə<sup>Y</sup> tsan<sub>L</sub> m<sup>Y</sup> keŋ<sub>N</sub> p<sup>w</sup>at<sub>L</sub> ciə<sub>N</sub> li<sub>L</sub> sc:<sup>Y</sup>*  
 DEM.time neg AUX see EXP Lisu  
 ‘At that time, we had never seen the Lisu.’  
 (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.01.52-5)

Furthermore, a variation of this inter-sentential conjunction is also found. Observe *wuov norm ziangh.hoc* [DEM CLF time] ‘at that time’ at the beginning of a sentence in (1014<sup>-4</sup>) among the lines (1014<sup>-1-8</sup>):

(1014<sup>-1</sup>) *Wuov.zanc daaih yiem wuov jiex mbong*  
 St1 ວວ.ຫດ້ນ ຕ້າຍ ເມື່ຍ ວວ ເຈື້ບ ນັງ  
*uə<sup>Y</sup> tsan<sub>L</sub> ta:i<sub>N</sub> jem<sup>Y</sup> uə<sup>Y</sup> ciə<sub>N</sub> boŋ<sub>L</sub>*  
 DEM.time come be.in DEM upper.side mountain  
 ‘At that time (we) came to live there upper side of the mountain (in Laos).’

(1014<sup>-2</sup>) *yaac naaiv yaac paanc[cm.t] daaih*  
 ໜ່າ ນ້າຍ ໜ່າ ພ່ານ[cm.t] ຕ້າຍ  
*ja:<sub>L</sub> na:i<sup>Y</sup> ja:<sub>L</sub> p<sup>b</sup>a:n<sub>L</sub> ta:i<sub>N</sub>*  
 and.also DEM<sub>PRX</sub> TOP pass COME  
 ‘and also it [i.e. living there] had passed’

(1014<sup>-3</sup>) *duqv feix hmz ziepc hnyangx aqv.*  
 ຫຼູ ເຟຂ ອົມ ເທດີບນ ທະນັງ ອິ່ວ.  
*tu?<sub>L</sub> fei<sub>N</sub> m<sup>Y</sup> ts<sup>j</sup>əp<sub>L</sub> j̥nay<sub>N</sub> a?<sub>L</sub>*  
 GET four five ten year NSIT  
 ‘already forty or fifty years.’ (i.e. ‘By that time, we had lived in the upper side of the mountain for forty to fifty years.’)

|                       |                             |                                     |             |                 |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| (1014 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>Wuov norm ziangh.hoc</i> | <i>yie</i>                          | <i>zoux</i> | <i>fu'jueiv</i> |
| St2                   | វីវ នែម ឡេយ៉ាង.វិន          | ឱិឈ                                 | ិនទាហ       | ុំខូវិឈ         |
|                       | បោ។ នោម។                    | ts <sup>h</sup> aŋ <sup>h</sup> hoጀ | iጀ          | tsəuጀ           |
|                       | DEM CLF time                |                                     | 1SG make    | child           |

‘That time [i.e. toward the end of those forty to fifty years], I was a child,’

|                       |                         |             |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| (1014 <sup>-5</sup> ) | <i>corc faix</i>        | <i>nyei</i> |
|                       | អីរ ីឈ                  | ល្អឃ        |
|                       | ts <sup>h</sup> ɔጀ faiጀ | neiጀ        |
|                       | still be.small ASST     |             |

‘(I was) still very small.’

|                       |                  |            |              |                    |
|-----------------------|------------------|------------|--------------|--------------------|
| (1014 <sup>-6</sup> ) | <i>mv.baac</i>   | <i>yie</i> | <i>daaih</i> | <i>buatc</i>       |
| St3                   | អ៊.បៀ            | ឱិឈ        | ត៉ី          | ប្រវ័ត             |
|                       | mጀ pa:ጀ          | iጀ         | ta:iጀ        | p <sup>w</sup> atጀ |
|                       | but 1SG come see |            |              |                    |

‘but I came to see’

|                       |                                 |                  |                    |                                 |                 |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|
| (1014 <sup>-7</sup> ) | <i>&lt;domh mienh(83ms, 'h)</i> | <i>wuov.zanc</i> | <i>naaic</i>       | <i>zuangx</i>                   | <i>in(78ms)</i> |
|                       | 〈ពីម មើំយន(83ms, 'h)            | វីវ.អោន់ន        | នង់យ               | ិនទាហ                           | ិន(78ms)        |
|                       | tomጀ miənጀ                      | uəጀ tsanጀ        | na:iጀ              | ts <sup>w</sup> aŋ <sup>h</sup> | inጀ             |
|                       | parent                          | DEM.time         | DEM <sub>TOP</sub> | plant                           | opium           |

‘(that) my parents then (used to) plant opium,’

|                       |                     |                                 |             |             |                 |             |              |
|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
| (1014 <sup>-8</sup> ) | <i>caux</i>         | <i>zuangx</i>                   | <i>deix</i> | <i>baav</i> | <i>ga'maeqc</i> | <i>wuix</i> | <i>dungz</i> |
|                       | មេខា                | ិនទាហ                           | តេិ         | បៀ          | កែហេនះ          | ុំឃ         | ចុង          |
|                       | ts <sup>h</sup> auጀ | ts <sup>w</sup> aŋ <sup>h</sup> | teiጀ        | pa:ጀ        | ka me?ጀ         | uiጀ         | tunጀ         |
|                       | to.accompany        | to.plant                        | some        | a.few       | corn            | feed        | pig          |

‘and modestly planted some corn to feed pigs.’

(ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.00.41-54)

This small discourse consists in three sentences: ST1 (1014<sup>-1-3</sup>), ST2 (1014<sup>-4-5</sup>) and ST3 (1014<sup>-6-8</sup>). ST2 and ST3 are connected by *mv.baac* ‘but’. ST3 has a complement indicated by ⟨ ⟩ in (1014<sup>-7-8</sup>), which is composed of two clauses connected by *caux* [to accompany] ‘and’ in (1014<sup>-8</sup>).

Besides the sentence-initial temporal phrase *wuov norm ziangh.hoc* [DEM CLF time] ‘at that time’ in this example (1014<sup>-4</sup>), we can see two occurrences of *wuov zanc*

‘at that time’ in (1014<sup>-1</sup>) and (1014<sup>-7</sup>). Let us first consider a comparison of *wuov norm ziangh.hoc* (1014<sup>-4</sup>) and *wuov zanc* (1014<sup>-1</sup>). ST1 lead by *wuov zanc* covers the period of forty to fifty years, whereas ST2 narrows down to the speaker’s childhood indicated by *wuov norm ziangh.hoc*. It may be safe to conclude that while the sentence-initial-*wuov zanc* refers to a certain period of time, another sentence-initial construction *wuov norm ziangh.hoc* specifies a shorter time within the period. To render differentiated glosses respectively, *wuov zanc* should be ‘then’, and *wuov norm ziangh.hoc* ‘at that moment/point’.

Secondly, consider the different use of *wuov zanc* in (1014<sup>-7</sup>) from that of (1014<sup>-1</sup>). The former occurs within the complement clause of the cognitive verb *buatc* ‘to see’, modifying the verb *zuangx* ‘to plant’ therein, rather than leading a new sentence. Therefore it is obviously a temporal adverb (an adverb of time setting) at the clause level. At the sentence level also, one can easily observe that there is no clear distinction in labelling *wuov.zanc* and *wuov norm ziangh.hoc* whether as the “intersentential conjunction” or an “adverbial phrase of time setting”.

### 18.3.3 Pre-pendent Clauses That Are Marked Clause-medially

#### 18.3.3.1 Temporal clause marked by *yietv* ‘once, as soon as’

Temporal adverb *yietv* /jet˥/ ‘once, as soon as’ is related to the numeral *yietc* /jet˩/ ‘one’, and the clause that contains it becomes a dependent clause, unable to stand alone: *yietv*-clause must be followed by a main clause to complete a sentence. *Yietv*-construction is distinguished from the other four temporal subordinate clauses because *yietv* never occurs at the end of CL<sup>1</sup>. The pattern is:

- [NP *yietv* CL<sup>1</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub> - [CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> ‘as soon as CL<sup>1</sup>, CL<sup>2</sup>’

See an example in (1015):

|        |  |                     |             |                                 |               |             |   |
|--------|--|---------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|---------------|-------------|---|
| (1015) | [ <i>yie</i>   | <b><i>yietv</i></b> | <i>tiux</i> | <i>njiec</i> ]CL <sub>SUB</sub> | [ <i>haiz</i> | <i>corz</i> | <i>dangh</i> ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub> <sup>237</sup> |
|        | [ຢී]   | ຢීත්ද               | ටුව         | [හේඹ]CL <sub>SUB</sub>          | [හිං]         | ක්ර         | ත්ං]CL <sub>MAIN</sub>                          |
|        | iə˥  | jet˥                | tʰiu˧       | jɪə˥                            | hai˧          | tsʰɔː˧      | tan˥  |
|        | 1SG  | as.soon.as          | run         | descend                         | hear          | ONOM        | moment  |
|        | ‘As soon as I run down (in to the water with you on my back, you) will hear a wheezy sound for a moment (but don’t open your eyes).’ |                     |             |                                 |               |             |   |
|        | (ium_20140403_04_SonyHDR-MV1_DA_BungzCunFouv_Nda'maauhJaauz.MP4;00.10.07-11)   |                     |             |                                 |               |             |   |

<sup>237</sup> The original story goes: Nv norm nyei ziangh hoc, niex jienv... haiz... yie yietv tiux njiec haiz corz dangh nor meih mv duqv nungx m'zing oc ‘At that time, (she) carried (him) on her back (and said to him)

In coordination with *yietv* in the  $\text{CL}^1_{\text{SUB}}$ ,  $\text{CL}^2_{\text{MAIN}}$  may have an adverbial phrase *ziouc liemh.zeih* [then immediately] forming a construction as follows:

- $[\text{NP } \textit{yietv} \text{ CL}^1]_{\text{SUB}} - [\text{Top}_{\text{AGENT}} \textit{ziouc liemh.zeih} \text{ CL}^2]_{\text{MAIN}}$  ‘as soon as  $\text{CL}^1$ , immediately  $\text{CL}^2$ ’

An example of coordinated temporal markers is in (1016<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                                   |                                      |                          |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1016 <sup>-1</sup> )             | <i>[Meih yietv jiez.gorn gorngv]</i> | $\text{CL}_{\text{SUB}}$ |
|                                   | [ມ່ຍ ເຢືດ ່ົ້ມ.ກອນ ກ້ອງ]             | $\text{CL}_{\text{SUB}}$ |
|                                   | mei↓ jet↓ ciə↓ kɔn↓ kɔŋγ̚            |                          |
|                                   | 2SG as.soon.as begin speak           |                          |
| ‘As soon as you started to talk,’ |                                      |                          |

|                                   |                                  |                           |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| (1016 <sup>-2</sup> )             | <i>[yie liemh.zeih hiuv aqv]</i> | $\text{CL}_{\text{MAIN}}$ |
|                                   | [ເຢີຍ ເລື່ມ.ເຫຼຍ ຫົວ ອັບ]        | $\text{CL}_{\text{MAIN}}$ |
|                                   | iə↓ l̥em↓ tseɪ↓ hiu↓ a?↓         |                           |
|                                   | 1SG immediately know NSIT        |                           |
| ‘I immediately knew what it was.’ |                                  |                           |
| (Purnell 2012:374).               |                                  |                           |

Note that the sequential marker *ziouc* ‘then’ is optional.

### 18.3.3.2 Temporal clause marked by sequential marker *gau* ‘and then’

The temporal sequential marker *gau* ‘and then’ does not point to a specific time of event’s occurrence so much as the temporal constructions such as *nyei ziangh.hoc* ‘at the time of’ and *wuov zanc* ‘when’, which were surveyed in the previous sections. It simply presents a time passage from one event expressed in  $\text{CL}^1$  with *gau* to another in  $\text{CL}^2$ . The construction  $[\text{CL}^1 \text{ gau}]$  is prependent (i.e. the speaker cannot stop there), waiting to be completed by  $\text{CL}^2$ . The pattern is:

- $\text{CL}^1 \text{ gau}, \text{CL}^2. [\text{CL}^1 \text{ and.then}]_{\text{SUB}} - [\text{CL}^2]_{\text{MAIN}}$  ‘ $\text{CL}^1$ , and then  $\text{CL}^2$ ’

At this point, it may be appropriate to introduce a term “conceptual event”. Foley (2007:364) defines it as “a basic level semantic description of an event regardless of any real-world, speech-time instantiation of it”. Using this term, now

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“As soon as I run down (into the water with you on my back), you will hear wheezing sound but don’t open your eyes”. The deleted parts are underlined.

observe in (1017) that the semantic relationship between the [CL<sup>1</sup> *gau*] and CL<sup>2</sup> is simply a transition from one conceptual event to another despite the syntactic dependency of the former on the latter. See an example is (1017<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                       |                           |             |                   |                                   |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1017 <sup>-1</sup> ) | [ <i>Yie</i>              | <i>zouv</i> | <b><i>gau</i></b> | <i>hnaangx</i> ]CL <sub>SUB</sub> |
|                       | [ຢືນ]                     | ໄດ້ວ່າ      | ເກົ               | ຫອນາງ]CL <sub>SUB</sub>           |
|                       | iø̄                       | tsø̄v̄      | kaū              | ຫຼາງ                              |
|                       | 1SG                       | cook        | and.then          | rice                              |
|                       | 'I cooked rice and then,' |             |                   |                                   |

|                       |                                  |              |               |                                    |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|--------------|---------------|------------------------------------|
| (1017 <sup>-2</sup> ) | [ <i>douz</i>                    | <i>jaamh</i> | <i>nzengc</i> | <i>mi' aqv</i> ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub> |
|                       | [ໄຕວ່າ]                          | ຂ້າມ         | ເຫັກ່າ        | ໜີ່ ອື່]CL <sub>MAIN</sub>         |
|                       | tø̄v̄                            | ca:m̄        | dzeŋ̄         | mi] a?                             |
|                       | fire                             | sing         | CONSUME       | TELIC                              |
|                       | 'the fire singed all (my hair).' |              |               |                                    |

(Yauz-Guangv, (? 1970s), *Domh Naang Gouv* [A Story of the Big Snake] quoted in Arisawa (2006:57, 295))

The conceptual event of {I cook rice} is followed by the conceptual event of {fire singed all my hair}. *Gau* is used to show this order of transition between two events in a passage of time. The syntactic dependency of *gau*-clause on the main clause does not mean that the latter conveys a more important message than the former. Rather, the whole sentence describes that the two events happened in this order.

Though it is apparent that the clause containing *gau* functions as a temporal sequential predependent clause, an attention may be drawn to the NP *hnaangx* ‘rice’, which is seemingly dislocated or detached from the verb *zouv* ‘to cook’. This very position of *gau* again may be a piece of evidence that the constituent order “so-called SVO” is not grammaticalised in Iu Mien. It should be recalled that this loose verb-medial order is an entailment of Principle 3: “Iu Mien is a verb-medial language in which the positions of Topic (possibly realised as AGENT) and Focus (possibly containing THEME) are pragmatically assigned. Even though a sentence in which Topic is realised as A and Focus containing TH has an appearance “SVO”, the word order is not necessarily grammaticalised” (§4.2.1).

The temporal sequential subordinate clause so far exhibits the structure [NP<sup>1</sup> V *gau* NP<sup>2</sup>], as labelled as the clause-medially marked predependent clause. In other cases, a simpler clause can be used: V-*gau* as in (1018):

|        |   |   |                |              |              |  |
|--------|---|---|----------------|--------------|--------------|--|
| (1018) | [ <i>Ndortv</i>   | <b><i>gau</i></b> ] <sub>CL<sub>SUB</sub></sub> | [ <i>zengc</i> | <i>ziepc</i> | <i>nyeic</i> | <i>fingx.</i> ] <sub>CL<sub>MAIN</sub></sub> |
|        | [ດືອດ   | ເກາ]CL <sub>SUB</sub>                           | [ເຫດິ່ນ        | ເຫດີບນ       | ເຫດຸ່ນ       | ຶງ.]CL <sub>MAIN</sub>                       |
|        | dət]  | kau̯]   | tseŋ]          | tsəp̯]       | nei̯]        | fiŋ̯]  |
|        | fall  | and.then  | remain         | ten          | two          | clan   |
|        | '(One clan) fell (into the sea and drowned), and then twelve clans survived.' |   |                |              |              |  |
|        | (ium_20130514_01_H1_DA_LeizFuqcDorngh_Gouv-Santiphaap;00.00.46-8)             |   |                |              |              |  |

This type of simplified construction can be seen with verbs of more general senses. Examples of V-*gau* are:

*Yiem gau* [be.in and.then] ‘stayed/lived there and then’, ‘after staying there’  
*Zoux gau* [do and.then] ‘did so and then’, ‘after doing so’

More colloquial forms of temporal sequential clause are also found:

*Gau aeqv* [then PDP] ‘and then’

*Yietc gau* [one then] ‘as usual’ < ‘as has been done in the past’

### 18.3.4 Pre-pendent Clauses That Are Marked both Clause-initially and Clause-finally

The conditional clause is the only one that belongs to this type.

#### 18.3.4.1 Conditional clause marked by *se gorngv* ... nor *aeqv* ‘if...then’

A conditional sentence in Iu Mien consists of a protasis (i.e. a conditional subordinate clause) marked by *se gorngv...nor aeqv* ‘if’ and an apodosis (i.e. a main clause). The construction has paired elements enclosing the core part of the clause as follows:

- *Se gorngv* CL<sup>1</sup> *nor aeqv*, CL<sup>2</sup>. [if CL<sup>1</sup> as]<sub>SUB</sub> – [CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> ‘if CL<sup>1</sup>, then CL<sup>2</sup>’

#### *Variation of se gorngv is six gorngv.*

There is a phonological and orthographical variant of *se gorngv*, that is, *six gorngv* ‘if’, which is used in Thailand as ສີ ກ້ອງ. While it is not clear which of these (*se gorngv* and *six gorngv*) is an underlying form, if the original meaning of this

construction was *seix*<sup>238</sup> *gorngv* {try}{say} ‘to say hypothetically’, the form *se gorngv* might have been closer to an original form than the Thailand variant of *six gorngv*. The full form is illustrated in (1019<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|   |                     |             |              |                |  |
|---|---------------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|--|
| (1019 <sup>-1</sup> )   | [ <b>Six.gorngv</b> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>nyanc</i> | <i>hnaangx</i> |  |
|   | [ສີ.ກ່ອງ            | ນ້ວ         | ໜູ້ນ         | ຫນາງ           |  |
|   | siː kɔŋ             | buə̥l       | ŋanl         | nuaŋl          |  |
|   | if                  | 1PL         | eat          | rice           |  |
| ‘If we [spirit priests] are invited to have meal (with the host)’ |                     |             |              |                |  |

|  |            |             |              |              |                   |                      |                     |
|--|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| (1019 <sup>-2</sup> )                                    | <i>oix</i> | <i>baac</i> | <i>naaic</i> | <i>lorqc</i> | <b><i>nor</i></b> | <b><i>aeqv</i></b> ] | CL <sub>SUB</sub> , |
|  | ອ້ອຍ       | ປໍາ         | ໜ່າຍ         | ເຫດະ         | ນອ                | ແລ້ວ                 | CL <sub>SUB</sub> , |
|  | ɔiː        | paːl        | naːiːl       | lɛʔl         | nɔːl              | ɛʔl                  |                     |
|  | want       | finish      | there        | SFP          | as                | TOP                  |                     |
| ‘and (if we) want to finish it off (to leave the table)’ |            |             |              |              |                   |                      |                     |

|  |             |                   |            |             |            |             |                |                    |
|--|-------------|-------------------|------------|-------------|------------|-------------|----------------|--------------------|
| (1019 <sup>-3</sup> )  | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>qiemx.zuqc</i> | <i>tov</i> | <i>fuqy</i> | <i>bun</i> | <i>deix</i> | <i>ziovu</i> ] | CL <sub>MAIN</sub> |
|  | ນ້ວ         | ເລື່ມ.ຫຼຸ         | ໄທ້        | ຟຸ          | ປຸນ        | ເຕັບ        | ເຕື່ອງ         |                    |
|  | buə̥l       | cʰieml tsuʔl      | tʰoŋ       | fuʔl        | punl       | teiːl       | tsɔ̥əŋ         |                    |
|  | 1PL         | need              | ask        | blessing    | give       | some        | master         |                    |
| ‘(then) we need to ask some blessing for the host.’<br>(ium_c1970_03_CT_x_y_TradRelgn;00.08.31-41) |             |                   |            |             |            |             |                |                    |

There are four variations of this construction *se.gorngv* ... *lorqc nor aeqv* by ellipsis:

- *Se gorngv* ... *nor*
- *Se gorngv*
- *Gorngv*
- *Nor,*

All means ‘if ..., then...’

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<sup>238</sup> The monophthong *e* in *sex* is a reduced form of the diphthong *ei* in *seix* ‘to try’. In Thailand *six gorngv* is used as they are thus pronounced. Among the Iu Mien in the US, however, the spelling *se gonrv* is preferred. There was a discussion during the time of orthography designing in the US that the spelling *sex gorngv*, which correctly expresses the rising tone by *-x*, was decided to be avoided since the frequent appearance of the spelling evokes the English meaning of a different word in printed materials. Thus, the choice of the form *se gorngv* was a result to the sociolinguistics consideration.

### 18.3.5 Post-pendent Clauses That Are Marked Clause-initially

In contrast to other combinations of {subordinate clause}{main clause}, the purpose clause, the reason clause and simile (manner) clause usually occur at the end of a sentence, i.e., {main clause}{subordinate clause<sub>PURPOSE/CAUSE/SIM</sub>}. As a review of the overall default conceptual structure of topic-focus Figure 46 from §4.2.2 is replicated as follows:

| Left    | Right         |
|---------|---------------|
| general | particular    |
| theme   | rHEME         |
| topic   | comment/focus |
| margin  | nucleus       |
| ground  | figure        |
| broad   | specific      |
| whole   | part          |

**Figure 46. The order of two main elements in sentence.**

All the pre-pendent clauses in the hypotactic structure explicated so far (§§18.3.1–4) fit the scheme shown in Figure 46. That is, {subordinate clause}(on the left) + {main clause}(on the right). However, why do the purpose/reason/simile clauses which are syntactically subordinate occur in the latter part of the sentence? Is the right-ward position not a place for the main clause? The reason will be presented with illustrations in the following sections.

#### 18.3.5.1 *The principle of iconicity*

When we consider the overall structure of an Iu Mien sentence posited in §4.2.1, i.e., {topic first}{focus later} or {setting on the left}{main action on the right}, the right-ward place of the purpose/reason/simile clauses is problematic.

Why do these subordinate clauses come in the place of focus, i.e., the latter part of a sentence? The reason or motivation for that is a matter of iconicity. The Iu Mien seem to perceive the relationship between the main clause and the subordinate clause of purpose/cause/simile in terms of an actual order of an event followed by an abstract concept. In other words, a concrete action that happened (i.e. realis) is stated first as the main clause; then, the purpose which is yet to happen (i.e. unrealis) is appended as a subordinate clause. For the cause clause, the same principle is at work: an actual event/action in realis is stated first; then, the reason for the past action is added later for it is more abstract or conceptual. As to the simile clause, it is a

quotation of a common knowledge between the interlocutors from the memory, history, cultural norm, proverbs, well-known phenomena, etc. to illustrate the main message expressed in the preceding main clause. Hence, the information from an abstract depository tends to be post-pended to comply with the principle of the concrete-abstract in this respect. A summarising schematisation of this principle is:

- {concrete, visible, actual event} CL<sup>1</sup><sub>MAIN</sub>, {abstract, invisible, mental info} CL<sup>2</sup><sub>SUB</sub>

### 18.3.5.2 Purpose clause, *weic* ‘in order that’

The purpose clause marked by *weic* ‘for, in order that’ occurs after a main clause as in a formula:

- CL<sup>1</sup>, *weic* CL<sup>2</sup>. [CL<sup>1</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> – [in.order.that CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub> ‘CL<sup>1</sup> in order that CL<sup>2</sup>’

An example of this construction is in (1020<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| (1020 <sup>-1</sup> ) | [ <i>oix.zuqc</i> <i>daix</i> <i>norm</i> <i>jai</i> ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub> |
|                       | [ອ້ອຍ.ໜຸດ    ໄຕ    ນອມ    ໄຈ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub>                          |
|                       | ໄຟ່ ຕສູ້ ຕາີ ນົມ ດ້າ   |
|                       | must kill CLF chicken  |
|                       | ‘(People) must kill a chicken’   |

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| (1020 <sup>-2</sup> ) | [ <i>weic</i> <i>tim.mienh</i> <sup>239</sup> . <i>kuv</i> , <i>gapv</i> <i>diuv</i> ]CL <sub>SUB</sub>         |
|                       | [ເຫຼັຍ                      ທິມ.ເມື່ຍນ .ຄູ່                      ກົບ                      ຕຶງ]CL <sub>SUB</sub> |
|                       | ເວີ ຕິມ ມື່ຍນ ຂູ່ ກົບ ຕຶງ   |
|                       | in.order.to register.to.guardian.spirit mingle wine   |
|                       | ‘in order to register (a bride to household guardian spirits and ceremonially) mingle wine.’                    |
|                       | (Gueix-Cing & Burgess, 1970s, <i>Gorngv Sieqv Nyei Yietc Nyeic</i> [A Procedure of Betrothal Ceremony], KMB)    |

Observe that the act of killing a chicken is visible and tangible in contrast to the religious or spiritual sense expressed in the purpose clause *weic*, which is placed after the main clause. The principle of iconicity is to say what you are seeing first and a reason afterward.

<sup>239</sup> Burgess’s text read *tim mienv kuv* with the high-rise falling tone /-v/ on *mienv* ‘spirit’. Purnell’s dictionary (2012:696) lists *tim mienh kuv* with the mid-falling tone /-h/ on *mienh* ‘person’: ‘to ritually add a member (e.g., baby, wife) to the household registry, thus placing them under the protection and care of the spirits’.

### 18.3.5.3 Reason clause weic zuqc ‘because’

The pattern of the post-pendent reason clause that is marked clause-initially is:

- CL<sup>1</sup>, *weic zuqc* CL<sup>2</sup>. [CL<sup>1</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> – [because CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub> ‘CL<sup>1</sup> because CL<sup>2</sup>’

An example of this type is (1021<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| (1021 <sup>-1</sup> ) | [ <i>Yie</i> <i>nyiemv</i> <i>nyei</i> , <i>mai</i> v <i>haih</i> <i>fungc</i> <i>zoux</i> ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub> |
|                       | [ຢືບ    ເນື້ມ    ໄມຍ,    ໄມ໌    ໄກ່    ຜົງ    ໂຫດວ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub>  |
|                       | iə́l    jem^ʌ    neil    mai^ʌ    haiŋ    funjʌ    tsəuŋ   |
|                       | 1SG    cry    ASST    NEG    be.able    how.come    do   |
|                       | ‘I can’t help crying,’   |

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| (1021 <sup>-2</sup> ) | [ <i>weic.zuqc</i> <i>yie</i> <i>mv</i> <i>maaih</i> <i>maa</i> ]CL <sub>SUB</sub> |
|                       | [ເຫວ່າຍ.ຫຸ້ມ    ເຂີຍ    ມ້    ມ່າຍ    ມາ]CL <sub>SUB</sub>                         |
|                       | weiŋ tsu?ŋ iə́l m̥^ʌ ma:iŋ ma:ŋ  |
|                       | because 1SG NEG have mother  |

‘because I don’t have mother.’

(Burgess and Yauz-Guangv, the 1970s, *Laaix Die Nyei Nding-Tong, Sieqv Duqv Zoux Hungh Nyei Auv Nyei Gouv* [A Story of a Daughter Becoming the King’s Wife Because of Her Father’s Leaking Basket], KMB)

Observe that what is currently happening is uttered first in the main clause, and its reason, which is unknown to the hearer unless stated, is given afterward in the subordinate clause.

The next example has the reason clause with more mental content, which again occurs sentence-finally as in (1022<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| (1022 <sup>-1</sup> ) | [ <i>Mienv</i> <i>aapv</i> <i>ninh</i> <i>mbuo</i> <i>gorngv</i> ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub> |
|                       | [ເມື່ອນ    ອ້ານ    ນິນ    ບັວ    ກ້ອງ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub>                             |
|                       | miən^ʌ a:pŋ ninŋ buəŋ kɔŋŋ   |
|                       | spirit force 3 PL talk   |

‘A spirit forces them to talk,’

|                       |                    |             |             |               |           |                                |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| (1022 <sup>-2</sup> ) | [ <i>weic.zuqc</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>hnyouv</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>benx</i> ]CL <sub>SUB</sub> |
|                       | [ເວິ່ງ.ຫຼຸດ        | ນິ້ນ        | ນັວ         | ເຮັດໜ້າ       | ນີ້       | ເປົ້ນ]CL <sub>SUB</sub>        |
|                       | wei] tsu?]'        | nin]        | buə̄]       | ŋ̥iə̄v̥ŋ̥     | m̥ŋ̥      | pen̥]                          |
|                       | because            | 3           | PL          | heart         | NEG       | be                             |

‘because their hearts are not right/honest.’

(Burgess and Yauz-Guangv, the 1970s, *Douc-Dangh Yinh, Caeqv-Yinh, Nda'maauh Yinh [Various Ceremonies]*, KMB)

The situation is about a spirit-controlled/possessed automatic talk. Observe the principle of iconicity that is evident here as well. The presentation of [CL<sup>1</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> comes first due to the immediacy of the visible, concrete, external phenomenon. On the other hand, an invisible, mental, internal, or spiritual reason follows afterwards in [CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub>.

However, unlike English, a fragmental (or orphaned) reason clause may also occur. In English, *because*-clause itself cannot stand alone: \**because it is ungrammatical* (a main clause must precedes or follows this incomplete piece). In Iu Mien there are cases where *weic.zuqc*-clause is left alone which gives a reason for the previously finished sentence. Or *weic.zuqc* itself starts a new sentence as a part of a large discourse followed by a cluster of more clauses and sentences. These are at the discourse level.

The reverse order, at the sentence level, may happen with regard to the cause clause but in this case the principle of iconicity is no longer at work.

- *Weic.zuqc* CL<sup>1</sup>, CL<sup>2</sup> (=main clause). ‘Because CL<sup>1</sup>, CL<sup>2</sup>.’

In this order both the reason clause and the main clause receive some kind of special focus. For this reason [CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>MAIN</sub> also has the conjunction *cingx.daaih* ‘therefore’:

- *Weic.zuqc* CL<sup>1</sup>, *cingx.daaih* CL<sup>2</sup> [because CL<sup>1</sup>, therefore CL<sup>2</sup>] ‘Because CL<sup>1</sup>, therefore CL<sup>2</sup>.’

A variation of *weic zuqc*, the Chinese-loan *yien weic* /jen̥/ ‘because’ (< *yīnwèi* 因为) is also used for introducing the reason clause as in (1023<sup>-1</sup>):

|                       |  |                  |                     |               |               |
|-----------------------|--|------------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------|
| (1023 <sup>-1</sup> ) | [ <i>Ninh jiex</i> ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub> , | <i>yien.weic</i> | [ <i>biauv-ziov</i> | <i>zuangx</i> | <i>ziangx</i> |
|                       | [ນິ້ນ ່ີບ]CL <sub>MAIN</sub> ,           | ຍື່ນ.ເຫວ່ຍ       | [ບ່າວູ-ຕື້ຂາ        | ຫດວັງ         | ເຫດືອງ        |
|                       | nin]                                     | ciə̄]            | jiə̄n̥ wei]         | p̥aū]        | ts̥waī]      |
|                       | 3SG                                      | pass             | because             | house-master  | plant         |

‘A man was walking through (someone’s rice field), because the house owner had finished planting’

|                       |  |                |             |                       |              |
|-----------------------|--|----------------|-------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| (1023 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>yietc</i>   | <i>hnyangx</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>siang-mbiauh</i> ] | $CL_{SUB}$ . |
|                       | ເຫີ່ຍດ   | ຂອ້ງ           | ເງູບ        | ເຊີຍ-ເປົ້າ            | $CL_{SUB}$ . |
|                       | jet]   | ŋanŋ]          | ŋei]        | s'anŋ] b'au]          |              |
|                       | one  | year           | SBCP        | new-rice              |              |
|                       | ‘the new rice for (the coming) one year.’  |                |             |                       |              |
|                       | (Cunh Luangh and Burgess, early 1970s, <i>Mienh Benx Maaz Daaih Nyei Gouv [A Story of People Becoming a Horse]</i> ) |                |             |                       |              |

### 18.3.6 Post-pendent Clauses That Are Marked Both Clause-initially and Clause-finally

A manner (e.g. *like...*) and comparison with something (e.g. *as...*, *as if...*) are expressed in the construction as follows:

- $CL^1, hnangv CL^2 wuov nor. [CL^1]_{MAIN} - [as.if CL^2 like.that]_{SUB}$  ‘ $CL^1$ , as if  $CL^2$ ’

Naming it as a “simile clause”, we will investigate how the principle of iconicity is at work in the order of {main clause}{subordinate clause}. The construction [*hnangv CL<sup>2</sup> wuov nor*] or the post-pendent simile clause conveys information which is quoted from shared knowledge between the interlocutors or from socially/culturally shared memory or commonly observed norm. Note that the obvious and visible event is uttered first followed by a reference to the shared knowledge in (1024<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                                      |                          |  |                 |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|--|-----------------|
| (1024 <sup>-1</sup> )                | <i>Ov!</i>               | <i>[aa die nyei m'zing hlo daic]</i>   | $CL_{MAIN}$     |
|                                      | ໄວ!                      | [ອາ ເດີ ເງູບ ມັງ ໄກດ ໄດ]   | $CL_{MAIN}$     |
|                                      | o: <sup>1</sup>          | a: <sup>1</sup> tiə <sup>1</sup> ŋei <sup>1</sup> m tsin <sup>1</sup> lo <sup>1</sup> tai <sup>1</sup> |                 |
|                                      | INTJ AFC father POSS eye | be.big   | die (extremely) |
| ‘Oh, Dad, your eyes are super huge!’ |                          |  |                 |

|   |                                       |  |
|---|---------------------------------------|--|
| (1024 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <i>[hnangv wuov biauv coux-ndiev]</i> |  |
|   | [ຂນ້າງ ວ້າ ເປົ້າ ໄທຈວ-ເດືອນ]          |  |
|   | ŋanŋ <sup>1</sup>                     | uə <sup>1</sup> p'au <sup>1</sup> tsʰəbu <sup>1</sup> diə <sup>1</sup> |
|   | like DEM house                        | bed-under  |
| ‘just like that (which you have stolen and hidden) under the bed’ |                                       |  |

|                       |   |              |             |               |                               |
|-----------------------|---|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| (1024 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>wuov</i>   | <i>yungh</i> | <i>daic</i> | <i>m'zing</i> | <i>nor</i> ]CL <sub>SUB</sub> |
|                       | ဗုံး  | ယျွှေ့       | ၍           | မခြို့        | နစ်]                          |
|                       | uə̄   | jun̥l        | tai̥l       | m̥ tsin̥l     | nɔ̄l                          |
|                       | DEM   | sheep        | die         | eye           | as                            |
|                       | ‘just like the eyes of that dead sheep of (our) house.’                         |              |             |               |                               |
|                       | (Burgess, the 1970s, <i>Yungh Daic M'zing Gouv [A Story of the Dead Goat]</i> ) |              |             |               |                               |

Note again the iconicity of the “visible first” and “quotation of shared knowledge later”. The conspicuousness of the father’s enlarged eyes is intuitive to the son, accordingly uttered immediately. The obviousness invited a comparison with the shared knowledge (only between the father and son, hidden from the public eyes of a village). (The son’s innocent reaction to father’s enlarged eyes exposed the hidden, invisible information to the whole villagers.)

### 18.3.7 Summary of Hypotaxis

In the case of pre-pendent clauses, i.e.,

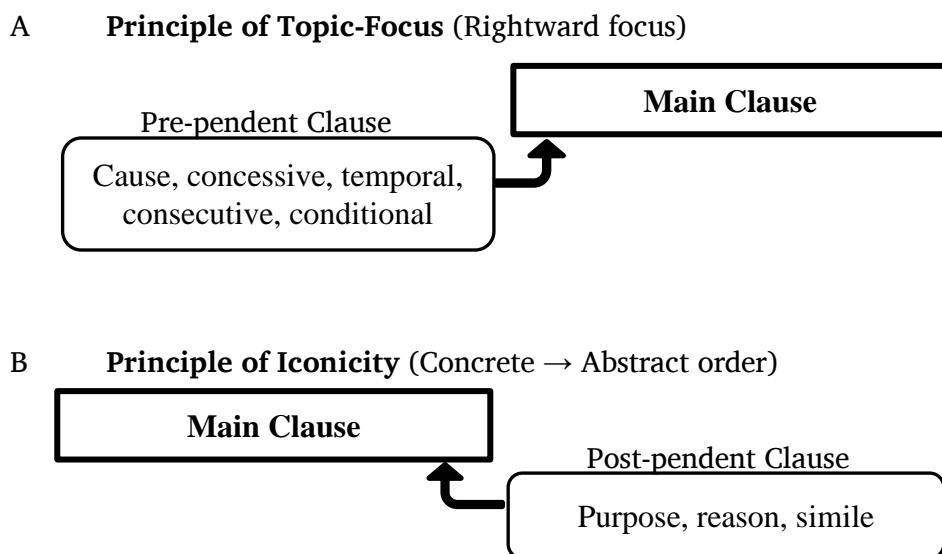
- Causal clause: [laaix-CL<sup>1</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub> ‘due to the fact that’
- Concessive clause: [maiv.gunv-CL<sup>1</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub> ‘although’
- Temporal clause: [CL<sup>1</sup>-nyei.ziangh.hoc]<sub>SUB</sub> ‘at the time’
- Temporal clause: [CL<sup>1</sup>-wuov.zanc]<sub>SUB</sub> ‘when’
- Temporal clause: [NP-yietv- CL<sup>1</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub> ‘as soon as’
- Consecutive clause: [V-gau-CL<sup>1</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub> ‘V and then’
- Conditional clause: [se.gorngv-CL<sup>1</sup>-nor]<sub>SUB</sub> ‘if’,

the principle of Topic-Focus (right-ward focus) governs the sentence structure (as according to the first and second principle, §4.2.1).

