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FUNDAMENTALS OF IU MIEN (YAO) GRAMMAR

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Fundamentals of Iu Mien (Yao) Grammar

By

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Fundamentals of Iu Mien (Yao) Grammar is a basic grammatical study of the language of the Mien (Iu Mien, Yu Mien or Yao) people, as spoken with minor local variations in northern Thailand, northern Laos, north Vietnam and parts of China. The approach is descriptive, but there are frequent references to features general to the linguistic area, and certain features of theoretical relevance are discussed. Data was gathered from 1979 down to the present time from members of the Mien community who had fled Laos and resettled eventually as refugees in Richmond, California, and published material was also drawn upon. Chapter I provides a brief general introduction to the language in its genetic and contact affiliations with other languages and cultures; it also provides a phonological sketch. Chapter II describes the basic units of the language: utterance, sentence, clause, part of speech, and discusses various kinds of sentences and clauses in combination and singly, touching on aspects of verb serialization. Chapter III discusses the noun phrase with special attention to compounds, numerals and classifiers. Chapter IV deals in detail with certain aspects of verbs, verb phrases and clauses, including certain verbal collocations and returning to other aspects of verb serialization. Chapter V presents some brief concluding remarks.

To my beloved wife Sandie
and
my cherished sister-in-law Judy

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Iu-Mien as a Miao-Yao language. Mien, Iu Mien, or Yu Mienh, is a member of the Miao-Yao (MY) tribal languages spoken in Southern China in the mountainous regions of the provinces of Hunan, Guizhou, Sichuan, Yunnan, Guangxi and Guangdong, and even of the island province of Hainan, of which the Miao side is represented in mainland southeast Asia (North Vietnam, Laos, and northern Thailand), by two varieties of Miao ("White" Miao and "Green" -- or "Blue" -- Miao, so-called from certain aspects of their dress). Designated by the Thai and Lao variants of the Chinese name 苗, viz. ม้ง in Thai, and its corresponding form in Lao, the Miao of Thailand and Laos prefer to be referred to by the name "Hmong".

As for the Yao branch of the family, Yao (yǎo) is their Chinese ethnonym, although it is not strictly linguistic, and is applied to certain languages either not of the Yao branch of the Miao-Yao family, or not Miao-Yao at all. Yao, properly so-called from the linguistic point of view is represented in Southeast Asia by two dialects, Iu Mienh, and Kia-Mun (Purnell 1968:137), both with some local variations. Iu Mien is the most important branch of the family in Southeast Asia in numbers and influence, and this also seems

to be true in China, where most of the Yao are to be found. It is the typical (linguistically) Yao dialect that is described in the Chinese linguistic works (e.g., Mao and Chou (1972) and for which roman orthographies have been developed both in China, under the guidance of linguists, and in Thailand by missionaries). The Hien in Thailand and Laos prefer to be referred to by their auto-ethnonym "Iu-Mien", or "Mien" for short, and do not like to be referred to as "Yao", as the Thai and Lao do (Thai *yáw*, and its Lao congener). In the name "Iu Mien" <iu0-mient>[1] the <mient> part means 'Mien person' (also 'person; mankind' in general, if there is no contrast with other races in mind), while the <iu0-> part may represent a name of Chinese origin, presumably in its Cantonese vocalism, or it may on the other hand represent an indigenous self-designation.[2] Different family trees for the Yao language family are given by Purnell (1970:137) and Mao, Meng and Zheng (1982, cited in Solait (1984 (2))).

Miao-Yao, in spite of Chinese looseness in their use of the words "Miao" and "Yao", is a well-defined language grouping, and comparative work has been done by Chang (1947, 1953, 1966, 1972, 1976 and n.d.), Haucriccort (1954), Pur-

[1] For orthography used in this book see Section 1.3.5 below.

[2] See Cushman 1970:49-55.

nell (1970), Mao, Meng and Zheng (1982), Chen (1982), Downer (1973) and Solnit (1974). Its broader affiliations are not certain. In the past it was grouped with Chinese, Tibeto-Burman and Thai as "Indochinese" (in an obsolete, broad sense of that term that included languages of India, Southeast Asia and China), or "Sino-Tibetan" (in an equally old-fashioned meaning of that term). The latter practice is still maintained in mainland China, where the loan translation *Han-Zang* ("Chinese-Tibetan") is used. Connections have also been proposed (e.g., Forrest 1965) with Austroasiatic; Benedict sets Miao-Yao alongside his grouping that he calls "Kadai" (including Tai, Kam-Sui and others) and Austronesian, into an overall grouping which he refers to as "Austro-Tai". At present the field of professional opinion seems balanced between Benedict's view (although more attention has been paid to the Tai-Austronesian connection than to the position of Miao-Yao) and an inclination to suspend judgment until more descriptive and historical work has been done, especially at the lower-order genetic groupings. Luckily such lower-order work is in progress: for instance, Mao, Meng and Zheng (1982), Chen (1982), and Solnit (1984). As for the difference between Miao and Yao, Chang (n.d.:2) proposes to make it in terms of diachronic phonology:

"Yao dialects are those which preserve the set of final consonants [-p, -t, -k, -m, -n, -ŋ] either completely or almost completely; Miao dialects

have either none of these final consonants or at most -ŋ and -ŋl. This classification coincides generally with the ethnic classification indicated by the two Chinese designations¹.

Such a distinction is too one-dimensional to cover all the facts, of course, and Solnit (1984) suggests substituting for Chang's criterion that of the loss of all proto-Miao-Yao final contrasts except the opposition of nasalized versus non-nasalized rhymes.

Now when it comes to relating Miao-Yao to Chinese, there are at the heart of the problem two factors: (1) a sizeable group of lexical items in Miao-Yao that relate, with varying degrees of certainty, to Chinese; and (2) the tonal system of Miao-Yao, which equates quite regularly with that of Chinese in the words of the aforesaid group. These two factors must be explained in terms of genetic inheritance and/or borrowing. However, it must be noted that although there are numerous Miao-Yao-to-Chinese cognates that are attested in both branches of Miao-Yao and are reconstructible for proto-Miao-Yao, a majority of words with Chinese affiliations are confined to Yac (more specifically, to Lu-Mien), with Miao showing largely recent Chinese loans (Downer 1973).

Downer (op. cit.) has distinguished three strata of Chinese loanwords in Mien: (1) Southwestern Mandarin

(modern, borrowing still in process), (2) Cantonese (date indeterminate), and (3) an older stratum, labeled, with some reservations, "Middle Chinese" (attested by the Qieyun, 7th-8th centuries, but some of the phonological characteristics undoubtedly going back to the 4th or 5th centuries). These three strata are distinct from the words at the proto-Miao-Yao level first mentioned.

We may thus, as Solnit (n.d.) says, posit an initial period of either Miao-Yao-to-Chinese contact or proto-Miao-Yao-with-Chinese unity (which latter raises the problem of what to do with Tibeto-Burman in this reconstruction) in order to account for the proto-Miao-Yao stratum. This unity would have to be at such a great time depth, and be overlaid by so much areal influence as to render the genetic versus contact distinction largely meaningless, at least as regards the comparison of syntax, and of morphology (such as it was: see Section 2.4.1.1 et seq. below).^[3] Following this would be a prolonged period of Mien-Chinese (or perhaps common Yao-Chinese) contact that is indicated by the Middle Chinese and Cantonese strata. This produced a considerable influence on the lexicon, as on the cultural life reflected in this lexicon.

[3] Aspects of the early Sino-Tibetan/Miao-Yao relationships recently reviewed by Benedict (1985), and before that in Ballard (1981),

It is no doubt continuous migration associated with a continuous struggle for survival which has served to diffuse the Miao-Yao peoples over such a wide area and brought them in and out of contact with different Chinese speech-communities. Large Miao-Yao communities have been broken into small groups: in a single district, in normal times, in their normal Asian habitat, several different groups of Miao-Yao-speaking people, of different origins and speaking different dialects, may live next to one another, next to non-Miao-Yao peoples and next to speakers of various dialects of Chinese.

This normal situation of hodgepodge juxtaposition has been intensified by the latest chapter of their odyssey of survival, occasioned by the Indo-Chinese war, since members of different groups now find themselves in adjoining cubicles in refugee camps in Thailand, and in adjoining apartments, tenements or houses in the poorer parts of Richmond, Oakland, and other parts of California, in the United States of America, and in similar situations in France and Canada. And for these trans-oceanic contingents of Miao-Yao at least, we may well predict that a multi-millennial epic of language maintenance will at last come to a close. But such a shift of language (and culture) is perhaps nothing

[3] See, for instance, Habarad (n.c. (a) and (b)).

new for segments of the Miao and the Yac populations, for if Ballard (1981) is correct, the Mu and Min dialects of Chinese are nothing but Chinese learned and handed down by populations originally Miao and Yac respectively. And certainly every effort is currently being made in Thailand and Laos to integrate these people into the mainstream cultures of those countries. This may well be true of Vietnam as well, in view of the Vietnamese government's policies of "domestication" and demographic inundation towards the mountain regions of central Vietnam (these policies merely representing the continuation of those of the ancien régime towards the same people).[4]

1.2. The setting of the Mien language: Yao (or Mien) culture and history. Overall the best and most complete ethnography of the Yao is Wist (1938). Aspects of their culture as they cope with contemporary conditions are dealt with in Miles (1972 a, 197b, 1973), Kandre (1967), Kandre and Lej Tsankouei (1965, 1967 and 1976). In their worldview they are a blend of animist, Confucianist and Taoist (Kandre and Lej Tsankouei 1965; Lemoine 1982a). There is a fine study of their Taoist paintings and associated beliefs in Lemoine (1982b). A very detailed ethnohistory is Cushaan (n.c.), that gives some idea of their generally unfortunate

[4] Marr 1985:6.

relations with the Chinese over the centuries. At the present time the Mien, like other ethnic groups of Indochina, are more accessible to study in their adoptive new countries than in Indochina, e.g., there have been at least two studies of the Iu Mien now residing in Oakland, California made by students at the University of California, Berkeley, and studies made by University of California, Berkeley linguistic students of the language of Mien now residing in Richmond, California, and include Court (n.c.), Solnit (n.d.), and the present study.

Mien is an unwritten language, although various attempts are being made to establish romanized ways of writing it. The Chinese script is used for certain ritual purposes, and as well the clan names are Chinese characters. The Mien have two special song languages: one is used for ritual purposes and is pretty much a form of classical Chinese. It functions as a source of high-style expression in the spoken language, much like *wenyan* in Chinese. The other song language seems to be simply the Southwest Mandarin ^(see below) *lingua franca*. This is not to say, of course, that the Mien do not sing as well in the ordinary Mien language.

1.2.1 Circumstances of the study. Data was gathered from both informants and the published sources. The language recorded by Purnell and Lombard was obviously vir-

tually identical with that of the informants so that the two sources could be conflated into a single coherent description. Data was gathered in two periods of activity: September 1979-May 1980, and sporadically from August 1983 down to the present (August 1985) and continuing. All data from informants was collected either on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley or at my home nearby.

1.2.2 The informants. There were three principal informants:

(1) F.L.; male; assisted September 1979-May 1980. Was fifteen years old at the time.

(2) F.O.; male; assisted sporadically from August 1983 down to the present time. Was 36 years old when he began to work with me.

(3) M.Y.; female; assisted for the same period as F.O. and was 22 when she first began to work with me.

All the informants were extremely intelligent and articulate. All hailed from the same Nam Tha area of Laos, in the so-called "Golden Triangle", and had been through the experience of relocating so that they lived side by side with ethnic Laos, first in Laos and then for five years in refugee camps in Thailand. They had thus had heavy exposure to Lao and Thai and were industriously learning English when

I was working with them. In addition, F.C. had spent some time at a Chinese school and had a certain knowledge of a Yunnanese form of Southwest Mandarin spoken Chinese. Indeed the latter language is something of a *lingua franca* in the hills of the Golden Triangle. Thus the possibility of interference from other languages in the data that I collected cannot be discounted, but I hope that my constant reference to the works of Lombard and Furnell counteracted this, and in any case Mien, even in its own habitat, is under heavy influence from the various national languages and *lingua francas*.

Access to the informants has been limited by various constraints -- notably financial -- and the fact that the more intelligent, articulate Mien in the Bay Area are more than fully occupied with surviving and helping their brethren to survive in the new environment. Under the circumstances we have been able to treat some subjects more fully than others, but we trust that the work will prove to be a useful expansion and elaboration of the first notes on aspects of Mien grammar to be found in the works of Furnell, Lombard and Meng and Chou.