On the other hand, in the cases of post-pendent clauses, i.e.,

- Purpose clause: [weic-CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub> ‘in order that , so that’
- Reason clause: [weic.zuqc-CL<sup>2</sup>]<sub>SUB</sub> ‘because’
- Simile clause: [hnangv-CL<sup>2</sup>-(wuov) nor]<sub>SUB</sub> ‘like, as if’,

the principle of iconicity (i.e. concrete information first, abstract information afterward) is at work. The summary of these points are in Figure 68:



**Figure 68. Two major principles governing the order of hypotaxis**

(Figure from Arisawa 2015, SEALS25)

## 18.4 Complementation

Noonan (2007:52) defines a sentential complementation as “the syntactic situation that arises when a notional sentence or predication is an argument of a predicate”. He further distinguishes “subject complements” (i.e. clauses which act as sentential subject) and “object complements” (i.e. clauses which act as objects of predicates). In this section object complements are discussed. As for the complements that act as topics, they have been discussed in Chapter 10, where a clause is treated as a topic in many cases.

The “complement-taking predicates” (CTPs) (Noonan 2007:53) in Iu Mien include *gorngv* ‘to say’, *buatc* ‘to see’, *hnamv daaih* ‘to think’, *hiuv duqv* ‘to know’, *jangx duqv* ‘(can) remember’, *jangx zuqc* ‘to recall’, *sienx* ‘to believe’, *mbuox* ‘to tell’, *ga’laaic* ‘to assume’, *cai* ‘to guess’, and others.

The majority of the CTPs in Iu Mien do not require a complement marker like English *that* in *I think that...* or Thai *wâa* in *kʰít wâa* (คิดว่า) ‘think that...’. Only a small class of modal verbs serve as complement markers, namely, *daaih* ‘to come’, *taux* ‘to reach’, *duqv* ‘to get’, *zuqc* ‘to touch’ and in the following phrases:

- *hnamv daaih* [love COME] ‘to think that’
- *hnamv taux* [love reach] ‘to think about’
- *hiuv duqv* [know GET] ‘to know that’
- *jangx zuqc* [remember TOUCH] ‘to recall’

These compounds of [V + V<sub>MODAL</sub>] are not discussed here because they were investigated in §6.7.4.9.

In the following section, it will be demonstrated that all object-taking complement constructions do not have a complement marker except for one. The only situation in which a complement marker is used is with the **utterance verbs** in the following construction containing *gorngv* ‘to say’ as a complement marker:

- *naaic* {person} *gorngv* [ask person say] ‘to ask {person} if...’
- *heuc* {person} *gorngv* [call person say] ‘to call {person} that...’
- *mbuox* {person} *gorngv* [tell person say] ‘to tell {person} that...’
- *baaux* {song} *gorngv* [sing song say] ‘to sing a song saying that...’

The first constituent of each construction is termed as **utterance verbs**, used in Givón (2001:155, 165, 309, 319 etc.) as a part of “perception-cognition-utterance verbs” or PCU verbs, in the sense they are the verbs that are related to speech event or verbal activity (oral or written).

### 18.4.1 *gorngv* ‘say that’

Observe the verb *gorngv* ‘say that...’ directly takes the complement clause as in (1025<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                       |             |             |                      |  |  |
|-----------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|--|--|
| (1025 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <b><i>gorngv</i></b> |  |  |
|                       | ນິ້ນ        | ບ້າວ        | ກ້ອງ                 |  |  |
|                       | nin\        | buə\        | kɔŋ\                 |  |  |
|                       | 3           | PL          | say                  |  |  |
|                       | ‘They said’ |             |                      |  |  |

|                       |   |             |              |             |                |              |
|-----------------------|---|-------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|
| (1025 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>&lt;ninh</i>                                       | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>daaih</i> | <i>zunh</i> | <i>doz&gt;</i> | <i>norh.</i> |
|                       | 〈ນິ້ນ   | ບ້າວ        | ດ້າຍ         | ຜູ່ນ        | ໄຕ້〉           | ນ່ອ.         |
|                       | nin\  | buə\        | ta:i\        | tsun\       | to\            | nɔ\          |
|                       | 3   | PL          | come         | preach      | doctrine       | RPOT         |
|                       | ‘(that) they came to preach the doctrine, they said.’ |             |              |             |                |              |
|                       | (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.07.38-9) |             |              |             |                |              |

## 18.4.2 say-Complement-Taking Predicates: *gorngv* ‘saying that...’

If the complement-taking verbs belong to a semantic domain of a speech event or verbal activity (oral or written), namely speech verbs, the verb *gorngv* ‘to say’ precedes the complement. The speech verb *naaic* ‘to ask’ is complemented by *gorngv* followed by a direct question as in (1026<sup>-1-4</sup>):

|  |            |             |           |             |            |             |              |             |             |
|--|------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (1026 <sup>-1</sup> )  | <i>Yie</i> | <i>haiz</i> | <i>nv</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>die</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>naaic</i> | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> |
|  | ເຢີ້ຍ      | ໄຟ້         | ນ້ຳ       | ເແງ່ຍ       | ເຕື້ອຍ     | ນ້າວ        | ຫ່າຍ່າຍ      | ນິ້ນ        | ນ້າວ        |
|  | iø̄l       | hai;l       | n̄y       | nei;l       | tiø̄l      | buø̄l       | na:i;l       | nin;l       | buø̄l       |
|  | 1SG        | hear        | 1SG       | POSS        | father     | PL          | ask          | 3           | PL          |
| ‘I heard my father and his associates asked them (these missionaries)’ |            |             |           |             |            |             |              |             |             |

|   |               |               |             |             |            |       |             |               |
|---|---------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------|-------------|---------------|
| (1026 <sup>-2</sup> )                                     | <i>gorngv</i> | “ <i>Meih</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>doz</i> |       | <i>yiem</i> | <i>haaix?</i> |
|   | ກົ້ອງ         | “ເມື່ອ        | ນ້າວ        | ເແງ່ຍ       | ໄດ້        |       | ເຢີ້ຍມ      | ໜາຍ?          |
|   | køŋγ̄y        | mei;l         | buø̄l       | nei;l       | to;l       |       | jem;l       | ha:i;l        |
|   | say           | 2             | PL          | POSS        | doctrine   | be.at | where       |               |
| ‘saying “Where is your (thing that you call )“doctrine”?’ |               |               |             |             |            |       |             |               |

|                       |              |                     |             |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------|-------------|
| (1026 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Dongh</i> | <i>hai.v.nyungc</i> | <i>doz?</i> |
|                       | ຕັ້ງ         | ໄຊ້.ໜູ່ງ            | ໄດ້?        |
|                       | toŋ;l        | hai;y nyung;l       | to;l        |
|                       | same         | what                | doctrine    |
| “What doctrine?”      |              |                     |             |

|  |              |              |            |            |             |              |                |
|--|--------------|--------------|------------|------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| (1026 <sup>-4</sup> )                                  | <i>Zorqv</i> | <i>daaih</i> | <i>bun</i> | <i>yie</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>mangc</i> | <i>gaax</i> ”. |
|  | ເຕະກະ        | ຕ້າຍ         | ປຸນ        | ເຢີ້ຍ      | ນ້າວ        | ໜມ້ັງ        | ກໍາ”.          |
|  | tsɔ?l        | ta:i;l       | pun;l      | iø̄l       | buø̄l       | maŋ;l        | ka:l           |
|  | Take         | come         | give       | 1          | PL          | see          | try            |
| ““Bring it here to let us see (with our eyes).””       |              |              |            |            |             |              |                |
| (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.07.46-53) |              |              |            |            |             |              |                |

There may be two reasons for the development of *gorngv* as a complement marker for any kinds of verbs at present in Thailand and the USA. The first is the existence of such use with the speech verbs as above. The second is the close similarity

with Thai *wâa* (ว่า) ‘saying; thus, that’ (Haas 1964:502).<sup>240</sup> These two reasons might have prepared the way to the new Iu Mien which widely uses *gorngv* as a complement marker. In Thai the third sense, after the first (‘to say’) and the second (‘to scold’) in Haas’s dictionary (*ibid.* 502) is the grammaticalised complement marker. She comments that:

[v]erbs of saying, asking, knowing, etc. are fol[lowed] by ว่า which is usually trans[lated] as ‘that’ (occ. ‘whether’) or not translated (Haas 1964:502).

It should be noted that Haas points out that a translation of Thai *wâa* sometimes does not need the complement markers in English. For example, translating a Thai sentence မျှော်သာမန်၏တို့မှ pʰǒm rú wâa man tʰùk.tɔŋ [1SG know say it be.correct] into ‘I know it’s right’ without *that* after *know* is quite acceptable. An interesting phenomenon is that more and more young Iu Mien both in Thailand and the USA are using *gorngv* ‘to say’ as a complement marker following Thai and English despite the fact that English can omit *that*.

However, older Iu Mien still use the majority CTPs with no complement markers. The next sections will demonstrate such cases in selected CTPs.

#### 18.4.3 *buatc* ‘see that’

The verb *buatc* ‘to see’ takes another verb without any complement marker as in (1027):

|  |             |               |            |             |             |              |                  |
|--|-------------|---------------|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|
| (1027)   | <i>Zoux</i> | <i>ziangx</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>yaac</i> | <i>mai⁹</i> | <i>buatc</i> | <i>{bieqc}</i> . |
|  | ໜາວ         | ແຫຼືຍ         | ນອ         | ໜໍາ         | ໄມ້         | ປວດ          | 〈ເປີຂະ〉.         |
|  | tsəʊŋ       | ts'æŋ         | nɔː        | jaː         | mai⁹        | pʷatʃ        | piəʔʃ            |
|  | make        | CMPL          | as         | TOP         | NEG         | see          | enter            |
| ‘(My father and we children) finished making (a cage with prey in it and waited) but (we) didn’t see (the tiger) entering (it).’ |             |               |            |             |             |              |                  |
| (ium_2000_01_CT_IB_FuqcHin_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.13.18-20)   |             |               |            |             |             |              |                  |

#### 18.4.4 *mbuox* ‘tell that’

Even a speech verb *mbuox* ‘to tell’ sometimes does not use *gorngv* as in (1028<sup>1-2</sup>):

<sup>240</sup> Mary R. Haas (1964:502) also indicates the primary meaning of *wâa* (ว่า) is ‘to say’, followed by the sense 2, which is ‘to scold, criticize’.

|  |              |               |              |              |                |                  |                     |
|--|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------|
| (1028 <sup>-1</sup> )  | <i>Mbuox</i> | [ <i>meih</i> | <i>mbuo</i>  | <i>yietc</i> | <i>zuangx</i>  | <i>loz-mienh</i> | <i>siang-mienh</i>  |
|  | บ៉ា          | [មេឃ]         | ប៉ា          | ហើីឃុំ       | ទៅវាំង         | ត្រូវ-មីេន       | ថីឃោះ-មីេន          |
|  | <i>buə̥₁</i> | <i>mei៥</i>   | <i>buə̥₁</i> | <i>jet៥</i>  | <i>tsʷan៥₁</i> | <i>loᅯ miənᅯ</i> | <i>sᅯanᅯ₁ miənᅯ</i> |
|  | tell         | 2             | PL           | one          | all            | old.people       | new.people          |
| ‘(I) tell all of you, those who have been here and the newcomers,’ |              |               |              |              |                |                  |                     |

|   |              |               |              |              |             |                |
|---|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|----------------|
| (1028 <sup>-2</sup> )                     | <i>yietc</i> | <i>zungv]</i> | <i>⟨meih</i> | <i>mbuo</i>  | <i>ganh</i> | <i>hnamv⟩.</i> |
|   | ហើីឃុំ       | ចួង]          | ⟨មេឃ         | ប៉ា          | កំន         | ខណ៌ម៉ា         |
|   | <i>jetᅯ</i>  | <i>tsunᅯ₁</i> | <i>meiᅯ</i>  | <i>buə̥₁</i> | <i>kanᅯ</i> | <i>namᅯ₁</i>   |
|   | one          | total         | 2            | PL           | self        | think          |
| ‘every person (that) you yourself think.’ |              |               |              |              |             |                |

(ium\_1966\_03\_PERMATON\_ViggoSogaard\_Gueix-Cing;00.00.43-8)

Observe that there is no *gorngv* after the square brackets and before ⟨ ⟩. This is probably due to the causative nature of *mbuox* ‘to tell’.

## 18.5 Summary of Chapter 18

This chapter revolves around the premise by Longacre (2007) that the sentence consists of combined clauses. Three types of clause linking have been elaborated: parataxis, hypotaxis, and complementation.

The parataxis includes juxtaposition, conjunctive coordination, adversative coordination and disjunctive coordination.

The hypotaxis includes such constructions as the pre-pendent clauses and post-pendent clauses. All temporal clauses are pre-pendent to the main clause in accordance with the **Principle 2**: “the more rightward a constituent goes (i.e. toward the end of a sentence), the more focus it gets” (cf. §4.2.1). The purpose clauses, reason clauses, and simile clauses are post-pendent to the main clause. This order contradicts **Principle 2**, but the different principle, the principle of iconicity, has been proposed. That is, the direct assertion or a visible phenomenon must be stated first as a main clause, then an abstract idea, metaphor or simile, or quotation from elsewhere is attached later.

As for the complementation, the majority of verbs in Iu Mien do not require a complement marker. Verbs directly take complement clauses except for two constructions: (i) the SVCs whose V2 is a modal verb take a complement which is led by the V2 as the complementiser, and (ii) the verb *gorngv* functions as a complementiser when it co-occurs with the speech verbs, i.e. the verbs that are related

to speech act or singing. It was also pointed out that the construction [speech verb + *gorngv*] might have triggered the grammaticalisation process in which *gorngv* itself has been used as a complement marker for any kind of verbs influenced by Thai.

In this chapter we have concentrated on the syntax at the sentence level. The sentences are uttered in an actual interactional situation. Thus, the next chapter should deal with the interlocutory aspect of the language, namely, a strategy for grounding a sentence in an actual speech event by the use of sentence final particles.

# Chapter 19

## GROUNDING ELEMENTS: SENTENCE FINAL PARTICLES

### 19.1 Introduction

In this chapter, sentence-final particles as grounding elements are discussed. Matisoff (1991:387) describes that “[s]entence-final emotive particles are particularly richly developed in tone languages, since mere intonation is less salient when every syllable has a distinctive ‘melody’ of its own.” In Iu Mien the sentence-final particle (SFP) is not only “emotive” but also almost obligatory to make the sentence pragmatically and epistemically well situated in an actual communication (i.e. “grounded” in Cognitive Grammar term) although an ungrounded or abstract indefinite clause utterance may also possible. More theoretical discussion of the present chapter can be found in Arisawa (2006:107-110, 126-130, and 148-156) ([http://ic.payap.ac.th/wp-content/uploads/linguistics\\_students/Daniel\\_Arisawa\\_Thesis.pdf](http://ic.payap.ac.th/wp-content/uploads/linguistics_students/Daniel_Arisawa_Thesis.pdf)).

### 19.2 SFPs as Grounding Elements

The terms “ground” and “grounding” are used in Cognitive Grammar developed by Langacker and his colleagues, the theory of grammar which is well akin to Construction Grammar in spirit. Langacker’s glossary defines them as follows:

“**ground**; The speech event, its participants, and its immediate circumstances” (Langacker 1991:548). “**grounding**; A semantic function that constitutes the final step in the formation of a nominal or a finite clause. With respect to fundamental ‘epistemic’ notions (e.g. definiteness for nominals, tense/modality for clauses), it establishes the location vis-à-vis the ground of the thing or process serving as the nominal or clausal profile” (1991:549).

In dealing with SFPs in Iu Mien, it is of course the tense and modality that are expressed by the temporal adverbial constructions (§9.3.1), auxiliary verbs (§12.3), and aspectual verbs and particles (§12.5) that ground the clause in Langacker’s sense. Not only these constructions, but also SFPs function as grounding elements in Iu Mien as Matisoff (1991:387) describes them as “richly developed in tone languages”.

The SFPs in Iu Mien are *almost* obligatory although the absence of them does not necessarily damage the grammaticality of the clause or sentence as long as they

are well situated in a speech context by other elements such as demonstratives. As such a slavish adherence to Brisard's (2002) definition of the terms is not realistic in the case of Iu Mien albeit its general usefulness:

Grounding is proposed as a technical term in Cognitive Grammar to characterize grammatical predications that indicate the relationship of a designated entity to the ground or situation of speech, including the speech event itself, its participants, and their respective spheres of knowledge. By definition, grounding predications are obligatory grammatical elements needed to turn nouns into full *nominals*, and verbs into *finite clauses*. (Brisard 2002:xi).

Though he defines grounding as “obligatory grammatical elements”, we are also aware of Matisoff's (1991:387) description that SFPs are “emotive particles”, thus the use of them is also quite context-dependent.

### 19.3 Aspectual SFPs

As Arisawa (2006:149-57) discusses the aspectual SFPs in detail, particularly those which function in the pivotal storyline band in Iu Mien discourse, only sketchy presentation of examples are laid out here.

#### 19.3.1 Present State/Assertive/Affirmative Particle *nyei*

The SFP *nyei* asserts a state, condition, fact of an event or affair often affirmatively as in (1029):

|  |                       |              |                 |             |              |
|--|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
| (1029)   | <i>Maaih i.gox</i>    | <i>mienh</i> | <i>za'gengh</i> | <i>jomc</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|  | ມ່າຍ ອື.ໄກ້           | ເມື່ອນ       | ຫດະເກົ່ງ        | ຈ່ານ        | ແຄູຍ.        |
|  | <i>ma:iŋ i:ŋ ko:ŋ</i> | <i>miənŋ</i> | <i>tsa keŋŋ</i> | <i>comŋ</i> | <i>ŋeiŋ</i>  |
| have husband.and.wife person really be.poor ASST |                       |              |                 |             |              |
| ‘There was a couple who were really poor.’       |                       |              |                 |             |              |
| (Arisawa 2006:149)                               |                       |              |                 |             |              |

#### 19.3.2 NSIT, Change-of-state, Inchoative Particle *aqv*

A basic meaning of SFP *aqv* is a change of state or a new situation (NSIT) and by implication a simple past tense as in (1030)(a repetition of (17)):

- (1030) *Mv.baac ih.zanc baac nzengc aqv.*  
 (17) ມີປ່າ ອື່.ພັນ ປ່າ ເຫັນ ອີ່.  
       ມໍາ pa:˩ iጀ tsan˩ pa:˩ dzeŋ˩ a?˩  
       but now finish CONSUME NSIT  
       ‘But now (it) is finished altogether.’  
 (ium\_20150506\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz\_KMB;00.20.05-6)

The inchoative use of *aqv* is extended from the basic aspect of ‘change-of-state’ or ‘new-situation’ as exemplified in (1031):

- (1031) *Aav.lamh deix taux aqv.*  
 ອ້າ.ລົ້ມ ເຕ່ຍ ເດາ ອີ່.  
       a:˥ lam˧ tei˧ tʰau˧ a?˩  
       almost some reach INCHO/NSIT  
       ‘We were almost arriving there.’  
 (Lombard and Muangz Mengh, Linguistic Lab. Tape No. 5226, 1960s)

Another example of the inchoative *aqv* is in (1032):

- (1032) *Yie njiec aqv.*  
 (1034<sup>3</sup>) ເຢີຍ ເຫຼື້ຍ ອີ່.  
       iə˧ jɪə˩ a?˩  
       1SG descend INCHO/NSIT  
       ‘I’m going down.’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.13.35-6)

That is, the speaker has not gone down yet but only expresses his intention of going down soon, almost simultaneously as he was saying this sentence.

The SFP *aqv* expresses a New-Situation-Aspect (NSIT)(Court 1986:219) as in (1033):

- (1033) *Hiuv.duqv ninh mv maaih nyaanh aqv.*  
 ຂົວ.ຕູ ນິນ ມໍ ມ້າຍ ນໍາງານ ອີ່.  
       hiu:˥ tu?˩ nin˧ m̥˥ ma:i˧ nya:n˧ a?˩  
       know 3SG NEG have money NSIT  
       ‘He has realised that his money had gone.’  
 (ium\_c1965\_01\_AMPEX\_HCox\_Guex-Seng\_PrdgSonl;00.05.19-21)

This does not simply describe that his poverty occurred in the past. Rather, the use of *aqv* refers to the change of state from his rich status to poverty. The notion was first

analysed by Court as “New-Situation-Aspect” (NSIT), and later applied to Thai by Jenny (2001:125-131).

Unlike Thai new-situation aspect in *ləw* (ແລ້ວ), the SFP *aqv* in Iu Mien can be used as mild imperative. The following example is a conversation between an old man (GF) and a neighbourhood boy (NB) who is younger than his own grandchildren. Example (1034<sup>-1-2</sup>) consists of four sentences. The second, third, fourth in them and the fifth *aqv* in (1034<sup>-4</sup>) are used as the new-situation-particle (NSIT) in the sense of urging, light command i.e., mild imperative.

|                       |                                     |              |               |                |               |                    |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|--------------------|
| (1034 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Mv</i>                           | <i>njiēc</i> | <i>lorqc.</i> | <i>Mi'aqv.</i> | <i>Nzuonx</i> | <b><i>aqv.</i></b> |
| GF                    | ນ້ຳ                                 | ເຫຼື້ຍ       | ເຫດາະ.        | ໜົມໍ ອື່.      | ທ້າວນ         | ອື່.               |
|                       | ນ້າ                                 | ຈົ່ວ         | ໄລ?           | ມີຈ ພ?         | ດ້ວນ          | ຈ?                 |
|                       | NEG                                 | descend      | SFP           | GO NSIT        | return        | NSIT               |
|                       | ‘I’m not coming down. Go! Go home!’ |              |               |                |               |                    |

|                       |  |                     |              |                |                |
|-----------------------|--|---------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| (1034 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Mingh</i>                                       | <i>wuov</i>         | <i>ndiev</i> | <i>nziaauc</i> | <i>mi'aqv.</i> |
| GF                    | ມິ່ງ   | ວູວ                 | ເດືອຍ        | ຫຼາຍ່າວ        | ໜົມໍ ອື່.      |
|                       | minj   | սອຍ                 | diəy         | dz̥a:u         | mi] a?         |
|                       | go   | DEM <sub>DIST</sub> | lower.side   | play           | GO NSIT        |
|                       | ‘Go down there to play (with the children there).’ |                     |              |                |                |

|                       |                   |              |                    |
|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| (1034 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>Yie</i>        | <i>njiēc</i> | <b><i>aqv.</i></b> |
| NB                    | ເຢີບ              | ເຫຼື້ຍ       | ອື່.               |
|                       | iə                | ຈົ່ວ         | a?                 |
|                       | 1SG               | descend      | INCHO/NSIT         |
|                       | ‘I’m going down.’ |              |                    |

|                       |   |              |                |                   |            |
|-----------------------|---|--------------|----------------|-------------------|------------|
| (1034 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>Hmz.</i>   | <i>Mingh</i> | <i>nziaauc</i> | <b><i>aqv</i></b> | <i>oc.</i> |
| GF                    | ອມ.   | ມິ່ງ         | ຫຼາຍ່າວ        | ອື່               | ໂອ.        |
|                       | ນ້າ   | minj         | dz̥a:u         | ຈ?                | o:]        |
|                       | yes   | go           | play           | IMPR/NSIT         | PLT        |
|                       | ‘Yes, you go and play, OK?’                           |              |                |                   |            |
|                       | (ium_20150429_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.13.31-7) |              |                |                   |            |

*Aqv* in (1034<sup>-3</sup>) is the new-situation aspectual particle indicating the change of mind on the part of the neighbourhood boy.

Note (1034<sup>-4</sup>) in which the cohortative-*aqv* (or imperative) co-occurs with the polite particle *oc*. This and the whole context of a casual and warm conversation

exemplify the light-hearted instruction of the particle *aqv*, different to the real command *oix zuqc* discussed in the section of imperatives (§12.8).

### 19.3.3 Telic

A combination of grammaticalised PERFECT *mingh* ‘GO’ and SFP *aqv* forms the TELIC aspectual marker *mi'aqv* as in (1035)(a repetition of (181<sup>-12</sup>)):

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| (1035)                | <i>Aeqc, ih.zanc yie guangc mi'aqv.</i>                                 |
| (181 <sup>-12</sup> ) | ແມ່, ອື່.ທັນ ເຢີ ກວ້ງ ພົມ໌ ອະ.  |
|                       | εʔ] iŋ tsan] iə˥ kʷaŋ] mi] aʔ]  |
|                       | Yes now 1SG abandon TELIC   |
|                       | ‘Yes, now I have given up (the habit of smoking opium).’                |
|                       | (ium_c1967_01_Aristocrat_#Burgess_Gueix-Seng_GR-Tape1-Trk1;00.04.08-10) |

### 19.4 Interlocutory Emotive Modal SFPs

The SFP *maah* expresses the speaker’s encouragement, urging, invitation to the hearer as in (1036<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| (1036 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Meih maaih ziangh.hoc aeqv, meih haiz qiemx.zuqc</i> |
|                       | ເມ່ ມ່າຍ ເຕີ່ຍງ.ໂທ່ ແອ້ຂ, ເມ່ ໄສ ເລື່ມ.ຫ້າ              |
|                       | mei˥ ma:i˥ tsʰaŋ˥ ho] εʔ]                               |
|                       | 2SG have time PDP 2SG feel need                         |
|                       | ‘If you have time, (and if) you feel necessary,’        |

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| (1036 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>meih oix naaic haiv.nyungc aeqv, daaih maah.</i>                      |
|                       | ເມ່ ອ້ອຍ ພ່າຍ ໄສ.ໜູ່ງ ແອ້ຂ, ຕ້າຍ ມ່າ.                                    |
|                       | mei˥ oɪ˥ na:i˥ hai˥ nyung] εʔ]   |
|                       | 2SG want ask whatever PDP come SFP                                       |
|                       | ‘(and if) you want to ask anything, go ahead and just come (to see me).’ |
|                       | (ium_20130523_06_H1_DA_GueixZoih_OldCustoms_Thammajarik;00.03.40-4)      |

Adding a preformative *na* to the above quoted *maah*, casually gaining rapport or asking for agreement can be expressed by *na'maah* as in (1037)(a repetition of (163<sup>-9</sup>)):

- (1037) *Nzuonx Zoih na'maah.*  
 (163<sup>-9</sup>) ໜ້າວນ ຕ່ອຍ ນໍາມ່າຊ.  
 dz<sup>w</sup>ən<sup>1</sup> tsɔi<sup>1</sup> na ma:<sup>1</sup>  
 return Zoi you.see  
 '(they will) return to Zoih, you see.'

The SFP *aex* is defined by Purnell (Purnell 2012:6) as “part. Really, you know, you realize of course”. It has a function to inform the hearer with a fact or to make him/her realise a state of affairs, ‘I am letting you know’ as in (1038)(a repetition of (164<sup>-4</sup>)):

- (1038) *Yie Fux-Hin aex.*  
 (164<sup>-4</sup>) ເີຍ ຜູ-ຫິນ ແອ.  
 iə<sup>1</sup> fu?<sup>1</sup> hin<sup>1</sup> ε:<sup>1</sup>  
 1 Fu Hin SFP  
 ‘I am Fu Hin (富興), you see.’

The same form *aex* but with an apologetic tone is illustrated in (1039):

- (1039) *Yie, loz-hnoi Mienh waac, yie mai<sup>v</sup> hiuv aex.*  
 ເີຍ, ໄລສ-ຂນອຍ ເມື່ບນ ພວ່າ, ເີຍ ໄມ້ ຫຼື ແອ.  
 iə<sup>1</sup> loz t<sup>w</sup>ɔi<sup>1</sup> miən<sup>1</sup> wa:<sup>1</sup> iə<sup>1</sup> mai<sup>v</sup> hiu<sup>v</sup> ε:<sup>1</sup>  
 1SG old-day Mien word 1SG NEG know SFP  
 ‘As for me, talking about the traditional Iu Mien language, you should know that I am not confident (in it).’  
 (ium\_201106\_01\_Olympus\_DA\_MeixZoih\_ZianghHoc  
 Taux;00.04.21-26;00.08.06-08)

The same function of informing the hearer but slightly stronger than *aex* is the SFP *ni* with rising intonation. The feeling of the sentence that is grounded by *ni!* is ‘you see!’, ‘you should know!’, and even ‘I told you!’ This is illustrated in (1040<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (1040<sup>-1</sup>) *Hnangv jang gorngv hna~jang gorngv buov,*  
 ຂັ້ງ ຈັ້ງ ກົ່ອງ ຂັ້ງ~ຈັ້ງ ກົ່ອງ ປຶ້ງ,  
 n<sup>w</sup>aj<sup>v</sup> can<sup>1</sup> kɔŋ<sup>v</sup> t<sup>w</sup>a~can<sup>1</sup> kɔŋ<sup>v</sup> puə<sup>v</sup>  
 like just say like.just say burn  
 ‘(It’s) just like to say, just like to say that smoking is...’

|                       |              |  |                                       |               |              |                          |                        |
|-----------------------|--------------|--|---------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| (1040 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>buov</i>  | <i>in.mbiaatc</i>                                  | <i>nc.daaih</i> <sup>241</sup>        | <i>buov</i> , | <i>buov</i>  | <i>mbuo</i>              | <i>ganh@@@</i>         |
|                       | ប៉ុវ         | ិន.បមាត  | ណាំ.ត័យ                               | ប៉ុវ,         | ប៉ុវ         | ម្បវ                     | កំន@@@                 |
|                       | <i>puə̄ŋ</i> | <i>in<sup>1</sup> b<sup>1</sup>a:t<sup>2</sup></i> | <i>n<sup>1</sup> ta:i<sup>2</sup></i> | <i>puə̄ŋ</i>  | <i>puə̄ŋ</i> | <i>buə̄t<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>kan<sup>1</sup></i> |
|                       | burn         | tobacco  | obviously                             | burn          | burn         | 1INCL                    | self                   |

‘smoking tobacco is virtually burning, burning yourself,’

|   |               |                        |                        |                        |             |
|---|---------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| (1040 <sup>-3</sup> )                                       | <i>@@buov</i> | <i>ganh</i>            | <i>nyei</i>            | <i>bortc(cm.t)</i>     | <i>'ni!</i> |
|   | @@ប៉ុវ        | កំន                    | ល្អឃ                   | ថត(សម.ព.)              | <i>'នី!</i> |
|   | <i>puə̄ŋ</i>  | <i>kan<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>nei<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>pɔ:<sup>2</sup></i> | <i>'ni</i>  |
|   | burn          | self                   | SBCP                   | lung                   | SFP         |
| ‘(that is,) burning your own lungs, you see!’               |               |                        |                        |                        |             |
| (ium_20130515_01_H1_DA_WuonhKuonMbou_TableTalk;00.01.52-57) |               |                        |                        |                        |             |

When the intonation is flat on *ni* with the additional SFP *aa*, it yields *niaa* conveying the sense of reflection or realisation. That is to say, it is self-informing. Its gentler intonation than *ni!* suggests that it takes the speaker time to think or settle down before realising a situation he/she is in as illustrated in (1041)(a repetition of (181<sup>-7</sup>) and (823)):

|  |                   |   |              |                       |                                    |                        |                        |                        |                                   |
|--|-------------------|---|--------------|-----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1041)   | <b><i>Ov!</i></b> | <i>Gueix-Cing</i>   | <i>gorx,</i> | <i>yie</i>            | <i>buatc</i>                       | <i>jiex</i>            | <i>meih</i>            | <i>nyei</i>            | <b><i>niaa.</i></b>               |
| (181 <sup>-7</sup> )   | ឪើ!               | កេវិយ-ចិង   | កែវិ         | ឱិយ                   | ប្រវត្ត                            | ជីយ                    | មេិយ                   | ល្អឃ                   | នីោា                              |
|  | <i>'o:</i>        | <i>k<sup>w</sup>ei<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>iŋ<sup>2</sup></i> | <i>kɔ:</i>   | <i>iə<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>p<sup>w</sup>at<sup>2</sup></i> | <i>cɪə<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>mei<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>nei<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>n<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup></i> |
|  | Oh                | Guei Cing   | el.brother   | 1SG                   | see                                | EXP                    | 2SG                    | ASST                   | SFP                               |
| ‘Oh, Elder brother Guei Cing, I have seen you before!’                 |                   |   |              |                       |                                    |                        |                        |                        |                                   |
| (ium_c1967_01_Aristocrat_#Burgess_Gueix-Seng_GR-Tape1-Trk1;00.03.55-7) |                   |   |              |                       |                                    |                        |                        |                        |                                   |

Reviewing the speaker’s final realisation at (181<sup>-7</sup>)(i.e. (1041)) through a gradual information gathering in the original sequence (181<sup>-1-6</sup>) in §5.4.2.5 serves to provide a context.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> person vocative particle *aah* analysed in §5.4.2.2 can have a modal meaning of puzzlement when marking an inanimate object as in (1042<sup>-1-2</sup>):

<sup>241</sup> *N'daaih* = Q, K = *m'daaih*

- (1042<sup>-1</sup>) “*Ga ’lorngh ndongh*”/  
 “ກະລ່ອງ ດັ່ງ”/  
 ka lɔŋ↓ dong↓  
 container bamboo-made-cylinder  
 ‘(Did you say) “*ga ’lorngh ndorng*”? What thing is that?’

- (1042<sup>-2</sup>) “*ga ’lorngh ndongh*”  
 “ກະລ່ອງ ດັ່ງ”  
 ka lɔŋ↓ dong↓  
 container bamboo-made-cylinder  
 ‘Whatever that “*ga ’lorngh ndongh*”? (This thing can mean tin-can or plastic container with cylinder shape.)  
 (ium\_201106\_01\_Olympus\_DA\_MeixZoih\_ZianghHoc  
 Taux;00.04.21-26;00.08.17-20)

Besides the normal question final particle *fai*, there are also other SFPs that convey various nuances. One of them is a self-doubt particle *mborqc* with a falling intonation. (The falling question intonation is indicated by the inverted question mark ‘ᢂ’ only in this study following Bloomfield (1933: 92, 114-5, 171)). An illustration is in (1043<sup>-1-2</sup>):

- (1043<sup>-1</sup>) *Yie buov lauh haic,*  
 ເີ້ຂ ບູວ ເລ່າ ໄທ,  
 iə↑ puə↑ lau↓ hai↓  
 1SG smoke be.long very  
 ‘I have been smoking (opium) for a long time,’

- (1043<sup>-2</sup>) *gamh.nziex guangc mv duqv mborqcᢂ*  
 ກຳນິຫຼືຍ ກວ່າງ ມີ ຕຶ້ງ ເມາະກ  
 kam↓dziə↓ kʷanq↓ m↑ tu?↓ bɔ?↓  
 fear(v) discard NEG CAN Q  
 ‘I am afraid I don’t think I can quit (smoking).’  
 (ium\_c1967\_01\_Aristocrat\_#Burgess\_Gueix-Seng\_GR-Tape1-Trk1;00.05.51-55)

The rapport-taking SFP *orqc* also has a connotation of asking a question but not for requesting new information. It seeks to confirm that the interaction between the interlocutors is intact as exemplified in (1044)(a repetition of (14<sup>-2</sup>)):

- (1044) *Ninh mbuo mv maaih mienv orqc*  
 (14<sup>2</sup>) นิ่น มื้ว มี มาย เมี่ยน เօະງ  
 nin<sup>1</sup> buə<sup>1</sup> m<sup>2</sup> ma:i<sup>1</sup> miən<sup>1</sup> orqc<sup>2</sup>  
 3 PL NEG have spirit SFP  
 '(When Iu Mien were still in China), they didn't have spirits, did they? (as you also agree)'  
*(ium\_20150506\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_ZangcMienvNyeiLeiz\_KMB;00.04.30-2)*

The same form *orqc* can be used to express invitation or encouragement of agreement from the hearer as in (1045):

- (1045) *Mbuo mingh wuov ngaanc ziqc koiv-dorn orqc*  
 มื้ว มี ว้า แห่ง ที่ ก้อบ-ตอน เօະງ  
 buə<sup>1</sup> min<sup>1</sup> w<sup>2</sup> nga:n<sup>1</sup> ziqc<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>ɔi:n<sup>1</sup> orqc<sup>2</sup>  
 PL(incl) go DEM<sub>DIS</sub> shore across sea-small SFP  
 'Let us go across to the other side (of the lake Galilee).'  
*(The Gospel according to St. Mark 4:35. Iu Mien Bible, Thailand Bible Society, translation in English Standard Version.*  
<http://thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php>)

Furthermore, the same form *orqc* can be used in a mirative question sense but with an emphatic rise-falling intonation as in (1046<sup>-1-3</sup>):

- (1046<sup>-1</sup>) *Zuangx mienh mbuoqc.horngħ haic,*  
 时效 เมี่ยน บัวะ.หอง ไห,  
 ts<sup>w</sup>aŋ<sup>1</sup> miən<sup>1</sup> buə<sup>2</sup> hɔŋ<sup>1</sup> hai<sup>2</sup>  
 all person be.awed very  
 '(And) they were all amazed,'

- (1046<sup>-2</sup>) *laanh ziouc naaic laanh*  
 ล้าน ใจๆ หน้าย ล้าน  
 la:n<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>w</sup>øu<sup>1</sup> na:i<sup>1</sup> la:n<sup>1</sup>  
 CLF<sub>PERSON</sub> then ask CLF<sub>PERSON</sub>  
 'so that they questioned among themselves,'

- (1046<sup>-3</sup>) “*Naaiv haaix nyungc orqv?*”  
 “ນ້າຍ ທ່າຍ ທູ່ງ ເຊິ່ງ?”  
*na:i|^ ha:i|^ nyung| orq|*  
 DEM<sub>PRX</sub> what kind Q  
 ‘saying, “What is this? (that the unclean spirits obey Jesus’ commandment)”  
*(The Gospel according to St. Mark 1:27. Iu Mien Bible, Thailand Bible Society, translation in English Standard Version.*  
<http://thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php>)

Disapproval, dismay, bewilderment, complaint, lamentation is expressed in the prolonged emphatic SFP *lov!* An old man in talking about the disappearing old customs of the Iu Mien expresses his concerns, complaint, or lamentation in (1047<sup>-1-4</sup>):

- (1047<sup>-1</sup>) *Yungz fu'jueiv daaih hngongx,*  
 ຢູ່ງ ຝຸ່ຈວີຢ ດ້າຍ ມອງ,  
*jung| fu c^wei|^ ta:i|^ ngong|*  
 give.birth.to child COME be.dumb  
 ‘(If you get married to your inappropriately close relative, you may likely) give birth to a deficient baby.’

- (1047<sup>-2</sup>) *ninh mbuo hnangv nc nor gorngv.*  
 ນິນ ມົວ ຂັ້ນ ນ ນອ ກືອງ.  
*nin| buo| hnang| nc| nor| gorng|*  
 3 PL like DEM<sub>MID</sub> as say  
 ‘They (used to) say like that.’