1.3. Phonology. The descriptive phonology of Mien has been presented in Downer 1961, 1973 (segments and tones), and Furnell 1965 (segments, tones, intonation, stress, junc-

ture), and more briefly in Purnell 1970, while a virtually identical dialect has been described in Pao and Chou 1972. Therefore we will provide only a sketch here. A salient feature of the dialect is the reduction of non-fully stressed syllables (see Downer 1961:Sec. 3 et seq. and Purnell 1965:Sec. 112 et seq.). The first degree of reduction affects only the tones: all contrasts are lost under tsue-sanghi (in certain syntactic and lexical combinations; see below). Beyond the first degree of reduction more drastic changes take place and Purnell (op. cit.) distinguishes two degrees of reduced syllables here: "contracted minor syllables", and "neutral syllables". Neither Downer nor Purnell mention it specifically, but at the most reduced stage vowel-harmony and voicing-harmony of the initial consonant can take place: e.g.,

- (a) Vowel-harmony: <gaiv>:[5] [7 gay] 'excrement' becomes [4 gu] in <gu0-khuatv> [4 gu 7 khuat] 'anus' ('excrement-hole');
- (b) Initial consonant voicing-harmony: <puaz> [4 puə] 'hand; arm' becomes [4 bu] in <bu0-coqv> [4 bu 7 do?] 'finger'.

[5] Angle brackets enclose the orthography used in the present work; see below.

Weak-stressed syllables can be regarded as derived from fully-stressed syllables by stress-reduction rules of the Chomsky-Halle type (except that a fully-specified underlying form is not always synchronically recoverable). For that reason we shall from here on, unless otherwise stated, be describing fully-stressed syllables. These can be most immediately analyzed into segmental material and tones.

1.3.1 The segmental material. Within the syllable it is easy to isolate the final consonants, but when it comes to the rest of the segmental material, if it is phonetically complex it is difficult to analyze its constituent structure in a non-arbitrary manner. For instance, if we take a syllable like [pyop], do we divide it into an initial cluster [py] and a remainder, or into an initial [p] plus a "medial" [y] plus a rime [op]? Or do we divide it into an initial [p] plus a rising diphthong nucleus [io] and a final [p]? With a syllable like, say, [hiət], do we interpret this as [h] + [iə] ... or as [hy] + [ə] ...? Different approaches have been adopted by different people describing Mien. In the present work I shall use the intermediate missionary orthography -- a new one has just been adopted -- and present an analysis of the syllable that is fairly close to theirs, since that makes easier the transition from phonetic spelling to the orthography. First, the initials of Mien, according to this analysis, can be seen in Figure 1(1).

Aspirated stops and aspirated sonorants count as single phonemes. Medial [-y-] and [-w-] are treated as "medials" in the synchronical sense, and the combinations of initials with medials are also shown in Figure 1(I). The vocalic nuclei of Mien are displayed as the headings of the rows in Figure 1(II), and the final consonants are shown as the headings of the columns in Figure 1(III). To generate the syllables with medials, combine Figure 1(I) with Figures 1(III) and 1(IV), overlapping the medials.

FIGURE 1(1)
Mien Initials and Combinations of Initials
with Medials -y-, -w-

p	py	pw	t	-	ts	tsy	tsw	c	k	kw
ph	phy	phw	th	-	tsh	tshy	tshw	ch	kh	khw
b	by	-	d	dy	dz	dzy	-	ʃ	g	gw
m	my	mw	n	ny	-	ny	mw	ɲ	ŋ	nw
hm	-	-	hn	-	-	-	hmw	hɲ	hŋ	-
f	fy	fw			s	sy				h
			i							
			hl							
w								y		
hw								hy		

NOTE: Unaspirated sonorant initials are preglottalized in the odd-numbered tones.

FIGURE 1(11)

Mien Rimes in Syllables Without Medials

	-θ	-ʔ	-p	-t	-k	-m	-n	-ŋ	-y	-w
a	-	aʔ	ap	at	ak	am	an	aŋ	ay	aw
a:	a:θ	-	a:p	a:t	-	a:m	a:n	a:ŋ	a:y	a:w
i	i:θ	iʔ	ip	it	ik	im	in	iŋ	-	iw
iə	iəθ	iəʔ	iəp	iət	-	iəm	iən	-	-	iəw
u	u:θ	uʔ	-	ut	-	-	un	un	uy	-
uə	uəθ	uəʔ	-	uət	-	uəm	uən	-	uəy	-
e	e:θ	eʔ	ep	et	ek	em	en	eŋ	-	ew
ɛ	ɛ:θ	ɛʔ	-	ɛt	ɛk	ɛm	ɛn	ɛŋ	-	-
o	o:θ	oʔ	op	-	ok	om	on	oŋ	oy	-
ɔ	ɔ:θ	ɔʔ	ɔp	ɔt	ɔk	ɔm	ɔn	ɔŋ	ɔy	-
ə	ə:θ	-	-	-	-	-	ən	-	əy	əw
m [≠]										
i										
n ^{≠≠}										
i										

≠ occurs fully stressed only in <hmz> [hmz] 'five', (Numeral Set I and IV), otherwise in reduced syllables.

≠≠ occurs only in some dialects in two contraction forms [ʔn] 'this' [ɿn] 'that (near addressee)', full forms being [ʔ nay] and [ɿ nay], respectively. My informant used [m] in these forms.

FIGURE 1(III)

Mien-Rimes_in_Syllables_with_-y-Medial

	-ʃ	-ʔ	-p	-t	-k	-m	-n	-ŋ	-y	-w
ya	-	-	-	yət	-	-	-	yəŋ	yay	yaw
ya:	ya:ʃ	-	ya:p	ya:t	-	ya:m	-	ya:ŋ	ya:y	ya:w
yu	-	yuʔ	-	yut	-	-	yun	yunŋ	yuy	-
ye	ye:ʃ	-	yeʔ	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
yɛ	yɛ:ʃ	-	-	yɛt	-	-	-	yɛŋ	-	-
yo	yo:ʃ	-	yo:p	-	-	yo:m	-	-	-	-
yɔ	yɔ:ʃ	yɔʔ	-	yɔt	-	yɔ:m	yɔ:n	yɔŋ	-	-

FIGURE 1 (IV)

Mien-Ribes in Syllables with -w- Medial

	g	-ʔ	-p	-t	-k	-m	-n	-ŋ	-y	-w
wa	-	waʔ	-	wat	-	-	wan	wan̄	way	-
wa:	wa:θ	-	-	wat	-	-	wa:n	wa:n̄	wa:y	-
wiə	-	-	-	-	-	-	wian	-	-	-
we	-	-	-	wet	-	-	wen	-	-	-
wɛ	-	wɛʔ	-	-	-	-	-	wɛŋ	-	-

1.3.11 Historical origin of the segmental material.

There are many gaps in the data, but for an attempted reconstruction of the sounds of Iu-Mien back to Miao-Yao see Purnell 1970, and remarks in Downer (1973:8-10). For correspondence with Chinese see Downer (1973), Benedict (1985), and discussion in Solnit (n.d. Section 1, 6.1).

1.3.2 The tones of Mien. These are:

1. upper mid level ˥
2. mid falling ˧˨

3. high, sometimes rising-falling ˥, ˥˥
4. rising-falling, somewhat breathy ˨˨
5. rising ˨
6. low, creaky ˩
7. high, checked ˥'
8. low, checked ˩'

Tones 1-6 occur in live syllables, 7 and 8 in dead syllables. It is convenient in transcription to combine Tones 7 with 3, and 8 with 6, as we have done. Aspirated initials, except [h-] itself, do not co-occur with the even-numbered tones in native Mien words. There seems to be a certain tendency among the younger generation to replace Tone 4 with Tone 5.

1.3.21 Tone correspondence with Chinese. The tones are numbered here in the manner of Chinese linguistics: odd numbers for "clear", even for "muddy":

A: 1,2

B: 3,4

C: 5,6

D: 7,8

(see Chang (1972, or n.d.) for details). The point is that while the tones can be reconstructed, at least in terms of correspondence-rules if not in phonetic shape, back to proto-Miao-Yao, they correspond in quite a regular way with the Chinese historical tone-categories in items of shared vocabulary. The correspondence is one-to-one in pre-modern strata of shared vocabulary, but the correspondence is many-to-one and the corresponding elements are different in the modern stratum of Chinese loanwords in Mien where Southwest Mandarin's five tones are being matched up against Mien's eight (see Downer 19773:10).

1.3.22 tone=sandhi. There are two rules:

- (1) Tones 1-6 become Tone 2 (or something close enough to be indistinguishable from it).
- (2) Tones 7 and 8 become Tone 8 (or, again, something close enough to be indistinguishable from it).

For discussion see Downer (1961), Purnell (1965: Sec. 2.22, 1968:xiii), and Court: forthcoming, and passim in the present work.

1.3.3 Intonation. This has been described in considerable detail in Purnell (1968:Sec.2.211 and 2.22). In general it seems an excellent account but since I have not been able to replicate it in certain details, nor to get complete

agreement among my informants, I will not go further into the matter here except to remark (a) that intonation tends to interact in idiosyncratic ways with each lexical tone, and (b) that in general intonation plays a bigger role in Mien than, say, Thai, because it has a special intonation where Thai uses the particle ~~ra~~^v. This is the "meta-question" intonation (see Chapter 2 s.v. structure of questions).

1.3.4 Junctures or pauses. We have distinguished two pausal junctures -- ", " comma-juncture, and ". " period-juncture. In terms of rhythm a period-juncture is longer than a comma-juncture, and the pitch-phenomena involved I have on occasion marked in phonetic brackets, and for the rest would in general equate period-juncture with Funnell (1965)'s "normal intonation", and comma-juncture with his "sustained intonation" (op. cit. Sec. 2.211, 2.22).

1.3.5 Orthography. The following changes will produce the intermediate-period missionary orthography, which we have followed (except perhaps in one or two minor details) in the present work.

"c" > "jh", "j" > "j", "f" > "ny",
 "hɲ" > "hny", "ŋ" > "ng", "tŋ" > "hng",
 "ŋw" > "ngw", "-ʔ" > "-q", "a:" > "aa",
 "uə" > "ua", "ɛ" > "ae", "y" > "i",
 "-w" > "-u", "iəw" > "icu", "uəy" > "uei",
 "oy" > "oei",

"iə" > "ia" > before "-ŋ" and "-ʔ",
 > "ie" elsewhere,

"ɔ" > "aw", except that "ɔy" > "oi"

"ə" as pure nuclear vowel > "ue",
 except that "əy" > "ei".

In addition the intermediate-period orthography has "r" [r],
 "uei" [ə:j], and "uea" [i:ə], equivalents for which were
 lacking in the old orthography, for representing words from
 other languages. The tones are indicated by silent final
 consonant letters as follows:

Tone 1	-	unmarked
Tone 2	-	"-h"
Tones 3 and 7	-	"-v"
Tone 4	-	"-z"
Tone 5	-	"-x"
Tones 6 and 8	-	"-c"

An additional detail of my own is the use of "-0" to mark tones which are phonetically like Tone 2, but which are not identifiable phonologically either as Tone 2 or a sandhi-tone, because we have not discovered the morpheme bearing it as a free form, where the phonological tone would be identifiable.

CHAPTER II

THE TYPES OF SIMPLE SENTENCES;
 THE SENTENCE TOPIC; THE CLAUSE;
 SENTENCES SIMPLE AND COMPOSITE;
 PARTS OF SPEECH

2.1. Introduction. We have found it useful, following Matisoff (1973:Chapter II), to recognize the chain of speech in Mien as being broken into utterances, of various functions, and structurally consisting of either sentences or fragments. The sentences are either simple or composite. In terms of order of constituents sentences may also be permuted. Still following Matisoff op. cit. the basic terminology that we shall be using for types of sentences and linguistically significant parts of sentences may be presented as a kind of deductive system in which certain concepts ("head", "constituency", "behaves as a grammatical unit", "relationship") are left undefined. In the following definitions, our approach is eclectic. Sometimes elements are defined in terms of their syntactic structure, and sometimes operationally (e.g., boundable by a pause, precedable by the negative adverb, and so on).

2.2. The utterance: The utterance is a stretch of meaningful speech that conforms to the rules of Mien grammar as we shall here describe them.

2.3. 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.

2.3.1 What is bounded by the process may be a simple or composite utterance. A sentence is a free form, since it is bounded by pauses at both ends and hence producible in isolation. Thus, <yia mv mingh> 'I am not going' ('I not go') is already a sentence, but <yia mv mingh ad> 'I am not going any more' ('I not go NEH-SIT ASP') is an enlarged sentence of which <yia mv mingh> forms only a part. Again <ninh mv taaih. yia mv mingh> 'He is not coming. I am not going' represents a sequence of two sentences but if the pause between <taaih> and <yia> is omitted, then the whole thing is one composite sentence, showing typical parataxis, and meaning either 'He is not coming and I am not going' or else 'If/when he doesn't come, I won't/don't go' -- for discussion of composite sentences, see Sections 2.3.4.3, 2.3.4.3.2 below.

2.3.2 Prosodic elements may distinguish different constituent groupings within the sentence. Just as prosodic elements mark off the sentence, so they distinguish different groupings-into-sentence-constituents of the same sequence of sentence building elements, thus producing dif-

ferent sentences; e.g., <ninh tsoux (,) mv longx> (with an optional break after <tsoux>) 'That he does it is not good; he had better not do it' versus <ninh tsoux mv longx> 'He cannot do it well', in which there is no possibility of a break after <tsoux>. The comma-break establishes what precedes it as a topic (see Section 2.3 above, and Section 2.3.4.3.2.1).