- (1047<sup>-3</sup>) *Ih.zanc daaih lungh.ndiev mienh*  
 ອື່.ຫຕິ່ນ ດ້າຍ ລູ່ງ.ເດືອຍ ມື່ຢນ  
*i|^ tsan| ta:i|^ lungh| di|^ mi|^*  
 now COME world people  
 ‘(But) nowadays people of the world’

|                       |           |               |            |  |
|-----------------------|-----------|---------------|------------|--|
| (1047 <sup>-4</sup> ) | <i>mv</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>aqv</i> | <i>lov</i> (890ms)!  |
|                       | ນີ້       | ກ້ອງ          | ດື່ມ       | ຫຼິ້ນ(890ms)!  |
|                       | NEG       | say           | NSIT       | SFP  |
|                       |           |               |            | ‘have stopped saying (this ethical issue) any longer!’               |
|                       |           |               |            | (ium_20130523_06_H1_DA_GueixZoih_OldCustoms_Thammajarik;00.00.28-34) |

The disappearing custom that he was talking about was the abstinence from marrying close relatives. The disagreement is expressed in SFP *lov*! by a then ninety-three year old man with regard to a socially unacceptable practice of marrying one's close kin. The new-situation-particle (NSIT) *aqv* (1047<sup>-4</sup>) for aspect indicates the change of the past situation when the conscientious people used to admonish such customs to the new state that people have become careless of it.

In the investigation of evidentiality in §12.6.1.3 and §12.7, the sentence final quotative particle *north* (REPORT, RPOT) was discussed. It is a hearsay particle. Normally it quotes a sentence uttered by the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. However, if *north* quotes an utterance by the 2<sup>nd</sup> person, it expresses surprise or disapproval, hence mirative use. When it is applied to the 1<sup>st</sup> person, it holds the speaker aloof from the sentence.

First, a typical case of *north* quoting the 3<sup>rd</sup> person's speech is exemplified in (1048<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                       |              |              |               |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| (1048 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>O::v!</i> | <i>lungh</i> | <i>gorngv</i> |
|                       | ໄວ້!         | ສູງ          | ກ້ອງ          |
|                       | o::^         | lungh^       | kɔŋ^          |
|                       | INTJ         | sky          | say           |

“Oh!” said the sky,’

|                       |                |              |
|-----------------------|----------------|--------------|
| (1048 <sup>-2</sup> ) | “ <i>Dungz</i> | <i>jaic.</i> |
|                       | “ດູງ           | ຈາກ.         |
|                       | tungh^         | caij^        |
|                       | pig            | be.slim      |

“The pig is (too) skinny.’

- (1048<sup>-3</sup>) *Norq.c.jaangv nyau duqv faaux lungh” norh.*  
 ແນາຂໍ ຈຶ່ງ ໄກ້າ ຕື້ ພາ ສູ່ງ” ນ່ອ.  
 ກວ?ຈາະງ່າຍ່າ ລາວີ ຕຸກ່າ ຝາ:ີ ລູງຈ່າ ນວ່າ  
 eagle grab CAN ascend sky RPOT  
 ‘The eagle can grab it up into the sky’, said the sky.’  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauh Jaauz;00.06.45-49)

Second, an evidential use of the SFP *norh* can be found in a storytelling narrative. The narrator uses the SFP *norh* to mark a report, words or a line spoken by a participant to indicate that these are only true inside the world of story as in (1049):

- (1049) [Nda'maauh.jaauz<sup>242</sup> yaac haih gorngv waac nyei] **norh.**  
 [ດະມ່າວ.ຈ້າວ ບໍາເລັດ ໄກ້ອງ ມ່ວ່າ ເຄູ່ຍ] ນ່ອ.  
 da ma:uŋ ca:uŋ ja:ŋ haiŋ kɔŋg̊y wa:ŋ neiŋ nɔŋ  
 wildcat also be.able speak word ASST RPOT  
 ‘They say that a wildcat was able to speak language (in the old days).’  
 (ium\_20140403\_04\_SonyHDR-MV1\_DA\_BungzCunFouv\_Nda'maauh Jaauz;00.03.17-20)

This SFP keeps the storyteller from committing to be responsible for the animal being able to speak.

The double SFPs *aqv oc* (1034<sup>-4</sup>) and *aqv lov!* (1047<sup>-4</sup>) have been observed but they did not receive any explanation. A sentence can have two “sentence final particles” contrary to definition. This is because the SFPs have two main functions: to mark aspect and modality.

The SFP *oc* used in (1034<sup>-4</sup>) ‘indicate[s] a range of general emphasis, from a statement of intent to a polite urging in an invitation’ (Purnell 2012:617). The co-occurrence of two particles consists of the jussive or mild command *aqv* and the polite particle *oc* as illustrated in (1050)(a repetition of (1034<sup>-4</sup>)):

- (1050) *Hmz. Mingh nziaauc aqv oc.*  
 (1034<sup>-4</sup>) ໜີ້. ມິ່ງ ພັບຢ່າວ ອີ່ ໂອ່.  
 ມີ່ ມີງຈ່າ ດຊັບຸ ທາ? ອອ່  
 yes go play IMPR/NSIT PLT  
 ‘Yes, you go and play, OK?’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.13.36-7)

<sup>242</sup> The speaker originally pronounced a ‘wildcat’ as *nda'maauh jaaux /da maauŋ ca:uŋ/* as in (Panh 2002:190) but the last syllable should be *jaauz /ca:uŋ/* as in Purnell (2012:504).

In (1047<sup>-4</sup>), *aqv* is ‘new-situation’ aspect (NSIT) and *lov!* is modal (Var. of *loh*, indicating ‘emphasis, intensity, a command, or a strong desire’ (Purnell 2012:379).

A similar example of the co-occurrence of the NSIT and a modal particle *lorqc* (“indicating certainty or an emphatic correction of a previous speaker’s remark or assumption” (Purnell 2012:388)) can be found in (1051)(a repetition of (612<sup>-2</sup>)):

|                      |   |                |             |           |              |              |                   |                      |
|----------------------|---|----------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| (1051)               | <i>Hnyouv</i>                           | <i>m'daaih</i> | <i>haiz</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>nangc</i> | <i>yaauc</i> | <b><i>aqv</i></b> | <b><i>lorqc!</i></b> |
| (612 <sup>-2</sup> ) | ເຂົ້າວ                                  | ມຕ້າຍ          | ໄຊ          | ນໍ້       | ໜັ້ງ         | ໜ່າວ         | ສະ                | ເຫດະ!                |
|                      | ພິບໆ                                    | ມ ta:i↓        | hai↓        | ນໍ້       | naŋ↓         | ja:xu↓       | a?↑               | lɔ?↑                 |
|                      | heart                                   | of.course      | feel        | NEG       | AUX          | be.good      | NSIT              | SFP                  |
|                      | ‘Of course, we don’t feel good at all!’ |                |             |           |              |              |                   |                      |

(ium\_20130515\_01\_H1\_DA\_WuonhKuonMbou\_TableTalk;00.10.04-8)

Compare (1051) with (1052) to determine the order of an aspectual marking particle and a modal particle in the case of the co-occurrence:

|        |                                  |            |              |               |             |                    |                      |  |
|--------|----------------------------------|------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|--------------------|----------------------|--|
| (1052) | <i>Aa,</i>                       | <i>yie</i> | <i>gengh</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>zien</i> | <b><i>nyei</i></b> | <b><i>lorqc.</i></b> |  |
|        | ອາ                               | ເມືຍ       | ເກັ່ງ        | ກົອງ          | ເຊີຍນ       | ເຄູຍ               | ເຫດະ                 |  |
|        | a:↑                              | iə↑        | keŋ↓         | kɔŋ↑          | ts'en↑      | nei↑               | lɔ?↑                 |  |
|        | INTJ                             | 1 SG       | really       | say           | true        | ASST               | SFP                  |  |
|        | ‘Look, I really told the truth.’ |            |              |               |             |                    |                      |  |

(Purnell 2012:388)

One final example of the double SFP includes a question particle at the end of a sentence as in *aqv saah<sub>ζ</sub>*: the former is the NSIT, the latter a question particle expecting an affirmative response, as illustrated in (1053):

|        |   |              |                   |                                |
|--------|---|--------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1053) | <i>Mienh</i>                                  | <i>nzoih</i> | <b><i>aqv</i></b> | <b><i>saah<sub>ζ</sub></i></b> |
|        | ເມື່ຍນ  | ທ່ອຍ         | ສະ                | ຫ້າຍ <sub>ζ</sub>              |
|        | miən↓   | dzo:i↓       | a?↑               | sa:↓                           |
|        | people  | be.full      | NSIT              | Q                              |
|        | ‘All people have got together, haven’t they?’ |              |                   |                                |

(ium\_20130528\_06\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng\_FaamCingCuotvSeix\_KMB;00.06.43-9)

A summary of the examples of double SFPs should be offered, given the term is contradictory to the definition of “sentence-final”. That is to say, the aspect marking particles ground the sentence, which is enough for the purpose of communicating information. Then an addition of emotive particles at the very last position of the sentence can further lubricate the interactional relationship between interlocutors.

Thus, the structure of the co-occurrence of the sentence final grounding elements, or the ordering of double SFPs, can be summarised as follows:

- Co-occurrence of grounding elements
- 
- Sentence = Clause ± aspectual marking particle ±
    - { modal particle
    - question particle

There are some other SFPs. The following list only offers items without examples:

- *saa* /sa:/ 'indicates the speaker's irritation or indignation' (Purnell 2012:649)
- *lorqv* /lɔ?l/ 'a particle throwing back onto the speaker whatever positive or negative comments were made about one's character or ability' (ibid. 390)
- *weqv* or *wev* /we?l/ or /we1/ 'indicates a speaker's emphatic shifting of responsibility for a remark or assumption back to the previous speaker' (ibid. 717)

## 19.5 Summary of Chapter 19

An isolated word or an abstract sentence does not communicate. It needs to be grounded in the interlocutory scene. To achieve this SFPs are lavishly used. As the grounding elements, SFPs function as both aspectual markers and modal markers.

By way of summary, Principle 6 is reiterated:

**Principle 6.** Sentence final particles (SFPs) semantically and pragmatically play multiple roles, and function as grounding elements though optional (§4.2.1).

We have come to the last chapter of the grammar. A few topics on the discourse and narrative arts will conclude our journey in the next chapter.

# Chapter 20

## DISCOURSE AND NARRATIVE ARTS

### 20.1 Introduction

The Iu Mien love to tell stories. Folk tales, legends, personal and ethnic histories have been handed on from generation to generation. The oral culture of narrativity is one of the important aspects of Iu Mien's ethnic personality. Narratives are rich depository of verbal arts including cultural knowledge and linguistic devices. These assets, however, are in danger of being forgotten among the young Iu Mien. It is worthwhile to describe some aspects of them in this chapter though it may not be exhaustive.

By “discourse” is meant a unit larger than a sentence, which has been discussed in Chapters 15, 18 and 19, as treated by Longacre (1976, 1996, 2003) rather than newer sociolinguistic discourse analysis or conversation analysis. As opposed to Arisawa (2006), which was an attempt to combine Longacre's textlinguistics/discourse analysis and Langacker's Cognitive Grammar (1987, 1991) and applied to storyline analysis, this chapter is more focused on the art-side of narrators.

### 20.2 Presentative Constructions

#### 20.2.1 Presentative Construction: *Loz-hnoi* ‘Once upon a time’

The simplest formula of starting a story is (1054):

|   |                  |              |          |              |
|---|------------------|--------------|----------|--------------|
| (1054)  | <i>Loz-hnoi/</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>muoz.</i> |
|   | ໄລ້-ຮນອຍ/        | ມ່າຍ         | ີ        | ມົວ          |
|   | loz hnoi         | ma:i         | i        | muo:         |
|   | old-day          | have         | two      | sibling      |
| ‘Once upon a time, there were two brothers.’  |                  |              |          |              |
| (ium_20140403_04_SonyHDR-V1_DA_BungzCunFouv_Nda'maauhJaauzNyeiGouv.MP4;00.00.55-00.01.01) |                  |              |          |              |

This is a typical story presentative sentence consisting of *loz-hnoi maaih* NP [old day have NP] ‘once upon a time there was NP’. It may be recalled that the word order [V – NP] is the entity-presentative construction (cf. §11.3.1), which introduces a new participant into the discourse.

The time noun *loz-hnoi* [old day] ‘once upon a time’ immediately evokes in the mind of listeners what follows is a *gouv* ‘story’. Though there are variations of the first utterance of a story (e.g. *I am going to tell a story* or *Are you ready to hear a story?* etc.), as long as the first sentence contains *loz-hnoi*, it has an effect to quiet an audience down arousing their interest. In example (1055) the NP after the phrase *loz-hnoi maaih* has a predicate ‘got a wife’ as an opening of a story that is going to be unfolded.

- (1055) ***Loz-hnoi*** *maaih* *laanh* *mienh* *longc* *auv.*  
 ໂລື້-ອນອຍ ມ່າຍ ລ່ານ ເມື່ນ ທ່ລ່ງ ເອົ້າ.  
*loŋ n̥uɔi* *ma:i* *la:n* *miən* *lon* *au*  
 old-day have CLF<sub>PERSON</sub> person use wife  
 ‘Once upon a time there was a certain man who took a wife.’  
 (Burgess & Yauz-Guang, 1970s, *Mienh Longc Zuqc Gux Jorng Sieqv Nyei Gouv* [A Witch Bride], KMB)

The whole presentative phrase exemplified above can have a topic particle, thus *loz-hnoi maaih NP nor* [old day have NP TOP] ‘As there was NP in the old days’. In the following example the first and second groups of lines are preamble. The third group of lines is the actual beginning of the story exhibiting the time setting clause *loz-hnoi maaih NP nor* as a topic as in (1056):

- (1056<sup>-1</sup>) *Mienh* *nzoih* *aqv* *saah*  
 ເມື່ນ ທ່ອຍ ອີ່ະ ຊ່າະຈ  
*miən* *dzɔi* *a?* *sa:*  
 people be.full NSIT Q  
 ‘Every one has got together, right?’

- (1056<sup>-2</sup>) *Mienh* *nzoih* *aeqv* *se ...*  
 ເມື່ນ ທ່ອຍ ແອີ່ະ ເຊ ...  
*miən* *dzɔi* *ε?* *se*  
 people be.full TOP TOP  
 ‘If all people have got together, then...’

- (1056<sup>-3</sup>) *gorngv* *taux* ***loz-hnoi..*** ***maaih*** *dauh* *m'sieqv.dorn* ***nor***,  
 ກ້ອງ ເກາ ໂລື້-ອນອຍ.. ມ່າຍ ເຕົ້າ ມາຈີບະ.ຕອນ ນອ,  
*kɔŋ* *tʰau* *loŋ n̥uɔi* *ma:i* *tau* *m siə?* *tɔn* *no*  
 talk reach old.day have CLF woman TOP  
 ‘I will talk about an old day, (when) there was a woman,’

- (1056<sup>-4</sup>)      *ku:::ngx!*    *buov*      *hung*      *hnangv.*  
                 ແກ!  
                 ບູວ  
                 ທຸງ  
                 ຂນິງ.  
         *↗k<sup>h</sup>u:::ŋ*      *pueŋ*      *hunŋ*      *ŋuaŋŋ*  
         empty      burn      incense      only  
         ‘who was completely obsessed by (a ritual of) incense burning.’  
         (ium\_20130528\_06\_H1\_DA\_DangcZanx-Seng\_FaamCingCuotvSeix\_KMB; 00.06.48-00.07.00)

## 20.2.2 Presentative Construction: *Maaih hnoi nor* ‘One day’

Once a story is set out by the presentative clause *loz-hnoi maaih NP*, a storyline begins to develop. Then as a narrator wants to change a stage, situation, day in the story or begin a substory within the story, *maaih hnoi nor* [have day TOP] ‘one day’ is used as in (1057<sup>-1-3</sup>).

- (1057<sup>-1</sup>)    (...)*yaac*    ***maaih***    ***hnoi***    ***nor***,    *yie*    *haiz...*  
       (...)*ຍ່າຍ*    *ມ່າຍ*    *ອນອຍ*    *ນອ,*    *ເຢີບ*    *ໄລ້...*  
       *ja:˩*    *ma:i˩*    *ຫຼັດ*    *ນຕ*    *iə˧*    *hai˧*  
       also    have    day    TOP    1SG    feel  
       ‘...and there was one day, I felt’

- (1057<sup>-2</sup>)    *ba'la:::qc!*    *haiz*    *yaac*    *haiz*    *kouv*    *gor*<sup>243</sup> ...  
       ປະຫລະ!  
       *ໄລ້*    *ຍ່າຍ*    *ຢ່າຍ*    *ໄລ້*    *ໂຄ້ງ*    *ກອ* ...  
       *↖pa la:::*    *hai˧*    *ja:˩*    *hai˧*    *k<sup>h</sup>əuŋ*    *kɔ˧*  
       extremely    feel    TOP    feel    be.tired    very  
       ‘extremely, really, very distressed’

- (1057<sup>-3</sup>)    *haiz...*    *youc*    *haiz*    *nzauh*    *nyei.*  
       *ໄລ້...*    *ໄໝຍ່າ*    *ໄລ້*    *ໃຈ່າ*    *ແມູບ.*  
       *hai˧*    *jəu˩*    *hai˧*    *dzauŋ*    *ŋei˧*  
       feel    also    feel    be.sad    ASST  
       ‘and (I) also felt ... felt sad.’  
       (ium\_20000415\_02\_CT\_DA\_FmCiang\_PHist;00.01.54-00.02.02)

The presentative verb *maaih* occurs not only at the beginning of a narrative discourse but to introduce a new participant in the middle of it as in (1058<sup>-3</sup>) within the range of (1058<sup>-1-8</sup>):

<sup>243</sup> *Gor* = Q, *K* = *gau*.

|  |              |             |             |             |             |               |
|--|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| (1058 <sup>-1</sup> )  | <i>Aengx</i> | <i>zoux</i> | <i>norm</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>ndau</i> | <i>biauv.</i> |
|  | ແອ້ງ         | ໄທຫວາ       | ນອມ         | ວັງ         | ເດາ         | ເປີ້າ.        |
|  | ຂົງ          | tsəb₁       | nɔm₁        | uə́         | dau₁        | p̥aú         |
|  | again        | make        | CLF         | DEM         | ground      | house         |
| ‘(My father and others) made one more (cage for a tiger) in the residential area.’ |              |             |             |             |             |               |

|  |              |               |              |              |             |             |                    |
|--|--------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------|
| (1058 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>Aengx</i> | <i>nzuonx</i> | <i>daaih</i> | <i>aengx</i> | <i>zoux</i> | <i>norm</i> | <i>biauv-hlen.</i> |
|  | ແອ້ງ         | ຫຫວານ         | ຕ້າຍ         | ແອ້ງ         | ໄທຫວາ       | ນອມ         | ເປີ້າ-ເຂດນ.        |
|  | ຂົງ          | dzʷən₁        | ta:i₁        | ຂົງ          | tsəb₁       | nɔm₁        | p̥au₁ լ̥en₁        |
|  | again        | return        | come         | again        | make        | CLF         | house-side         |
| ‘(When we) came back (from failing catching the tiger in the upper side of the mountain) we made another (cage) beside the house.’ |              |               |              |              |             |             |                    |

|  |              |             |              |                         |
|--|--------------|-------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| (1058 <sup>-3</sup> )                            | <i>Maaih</i> | <i>deix</i> | <i>janx,</i> | <i>Janx-Korv.Lormx,</i> |
|  | ມ່າຍ         | ເຕືຍ        | ຈິ້ນ,        | ຈິ້ນ-ຄ້ອ.ຫລອມ,          |
|  | ma:i₁        | tei₁        | can₁         | can₁ kʰɔ́y 1ɔm₁         |
|  | have         | some        | non-Iu Mien  | Northern.Thai           |
| ‘(Incidentally) there was a Northern Thai (man)’ |              |             |              |                         |

|   |             |             |             |             |                            |             |              |
|---|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| (1058 <sup>-4</sup> )                                     | <i>wuov</i> | <i>benx</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>jiex</i> | <i>Paakh.nueax(cm.t)</i>   | <i>nyei</i> | <i>janx,</i> |
|   | ວັງ         | ເປັນ        | ວັງ         | ເຈື້ຍ       | ພໍາກ.ເໜືອ(cm.t)            | ເຜູຍ        | ຈິ້ນ,        |
|   | uə́         | pen₁        | uə́         | ciə₁        | p̥a:k₁ nəa₁ <sup>244</sup> | ŋeɪ₁        | can₁         |
|   | DEM         | be          | DEM         | upper.side  | region.northern            | SBCP        | non-Mien     |
| ‘that (person) a non-Iu Mien of the northern Thai region’ |             |             |             |             |                            |             |              |

|                            |              |               |                   |                             |
|----------------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1058 <sup>-5</sup> )      | <i>daaih</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | " <i>Lauv Luc</i> | <i>aah</i> " <sup>245</sup> |
|                            | ຕ້າຍ         | ກຶອງ          | "ເຕົ້າ ພຸດ"       | ອ້າ"                        |
|                            | ta:i₁        | kɔŋ₁          | lau¹ lu₁          | a₁                          |
|                            | come         | say           | "Lau Lu!"         | VOC                         |
| ‘came and said, “Lau Lu!”’ |              |               |                   |                             |

<sup>244</sup> While native speakers of Thai would pronounce ‘northern’ (ເໜືອ) with the vowel /u/, the older Iu Mien tend to substitute it with [ə] and sometimes with [e].

<sup>245</sup> The text is slightly edited. The following digression to explain that the speaker’s father’s name Lau Lu was a child name has been omitted. The original reads *Nv nyei die se ninh mbuo heuc "Lauv Luc". Domh mienh, aa fuqc jueiv mbuox. Mbuo domh mienh mbuox heuc "Guex-Cing"*

|                      |             |                  |  |                   |                  |                  |                   |
|----------------------|-------------|------------------|--|-------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (1058 <sup>6</sup> ) | <i>Wuov</i> | <i>ndau</i>      | <i>Janx-Kor Lormx</i>                                | <i>maaih</i>      | <i>dauh</i>      | <i>heuc</i>      | <i>Aengh.Noih</i> |
|                      | วัว         | เดา              | จัน-คอ-หลอม  | ม่าย              | เต้า             | เห่าว            | แอง.น้อย          |
|                      | սօն         | dau <sup>1</sup> | can <sup>1</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ɔ̄ lɔ̄m <sup>1</sup> | ma:i <sup>1</sup> | tau <sup>1</sup> | heu <sup>1</sup> | բյու ուն          |
|                      | DEM         | ground           | Northern.Thai  | have              | CLF              | call             | Aeng.Noi          |

‘In that region of Northern Thai was a man called Aeng Noi’

|                      |                   |                   |                                  |                 |                                |                                |            |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------|
| (1058 <sup>7</sup> ) | <i>daaih</i>      | <i>gorngv</i> ,   | “ <i>Lauv.Luc</i>                | <i>aah,</i>     | <i>buatc</i>                   | <i>taux</i>                    | <i>aa,</i> |
|                      | ต้าย              | ก้อม,             | “เล้า.หลູ້                       | ອ້າ             | ປວັດ                           | ເຄາ                            | ອາ,        |
|                      | ta:i <sup>1</sup> | kɔ̄ŋ <sup>1</sup> | lau <sup>1</sup> lu <sup>1</sup> | a: <sup>1</sup> | p <sup>w</sup> at <sup>1</sup> | t <sup>h</sup> au <sup>1</sup> | a:         |
|                      | come              | say               | Lau Lu                           | VOC             | see                            | reach                          | INTJ       |

‘came and said, “Lau Lu! (we are) watching (your attempt of catching a tiger)’

|                      |                  |                   |                  |                  |                  |                 |
|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| (1058 <sup>8</sup> ) | <i>meih</i>      | <i>naaic</i>      | <i>gengh</i>     | <i>butv</i>      | <i>ndin</i>      | <i>aqv</i> ”.   |
|                      | เมย              | หน่าย             | เก้ง             | ปູດ              | дин              | ອືະ”.           |
|                      | mei <sup>1</sup> | na:i <sup>1</sup> | keŋ <sup>1</sup> | put <sup>1</sup> | din <sup>1</sup> | a? <sup>1</sup> |

2SG DEM<sub>DMN</sub> really be.diseased be.jerky NSIT  
 ‘you! Must have become insane!’”  
 (ium\_2000\_01\_CT\_IB\_FuqcHin\_CrssMg2Th&Hist;00.13.27-48)

Note that though *maaih* in (1058<sup>6</sup>) is not a discourse-initial presentative verb, but it also presents a new (additional) information about the new participant introduced in (1058<sup>3</sup>).

## 20.3 Sequential Markers

Space does not allow more than mentioning that the discourse connectors are discussed in detail in Arisawa (2006), especially to sections 5.4. and 5.5.

To keep a story going without cessation and without losing the audience’s attention, the narrator maintains cohesion in the discourse by deploying various kinds of sequential markers. There are two kinds of such markers: those which connect clauses inside a sentence (i.e. intra-sentence sequential markers) and those which connect sentences (i.e. inter-sentence sequential markers).

Only a list of items is presented:

### Intra-sentence sequential markers

(1059) V-*liuz*, CL ‘finish –V, then CL’

- (1060) V-*baac*, CL ‘finish-V, then CL’  
 (1061) V-*gau*, CL ‘V, after which’, ‘after V, then CL’

### Inter-sentence sequential markers

- (1062) *ziouc* /ts<sup>j</sup>əʊʌl/ ‘so, then, after which’
- (1063) *cingx.daaih* /ts<sup>h</sup>ɪŋɿ təxɪl/ [so come] ‘therefore’
- (1064) *ziangh naaic* /ts<sup>j</sup>anɿ na:iɿ/ [time DEM<sub>MID</sub>] ‘then, therefore, so’
- (1065) *wuov nzunc hnoi* /uə^ɿ dzunɿ nɔ̃ciɿ/ [DEM<sub>DIST</sub> CLF<sub>OCCASION</sub> day] ‘then, after that, this time, on a different occasion’
- (1066) *weic naaiv* /weiɿ na:iɿ^ɿ/ [for DEM<sub>PRX</sub>] ‘for this reason’
- (1067) *hnangv naaic* /nəŋɿ^ɿ naxiɿ/ [like DEM<sub>MID</sub>] ‘that is why, as a result’
- (1068) *wuov nyungc* /uə^ɿ jnunjɿ/ [DEM<sub>DIST</sub> kind] ‘if so, then’
- (1069) *daaux nzuonx* /ta:uɿ dz<sup>w</sup>ənɿ/ [turn.around return] ‘on the contrary’

## 20.4 Anaphoric and Cataphoric Demonstratives

As an introduction to this section, a review of the demonstrative pronouns may be useful: (i) proximal demonstrative *naaiv* /na:i˥/ ‘this’, (ii) mid-range demonstrative *naaic* /na:i˩/ ‘this/that’ (near addressee), and (iii) distal demonstrative *wuov* /uə˥/ ‘that’.

### 20.4.1 Anaphoric Use of the Pronoun *naaic*

In the previous section (§20.3), a cursory reference to the inter-sentential conjunction *wuov nyungc* [DEM<sub>DIST</sub> kind] ‘if so, then’ was made in (1068). It suggests that the construction refers back to the whole discourse that is told up to that point. In other words, the phrase *wuov nyungc* has an anaphoric nature even though it is a conjunction, perhaps due to the force of the demonstrative pronoun *wuov* as the component therein. Likewise, the construction *yiem naaic daaih* [be.at DEM<sub>MID</sub> COME] ‘since then’ presented in (921<sup>-1-2</sup>) (§15.4.2) suggests the demonstrative pronoun *naaic* is also anaphoric. In a similar vein, Court (1986:111) also recognizes the anaphoric function of *naaic* in a connected discourse: “In the body of a narrative *naaic* can mean either ‘that (near addressee)’, or ‘the, the aforementioned’”. From these, we can say that these demonstratives have the deictic function in a discourse. Specifically, the mid-range demonstrative *naaic* points back to what has been said, i.e., anaphoric. In contrast, a general rule is that the proximal demonstrative *naaiv* refers to what is going to be said, i.e., cataphoric. The cataphoric use of *naaiv* is presented in the next section.

An example of anaphoric-*naaic* is found in a short discourse, which has already been shown in §5.4.2.1 as in (1070<sup>-1-3</sup>) (a repetition of (172<sup>-1-3</sup>)):

|  |                   |             |            |             |                   |           |             |             |
|--|-------------------|-------------|------------|-------------|-------------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|
| (1070 <sup>-1</sup> )  | <i>Six.gorngv</i> | <i>yiem</i> | <i>go</i>  | <i>deix</i> | <i>nzauh.heix</i> | <i>mv</i> | <i>haiz</i> | <i>nor;</i> |
|  | ສີ.ກົ່ອງ          | ເຢືນ        | ໄກ         | ເຕັ້ຍ       | ເຫຼຳ.ເຫຍ          | ມີ        | ໄຊ          | ນອ,         |
|  | <i>kɔŋ˥</i>       | <i>jem˥</i> | <i>ko˥</i> | <i>tei˥</i> | <i>dzau˥ hei˥</i> | <i>m˥</i> | <i>hai˧</i> | <i>no˥</i>  |
|  | if                | be.at       | be.far     | some        | be.afraid         | NEG       | hear        | TOP         |
| ‘If (a hearer) is so far (from the speaker) that (he) is likely to be unable to hear (the speaker),’ |                   |             |            |             |                   |           |             |             |

|  |                     |              |               |                     |              |               |             |
|--|---------------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| (1070 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>“Gauv-Cing</i>   | <i>aac.”</i> | <i>hnangv</i> | <i>naaic</i>        | <i>qiex</i>  | <i>ndaauv</i> | <i>deix</i> |
| (172 <sup>-2</sup> )   | “ກົ້າ-ຈິງ           | ອໍາ.”        | ອນ້ຳ          | ໜ່າຍ                | ເລືີຍ        | ດີວ           | ເຕັ້ຍ       |
|  | <i>kau˥ tsʰinj˥</i> | <i>a:˩</i>   | <i>ŋan˥</i>   | <i>na:i˩</i>        | <i>cʰiə˧</i> | <i>da:u˥</i>  | <i>tei˧</i> |
|  | “Gau Cing           | VOC          | like          | DEM <sub>DIST</sub> | voice        | be.long       | some        |
| ‘(call him like ) “Gau Cing aac”: like that with a longer voice’ |                     |              |               |                     |              |               |             |

|                       |  |         |      |                    |         |
|-----------------------|--|---------|------|--------------------|---------|
| (1070 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <b>hnangv.naaic</b>                                  | aengv   | duqv | taux               | ninh.   |
| (172 <sup>-3</sup> )  | ဆန္တာ.မနာယ   | ၁၁။၂၁၂  | ၆၃၁  | ၄၈၁                | ၂၁၂။၂၁၂ |
|                       | ဗုဏ္ဍာ၏ naxi၏  | ဗုဏ္ဍာ၏ | tu?၏ | t <sup>h</sup> au၏ | nin၏    |
|                       | so.that  | echo    | GET  | reach              | 3SG     |
|                       | ‘so that it can reach him.’                          |         |      |                    |         |
|                       | (ium_20150810_01_H1_DA_GF_Sesqui_Cmpd_MC;00.04.55-7) |         |      |                    |         |

The demonstrative *naaic* in the phrase *hnangv naaic* in (1070<sup>-2</sup>) [like DEM<sub>DIST</sub>] ‘like that’ refers to the demonstrated vocative phrase “Gauv-Cing aac”.

It should be noted that the same structure *hnangv naaic* in (1070<sup>-3</sup>) is a conjunction, meaning ‘in this way, so that, thus’. That is, on the basis of the condition stated in (1070<sup>-1-2</sup>), the consequent “the voice will reach the hearer” (1070<sup>-3</sup>) should be obtained. From the way the conjunction is composed [like anaphoric-*that*], it can be referred to as the “retrospect conjunction” (Langacker 2001:151).

For more actual examples of the anaphoric-*naaic*, see (1073<sup>-1-14</sup>) in the next section.

#### 20.4.2 Cataphoric Use of *naaiv* [DEM<sub>PRX</sub>] ‘thus, as follows’

The following example has been quoted in §5.3.2.2 and is repeated here to demonstrate the cataphoric-*naaiv* [DEM<sub>PRX</sub>] ‘thus, as follows’ and the anaphoric *naaic* [DEM<sub>MID</sub>] ‘the aforementioned’ in one discourse. That is, *naaiv* appears at the beginning of the discourse to indicate what the speaker is about to say, and *naaic* appears at the end of it referring back to what has been said. See the contrast between (1071<sup>-1</sup>) and (1072):

|   |                                      |                    |            |
|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------|------------|
| (1071 <sup>-1</sup> )                         | <i>Biei buic</i>                     | <i>hnangv nv</i>   | <i>nor</i> |
| (163 <sup>-5</sup> )                          | ပေါ်မျှ                              | ဆန္တာ              | နခ         |
|   | p <sup>h</sup> ei၏ p <sup>w</sup> i၏ | ဗုဏ္ဍာ၏            | ဗုဏ္ဍာ၏    |
|   | four generation.name like            | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> | as         |
| ‘The four generation names rotate like this.’ |                                      |                    |            |

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| (1071 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <i>Yie nyei dae nzuonx Zanx naeqv</i>                                 | <i>yie nzuonx Wuonh</i>  |
| (163 <sup>-6</sup> )  | အီးမှူးမှတ ဘားမှုနာ   | အီးမှူး ဘားမှုနာ ဂျားမှု   |
|   | i <sup>h</sup> e <sup>l</sup> nei၏ te၏ dz <sup>w</sup> ən၏ tsan၏ ne?၏ | i <sup>h</sup> e <sup>l</sup> dz <sup>w</sup> ən၏ u <sup>w</sup> ən၏ |
|   | 1 POSS dad return Zan so.then 1 return                                | return Wuon  |
| ‘My father returns to Zan, and then I will return to Wuon.’               |   |  |
| (ium_20130518_02_H1_DA_DangcZanx-Seng&daughter_Baan-buic_KMB;00.00.27-30) |   |  |

The sequence after (1071<sup>-2</sup>) goes:

‘Yes, and then, my children will return to “Fu” (163<sup>-7</sup>). As for my grandsons (163<sup>-8</sup>), they will return to “Zoi”, you see (163<sup>-9</sup>); then after “Zoi”, after that the cycle has returned back to “Zan” again, you see! (163<sup>-10</sup>)’

After the narration above comes (1072):

|   |              |               |             |             |             |               |            |
|---|--------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|------------|
| (1072)  | <i>Naaic</i> | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>biei</i> | <i>buic</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>nyungc</i> | <i>wev</i> |
| (163 <sup>-11</sup> )   | ໜ່າຍ         | ກຶອງ          | ເປີບ        | ປູບ         | ວັນ         | ໜຸ່ງ          | ເວິ້ນ      |
|   | na:i]        | kɔŋγ̚         | p̚ei]       | p̚wi]       | uə̚         | juŋ]          | we̚        |
| DEM <sub>MID</sub> say four generation.name DEM kind SFP                  |              |               |             |             |             |               |            |
| ‘These are so-called four generation names, you see.’                     |              |               |             |             |             |               |            |
| (ium_20130518_02_H1_DA_DangcZanx-Seng&daughter_Baan-buic_KMB;00.00.38-40) |              |               |             |             |             |               |            |

The syllabic nasal *nv* /n̩̚/ in (1071<sup>-1</sup>) is a shortened form of *naav* /na:i̚/ ‘this’ (DEM<sub>PRX</sub>). In this context it refers to what the speaker is going to say from this point on, functioning as a foretelling demonstrative pronoun. The mid-range demonstrative (DEM<sub>MID</sub>) *naaic* /na:i]/ refers what has been said between *naav* (*nv*) and this *naaic*.

There is a case in which both *naaic* and *naav* are used in their prototypical senses in one discourse: the mid-range and the proximal demonstratives. The subtlety is that both are used anaphorically, as opposed to the above stated cataphoric-*naav*. The difference between them is that *naaic* refers back to a longer discourse (i.e. far-reaching demonstrative) and that *naav* anaphorically encompasses a shorter portion of it (i.e. proximal demonstrative). To exemplify this the following discourse is offered, where two distinctive sections, Ls (1073<sup>-1-14</sup>) and Ls (1073<sup>-15-19</sup>), are recognisable. Observe the longer portion (1073<sup>-1-14</sup>) *naaic* refers to and the shorter one (1073<sup>-15-19</sup>) which *naav* does as demonstrated below:

|                                    |                   |              |              |
|------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|
| (1073 <sup>-1</sup> )              | <i>Six.gorngv</i> | <i>daauh</i> | <i>dangh</i> |
|                                    | ສີ.ກຶອງ           | ຕ້າ          | ຕັ້ງ         |
|                                    | kɔŋγ̚             | ta:u]        | taŋ]         |
| if the.first occasion              |                   |              |              |
| ‘If (it is) the first time for...’ |                   |              |              |

|                                      |             |             |                         |             |             |            |             |
|--------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| (1073 <sup>-2</sup> )                | <i>ninh</i> | <i>mbuo</i> | <i>koqv.hoqc</i>        | <i>buov</i> | <i>wuov</i> | <i>nor</i> | <i>aeqv</i> |
|                                      | ນິ້ນ        | ນັວ         | ໂຄະ.ໄທ່                 | ປິ້ນ        | ວັນ         | ນອ         | ແອ້ນ        |
|                                      | nin]        | buə̚]       | k <sup>h</sup> oʔ] hoʔ] | puə̚        | uə̚         | nɔ̚]       | ɛʔ]         |
| 3 PL just smoke DEM TOP PDP          |             |             |                         |             |             |            |             |
| ‘them just to start smoking (opium)’ |             |             |                         |             |             |            |             |

(1073<sup>-3</sup>) *da'yetv nzunc ninh mbuo funx*  
 ດະເຍືບດ ໜຸ່ນ ນິ້ນ ບ້ວ ຜຸນ  
*ta jetl dzunl ninl buel funl*  
 the.first time 3 PL reckon  
 ‘for the first time, they reckon that...’

(1073<sup>-4</sup>) *buov liuz da'yeic nzunc yie mv buov aqv.*  
 ປຶ້ວ ລົວ ດາ'ຢີຍີກ ນຸ່ນ ເມືຂ ມ້ ປຶ້ວ ອື່.  
*puə̄y liūl ta peīl dzunl iə̄l m̄y puə̄y a?l*  
 smoke finish the.second time 1 NEG smoke NSIT  
 ““(after this time) I will not smoke for the second time”.”