2.3.3 Utterances and sentences as speech acts. We may distinguish at least six kinds of speech act,[1] and each of them is typically realized by a particular kind of sentence:

(a) Statements of states of affairs: these take the form of declarative sentences,

(b) Promptings to the interlocutor to act or to feel in some particular way, taking the form of commands, suggestions, requests, entreaties, appeals for calm, sympathy, etc.: <mv tuqv kawngv> 'Don't say it', <piaqv pyauv oc> 'Do come in', <tsueix oc> 'Do sit down', <thov tsaah oc> 'Please give me some tea' ("[[request tea Prt "]), <pyaux goix!> 'Get out!' ("Move [so as to be] separated!"^{no! it}), <taeoc naiv!> 'Come here!' (contracted from <taaih naiv!>),

[1] Although the inspiration of Searle 1970 is evident here, we have not attempted a rigorous application to Mien of Searlean illocutionary-act categories.

(c) Questions: e.g., <meih finax haiv-nyunc?> 'What is your surname?', <viem lonax nyei?> 'Are you well?'

(d) Addressative expressions, including calls to people, in Mien often followed by the vocative particle <aa>, e.g., <kawx aa!> 'Excuse me, friend' ("Ü big brother"), and the reduplicative and asyndetic <kawx kawx yiouz yiouz> (129) 'Friends (male)' ("Big-brother big-brother [and] little-brother little-brother" -- as if we said in English "Lady, lady; gentleman, gentleman for "Ladies and Gentlemen").

(e) Responses to utterance types (a)-(c): e.g., responses to addressative expressions: <aax> 'Yes?; What?', <haiv-nyunc?> 'Yes?' ("What?"), and the response used in answering the telephone: <haiv-tauh?> 'Who is this?; who is speaking?' ("Who?").

(f) Exclamations: E.g., (1) <tse-kengh?!> 'Really?!; You don't say!', <| ov! sim paqv yia!> "Duch! I got pricked by a needle! ("Duch! Needle prick me"), (2) <khaw0-fiqv haic aa> (L 140) 'What a great pity!' ("regret much Prt f-exclan"), (3) <feix/tuqv ængx pwatc meih> (L 197) 'Oh, that I could see you again!', (4) <aa/yuv!> (L 6, an exclamation of surprise, dismay, or exasperation), and (5) <yiouv-q> (L 313, an exclamation of pain; 'Duch!').

Sentence consists of (a) an optional topic (Top) followed by an obligatory comment (Com), followed by an optional final particle (Prt) or (b) a Vocative Expression or (c) a Response to an utterance-type of (a)-(c) of Section 2.3.3^{sf} above, or (d) an Exclamation.

$$(2) \quad \text{Topic} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) Clause (Dem } \text{top} \text{)} \\ \text{(b) NP (Prt } \text{top} \text{)} \\ \text{(c) VP } \end{array} \right\}$$

The topic consists either of (a) a clause, or of (b) a NP or (c) of a VP, in each case followed by an optional topic demonstrative (Dem_{top}) or topic particle (Prt_{top}). The comment has the structure

$$(3) \quad \text{Comment} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VP} \\ \text{Clause}^n \end{array} \right\}$$

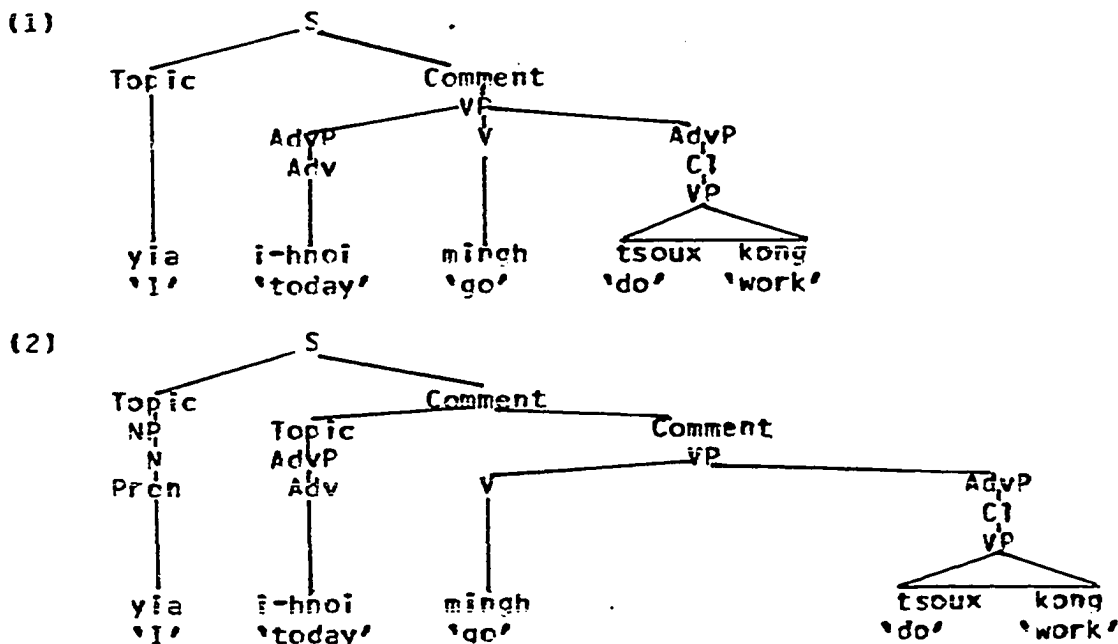
Comment consists of a VP, or else of an indefinite number (though in practice at most four or five) of clauses.

$$(4) \quad \text{Clause} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) (NP) VP} \\ \text{(b) Sentence} \end{array} \right\}$$

A clause consists of (a) an optional NP, followed by an obligatory VP, or (b) of a sentence.[2]

[2] Note that the effect of my rules is to distinguish two different levels of grammatical analysis, the sentence and the clause, as was indeed both the ancient and modern grammatical tradition until the perspective of transformational

2.3.41 The topic as a sentence constituent: the "Natural Topic Hierarchy". 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 grammar blurred the distinction. The distinction is however still going strong in various current grammatical theories. Note that rule 3(a) the NP is, by our non-insistence on the topic/subject distinction, a topic-cum-subject. Further grammatical investigation is needed to determine to what extent the full set of topicalizable entities is admissible at clause, as opposed to sentence-level: whether, for example, in a sentence such as <yia i-hnoi minch tsoux kong> 'I'm going to work today', we can identify the structure, as, say (1) or (2) below, or perhaps even as something else (note that it is possible that in both (1) and (2) <minch tsoux kong> 'go to work' is a constituent, but that needs further investigation and is irrelevant for the present purpose):



See also following footnote.

VP, The form of a clause, or a VP, as well as the prototypical form of an NP, without the clause or VP having to be specifically nominalized, although they do, along with NP's, have to occupy the leftmost position in the sentence, and they may, but need not be followed by topicalizing demonstratives or particles. These latter should perhaps be regarded as nominalizing-cum-topicalizing demonstratives or particles. These latter should perhaps be regarded as nominalizing-cum-topicalizing entities, in order to bring languages such as Mien, which allow Clauses and VP's to be topicalized -- and this is an areal feature that includes Chinese and Thai -- into line with the apparent universal fact (or perhaps it is a matter of definition) that topics are nominal (see, for instance, Li and Thompson 1976:fn. 3). They would presumably count as "inanimate nouns", demonstrating the Mien, like other languages in the area, can topicalize to the bottom of the "Natural Topic Hierarchy".[3]

[3] According to Foley and Van Valin (1977:294),

"There appears to be a universal hierarchy of inherent topic-worthiness [sc. of nominal expressions] called variously the "Natural Topic Hierarchy" (Hawkinson and Hyman 1975), "Inherent Lexical Content Hierarchy" (Silverstein 1977) and "Referentiality Hierarchy" (Foley 1976). The Hierarchy in universal terms is:

speaker > hearer > human proper
 > human common > animate
 > inanimate."

2.3.411 Nominal expression as topic. (A slash divides the topic from the rest of the sentence). E.g., <yia / laqc-khuatv mun> (L 288) 'my chest hurts' ("I / chest hurt"), <tomb-mienh nyei tsingh-nyeic / kwangc mv goi> 'The generosity of one's elders cannot be ignored' ("Elders Prt generosity / [if one] discards [it, it does] not subord [result in it] being-separated").

2.3.412 The verb phrase as topic[4] E.g., <mingc / yaac tuqc, mv mingh / yaac tuqc> 'One can either go or not' ("go / also be-possible, not go / also be-possible"), <hlaang / yaac hlaang, daauv / yaac daauv> 'It is indeed both high and long' ("[As for] being-high / indeed be-high, [as for] being-long / indeed be-long"), <gaengx / oix#tsuac lov

Given our understanding of the "topic", i.e., not strictly differentiated from the "subject" and representing simply the leftmost NP, or other grammatical structure in the sentence or clause, and set off actually or potentially from the rest of the sentence or clause in various ways (for a distinction between subject and topic see Section 2.3.4.2 fn.). There is nothing in the above hierarchy that cannot be topicalized, and there are other things -- adverbial phrases of time and place, verb phrases, whole clauses, in fact virtually anything, that can. That is to say, we do not accept Li and Thompson's (1976) limitation of the topic to NP's.

[4] It is arguable that what is the topic here is underlyingly a clause, so that the present section should not be separated from Section 2.4.1.6 below. To this we would reply that it is by no means always easy to say what the deep structure subject of such a clause would be, and that in any case, hewing closely to the surface structure makes for a much more readable, if less principled, account.

tshuatv> (L 144) 'If something gets stuck in the throat it should be vomited out' ("have-obstruction-in-throat / have-to vomit out") <tsweiz jhuh / huv> (L 104) 'Sitting on the skirt will spoil it' ("sit [on] skirt / [will result in it] be-spoiled").

2.3.413 Time expression as topic. E.g., <hnaang/hnoi / oix khi uic> (L 9) 'There will be a meeting the day after tomorrow' ("The-after-tomorrow day / [some person(s)] want hold meeting"), <mv teix tshaamx hnoi / via mv maaih kone tsoux> 'These days I have no work' ("This PLURAL period-of-time-from-twelve-to-twenty-days / I not have work to-do"), <i-hnoi / maaih maenc yiem, jaang/hnoi / taic / yaac mv hiuv tuqv> (L 360) 'Today we are alive, but we do not know whether or not we will be dead tomorrow' ("Today / [we] have life PROG-ASP, tomorrow [whether we will] die / indeed not know be-able"). Note that the second half of this sententious utterance is itself an entire clause with a double topic: see Section 2.3.4.1.6.] below.

2.3.414 Place expression as topic. E.g., <yiem uav pyauv / yia aav-tsuqc thenx maa haic> 'At home, I have to help my mother a lot' ("be-located there house / I must help mother very-much"), <yiem ninh / bengc sung taaih> (L 311) 'Through him [the matter] was satisfactorily settled' ("be-located-at him / [one] deal-with [the matter, with the

result that it] he-settled PERF-ASP") <yietc teix haiv-dau / yaac mv mingh ac> (L 363) 'Not a single place did he [now] go to' ("One someness [of] anywhere / indeed not go NEW-SIT ASP").

2.3.415 Topics that can be interpreted as agents introduced by a preposition. <yaac iemh ninh / taaih> (L 284) 'And even he came' ("Also including him / come"), [5] <yiem ninh / bengc sung taaih> (L 311) 'Through him [the matter] was satisfactorily settled' ("be-at him / arrange be-settled PERF ASP").

2.3.416 Clauses as topics. E.g., (1) <ninh-bua taaih / yaac tuqv, mv taaih / yaac tuqv> 'They can either come or not' ("They come / also be-possible, [they] not come / also be-possible"), (2) <yia-bua mv maaih mienh nawfaeq / tsoux maiv tsiangx> 'If we don't have a person to help, it won't get finished' ("We not have person to-help / [if we] do [it] it [will] not [result in] being-finished"). (3) <ninh taic naic / yia dawtc hnyiou v haic nyei> 'I am very sorry that he died' ("He die Dem / I fall heart very-much DUR-ASP").

top

[5] Cf. Chao 1968:85:86, who cites from French an example (not his own) of an analogous construction: Jusqu'aux enfants furent massacrés 'They were massacred, even down to the children' ("Down to the children [they] were massacred").

In the above examples, either the conjunction <yaac> 'also; indeed' or the topicalizing demonstrative <naic>, or the topicalizing particle <nawfaeq> 'as for' mark the transition from topic to comment (see Section 2.3.4.2, et seq.), but it is possible for the juncture to be paratactic, i.e., for there to be no particles or adverbs to mark the transition: e.g., (1) <mv maaih jhaa / mv maaih faanqx> (L 99) 'Without a family, there is no status' ("Not there-be family / not there-be status"), (2) <lungh mv tuih byungc / kciv tuqv mingh> (L 30) 'If it doesn't rain, then we can change our plans and go' ("Sky not precipitate rain / there-be-a-revision be-able go"), (3) <meih kawngv siepv-siepv, yia mv piaqc hnyiouuv> 'If (or 'When') you speak quickly, I don't understand' ("You speak be-quick=be-quick / I not enter heart"), and (4) <mh teix i tauh mingh haiv/dau / mv haih mingh> 'The two of them were not up to going anywhere' ("Dem PLU two Clf go where / not be-able to go").

2.3.4161 Survey of account of topic so far. We have suggested so far that various entities including time expressions, verb phrases and clauses may be topics, and that topic verb phrases might underlyingly be clausal.

We would like at this point to hark back to an example sentence in Section 2.3.4.1.3 above and provide a possible tree diagram of its surface constituent structure, assuming

that its two immediate-constituent clauses are in topic-comment (i.e., hetero-ordinate) relationship (see below). Note that what are semantically time-expressions (likewise place expressions), and were so called in Section 2 3.4.1.3, are syntactically adverbial phrases.

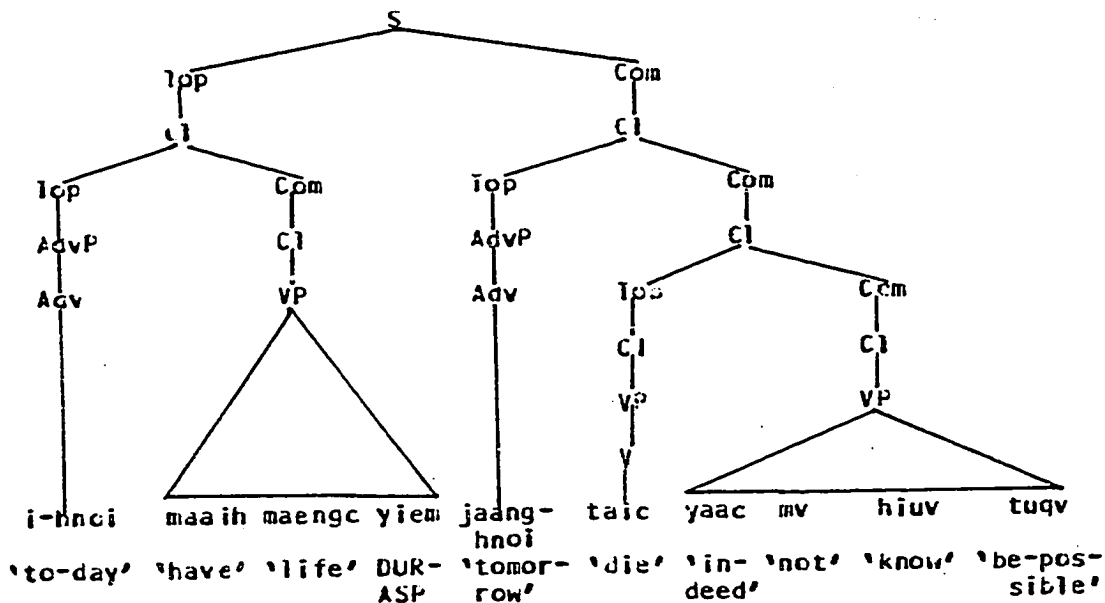
FIGURE 2(I)

The Upper-Level Constituent Structure of a Sentence, Showing Multiple Layers of Topic-Comment Structure

<i-hoi maaih maengc yiem,

jaang/hnoi taic yaac mv hiuv tuqv>

'Even if today we are alive, we still do not know whether or not we will be dead tomorrow.'



2.3.417 Sentences with resultative complements: are they of "topic-comment" structure? A notable areal feature of China and South East Asia is the resultative complement construction, in which the second clause, commonly reduced

to a bare verb, expresses the result of the first: e.g., with unreduced second clause <meih jhaaux tuov / yia piaqc hnyiouv> (L 112) 'You are able to teach in such a way that I can understand' ("You teach be-possible [resulting in] I enter heart"), or <ninh hatv tuov / fuqc-jhweic buaqc> (cf. L 54) 'He is able to command the respect and obedience of the children' ("He command be-able [resulting in] the children be-respectful/ obedient/cooperative").

We may have a bare verb representing the second clause, as in <mienh naiv / jaux / mv mwangx> (cf. L 112) 'This person does not do as he is taught' ("This person [somebody] teach not [result in his] listening"), and <naiv paengc / tsawc / longx> (cf. L 69) 'This illness / can be treated / successfully' ("This illness treat [result-in] recovering").

We would like to suggest that it is possible to interpret these resultative sentences as having the structure "topic-comment", with topic-comment breaks at the places where we have marked them, and with the verb 'to result in' having to be mentally supplied (see Section 2.3.4.2.1 below).

To the extent that our investigations so far have determined, not only do sentences or clauses with resultative complements seem to fit perfectly into the topic-comment pattern (a claim which may raise some eyebrows), but

perhaps more surprisingly, clauses that translate into English as "action verb + adverb of manner" also seem to fit this pattern: cf. the resultative complement sentence <tsweiz jhunh / huv> (L 104) 'If [you] sit on the skirt it will spoil it' ("sit skirt / be-spoiled"), and <fiav dzaangc / uv haic> (cf. L 9) 'to [be able] to write [i.e., to form written characters] cunningly' ("write characters / be-cunning very") or <mwangz / longx oc> (L 249) 'Do listen carefully' ("Listen / be-good Prt ^{polit}"), <ya jhuix dzuanx minqh / lauh ac> (L 105) 'I sent it back long ago' ("send return / be-a-long-time NEW-SIT-ASP"). Here we can still bring it under the resultative semantic scheme: -- "to write characters so that the result is cunningness", "to listen so that the result is carefulness".[6]

[6] In the present grammar I am not, as I have said, primarily interested in linguistic theory or syntactic argumentation. Many phenomena do not belong in a clear-cut way to one category or another. Thus as a syntactic test of topic-comment structure we might propose the method of negation: it could be suggested that the criterion for topic-comment structure is negatability by the expression <mv tseiz> 'not to be; not to be the case; etc.' Now the normal way to negate a sentence with a resultative complement is to insert the simple negative particle <maiv> or <mv> between the action-verb and the result clause: for instance, our example sentence <tsweiz jhunh / huv> (L 104) 'If [you] sit on the skirt, it will spoil it' ("Sit skirt / [results in] be-spoiled") would be negated as <tsweiz jhunh / mv huv>. 'It won't spoil it if you sit on the skirt' ("Sit skirt / not [result-in] be-spoiled").

2.3.42 The semantics of the topic-comment construction. We have for the most part not found it necessary in Mien to distinguish between topics and subjects.[7] Thus for a sentence such as <yia / laq-c-khuatv mun> (L 288) 'My chest hurts' ("I / chest hurt"), though we have said that the first NP <yia> 'I' is the topic, we will not insist on a difference between topics and subjects, so that we might equally well call this sentence either a "double-subject sentence" or a "double-topic sentence". When we use the word "topic" in the strict sense, we mean the first "subject" in a "double-subject sentence" and/or a constituent set off by a topicalizing item (the latter to be defined by listing, while "subject" is thus left to refer to any NP other than a topic before the VP.

But it seems possible to describe the semantic relationship between topics and their comments, and subjects and their predicates by a single set of statements, and we have expressed the view that all simple declarative sentences in Mien that are not elliptical, or anaphoric consist of a comment preceded by one or more topics (see Section 2.3.4). The semantic relationship in Mien of topic-cum-subject to

 [7] The term and concept "pivot" as used here and in Section 2.3.4.4.9.2 is a surface structure term borrowed from Chao (1968:124), and intersects but does not coincide with the transformationally defined term as used by Heath (1975) and Nixon (1979) (both cited in Foley and Van Valin (1984:108 et seq.).

comment is comparable to the topic-comment semantic relationship in other languages such as English, i.e., much broader than the Indo-European subject-predicate relation -- which tends semantically to be either "agent-action" or "subject-state" -- although the Mien relationship includes these.

A case in which the topic is in fact the agent is provided by the sentence <nawfaeq wuav tauh auv aeqv / tawh jhienv dzuanx taaih> 'And so the widow (lit. "wife") brought [it] back' ("And so Dem Clf wife take do-for-future-reference return come").

2.3.421 Sentences where verbs have to be mentally supplied. An instance of the "subject-state" meaning is <tseiv muic wuav tauh aq / m0-siaqvftawn> 'Tsei Mui, for her part, was a girl' ("Tse Mui Dem Clf P^{top}rt / [be] female-human-being"). It should be noted that there is no verb in this sentence -- at least on the surface, and this is typical when, semantically, membership in a class is being predicated of, or rather, is the comment being made about, the topic. We may like to think of the sentence as containing a zero-verb 'to be'. But other topic-comment sentences force us to "think into them" other zero-verbs.

Take, for instance, <mua tauh mienh / duqc jhieqc tsaux> 'That man has only one leg' ("That Clf person / sin-

gle Clf leg"), where the verb <maaih> 'to have' could be inserted after the topic/comment break, although the sentence is quite grammatical without it. We seem to need a meaning of "to be afflicted by" in <mh tauh auv-kwaav-mienh naic / toc-naanc nyei> 'The widow was having a very difficult time' ("That Clf widow Dem / trying-difficulties PROG-ASP"), while it is 'to yield, to produce' that seems to have to be "thought into" the sentence <yietc nawm tshuqc / tsiepc tiuh riuh> (L 339) 'One rice-seed [produces] ten sprouts' ("One Clf rice-seed / ten Clf sprout"). More problematical as to the sentence structure and to the verb concept to be supplied is <yietc seix / tomh-mienh, i seix / kuD-nqwaaz> (L 633) '[For] one life [one is] an adult, [but for] two lives -- a child', where I have taken <yietc seix> and <i seix> to be topics, but they might be quantifiers of the following noun, yielding "[One has] one life's worth of adulthood, [but] two life's-worth of childhood", in either case meaning situationally that somebody is in his/her second childhood. Finally, if sentences with resultative complements are indeed of the "topic-comment" structure, then the verb to be mentally supplied is 'to result in'.

2.3.422 The topic-comment copula, se or sue. Although Mien sentences may, as exemplified above, contain no verb at all (at least on the surface), there exists in Mien a copular particle (it actually acts very much like a verb, but

cannot be preceded by <maiv> the negative particle: see (Chapter IV below) taken from the Chinese shì ((AD #990)), which in a less assimilated form, as entered in Lombard (212), is pronounced sue [| s_], but which our informants usually pronounce se. It is usually, if not always optional, and given the semantic vagueness of the topic-comment relationship it is hard to give it a well-defined translation: the closest we can come is 'to be; the fact is that; it is the case that', but it is often untranslatable.[8] Let us take an easy case first, where it corresponds to the verb 'to be': <naiv / se byungc-suiv-imx nyei kouv> 'This is the story of the Great Flood' ('This se Great-Flood Prt story'). Next, let us take some examples where its ^{subord} meaning is clear, even if not easily translatable:

(i) <loz-hnoi naic / se lungh aiv nyei> 'Long ago the sky was low' ('Ancient-days Dem / the-fact-is-top that sky be-low Prt "[9] -- later in the text assert this sentence is repeated without the se),

(ii) <naic baqc-ong / se kam0-dziax haic, nawmh-tsiu-nawmh> 'The Thunder God was very afraid of them --

[8] The general idea of interpolating se between topic and comment is reminiscent of the Mandarin shì...de construction. (J.A. Matisoff, p.c.)

[9] The use of se before a sentential comment bears an intriguing resemblance to the use of iz presententially in Yiddish. (J.A. Matisoff, p.c.).

the banana leaves' ("Dem thunder / the-fact-is-
that be-afraid very, banana-leaves"),

- (iii) <meih / se chiemx-tsuqc lawz haiv-nyungc fai?> 'Do
you want somethind?' ("You it-is-the-case want
seek something Prt cues").