(1073<sup>-5</sup>) *Da'yeic nzunc in-mienv youc daaih lorz ninh mbuo*  
 ດາ'ຢີຍີກ ໜຸ່ນ ອິນ-ເມືຂນ ໂໄບວ່ ຕ້າຍ ລົວ ນິ້ນ ບ້ວ  
*ta peīl dzunl inl miə̄n̄y jə̄ul taxīl lɔ̄l ninl buel*  
 the.second time opium-spirit also come seek 3 PL  
 ‘The second time, an opium spirit also comes to look for them.’

(1073<sup>-6</sup>) *nduov ninh mbuo aengx buov.*  
 ດັ້ວ ນິ້ນ ບ້ວ ແອັງ ປຶ້ວ.  
*duə̄y ninl buel en̄l puə̄y*  
 tempt 3 PL again smoke  
 ‘tempts them to smoke again.’

(1073<sup>-7</sup>) *Buov wuov.zanc ninh mbuo hnamv jienv*  
 ປຶ້ວ ວວ.ຫດັ່ນ ນິ້ນ ບ້ວ ຂນໍມ ເຈື້ນ  
*puə̄y uə̄y tsanl ninl buel n̄am̄y c̄en̄y*  
 smoke that.time 3 PL think CONT  
 ‘When they smoke, they are thinking (that)...’

(1073<sup>-8</sup>) “*da'faam nzunc yie mv buov aqv*”.  
 “ດະຟາມ ໜຸ່ນ ເມືຂ ມ້ ປຶ້ວ ອື່”.  
*ta fa:m̄l dzunl iə̄l m̄y puə̄y a?l*  
 the.third time 1 NEG smoke NSIT  
 “I have resolved that I will not smoke for the third time”.’

(1073<sup>-9</sup>) *Taux wuov norm ziangh.hoc,*  
 ເຕາ ວັວ ນອມ ເຕື່ງ.ໂນ໌,  
*t<sup>h</sup>auŋ uəŋ̚ nɔm¹ tsʰaŋ hoŋ*  
 reach DEM CLF occasion  
 ‘As the time comes, ...’

(1073<sup>-10</sup>) *yangh in.mienv<sup>246</sup> aengx daaih*  
 ຍ່ັງ ອິນ.ເມື້ນ ແອົງ ຕ້າຍ  
*jəŋ in¹ miən¹ŋ aŋ̚ ta:iŋ*  
 lure opium-spirit again come  
 ‘the opium-spirit comes again’

(1073<sup>-11</sup>) *nduov ninh mbuo buov*  
 ດັວ ນິນ ບັວ ປິວ  
*dəŋ̚ nin⁹ bəŋ̚ pəŋ̚*  
 tempt 3 PL smoke  
 ‘to tempt them to smoke.’

(1073<sup>-12</sup>) *Youc haiz oix buov nyei*  
 ໂທຍ່າ ໄຊ ອ້ອຍ ປິວ ເຜູຍ  
*jəŋ̚ hai⁹ oɪ⁹ puəŋ̚ nei¹*  
 again feel want smoke ASST  
 ‘(making them) feel again wanting to smoke.’

(1073<sup>-13</sup>) *youc aengx buov aqv.*  
 ໂທຍ່າ ແອົງ ປິວ ອີ່.  
*jəŋ̚ aŋ̚ puəŋ̚ aʔ¹*  
 also again smoke NSIT  
 ‘so smoke again.’

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<sup>246</sup> I owe Ann Burgess and Gueix-Fongc through personal communication for this NP *yangh in mienv* ‘opium-luring spirit’. According to Gueix-Fongc *yangh* is used among the Iu Mien in Vietnam, and *yungh* in Thailand; and the whole phrase is “used to put the blame or reason on their opium addiction”, and “they are thinking in terms of it being a *mienv* ‘spirit’”. Burgess points out that while the compound *in-mienv* ‘opium spirit’ observes tone sandhi when the components are used separately as in *yungh in mienv* or *yangh in mienv*, the word *in* does not have tone sandhi in connecting it with *mienv* when three words are put together. This is a reason for suggesting the gloss for *yungh* as Chinese-loan *youtu* (誘) ‘to lure’, interpreting *yungh in* being a VN compound ‘to lure (people to take) opium’ or ‘opium-luring’.

- (1073<sup>-14</sup>) *Hnangv naaic nor.*  
 សំង អនោយ នេរ.  
*na:iŋ̚* *na:iŋ̚* *nɔːŋ̚*  
 like DEM\_MID as  
 ‘It’s like that.’  
 (ium\_20150429\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_LangSession\_KMB;00.32.10-33.29)

- (1073<sup>-15</sup>) *Yietc muonz buov jiex yietc muonz*  
 ហើយទ ម៉ោន ប៉ុវ តីឃ ហើយទ ម៉ោន  
*jetŋ̚ muənŋ̚ puəŋ̚ ciəŋ̚ jetŋ̚ muənŋ̚*  
 one night smoke pass one night  
 ‘Smoke night by night.’

- (1073<sup>-16</sup>) *Yietc muonz buov jiex yietc muonz*  
 ហើយទ ម៉ោន ប៉ុវ តីឃ ហើយទ ម៉ោន  
*jetŋ̚ muənŋ̚ puəŋ̚ ciəŋ̚ jetŋ̚ muənŋ̚*  
 one night smoke pass one night  
 ‘Smoke night by night.’

- (1073<sup>-17</sup>) *Ih muonz gorngv “Da’nyeic muonz guangc.”*  
 ី ម៉ោន កូង “តមលូយ” ម៉ោន កវាំង.  
*iŋ̚ muənŋ̚ kɔŋ̚ ta neiŋ̚ muənŋ̚ kʷaŋ̚ŋ̚*  
 this night say the.second night throw  
 ‘Tonight people say (while they are smoking) “I will abandon (this habit) tomorrow night”.’

- (1073<sup>-18</sup>) *Da’nyeic muonz aengx gorngv “Da’faam muonz guangc”.*  
 តមលូយ ម៉ោន នៅ់ កូង “តមភាម” ម៉ោន កវាំង.  
*ta neiŋ̚ muənŋ̚ enŋ̚ kɔŋ̚ ta fa:mŋ̚ muənŋ̚ kʷaŋ̚ŋ̚*  
 the.second night again say the.third night throw  
 ‘The second night, they say again “I will quit this tomorrow night”.’

|                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| (1073 <sup>-19</sup> ) | <i>Mbu'ziex muonz yaac hnangv naaiv nor hnamv.</i>           |
|                        | ນັວະ ເທດີຍ ມ້ວນ ແບ່າ ຂນິ້ງ ນ້າຍ ນອ ຂນິ້ມ.                    |
|                        | bu tsiə́ mʷən̄ ja:́ ຖາງໆ ນາີໆ DEM <sub>PRX</sub> ນວ່າ ຖຸມ່າ  |
|                        | how.man night also like as think                             |
|                        | ‘No matter how many nights they pass, they think like this.’ |
|                        | (ium_20150429_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.34.34-35.00)    |

The Ls (1073<sup>-13</sup>) are summarized in (1073<sup>-14</sup>). Then a shorter paraphrase of the first section (1073<sup>-1-14</sup>) starts at (1073<sup>-15</sup>). This second section is summarized in (1073<sup>-19</sup>), which refers back to (1073<sup>-14</sup>).

The language consultant explains this *naaiv* in (1073<sup>-19</sup>) “refers back to *naaic* in (1073<sup>-14</sup>)” as explained in (1074<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| (1074 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Naaiv se “hnangv.naaiv” aengx nuqv nzuonx taux</i>            |
|                       | ນ້າຍ ໃຊ ຂນິ້ງ.ນ້າຍ ແອງ ນຸ ທ້າວນ ເຄາ                              |
|                       | na:ī́ sē na:ŋ̄ na:ī́  |
|                       | DEM <sub>PRX</sub> TOP “like.this” again point return reach      |
|                       | ‘This is that the phrase “hnangv naaiv” again points back to...’ |

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| (1074 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>wuov “naaic”, “hnangv. naaic” wuov nyungc aqv.</i>                |
|                       | ວ້າ “ຫນ່າຍ”, “ຂນິ້ງ.ຫນ່າຍ” ວ້າ ແມ່ງ ອື່ສ.                            |
|                       | uə̄́ na:ī́ ຖາງໆ na:ī́  |
|                       | DEM <sub>DIST</sub> “that” “like.that” DEM <sub>DIST</sub> kind NSIT |
|                       | ‘that (word) “naaic”, (or) that phrase “hnangv naaic”.’              |
|                       | (ium_20150429_01_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.35.15-9)                |

That is, *hnangv naaiv* ‘like this’ in (1073<sup>-19</sup>) refers back as far as *hnangv naaic* in (1073<sup>-14</sup>), the portion that summarizes Ls (1073<sup>-1-13</sup>). In other words, the anaphoric function of the mid-range demonstrative *naaic* functions as it does and the proximal demonstrative *naaiv*, which is usually cataphoric, can be used anaphorically when the reference range is close.

To sum up §20.4.1 and §20.4.2, basically *naaic* is (always) anaphoric, *naaiv* is cataphoric, and it can be anaphoric when a referent is near.

Incidentally, the language consultant has demonstrated a nice piece of metalanguage, i.e., *nuqv nzuonx taux /nu?dzʷən̄tʰau?* [point return reach]: that is, ‘anaphoric reference’ or ‘to refer back to’.

## 20.5 Narrative Arts

In this section, the emphatic prosody in telling a story and the three or four syllable elaborate expressions as narrative arts are surveyed.

### 20.5.1 Emphatic Prosody

In the course of narrating a story, the narrator may, at his/her discretion, emphasises any word in a sentence with a raised and prolonged intonation regardless of which lexical tone it bears. This narrative technique is widely used among older speakers who are experts in storytelling, widely applied not only to adjectival verbs as has been analysed in §7.3.3 but also to words in other syntactic categories.

The first example in this section is an adjectival verb on which the raised, prolonged emphatic prosody is superimposed as in (1075<sup>-1,2</sup>):

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| (1075 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Hlaax ziepc hmz, luoqc nyei ziangh.hoc wuov</i> |
|                       | හුකා තේපියන ඡම්, ණල්ව ගෙය තේජ්.හැ ව්ව              |
|                       | ශා: t̥əp] m̥ɻ luə?] nei˥ ts̥iaŋ ho] uə˥            |
|                       | moon ten five six SBCP time DEM                    |

‘At the time of the fifteenth or sixteenth moon,’

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| (1075 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>hlaax-nyutc <sup>↑</sup>njang!(910ms) nyei, mbopv baeqc nyei</i> |
|                       | හුකා-හුණු ත්‍රෑත්(910ms) ගෙය, ම්ව මප් ගෙය                           |
|                       | ශා:ŋ pnut] jaŋŋŋŋ nei˥ bop] pε?] nei˥                               |
|                       | moon-light be.bright ASST EMPH be.white ASST                        |

‘the moon light is so very bright, (it’s) dazzling white.’

(ium\_20000415\_06\_CT\_DA\_FmCiang\_God’sLight;00.07.16-26)

It should be noted that the prolonged emphatic intonation on the first element in the reduplicated adjectival verbs discussed in §7.3.3 is the characteristic that Taguchi (2007:60) terms as “prominence”. He interprets that this type of intensification is not due to tone sandhi. The example (1075<sup>-2</sup>) is a piece of evidence for his analysis because the prominence is on the single adverbial verb, rather than reduplication.

In narrating a drought before the Iu Mien’s sea-crossing voyage, an aspectual verb receives the emphatic prosody in (1076):

|                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| (1076 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Wuonh hopv <sup>↑</sup>nzenngc(960ms),</i> |
|                       | ච්චන ඩබ <sup>↑</sup> හෙත්ග(960ms),            |
|                       | uʷən] hop] <sup>↑</sup> dzeŋŋŋ                |
|                       | boil drink CONSUME                            |

‘(After) boiling water, (they) finished drinking all of it,

|                       |  |              |              |              |              |               |             |
|-----------------------|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|
| (1076 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>zoux</i>  | <i>gau</i>   | <i>mai</i> v | <i>haih</i>  | <i>fungc</i> | <i>zoux</i>   | <i>aqv.</i> |
|                       | ໄທມວ   | ເກາ          | ໄມ້          | ໄຊ           | ຝູ້ງ         | ໄທມວ          | ອື່.        |
|                       | <i>tsəu</i> ↓  | <i>kau</i> ↑ | <i>mai</i> ↑ | <i>hai</i> ↓ | <i>fun</i> ↓ | <i>tsəu</i> ↓ | <i>a?</i> ↑ |
|                       | do   | after.which  | NEG          | able         | possibly     | do            | NSIT        |
|                       | after that (they) there was no way to do anything.'                |              |              |              |              |               |             |
|                       | (ium_20130514_01_H1_DA_LeizFuqcDorngh_Gouv-Santiphaap;00.00.19-22) |              |              |              |              |               |             |

The velar nasal /ŋ/ of *nzengc* ‘to finish, consume’ is prolonged for 960 milliseconds. The low level tone (Tone 6, /dzeŋ↓/) is ignored to perform a high intonation.

As the same story unfolds, we find a verb is emphasised prosodically as in (1077):

|        |  |              |               |               |
|--------|--|--------------|---------------|---------------|
| (1077) | <sup>↑</sup> <i>Biau</i> :::x(1.035s)                              | <i>jiex</i>  | <i>koiv</i>   | <i>aeqv</i> , |
|        | ເປົ້າ!(1.035s)   | ເຈີບ         | ຄ້ອຍ          | ແອ້,          |
|        | <i>p̥au</i> :::↓   | <i>ciə</i> ↓ | <i>kʰɔi</i> ↑ | <i>ɛ?</i> ↑   |
|        | escape   | pass         | sea           | TOP           |
|        | ‘As (they) escaped all the way across the sea,’                    |              |               |               |
|        | (ium_20130514_01_H1_DA_LeizFuqcDorngh_Gouv-Santhiphaap;00.00.32-4) |              |               |               |

The original tone of *biaux* is low-rise tone but is changed to a high level prolonged tone.

The next example is also the case of a verb being emphasised but it is interesting to note a contrast with (1076) (*hopv* <sup>↑</sup>*nzenngc*), where the same word is not emphatic. See the different pattern {V(emphatic) – *nzengc*} in (1078):

|        |   |               |
|--------|---|---------------|
| (1078) | <i>Ddo</i> :::rtv(1.107s)   | <i>nzengc</i> |
|        | ດູດ!(1.107s)  | ເຫຼັງ         |
|        | <i>→dɔ:::t</i>  | <i>dzeŋ</i> ↓ |
|        | fall  | CONSUME       |
|        | ‘All of them drowned (in the sea).’                               |               |
|        | (ium_20130514_01_H1_DA_LeizFuqcDorngh_Gouv-Santiphaap;00.00.44-5) |               |

The duration of the emphasised word is 1s 107ms. The lexical high tone in the closed syllable is not so much deviated from its original tone.

An interjection may be prolonged emphatically as in (1079<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                       |  |                     |                     |             |              |             |
|-----------------------|--|---------------------|---------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|
| (1079 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>O:::v</i>                                       | <i>muangx</i> ,     | <i>muangx</i>       | <i>haiz</i> | <i>daaix</i> | <i>zuqc</i> |
|                       | ໂສ   | ໝນວັງ,              | ໝນວັງ               | ໄຊ          | ຕ້າຍ         | ໜຸ້ມ        |
|                       | —\o:::   | m <sup>w</sup> anŋ↓ | m <sup>w</sup> anŋ↓ | hai↓        | ta:↓         | tsu?↓       |
|                       | Oh!  | listen              | listen              | hear        | guess        | TOUCH       |
|                       | 'Oh! (they) kept listening and (began to) suspect' |                     |                     |             |              |             |

|                       |   |           |             |                |              |  |
|-----------------------|---|-----------|-------------|----------------|--------------|--|
| (1079 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>za'gengh</i>   | <i>mv</i> | <i>zeiz</i> | <i>mba'ong</i> | <i>mbui.</i> |  |
|                       | ໜະເກົ່ງ   | ນີ້       | ເຕື່ອຍ      | ບະອົງ          | ນູ້ຍ.        |  |
|                       | tsa keŋ↓  | m̩↓       | tsei↓       | ba on↓         | bui↓         |  |
|                       | really  | NEG       | COP         | thunder        | be.noisy     |  |
|                       | '(that the noise) was not really the thunder.'                    |           |             |                |              |  |
|                       | (ium_20130514_01_H1_DA_LeizFuqcDorngh_Gouv-Santiphaap;00.01.00-4) |           |             |                |              |  |

Interrogative words can be prosodically emphasised as in (1080<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|                       |   |                                 |                    |               |                      |             |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|----------------------|-------------|
| (1080 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Heuc</i>   | " <i>Zaanc</i> " <sup>247</sup> | <i>naaic</i>       | <i>ndongc</i> | <i>haiv!</i> (476ms) | <i>yaac</i> |
|                       | ເຫຼວ  | "ໜ່ານ"                          | ໜ່າຍ               | ດ່າງ          | ໄຊ!(476ms)           | ໜ່າ         |
|                       | heu↓  | tsa:n↓                          | na:i↓              | dɔŋ↓          | —\ha:::j             | ja:↓        |
|                       | call  | "cheep"                         | DEM <sub>MID</sub> | as.much.as    | how                  | TOP         |
|                       | 'Calling (a person by the nickname) "Zaan" is, no matter what the reason may be,' |                                 |                    |               |                      |             |

|                       |  |             |                     |             |             |  |
|-----------------------|--|-------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------|--|
| (1080 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>maaih</i>   | <i>diuc</i> | <i>kuei</i>         | <i>ninh</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |  |
|                       | ມ່າຍ   | ດ້ວ         | ເຄາຍ                | ນິ້ນ        | ອື່ນ        |  |
|                       | ma:i↓  | tiu↓        | k <sup>h</sup> wei↓ | nin↓        | a?↓         |  |
|                       | have   | CLF         | abuse               | 3SG         | NSIT        |  |
|                       | 'abusing him.'   |             |                     |             |             |  |
|                       | (ium_20130523_01_H1_DA_GueixZoih_NzungNyeiWaac_Thammajarik;00.02.46-9) |             |                     |             |             |  |

## 20.5.2 Elaborate Expressions

In this section we will investigate what native speakers refer to as 'dressed-up language' (1081):

<sup>247</sup> For the circumstncial clue for naming a child "Zaanc", see examples (169)<sup>1-2</sup> in §5.3.4.2.

|        |                         |              |             |             |
|--------|-------------------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| (1081) | <i>zorng</i>            | <i>daaih</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>waac</i> |
|        | ຜອງ                     | ຕໍ່າຍ        | ເລູຍ        | ຫວ່າ.       |
|        | <i>tsɔŋ</i> ↑           | <i>ta:i↓</i> | <i>nei↑</i> | <i>wa:↓</i> |
|        | adorn                   | COME         | REL         | word        |
|        | 'elaborated expression' |              |             |             |

(ium\_20130427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Definiteness-KMB;00.54.49-50)

### 20.5.2.1 Four syllable alliteration

Elaborate expressions using alliteration in four syllable-line is common in languages of Southeast Asia and its study in Mary R. Haas's *Thai-English Student's Dictionary* (1964) is recognised as tradition (Amara Prasithrathsint 2008:395-403 for Yunnan Tai Lue; cf. Enfield 2007:304-6 for Lao). As for the use of such expressions among the young Iu Mien, however, the aesthetic/literary richness (Purnell 2012:xxviii) seems to be on the decline apart from familiar expression found in Thai. For example, *mingh mingh daaih daaih* /miŋ↓ miŋ↓ ta:i↓ ta:i↓/ [go go come come] 'to come and go to and fro' in Iu Mien is frequently used because of familiarity with the equivalent *paj paj maa maa* (ໄປ່ມາ້າ) in Thai.

The first pattern is AABB as in (1082):

|        |   |                              |              |              |
|--------|---|------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| (1082) | <i>nquien-</i>  | <i>nquien</i> <sup>248</sup> | <i>youth</i> | <i>youh.</i> |
|        | ເນົວີ່ນ-  | ເນົວີ່ນ                      | ໄຢ່ວ         | ໄຢ່ວ.        |
|        | <i>gʷiən↓</i>   | <i>gʷiən↑</i>                | <i>jəʊn↓</i> | <i>jəʊn↑</i> |
|        | have.joy  | have.joy                     | leisure/will | leisure/will |
|        | 'to have great joy, celebrate' (Purnell's translation 2012:545)     |                              |              |              |
|        | (ium_20130523_06_H1_DA_GueixZoih_OldCustoms_Thammajarik;00.04.47-8) |                              |              |              |

As opposed to its simpler counterpart, i.e., *nquien-youth* (or *njien-youth*) 'to be happy, joyful', the elaborated expression yields an intensified meaning. Observe that tone sandhi is present between the first two constituents when they are reduplicated.

Besides Purnell's translation 'to have great joy, celebrate' (2012:545) in (1082), our language consultant has explained it as the state of being free from grief, concerns or problems but with contentment and happiness as in (1083<sup>1-2</sup>)(1083<sup>2</sup>) is a repetition of (533)):

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<sup>248</sup> *Nquien /gʷiən↑/* = Q, K = *njien /jen↑/*. Another variation is *nqien /giən↑/*. (Cf. Purnell 2012:545).

|                       |              |             |              |              |                    |             |
|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------------|-------------|
| (1083 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Mbuo</i>  | <i>mv</i>   | <i>maaih</i> | <i>nzauh</i> | <i>haiv.nyungc</i> | <i>aqv,</i> |
|                       | ນ້ວ          | ນໍ້         | ນ່າຍ         | ເຫົາ         | ໄຊ້.ຫຸ່ງ           | ອື່ກ,       |
|                       | <i>buə̄l</i> | <i>m̥ŋ̄</i> | <i>ma:iŋ</i> | <i>dzaui</i> | <i>haiŋ̄ nyŋ̄</i>  | <i>aʔ̄l</i> |
|                       | 1PL          | NEG         | have         | grieve       | anything           | NSIT        |

‘We have no sorrow whatsoever,’

|                       |              |               |              |                 |              |                  |                |
|-----------------------|--------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|----------------|
| (1083 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>mbuo</i>  | <i>kungx</i>  | <i>maaih</i> | <i>a'hneiv</i>  | <i>nyei</i>  | <i>hnyouv</i>    | <i>hnangv.</i> |
| (533)                 | ນ້ວ          | ຟູງ           | ນ່າຍ         | ອະເຮນ້ີຍ        | ເສົ້ມ        | ເຮົ້ມ້ຽວ         | ອນ້ຳ.          |
|                       | <i>buə̄l</i> | <i>k̥unŋ̄</i> | <i>ma:iŋ</i> | <i>a n̥eiŋ̄</i> | <i>neīl</i> | <i>j̥ī:əuŋ̄</i> | <i>n̥anŋ̄</i>  |
|                       | 1PL          | be.empty      | have         | be.glad         | REL          | heart            | only           |

‘(but) we have gladness only.’

(ium\_20130523\_06\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_OldCustoms\_ Thammajarik;00.04.53-6)

In a similar vein, a reduplication of a constituent may cause a reduction of the first constituent of the couplet as in (1084):

|        |               |               |            |              |
|--------|---------------|---------------|------------|--------------|
| (1084) | <i>mingh</i>  | <i>mingh</i>  | <i>da'</i> | <i>daaih</i> |
|        | ມິ່ງ          | ມິ່ງ          | ດະ         | ຕ້າຍ         |
|        | <i>minŋ̄l</i> | <i>minŋ̄l</i> | <i>ta</i>  | <i>ta:iŋ</i> |
|        | go            | go            | come       | come         |

‘come and go frequently/repeatedly’

(ium\_20130523\_06\_H1\_DA\_GueixZoih\_OldCustoms\_ Thammajarik;00.06.23-4)

It is assumed that tone sandhi is present between the first and second constituents but the underlying tone of *mingh* and the result of tone sandhi coincide.

The second pattern has the structure ABAC, (precisely ABA'C) but B and C are (nearly) synonymous as in (1085):

|        |                |               |              |               |
|--------|----------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| (1085) | <i>faam-</i>   | <i>bung</i>   | <i>feix</i>  | <i>louc</i>   |
|        | ຝາມ-           | ບູງ           | ເຟີ          | ໄຫລວ          |
|        | <i>fa:mŋ̄l</i> | <i>punŋ̄l</i> | <i>feīl</i> | <i>ləuŋ̄l</i> |
|        | three          | direction     | four         | road          |

‘in/form all directions’

(Panh 2002:55)

(ium\_20130427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Definiteness-KMB;00.44.03-4)

The first (A) and the third (A') are alliterative in the onset /f/, though not exactly the same word, respectively followed by the synonyms *bung* ‘direction’ (< *páng* 方) and

*louc* ‘road’ (< *lù* 路). Note also that as a set phrase the first syllable *faam* observes tone sandhi but not so in the third and fourth constituents. This suggests that the combination *faam-bung* ‘three directions’ is a compound noun.

The kind of alliteration both in the first and second pattern are termed in Iu Mien as *waac-puix* /wa:<sup>h</sup>ui:<sup>h</sup>/ [word be.compatible.with] ‘(poetic) couplet expression’ (ium\_20130427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Definiteness-KMB;00.43.55-6) (See more detailed cultural notes in Purnell (2012:712)).

Additionally, a synonymous variation of (1085) is attested in (1086):

|        |  |             |             |             |
|--------|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (1086) | <i>ziex</i>  | <i>bung</i> | <i>ziex</i> | <i>louc</i> |
|        | ເຫດີຍ  | ບູງ         | ເຫດີຍ       | ໄທລ່ວ       |
|        | tsiə̄  | pun̄j       | tsiə̄       | ləp̄        |
|        | many   | direction   | many        | road        |
|        | ‘all directions’                                       |             |             |             |
|        | (ium_20130427_01_H1_DA_GF_Definiteness-KMB;00.43.58-9) |             |             |             |

In this case there is no tone sandhi between the first constituent *ziex* and the second.

The third pattern is ABAC where B and C are in contrast within the same semantic field as in (1087<sup>-1</sup>):

|                       |   |                    |               |              |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------|---------------|--------------|
| (1087 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>nyiemv</i>   | <i>tinc</i>        | <i>nyiemv</i> | <i>deic.</i> |
|                       | ເສື້ອມ  | ດິນ                | ເສື້ອມ        | ເຕ່ຍ.        |
|                       | jem̄  | t <sup>h</sup> in̄ | jem̄          | teī         |
|                       | cry   | heaven             | cry           | earth        |
|                       | ‘Cry like a crazy.’   |                    |               |              |
|                       | (ium_20130523_06_H1_DA_GueixZoih_OldCustoms_Thammajarik;00.02.28-9) |                    |               |              |

Note that no tone sandhi occurs between the first and the second constituents. The reason for that could be that the sequences *nyiemv tinc* and *nyiemv deic* are predicative where *tinc* and *deic* function as adverbs: V + adv.

The meaning of the phrase *nyiemv tinc nyiemv deic* is explained in (1087<sup>-2</sup>):

|                       |   |                |
|-----------------------|---|----------------|
| (1087 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>La'guaih!</i>  | <i>nyiemv.</i> |
|                       | ຫລະໄກວ້!  | ເສື້ອມ.        |
|                       | la — <sup>w</sup> a::i <sup>h</sup>                                 | jem̄           |
|                       | aimlessly   | cry            |
|                       | ‘(It means that people keep) crying badly for no reason.’           |                |
|                       | (ium_20130523_06_H1_DA_GueixZoih_OldCustoms_Thammajarik;00.02.23-5) |                |

As for the semantics of the elements B and C, *tinc* (天) is a song language (*nzung-waac*) or literary register for vernacular *lungh* ‘sky’, and *deic* (地) for *ndau* ‘ground’ as explained in (1087<sup>-3-4</sup>):

|  |                        |                        |                         |                         |                         |                        |
|--|------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|
| (1087 <sup>-3</sup> )  | <i>“Nyiemv tin”</i>    | <i>naaic</i>           | <i>nyiemv</i>           | <i>jienv</i>            | <i>heuc</i>             | <i>lungh.</i>          |
|  | “ເງື່ອມ ທິນ”           | ໜ່າຍ                   | ເງື່ອມ                  | ເຈີນ                    | ເຫວ່າ                   | ຄູ່ງ.                  |
|  | <i>ŋem<sup>¶</sup></i> | <i>tin<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>na:i<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>ŋem<sup>¶</sup></i>  | <i>c'en<sup>¶</sup></i> | <i>heu<sup>1</sup></i> |
|  | cry                    | heaven                 | DEM <sub>TOP</sub>      | cry                     | CONT                    | call                   |
| ‘Talking about (the expression) “nyiemv tin” it means you call the sky while crying. |                        |                        |                         |                         |                         |                        |
| (1087 <sup>-4</sup> )  | <i>“Nyiemv deic”</i>   | <i>nyiemv</i>          | <i>jienv</i>            | <i>heuc</i>             | <i>ndau.</i>            |                        |
|  | “ເງື່ອມ ເຕ່ຍ”          | ເງື່ອມ                 | ເຈີນ                    | ເຫວ່າ                   | ເດາ.                    |                        |
|  | <i>ŋem<sup>¶</sup></i> | <i>tei<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>ŋem<sup>¶</sup></i>  | <i>c'en<sup>¶</sup></i> | <i>heu<sup>1</sup></i>  | <i>dau<sup>1</sup></i> |
|  | cry                    | earth                  | cry                     | CONT                    | call                    | ground                 |
| ‘(the expression) “nyiemv deic” (means that you) call the ground while crying.’      |                        |                        |                         |                         |                         |                        |
| (ium_20130523_06_H1_DA_GueixZoih_OldCustoms_ Thammajarik;00.02.33-5)                 |                        |                        |                         |                         |                         |                        |

Accordingly this kind of expression is referred in Iu Mien to as *waac-huaangv* /wa:<sup>1</sup>ma:<sup>2</sup>ŋ<sup>3</sup>/ [word be.exaggerated] ‘exaggerated expression’ (ium\_20130427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Definiteness -KMB;0045.58-9). For exaggeration or intensification of verbs *tin* and *deic* are used.

More examples of *waac-huaangv* using *tin* and *deic* is (1088<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|   |                        |                                    |                           |                        |                         |
|---|------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| (1088 <sup>-1</sup> )   | <i>Njunh tin</i>       | <i>njunh</i>                       | <i>deic</i>               | <i>naaic</i>           | <i>se</i>               |
|   | ຜຸ່ນ ທິນ               | ຜຸ່ນ                               | ເຕ່ຍ                      | ໜ່າຍ                   | ເຊ                      |
|   | <i>jun<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>tin<sup>1</sup></i>             | <i>jun<sup>1</sup></i>    | <i>tei<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>na:i<sup>1</sup></i> |
|   | groan                  | heaven                             | groan                     | earth                  | DEM <sub>MID</sub>      |
| ‘(To) groan badly with great pain/affliction/distress/agony is’ |                        |                                    |                           |                        |                         |
| (1088 <sup>-2</sup> )   | <i>beiv</i>            | <i>taux</i>                        | <i>ga'sie</i>             | <i>mun</i>             | <i>fai</i>              |
|   | ເປີຍ                   | ເກາ                                | ກະເສືບ                    | ມຸນ                    | ໝໍ                      |
|   | <i>pei<sup>¶</sup></i> | <i>t<sup>h</sup>au<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>ka siə<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>mun<sup>1</sup></i> | <i>fai<sup>1</sup></i>  |
|   | compare                | reach                              | stomach                   | be.hurt                | or                      |
| ‘is like (you) have a stomach pain or’                          |                        |                                    |                           |                        |                         |

|                       |  |              |              |                    |               |            |               |
|-----------------------|--|--------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|
| (1088 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>haaix</i>   | <i>ndau</i>  | <i>mun</i>   | <i>naaic</i>       | <i>diev</i>   | <i>mv</i>  | <i>hingh.</i> |
|                       | ໜາຍ  | ເດົາ         | ມູນ          | ໜ້າຍ               | ເຕື່ອຍ        | ມີ         | ອິຈ.          |
|                       | <i>hai:i</i> ↑   | <i>dau</i> ↑ | <i>mun</i> ↑ | <i>na:i</i> ↑      | <i>tiət</i> ↑ | <i>m</i> ↑ | <i>hiŋ</i> ↓  |
|                       | where  | ground       | be.hurt      | DEM <sub>TOP</sub> | endure        | NEG        | win           |
|                       | ‘somewhere (in your body) hurts but you cannot bear it.’           |              |              |                    |               |            |               |
|                       | (ium_20130515_01_H1_DA_WuonhKuonMbou_Table<br>Talk –b:00.52.47-52) |              |              |                    |               |            |               |

Following (1087<sup>-1</sup>), where the predicative relation is present, *njanh* in (1088<sup>-1</sup>) is interpreted not undergoing tone sandhi.

An intensification of adjectival verbs is carried out by adverbials specific to them as in (1089):

|        |   |               |              |                          |              |
|--------|---|---------------|--------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| (1089) | <i>Mapv</i>   | <i>maengh</i> | <i>mapv</i>  | <i>hmuangx</i>           | <i>nyei.</i> |
|        | ນັບ   | ແມ່ງ          | ນັບ          | ທອນວັງ                   | ເສູຍ.        |
|        | <i>map</i> ↑  | <i>meŋ</i> ↑  | <i>map</i> ↑ | <i>m<sup>w</sup>aŋ</i> ↑ | <i>ŋei</i> ↑ |
|        | INTSF   | be.blind      | INTSF        | be.dark                  | ASST         |
|        | ‘It’s absolutely dark.’   |               |              |                          |              |
|        | (Purnel translates ‘to be pitch black, very dark, deep or dense darkness’ (2012:430)) |               |              |                          |              |
|        | (ium_20130427_01_H1_DA_GF_Definiteness-KMB;00.49.51-3)                                |               |              |                          |              |

Such expressions with intensified adjectival verbs are called in Iu Mien *waac-hnyiev* /wa:<sup>1</sup>ŋ̥iə<sup>2</sup>ŋ̥/ [word be.heavy] ‘emphatic expression’ (ium\_20130427\_01\_H1\_DA\_GF\_Definiteness-KMB;00.52.37-8).

The following example is not a four-syllable expression but a parallelism of dual lines that consist of five syllables in each. Though utilising alliteration and rhyme similarly to the four syllable elaborate expressions, it is highly poetic in its form and proverbial in its semantics. Observe its six pairs of alliteration correspondences and one rhyme as in (1090<sup>-1-2</sup>):

|  | <u>Cong</u>                     | <u>zong</u>       | <i>aeqv,</i> | <u>zutc</u>           | <u>zong,</u>      |
|--|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| (1090 <sup>-1</sup> )  | କଣ                              | ତାଙ୍ଗ             | ଅସ୍ତିତ୍ବ,    | ହର୍ଷମୁଦ               | ତାଙ୍ଗ,            |
|  | ts <sup>h</sup> on <sup>j</sup> | tson <sup>j</sup> | εʔ]          | tsut <sup>j</sup>     | tson <sup>j</sup> |
|  | offend                          | ancestor          | PDP          | extinct               | ancestor          |
| ‘Offend your ancestors and they will diminish.’  |                                 |                   |              |                       |                   |
| (1090 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <u>cong</u>                     | <u>zouv</u>       | <i>aeqv,</i> | <u>zuqc</u>           | <u>zouv.</u>      |
|  | କଣ                              | ତାଙ୍ଗ             | ଅସ୍ତିତ୍ବ,    | ହର୍ଷ                  | ତାଙ୍ଗ.            |
|  | ts <sup>h</sup> on <sup>j</sup> | tsəu <sup>ŋ</sup> | εʔ]          | tsuʔ]                 | tsəu <sup>ŋ</sup> |
|  | offend                          | to.cook           | PDP          | TOUCH <sub>ADVS</sub> | to.cook           |
| ‘Offend your ancestors (by kin-intermarriage) and you will be extinct.’<br>(ium_20130523_06_H1_DA_GueixZoih_OldCustoms_ Thammajarik;00.01.09-13) |                                 |                   |              |                       |                   |

The first correspondence is the second syllable-*zong* and the fifth syllable-*zong* in (1090<sup>-1</sup>) horizontal in a sense. The second is the second syllable-*zouv* and the fifth syllable-*zouv* in (1090<sup>-2</sup>). Vertically over the two lines, the first syllable-*cong* in (1090<sup>-1</sup>) and the first syllable-*cong* in (1090<sup>-2</sup>) correspond. Likewise, the third syllable-*aeqv* in both lines (1090<sup>-1-2</sup>) do so. Finally and vertically, *zutc* ‘to become extinct’ in (1090<sup>-1</sup>) and *zuqc* ‘TOUCH<sub>ADVS</sub>’ in (1090<sup>-2</sup>) correspond in the onset and rhyme despite their different tones.

Semantically, the background of this saying is expressed in the ninety-three year old man’s ethics in (1047<sup>-1-4</sup>) in §19.4.

Given these are literary expressions, they can be used not only in a proverbial, poetic manner or exaggeration in colloquial conversations but also in prose as in (1091):

| (1091)   | <i>Dongh.cor</i>                                | <i>Tin-Hungh</i>                   | <i>zeix</i>       | <i>lungh</i>     | <i>zeix</i>       | <i>ndau.</i>     |
|--|---|------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|
|  | ତୀଂ ଶାତ   | ଥିନ-ସ୍ତଂ                           | ହେତ୍ତାଯ           | ଲୁଂ              | ହେତ୍ତାଯ           | ଦୀ.              |
|  | toŋ <sup>j</sup> th <sup>h</sup> ɔ <sup>j</sup> | tʰin <sup>j</sup> hun <sup>j</sup> | tsei <sup>j</sup> | luŋ <sup>j</sup> | tsei <sup>j</sup> | dau <sup>j</sup> |
|  | at.the.very.start                               | God                                | create            | sky              | create            | land             |
| ‘In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth.’ ( <i>The Book of Genesis 1:1, Iu Mien Bible</i> , Thailand Bible Society<br><a href="http://www.thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php">http://www.thaibible.or.th/mienbible/search/parallel.php</a> ) |   |                                    |                   |                  |                   |                  |

To summarise, *zorng daaih nyei waac* ‘elaborate expressions) include *waac-puix* ‘(poetic) couplets’, *waac-huaangv* ‘exaggeration’ and *waac-hnyiev* ‘emphatic expressions’. They occur in four or five syllabic structures and also in prose.

### 20.5.2.2 Tri-syllabic emphatic expressions

A verb or adjectival verb related to onomatopoeia or a mimetic state/event can be intensified by the reduplication of its initial consonant in the template [ /C-iŋ/ + /C-uŋ/ + (C)V<sub>HD</sub> ], thus forming an onomatopoeic tri-syllabic elaborate expression. In this section, two points are argued with respect to the pattern of the onomatopoeic and mimetic try-syllable expressions. Firstly, the pattern is restricted to a small group of verbs and adjectival verbs that are related to onomatopoeia or speech sound or mimetic events. Secondly, their phonological and structural characteristics are discussed.