Finally we have a couple of sentences where it is clear
that the main function of se ~ sue is to mark the beginning
of the comment: example (1) <yietc nawm teic-pung, sue maaih
naand ngaatc, maaih uav nawm teic-pung nyei dia-ei> (L 338)
'In any country, if a snake bites someone, that country has
its own treatment' ("One Clf country, the-fact-is there-is
snake bite [someone], there is Dem Clf country Prt
treatment."); this sentence has the structure shown in Figure
2(II),

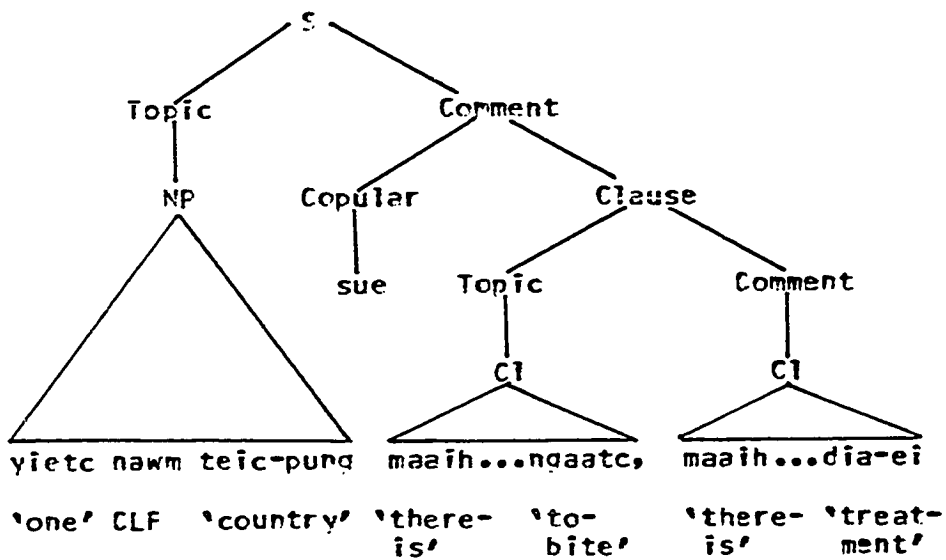
subord

FIGURE 2(II)

The Constituent Structure of the Sentence

<yietc nawm teic-pung, sue maaih naangc ngaatc,
maaih uay nawm teic-pung nvei dia-ei>

'In any country, if a snake bites someone,
that country has its own treatment'.



in which there is structural parallelism between the clauses that marks them as forming a single constituent (see Section 2.3.4.3.2.2.4 below), and this parallelism would be disrupted if the first clause were construed directly with the initial NP, as might be possible without the sue acting as a divider; example (2) <nawh ninh / se awv, mv lawz haiv-

nyungc> 'And she said, "Oh, I'm not looking for anything" ('Then she / se Oh, not look-for anything'); here the se marking the beginning of the comment is especially useful, since the comment consists of direct speech, and the word <kawngv> 'to say, speak', which usually precedes this has been omitted, presumably for the sake of narrative vividness. It could just as well be inserted, in which case it would form part of the topic: <ninh kawngv / se awv ... (etc.)> 'As for what she said / it was "Oh, ..." (etc.)', and a grammatical development seems to be under way in which <sue> or <se> is becoming the complementizer, though still optional, for reported speech and quoted material (see, for instance, L 131).[10]

2.3.423 Sentences where conjunctions have to be mentally supplied: parataxis. So far we hope that we have demonstrated that so long as the topic-comment caesura has been adequately marked, all manner of relationships, which can be conceived of as understood verbs, are possible. But

[10] It is possible that the "<... kawngv / se X>" construction (where "X" stands for quoted material) meaning '... said: "X"' arises from a syntactic blend between one construction with <kawngv> 'say', and without <se>, in which the quoted material stands as an object of the verb of saying, and another construction without <kawngv> but with <se> functioning as a topic-comment copula and with the quoted material cast in the role not of object but of comment. If the blend of these two constructions becomes fixed, then in the juxtaposition of <kawngv> and <se>, <se> could be reinterpreted as a complementizer.

there are other cases, where both topic and comment are clauses, and what has to be "thought in" are conjunctions showing the logical relationship between the propositions signified by the clauses. This omission of conjunctions between clauses, is, of course, traditionally known as PAIEN taxis.

It is highly characteristic of Mien, as well as being an areal feature, but in a linguistic model that distinguishes surface structure from deep structure, it is a surface-structure phenomenon, since it includes, as we shall see, both cases of co-ordinacy and hetero-ordinacy between the constituent clauses. E.g., <faux phaang / pouh thei> (L 337) 'To climb up onto the drying-platform and have the ladder taken away on you' ("ascend drying-platform / [and then] lift-with-two-hands [and remove] ladder" -- an aphorism which means situationally 'To be left in the lurch; to be left out on a limb'). Here the connector which has to be "thought in" is 'and (then)', but there may be others which have to be supplied, as we shall proceed to demonstrate.

Take, for instance the sentences <saa-tawnggh-dzuih, yangh-meuz=hnyiouv> (L 338) 'The mouth is sweet, but the heart is poisonous' ("Sugar-mouth / poisonous-weed heart"), <dzaangx dziemx / maaih khoiv-tawng> (L 338) 'The boat sinks, the expanse of the sea remains' ("Boat sink / [but

still] there-be the-ends-of-the-sea"), an aphorism which situationally means 'An agreement must be kept, no matter what circumstances may develop later on'. Note that we may semantically conceive of the propositions in the last three sentences as being related either under schema (a) "Proposition but (or and) Proposition", or schema (b) "Even if/though Proposition₁, nevertheless Proposition₂", [11] and this seems to mean that the sentence is ambiguous [12] between being coordinate (schema (a)) or non-coordinate (schema (b)): "subordinate (concessive) Proposition -- principal Proposition".

Another meaning of the topic-comment relationship where both topic and comment are clauses is "If Proposition (i.e., the topic), then Proposition (i.e., the comment)", and indeed all conditional sentences have the structure "Topic-

[11] Or, with a loss of the adversative/concessive meaning, schema (c) when Proposition₂, then Proposition₁ (see below regarding the meaning "if" shading into "when").

[12] Rather than being a case of semantic ambiguity this might also be regarded as being simply one of structural ambiguity, with each interpretation, if indeed the interpretations are truly different, having corresponding to it a different deep structure. For expository purposes it seems to matter little whether we regard the ambiguity as semantic or structural, except that the latter interpretation implies an obligation on the part of the language-describer to go into tedious attempts to reconstruct the deep structure, when the ambiguity, of whatever kind it may be, is easily grasped, and the linguist has much else on the surface to describe.

Comment", with the protasis forming the topic and the apodosis the comment, whether or not the relations are overtly marked by conditional conjunctions or particles. Two examples showing parataxis, i.e., having no conjunctions and particles, are <kaav taaih / oixʔtsuqc jhəauv> (L 124) 'If someone has borrowed [money], then they have to repay it' ("borrow PERF-ASP / must repay"), and <lungh mv tuih byungc / koiv tuqv mingh> (L 130) 'If it doesn't rain, we can change our plans and go' ("Sky not precipitate rain / revise be-possible go"). The meaning of 'if' easily shades into 'when' or 'whenever': witness the second-last sentence above, and the sentences <meih kawnov siepv-siepv / via mv piaqc hnyicuv> 'If/when you speak quickly I don't understand' ("You speak be-quick=be-quick / I not enter heart"), and <ninhʔbua dzuanx taaih / via mvʔtaih pun sou ninhʔbua> (L 361) 'Of course I'll give them the books when they return' ("They return come / I of-course give books them").[13]

[13] We would suggest that it is just as risky to suggest that speakers of Mien understand the relationship between paratactic clauses in terms of (syntactic) deep structure, as it is to claim that the speakers understand the relationship between the elements of nominal compounds in terms of (syntactic) deep structures. The footnote below regarding the underlying structure of compound nouns applies *mutatis mutandis* to paratactic clauses, except that perhaps *context* is more important and as a factor additional to real-world knowledge in the interpretation of paratactic clauses than it is with compounds.

2.3.424 Concluding remarks on topic-comment semantics. The vagueness of the Mien topic-comment semantic relationship is perfectly comparable to Chinese (see Chao 1968:69-72), much broader than the subject-predicate relationship in European languages, and indeed, given the number and variety of things that can be left understood, it would seem broader than the topic-comment relationship in European languages.

2.3.43 Sentences simple and composite. So far we have described in some detail, and down to a certain level, the form and the semantics of the sentence. We have gone into the form and semantics of the topic-comment structure of the sentence. We have discussed cases in which the topic was a clause or a VP (which, although it lacks a subject/topic, is for many purposes equivalent to a clause). These constitute one kind of composite sentence -- i.e., one kind of sentence in which two or more sentences (or clauses) find themselves in close combination forming a single unitary sentence.

In practical analysis, several more or less severe problems have to be dealt with, largely arising from the facts (a) that Mien is not a written language, and lacks punctuation, (b) that Mien is (at least in its surface structure) markedly paratactic and asyndetic -- clauses (or VP's) are just strung together with conjunctions largely op-

tional. These include (a) deciding which strings of words are candidates for clausehood (see Section 2.3.4.3.1 below), (b) deciding which strings of clauses group themselves together into single composite sentences (see Section 2.3.4.3.2 below), and (c) deciding what is the relationship among the constituent clauses of a complex sentence -- coordination, or hetero-ordination of one kind or another (see Section 2.3.4.4 below),

2.3.431 Which strings of verbs or verb-phrases constitute clauses? The essential problem here is a form of parataxis with reduction, viz. the areal linguistic feature of verb-serialization or VP-serialization in which strings of verbs and verb-phrases routinely find themselves in juxtaposition, and which is further complicated in these languages by the process of zero-anaphora, and sometimes too by pronoun- or name-avoidance, which places even more verbs and verb phrases cheek by jowl. We will defer discussion of this topic, assuming in the following sections that this particular problem has been solved.

2.3.432 Composite sentence or separate sentences? Since a composite sentence consists of clauses each of which may well seem complete in itself, how can one tell whether any given succession of clauses in surface structure represent parts of a composite sentence or simply separate

sentences? This depends on several factors: (a) prosodic elements, such as pause, intonation and voice-quality (through these features require further study), (b) adverbs or conjunctions as markers, and (c) parallelism of the sentences.

2.3.4321 Prosodic elements. In <i0-hnoi hnoi yauc haic {,/.} yia mv/paac minqh tshuatv mv tuqv> 'The weather is very good today {, but/,. But} I can't go out' ("Today day be-good very {,/.} I but go emerge not can"), it seems to be basically the presence of a pause corresponding to the "." which marks the utterance as representing two sentences, though there could well be intonational or voice-quality features playing a part: e.g., the final word of the first segment of the utterance, <haic> 'very' has a low tone, and it seems to be a rule that a low tone is accompanied by creaky voice at sentence-boundaries. In the following sentence, we would expect prosodic elements, requiring further investigation, to be performing a double function: (i) welding the two clauses into a single sentence, and (ii) distinguishing the coordinate structure of meaning (a) from the non-coordinate structure of meaning (b): <meih pwatv yia, yia pwatc meih>, (a) You see me, [and] I see you, and (b) 'If/When you see me, I see you'. [14]

[14] Two empirical questions are involved here: (1) what prosodic means are available -- potentially there -- in order to resolve structural ambiguity in the

2.3.4322 Topicalizers and conjunctions -- single, repeated and correlative.

2.3.43221 Topicalizers and single conjunctions. Single conjunctions such as <aenox> (L 4) (with variant <aangx> (L 7, 338 No. 24), and <aenox-tshaux> 'and', used, apparently indifferently, before the topic of the second clause), and <yaac> (L 314) 'and; also; however; even so; moreover', and <yiouc> (L 313) 'and; also', <mv/paac> (L 234) 'but; however; also', <tshingx> (L 175), <tshingx-taaih> (L 175) and perhaps <taaih> alone (in one of its many uses, lit. 'to come'), and <tsiouc> (L 71), all of which are used immediately before the VP within the comment, and mean 'and so, therefore, then, after that', and finally the topicalizing demonstrative <naic> and the topicalizing particles <naw>, <aec> or <naw/aec> used at the end of a clause (and so topicalizing it), can all combine clauses into compound sentences:

- (i) <mv paenox patv naiv / jhieqv, aenox-tshaux mv paengx patv / yaangh> 'This pen is black, and this pen is yellow' ('This Clf pen Dem / be-black, and this Clf pen be-yellow');

language as a spoken medium; and (2) in any particular utterance or act of speaking, whether any of these means was actually used (and if so which one(s)), or whether in this case the utterance is structurally ambiguous.

it is not possible for you to buy it' ("You not have money Prt / you [therefore] buy not be-possible").

But these conjunctions may have to be considered along with other factors in order to decide the question of whether or not they are in the same sentence as the preceding clause, since they often seem to be in a new sentence, e.g., <vien naiv / tshingx hwaax kan pun coi taaih> (L 301) 'Then it was that the transformation and [resulting] division took place' ("be-located there / then transform accompany give/cause be-separate PERF-ASP").

The onset of a conditional clause, which will constitute a topic and thus form a composite, conditional, sentence with what follows may, but need not, be marked by <sef/kawngv>, <kawngv#hnangv>, <sef/kawngv#hnangv> or simply <hnangv>, all meaning 'if': e.g., <kawngv#hnangv phien / aav-tsuqc koiv> (L 139) 'If you are wrong, you must set things right' ("If be-out-of-line / have-to rectify [it]"), <hnangv mv oix longc tang mv#haw#aq / hnangv#haiv#haw kawngv?> 'If I don't want the light, what should I say' ("If not wish use lamp this-[being]-the-case Prt / like-what say?").

A clause of reason may be introduced by the conjunction <weic> (L 303) 'because' and this will bind it to the

preceding clause: e.g., <jhiax/minqh wuav puavv aed / mv
 hjuv aq, weic ninh/bua nyei hungh-tiax dawtv dziouv mingh>
 'As for the next group, I don't know, because their king-
 father died too soon' ("[_{PC} move-on=go] Dem Clf Prt
 / not know NEW-SIT-ASP, because they Prt group top
 fall be-early EXCESS-COMP']).

2.3.43222 . Repeated conjunctions or adverbial phrases
may help to bind clauses into a single sentence, e.g.,

(A) the repeated conjunctions <... yaac ... yaac ...>
 'both ... and ...; either ... or ...; neither ... nor', as
 exemplified in sentence

(i) <sov / yaac maaih, patv / yaac maaih> (L 314)
 'There are both books and pencils' ("[As for]
 books / also there-are, [as for] pencils / also
 there-are"), or sentence

(ii) <nyaiv / yaac nyaiv, dzaauh / yaac dzaauh> (L 314)
 'To be both ashamed and sad' ("[As for] being-
 ashamed / be-ashamed, [as for] being-sad / be-
 sad"), or sentence

(iii) <im / yaac mv im, swi / yaac mv suic> (L 314) 'To
 be neither bitter nor sour', or sentence

- (iv) <meih yaac mv pwatc yia, yia yaac mv pwatc meih>
 ("You also not see me, I also not see you"), which
 last sentence may mean either of two things (see
 Section 2.3.4.4 below), (a) 'You don't see me, and
 I don't see you either', or (b) 'If/When you don't
 see me, I don't see you';

(P) the repeated adverbial phrases <yietc sih ... yietc
 sih ... yietc sih (etc.)> (L 311) 'First ... then ... then
 ...; at one time ... at another time ... at another time
 ...; one minute ... the next minute ... the next minute,
 etc.', as in <yietc sih hlaang, yietc sih aiv, yietc sih
 faux buanx ku0-ngwaaic, yietc sih yiem buanx kai0-diaiv>
 (L 311) 'First high, then low, one minute above the clouds,
 the next minute beneath the clouds [as an airplane]'.

2.3.43223 Correlative conjunctions and adverbs may bind
 clauses into composite sentences: e.g.,

- (i) <... haiv/dau ... uav> 'Wherever ... there ...',
 as in <meih taic haiv/dua, yia yaac taic uav>
 (L 65) 'Wherever you die, I will die there too',
 or
- (ii) <... haix ... haix> 'Whenever/Whichever/Whatever
 ... there/it', as in <hnamv thaux haix, kawngv
 thaux haix> 'Whatever [he] thinks, he says'

("think arrive-at whatever, speak arrive-at whatever"), (L ___) or

- (iii) <yietv ... tsɿuc> 'As soon as ... then ...', as in <yietv haiz, tsɿuc pyaux aq> (L 310) 'As soon as [he] heard it, [he] left' ("As-soon-as hear, then leave"), or
- (iv) <taan⁰-faanh ... tsɿuc ...> 'Whenever ... then ...', as in <taan⁰-faanh kawngv / mienh tsɿuc hiuv dzengc> (L 69) 'As soon as you say anything, people then know all about it' ("Whenever say / people then know be-all"), or
- (v) <dongx haix ... yaac ...> 'However much ... nevertheless ...', as in <dongc haix yiouv nyienv jhienv / yaac tsucc mingh> (L 360) 'However much he dislikes it and cries, he should go' ("be-as-much-as whichever dislike [and] weep DUR-ASP / nevertheless should go"), or
- (vi) <... yaac ... yaac ...> (see section immediately preceding), or
- (vii) <... kunv ... kunv ...> (L 129) 'The more ... the more ...', as in <ninh kunv jhienv kox kunv jhienv jhuh> (cf. L 129) 'The older she gets the fatter she becomes' ("She the-more DUR-RESERV ASP be-oid,

the more DUR-RFSEFV ASP be-fat"), or

- (viii) 'The more ... the more ...', as in <yietc tsei maangc, yietc tsei piaqc hnyiou> (L 353) 'The more you consider it, the more impact it makes on you' ("The more look-at, the more enter heart"), or

- (ix) <yietc pinc ... yietc pinc ...> (L 310) 'On the one hand ... on the other hand ...'

2.3.43224 Parallelism of the clauses. Of course, the correlative conjunctions and adverbs just discussed in Section 2.3.4.3.2.2.3 above constitute a form of parallelism, but there may also be parallelism of structure without such correlative function-words, in the paratactic constructions so common to Mien, e.g.,

- (i) <meih yiem ton^o, via yiem fai> (L 198) 'You live east [and] I live west (i.e., We live worlds apart, never to be united)';
- (ii) (with topics/subjects omitted) <tshawngv via gaau^o meih> (L 146) 'Keep provoking me and I'll whack you' ("Provoke me/I whack you");

- (iii) <maaih tauh tsoux kong, maaih tauh aa0-dzyaau>
 'One person works, and another plays' ("There-is
 [one] C1f do work, there-is [one] C1f play"), or
- (iv) <mv maaih jhaa, mv maaih faangx> (L 99) 'If [you]
 have no family, you have no status'.

Note that as composite sentences, these may be compound, made up of co-ordinate principal clauses (and so be translated according to the schema "C1 and/but C1"), or complex, with C1 functioning as topic yielding the meaning-schema (A) "If (or "When") C1 / then C1", or (B) "As for C1 / C1", etc. And once again, parallelism of structure may still need the aid of prosodic features in order to bind clauses into a single sentence, since Mien abounds in gnomicisms and sayings characterized by parallelism of structure which do seem clearly to represent a sequence of sentences, not one composite sentence: e.g., (with numbers inserted to mark where the parallelism begins): <(1) yietc nawm tshuov / tshiepc tiuh miuh. jhapv taaih / nyanc raiv dzengc. maaic pun jhanx-paeqc-miuh. (2) yietc nawm tshuov / tshiepc tiuh gwaah. jhapv taaih / nyanc raiv dzengc. maaic pun jhanx-aav/khaa> (L 339) '(1) One rice-seed [produces] ten sprouts. When harvested there is more than can be eaten. ("... Harvest PERF-ASP eat not be-exhausted ..."). [One] sells it to the White Meo. (2) One

rice-seed [produces] ten branches. When harvested, there is more than can be eaten. [One] sells it to the Akha, which has the situational meaning 'The harvest was plentiful and there is a surplus that can be sold to others'.

2.3.44 Is the composite sentence compound or complex? If complex, what are the exact relations among the parts? Let us try first to give principles for distinguishing compound sentences from complex sentences.

2.3.441 Paratactic sentences: Deep structures. In many cases to be discussed below, we will have conjunctions to help us distinguish between compound sentences and complex sentences. But parataxis is also very common in Mien. Let us hark back to our example: in Section 2.3.1 <ninh nv taaih. via mv mingh>. We noted that the two component clauses might (a) represent a succession of two separate sentences, if there is a pause between the clauses, here written "."; but if there is no pause we have possibility (b) a single, compound, sentence with co-ordinate clauses meaning 'He is not coming and (or but) I am not going', and (c) of a single, complex sentence, meaning 'If/When he doesn't come, then I don't go'. Since the construction is in each case paratactic, what syntactic, as opposed to semantic, reasons do we have for distinguishing cases (a), (b) and (c)? The answer is a recourse to deep structure: case

(b) is restatable with various co-ordinating conjunctions which we must presume are either present, or in some way coded, in deep structure:

- (i) <ninh mv taaih, aenx-tshaux yia mv mingh> 'He is not coming and I am not going', or 'He didn't come and I didn't go'.
- (ii) <ninh mv taaih, yia mv/paac mv mingh> 'He is not coming, but I am not going (either)', or 'He didn't come, and I didn't go either'.
- (iii) <ninh yaac mv taaih, yia yaac mv mingh> 'Neither is he coming, nor am I going', or 'He didn't come, and so I didn't go either'.
- (iv) <ninh mv taaih, yia tshingx(-taaih) mv mingh> 'He is not coming, and so I am not going', or 'He didn't come, and so I didn't go'.
- (v) <ninh mv taaih, yia tsiouc mv mingh> 'He is not coming, and so I'm not going'.

For case (c) where the sentence is complex we must again presume that the deep structure codes the conjunction-insertion possibilities shown below:

- (i) <ninh mv taaih naw/aeq, yia yaac/yiouc mv mingh> 'If/When he doesn't come, then I don't go'.

- (ii) <se#kawrcv (#hnanqv) ninh mv taaih, yia yaac/yiouc mv mingh> 'If he doesn't come, then I don't go'.
- (iii) <hnanqv ninh mv taaih, yia yaac/yiouc mv mingh> 'If he doesn't come, then I don't go'.
- (iv) <weic ninh mv taaih aeq, yia tshingx(-taaih) mv mingh> 'Because he does not come, I therefore do not go'.

2.3.4411 Irreversibility of the order of the clauses.

If the two clauses in the sentence <ninh mv taaih, yia mv mingh> 'He does not come. I do not go.' are reversible without any (very great) change of meaning, the chances are that they constitute a sequence of separate sentences. It is also possible, given a diminution of the dividing pause that they could constitute two co-ordinate clauses of a single compound sentence. It is most unlikely that it is a complex sentence, for then it would have by our analysis a topic-comment structure, and the reversal of the order of the clauses, without some specific overt marking of the fact, which would in fact mark it as permuted, i.e., as having undergone a right dislocation transformation, would reverse the topic-comment relations (hence the subordinate-superordinate relations), yielding a different grammatical entity.

2.3.442 Sentences with repeated conjunctions or adverbial phrases. Such are sentences containing the <... yaac ... yaac ...>, and <yietc sih ... yietc sih ... yietc sih ... [etc.]> constructions. The clauses are co-ordinate. For examples see Section 2.27(b)(ii).

2.3.443 Alternative questions: Here the structure is "C1 <fai> C1 ?"; and we interpret the two clauses as co-ordinate: e.g., <naiv im nyei fai kaam nyei?> 'Is this bitter or sweet?' ("This be-bitter Prt sweet Prt "). For more on questions, see Section 2.3.5 et seq. below.

2.3.444 Sentences with clausal subjects/topics. As we have stated, we have not found it necessary to distinguish between subjects and topics, whether clausal or not. As we have also stated we consider the topic/comment relationship to be non-coordinate, with the topic being the subordinate. This is in terms of a kind of dependency-theory principle, whereby the comment is equivalent to a predicate or verb, which is the head of the proposition, and the topic is an argument, a dependent item. Sentences with clausal subjects/topics are thus complex. Examples of such sentences may be found at Sections 2.3.4.1.6 and 2.3.4.2.3 above. We include among such sentences, those with resultative complements (see Section 2.3.4.1.7).

2.3.445 Sentences with amplificatory clauses. The second clause, perhaps always with agent deleted, through the operation of Fcui-NP deletion, amplifies or explains the first: e.g.,

- (i) <yia kawngv nunz ninh [heuc kwangc goi mv
 tung nouz] > 'I mollified him, calling on him
 to disregard your offense and not hate you'
 (L 260) ("I mollify him [tell [him] to-
 disregard [resulting-in] be-away [your offense,
 and] don't hate"),
 Amp-CI
 Amp-CI
- (ii) <yiafhua paatc ninh longc tsinh longc nyaanh> (cf.
 L 24) 'We fine him paper money and silver' ("We
 fine-him [have-recourse-to paper-money,
 have-recourse-to silver] "),
 Amp-CI
 Amp-CI
- (iii) <ninh tshonch tshongh tshiax tshiax [
 tseangv sin tingc] (cf. L 181) 'He rocked
 and swayed and veered this way and that, trying to
 regain his balance' ("He rock rock go-off-at-an-
 angle go-off-at-an-angle [[trying] keep-
 balanced [his] body [resulting-in] be-fixed]
 "),
 Amp-CI
 Amp-CI
 CI
- (iv) <ninh putv hae [hnopv haic] > 'He
 coughed a lot with a cold' ("He be-afflicted-with
 Amp-CI
 Amp-CI

inferior person in order to get at his superior',
and

- (ii) <jiovx tuqv tsiŋg kemh, maiv dzaauh-heix tsaangh-touz puav> (L 337) 'To preserve the forest in order not to be worried [about having enough] firewood to burn' ("preserve [resulting-in] being-inviolate the forest, [in order] not be-worried [about] firewood burn"), the situational meaning being 'Help others and you will never lack people to help you in time of need',
- (iii) <via chiemx-tsuoc lonq myaanh maəiz lai-hnaəngx> 'I need to use money in order to buy food' ("I need use money buy food"),
- (iv) <ninh punq x touz tsaax meih> (L 162) 'He is showing anger in order to test you' ("He emit fire (i.e., to display anger) [in order] test you"). Possibly another example of a sentence with a purpose clause, although it is open to other interpretations[15] is <ninh an dia jua bonq> (cf.

[15] It could, for instance, be a resultative sentence ("She put in the yeast resulting in the bread rising"). With parataxis, or, as we are more likely to call it when the clauses are reduced, "verb-serialization" or "VP-serialization", many ambiguities remain to be cleared up by the context, but in practice it seems that they almost always are.

L 113) 'She put in yeast in order to make the bread rise' ("She put medicine bread rise").

2.3.4461 Purpose clauses after the verbs of motion
<taaih> 'to come', and <minch> 'to go'. These are extremely
 common: e.g.,

(i) <ninh aa0-loc faux ku0-nguiaaic lungh mingh
 dzyaauc tshaux nyutc-taix/hungh> 'She always went
 up to the sky in order to visit the Sun God' ("She
 always ascend up-into sky [in order] visit be-with
 Sun-God"),

(ii) <yia taaih thenqx meih-bua tsoux kong> 'I have
 come in order to work for/with you' ("I come [in
 order] do-with/do-on-behalf-of you do work"), <yia
 taaih thov dia nyanc> 'I have come to ask for
 medicine' ("I come [in order] request medicine
 eat").