Firstly, this pattern of tri-syllabic emphatic expressions have to do with any action, event, state that are accompanied with acoustic sound or sound impression. Let us start with the speech verb *nauc* ‘to shout’ as an example of this. Example (1092) exhibits the pattern [ /niŋ nuŋ/ + V<sub>HD</sub>(/n-/) ]:

|   |            |              |             |             |             |              |               |
|---|------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| (1092)  | <i>Nih</i> | <i>nungx</i> | <i>nauc</i> | <i>nyei</i> | <i>heuc</i> | <i>jienv</i> | <i>mingh.</i> |
|   | ីន         | ុង           | ណោះ         | លើឃ         | ហោះ         | ជីំឃន        | មីង.          |
|   | niŋ        | nuŋ          | nau         | ŋei         | heu         | c'en         | min           |
|   | ONOM       | ONOM         | shout       | ADVZ        | call        | CONT         | go            |
| ‘(he) went off bawling and yelling.’                  |            |              |             |             |             |              |               |
| (ium_20150519_02_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.18.16-8) |            |              |             |             |             |              |               |

Its meaning which is more intensified than simple *nauc* is described as (1093<sup>1-2</sup>):

|  |                 |           |              |             |             |              |             |              |
|--|-----------------|-----------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| (1093 <sup>1</sup> )   | <i>Eix.leiz</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>mingh</i> | <i>yaac</i> | <i>heuc</i> | <i>jienv</i> | <i>mbui</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|  | ខីលីលីខ         | ឬ         | មីង          | ឃាតា        | ហោះ         | ជីំឃន        | បុុឃ        | លើឃ.         |
|  | ei lei          | se        | min          | ja          | heu         | c'en         | bui         | ŋei          |
|  | meaning         | TOP       | go           | also        | call        | CONT         | be.loud     | ASST         |
| ‘It means that a person shouting very loud as he or she goes.’ |                 |           |              |             |             |              |             |              |

|                       |  |                 |                  |                 |              |                  |
|-----------------------|--|-----------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|
| (1093 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Heuc</i>  | <i>se,</i>      | <i>nauc</i>      | <i>se</i>       | <i>hniev</i> | <i>nyei.</i>     |
|                       | ເຫຼວ   | ເສົ້າ,          | ເຫນຳ             | ເສົ້າ           | ເອັນຍ        | ໄລມະ.            |
|                       | heu <sup>1</sup>                                       | se <sup>1</sup> | nau <sup>1</sup> | se <sup>1</sup> | ຫູເອຍ        | nei <sup>1</sup> |
|                       | call   | TOP             | yell             | TOP             | be.heavy     | ASST             |
|                       | ‘It’s a heavy calling or a heavy yelling.’             |                 |                  |                 |              |                  |
|                       | (ium_20150519_02_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.18.18-28) |                 |                  |                 |              |                  |

Purnell (2012) provides a detailed explanation with regard this pattern:

**nih nungx** *adv.* Intensifier for certain verbs or adjectives beginning with **n**, such as **naengh** “fly and swarm,” **naety** “stick allover”, **nauc** “shouting and screaming,” **norngz** “move around,” and **nuqv** “point at.” *Usg:* The underlying pattern is **ih -ungx** where the initial slots take the same consonant as the following word: **bih bungx b..., kih kungx k...,** etc. The pattern can be used with virtually any initial consonant corresponding to the following verb or adjective. The resulting intensifier is much stronger than either **haic** “very” or a reduplicated form (Purnell 2012:493).

Attention needs to be drawn to Purnell’s comment that “[t]he pattern [ /C-i<sup>1</sup>/ + /C-un<sup>1</sup>/ + (C)V<sub>HD</sub>] can be used with virtually any initial consonant corresponding to the following verb or adjective”. The statement, however, seems to be only applicable to the verbs or verbal adjectives that are related to (i) speech sound or manner of talking, (ii) physical sound expressed in speech (onomatopoeia), and (iii) mimetic ideophones that are not associated with physical sound. The pattern is not used with any action verbs nor any general adjectival verbs unlike Purnell’s note. The distinction between (ii) and (iii) is parallel to Japanese *gion-go* [mimic.sound-word] (擬音語) and *gitai-go* [mimic.manner-word] (擬態語): (i) *zaa zaa* as the sound of heavy rain and (ii) *niko niko* refers to smile, which is not associated with any sound coming from a face.

First, observe the example *nauc* ‘to shout’ (1092) is a particular manner of producing voice. Another example of a speech verb being intensified is in (1094):

|        |   |                                |                                 |
|--------|---|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (1094) | <i>kih</i>  | <i>kungx</i>                   | <i>kaatv</i>                    |
|        | ຂີ  | ຸງ                             | ກໍາດ                            |
|        | k <sup>h</sup> i <sup>1</sup>                                     | k <sup>h</sup> un <sup>1</sup> | k <sup>h</sup> a:t <sup>1</sup> |
|        | ONOM  | ONOM                           | scream                          |
|        | ‘to shout at the top of one’s lungs, scream for all one is worth’ |                                |                                 |
|        | (Purnell 2012:335)  |                                |                                 |
|        | (ium_20150519_02_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.18.26-8)             |                                |                                 |

Similarly, as a speech verb, ‘to whisper’ can also be expressed by the tri-syllabic pattern but not as an intensification of a whispering sound as in (1095):

|        |   |              |             |
|--------|---|--------------|-------------|
| (1095) | <i>sih</i>  | <i>sungx</i> | <i>sapv</i> |
|        | 誓   | 誓            | 誓           |
|        | si\   | sun\         | sap\        |
|        | ONOM  | ONOM         | whisper     |
|        | ‘whispering around by many people, widespread whispering’ |              |             |
|        | (Purnell 2012:652)  |              |             |

Note Purnell's translation rightly specifies that the manner of whispering is 'by many people', not referring to "loud whispering" by one person (for there is no such a thing).

Second, not the speech sound (as shouting or whispering) but a sound of physical objects can also be expressed in the tri-syllabic expression as in (1096<sup>-1,3</sup>):

|                       |  |              |             |              |              |             |
|-----------------------|--|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| (1096 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>Wuom</i>  | <i>bieqc</i> | <i>heh,</i> | <i>ziouc</i> | <i>maaih</i> | <i>qiex</i> |
|                       | ວາມ  | ເປີຍະ        | ເຊື່ງ       | າດາ          | ມ້າຍ         | ເຈື້ຍ       |
|                       | uəm̥t̥   | pɪə?ɺ        | heɻ         | tsʰəb̥ɺ      | ma:iɻ        | cʰiɛɻ       |
|                       | water  | enter        | shoe        | then         | have         | sound       |
|                       | 'Water got in their shoes, and (as they walked) it made' |              |             |              |              |             |

|                                     |             |                                 |              |              |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| (1096 <sup>-3</sup> )               | <i>zih</i>  | <i>zungx</i>                    | <i>zortc</i> | <i>nyei.</i> |
|                                     | ၏           | ၁၄၂၂                            | ၁၆၀၈         | ၁၅၂၂         |
|                                     | <i>tsi\</i> | <i>tsuŋ\</i>                    | <i>tsɔt\</i> | <i>nei\</i>  |
| ONOM                                | ONOM        | sucking.sound.of.walking.in.mud |              | ASST         |
| 'a loud sticky and slopping sound.' |             |                                 |              |              |
| (Purnell 2012:773)                  |             |                                 |              |              |

Just as (1095), the “intensification” by a tri-syllabic pattern does not necessarily denote large volume of sound but multiple and simultaneous occurrences of sounds. Compare the following two situations: the one in which a simple reduplication in (1097a) describes a sound of one stream or brook, which is more

natural, and the other in which the tri-syllabic pattern implies sounds of multiple streams as in (1097b):

(1097a) *Wuom zoz- zoz nyei.*

ວາມ ໂດ້- ໂດ້ ເນີຍ.

uəm<sup>1</sup> tso<sup>1</sup> tso<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup>

water ONOM ONOM ASST

‘The water (the stream) making a rushing noise.’

(20160317\_Dangc Wuonh Kuon)

(1097b<sup>-1</sup>) “*Wuom zih zungx zoz nyei*”,

“ວາມ ຕື່ ຂູ້ງ ໂດ້ ເນີຍ”,

uəm<sup>1</sup> tsɪ<sup>1</sup> tsuŋ<sup>1</sup> tso<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup>

water ONOM ONOM ONOM ASST

‘The waters (of many streams) are making a rushing noise.’

(1097b<sup>-2</sup>) *Se.gorngv oix hnangv naaiv nor longc nor,*

ສື.ກໍອງ ອ້ອຍ ສນ້ຳ ນ້າຍ ນອ ທລ່ງ ນອ,

si<sup>1</sup> kɔŋ<sup>1</sup> o<sup>1</sup> tʰaŋ<sup>1</sup> na:i<sup>1</sup> nɔ<sup>1</sup> loŋ<sup>1</sup> nɔ<sup>1</sup>

if want like DEM as use if.so

‘If you want to use (the tri-syllabic expression) like that,’

(1097b<sup>-3</sup>) *oix.zuqc maaih camv- diuh ndoqv nyei wuom*

ອ້ອຍ.ຫຼຸ ມ່າຍ ຂຶ້ມ- ຕິວ ໂດືະ ເນີຍ ວາມ

o<sup>1</sup> tsu?<sup>1</sup> ma:i<sup>1</sup> tsʰam<sup>1</sup> tiu<sup>1</sup> do?<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup> uəm<sup>1</sup>

must have many-CLF stream SBCP water

‘there must be waters of many streams’

(1097b<sup>-4</sup>) *dongh zanc mbui nor longc duqv nyei.*

ຕິ່ງ ທັນ ບູບ ນອ, ທລ່ຳ ໜີ້ ເນີຍ.

toŋ<sup>1</sup> tsan<sup>1</sup> bui<sup>1</sup> nɔ<sup>1</sup> loŋ<sup>1</sup> tu?<sup>1</sup> nei<sup>1</sup>

same time be.noisy if.so use CAN ASST

‘running down and making noise at the same time; if the situation is like that, you can use (the expression) like that.’

(20160317\_Dangc Wuonh Kuon)

The fact that the situation has to be specified in (1097b<sup>-1-4</sup>) suggests that a use of the tri-syllabic onomatopoeic/ideophonic expressions are limited to realistic situations. Nevertheless, the description tells us some characteristics of the pattern. The NP *camv-*

*diuh ndoqv* ‘many streams’ in (1097b<sup>3</sup>) indicates multiplicity, the time adverb *dongh zanc* ‘at the same time’ in (1097b<sup>4</sup>) the simultaneous character of the situation, and the adjectival verb *mbui* ‘be noisy’ the onomatopoeic property of the tri-syllabic elaborate expression.

Similar to *zortc* in (1096<sup>-3</sup>) and *zoz* in (1097a-b), and unlike a speech verb *kaatv* in (1094), an onomatopoeia itself can be intensified as if it were a verb by the tri-syllabic pattern as in (1098):

- |        |   |               |              |
|--------|---|---------------|--------------|
| (1098) | <i>ngih</i>   | <i>ngungx</i> | <i>nguiz</i> |
|        | ŋ̥ɪ̥  | ŋ̥ʊŋ̥         | ŋ̥ui̥        |
|        | ŋ̥ɪ̥\   | ŋ̥ʊŋ̥\        | ŋ̥ui̥\       |
|        | ONOM  | ONOM          | ONOM(cry)    |
|        | ‘bitter, loud crying by several people’               |               |              |
|        | (Purnell 2012:539)                                    |               |              |
|        | (ium_20150519_02_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.20.27-9) |               |              |

Although Purnell's translation 'by several people' concurs with the explanation given in (1097b<sup>3-4</sup>) for multiple and simultaneous sounds, a use of (1098) is not necessarily confined to such a situation. See its meaning explained by our language consultant does not specify the number of people involved as Purnell does in giving such a glossing as 'by several people' but (1099<sup>1-3</sup>):

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| (1099 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>benx nyiemv nyei qie</i> x   |
|                       | ເປັນ ເລື່ມ ແມ ເຄື   |
|                       | pen <sup>1</sup> nem <sup>1</sup> nei <sup>1</sup> c <sup>h</sup> iə <sup>1</sup> |
|                       | be cry REL voice  |
|                       | ‘It is a sound of crying,’  |

- |                       |                              |             |             |             |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (1099 <sup>-2</sup> ) | <i>nyiemv</i>                | <i>duqv</i> | <i>mbui</i> | <i>yaac</i> |
|                       | ເຜູ້ຍມ                       | ຕູ          | ບຸຍ         | ຫຍໍາ        |
|                       | <i>nem^</i>                  | <i>tu?</i>  | <i>bui</i>  | <i>ja:J</i> |
|                       | cry                          | GET         | be.loud     | also        |
|                       | '(that is, to) cry loud and' |             |             |             |

|                       |  |             |                         |             |                |
|-----------------------|--|-------------|-------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| (1099 <sup>-3</sup> ) | <i>nyiemv</i>  | <i>duqv</i> | <i>kouv</i>             | <i>wuov</i> | <i>nyungc.</i> |
|                       | ເລື່ມ  | ຕີ          | ໄດ້ວ                    | ວ້ວ         | ໜຸ່ງ.          |
|                       | <i>nem^</i>  | <i>tu?l</i> | <i>k<sup>h</sup>əu^</i> | <i>uə^</i>  | <i>ŋuŋl</i>    |
|                       | cry  | GET         | be.tired                | DEM         | kind           |
|                       | ‘a kind of crying (until you) get exhausted.’          |             |                         |             |                |
|                       | (ium_20150519_02_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.23.19-30) |             |                         |             |                |

An adjectival verb can also be intensified in the similar way as in (1100):

|        |  |               |                          |  |
|--------|--|---------------|--------------------------|--|
| (1100) | <i>Mbih</i>  | <i>mbungx</i> | <i>mbiouh</i>            |  |
|        | ນີ້  | ນູ້           | ເນື້ອວ                   |  |
|        | <i>bi\n</i>  | <i>buŋ\n</i>  | <i>b<sup>h</sup>əu\n</i> |  |
|        | ONOM   | ONOM          | be.noisy                 |  |
|        | ‘making a hubbub (of voices or sounds)’                |               |                          |  |
|        | (Purnell 2012:470)                                     |               |                          |  |
|        | (ium_20150519_02_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_KMB;00.20.17-20) |               |                          |  |

Third, the mimetic, ideophonic verbs can be used in the tri-syllabic expressions. They are not associated with onomatopoeia. In other words this class of verbs do not evoke a mental sound effect but describes a manners of an action, situation, or event. Rather, this use is similar to above-mentioned *gitai-go* (擬態語) in Japanese, that is ideophone. For example, the verb *pio* /p<sup>h</sup>o\n/ ‘to move away one after another as part of a large group’ is not necessarily accompanied with a sound effect but describes a manner of physical movement as in (1101):

|        |  |                         |                          |                         |                |
|--------|--|-------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| (1101) | <i>Hlauv-norm</i>  | <i>pih</i>              | <i>pungx</i>             | <i>pio</i>              | <i>ndortv.</i> |
|        | ເຂົ້າ-ນອມ  | ພື້                     | ຜູ້                      | ໄພຍ                     | ດຶດ.           |
|        | <i>lau\n nɔm\n</i>   | <i>p<sup>h</sup>i\n</i> | <i>p<sup>h</sup>uŋ\n</i> | <i>p<sup>h</sup>o\n</i> | <i>dɔt\n</i>   |
|        | bamboo-leave   | MIM                     | MIM                      | move.away               | fall           |
|        | ‘The bamboo leaves all fell off (and scattered all over).’ |                         |                          |                         |                |
|        | (Purnell 2012:634)   |                         |                          |                         |                |

To verify the criteria for the pattern [/*C-i\n/ + /*C-uŋ\n/ + (*C*)*V<sub>HD</sub>*], that is, it is to be used with verbs (and adjectival verbs) of onomatopoeia concerning speech sound, physical sound, and mimetic ideophonic expressions, see further the unacceptability of the following sequences:**

Action verb ‘to hit’

|        |       |        |        |
|--------|-------|--------|--------|
| (1102) | *mbih | mbungx | mborqv |
|        | *     | *      | hit    |

Action verb ‘to eat’

|        |       |        |       |
|--------|-------|--------|-------|
| (1103) | *nyih | nyungx | nyanc |
|        | *     | *      | eat   |

Action verb ‘to speak’

|        |      |       |        |
|--------|------|-------|--------|
| (1104) | *gih | gungx | gorngv |
|        | *    | *     | speak  |

Adjectival verb ‘to be cold(thing)’

|        |      |       |                |
|--------|------|-------|----------------|
| (1105) | *nih | nungx | namx           |
|        | *    | *     | be.cold(thing) |

Adjectival verb ‘to be lazy’

|        |      |       |         |
|--------|------|-------|---------|
| (1106) | *lih | lungx | lueic   |
|        | *    | *     | be.lazy |

All these are rejected as ‘nonsensical’ by the native speaker who evaluates as follows (1107<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                       |      |       |        |      |       |            |
|-----------------------|------|-------|--------|------|-------|------------|
| (1107 <sup>-1</sup> ) | Mv   | maaih | longc, | mv   | maaih | eix.leiz.  |
|                       | ນີ້  | ມ່າຍ  | ຫລົງ,  | ນີ້  | ມ່າຍ  | ເອັບເລື້ນ. |
|                       | ມ່າຍ | ma:iŋ | loŋ    | ມ່າຍ | ma:iŋ | eiŋ leiŋ   |
|                       | NEG  | have  | use    | NEG  | have  | meaning    |

‘There is no such use, it has no meaning.’

|                       |      |       |                |      |      |         |         |
|-----------------------|------|-------|----------------|------|------|---------|---------|
| (1107 <sup>-2</sup> ) | “Nih | nungx | namx”          | yaac | mai⁹ | haih    | gorngv. |
|                       | ໜີ້  | ໜຸ້ງ  | ໜັນມ”          | ໜໍາ  | ໄມ້  | ໄຈ໌     | ກ້ອງ.   |
|                       | niŋ  | nunŋ  | nam            | ja:  | maiŋ | haiŋ    | kɔŋŋ    |
|                       | *    | *     | be.cold(thing) | TOP  | NEG  | be.able | speak   |

‘To say “nih nungx namx” is impossible.’

Ordinary action verbs with no onomatopoeic/ideophonic effect in tri-syllabic emphatic pattern are rejected as “nonsensical” (*maiiv maaih eix.leiz*) or “impossible” (*maiiv haih gorngv*).

Thus, the tri-syllabic emphatic expressions with the pattern [ /Ci↓/ + /Cuŋ↓/ + (C)V<sub>HD</sub>] are restricted to onomatopoeic speech verbs, onomatopoeia (imitation of physical sound), and mimetic ideophonic expressions.

Turning from the criteria of the construction, secondly, the phonological and structural characteristics are discussed. First, one phonological issue is considered. Purnell (Purnell 2012:493) says: “The underlying pattern is *iθ -ungx* where the initial slots take the same consonant as the following word”. Then, what about a head verb that does not start with a consonant? In the case that the head verb begins with a vowel, lacking an initial consonant, the disyllabic intensifier also starts with vowels in the slots [/*iθ*/ + /*unθ*/ + *V<sub>HD</sub>*] as in (1108):

The meaning of the expression is explained as in (1109<sup>-1-3</sup>):

|                       |   |                           |               |                 |             |
|-----------------------|---|---------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-------------|
| (1109 <sup>-1</sup> ) | <i>Nyanc</i>                                    | <i>camv</i>               | <i>daaih</i>  | <i>ga'sie</i>   | <i>hlo.</i> |
|                       | ໜູ້ນ  | ຂຶ້ມ                      | ຕ້າຍ          | ກະເສີ່ຍ         | ໂຮດ.        |
|                       | <i>jan</i> ]                                    | <i>ts<sup>h</sup>am</i> ^ | <i>ta:i</i> \ | <i>ka siə</i> \ | <i>lɔ</i> \ |
|                       | eat   | much                      | COME          | stomach         | be.big      |
|                       | 'Having eaten much, one's stomach becomes big.' |                           |               |                 |             |

|  |              |                          |              |                |               |              |             |              |
|--|--------------|--------------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|
| (1109 <sup>-2</sup> )  | <i>Nyanc</i> | <i>camv</i>              | <i>daaih</i> | <i>ga'sie</i>  | <i>hlo...</i> | <i>zungx</i> | <i>fai</i>  | <i>junc.</i> |
|  | ໜູ້ນ         | ື້ນ                      | ຕ້າຍ         | ກະເສີບ         | ໄໂລ...        | ໜູ້ງ         | ໄຟ          | ຈຸນ.         |
|  | <i>jan↓</i>  | <i>ts<sup>h</sup>am^</i> | <i>taxi↓</i> | <i>ka siə↑</i> | <i>lo↑</i>    | <i>tsun↓</i> | <i>fai↑</i> | <i>cun↓</i>  |
|  | eat          | much                     | COME         | stomach        | be.big        | be.full      | or          | be.fat       |
| ‘As one eats a lot, his or her belly has become big, full, and fat.’ |              |                          |              |                |               |              |             |              |

|   |                |                                      |              |             |  |  |  |  |
|---|----------------|--------------------------------------|--------------|-------------|--|--|--|--|
| (1109 <sup>-3</sup> )   | <i>ga'sie</i>  | <i>cuotv</i>                         | <i>daaih</i> | <i>aqv.</i> |  |  |  |  |
|   | ກະເສີບ         | ຂ້າດ                                 | ຕ້າຍ         | ອື່ບ.       |  |  |  |  |
|   | <i>ka siə↑</i> | <i>ts<sup>h</sup>w<sup>et</sup>l</i> | <i>ta:i↓</i> | <i>a?↑</i>  |  |  |  |  |
|   | belly          | come.out                             | COME         | NSIT        |  |  |  |  |
| ‘(his or her large) stomach has stuck out.’<br>(ium_20150519_02_H1_DA_GF_LangSession_<br>KMB;00.17.49-00.18.03) |                |                                      |              |             |  |  |  |  |

This is a case of mimetic expression or *gitai-go* (擬態語), rather than onomatopoeia. It is not yet known if the state of having a distended stomach has an onomatopoeic impression (mental sound effect) in the mind of Iu Mien.

Second, structurally, most of the tri-syllabic emphatic constructions have disyllabic counterparts, which are less intensive. With the particle *nyei*, the expressions of reduplicated verbs or adjectival verbs can be used (i) as preverbal adverbial phrase or (ii) predicatively in the postverbal position:

|                           |               |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| <i>nauc-nauc nyei</i>     | (from (1092)) |
| <i>kaatv-kaatv nyei</i>   | (from (1094)) |
| <i>nguiz-nguiz nyei</i>   | (from (1098)) |
| <i>mbiouh mbiouh nyei</i> | (from (1100)) |

All of these observe tone sandhi in the reduplication of verbs (with the underlying falling tone of *mbiouh* coinciding with the result of tone sandhi).

The reduplicated verb as the preverbal adverbial phrase is exemplified in (1110):

|   |                |             |               |             |              |                |
|---|----------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| (1110)  | [ <i>Nauc-</i> | <i>nauc</i> | <i>nyei</i> ] | <i>heuc</i> | <i>jienv</i> | <i>gorngv.</i> |
|   | [ແນ່-          | ແນ່         | ເມູຍ]         | ເຫວ         | ເຈື້ນ        | ກົ່ອງ.         |
|   | <i>nau↓</i>    | <i>nau↓</i> | <i>ŋei↑</i>   | <i>heu↓</i> | <i>c'en^</i> | <i>kɔŋ^</i>    |
|   | shout          | shout       | ADVZ          | call        | CONT         | talk           |
| ‘to talk in a loud booming voice’<br>(Purnell 2012:491) |                |             |               |             |              |                |

In this, *nyei* is an adverbialising particle.

The reduplicated ideophonic phrase occurs predicatively in postverbal position as in (1111):

|        |  |               |              |              |              |
|--------|--|---------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| (1111) | <i>Maaih</i>                           | <i>mbuonx</i> | <i>sien-</i> | <i>sien</i>  | <i>nyei.</i> |
|        | ມ້າຍ                                   | ນ້ຳນ          | ເສື່ອນ-      | ເສື່ອນ       | ແລູ້ຍ.       |
|        | ma:i↓                                  | buən↓         | s̥en↓        | s̥en↑        | ŋei↑         |
|        | have                                   | cloud/fog     | swarm.gently | swarm.gently | ASST         |
|        | 'Clouds/fog are swarming (around us).' |               |              |              |              |
|        | (20160317_Dangc Wuonh Kuon)            |               |              |              |              |

In this, *nyei* is an assertive aspectual particle. The ideophonic verb *sien* ‘to swarm gently (of weather)’ does not occur in the tri-syllabic [/*C-i*↓/ + /*C-un*↓/ + (*C*)*V<sub>HD</sub>*] pattern, probably because the serenity the verb connotes contradicts the notion of liveliness or clamour expressed in the pattern.

In both structures, preverbal and postverbal, the first syllable in the reduplication of the verb observes tone sandhi.

## 20.6 Summary of Chapter 20

In this chapter, a few selected discourse features and two narrative arts have been investigated.

In the discourse section, two kinds of presentative constructions and two kinds of demonstratives were considered. A story begins by either the presentative construction with the time adverb ‘once upon a time’ or the *maaih*-presentative construction, i.e., the entity-central presentative construction and the event-presentative construction in LaPolla’s (1995) term. As to the device of discourse cohesion, the distal demonstrative *naaic* functions as the anaphoric pronoun whereas the proximal demonstrative *naaiv* as the cataphoric pronoun.

In the narrative arts section, the emphatic prosody and elaborate expressions were discussed. A good narrator uses his/her voice skillfully to express emotions and to sustain the audience’s attention. The four-syllable and try-syllable elaborate expressions demonstrate the rich fusion of prosodic art and the Chinese-related literary art.

# **Chapter 21**

## **CONCLUSION**

### **21.1 Introduction**

This final chapter concludes the project of describing the grammar of Iu Mien (i) by showing that the seven operational principles laid out in Chapter 4 are interlaced with different grammatical constructions discussed in Chapters 6 to 20, (ii) by presenting a category of metalanguage toward the promotion of native speaker linguists for language documentation and revitalization, and (iii) by suggesting topics of further research.

### **21.2 Interlace of the Seven Principles with Chapter 6 to 20**

In this grammar, we have argued for and established the following seven operational principles that are working in the structure of Iu Mien language in such a manner that they are interlaced:

- (1) topic-focus orientation,
- (2) multilayered focus structure with prominence on the sentence final position,
- (3) verb-medial word order, not necessarily SVO,
- (4) versatility of verbs used for aspect, modality, multi-verb constructions, etc.,
- (5) sentence final particles as epistemic grounding elements,
- (6) vague distinction across “parts-of-speech”,
- (7) culturally affected argument structure, i.e. the relationship between verbs and noun phrases in a sentence.

The gist of the seven, i.e., the crux of Chapter 4, is that Iu Mien is a pragmatically configured verb-medial language and it is not an SVO language in the sense that the word order is strictly grammaticalised. In the overall bipartite sentence template with the verb in the middle, the topic argument NP occurs pre-verbally; and the focal argument NP and the event presentative NP occurs post-verbally. Although this order may have a guise of an SVO order, the principle operates not only with the verbal predicate but also with non-verbal predicate, i.e. equative particles (not verbs). Thus, two major parts of the sentence are topic and focus, whether what comes

between them are verbs, verbal adjectives, copular verbs or equative particles, or sentence medial topic markers. Given these facts, to say that Iu Mien is an SVO language is to address only a small number of constructions that have such surface appearance in the language.

Regarding the principle of the multilayered rightward focus structure, i.e., Principle 2, the topic-focus construction can also occur within the focus part. That is to say, the structure that the focal NP occurs on the right side of the sentence-medial element can be recursive. The recurrence is facilitated by the use of topic markers, *se*, *yaac*, *aeqv*, and *nor*. Each time one of these particles is uttered, the previous part as a whole becomes a topic, which awaits for a new focus NP to occur. In other words, these particles function as a subordinate clause marker. In addition, each time the conclusion of the sentence is suspended by these particles, the previous focus turns into a topic. When does the sentence conclude? When one of the sentence final particles is uttered, it concludes. In this sense, SFPs are grounding elements (Principle 6), which has been analysed in Chapter 19. To summarise, the multilayered focus structure (Principle 2) is at work in that the more rightward the constituent goes (closer to the sentence-final position), the more focus it gets. Chapter 10 has seen that Principle 2 and Principle 3 are operating in the sentence medial topic marking constructions. Furthermore, that the coverb phrase occurs in the oblique position before the main VP is in accordance with Principle 2, which has been argued in Chapter 15.

Another implication of Principle 3, that is, the principle that the verb-medial word order does not mean the language is grammaticalised in the order SVO, is the successful analysis of the seemingly post-verbal subject. The post-verbal NP is not the subject nor an object. A new participant, which is not the established topic, is introduced to the discourse by the entity-presentative verb *maaih* ‘there was a...’. In such a construction, the non-topical NP occurs post-verbally, i.e., on the right side of the verb. Other than this, in the constructions of the meteorological happening, the unexpected emergence, the inexorability all occur post-verbally. When these constructions are preceded by a topic NP, the appearance is NP + VS. However, such an understanding does not explain anything. These are the event-presentative constructions, in which the topic may occur pre-verbally, and the non-topical but focal-NP occurs post-verbally. This is the principle of verb-medial order, not an SVO. We have argued this issue in Chapter 11.

We have also argued for the versatility of verbs in Principle 4. Verbs in different degrees of grammaticalisation function as the main lexical verbs, the auxiliaries, the aspectual marking verbs, the modal verbs, the semantic role coverbs, and the near

prepositions, which are on the way toward complete semantic bleaching. As a result, MVCs can be formed, which are packed with verbs of different shades of meaning. This characteristic has been argued in Chapters 12 and 15.

Principle 5, a vague distinction across “parts-of-speech”, has been seen in Chapter 6 that V + V compound becomes a noun; in Chapter 7 that an adjectival verb can be treated as a noun; in Chapter 8 that no matter how long a clause is, it can be treated as a big noun; in Chapter 10 that once any clause is marked by one of the topic marking particles, it can function as a noun; and in Chapter 17 that the VP or clause is taken as a conceptual event by *duqv* and *zuqc*. Therefore, we should not assume that “parts-of-speech” are the universal categories. Rather, constructions of the language should be examined language-specifically on its own terms. In this respect, the insights from Construction Grammar are to be heeded.

Principle 7, culturally affected argument structure, has been found in operation in Chapter 11, specifically §11.2.2 on two-argument structure or the ditransitive constructions. In the structure with the guise of “SVO”, the “O” can be in the role of Source, Allative, or Goal. In such a situation, culturally inappropriate interpretations must be pre-empted. Here again the SVO order has proved to be non-grammaticalised. It is not true to the facts of the language to force a template of “SVO” to different kinds of constructions. Rather, the individual construction of [Topic + V + S], [Topic + V + A], and [Topic + V + G] needs to be described in the rich semantic frame or the cultural frame. This approach is also wise advice from Construction Grammar.

We have also argued that the spatial constructions in Chapter 16, and that the auto-benefactive-*duqv* ‘GET’ and the auto-malefactive-*zuqc* ‘TOUCH’ in Chapter 17 can be analysed in accordance with the extended egocentric viewing arrangement. The spatial deictic constructions are centred around ego. Actions, events, state of affairs are perceived from the perspective of “good or bad to me?” through *duqv* or *zuqc*. We have also established that Iu Mien only has the adversative passive construction by *zuqc*. The adversative passive is drastically different to the common understanding that Iu Mien is an SVO language. It is not the case that “O” in Iu Mien is promoted to be “S”, and the original “S” demoted in the grammaticalised SVO order. The adversative passive construction *yie zuqc ning mborqv* [1SG TOUCH<sub>ADVERSATIVE</sub> 3SG hit] ‘I was hit by him/her’ is considered to be more subjective (i.e. hurtful) than the active SVO order in *Ninh mborqv yie* [3SG hit 1SG] ‘he/she hit me’. The latter, in the mind of the native speakers, is merely an objective statement. This analysis of subjectivity-objectivity, which is subsumed in the egocentric viewing arrangement, is from Cognitive Grammar.

Principle 6, SFPs as epistemic grounding elements, has been discussed in Chapter 19. They function as both aspectual markers and emotive modals. They are so rich that the analysis by no means sufficient. Further research is needed. Here also Cognitive Grammar provides a useful tool for capturing highly pragmatic constructions.

Chapter 20 has described the presentative constructions, the anaphoric and cataphoric demonstratives at the discourse level, and emphatic prosody and elaborate expressions as narrative arts.

The method of research has been (i) the cultural immersion, instead of participant observation, and (ii) the judicious, rigorous monolingual discussions on copious grammatical constructions with the native speaker consultants as opposed to artificial elicitation of fragmental phrases. These have been employed with the intention to secure the grammatical descriptions of Iu Mien on its own terms.

### 21.3 Metalanguage

In the course of the monolingual grammatical discussions with the native speaker consultants, we have constantly been using a distinctive category of terminology and phrases concerning Iu Mien grammar. These are grammatical terms in talking about grammar of Iu Mien, namely, metalanguage. This could be another topic of research in its own right.

These terms are divided into two origins: the already existing ones and newly coined ones. First, from the old days the Iu Mien themselves have talked about their language and literature including songs and to do so they naturally possessed the vocabulary to talk about their language (cf. the numeral classifier for language and literature in §8.11.3.5). Second, once some intellectual Iu Mien became aware of this group of terms, they began to develop more of these by following the rules of the compounds and relative clauses investigated in Chapters 6 and 8 in order to discuss the grammatical issues. Below are a few samples that we came up with from these two origins:

|                        |                     |                 |                       |
|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>goiv qieux</i>      | /kɔi˥ cʰiə˧˥/       | [change air]    | ‘tone sandhi’         |
| <i>div mbuox</i>       | /ti˥ buə˧/          | [replace name]  | ‘pronouns’            |
| <i>waac-gapv</i>       | /wa:˧˥ kap˥/        | [word combine]  | ‘compound words’      |
| <i>yiemc-muonc</i>     | /jem˧˥ mʷən˧˥/      | [verse fine]    | ‘subordinate clauses’ |
| <i>yiemc-ndoqv</i>     | /jem˧˥ do?˥/        | [verse base]    | ‘main clauses’        |
| <i>dunh.yunh yiemc</i> | /tun˧˥ jun˧˥ jem˧˥/ | [perfect verse] | ‘a full sentence’     |

*mbaih waac nyei za'eix /bai˥ wa:˩ nei˧ tsa? ei˧/*

[line.up word REL method] ‘syntax’

A longer list of metalanguage can be found in Appendix F.

Why do we need metalanguage for Iu Mien? Take an instance of Thanyalak Saeliao (2012). She is the first native speaker linguist with a doctorate in Thailand. It is hoped that she will greatly contribute to the study of Iu Mien language from the native speaker’s perspective. However, an irony is that the higher the Iu Mien people get educated in Thai (or other national languages in their host countries), the more they are acculturated, which can eventually lead the loss of mother tongue. It has been seen in §3.3.1.2 that she does not recognise the difference between Tone 4 /˥/ and Tone 5 /˧/ despite the fact that she learned the existence of two different tonemes from the relevant literature, and despite the fact that the contemporary speakers still produce the distinction and the difference can be instrumentally measured and visually displayed. It is deemed that the cause of interpreting the pitch value of Tone 4 and 5 to be the same is an attitude of imposing the Thai five-tone system to interpret the system of eight tones in Iu Mien.

It has been our greatest concern that the facts and reality of the Iu Mien language including the grammar must be described on its own terms. That is, Iu Mien needs to be described in terms of Iu Mien, thus the need of metalanguage. It is not about a figure of speech but about attitude. It is hoped that young Iu Mien stop thinking that their language is insufficient to conduct scientific study of language.

This grammar has demonstrated that analysis, discussion, elaboration of grammatical issues of Iu Mien in Iu Mien is possible. Iu Mien people in the US can read all of it in English and Iu Mien through the Unified Script. Those Iu Mien in Thailand, who may not be fluent in English, can also read all example sentences in the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography. Those Iu Mien from both countries, and China, Vietnam, Laos, France or Canada, also will be able to learn IPA, which may prompt young people to return to their home villages to conduct linguistic fieldwork.

Promotion of interest in preservation of the language through Iu Mien linguists can expect the following results:

- Documentation of thousands of interesting stories in a pure form not distorted by lingua francae
- Repository of such heritage is a contribution to human knowledge
- Iu Mien children do not have to live with a sense of inferiority; their intellectual and emotional development can contribute to the host nations

- Bi-cultural or tri-cultural linguists from ethnic minority groups could be as capable as internationally renowned linguists and anthropologists because of their cultural sensitivity and insights

## 21.4 Topics for Further Research

Therefore, (i) the study of metalanguage in collaboration with the Iu Mien communities would be the next project after this grammar. Also, further research into the following areas is suggested: (ii) clearer understanding of tone sandhi, (iii) proportion of Chinese-loan words, (iv) grammaticalisation of coverbs to prepositions, (v) in-depth study of aspect and modality, (vi) comprehensive investigation of the sentence final particles, (vii) language of religions, (viii) production of IGTs of all available transcriptions and audio recordings as appropriate, (ix) relationship of preglottalised nasals and laterals with orthography. These topics are beyond the scope of this grammar but are for further research in the future.

Although many pages were spent describing the language for the sake of the discipline of linguistics, the primary intention of this grammar is to encourage the Iu Mien communities to start dialogues concerning their own language in their language. Thus, it is hoped that many young Iu Mien will take up this task in the areas of collecting more stories from the past, starting small literacy classes everywhere, writing new stories, reading each other's works, establishing schools, becoming teachers, singers, storytellers and linguists.

## APPENDIX A

### TEXT

#### **Migration History by Gueix-Zoih and Conversation with Yauz-Jiem (1998) (*Hnangv haaix nor daaih taux Mae Janv deic*)**

(ium\_1998\_01\_TDK\_DA\_GueixZoih\_MigHist)

Speaker: Zeuz Gueix-Zoih (趙貴財)

Recorder (Researcher): T. Daniel Arisawa

Date of recording: 1998

Transcriber(s): Phichphiphet Phanphisutthichon (พิชญ์พิเชฐ พันธุ์พิสุทธิชน) and T. Daniel Arisawa

GZ = Guix-Zoih

YJ = Yzuz-Jiem (T. Daniel Arisawa)

|      |      |         |         |                     |       |          |       |                     |
|------|------|---------|---------|---------------------|-------|----------|-------|---------------------|
| 1GZ  | Aa   | yie     | mbuo    | Iu-Mienh            | se    | gorngv   | yietc | cin                 |
| ə1   |      | ເມື່ອ   | ບ້າວ    | ອົວ-ເມື່ອນ          | ເຊ    | ກົ່ອງ    | ເຫັນ  | ທີ່ນ                |
| a:   | iə1  | buə1    | iu1     | miən1               | se1   | ງວຍໆ     | jet]  | ts <sup>hin</sup> 1 |
| intj | 1    | PL      | Iu Mien |                     | TOP   | say      | one   | thousand            |
|      | juov | baeqv   | juov    | ziepc               | betv  | hnyangx  | nyei  | hnyangx-dauh,       |
|      | ຈູວ  | ແບ່ປະ   | ຈູວ     | ເຫັນບັນ             | ເປີດ  | ຫອນັງ    | ເຢຸຍ  | ຫອນັງ-ເຕົ້າ         |
|      | cuə1 | pe?1    | cuə1    | ts <sup>j</sup> əp1 | pet1  | jiaŋ1    | ne1   | jiaŋ1 tau1          |
|      | nine | hundred | nine    | ten                 | eight | year     | POS   | year:number         |
|      | ih   |         |         |                     |       | hnyangx. |       |                     |
|      |      |         |         |                     |       | ຫອນັງ    |       |                     |
|      | i1   |         |         |                     |       | jiaŋ1    |       |                     |
|      | this |         |         |                     |       |          |       |                     |
|      |      |         |         |                     |       |          |       |                     |

‘Well, we Iu Mien are the ones who say this year is the year of one thousand nine hundred and ninety eight.’

|     |        |                     |      |         |      |                     |       |
|-----|--------|---------------------|------|---------|------|---------------------|-------|
| 2GZ | Yietc  | cin                 | juov | baeqv   | juov | ziepc               | betv  |
|     | ເຫັນ   | ທີ່ນ                | ຈູວ  | ແບ່ປະ   | ຈູວ  | ເຫັນບັນ             | ເປີດ  |
|     | jet]   | ts <sup>hin</sup> 1 | cuə1 | pe?1    | cuə1 | ts <sup>j</sup> əp1 | pet1  |
|     | one    | thousand            | nine | hundred | nine | ten                 | eight |
|     | ‘1998’ |                     |      |         |      |                     |       |

|     |   |                   |                    |
|-----|---|-------------------|--------------------|
| 3YJ | <i>Aec, zeiz</i>                                | <i>nyei</i>       |                    |
|     | ແອ່   | ເຕີບ              | ເລຸຍ               |
|     | ε↓  | tsei↓             | ŋe↓                |
|     | yes   | be.correct        | ASST               |
|     | 'Yes, that's right.'                            |                   |                    |
| 4GZ | <i>Meih koi jienv naaiv fai?</i>                |                   |                    |
|     | ແມ່ຍ  | ຄອບ               | ເຈື້ຍນ             |
|     | mei↓  | k <sup>h</sup> i↓ | ciən↑              |
| 2   | open  | CONT              | this Q             |
|     | 'Are you getting this (i.e. tape recorder) on?' |                   |                    |
| 5YJ | <i>Koi jienv nyei.</i>                          |                   |                    |
|     | ຄອບ   | ເຈື້ຍນ            | ເລຸຍ               |
|     | k <sup>h</sup> i↓                               | ciən↑             | ŋe↓                |
|     | open  | CONT              | ASST               |
|     | 'It's on.'                                      |                   |                    |
| 6GZ | <i>Hmc.</i>                                     |                   |                    |
|     | ຮອມ↓  |                   |                    |
|     | Hm↓   |                   |                    |
|     | intj  |                   |                    |
|     | 'Right.'  |                   |                    |
| 7GZ | <i>O yie ih zanc, ...</i>                       | <i>yie</i>        | <i>nyei</i>        |
|     | ໄອ  | ເຢີຍ              | ເລຸຍ               |
|     | o↓  | i↓                | ŋe↓                |
|     | intj  | 1                 | POSS               |
|     | 'Now, my name is Guei Zoi.'                     |                   |                    |
|     | <i>mbuox heuc Gueix-Zoih oc.</i>                |                   |                    |
|     | ນ້ວ   | ເຫຼວ              | ເກວີຍົດ່ອຍ-        |
|     | k <sup>w</sup> ei↓                              | tsɔi↓             | ໄອ↓                |
|     | GueiZoi   |                   | PLT                |
| 8GZ | <i>Yie mbe~ Zeuz mienh .</i>                    |                   |                    |
|     | ເຢີຍ  | ***               | ເມື່ຍນ             |
|     | i↓  | ***               | miən↓              |
| 1   | [fragment]                                      | Zeu:clan          | person             |
|     | 'I am a man of Zeu clan.'                       |                   |                    |
| 9GZ | <i>Yie heuc Zeuz Gueix-Zoih.</i>                |                   |                    |
|     | ເຢີຍ  | ເຫຼວ              | ເກວີຍົດ່ອຍ         |
|     | i↓  | heu↓              | k <sup>w</sup> ei↓ |
| 1   | call  | Zeu.clan          | Guei.Zoi           |
|     | 'My (full) name is Zeu Guei Zoi.'               |                   |                    |

|      |  |              |               |                   |                      |                    |                   |
|------|--|--------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| 10GZ | <i>Ih zanc</i>                                       | <i>yie</i>   | <i>mbuo</i>   | <i>yiem</i>       | <i>naaiv / aec /</i> | <i>Mae Janv</i>    | <i>Nquenc.</i>    |
|      | อี หลั่น   | ເຢີ          | ນວ            | ເຢີມ              | ນ້າຍ                 | ແອ່                | ແມຈິນ             |
|      | i↓ tsan↓   | i↓           | bua↓          | jem↓              | na:i↓                | ε:↓                | mε↓ can↓          |
|      | now  | 1            | PL            | be.in             | here                 | INTJ               | Maechan           |
|      | 'Now we are in Maechan district.'                    |              |               |                   |                      |                    | county            |
| 11GZ | <i>Yie</i>   | <i>oix</i>   | <i>gorngv</i> | <i>deix</i>       | <i>waac.</i>         |                    |                   |
|      | ເຢີ  | ອ້ອຍ         | ກຶອງ          | ເຕັຍ              | ຫວ່າ                 |                    |                   |
|      | i↓   | ci↓          | gɔŋ↓          | tei↓              | wa:↓                 |                    |                   |
|      | 1  | want         | say           | some              | word                 |                    |                   |
|      | 'I want to speak some words.'                        |              |               |                   |                      |                    |                   |
| 12GZ | <i>Meih</i>  | <i>nyei</i>  | <i>Mienh</i>  | <i>mbuox</i>      | <i>heuc</i>          | <i>haiv nyung?</i> |                   |
|      | ເມຍ  | ເລຸຍ         | ເມື່ອນ        | ນ້ຳ               | ເຫວ່າ                | ຫາຍ                | ໜູ້ງ              |
|      | mei↓   | ne↓          | miən↓         | buə↓              | heu↓                 | ha:i↓              | ŋuŋ↓              |
|      | 2  | POSS         | Mien          | name              | call                 | what               |                   |
|      | 'What is your Mine name?'                            |              |               |                   |                      |                    |                   |
| 13GZ | <i>Yauz-Jiem.</i>                                    |              |               |                   |                      |                    |                   |
|      | ເຢ້າ-ເຈີ່ມ   |              |               |                   |                      |                    |                   |
|      | jau↓   | ciəm↓        |               |                   |                      |                    |                   |
|      | Yau Jiem   |              |               |                   |                      |                    |                   |
|      | 'Yau Jiem.'  |              |               |                   |                      |                    |                   |
| 14GZ | <i>Yauz-Jiem,</i>                                    |              | <i>aec.</i>   |                   |                      |                    |                   |
|      | ເຢ້າ-ເຈີ່ມ   |              | ແອ່           |                   |                      |                    |                   |
|      | jau↓   | ciəm↓        | ε↓            |                   |                      |                    |                   |
|      | Yau Jiem   |              | yes           |                   |                      |                    |                   |
|      | 'Yau Jiem, all right.'                               |              |               |                   |                      |                    |                   |
| 15GZ | <i>Yie</i>   | <i>gongv</i> | <i>deix</i>   | <i>waac / bun</i> | <i>nv</i>            | <i>dauh</i>        | <i>Yauz-Jiem.</i> |
|      | ເຢີ  | ກຶອງ         | ເຕັຍ          | ຫວ່າ              | ບຸນ                  | ນ້ຳ                | ເຕ້າ              |
|      | i↓   | gɔŋ↓         | tei↓          | wa:↓              | pun↓                 | t̥↓                |                   |
|      | 1  | say          | some          | word              | give                 | this               | CLF.animt         |
|      | 'I'm going to say some words for this man Yau Jiem.' |              |               |                   |                      |                    | Yau Jiem          |
| 16GZ | <i>Yauz-Jiem</i>                                     |              | <i>naaiv</i>  | <i>se</i>         | <i>Yih-bunc</i>      | <i>oc.</i>         |                   |
|      | ເຢ້າ-ເຈີ່ມ   |              | ນ້າຍ          | ເຊ                | ອື່ນ                 | ໂອ່                |                   |
|      | jau↓   | ciəm↓        | na:i↓         | se↓               | i:↓ pun↓             | o↓                 |                   |
|      | Yau Jiem   |              | this          | COP               | Japanese             | PLT                |                   |
|      | 'Yau Jiem, this person is Japanese.'                 |              |               |                   |                      |                    |                   |

|      |   |
|------|---|
| 17GZ | <i>Maiv zeiz yie mbuo Iu Mienh, mv baac ninh cuotv</i>  |
|      | ໄມ້ ເຕີບ ເຢີບ ບ້າ ອິວ-ເມື່ຍນ ມປ້າ ນຶ່ນ ຂວັດ   |
|      | mai˥ tsei˩ iə˥ buə˥ iu˩ miən˩ m˥ pa:˩ nin˩ tsʰw <u>aet</u> ˥  |
|      | NEG be 1 PL Iu Mien but 3 issue   |
|      | <i>yie mbuo Iu-Mienh mbuox.</i>   |
|      | ເຢີບ ບ້າ ອິວ-ເມື່ຍນ ບ້າ   |
|      | iə˥ buə˥ iu˩ miən˩ buə˩   |
|      | 1 pl Iu Mien name   |
|      | ‘He is not one of us Iu Mien but he is called by our Iu Mien name.’                                     |
| 18GZ | <i>Ninh heuc Yauz-Jiem.</i>   |
|      | ນຶ່ນ ເທວ ເຢ້າ-ເຈີມ  |
|      | nin˩ heu˩ jau˩ ciəm˧  |
|      | 3 call Yau Jiem   |
|      | ‘He is called Yau Jiem.’  |
| 19GZ | <i>Ninh daaih taux naaiv.. yie mbuo naaiv Mae Janv deic daaih.</i>                                      |
|      | ນຶ່ນ ຕ້າຍ ເຄາ ນ້າຍ ເຢີບ ບ້າ ນ້າຍ ແມ່ຈິ້ນ ເຕີບ ຕ້າຍ  |
|      | nin˩ ta:i˩ tʰau1 na:i˥ iə˥ buə˥ na:i˥ me˧ can˥ tei˩ ta:i˩   |
|      | 3 come reach here 1 PL here Maechan land come   |
|      | ‘He has come to our Maechan area.’  |
| 20GZ | <i>Ninh oix yie gorngv deix waac / bun ninh siou jienv</i>  |
|      | ນຶ່ນ ອ້ອຍ ເຢີບ ກືອງ ເຕີບ ພວ່າ ປຸນ ນຶ່ນ ເຊີວ ເລື້ຍນ  |
|      | nin˩ oɪ˩ iə˥ gɔŋ˥ tei˩ wa:˩ pun˧ nin˩ sɔ̄oŋ˩ ciəŋ˥  |
|      | 3 want 1 say some word give 3 collect CONT  |
|      | <i>dorh nzuonx ninh mbuo Yih Bunc de'bung mingh muangx.</i>   |
|      | ດ້ອ ທຫວານ ນຶ່ນ ບ້າ ອື່ ປຸນ ເຕ່ ປູ້ງ ມິ່ງ ມາວັງ  |
|      | tɔ˩ dzʷən˩ nin˩ buə˥ i˥ pun˩ te˩ pun˧ ming˩ muəŋ˩   |
|      | take return 3 PL Japan country go listen  |
|      | ‘He wants me to tell stories for him to record and take them back to Japan so they can listen to them.’ |
| 21GZ | <i>Ih zanc yie gorngv taux / © loz-hnoi /</i>   |
|      | ໃໝ່ ຂັ້ນ ເຢີບ ກືອງ ເຄາ *** ໄລສ-ອນອຂ   |
|      | i˥ tsan˩ iə˥ gɔŋ˥ tʰau1 ***   |
|      | now 1 say reach ***   |
|      | <i>nyei gouv /</i>  |
|      | ເນູຍ ເກົວ   |
|      | <i>lo˩ tūci˩</i>  |
|      | old:days  |
|      | <i>yie mbuo Iu-Mienh /</i>  |
|      | ເຢີບ ບ້າ ອິວ-ເມື່ຍນ   |
|      | <i>loz-hnoi</i>   |
|      | ໄລສ-ອນອຂ  |
|      | <i>ŋe˩ kəoŋ˥</i>  |
|      | POSS story  |
|      | ‘Now I am going to tell stories of us Iu-Mien of old days.’   |

|      |   |                    |                 |                      |                    |                |               |              |
|------|---|--------------------|-----------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| 22GZ | <i>yie</i>  | <i>mbuo</i>        | <i>Iu-Mienh</i> | <i>naaic</i>         | <i>ninh</i>        | <i>mbuo</i>    | <i>gorngv</i> |              |
|      | ເມື່ອ   | ບ້າວ               | ອົວ-ເມື່ຍນ      | ໜ່າຍ                 | ນິ່ນ               | ບ້າວ           | ກຶ່ອງ         |              |
| iø₁  | buø₁  | iø₁ miøn₁          |                 | na:i₁                | nin₁               | buø₁           | gøŋ₁          |              |
| 1    | PL  | Iu Mien            |                 | TOP                  | 3                  | PL             | say           |              |
|      |   |                    |                 |                      |                    |                |               |              |
|      | <i>ninh</i>   | <i>mbuo</i>        | <i>yiem</i>     | <i>Naamh Ging</i>    | <i>koiv</i>        | <i>ngaanc.</i> |               |              |
|      | ນິ່ນ  | ບ້າວ               | ເມື່ຍນ          | ນ່າມ                 | ກຶ່ງ               | ຄ້ອຍ           | ທ່ານ          |              |
|      | nin₁  | buø₁               | jem₁            | na:m₁                | kin₁               | kʰøŋ₁          | ŋa:n₁         |              |
|      | 3   | PL                 | be.in           | Nanking              | sea                | shore          |               |              |
|      |   |                    |                 |                      |                    |                |               |              |
|      | 'As for us Iu Mien, they say they used to live in the coastal areas of Nanking.'                                    |                    |                 |                      |                    |                |               |              |
| 23GZ | <i>Yiem</i>   | <i>Naamh Ging</i>  | <i>koiv</i>     | <i>ngaanc</i>        | <i>se</i>          | <i>dorngx</i>  | <i>longx</i>  | <i>haic.</i> |
|      | ເມື່ຍນ  | ນ່າມ               | ກຶ່ງ            | ຄ້ອຍ                 | ທ່ານ               | ເຊ             | ຕ້ອງ          | ຫລວ          |
|      | jem₁  | na:m₁              | kin₁            | kʰøŋ₁                | ŋa:n₁              | se₁            | tøŋ₁          | loŋ₁         |
|      | be.in   | Nanking            | sea             | shore                | TOP                | place          | be.good       | very         |
|      |   |                    |                 |                      |                    |                |               |              |
|      | 'In the coastal area of Nanking the place was very good.'   |                    |                 |                      |                    |                |               |              |
| 24GZ | <i>Maaih dorngx</i>   |                    | <i>zoux</i>     | <i>liangx-ndeic</i>  |                    |                | <i>camv</i>   |              |
|      | ນ່າຍ  | ຕ້ອງ               |                 | ໄທດວ                 | ເຫີ້ຍງ-ເກີຍ        |                | ຂຶ້ນ          |              |
|      | ma:iₙ   | tøŋ₁               |                 | tsøb₁                | løŋ₁ dei₁          |                | tsʰam₁        |              |
|      | have  | place              |                 | make                 | field:for:faming   |                | many          |              |
|      |   |                    |                 |                      |                    |                |               |              |
|      | <i>yaac</i>   | <i>nquien-youh</i> | <i>mv zuqc</i>  | <i>zaangc</i>        |                    |                | <i>mienv.</i> |              |
|      | ຫຍໍາ  | ເມວນ-ໄຍ່ວ່າ        | ມ້າຫຼຸ          |                      | ຫດ່າງ              |                | ເມື່ຍນ        |              |
|      | ja:₁  | gu:w₁en₁ jou₁      | m₁ tsu?₁        | tsa:ŋ₁               |                    |                | miən₁         |              |
|      | and   | happy              | need.not        | venerate             |                    |                | spirit        |              |
|      |   |                    |                 |                      |                    |                |               |              |
|      | 'There were many places to make farming fields and (people) were happy, and they did not have to venerate spirits.' |                    |                 |                      |                    |                |               |              |
| 25GZ | <i>Mv zuqc</i>  |                    | <i>zoux</i>     | <i>haaix nyungc.</i> |                    |                |               |              |
|      | ນ້ຳຫຼຸ  |                    | ໄທດວ            | ຫາຍ ພູ້ງ             |                    |                |               |              |
|      | m₁ tsu?₁  |                    | tsøb₁           | ha:i₁ ꝟນູງ₁          |                    |                |               |              |
|      | need.not  | do                 | anything        |                      |                    |                |               |              |
|      |   |                    |                 |                      |                    |                |               |              |
|      | 'They did not have do anything.'  |                    |                 |                      |                    |                |               |              |
| 26GZ | <i>Mv zuqc</i>  |                    | <i>cuotv</i>    | <i>laangh zinh,</i>  | <i>laangh cov.</i> |                |               |              |
|      | ນ້ຳຫຼຸ  |                    | ຫົວດ            | ລ້າງ                 | ຕື່ນ               | ລ້າງ           | ໄຫຼື          |              |
|      | m₁ tsu?₁  |                    | tsʰw.uøt₁       | la:ŋ₁                | tsin₁              | la:ŋ₁          | tsʰo₁         |              |
|      | need.not  | pay                |                 | crop                 | fee                | crop           | tax           |              |
|      |   |                    |                 |                      |                    |                |               |              |
|      | 'They did not have to pay a duty or tax on crops.'  |                    |                 |                      |                    |                |               |              |

27GZ *Wuov ninh mbuo nyei gouv ninhmbuo hnangv nc nor gorngv.*  
ว້າ นິນ ບ້າ ເລຸຍ ໄກ້າ ນິນ ບ້າ ຂັ້ນ ມັນ ນອ ກົງ

ເອໄ ນິນ ບູເທ ່ເທ ກົວໄ ນິນ ບູເທ ຖອງໄ ຖ ນົກ ກອງໄ  
there 3 PL POSS story 3 PL like that like say  
'In their story they say like that.'

28GZ *Wuov nzunc hnoi yiem gau,*  
ວ້າ ທຸ່ນ ອນອບ ເຢີມ ກາ

ເອໄ ດັນຈ ຖອີທ ຈົມທ ກາວທ  
dem time day be.in then

*taux haaix norm hnyangx-dauh mv bei.*  
ເດາ ພາຍ ນອມ ຂອງ-ເຕົ້າ ມີ ເປີ  
ທ້າວທ ມະນີ ນົມທ ຈຳກັນທ tau ມາທ pei  
reach which CLF year-number I.wonder  
'Then they lived there but I'm not sure until which year they were there.'

29GZ *Mbuo mv maaih sou fiev jienv.*  
ບ້າ ມີ ມ່າຍ ໄຊວ ເຟີ ເຈືນ

ບູເທ ມາທ ມາ:ນ ສອບທ ພິເຍໄ ຜົມໄ  
PL neg have book write CONT  
'We don't have any written document.'

30GZ *Jangx mv duqv.*  
ຈັງ ມີ ຕຸ້

caŋທ ມາທ tu?ທ  
remember neg can  
'We can't remember.'

31GZ *Taux mc norm hnyangx-dauh aeqv.*  
ເດາ ມົ ນອມ ຂອງ-ເຕົ້າ ແອືະ

ທ້າວທ ມາທ ນົມທ ຈຳກັນທ tau ວ  
reach that CLF year-number TOP

*lungh haanz buo hnyangx mv duih mbiungc.*  
ຄູ່ງ ທ້ານ ບ້າ ຂອງ ມີ ຕຸ້ ບໍ່

lunŋທ ha:nທ puəທ ຈຳກັນທ ມາທ tuiທ b'ung  
sky arid three year NEG fall rain

'When it came to that year, there was drought for three years and it didn't rain at all.'

|      |   |
|------|---|
| 32GZ | <i>Mv~ buo hnyangx mv njiec norm mbiungc.</i>                         |
|      | ນ້ຳ ປົວ ຂອງຫຼັງ ນ້ຳ ເກື່ອຍ ນອມ ບູ້ງ                                   |
|      | ນີ້ ປູເຈົ້າ ຈຳເງິນ ນີ້ ຈິເລັງ ນະມິນ ບັງ                               |
|      | NEG three year neg drop clf rain                                      |
|      | ‘Not ... there wasn't a single drop of rain for three years.’         |
| 33GZ | <i>Wuov nzunc hnoi mv maaih cun-gaeng,</i>                            |
|      | ວ້າ ທຸ່ນ ອນອບ ນ້ຳ ມ່າຍ ຫຼຸນ-ແກງ                                       |
|      | ເອົາ ດັນ ຖູກ ນີ້ ມາ:ີ ຕສ^ບຸນ ກົງ                                      |
|      | then NEG have staple.crops  |
|      | <i>mv duqv hnaangx nyanc.</i>   |
|      | ນ້ຳ ຕື້ ຂອນາງ ພູ້ນ  |
|      | ນີ້ ຕຸ? ກົາ:ນ ຈັນ   |
|      | NEG get rice eat  |
|      | ‘Then this time there were no crops and they didn't get rice to eat.’ |
| 34GZ | <i>Mv maaih cun-gaeng zoux.</i>                                       |
|      | ນ້ຳ ມ່າຍ ຫຼຸນ-ແກງ ໂທດວ  |
|      | ນີ້ ມາ:ີ ຕສ^ບຸນ ກົງ ຕເສູ  |
|      | NEG have staple.crops make  |
|      | ‘They didn't have crops to produce.’                                  |
| 35GZ | <i>Zuangx cun-gaeng ga'naaiv mv cuotv aqv.</i>                        |
|      | ຫຼວງ ຫຼຸນ-ແກງ ກະນ້າຍ ນ້ຳ ຂວິດ ອີ່                                     |
|      | ts^wŋ̩ ຕສ^ບຸນ ກົງ ກາ? ນາ:ີ ນີ້ ຕສ^ບຸນ ອັດ                             |
|      | plant staple.crops thing NEG produce NSIT                             |
|      | ‘Even though they planted crops, nothing grew at all.’                |
| 36GZ | <i>Yietc zungv / aec / ngorc nzengc daaih yiem mv jienv.</i>          |
|      | ເຫີຍດ ຜູ້ງ ແອ ທົ່ວ ແຫງ່ງ ຕ້າຍ ເມືຍນ ນ້ຳ ເຈື້ຍນ                        |
|      | jet ຕູນ ບັນ ດັນ ຕາຍ ຈົມ ນີ້ ຂົມ ຂົມ                                   |
|      | all INTJ hunger CONSUME COME live NEG be.firm                         |
|      | ‘All ... all became starved and they were not able to live securely.’ |

|      |   |                          |                  |                      |                    |                   |                    |
|------|---|--------------------------|------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 37GZ | <i>Yiem</i>   | <i>mv</i>                | <i>jienv</i>     |                      | <i>aeqv, /</i>     |                   |                    |
|      | ເຢີມ  | ນ້ຳ                      | ເຈື້ນ            |                      | ແອັະ               |                   |                    |
|      | <i>jem†</i>   | <i>m†</i>                | <i>ciən†</i>     |                      | <i>ɛ?†</i>         |                   |                    |
|      | live  | NEG                      | be.firm          |                      | TOP                |                   |                    |
|      | <i>ninh</i>   | <i>mbuo</i>              | <i>Iu-Mienh</i>  | <i>ziepc</i>         | <i>nyeic</i>       | <i>fingx</i>      | <i>Iu-Mienh</i>    |
|      | ນິ່ນ  | ບ້າວ                     | ອິວ-ເມື່ຍນ       | ເຫດີຍບ               | ເຫງຸຍ              | ຝຶງ               | ອິວ-ເມື່ຍນ         |
|      | <i>nin†</i>   | <i>buə†</i>              | <i>iu† miən†</i> | <i>tsɔp†</i>         | <i>ŋei†</i>        | <i>fiŋ†</i>       | <i>iu† miən†</i>   |
|      | 3   | PL                       | Iu Mien          | ten                  | second clan        | Iu Mien           |                    |
|      | <i>cingx</i>  | <i>daaih</i>             | <i>yiem</i>      | <i>naaic</i>         | <i>aeqv,</i>       |                   |                    |
|      | ຫົງ   | ຕ້າຍ                     | ເຢີມ             | ໜ່າຍ                 | ແອັະ               |                   |                    |
|      | <i>tsʰinj†</i>  | <i>ta:i†</i>             | <i>jem†</i>      | <i>na:i†</i>         | <i>ɛ?†</i>         |                   |                    |
|      | therefore   | be.in                    | there            | top                  |                    |                   |                    |
|      | <i>gapv</i>   | <i>nzangv</i>            | <i>daaih</i>     | <i>nzaengjienv</i>   |                    | <i>biaux</i>      | <i>jiex</i>        |
|      | ກົໍນ  | ຖັ້ງ                     | ຕ້າຍ             | ແທງ                  | ເຈື້ນ              | ເປົ້າ             | ເຈີຍ               |
|      | <i>kap†</i>   | <i>dzan†</i>             | <i>ta:i†</i>     | <i>dze:nj† ciən†</i> |                    | <i>pau† ciə†</i>  | <i>kʰɔi†</i>       |
|      | assemble  | boat                     | COME             | paddle continuously  | escape cross       | cross             | sea                |
|      | 'Because they could not live securely, they Iu Mien, the twelve clans of the Iu Mien, therefore, assembled boats there and crossed the sea by rowing them.' |                          |                  |                      |                    |                   |                    |
| 38GZ | <i>Biaux</i>  | <i>jiex</i>              | <i>koiv,</i>     | <i>nzaengjienv</i>   |                    | <i>daaih</i>      | <i>gua</i>         |
|      | ເປົ້າ   | ເຈີຍ                     | ຄ້ອຍ             | ແທງ                  | ເຈື້ນ              | ຕ້າຍ              | ເກາ                |
|      | <i>pau†</i>   | <i>ciə†</i>              | <i>kʰɔi†</i>     | <i>dze:nj† ciən†</i> |                    | <i>tai†</i>       | <i>kau†</i>        |
|      | escape  | cross                    | sea              | paddle CONT          | come               | then              | TOP                |
|      | <i>mingh</i>  | <i>ndortv</i>            | <i>zuqc</i>      | <i>Zong Guoqv</i>    | <i>da'bung.</i>    |                   |                    |
|      | ມິ່ງ  | ດືອດ                     | ຫຼຸງ             | ຕອງ                  | ກ້ວະ               | ຕະນູງ             |                    |
|      | <i>miŋ†</i>   | <i>dɔt†</i>              | <i>tsu?†</i>     | <i>tsoŋ† kuə?†</i>   | <i>ta? puŋ†</i>    |                   |                    |
|      | go  | fall                     | TOUCH            | China                | country            |                   |                    |
|      | 'As they crossed the sea, they paddled continuously until they landed on the country of China.'   |                          |                  |                      |                    |                   |                    |
| 39GZ | <i>Ndortv</i>   | <i>zuqc</i>              | <i>ninh</i>      | <i>mbuo</i>          | <i>nyei / er /</i> | <i>Gueix Ziou</i> | <i>Fouv,</i>       |
|      | ດືອດ  | ຫຼຸງ                     | ນິ່ນ             | ບ້າວ                 | ເລູຍ               | ເກ້ວຍ             | ໄພວ                |
|      | <i>dɔt†</i>   | <i>tsu?†</i>             | <i>nin†</i>      | <i>buə†</i>          | <i>ŋei†</i>        | <i>ə:</i>         | <i>kʰei† tsəə†</i> |
|      | fall  | TOUCH                    | 3                | PL                   | POSS               | intj              | Guizhou            |
|      | <i>Yunh Naamh,</i>  | <i>Yunh Naamh / er /</i> |                  |                      | <i>saengv.</i>     |                   |                    |
|      | ຢູ່ນ  | ນ່າມ                     | ຢູ່ນ             | ນ່າມ                 | ເອີ້ນ              | ແຊັງ              |                    |
|      | <i>jun† na:m†</i>   | <i>jun† na:m†</i>        | <i>ə:</i>        |                      | <i>seŋ†</i>        |                   |                    |
|      | Yunnan  | Yunnan                   | intj             | province             |                    |                   |                    |
|      | 'They landed on China's Guizhou province, and Yunnan province.'   |                          |                  |                      |                    |                   |                    |

- 40GZ *Ndortv zuqc*      *naaiv /*  
 តីអគ ហម្ង ន័យ  
*dət̪l tsu?]*      *na:iŋ̪*  
 fall TOUCH here
- ninh mbuo heuc / ndortv zuqc naaiv /*  
 និន ប្រា ហេវ តីអគ ហម្ង ន័យ  
*nin<sub>3</sub> bəə<sub>1</sub> heu<sub>1</sub> dət̪l tsu?]*      *na:iŋ̪*  
 3 PL call fall TOUCH here
- Janx-Kaeqv da'bung.*  
 ចំណេះ-កេវ ធម្មង់  
*can<sub>1</sub> k<sup>h</sup>ε?*      *ta? puŋ̪*  
 China country  
 'They landed here and called it the place they landed the country of China.'
- 41GZ *Yiem naaic Janx-Kaeqv aeqv,*  
 ឃើម នារ៉ា ចំណេះ-កេវ ឃើវ  
*jem<sub>1</sub> nai<sub>1</sub>] can<sub>1</sub> k<sup>h</sup>ε?*      *ɛ?*  
 live there China TOP
- mbu'ziex hnyangx yaac mai<sup>v</sup> hiuv.*  
 បុ ពេដី ហស្សុង យាំ មី ីវ  
*bu? tsiə<sub>1</sub> jiaŋ̪<sub>1</sub>] ja:] mai<sup>v</sup> hiu<sup>v</sup>*  
 how.many year also NEG know  
 'As to living in China, we don't know how long they were there either.'
- 42GZ *Mingh ndortv zuqc /*  
 មិំង តីអគ ហម្ង  
*miŋ̪<sub>1</sub> dət̪l tsu?]*        
 go fall TOUCH
- ninh mbuo nyei nder wuov / Lorqc Ciang Nquenc.*  
 និន ប្រា លើយ តោ វ៉ោ ឡាង ខិីយុង មេរោន  
*nin<sub>3</sub> bəə<sub>1</sub> ne<sub>1</sub> dəə<sub>1</sub> wuə<sup>v</sup>] lə?] ts<sup>h</sup>jan<sub>1</sub> g<sup>w</sup>en<sub>1</sub>*  
 3 PL POSS uh(HEST) Lochiang county  
 'They went and landed on China's Lochiang county.'
- 43GZ *Mingh yiem naaic Lorqc Ciang Nquenc naaic.*  
 មិំង ឃើម នារ៉ា ឡាង ខិីយុង មេរោន នារ៉ា  
*miŋ̪<sub>1</sub> jem<sub>1</sub> nai<sub>1</sub>] lə?] ts<sup>h</sup>jan<sub>1</sub> g<sup>w</sup>en<sub>1</sub>] na:i<sub>1</sub>*  
 go be.in that Lochiang county that  
 'They went to live in the place of Lochiang county.'

- 44GZ *Mingh ta~ ninh mbuo nzaengjienv nzaangv*  
 มีง เถ้า นิ่น บัว ແເຫງ ເຈື້ຍນ ທັງ  
*minj↓ tʰau↑ nin↓ buə↑ dze:ŋ↑ ciən↑ dzaŋ↑*  
 go reach 3 PL paddle continuously boat
- jiex koiv naaic.*  
 ເຈີຍ ຄ້ອບ ມໍານາຂ  
*ciə↑ kʰci↑ nai↓*  
 cross sea that  
 ‘They went, ... they paddled the boats to cross that sea.’  
*ta~* is a fragment of [tʰau↑] ‘reach’, that is, the speaker stopped saying this word and started a new sentence *ninh mbuo...*

- 45GZ *Mingh gau,*  
 มีง ແກ  
*minj↓ kau↑*  
 go then
- nzaangv maiv haih jiex mv bung*  
 ທັງ ໄມ ໄກ ເຈີບ ນ້ຳຍ ບຸງ  
*dzaŋ↑ mai↑ hai↓ ciə↑ na:i↑ punj↑*  
 boat NEG able cross this direction
- ziqc* *koiv aeqv,*  
 ຂົດ ຄ້ອບ ແອືະວ  
*tsi?↓* *kʰci↑ εʔ?↓*  
 be.on.the.other.side.of sea TOP
- kungx mingh gau haiz wuov korqv luangh muon mbui aah*  
 ຫຼູງ ມື່ງ ແກ ໄກ ວ້າ ອົວ ເກະ ລວ່າ ມວນ ນູ້ຍ ອ້າ  
*kunj↓ minj↓ kau↑ hai↓ uə↑ kɔʔ?↓ luaj↓ mʷən↓ bui↑ a:ʔ↓*  
 only go then hear that sea.dragon's.gate be.noisy SFP  
 ‘As they went, their boats were not able to cross over to this side of the sea but they only heard that gourd containers making noise.’