They are, of course, reduced clauses: they never have a
 subject/topic of their own (if only because of the operation
 of Equi); and they are embedded: any final Prts apply to the
 principal (i.e., matrix) clause: e.g., in <yia taaih thov
 dia nyanc aq> 'I have [now] come to ask for medicine', the
 new-situation aspect particle <aq> applies to the verb
 <taaih> 'to come' not the verb <nyanc> 'to eat'.

but such sentences are better treated as pivotal construction, which themselves are another kind of complex sentence (see the next section.)

2.3.448 Post-pivotal clauses as objects: the pivotal construction. A pivotal construction is a surface structure phenomenon. It consists of two overlapped clauses where the object of the first clause is the subject of the second, and they are identical in form, and that form occurs only once, i.e., is a pivot[16] between clauses: e.g.,

	pup			
<ya	heuc	ninh	mingh>	
	pwatc			
	let/cause		go/to go	
'I	tell	him	to go	'
	see		co(ing)	

in which the pivotal word is, of course, <ninh> 'he/him'. Note that in the English translations the corresponding

[16] "Pivot" is being used here in the sense of Chao (1968:124), and not that of Foký and Van Valin (1984) and others.

word, 'him', is not quite so pivot-like, since it is clearly objectival in surface-case form and is thus embedded in the first clause, and further that complementizers may be present in the post-pivotal clause: -- the infinitive with to, the participial -ing- form of the verb. But, however that may be, in both English and Mien the second clause is an object of the first, thus subordinate to it, thus making the overall sentence complex. A somewhat more elaborate example of the pivotal construction is <ya maiv buac nv laanh nienh kunv yia> (cf. L 54) 'I cannot submit to this person's control' ("I not submit [to] this person control me").

2.3.449 Sentences containing a relative clause (RC): A relative clause is a modifier standing in constituency with a noun phrase, the whole construction itself being a noun phrase, and thus part of a clause (unless it stands alone as a fragment). Since the RC is dominated by a clause node, even if not immediately, it serves to make the dominating clause, and any sentence containing the dominating clause complex (for RC's incorporated into nominal compounds, i.e., dominated by a N, and modifying the head noun of that compound, see Section 2.3.4.4.9.3 below).

2.3.4491 Structural varieties of relative clause: (In this section we enclose the relative clauses in unlabelled

square brackets and underline the head noun.)

(a) The simplest kind of relative clause is a VP to the right of the head NP: e.g., <naiv nawcc [daix]> 'This is a bird that is flying' ("This / [is] bird [fly]"). <naic saeng/fawng/nawmh [uix fei-kaenq]> (cf. L 212) 'Those are mulberry leaves for feeding "silkworms' ("Those / [are] mulberry-leaves [feed silkworms]"). If the head NP is the object of the verb, we call the structure a "pseudo-pivotal construction": see Section 2.3.4.4.9.2.

(b) Another kind of RC is to the left of the head NP and is connected to the head by the particle <nyeï>: e.g., <naiv [tsou nyanc nye] nawcc> 'This is the bird you boil before you eat it' ("This [is] boil eat Prt bird"), or <yia [nabua kenv taaih nye] mient> 'I am the person they chose' ("I [am] [they choose Aspect Prt] person").

(c) Another kind of RC is preposed to the demonstrative + Clf + N: <naic tongh [nyiac-hnoi tshaa yia] uay tauh mient> 'That's the person who caught me the other day' ("That is the-other-day catch me that Clf person").

(d) Another kind places the RC to the right of the head NP and terminates it with the Demonstrative <uav> 'that; there' whose function seems to be resumptive:[17] <uav nawm

[17] In Thai the pronoun nan plays a similar resumptive role: e.g., naalikaa thii phom paw pay k... nan

mong [yia tawh minh laanh tsawc uav] meih nye mong > 'The clock that I took to the shop to be repaired is yours' ('That [I]f clock I take go shop repair that [is] your clock').

2.3.4492 One kind of reduced relative clause: the pseudo-pivotal construction. In the pivotal construction, the pivotal NP is the subject of the second clause, in the pseudo-pivotal construction it is the object of it, e.g.:

	lawz		
<ninh	maaih	kong [tsoux] >
		RC	RC
	pun		
	is-seeking		
'He	has	work [to do] '
		RC	RC
	gives		
	[somebody]		

Another nice example which is more striking because the "pseudo-pivot"-NP <daam> 'a shoulder-load', is homophonous with the verb in the reduced RC is <ninh naangx jhienv tsoux> 'the clock I took to be repaired'. There are more examples of Thai relative clauses with resumptive nan in Section 2.3.4.4.2.4 below.

daam [daam] > (cf. L 259) 'He attached [the things] together in order to make a load to carry' ("He attached-together DUR-RES-ASP make shoulder-load carry on shoulders"): for some remarks on morphological questions raised by this last sentence, see Section 2.4.2 below.

The pseudo-pivotal construction are a kind of blend of a relative clause with a purpose clause. They are (reduced) relative clauses[18] but they clearly contain the idea of purpose: one is looking for work in order to do it, seeking food in order to eat it, and so on.[19]

2.3.4493 Another kind of reduced relative clause: the RC incorporated into the nominal compound. Incorporated reduced relative clauses may occur either to the left or to the right of the head noun, under circumstances which require further investigation. For examples, see Sections 3.3.4, 3.3.4.1, 3.3.4.2.

2.3.4494 Various syntactic roles of the NP's that can head RC's: The "Accessibility Hierarchy". Keenan and Comrie (1962) discuss in implicational hierarchy of NP ac-

[18] At last semantically: we shall not attempt here to establish the deep structure and transformational rules needed in order to derive them.

[19] In Latin one can nicely combine the relativity and the purposiveness of clause by combining the relative pronoun with the subjunctive mood: e.g., Opus quod faciat petit 'He is asking for work to do'.

cessibility to RC-formation in various languages. The present the following hierarchy of such accessibility (it is known as the Accessibility Hierarchy):

subject > direct object > indirect object
 > object of a preposition > genitive
 > object of a comparative particle

I am indebted to David Solnit for most of the following examples (which I have taken, by permission, modified from Solnit n.d.) demonstrating RC's with heads of descending rank in the Hierarchy (RC enclosed in square brackets, head NP underlines; I have respelled his examples and modified some of them slightly):

(1) head of RC = subject

<[yia tooc jhienv] my puany sou longx haic> [I read
 PRG-ASP this Cf book be-good very]

'This book that I'm reading is very good' ("This [I'm
 reading it] book is very good")

Cf. Thai na s th i phom kamlang aan nii dii naek
 'id.'.

(2) head of PC = object

<ya hawq [ninh tsawq mv'nyei nyaanh] wuav tah nienh>
 I hit he take I-POSS money that Clf person]

'I hit the person who took my money' ("I hit the [he took my money] person")

Cf. Thai phom tii khon thii aw n kh y phor gay
 '(id.)'.

(3) head of PC = outer locative

<ya yiem toqc sou] wuav nawm pyauv hlo haic> I be-at
 read book that Clf house be-big very

'The house that I study in is very big' ("The [I-be-
 there-study] house is very big")

Cf. Thai, which prefers to turn this h__-cian kh__
phom yav maak, 'My study room is very big'.

(4) head of PC = inner locative

<ya an nyaanh] wuav nawm kapv faix haic> I put money
 that Clf box be-small] very

'The box that I put the money in is very small' ("The
 [I put money [in it]] is very small")

(5) head_of_RC = instrumental

<tawh [yia (longc) katv awv] wuav tsung dzuoc> Bring I
use cut meat that Clf knife

'Bring me the knife I used to cut the meat' ('Bring the
[I (used it) cut meat] knife to me')

Cf. Thai miit thii phom (chay) tat nua maa hay phom
'(id.)'.

(6) head_of_RC = pivot of pivotal construction

<[yia paangc Ø tsuav yia] wuav tauh mienh tonc mic'aq>
I depend-on (him) wait me that Clf person late NEW-SIT
IRREV ASP

('Ø' marks the spot from which the pivot has been
deleted.)

'The person that I depend on to wait for me is late'
(='The [I depend-on him to wait-for-me] person be-late
now')

Cf. Thai khon thii phom kh__v maa rap phom saay sia
l_w 'The person that I'm waiting for to come and pick
me up is late.'

(7) head_of_RC = possessive

<[yia bawqv ninhⁿnyeĩ aa0-dzyaaucⁿtoic] wuay tauh mienh> I hit he-POSS play-companion that Clf person go NEW-SIT-IRREV

'The person whose friend I hit left' ('The [I hit his friend] person left')

Cf. Thai khon thii phom tii phuan khaw caak pay l...
'(id.)'.

(8) head_of_RC = object of a comparative particle

<[yia kauh hlaangⁿ] wuay tauh mienh mingh micⁿfaa> I more tall [than him] that Clf person go NEW-SIT-IRREV-ASP

'The person that I'm taller than left' ('The [I'm taller than him] person left')

Cf. Thai khon thii phom suu kwaa khaw caak pay l...
'(id.)'.

- (9) head of RC = object of V, of serial verb construction
 (goal of V of motion in ²"V of motion + purpose clause"
construction)

<[yia minoh maaiz lai] wuav nawm he yiem ko nyei> I go
 buy vegetable that Clf market be-at be-far

'The market I go to to buy groceries is far away AS-
 SERT' ("The [I go [there] to-buy vegetables] market is
 far away")

Cf. Thai talaat thii phom pay suu phak nan (nan) klay
maak '(id.)'.

- (10) head of RC = object of V, of serial verb construction
direct object of V of purpose clause in "motion verb +
purpose clause construction"

<[yia mingh he maaiz] wuav tsung dzucc iengx haic> I go
 buy market buy that Clf knife good very

'The knife I went to the market to buy is very good'
 ("The [I go to-market to-buy] knife is very good")

Cf. Thai (?) miit thii phom pay talaat suu nan (nan) dii
maak.[20] '(id.)'.

[20] This Thai sentence which is analogous to the
 Mien is questionable at best. Thais would want to turn
 it in some way, probably to prevent anything from in-
 tervening between the V of motion and the purpose VP:

- Pattern (1): The statement with a "yes/no"-question intonation[22] on the last word <long nyei?> 'Is it good?'.
 Pattern (2): The statement with final question particle <saa> and "yes/no"-question intonation on <saa>: <longx nyei [!]saa?> 'Is it good?'.
 Pattern (3): The statement with alternate question particle <fai>, with a high level or high rising intonation on <fai>: <longx nyei [!]faiV?> 'Is it good?'.
 Pattern (4): The statement followed by the negative particle <mv> plus a repetition of the verb (the intonation of the final verb requires further study): <longx mv longx> 'Is it good?'. This is a pattern which occurs in Hmong, Mandarin (where it is the predominant pattern) and some Tibeto-Burman (Clark 1985:62). In Mien this pattern and the following one are not

[22] As we stated in the Phonology section, Mien has different intonations which interact in individual ways with each lexical tone. Purnell 1968:31-34 has quite a detailed discussion of intonation, but since I could not exactly replicate his results, nor get quite consistent material from my informants, I have left a full treatment of the intonation of questions, and intonation in general, as a task for the future. I have from place to place simply indicated in phonetic brackets the pitch patterns recorded for those particular forms.

very polite. In pattern (4) if the verb has an object this comes before the negative particle: thus for 'Did he eat?' we have <nyanc hnaangx mv nyanc?> ('Eat rice not eat?') not ≠<nyanc mv nyanc hnaangx> ('Eat not eat rice?').

Pattern (5): The statement followed by the alternative question particle <fai> plus the negative particle <mv> plus a repetition of the verb (the intonation of the final verb again requires further study): <longx nyei fai mv longx>. This pattern occurs in Mandarin, Thai, Lao, Vietnamese, Khmer, Hmong (where it is the predominant pattern) and some Tibeto-Burman languages (Clark op. cit.).

Pattern (6): The statement, followed by <tseiz nyei??> (yes/no question intonation on <nyei>, functioning as a tag: <longx, tseiz nyei??> 'It's right, isn't it?'). This corresponds to a Thai question ending in chay_may.

Pattern (7): This is not a plain "yes/no"-question, but a "meta-question", "You mean good?", "Are you talking about the subject of being good?": from the statement <longx nyei> the assertive

particle <nyei> is omitted, and an intonation, which needs further investigation but always seems to involve some kind of rise, is used on the last word of the remainder: this <longx?>. This pattern occurs in Mandarin. The closed semantic analogue in Thai is the statement followed by alternative question particle lue.

2.3.52 Alternative questions. In fact patterns (3)-(5) of Section 2.3.5.1 are alternative questions, when the alternatives are "to VP" or "not to VP" where the VP's are identical. Pattern (4) of Section 2.3.5.1 omitted the alternative-question particle <fai> but we only found this particle to be omissible in exactly that pattern, i.e., when the negative of the VP is being offered as the alternative. There are some other patterns:

Pattern (1): "Topic Comment ₁ <fai> Comment ₂" (with the intonation bearing on the last word of Comment ₂ and needing further investigation). e.g., <naiv e fai [] bi> 'Is this A or B?'. This is actually the same pattern as Pattern (5) of Section 2.3.5.1 but it is functionally a genuine alternative question, rather than a rude or bullying way of asking a "yes/no"-

question.