## APPENDIX B

### APPENDIX C: NUMBER OF SESQUI SYLLABIC WORDS IN 136 WORD LIST

Sesquisyllabic words are shaded with the running numbers attached. Nine sesquisyllabic words are found out of 136 entries. Acknowledgement to the Department of Linguistics, Payap University, Chiang Mai, Thailand for this list based on Swadesh list modified for Southeast Asia.

| AL733 Linguistics Department, Payap University      |   |                |
|---|---|----------------|
| <b>Dialect: Iu Mienh</b>                            | <b>Name of speaker: Dangc Wuonh Yunh</b>        | <b>Age: 52</b> |
| <b>Researcher: T. Daniel Arisawa</b>                | <b>Village: Ruam Jit, Norng Lom, Dokkhamtai</b> | <b>Sex: M</b>  |
| <b>Date: 20030905</b>                               | <b>Province: Phayao, Thailand</b>               |                |
| <b>Other Dialects: Northern Thai, Central Thai,</b> | Other Languages spoken: Chinese (Taiwan)        |                |

| Number | 436 WL | English     | Northern Thai | Central Thai        | Part of speech, compound | IPA                  | Iu Mien orthography (Unified Script 1984) |
|--------|--------|-------------|---------------|---------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|---|
| 1      | 1      | sky         | ต้องฟ้า       | ท้องฟ้า             | n1                       | /lungh/              | <i>lungh</i>                              |
| 2      | 2      | sun         | ตัววัน        | ดวงอาทิตย์          | n2                       | 1 /ba ຖួចិត/         | <b>mba'hnol</b>                           |
| 3      | 3      | moon        | เดือน         | ดวงจันทร์           | n3                       | /la:˧/               | <i>hlaax</i>                              |
| 4      | 4      | star        | ดาว           | ดวงดาว              | n4                       | /lei˧/               | <i>hleix</i>                              |
| 5      | 5      | cloud       | เมฆ           | เมฆ                 | n5                       | /məuŋ˧/              | <i>mouc</i>                               |
| 6      | 7      | rain        | ฝน            | ฝน                  | n6                       | /b̥uŋ˧/              | <i>mbiungc</i>                            |
| 7      | 12     | night       | ค่ำคืน        | กลางคืน             | n7 comp                  | /lungh m̥wən˧ tsan˧/ | <i>lungh muonz zanc</i>                   |
| 8      | 18     | year        | ปี            | ปี                  | n8                       | /jñan˧/              | <i>hnyangx</i>                            |
| 9      | 23     | water       | น้ำ           | น้ำ                 | n9                       | /uəm˧/               | <i>wuom</i>                               |
| 10     | 24     | river       | แม่น้ำ        | แม่น้ำ (น้ำ เหมือง) | n10                      | /doʔ˧/               | <i>ndoqv</i>                              |
| 11     | 26     | earth, soil | ดิน           | ดิน                 | n11                      | /dau˧/               | <i>ndau</i>                               |

|    |    |                            |     |       |        |                           |           |
|----|----|----------------------------|-----|-------|--------|---------------------------|-----------|
| 12 | 29 | Stone<br>(fist in<br>palm) | ທິນ | ທິນ   | n12 SS | 2 /la p <sup>j</sup> ei˥/ | la'bieiv  |
| 13 | 35 | mountain                   | ດອຍ | ຖຸເຫາ | n13    | /ke˧/, /tsɔŋ˧/            | geh/zorng |

| Plants, Food |    |                   |         |            |             |  |                                 |
|--------------|----|-------------------|---------|------------|-------------|--|---------------------------------|
| 14           | 38 | tree              | ຕັນໄມ້  | ຕັນໄມ້     | n14         | /d <sup>j</sup> aŋ˧/   | ndiangx                         |
| 15           | 40 | tree bark         | ເປື່ອກ  | ເປີລືອກໄມ້ | n15<br>comp | /d <sup>j</sup> aŋ˧ dop˧/  | ndiangx-ndopv                   |
| 16           | 42 | root              | ຫາກ     | ຮາກ        | n16<br>comp | /d <sup>j</sup> aŋ˧ dzun˧/   | ndiangx-nzungh                  |
| 17           | 43 | leaf              | ໄບ      | ໄບ         | n17<br>comp | /d <sup>j</sup> aŋ˧ nɔm˧/,<br>/nɔm˧/                                     | ndiangx-normh<br>normh          |
| 18           | 44 | flower            | ດອກ     | ດອກ        | n18         | /p <sup>j</sup> aŋ˧/   | biangh                          |
| 19           | 45 | fruit             | හນວຍໄມ້ | ຜຄໄມ້      | n19         | /d <sup>j</sup> aŋ˧ nei˧<br>p <sup>j</sup> əb˧/,<br>/p <sup>j</sup> əb˧/ | ndiangx nyei<br>biouv,<br>biouv |
| 20           | 46 | seed              | ເມື້ດ   | ແມົດ       | n20         | /nim˧/   | nyim                            |
| 21           | 47 | grass             | ຜູ້າ    | ຫຜູ້າ      | n21         | /miə˧/   | miev                            |
| 22           | 71 | salt              | ເກື້ຍ   | ເກລືອ      | n22         | /dzau˧/  | nzauv                           |
| Animals      |    |                   |         |            |             |  |                                 |
| 23           | 72 | animal            | ສັດ     | ສັຕິ       | n23<br>comp | /seŋ˧ k <sup>h</sup> u˧/   | saeng-kuv                       |
| 24           | 81 | dog               | ໜາ      | ຊຸນັບ, ໜາ  | n24         | /cu˧/  | juv                             |
| 25           | 83 | to bite<br>(dog)  | ຂຶບ     | ກຶດ        | v           | /ŋa:t˧/  | ngaatc                          |
| 26           | 86 | cow               | ຈັວ     | ວັວ        | n25         | /jaŋ˧ ຖອງ˧/  | yangh ngongh                    |
| 27           | 87 | milk              | ນໍ້ານມ  | ນໍ້ານມ     | n26         | /ŋɔ˧/  | nyorx                           |
| 28           | 88 | buffalo           | គວາຍ    | ກະບູ້ອ,    | n27<br>comp | /sui˧ ຖອງ˧/  | suiv-ngongh                     |
| 29           | 89 | horn<br>(buffalo) | ເຫາ     | ເຫາ        | n28         | /cɔŋ˧/   | jorng                           |
| 30           | 90 | tail<br>(buffalo) | ໜາງ     | ໜາງ        | n29         | /t <sup>w</sup> ei˧/   | dueiv                           |
| 31           | 93 | bird              | ນກ      | ນກ         | n30         | /nɔʔ˧/   | norqc                           |
| 32           | 95 | wing<br>(bird)    | ປຶກ     | ປຶກ        | n31         | /dat˧/,<br>/da:t˧/   | ndatv (ndaatv)                  |
| 33           | 96 | feather<br>(bird) | ຫນນກ    | ຫນນກ       | n32<br>comp | /nɔʔ˧ p <sup>j</sup> ei˧/  | norqv-biei                      |
| 34           | 97 | to fly            | ບິນ     | ບິນ        | v           | /dai˧/   | ndaix                           |



|             |           |                   |        |       |             |                             |                          |
|-------------|-----------|-------------------|--------|-------|-------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 35          | 98        | egg               | ไข่    | ไข่   | n33         | /cau˧/                      | jaux                     |
| 36          | 99        | chicken           | ไก่    | ไก่   | n34         | /ce˧/ (cai˧)                | jae (jai)                |
| 37          | 101       | fish              | ปลา    | ปลา   | n35         | /b̥au˧/                     | mbiauz                   |
| 38          | 102       | snake             | งู     | งู    | n36         | /naŋ˧/                      | naang                    |
| 39          | 110       | louse<br>(head)   | เหา    | เหา   | n37         | /dzei˧/                     | nzeiv                    |
| <b>Body</b> |           |                   |        |       |             |                             |                          |
| 40          | 119       | head              | หัว    | หัว   | n38         | /m̥ gɔŋ˧/                   | m'ngorngv                |
| 41          | 122       | hair              | ผม     | ผม    | n39         | 3 /ba p̥ei˧/                | mba'biei                 |
| 42          | 125       | eye               | ตา     | ตา    | n40         | /m̥ tsin˧/                  | m'zing                   |
| 43          | 127       | nose              | จมูก   | จมูก  | n41         | 4 /ba tsɔŋ˧/                | mba'zornq                |
| 44          | 129       | ear               | หู     | หู    | n42         | /n̥ nɔm˧/                   | n'normh                  |
| 45          | 130       | mouth             | ปาก    | ปาก   | n43<br>comp | /dzui˧ pɛŋ˧/                | nzuih baengx             |
| 46          | 130<br>.5 | neck              |        |       | n44         | /ca:ŋ˧/                     | jaang                    |
| 47          | 131       | tongue            | ลิ้น   | ลิ้น  | n45         | /b̥et˧/                     | mbietc                   |
| 48          | 133       | tooth             | เขี้ยว | ฟัน   | n46         | /ja:˧/                      | nyaah (breathy)          |
| 49          | 139       | abdomen,<br>belly | ต้อง   | ท้อง  | n 47        | 5 /ka siə˧/                 | ga'sie                   |
| 50          | 141       | heart             | หัวใจ  | หัวใจ | n48         | 6 /ba dziu˧/                | mba'nziu                 |
| 51          | 143       | liver             | ตับ    | ตับ   | n49         | /lan˧/                      | hlan                     |
| 52          | 144       | intestines        | ลำไส้  | ลำไส้ | n50         | /ca:ŋ˧/                     | jaangh                   |
| 53          | 145       | hand              | มือ    | มือ   | n51         | /puə˧/                      | buoz                     |
| 54          | 149       | finger            | นิ้ว   | นิ้ว  | n52<br>comp | 7 /puə˧ doʔ˧/,<br>/ba doʔ˧/ | buoz-ndoqv,<br>mba'ndoqv |

|               |     |                     |                    |         |             |  |   |
|---------------|-----|---------------------|--------------------|---------|-------------|--|---|
| 55            | 150 | fingernail          | เล็บมือ            | เล็บมือ | n53<br>comp | 8 /ba do?˥<br>gʷai˧/, /puə˧<br>do?˥ gʷai˧/ | mba'ndoqv-<br>nquaiz, buoz-<br>ndoqv-nquaiz |
| 56            | 157 | foot                | ตِิน               | เท้า    | n54         | /tsau˧/                                    | zaux  |
| 57            | 159 | bone                | គុក                | กระគុក  | n55         | /buŋ˥/                                     | mbungv                                      |
| 58            | 163 | skin                | សោង                | ผิวหนัง | n56         | /dop˥/                                     | ndopv                                       |
| <b>People</b> |     |                     |                    |         |             |  |   |
| 59            | 169 | man                 | បីចាយ, បីខេត្ត     | ធីចាយ   | n57         | /m caŋ˥<br>tɔn˧/                           | m'jangc dorn                                |
| 60            | 170 | woman               | បីសិុយា, បីមេសិុយា | ធីសិុយា | n58         | /m siə?˥<br>tɔn˧/                          | m'sieqv dorn                                |
| 61            | 171 | person              | គន                 | គន      | n59         | /miən˧/                                    | mienh                                       |
| 63            | 174 | child<br>(male)     | តុក                | តុក     | n60         | 9 /ku˧<br>ŋʷa:˧/,<br>/ku nŋʷa:˧/           | guh nguaaz/<br>gu'nguaaz                    |
| 65            | 181 | friend              | ពើរីន              | ពើរីន   | n61<br>comp | 10 /a dz̚a:u˧<br>tɔi˧/                     | a'nziaauc<br>doic/lorh gaeng<br>doic        |
| 66            | 182 | name                | ថីខេត្ត            | ថីខេត្ត | n62         | /buə˧/                                     | mbuox                                       |
| <b>Home</b>   |     |                     |                    |         |             |  |   |
| 67            | 183 | village             | អុំប៊ាន            | អុំប៊ាន | n63         | /la:ŋ˧/                                    | laangz                                      |
| 68            | 184 | road,<br>path       | តាន, ហន            | តាន     | n64         | /cau˧/                                     | jauv  |
| 69            | 186 | house               | ផែន, ប៊ាន          | ប៊ាន    | n65         | /p̚au˧/                                    | biauv                                       |
| 70            | 200 | to sew<br>(clothes) | ិប៉ា               | ិប៉ា    | n66         | /lun˧/                                     | lunh  |
| 71            | 212 | fire                | ឬពិ                | ឬពិ     | n67         | /təb˧/                                     | douz  |
| 72            | 213 | ashes               | ឯិតីា              | ឯិតីា   | n68         | /sa:i˧/                                    | saaiv                                       |

|                |     |                   |               |           |           |                         |                     |
|----------------|-----|-------------------|---------------|-----------|-----------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| 73             | 214 | smoke             | ควัน          | ควัน      | n69       | /sɔ̄əbʌ̄/               | sioux               |
| <b>Verbs</b>   |     |                   |               |           |           |                         |                     |
| 74             | 223 | smell             | ได้กิน        | ได้กิน    | v+n       | /tu?l z̄a:ū/, /tsʷeī/ | duqv nziaau / zueix |
| 75             | 224 | to see            | หัน           | เห็น      | v         | /pʷat̄l/                | buatc               |
| 76             | 227 | to eat            | กิน           | กิน       | v         | /janl/                  | nyanc               |
| 77             | 232 | to drink          | กินน้ำ        | ดื่มน้ำ   | v         | /hopl/                  | hopv                |
| 78             | 235 | to spit           | ถ่อม          | ถ่อม, ฉุย | v         | /tʰuī̄/                | tuiv                |
| 79             | 239 | to breathe        | หายใจ         | หายใจ     | v         | /tʰa:ū̄ cʰiə̄̄/        | tauv qieux          |
| 80             | 244 | to laugh          | ได้หัว        | หัวเราะ   | v         | /cat̄l/                 | jatv                |
| 81             | 252 | to know           | รู้           | รู้       | v         | /hiū̄/                 | hiuv                |
| 82             | 259 | to be afraid      | กลัว          | กลัว      | v<br>comp | /kam̄l dziə̄̄/          | gamh nziex          |
| 83             | 261 | to sleep          | หลับ          | นอนหลับ   | v         | /pʷeī̄ m̄ jcm̄l/       | bueix m'njormh      |
| 84             | 267 | to scratch        | เกา           | เกา       | v         | /naī̄/                 | nyaiv               |
| 85             | 269 | to die            | ตาย           | ตาย       | v         | /taī̄l/                | daic                |
| 86             | 271 | to sit            | นั่ง          | นั่ง      | v         | /tsʷeī̄l/              | zueiz               |
| 87             | 272 | to stand          | ยืน           | ยืน       | v         | /səb̄̄/                 | souv                |
| 88             | 274 | to walk           | เดิน          | เดิน      | v         | /jaŋl/                  | yangh               |
| 89             | 283 | to fall           | ตก            | ตก        | v         | /dətl/                  | ndortv              |
| 90             | 288 | to give           | ให้อ          | ให้       | v         | /punl/                  | bun                 |
| 91             | 289 | to tie            | มัด           | ผูก       | v         | /dōl/, /nat̄l/         | ndoh/nyatv          |
| 92             | 291 | to rub, scrub     | ถู            | ถู        | v         | /sətl/                  | sortv               |
| 93             | 292 | to wash (clothes) | ล้าง          | ล้าง      | v         | /dzōl/, /dza:ūl/      | nzox/nzaaux         |
| 94             | 297 | to cut (hair)     | ตัดผม         | ตัดผม     | v         | /cap̄l ba p̄eī̄l/      | japv mba'biei       |
| 95             | 301 | to dig            | ขุด           | ขุด       | v         | /wet̄l/                 | wetv                |
| 96             | 308 | to burn           | เผา           | เผา       | v         | /puə̄̄/                 | buov                |
| 97             | 314 | to hunt           | ไล่เหล่า, ล่า | ล่า       | v         | /tsunl ɔ̄̄/             | zunc orv            |
| 98             | 315 | to kill           | ฆ่า           | ฆ่า       | v25       | /taī̄l/                | daix                |
| <b>Numbers</b> |     |                   |               |           |           |                         |                     |

|                   |     |                    |            |         |    |   |                               |
|-------------------|-----|--------------------|------------|---------|----|---|-------------------------------|
| 99                | 322 | one<br>(person)    | ນຶ່ງຄນ     | ຫນຶ່ງຄນ | nb | /jet↓ la:n↓ miən↓/                                      | <i>yietc laanh mienh</i>      |
| 100               | 323 | two<br>(persons)   | ສອງຄນ      | ສອງຄນ   | nb | /i↑ la:n↓ miən↓/  | <i>i laanh mienh</i>          |
| 101               | 324 | three<br>(persons) | ສາມຄນ      | ສາມຄນ   | nb | /puə↑ la:n↓ miən↓/                                      | <i>buo laanh mienh</i>        |
| 102               | 325 | four<br>(persons)  | ສີ່ຄນ      | ສີ່ຄນ   | nb | /p'ei↑ la:n↓ miən↓/                                     | <i>biei laanh mienh</i>       |
| 103               | 326 | five<br>(persons)  | ຫ້າຄນ      | ຫ້າຄນ   | nb | /p'a:↑ la:n↓ miən↓/                                     | <i>biaa laanh mienh</i>       |
| 104               | 334 | many               | ຫລາຍຄນ     | ຫລາຍຄນ  | NP | /ts <sup>h</sup> am↑/ /ts <sup>h</sup> am↓ la:n↓ miən↓/ | <i>camv/ camv-laanh mienh</i> |
| 105               | 335 | all                | ດຶງໜົດ     | ທັງໜົດ  | nb | /jet↓ tsuŋ↑/  | <i>yietc zungv</i>            |
| <b>Dimensions</b> |     |                    |            |         |    |   |                               |
| 106               | 339 | to be big          | ໃຫຍ່       | ໃຫຍ່    | a  | /lo↑/   | <i>hlo</i>                    |
| 107               | 341 | to be long         | ຍາວ        | ຍາວ     | a  | /da:u↑/   | <i>ndaauv</i>                 |
| 108               | 345 | to be thick        | ໜາ         | ໜາ      | a  | /ho↓/   | <i>hoz</i>                    |
| 109               | 346 | to be thin         | ບາງ        | ບາງ     | a  | /piə?↓/   | <i>bieqc</i>                  |
| 110               | 347 | to be fat          | ຕຸຍ        | ອ້ວນ    | a  | /cun↓/  | <i>junc</i>                   |
| 111               | 353 | to be round        | ມນ, ກົມ    | ກລມ     | a  | /cun↓/  | <i>junh</i>                   |
| 112               | 354 | to be full         | ເຕັມ       | ເຕັມ    | a  | /p <sup>w</sup> aŋ↑/                                    | <i>buangv</i>                 |
| 113               | 355 | right side         | ພາກໜວາ     | ຕ້ານໜວາ | n  | /b'a:u↑ meŋ↓ puŋ↑/                                      | <i>mbiaauc maengx bung</i>    |
| 114               | 356 | left side          | ພາກໜ້າ     | ຕ້ານໜ້າ | n  | /tsa:i↑ meŋ↓ puŋ↑/                                      | <i>zaaic maengx bung</i>      |
| 115               | 358 | to be far          | ໄກ         | ໄກ      | a  | /ko↑/   | <i>go</i>                     |
| 116               | 359 | to be near         | ໄກ         | ໄກ      | a  | /fat↓/  | <i>fatv</i>                   |
| 117               | 360 | this               | ນີ້        | ນີ້     | pn | /na:i↑/   | <i>naav</i>                   |
| 118               | 361 | that               | ນີ້ນ, ສິ້ນ | ນີ້ນ    | pn | /uə↑/   | <i>wuov</i>                   |
| <b>Appearance</b> |     |                    |            |         |    |   |                               |
| 119               | 362 | black              | ດຳ         | ດຳ      | a  | /ciə?↑/   | <i>jieqv</i>                  |
| 120               | 363 | white              | ຂາວ        | ຂາວ     | a  | /pε?↓/  | <i>baeqc</i>                  |

|                       |     |             |          |        |   |                                      |                                  |
|-----------------------|-----|-------------|----------|--------|---|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 121                   | 364 | red         | แดง      | แดง    | a | /siq̚/ /                             | <i>siqv</i>                      |
| 122                   | 365 | green       | เขียว    | เขียว  | a | /mæŋ̚/ /                             | <i>maeng</i>                     |
| 123                   | 368 | to be new   | ใหม่     | ใหม่   | a | /s̚iæŋ̚/ /                           | <i>siang</i>                     |
| 124                   | 369 | to be old   | เก่า     | เก่า   | a | /loz̚/, /koz̚/ /                     | <i>loz/gox</i>                   |
| <b>Taste/Feel</b>     |     |             |          |        |   |                                      |                                  |
| 125                   | 382 | to be hot   | ร้อน     | ร้อน   | a | /cɔm̚/ /                             | <i>jorm</i>                      |
| 126                   | 383 | to be cold  | เย็น     | เย็น   | a | /nam̚/ /                             | <i>namx</i>                      |
| 127                   | 384 | to be sharp | คม       | คม     | a | /lai̚/ /                             | <i>laic</i>                      |
| 128                   | 386 | to be heavy | หนัก     | หนัก   | a | /n̚iə̚v̚/ /                          | <i>hniev</i>                     |
| <b>Question Words</b> |     |             |          |        |   |                                      |                                  |
| 129                   | 404 | who         | ไผ       | ไคร    |   | /ha:i̚l tau̚/ /                      | <i>haaix dauh/haiv dauh</i>      |
| 130                   | 405 | what        | อะหัง    | อะไร   |   | /ha:i̚l nyung̚/,<br>/hai̚l nyung̚/ / | <i>haaix nyungc/haiv nyungc?</i> |
| <b>Pronouns</b>       |     |             |          |        |   |                                      |                                  |
| 131                   | 416 | I (1s)      | ชา, เป็น | ฉัน    |   | /iə̚l/ /                             | <i>yie</i>                       |
| 132                   | 417 | thou (2s)   |          |        |   | /mei̚l/ /                            | <i>meih</i>                      |
| 133                   |     |             | หมู่สุขา | พวกคุณ |   | /mei̚l buə̚l/ /                      | <i>meih mbuo</i>                 |
| 134                   | 419 | we (1p)     | หมู่ชา   | พวกรา  |   | /iə̚l buə̚l/ /                       | <i>yie mbuo</i>                  |
| 135                   |     | he/she      |          |        |   | /nin̚l/ /                            | <i>ninh</i>                      |
| 136                   |     | they        |          |        |   | /nin̚l buə̚l /                       | <i>ninh mbuo</i>                 |

## APPENDIX D: NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY—DRAFT

Page 1: the second line shows the submission date as the 3<sup>rd</sup> February 2010. The third line is Subject: "Asking for a permission for the Royal Institute of Thailand to be a principal working unit in drafting the National Language Policy. The first line of the body addresses the Prime Minister.

|  |                      |
|--|----------------------|
|   | <b>บันทึกข้อความ</b> |
| <b>สำนักศึกษาธิการนายกรัฐมนตรี</b><br><b>รับที่..... 2839</b><br><b>วันที่ ๓๐.๒.๕๓ ๑๒.๑๐.๐๐ น.</b>   |                      |
| <b>ส่วนราชการ..... ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน โทร. ๐-๒๖๔๒๖๐๕๖๖-๙๐ ต่อ ๓๐๗๕</b><br><b>ที่..... ๐๐๐๔/๑๔๖๗ วันที่..... ๒๕ กุมภาพันธ์ ๒๕๕๓</b><br><b>เรื่อง..... ขออนุญาตให้ราชบัณฑิตยสถานเป็นหน่วยงานหลักในการดำเนินการจัดทำนโยบายภาษาแห่งชาติ</b>  |                      |
| <b>กราบเรียน นายกรัฐมนตรี ในฐานะบังคับบัญชาราชบัณฑิตยสถาน</b><br><b>ด้วยราชบัณฑิตยสถานได้พิจารณาเห็นว่านโยบายภาษาแห่งชาติซึ่งเป็นนโยบายที่ใช้ในการกำหนดแนวทางในการศึกษาภาษาต่าง ๆ ที่มีอิทธิพลอย่างมากในประเทศไทยและภาษาต่าง ๆ ที่ใช้ในการติดต่อกับต่างประเทศเป็นสิ่งจำเป็นสำหรับประเทศไทยเนื่องจากในปัจจุบันความก้าวหน้าทางเทคโนโลยีและการติดต่อสื่อสารระหว่างประเทศมีความสะดวกและรวดเร็ว หลายประเทศมีนโยบายภาษาที่ชัดเจน เช่น มาเลเซีย สิงคโปร์ ออสเตรเลีย ฯลฯ ในขณะเดียวกันก็มีหลายประเทศที่ไม่มีนโยบายภาษาที่ชัดเจนเพริ่งขัดขวางรัฐธรรมนูญ เช่น สาธารณรัฐกาลังกฤษ สำหรับประเทศไทยยอมผล แบล็ก พิวลส์ ราม ได้ประกาศรัฐบัญญัติเมื่อวันที่ ๘ มิถุนายน พ.ศ. ๒๕๔๙ และได้ระบุว่าภาษาไทยเป็นภาษาของชาติ มีการสนับสนุนให้ค้นพบต้องเรียนรู้ภาษาไทย ห้ามเปิดโรงเรียนสอนภาษาอื่น แต่เมื่อบังคับน้ำใจพัฒนา เช่น การศึกษาภาษาอื่นเป็นกำไรงานดังคณและเศรษฐกิจ การมีนโยบายภาษาแห่งชาติจะช่วยให้เกิดความมั่นคงและเกิดเอกภาพภายใต้ความหลากหลายของกลุ่มประชาชนที่ใช้ภาษาต่างกันในสังคมไทย<br/> <b>ในฐานะที่ราชบัณฑิตยสถานเป็นสถาบันหลักของเครือข่ายภาษาแห่งชาติจึงทรงคิดว่าจะดำเนินการจัดทำนโยบายภาษาแห่งชาติโดยแบ่งนโยบายออกเป็น ๖ กลุ่มนโยบาย ได้แก่</b><br/> <b>๑. นโยบายภาษาไทยสำหรับนักเรียนไทยและคนไทย</b><br/> <b>๒. นโยบายภาษาไทยท้องถิ่นทั่งภาษาในครบทุกภาษาและภาษาอื่น ๆ ตลอดจนภาษาในภูมิภาคต่างๆ</b><br/> <b>๓. นโยบายภาษาเพื่อเศรษฐกิจ ภาษาเพื่อนบ้าน และภาษาการงานอาชีพ</b><br/> <b>๔. นโยบายภาษาสำหรับผู้ที่เข้ามาและสองทางการทำในประเทศไทย</b><br/> <b>๕. นโยบายภาษาสำหรับผู้ที่ทำการทางสายตาและผู้ที่ทำการทางการได้ยิน</b><br/> <b>๖. นโยบายภาษาสำหรับการแปล การล่าม และล่ามภาษาเมือง</b><br/> <b>ในการดำเนินการจัดทำนโยบายดังกล่าว ราชบัณฑิตยสถานได้จัดการประชุมทางวิชาการทั้งในระดับชาติและระดับนานาชาติหลายครั้งเพื่อแลกเปลี่ยนความคิดในหมู่นักวิชาการและประชาชนผู้สนใจ และนำมาร่วมเป็นนโยบายภาษาแห่งชาติพร้อมข้อสรุปผลการศึกษาดังนี้</b> </b> |                      |

|      |
|------|
| ๑๓๐  |
| ๒๑๐  |
| ๑๔๖๗ |
| ๙.๓๙ |

/ จังเรียนมา...

๔๙๙ ๐๖๑๙  
๓ ก.พ. ๕๓ - ๑๐.๙ ๔๙๙ ..

Page 2: Signature by the former Prime Minister Abhisit Vejjajiva, dated the 7<sup>th</sup> of February 2010.

๖  
จึงเรียนมาเพื่อโปรดพิจารณา หากเห็นชอบขอได้โปรดสั่งการให้ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน  
ดำเนินการจัดทำแผนยุทธศาสตร์ด้านนโยบายภาษาแห่งชาติต่อไป.

กฤษณะ ชัยยะ  
(นางสาวกนกเวลี ชัยยะ)  
เลขานุการราชบัณฑิตยสถาน

กฤษณะ  
(นายอภิสิทธิ์ เวชชาชีวะ)  
นายกรัฐมนตรี  
ว/ ก.พ. ๒๕๕๙

นายอภิสิทธิ์ เวชชาชีวะ  
นายกรัฐมนตรี  
กฤษณะ ชัยยะ  
(นางสาวกนกเวลี ชัยยะ)  
เลขานุการราชบัณฑิตยสถาน

๑๐ ก.พ. ๒๕๕๙

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Page 1: the title reads “Draft of National Language Policy by the Royal Institute of Thailand. The first heading is “Rationale”.

## ร่างนโยบายภาษาแห่งชาติ

โดย ราชบัณฑิตยสถาน

### เหตุผล

ปัจจุบันความก้าวหน้าทางเทคโนโลยีและการติดต่อสื่อสารระหว่างประเทศที่สูงมากเร็ว มีบทบาทต่อการดำรงชีวิตของคนทั่วโลก “ภาษา” จึงมีความสำคัญอย่างยิ่งต่อการนำไปสู่การเข้าถึงองค์ความรู้ ข้อมูลข่าวสาร การบริการของรัฐ การติดต่อค้าขาย และความเข้าใจกันระหว่างคนที่มีวัฒนธรรมเดียวกันและต่างวัฒนธรรม ในขณะเดียวกัน ภาษาไทยเป็นด้วยประชารัฐและเป็นสื่อถ่ายทอดวัฒนธรรมของชาติพันธุ์ที่สำคัญที่สุด การอนุรักษ์และพัฒนาภาษาประจำชาติและภาษาของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ต่าง ๆ ในประเทศไทยเป็นภารกิจที่สำคัญยิ่ง จึงเป็นการสืบทอดวัฒนธรรมของบรรพบุรุษ ซึ่งเป็นสมบัติล้ำค่าของชาติ และสอดคล้องกับรัฐธรรมนูญแห่งราชอาณาจักรไทย พ.ศ. ๒๕๕๐ อาทิ มาตรา ๓๐ ตลอดจนกิจกรรมระหว่างประเทศ ข้อบทที่ ๒๙ ระบุว่า ต้องให้ความสำคัญในเรื่องสิทธิทางภาษา สิทธิพลเมืองและสิทธิทางการเมืองรวมทั้งอนุสัญญาว่าด้วยสิทธิเด็ก

ราชบัณฑิตยสถานในฐานะหน่วยงานเครือข่ายทางปัญญาแห่งชาติ ตระหนักในบทบาทและความสำคัญของภาษา ซึ่งนับว่าเป็นกลไกหลักประการหนึ่งของการพัฒนาและเสริมสร้างความมั่นคงของประเทศ จึงได้ศึกษาบทวนสถานการณ์ของภาษาต่าง ๆ ในประเทศไทย ทำให้พบปัญหา และมีข้อสังเกต ตลอดจนข้อเสนอแนะสำคัญที่เกี่ยวข้อง ดังนี้

๑. การเปลี่ยนแปลงทางสังคมและสภาวะวิกฤตทางภาษา
๒. ปัญหาความมั่นคงของมนุษย์ สิทธิมนุษยชน และสิทธิภาษา
๓. ปัญหาด้านการพัฒนาการเรียนการสอนภาษาเพื่อเศรษฐกิจและการงานอาชีพ
๔. ความจำเป็นด้านการแปล ล่าม และล่ามภาษาเมือง
๕. นโยบายความมั่นคงของชาติแนวใหม่

### ๑. การเปลี่ยนแปลงทางสังคมและสภาวะวิกฤตทางภาษา

ภาษาของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ทุกกลุ่มมีคุณค่าเป็นมรดกทางวัฒนธรรมของมนุษยชาติ แสดงให้เห็นถึงภูมิปัญญาเฉพาะในวิถีการดำรงชีวิตของกลุ่มนั้นที่สืบทอดกันมาเป็นร้อยเป็นพันปี ภาษาจึงเป็นทั้งระบบคิด ระบบความรู้ ความเข้าใจในโลกและสิ่งแวดล้อม เป็นแหล่งร่วมภูมิปัญญาด้านต่าง ๆ รวมทั้งเป็นอัตลักษณ์ทางวัฒนธรรม และความเป็นด้วยของกลุ่มนั้นแต่ละกลุ่ม ในโลกปัจจุบันซึ่งเป็นโลกยุคโลกาภิวัตน์ ที่มีระบบเศรษฐกิจ การเมือง สังคม และวัฒนธรรมสมัยใหม่ ได้เกิดการเปลี่ยนแปลงด้านภาษาในสังคมไทยอย่างรวดเร็วจนทำให้มีปัญหาและเกิดวิกฤตดังนี้

#### ๑.๑ ปัญหาของภาษาไทยมาตรฐาน

ภาษาไทยมาตรฐานเป็นภาษาประจำชาติที่ใช้ในการสื่อสารกันทั่วประเทศ ทั้งในระบบราชการ วงการศิลปะ วรรณกรรม และระบบการศึกษา ภาษาไทยมาตรฐานจึงมีความสำคัญในการสร้างความเข้าใจของคนในชาติ และเสริมสร้างความมั่นคงของชาติ อย่างไรก็ตาม ในปัจจุบันได้เกิดปัญหาขึ้นกับภาษาไทยมาตรฐาน ๒ ประการ คือ มีการใช้ภาษาไทยมาตรฐานอย่างบกพร่องจนขาดประสิทธิภาพในการสื่อสาร และ

Page 2: the second paragraph from the bottom names seventeen endangered languages.

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นักเรียนนักศึกษาไม่มีแรงจูงใจหรือไม่มีความสนใจที่จะเรียนวิชาภาษาไทยในระดับที่สูงขึ้น จำเป็นอย่างยิ่งที่จะต้องมีการพัฒนาการใช้ภาษาไทยมาตรฐานของคนในชาติให้มีความเข้มแข็งยิ่งขึ้น

๑.๖ วิกฤตของภาษาท้องถิ่น

สังคมไทยประกอบด้วยภาษาท้องถิ่นต่างๆ ไม่น้อยกว่า ๙๐ ภาษา ทั้งภาษาตระกูลไทยและภาษาตระกูลอื่น ๆ แต่ปัจจุบันภาษาดังกล่าวอยู่ในภาวะวิกฤตด้วยสาเหตุต่อไปนี้

๑.๖.๑ อำนาจและความเจริญด้านการสื่อสารมวลชน ทั้งสื่อวิทยุ โทรทัศน์ หนังสือพิมพ์ และอินเทอร์เน็ต ทำให้ข้อมูลข่าวสารแพร่ขยายไปอย่างรวดเร็ว แม้การเผยแพร่ข้อมูลความรู้ความเข้าใจในเรื่องต่าง ๆ ตลอดจนให้ความบันเทิงโดยใช้ภาษาไทยมาตรฐานและภาษาต่างประเทศโดยเฉพาะภาษาอังกฤษ ทำให้ภาษาของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ต่าง ๆ ในสังคมไทยอยู่ในภาวะตกต่ำ วิกฤต และอาจสูญสิ้นไป

๑.๖.๒ สรุปภาวะการต่างเชื้อที่เปลี่ยนแปลงไปเนื่องจากโอกาสของอาชีพการทำงานมีความสัมพันธ์กับความสามารถในการใช้ภาษาหลัก ได้แก่ ภาษาไทยมาตรฐานอันเป็นภาษาประจำชาติ และภาษาต่างประเทศ เช่น ภาษาอังกฤษ ภาษาจีน ภาษาญี่ปุ่น

๑.๖.๓ การทำงานความแหล่งงานนอกชุมชนทำให้มีการใช้ภาษาไทยมาตรฐานมากขึ้นและใช้ภาษาท้องถิ่นน้อยลง

๑.๖.๔ การแต่งงานข้ามกุ้มทำให้ความเข้มข้นของการใช้ภาษาท้องถิ่นของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ลดลง โดยใช้แค่ภาษาของคู่สมรสหรือภาษาที่มีผู้ใช้กันมากในพื้นที่หรือใช้ภาษาไทยมาตรฐานสื่อสารกัน

๑.๖.๕ การเข้าถึงข้อมูลข่าวสารและบริการของรัฐบาลเป็นด้วยใช้ภาษาไทยมาตรฐานซึ่งเป็นภาษาราชการ ทำให้คนในห้องถิ่นนิยมใช้ภาษาไทยมาตรฐานมากขึ้นและทิ้งภาษาท้องถิ่นของตน

๑.๖.๖ การใช้เฉพาะภาษาไทยมาตรฐานเพียงภาษาเดียวเป็นสื่อในการเรียนการสอน และในการสื่อสารมวลชน ทำให้การใช้ภาษาท้องถิ่นลดลง และเยาวชนไม่เห็นความสำคัญของภาษาท้องถิ่นของตน

ในปัจจุบันพบว่ามีอย่างน้อยถึง ๑๕ ภาษาของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ที่อยู่ในภาวะวิกฤต/run range ใกล้สูญ ได้แก่ ๑.ช่อง ๒.กะซอง ๓.ชั้ม雷 ๔.ชูอุ ๕.ມານບັງ ๖.ເກນຫົວ(ชาไກ) ๗.ໝູ້ອຸກຸງ ๘.ໂໜ່(ທະວີງ) ๙.ລົວະ (ລະເວືອະ) ๑๐.ລະວ້າ (ກ່ອງ) ๑๑.ອິນປີ ๑๒.ບີ້ງ ๑๓.ອຸຮັກລະໄວຍ ແລະ ๑๔. ມອເກລິນ ๑๕. ແສກ ໃນจำนวนนี้มีถึง ๙ กลุ่ม เป็นภาษาตระกูลมองุ-ເນมຽ ตระกูลօສໂຕຣ-ເອເຊີຍດົກ ສິ່ງເປັນຕະກູລາພາດັ່ງເດີມຂອງດິນແດນ ສຸວຽນງົມ ໂດຍຖືກອານວ່າ ໜັນເຮັດ ແລະ ທຸກໆມີໂຄກສະໜອຍມາກທີ່ຈະດໍາຮອງຢູ່ໄດ້ແລະຄົງສູງສີ່ນີ້ໄປຕາມອາຍຸຂ້າຍຂອງຜູ້ຜູດສູງອາຍຸທີ່ມີອຸຍຸໄຟກີບຄົນ

นอกจาก ๑๕ กลุ่มภาษาวิกฤตใกล้สูญดังกล่าว ภาษาของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์อื่น ๆ แม้กุ้มขนาดใหญ่ก็ล้วนอยู่ในสถานะที่ไม่ปลอดภัย และคงให้เห็นความถดถอย มีการเปลี่ยนแปลงในการใช้ภาษา โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งในกลุ่มเยาวชน เช่น กลุ่มภาษาวิกฤตตามแนวชายแดน ได้แก่ ภาษาມອງ ภาษาມາlaysiin ภาษาເນມຽດິນໄທຍ ບໍ່ຮອມແມ່ແດ່ภาษาคำເມືອງ ภาษาไทยເອົານ ການປັກເປີໄດ້ ສິ່ງເປັນภาษาທີ່ໃຫ້ເປັນภาษาກ່າວໃນແຕ່ລະກູນິກາດ ໃນປັດຈຸບັນແນ້ວຍຄົງມູດທຳໄປໂດຍໃຫ້ສໍາເນົາທີ່ກ່າວໃນແຕ່ລະກູນິກາດ ໄວຍາກົດຈຳນວນນີ້ເປົ້າເປັນແນ້ນภาษาไทยมาตรฐาน

Page 3: The first section of this page addresses the problem of stability of human, human rights, and language rights.

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#### ๒. ปัญหาความมั่นคงของมนุษย์ สิทธิมนุษยชน และสิทธิทางภาษา

เมื่อพิจารณาถึงสถานการณ์ทางสังคมของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ซึ่งภาษาอยู่ในภาวะวิกฤตนั้น โดยทั่วไปกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ส่วนเล็กกลุ่มน้อยอยู่ในสภาพอ่อนแอก ขาดความเข้มแข็งในด้านเดองและในกลุ่มของตน เยาวชนส่วนใหญ่จะทั่งมารดกทางวัฒนธรรมของบรรพบุรุษ ในขณะเดียวกันก็ยังไม่สามารถปรับตัวเองเข้าสู่โลกของสังคมใหม่ได้อย่างสมบูรณ์ ทำให้ไม่ประสบผลสำเร็จทางการศึกษาตามที่ต้องการในระบบโรงเรียน ขาดอนาคตและเส้นทางเดินที่ชัดเจน ขาดความมั่นคงทั้งด้านสถานภาพทางสังคมวัฒนธรรมและคุณภาพชีวิตซึ่งในสายตาของคนทั่วไปมักจะมองว่ากลุ่มคนเหล่านี้เป็นกลุ่มที่พัฒนาได้ยาก เป็นชุมชนล้าหลัง ภาษาของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์เล็ก ๆ จึงค่อย ๆ สูญหายไป กลุ่มคนดังกล่าวเปลี่ยนไปพูดภาษาหลักเพื่อปรับตัวเข้ากับสังคมใหม่ภายใต้ภัยนอก ซึ่งบางส่วนก็ประสบความสำเร็จ แต่จำนวนมากก็ยังไม่สามารถปรับตัวได้ หรือยังไม่เป็นที่ยอมรับของสังคมภายนอก นอกจากปัญหาข้างต้นแล้วยังมีปัญหาวิกฤตด้านอัตลักษณ์และจิตวิญญาณ อันเนื่องมาจากมีความแตกต่างทางภาษาและวัฒนธรรมเป็นอย่างมาก นำไปสู่ความไม่เข้าใจระหว่างคนในพื้นที่และคนต่างพื้นที่ กลุ่มคนไทยดังกล่าวยังไม่สามารถเข้าถึงบริการของรัฐด้านต่าง ๆ ได้อย่างเต็มที่ จึงมีปัญหาด้านการศึกษาและการเรียนรู้ซึ่งสื่อสารผ่านภาษาไทยมาตรฐาน ทำให้ผลสัมฤทธิ์ทางการศึกษาต่ำกว่าเกณฑ์ นำไปสู่การขาดความเท่าเทียมในการต่างชีวิต การที่ภาษาและวัฒนธรรมท้องถิ่นไม่เป็นที่ยอมรับ ทำให้เกิดปัญหาในการบริหารงานของรัฐ บางครั้งก่อให้เกิดปัญหาการต่อต้านอย่างรุนแรงจนควบคุมได้ยาก จึงกล่าวได้ว่า ความไม่มั่นคงทางภาษานำไปสู่ปัญหาด้านการศึกษา การพัฒนาคุณภาพชีวิต ตลอดจนความมั่นคงภายในประเทศ

ในแห่งของปัญหาด้านสิทธิมนุษยชนโดยเฉพาะสิทธิทางภาษาและการเข้าถึงข้อมูลข่าวสาร องค์กรสากลด้านสิทธิมนุษยชนยืนยันว่า กลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ต่าง ๆ และคนพิการ มีสิทธิทางภาษาและการเข้าถึงข้อมูลข่าวสาร โดยสามารถที่จะใช้ภาษาของตน ทั้งในบ้าน ในชุมชนของตน และในที่สาธารณะต่าง ๆ รวมทั้งสามารถใช้ภาษาของตนในการจัดระบบการศึกษาแก่เยาวชน ปัจจุบันมีผลงานวิจัยจากประเทศไทยต่าง ๆ ที่พิสูจน์และสนับสนุนประযุชน์ของการใช้ภาษาแม่ซึ่งเป็นภาษาแรกเป็นสื่อในการศึกษาเบื้องต้นและเชื่อมโยงเข้าสู่ภาษาชีวภาพหรือภาษาประจำชาติ เพื่อนำไปสู่สาระความรู้และสังคมต่อไป สะท้อนให้มีการเฉลิมฉลองวันที่ ๒๑ กุมภาพันธ์ของทุกปีเป็นวันภาษาแม่ (International Mother Language Day) ซึ่งภาษาท้องถิ่นของทุกกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ได้รับการยกย่องและเห็นความสำคัญ ดังที่องค์กรสหประชาชาติได้ประกาศให้ปี ๒๕๕๙ เป็นปีสากลของภาษา (International Year of Languages)

ด้วยเหตุผลดังกล่าวข้างต้น จึงควรมีการทบทวนนโยบายภาษาแห่งชาติซึ่งรวมถึงนโยบายในภาษาใน การศึกษา เพื่อให้อื้อต่อการใช้ภาษาของชาติพันธุ์หรือภาษาแม่ เป็นภาษาที่หนึ่งของเด็กในระบบการศึกษา และเพื่อสร้างประชากรไทยที่มีคุณภาพสามารถร่วมกันแข่งขันกับโลกภายนอกได้

#### ๓. ปัญหาด้านการพัฒนาการเรียนการสอนภาษาเพื่อเศรษฐกิจและการงานอาชีพ

ภาษาเพื่อเศรษฐกิจและการงานอาชีพสามารถแบ่งออกได้เป็น ๓ กลุ่ม ดังนี้

๓.๑ กลุ่มภาษาตะวันตก เช่น ภาษาอังกฤษ ฝรั่งเศส เยอรมัน

๓.๒ กลุ่มภาษาตะวันออกและตะวันออกกลาง เช่น ภาษาจีน ญี่ปุ่น เกาหลี อาหรับ

๓.๓ กลุ่มภาษาประเทศไทยเพื่อนบ้าน เช่น มาเลเซีย เวียดนาม เนม

Page 4: The second paragraph of this page talks about the needs of translation, interpretation, and interpretation of sign language.

๔

ประเทศไทยควรได้พิจารณาว่าควรจะกำหนดให้ภาษาใดเป็นภาษาเพื่อเศรษฐกิจโดยอาศัยความจำเป็นในการใช้ภาษาเพื่อการสื่อสารตามสถานการณ์ปัจจุบันเป็นเกณฑ์ เช่น ภาษาอังกฤษ ซึ่งเป็นภาษาที่ยอมรับว่าเป็นภาษานานาชาติ และเป็นภาษาที่เป็นวิชาบังคับในการศึกษาขั้นพื้นฐานอยู่แล้ว ในขณะที่ภาษาอื่น ๆ จะต้องพิจารณาเป็นราย ๆ ไป ว่ามีบทบาทสำคัญแค่ไหน ต้องบทวน และมีนโยบายให้แจ่มชัดที่จะจัดการเรียนการสอนอย่างมีประสิทธิภาพ รวมถึงความจำเป็นต้องออกแบบ “ประมวลวิชา” (Syllabus Design) “สื่อการเรียนการสอน” (Teaching and Learning Materials) และ “การฝึกอบรมครู” (Teacher Training) เฉพาะด้านให้สอดคล้องกับนโยบายที่จะกำหนดต่อไป

#### ๔. ความจำเป็นด้านกระบวนการ ล่าม และล่ามภาษามือ

การแปล ล่าม และล่ามภาษามือสำหรับผู้พิการทางหู เป็นทักษะทางการสื่อสารขั้นสูง ที่รวมการฟัง การพูด การอ่านและการเขียนไว้ด้วยกัน ประวัติศาสตร์ของการแปลบ่งบอกว่า มนุษย์ใช้การแปลในการติดต่อสื่อสารกับผู้คนต่างภาษาในกิจกรรมต่าง ๆ เพื่อรองรับภาษาความเชื่อ ความคิด ความรู้ ประสบการณ์ ใจคุณธรรม ถ่ายทอดและแก้เปลี่ยนความรู้ การเข้าถึงข้อมูลข่าวสาร และความบันเทิงข้อมูลภาษา การแปล ล่าม และล่ามภาษามือมีบทบาทมากยิ่งขึ้นในโลกยุคสังคมข้อมูลข่าวสารที่ต้องมีการติดต่อสัมพันธ์กันมากขึ้น ดังนั้น การแปลและล่ามจึงเป็นเครื่องมือหรือช่องทางที่จะช่วยลดอุปสรรคของความแตกต่างด้านภาษา

ประเทศไทยดังอยู่ในภูมิภาคที่มีการใช้ภาษาหลากหลายมาก การสื่อสารข้ามภาษาผ่านทางการแปล ล่าม และล่ามภาษามือจึงมีความสำคัญทั้งระดับพหุภาษาภายในประเทศไทย และพหุภาษาข้ามประเทศ เนื่องจากฐานเศรษฐกิจประเทศไทยปัจจุบันสร้างรายได้จำนวนมากจากการติดต่อและการค้าสากลระหว่างประเทศและการแลกเปลี่ยนค้ายาข้ามชายแดนที่ต้องอาศัยบริบทและวัฒนธรรมข้ามภาษา ตลอดจนการใช้แรงงานพหุภาษา มูลค่าที่เกิดจากการแปล ล่าม และล่ามภาษามือ นอกเหนืองานแปลและล่ามที่เป็นอาชีพแล้ว จึงยังแห่งอยู่ในกิจกรรมดังกล่าวเป็นจำนวนมากและมีมูลค่ามหาศาล อย่างไรก็ตามประเทศไทยยังประสบปัญหาด้านการแปล ล่าม และล่ามภาษามือดังนี้

๔.๑ ขาดแคลนนักแปล ล่ามอาชีพ และล่ามภาษามืออาชีพเพื่อการติดต่อสื่อสาร ถ่ายทอดเทคโนโลยี ข้อมูลข่าวสารและองค์ความรู้ต่าง ๆ ตลอดจนการค้าและการบริการทางสากล

๔.๒ ขาดหน่วยงานที่สนับสนุนพัฒนา รับผิดชอบ ตรวจสอบคุณภาพ คุ้มครองให้ผู้บริการและผู้ใช้บริการตลอดจนสาธารณชนที่บริโภคข้อมูลจากการแปล ล่าม และล่ามภาษามือ

๔.๓ ขาดหน่วยงานให้บริการแปล ล่าม และล่ามภาษามือ ซึ่งจัดเป็นสิทธิขั้นพื้นฐานของมนุษย์ โดยเฉพาะด้านกฎหมาย สาธารณสุข และภาษาใช้งาน

ประเทศไทยจึงมีความจำเป็นอย่างยิ่งที่จะต้องสร้างและพัฒนามาตรฐานและคุณภาพของการแปล การล่าม และล่ามภาษามือ

#### ๕. นโยบายความมั่นคงของชาติใหม่

นโยบายความมั่นคงฉบับใหม่ใช้กรอบความคิดแบบสันติวิธีที่ยอมรับสังคมแบบพหุวัฒนธรรม ซึ่งจะเอื้อต่อนโยบายการส่งเสริมภาษาไทยควบคู่กับภาษาท้องถิ่น เนื่องจากหัวใจของความมั่นคงของชาติ คือ

Page 5: This page argues for the needs of the national language policy. The last two paragraphs are the recommended national language policy.

๔

ความรัก ความสามัคคีของคนไทย รวมทั้งการให้เกียรติซึ่งกันและกัน ซึ่งจะทำให้ทุกคนสามารถอยู่ร่วมกันอย่างสันติสุข การยอมรับว่าสังคมไทยเป็นสังคมพหุวัฒนธรรม มีความหลากหลายทางวัฒนธรรม วิถีชีวิต ศาสนา ภาษาและชาติพันธุ์ โดยทุกคนมีความภูมิใจในศักดิ์ศรี อัตลักษณ์ท้องถิ่น และมีเกียรติเสมอ กันนับเป็นต้นทุนที่เป็นจุดแข็งของความมั่นคง

ด้วยเหตุผลและปัญหาทั้ง ๕ ข้อดังกล่าว ราชบัณฑิตยสถานตระหนักรวิถีชีวิต ความสำคัญและความจำเป็นที่ประเทศไทยต้องมีนโยบายภาษาแห่งชาติ เพื่อเป็นแผนแม่บทของการพัฒนาและสืบสานภาษาไทยมาตราฐานซึ่งเป็นภาษาประจำชาติควบคู่ไปกับภาษาท้องถิ่น ซึ่งเป็นภาษาตราระบุลไทยและภาษาตราระบุลอื่น ๆ เพื่อเป็นการอ่อนรักษาและสืบทอดภาษาและวัฒนธรรม โดยเฉพาะอย่างยิ่งวรรณกรรมและภูมิปัญญาที่มีใช้อยู่ในสังคมไทย ส่งเสริมสนับสนุนการศึกษาภาษาสำหรับผู้พิการ ตลอดจนส่งเสริมสนับสนุนให้ศึกษาภาษาต่างประเทศ การแปลและล่าม เพื่อนำไปสู่การพัฒนาประเทศอย่างทั่วถึงด้วยความมั่นคงและยั่งยืน

### วัตถุประสงค์

๑. เพื่อสร้างความเข้มแข็งและความมั่นคงของภาษาไทยมาตรฐานซึ่งเป็นภาษาประจำชาติ
๒. เพื่อสร้างสังคมไทยซึ่งเป็นสังคมพหุภาษาให้เป็นสังคมที่เคารพความเท่าเทียมกันของมนุษย์ มีความเสมอภาคและความยุติธรรมทางสังคมเพื่อความมั่นคงของวัฒนธรรมท้องถิ่นและก่อสู่ชาติพันธุ์ต่าง ๆ
๓. เพื่อเสริมสร้างสมรรถนะในการแข่งขันให้กับระบบเศรษฐกิจ สังคม และการเมืองของประเทศไทย

### นโยบายภาษาที่พิจารณาดำเนินการ

ราชบัณฑิตยสถานได้ศึกษาและรวบรวมความคิดเห็นของนักวิชาการ ผู้นำท้องถิ่น ชุมชน ผ่านการ обรมสัมมนา การศึกษาเอกสารที่เกี่ยวข้อง จึงได้พิจารณาดำเนินการนโยบายภาษาฯ ดังนี้

“รัฐบาลมีนโยบายทำหมุนเวียนและส่งเสริมภาษาไทยซึ่งเป็นภาษาประจำชาติ และภาษาท้องถิ่นซึ่งประกอบด้วยภาษาตราระบุลไทยและภาษาตราระบุลอื่น ๆ เพื่อส่งเสริมความหลากหลายของภาษาและอัตลักษณ์ทางวัฒนธรรมซึ่งเป็นทรัพยากรสำคัญของชาติ รวมทั้งส่งเสริมการเรียนภาษาของผู้พิการ เช่น ภาษาอีสานของผู้พิการทางการได้ยิน เพื่อสร้างพื้นฐานทางการศึกษา เศรษฐกิจ การเข้าถึงข้อมูลข่าวสาร การมีวัฒนธรรมที่เข้มแข็งนำไปสู่การพัฒนาคุณภาพชีวิตที่มั่นคงและการสร้างสันติสุขแก่คนในชาติ

อีสาน เพื่อเป็นการพัฒนาความร่วมมือและความสามารถในการแข่งขันกับนานาประเทศ รัฐบาลมีนโยบายส่งเสริมสนับสนุนการสอนภาษาต่างประเทศทั้งภาษาเศรษฐกิจ และภาษาของประเทศไทยเพื่อบ้านให้กับนักเรียนไทยอย่างมีประสิทธิภาพ อีกทั้งส่งเสริมการจัดการเรียนการสอนแบบทวิภาษาหรือพหุภาษา สำหรับเยาวชนกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ที่มีภาษาแม่ต่างจากภาษาราชการ (ภาษาไทย) และกลุ่มผู้เข้ามาแรงงานทำในประเทศไทย โดยใช้

Page 6: The last paragraph of the recommended policy asserts that Mother Tongue-based Multilingual education is the foundation in education of Thai language, the development of children's brain and study, and the standardisation in translation, interpretation, and the sign language interpretation.

๖

ภาษาแม่เป็นฐาน (*Mother Tongue Based*) ในการสร้างความเข้มแข็งของการเรียนการสอนภาษาไทยและเพื่อพัฒนาสมองและการเรียนรู้ของเด็ก รวมทั้งส่งเสริมและสนับสนุน การแปล ล่าม และล่ามภาษาเมืองให้มีมาตรฐาน”

หน่วยงานรับผิดชอบหลักในการดำเนินงาน : ราชบัณฑิตยสถานและหน่วยงานที่เกี่ยวข้อง

Page 7: Recommendations, expected results, and standard regarding the education of Thai to the Thai, policy regarding Tai and other groups, and endangered languages.

### ข้อสรุปผลการศึกษา

| ประเด็น  | ข้อเสนอเชิงนโยบาย  | ผลที่คาดหวัง/มาตรฐานสำเร็จ  | มาตรการ  |
|--|--|---|--|
| ๑. นโยบายภาษาไทยสำหรับนักเรียนไทยและคนไทย              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ ประชากรไทยทุกคนได้เรียนรู้และใช้ภาษาไทยซึ่งเป็นภาษาประจำชาติ และภาษาชาว境外ได้อย่างมีประสิทธิภาพและยั่งยืนรักษาไว้ซึ่งภาษาแม่ของตน</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ เกิดความมั่นคงและเกิดเอกสารพิชิตความต้องการได้ภายในเวลาสั้นที่สุด</li> <li>❖ หลักภาษาของกลุ่มประชาชื่นในสังคม</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ ส่งเสริมและพัฒนาการใช้ภาษาไทยอย่างเหมาะสม</li> <li>❖ สนับสนุนและพัฒนาการเรียนการสอนภาษาไทยให้มีการสื่อสารอย่างมีประสิทธิภาพ</li> </ul>  |
| ๒. นโยบายภาษาท้องถิ่นทางภาษาในประเทศไทยและตระกูลอื่น ๆ | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ รักษาและรักษาและส่งเสริมสนับสนุนภาษาห้องเรียน รวมทั้งวรรณกรรมและภูมิปัญญาท้องถิ่นของกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์ทั้งภาษาพื้นเมืองชนบทและภาษาเขียน(นอกจากหนังสือราชการ) ในกรุงเทพมหานครและต่างจังหวัด ๑ ชีวิตรากฐานและตระกูลอื่น ๆ ซึ่งเป็นมรดกของชาติที่มีคุณค่า高いมีมนต์เสน่ห์ บันดาลภัย การใช้ในการศึกษา ในสื่อสารมวลชน ท่องเที่ยวและการพัฒนาชุมชนของต้นได้อย่างมีประสิทธิภาพ พัฒนาต่อไป</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ ประசានนกสุนัขชาตินี้ให้กับผู้คน สามารถดูแลรักษาและใช้ภาษาและรองรับในงานต่างๆ แม้จะไม่มีภูมิปัญญาท้องถิ่นที่นักเรียนต้องหันหัวไปในภาษาพื้นเมืองและภาษาเขียน(นอกจากหนังสือราชการ) ในกรุงเทพมหานครและต่างจังหวัด ๑ ชีวิตรากฐานและตระกูลอื่น ๆ ซึ่งเป็นมรดกของชาติที่มีคุณค่า高いมีมนต์เสน่ห์ บันดาลภัย การใช้ในการศึกษา ในสื่อสารมวลชน ท่องเที่ยวและการพัฒนาชุมชนของต้นได้อย่างมีประสิทธิภาพ</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ ส่งเสริมการศึกษาพื้นที่ทางวัฒนธรรม แล้วพัฒนาและภูมิปัญญาท้องถิ่นที่นักเรียนต้องหันหัวไปในงานต่างๆ ด้วยการร่วมแรงผลักดัน อบรมและประเมินผลของแต่ละภาษาสู่มาตรฐานที่พัฒนา</li> <li>❖ ส่งเสริมการใช้ภาษาพื้นที่ในชีวิตประจำวัน ควบคู่ไปกับภาษาราชการเพื่อเป็นหอดดันนนารม</li> </ul> |
| ๓. นโยบายภาษาในภาวะวิกฤตใกล้สูญ                        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ รักษาป้องกันรักษาภาษาในภาวะวิกฤตสูง ซึ่งเป็นมรดกของมนุษยชาติโดยพิเศษ ที่มีผู้สูงอายุรักษาและภูมิปัญญาท้องถิ่นที่สูญเสียหาย</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ ประทุมภาษาและส่งเสริมรักษาภาษาที่อยู่ในภาวะวิกฤตใกล้สูญให้สามารถต่อรับอยู่ได้ในสังคม บังคับ</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ ส่งเสริมการใช้ภาษาพื้นที่ในชีวิตประจำวันและรักษาสืบทอดการใช้ภาษาพื้นที่นักเรียน หนังสือพิมพ์ วิทยุ โทรทัศน์ หรือป้ายประกาศตามที่เกี่ยวข้อง แหล่งเรียนรู้</li> </ul>   |

Page 8: (continuation of) the policy regarding the endangered languages.

| ประเด็น | ข้อเสนอเชิงนโยบาย  | ผลที่คาดหวัง/ภาพความสำเร็จ | มาตรการ  |
|---------|--|----------------------------|--|
|         | ไม่ให้สูญหาย โดยเพิ่มหน้าที่การใช้และฝึกเพื่อประโยชน์ในการพัฒนาการสอนและการศึกษา |                            | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ จัดทำฐานน้อมรู้ภาษาท้องถิ่น</li> <li>❖ ส่งเสริมการศึกษาภาษาท้องถิ่นรวมถึงการศึกษาแบบวิภาคภาษาหรือ พหุภาษาที่ใช้ภาษาแม่เป็นพื้นฐาน สำหรับกลุ่มชาติพันธุ์เพื่อเป็นสะพาย เชื่อมการศึกษาระหว่างภาษาแม่กับภาษาราชการ (ภาษาประจำชาติ) โดยมี           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- โครงการวัฒนธรรมร่อง</li> <li>- ประชารัฐสมพันธ์เพื่อสร้างความเข้าใจต่อสาธารณะชน</li> </ul> </li> <li>❖ แสวงหาความร่วมมือในการดำเนินการ</li> </ul> |

Page 9: Recommendations, expected results, and standard regarding the policy for languages of hearing/visual impaired persons, and the policy in languages of business and languages of neighbouring countries.

| ประเด็น  | ข้อเสนอเชิงนโยบาย  | ผลที่คาดหวัง/ภาคความสำเร็จ  | มาตรการ   |
|--|--|---|---|
| ๕. นโยบายภาษาสำหรับผู้พิการทางสัญชาติและผู้พิการทางภาษา    | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> รัฐฟังส่งเสริมไม่ว่าคนพิการสามารถเข้าถึงภาษาอ้อมสูงสุดทางสังคม แหล่งบริการ อย่างไร         | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ผู้พิการทางภาษาฯ และผู้พิการทางการได้ยินโดยทั่วไปสามารถเข้าถึงชื่อและภาษาและบริการชุมชน   | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> สร้างเสริมการสอนแบบกว้างไกล<br>สำหรับผู้พิการทางการได้ยิน โดยสอนภาษาไทยเป็นภาษาที่ ๑ (เบลากาชาดไทยเป็นภาษาที่ ๒)<br>และส่งเสริมภาษาสอนล่างภาษาแม่ |
|  |  | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ส่งเสริมการเข้าถึงชื่อและภาษาและบริการชุมชน<br>โดยมีบริการสำม<br>ภาษาไทย และการจัดบริการ<br>ให้กับคนไทย สิ่งอำนวยความสะดวกทางสังคม  | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ส่งเสริมการเข้าถึงชื่อและภาษาและบริการชุมชน<br>โดยมีบริการสำม<br>ภาษาไทย และการจัดบริการ<br>ให้กับคนไทย สิ่งอำนวยความสะดวกทางสังคม                |
| ๕. นโยบายภาษาเพื่อเศรษฐกิจ ภาษาเพื่อมนุษยชนและการช่วยเหลือ | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> รัฐฟังส่งเสริมให้ประชารัฐสนับสนุนการใช้ภาษาฯ ในการดำเนินการทางเศรษฐกิจ แหล่งบริการ อย่างไร | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ประชารัฐไทยมีความสามารถตัดสินใจทางภาษาฯ ในการดำเนินการต่อไป<br>นานาประเทศ ในต้นทัน<br>ความตั้งใจและภาระเจ้าใจ<br>ระหว่างประเทศ การค้าทางการ<br>ระหว่างประเทศ และการ<br>แลกเปลี่ยนการค้าทางคอม<br>ชาร์ดชน ซึ่งมีมูลค่าทางเศรษฐกิจ<br>มหาศาล รวมทั้งการเข้าถึงคอมล<br>ข่าวสาร และเทคโนโลยีของ | <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> สร้างเสริมการศึกษาภาษาอาชีวศึกษาต่าง ๆ<br>และการศึกษาศาสตร์ด้วยภาษาฯ<br>ที่หลักภาษาไทย  |

Page 10: Recommendations, expected results, and standard regarding the policy for those who come to Thailand seeking for works and the policy concerning the translation and interpretation of sign language.

๑๐

| ประเด็น   | ข้อเสนอเชิงนโยบาย   | ผลที่คาดหวัง/การคาดคะเน   | มาตรการ  |
|---|---|---|--|
| ๖. นโยบายสำหรับผู้เข้ามาและทางาน<br>ที่ในประเทศไทย        | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ รัฐพึงส่งเสริมให้ผู้เข้ามาและทางาน<br/>ทำในประเทศไทยได้มีความรู้ในการใช้<br/>ภาษาไทยเพื่อการสื่อสารในชีวิต<br/>ประจำวันเพื่อให้สามารถติดต่อโดยได้<br/>ในประเทศไทย</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ ผู้เข้ามาและทางานทำมีความรู้<br/>ในการใช้ภาษาไทยเพื่อสื่อสารทำความ<br/>เข้าใจกับหน่วยงานที่ให้เกิดผลผลิตที่ดี<br/>มีปริมาณและคุณภาพตามมาตรฐานที่<br/>กำหนด และสามารถเรียนรู้ เที่ยว แลบ<br/>ซานซึ่งในลัษณะรวมและประเพณีอันดี<br/>งามของคนไทย เพื่อสานฝันในการมา<br/>เยือนและสามารถเป็นมิตรของคนไทย</li> <li>❖ การเปลี่ยน การล้ม และล้มมาชา<br/>เมือง น้ำดีกรรมการเปลี่ยน<br/>เพื่อปลายทางที่มีประโยชน์มาก<br/>นำไปสู่การพัฒนาทางเศรษฐกิจ<br/>สังคม สาธารณสุข ศิลปะและความ<br/>บูรณะ การรักษาสิ่งแวดล้อม<br/>ป้องกันภัยพิบัตินานาชาติ ภัยธรรมชาติ<br/>และการไฟฟ้าและน้ำประปา</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ ส่งเสริมการเรียนรู้ในด้านทักษะการ<br/>พัฒนาภาษาพูด ให้สามารถใช้ภาษาไทย<br/>สื่อสารกับหน่วยงานชั้นนำ แห่งที่สุดให้การรับใช้<br/>ไม่ถูกเอกสารเดาด้วยเปรียบ และสามารถ<br/>รับใช้ศิริชัยองค์นตามกฎหมายได้</li> <li>❖ การจัดตั้งสถาบันการอบรม การร่วม<br/>และนัดกรรมการและเพื่อภาษา<br/>ทางแห่งชาติ<br/>- เพื่อให้การรับรองมาตรฐานและ<br/>คุณภาพน้ำดีและล้มตามมาตรฐาน<br/>- ให้บริการภาษาบลล. การล้ม และ<br/>ลามภาษาเมือง ซึ่งจะเป็นสิ่งที่ชี้วัด<br/>พื้นฐานของ<br/>ต้นภาษาหมายและภาษาชนเผ่าและ<br/>ภาษาใช้งาน</li> </ul> |
| ๗. นโยบายภาษาสำหรับนักการแปล<br>และการล้ม และลามภาษาเมือง | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ รัฐพึงเตรียมการจัดตั้งการศึกษาการ<br/>แปล การล้ม น้ำดีกรรมการแปล<br/>เพื่อปลายทาง และลามภาษาเมือง<br/>ด้วยการสนับสนุนการฝึกอบรม<br/>การจัดพัฒนา อาชีพ และการ<br/>บริการให้ผู้มาตราชูนและชนเผ่า<br/>และการรับใช้ภาษาชนเผ่า</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ ผู้เข้ามาและทางานทางเศรษฐกิจ<br/>สังคม สาธารณสุข ศิลปะและความ<br/>บูรณะ การรักษาสิ่งแวดล้อม<br/>ป้องกันภัยพิบัตินานาชาติ ภัยธรรมชาติ<br/>และการไฟฟ้าและน้ำประปา</li> </ul>   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>❖ ผู้เข้ามาและทางานชนเผ่าและ<br/>ภาษาใช้งาน</li> </ul>  |

## **APPENDIX E**

As delivered

**Opening Speech by  
H.E. Mr. Abhisit Vejjajiva  
Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Thailand  
at  
“International Conference on Language, Education,  
and the Millennium Development Goals”  
9 Nov 2010 at 8:15 am, Twin Towers Hotel, Bangkok**

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**Vice-President of Mahidol University,  
Director of UNESCO Bangkok,  
Distinguished Participants,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,**

1. Thank you for inviting me to participate in this important event. It is inspiring to see so many delegates from around the world come together to discuss critical issues regarding language development and education, and their importance in helping us achieve our Millennium Development Goals.
2. Two months ago, I attended the 65th session of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, which was held in conjunction with the U.N. Summit on the Millennium Development Goals. It was heartening at the time to see the world's leaders come together to support our shared goals, and more importantly, to note the measurable progress they have already made toward achieving many of our objectives.
3. However, despite the positive progress reported by many countries – Thailand included – there are still millions of people we have yet to reach. These include our poorest and most vulnerable populations, and those living in the remotest areas of the world. We have an obligation to ensure that the fruits of our development efforts are both widespread and equitable, so that everyone can benefit from them, regardless of wealth, background or geography.
4. A matter of particular concern in this respect is that progress among the world's ethno-linguistic minorities continues to lag behind some of the successes we've seen in majority populations. This puts our minorities at greater risk of hunger, poverty, illiteracy and disease, and increases the likelihood of future tension and conflict.
5. It is their minority languages, among other factors, that have put them at disadvantage. UN agencies thus believe that we must embrace minority languages whenever possible in order to meet our MDGs, particularly with respect to universal primary education, gender equality, maternal health, child mortality, HIV/AIDS awareness, and the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger. We cannot be content with satisfactory MDG progress on the national level. Rather, leaders must make the

extra effort to ensure that all social groups within a country are able to realize the benefits of development. Ethnic languages are not only a powerful tool but also step towards accomplishing our goals. By understanding – and respecting – differences in languages, we can better bridge communication and cultural gaps, and more effectively meet our MDGs through the promotion of mutual understanding, trust and positive relationships.

6. I believe that Thailand is something of a model in this regard. Our nation is home to 70 unique ethno-linguistic groups – a wealth of diversity that I personally consider to be one of our national treasures.

7. Recognizing the different linguistic and cultural backgrounds among our people, the Thai government has worked hard to protect and promote these cultural diversities. Nowhere is this more evident than in school, where curriculum now includes the study of local languages.

8. Let me emphasize here that education has always been one of my government's top priorities. The measures we have taken to widen educational opportunities range from offering financial assistance to families with school children to ensuring that all Thai students have access to 15 years of free basic education. However, no educational framework can be truly successful unless it accommodates and encourages all children, regardless of backgrounds. A case in point is our work with ethno-linguistic minority communities. In particular, I recently approved the Royal Institute of Thailand's National Language Policy, which maintains the right of ethnic children to have their mother tongue included in the school curriculum. We firmly believe that the inclusion of local languages in schools helps students improve their academic performance and strengthen their aptitude in the Thai language, while preserving the individual languages and cultures that make us unique. I am also in the process of appointing a cabinet level, strategic implementation committee to ensure the new Language Policy is put into practice in areas such as education, health care, regional commerce and human security.

9. In addition, the Thai Ministry of Education has been cooperating with various local and international organizations on programmes that encourage Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education, particularly in our country's border areas to the north, west and south. Just last month, my Foreign Minister, Kasit Piromya, led a delegation of foreign ambassadors to southern Thailand to visit one such programme, which SEAMEO has called a model for Southeast Asia. There, students in pilot schools learn to read and write in their native tongue, Pattani Malay, and then use that as a bridge to the national language of Thai. The children are doing very well – in fact, they are seldom absent, they participate enthusiastically, their self-confidence is growing, and their Thai language abilities are already 35% higher than similar students in monolingual Thai control schools. In addition to improved language abilities, we've also seen increased performance in science, mathematics, and other subjects. However, this project would not have been nearly as successful without the cooperation of parents, teachers, community leaders, religious authorities, and even musicians and artists, working alongside linguists from Mahidol University – not to mention the technical assistance from SIL International, financial support from UNICEF and the Thailand Research Fund, and moral support from UNESCO and SEAMEO. We hope to expand this

approach to other schools throughout Thailand, in order to raise academic performance, foster economic growth and social reconciliation, and continue to work toward the fulfilment of our MDGs.

10. It is in this spirit of continued progress and cooperation, Ladies and Gentlemen, that it is now my privilege to declare the “International Conference on Language, Education, and the Millennium Development Goals” officially opened. It is my sincere hope and expectation that what you accomplish here over the next three days will have a sustained impact on the lives of ethno-linguistic minority populations throughout the world, and ultimately, serve to contribute to a brighter future for us all.

11. Thank you and Sawasdee krub.

## **APPENDIX F**

Though not exhaustive, examples of metalanguage used in the process of grammatical analyses with the native language consultants are listed here.

### **Metalanguage: grammatical terminology in Iu Mien**

| Metalanguage   | Thai-based Iu Mien & IPA  | Gloss                |
|--|---|----------------------|
| <i>nzuih.meix</i><br>[lip]   | ຖុយ ហេមឃ<br>/dzui៥ mei៥/  | 'lip'                |
| <i>nzuih dungz</i><br>[mouth pig]                                  | ຖុយ ចុង<br>/dzui៥ tuŋ៥/   | 'palate'             |
| <i>mbietc dueiv</i><br>[tongue tail]                               | បិះគ តេវីយ<br>/b៥et៥ t៥ei៥/   | 'tip of the tongue'  |
| <i>mbietc gorn</i><br>[tongue root]                                | បិះគ កុន<br>/b៥et៥ kɔn៥/  | 'root of the tongue' |
| <i>qiex</i><br>[air]   | តើឱយ<br>/c៥i៥ə៥/  | 'air, voice'         |
| <i>cuotv qiex nyei jauv</i><br>[exit air REL way]                  | ខ្ញុំដ តើឱយ លើយ ម៉ោា<br>/ts៥wətᅁ cᅁiᅁəᅁ neiᅁ cauᅁ/                    | 'pronunciation'      |
| <i>zietc nyei qiex</i><br>[be.tight REL air]                       | មេតិះគ លើយ តើឱយ<br>/tsᅁetᅁ neiᅁ cᅁiᅁəᅁ/                               | 'stop consonants'    |
| <i>fong nyei qiex</i><br>[be.loose REL air]                        | ឃង លើយ តើឱយ<br>/fonᅁ neiᅁ cᅁiᅁəᅁ/                                     | 'vowels'             |
| <i>njaapc jienv nyei qiex</i><br>[press CONT REL air]              | អាមាប តីឃុន លើយ តើឱយ<br>/ja:pᅁ neiᅁ cᅁiᅁəᅁ/                           | 'fricatives'         |
| <i>gapv-nzuih.meix nyei qiex</i><br>[combine lip REL air]          | កូប-ុយ.ហេមឃ លើយ តើឱយ<br>/kapᅁ dzuiᅁ neiᅁ cᅁiᅁəᅁ/                      | 'bilabial stops'     |
| <i>yangh mba'zorng cuotv nyei qiex</i><br>[walk nose exit REL air] | យ៉ាង បាបុពុរោះ ខ្ញុំដ លើយ តើឱយ<br>/janᅁ ba tsɔŋᅁ tsᅁwətᅁ neiᅁ cᅁiᅁəᅁ/ | 'nasals'             |
| <i>goiv qiex</i><br>[change air]                                   | កូឈ តើឱយ<br>/kɔiᅁ cᅁiᅁəᅁ/   | 'tone snadhi'        |
| <i>nzangc-dorn</i><br>[letter son]                                 | អទ័ំ-ពុន<br>/dzaŋᅁ tɔnᅁ/  | 'vowel letters'      |
| <i>nzangc-maac</i><br>[letter mother]                              | អទ័ំ-មាតា<br>/dzaŋᅁ ma:ᅁ/   | 'consonant letters'  |
| <i>nzangc-qiex</i><br>[letter air]                                 | អទ័ំ-តើឱយ<br>/dzaŋᅁ cᅁiᅁəᅁ/   | 'tone letters'       |
| <i>mbuox</i><br>[name]   | បុវា<br>/buəᅁ/  | 'nouns'              |
| <i>div mbuox</i><br>[replace name]                                 | ពី បុវា<br>/tiᅁ buəᅁ/   | 'pronouns'           |

|  |   |                            |
|--|---|----------------------------|
| <i>nuqv nyei waac</i><br>[point REL word]                    | ນຸ້ເງິຍ ທວ່າ<br>/nu?ŋ neiŋ wa:ŋ/                        | 'demonstrative pronouns'   |
| <i>waac-dongz</i><br>[word move]                             | ທວ່າ-ຕົ່ງ<br>/wa:ŋ tonŋ/                                | 'verbs'                    |
| <i>porv eix.leiz nyei waac</i><br>[explain meaning REL word] | ພ້ອ ເຊື່ຍ.ເລີ່ຍ ເງິຍ ທວ່າ<br>/pʰɔ:ŋ eiŋ leiŋ neiŋ wa:ŋ/ | 'adjectival verbs'         |
| <i>porv mengh waac-dongz</i><br>[explain obvious word move]  | ພ້ອ ເມັກ ທວ່າ-ຕົ່ງ<br>/pʰɔ:ŋ meŋŋ wa:ŋ tonŋ/            | 'adverbs'                  |
| <i>yietc joux waac</i><br>[one CLF word]                     | ເຫີຍດ ໂຈ້ວ ທວ່າ<br>/jetŋ cəŋŋ wa:ŋ/                     | 'a word'                   |
| <i>yietc joux bienx waac</i><br>[one CLF half word]          | ເຫີຍດ ໂຈ້ວ ເປືນ ທວ່າ<br>/jetŋ cəŋŋ piəŋŋ wa:ŋ/          | 'sesquisyllabic words'     |
| <i>waac-gapv</i><br>[word combine]                           | ທວ່າ-ກຶ່ນ<br>/wa:ŋ kapŋ/                                | 'compound words'           |
| <i>nduqc hlenqx waac</i><br>[single CLF word]                | ດຸ ແຮດ ທວ່າ<br>/du?ŋ ləŋŋ wa:ŋ/                         | 'phrases'                  |
| <i>yiemc</i><br>[verse]                                      | ເຫີຍມ<br>/jemŋ/   | 'verse, clause, sentence'  |
| <i>yiemc-muonc</i><br>[verse be.fine]                        | ເຫີຍມ-ໜ່ວນ<br>/jemŋ mʷəŋŋ/                              | 'subordinate clauses'      |
| <i>yiemc-ndoqv</i><br>[verse base]                           | ເຫີຍມ-ໂດະ<br>/jemŋ doŋŋ/                                | 'main clauses'             |
| <i>dunh.yunh yiemc</i><br>[perfect verse]                    | ຕຸນ.ຢູ່ນ ເຫີຍມ<br>/tunŋ junŋ jemŋ/                      | 'a full sentence'          |
| <i>waac-setv</i><br>[word end]                               | ທວ່າ-ເສົດ<br>/wa:ŋ setŋ/                                | 'sentence final particles' |
| <i>waac-dingh</i><br>[word stop]                             | ທວ່າ-ຕື່ງ<br>/wa:ŋ tinŋ/                                | 'sentence final particles' |
| <i>dony nyei waac</i><br>[prevent REL word]                  | ຕິນ ເງິຍ ທວ່າ<br>/tonŋ neiŋ wa:ŋ/                       | 'negative sentence'        |
| <i>waac-naaic</i><br>[word ask]                              | ທວ່າ-ໜ່າຍ<br>/wa:ŋ naiŋ/                                | 'question'                 |
| <i>waac-daaux</i><br>[word connect]                          | ທວ່າ-ຕ້າວ<br>/wa:ŋ taŋŋ/                                | 'conjunctions'             |
| <i>mbaih waac nyei za'eix</i><br>[line.up word REL method]   | ໄບ້ ທວ່າ ເງິຍ ທະແວເອົຍ<br>/baiŋ wa:ŋ neiŋ tsaŋŋ eiŋŋ/   | 'syntax'                   |

|   |   |                                   |
|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| <i>yietc douc waac</i><br>[one CLF <sub>SECTION</sub> word] | ເຫັນດີ ໂດວ ມວ່າ<br>/jet‿ təb‿ wa:‿/         | ‘paragraph’                       |
| <i>hoc dauh</i><br>[mark head]                              | ໄໜ່ ເຕົ້າ<br>/ho‿ tau‿/                     | ‘theme, thesis, title’            |
| <i>jauv-louc</i><br>[road way]                              | ເຈົ້າ-ໄຫລວ<br>/cau‿ ləb‿/                   | ‘account, details, factual story’ |
| <i>gouv</i><br>[story]                                      | ໂກ້ງ<br>/kəb‿ŋ/                             | ‘story, legend’                   |
| <i>dorh leiz nyei waac</i><br>[lead custom REL word]        | ຕ້ອ ເລື່ຍ ເນຸຍ ມວ່າ<br>/tɔ‿ lei‿ nei‿ wa:‿/ | ‘polite expression’               |
| <i>waac-beiv</i><br>[word compare]                          | ມວ່າ-ເປີຍ<br>/wa:‿ pei‿ŋ/                   | ‘metaphor’                        |

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<sup>249</sup> The transliteration of Chob's surname in Thai is "Kacha-anant" with a silent "t" representing the *Karan* ຕ of ຄຫາອນນັ້ນຕໍ່. In French and English publications he uses "Kacha-Ananda".

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<sup>250</sup> Sumeth Prasertsud's dictionary has just been announced to be published at the time of final submission of this thesis and unfortunately we were not able to confirm which publisher he had been in touch with: both of us were on the move in transition, him on the way to Thailand from the U.S.A., running the seminars on how to use the dictionary in various key stations in the Iu Mien communities; me on the way to Thailand from Japan, just missed each other.

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