Pattern (2): This is a pattern (1) with the particle <aeq> (of uncertain function here) added after the first alternative, and optionally added after the second alternative (the intonation of the last word of the second alternative again needing further study). Examples:

(i) omitting <aeq> after the second alternative <naiv jhuv fai aeq []maaz?> 'Is this a dog or a horse' (the lexical tone of <maaz> 'horse', <-z> is a low rising-falling).

(ii) with <aeq> after both alternatives: <haiv im nyei fai aeq kaam nyei [] ae> 'Is this bitter or sweet' (presumably the dropping of the glottal stop of the final <aeq> and the assumption by this particle of a mid falling pitch about the same as the lexical lower-mid falling tone, <-h>, are matters of intonation).

2.3.53 "Wh"-questions: the correlation between "wh"-question words, indefinite pronouns and indefinite relative pronouns. "Wh"-questions are question containing interrogative words equivalent to English (a) 'who?', (b) 'what?', (c) 'when?', (d) 'where?', (e) 'why?', and (f) 'how?'. Hien shares the area1 feature that its "wh-" words do triple

duty: (1) as interrogative words in "wh"-word questions, (2) as indefinite pronouns meaning, correspondingly: (a) 'anybody', (b) 'anything', (c) 'at any time' (d) 'in any place', (e) 'for any reason', and (f) 'in any way', and (3) as indefinite relative pronouns meaning, correspondingly, (a) 'whoever', (b) 'whichever', (c) 'whenever', (d) 'wherever', (e) 'for whatever reason', and (f) 'in whatever way'. [23] The forms involve either the bound form <haiv/ > or the free form <haix>. The form of broadest use is <haiv/ > followed by the classifier (see Section 3.4.2) appropriate to its referent: thus 'who?' is <haiv/tau>, 'what?' is <haiv/nyung>, 'when?' is <haiv-tsan> referring to future time and <tsyang- >-haix> referring to past time; 'where?' is <haiv/ dau> or <haix>, 'why?' is <weic haiv-tiuc> ('because of what reason?'), <weic haix>, or <tsoux haiv-nyung> ('to-do what?'); 'how?' is <hnanv haiv/naw>, ('like what-way?');

[23] The use of interrogatives, usually supplemented by particles in positive sentences at any rate, in an indefinite meaning is an areal feature, reaching in Asia as far as Japanese: e.g., in Thai khay + k, Lahu a-su + ka, Mandarin shei + dou or shei + ye, Japanese da + mo (I am indebted to J.A. Matisoff p.c. for the Lahu, Mandarin and Japanese examples). The full picture includes functioning as indefinite relative pronouns, and, indeed, interrogatives used as indefinite pronouns, and indefinite relative pronouns crop up in Indo-European as well: e.g., French quoi qu'il en soit 'However it may be', colloquial German ich will was essen 'I want to eat something'. Sometimes in Indo-European languages the indefinitizing particle is free, as auch in German was es auch sein mag 'Whatever it might be', sometimes it is bound, as are -ever in English, -cumque in Latin.

'how Adj?' is <dongc haix Adj> ('to what extent be-Adj?'). There is even an emphatic form <fei⁰-nyunoc> meaning 'what/why/how on earth?'. Each of these forms can in the appropriate construction take on its corresponding indefinite or indefinite relative meaning. The simplest construction is that of the "wh"-question pattern, which simply involves the substitution of the question-word in the same place as the corresponding noun or adverb would stand, and using at the same time a special "wh"-question intonation on the last word of the question. The "wh"-words may be reduplicated to give a plural meaning. Examples:

- (i) Question: <minch haiv[?][]dau> 'Where did you go?'
- (ii) Question: <minch haiv[?]dau[?]haiv[?] [] dau> 'What places did you go?'
- (iii) Indefinite: <mv tuqv minch haiv[?]dau> 'I didn't go anywhere'.
- (iv) Question: <maaic haiv[?]yungc[?]haiv[?]nyungc kaqv- []naiv[?]> 'What things did you buy?'
- (v) Question: <sipv haiv[?]tauh []mienv[?]> 'What spirit did [you] appease?'
- (vi) Indefinite relative: <haiv[?]tauh mienv yaac khoi sip nyei> (L 141) 'Whatever spirits there were we

began to appease them.'

- (vii) Question: <hmwanv mv dzyaauc tsoux haiv/ []nyungc?> (L 302) 'What's the hurry that you can't visit a while?' ('Be-in-a-hurry [and] not visit do what?')
- (viii) Question: <fei0-nyungc tsoux?> (L 197) 'What on earth can be done about it?' ('What-on-earth do?')
- (ix) Indefinite: <mv haiv fei0-nyungc tsoux> (L 197) 'There's nothing on earth to be done about it' ('Not can anything-whatsoever do.')
- (x) Question: <oix longc haiv-[]nyungc?> 'What do you want?'
- (xi) Indefinite relative: <haiv-nyungc yaac tuqv> 'Whatever it may be will do; anything will do.' ('Whatever also can.')
- (xii) Question: <dongc haix hlaang?> 'How high is it?' ('Be as-much-as where be-tall?')
- (xiii) Indefinite: <meiv dongc haix hlaangx> 'It's not especially tall' ('Nct be-as-much-as anywhere tall').

2.4. The word: parts of speech. A sentence is a free form of a certain level, while the lowest level of free forms are what we call words. Words in Mien can be simple or compound (see Section 3.3 for compound nouns and Section 4.5.5 for compound verbs). It is traditional and helpful in grammar to divide them into parts of speech or "form-classes," and we have found it convenient in analyzing Mien to set up the following parts of speech.

(1) Numerals (Num). These are defined by listing, and can be found listed and analyzed at Section 3.4.1. They include the numbers 1-9, multiplicative and additive constructions involving these, and also include by virtue of syntactic and semantic analogy, the Mien words for 'many', 'several', 'how many', 'a single; only one', and 'half'.

(2) Classifiers (Clf). These might also be called "numerary adjuncts". They occur only and always after, and in constituency with, numerals, except that the numeral 'one' may be omitted, to make up quantity-expressions (Q) (see Section 3.4.2, and Section 3.11).

(3) Nouns (N). Autonomous nouns (N) are those words which may occur all by themselves after and in consistency with a quantity-expression (Num + Clf). There are also non-autonomous, or 'limited' nouns of various types, which when combined with other nominal morphemes of appropriate

type, form 'second-order autonomous nouns' which may then occur in the frame "Num + Clf --". The quantity-expression itself may be regarded as a 'second-order autonomous noun'.

(4) Verbs (V). Verbs are words which must be precedable by the negative adverb <maiv> ~ <mv>, i.e., they must be negatable.

(5) Adverbs (Adv). Words stand next to and modify verbs.

(6) Conjunctions (Conj). Words that occur first in their clause or else immediately before the VP, but in any case they stand in constituency with the clause as a whole, except that sometimes as a result of conjunction reduction they may in surface structure stand in constituency with co-ordinate NP's or VP's.

(7) Particles (Prt). These are words, usually small in phonological bulk, that do not fit any other of the part-of-speech categories. They follow the item with which they stand in constituency. Sentence particles (Prt) follow sentences; topic particles (Prt) follow topics; noun-phrase particles (Prt) follow noun phrases; and verb-phrase particles (Prt) follow verb phrases.

(8) Interjections (Intj). These are exclamations that do not fall under the other part of speech categories, or

constructions of these. They may constitute utterances in themselves, or intrude into utterances. They are marked by special features of vowel-length, intonation and voice-quality.

2.4.1 Morphology of the parts of speech. Mien is an uninflected language, and the morphology of the parts of speech, such as it is, is restricted to the noun and the verb, and will be dealt with in Chapters III and IV. We should note however that there are in Mien sporadic apparent remains of a certain amount of derivational morphology. These will be discussed in the following section.

2.4.11 Apparent fossil remains of derivational morphology: allofams. The word "allofams" was coined by Matisoff to refer to sets of words that make up so-called "word-families", i.e., they bear to each other a family resemblance in terms of form and function without the existence of that degree of regularity which allows words in other languages to be arranged in paradigms and divided, more or less cleanly, into roots of clear meaning and derivational or inflexional morphemes of clear meaning.

Allofams look like the debris from the long-past breakdown of such a clear system. Co-allofams often belong to different parts of speech. The picture is complicated in Mien by the fact that so much of the vocabulary is borrowed

from various strata of Chinese, so that candidates for co-allofamy may reflect (a) a morphological situation of the older Mien of pre-Chinese contact times, or (b) a Chinese word-family borrowed into Mien *holus-bolus*, or (c) etymological doublets -- different Chinese donor dialects giving one and the same word at different times with possible semantic specialization. Let us discuss this last case first.

2.4.111 Mien doublets from one and the same Chinese word. A case of this is provided, for instance, by the variants <khawv^hlienh> (L 140) and <khawv^hlinh> (L 355) both meaning 'to pity, feel sorry for' (< Ch. (AD #414, #556.8)) of which the first is the popular form, and shows tone-sandhi, while the second is the song-language form, which fact in itself, along with the vocalism of the second syllable, indicates that it is a pre-modern loan; another example is <san> 'three', (< Ch. (AD #766)), of restricted usage, as in <lauv san>, a name for a third son, whose initial and final indicate a modern loan (< S.W. Mandarin), and <faam> 'three' used in various connections including <m0-faam> the name often given to a third daughter (for more on this pair of doublets, see Section 3.4.1.3.2.5), the initial and final of <faam> indicating a pre-modern loan.

Yet another example is provided by the Chinese (AD #112), which has yielded <uic> (L 9), whose form marks

it as a pre-modern loan, and <hweix> (L 300), whose tone, if nothing else, marks it as a modern loan: both forms mean 'to meet' (see further on these forms at Section 2.4.2.1 below). In some cases Mien has seemingly imposed its own allofany on a Chinese etymon borrowed only once -- e.g., Chinese (AD #609.1) has as its regular[24] correspondent in Mien <khoi> (L 141) a transitive verb meaning 'to open', but alongside this there exists <goi> (L 148) 'to open; to opened; be away, be separated' which can even form a resultative complement construction with its doublet, thus <khoi mv goi> 'cannot get it open' ('opening [it] doesn't [result-in-its-] being-open') (see Downer 1973:15-16), as if one could say (AD #609.11, # 37, # 609.11) in Chinese.

Voicing in initial stops goes back to earlier *prenasalization, and that must have been still a productive process at the time when (AD #609.11) was borrowed. The loss of the *aspiration in the *aspirated stop and its merger with the *plain voiceless stop is regular (see Downer 1973:9-10), and the same opposition is to be found in the pair <thutv> (L 182) 'to take off; to remove; to separate from; to recover from' (< Ch. (AD #1138.1)) and <dutv>

[24] It should be understood that "regular" is a somewhat provisional term here, since borrowing from different Chinese dialects has produced a complicated picture of sound-correspondence that has not yet been fully worked out. (See Downer 1973).

(L 91) 'to come off, come away, be separated from', which is precisely parallel to <khoi/goi> and can form resultative complement constructions: e.g., <thutv mv dutv> 'cannot be removed'. So far we have dealt with two cases of #prenasalization added to an #aspirated initial to yield intransitive verbs or adjectives.

Now let us take a case where #prenasalization has precisely the opposite semantic effect: from the adjective <paengh> (L 19) 'to be level' (AD #743) (with #voiced initial), #prenasalization has yielded <baengh> (L 48) 'to make level, smooth; to be equal in level to'. Slightly different is the case of <tonqh> (L 72) 'to be alike, to be the same as', a regular reflex of Chinese (AD #1150), with a #voiced initial and #A-tone which seems to have resorted to both #prenasalization and #tone-change to produce <dongc> (L 91) 'to be the same as, to be as much as'.

It is hard to say whether it is different dialects-of-origin or post-borrowing allofamy that accounts for the doubletization of Chinese (AD #1015.5) into <tauh> (L 65), Clf for people, animals and doors, and <taauh> (L 68) 'first, foremost, source, beginning', and of Chinese (AD #1194) into the regular <tsien> (L 151) 'to be true, genuine' and <tshien> (L 173, #aspiration < (?)> '(idem); to be kin to'.

2.4.112 Non-doubletic allofams. Without going into the question of whether they are Chinese loans or not, we offer the following examples of possible allofams:

- (i) <ywang> (L 316) 'to revitalize' and <ywangh> (L 316) 'to be vigorous, virile, fertile' (which reflect an alternation in #A-tone between #glottal-stop initial and a #voiced-semivowel initial),
- (ii) <sia> (L 208) 'to waive, overlook', and <siav> (L 208) 'to give up; relinquish', <siax> (L 208) 'to forgive; bear with', all with the common semantic element of forbearance, and reflecting alternation between #A-, #B- and #C-tones,
- (iii) <pwei> (L 30) 'to lean one's back up against something', <pweix> (L 30) 'to lie down, recline' and <pweic> (L 30) 'to lean against something (of people)' (reflecting an alternation between #voiceless initial-cum-#A-tone, #voiceless initial-cum-#C-tone, and #voiced initial-cum-#C-tone),
- (iv) <tapv> (L 66) 'to put into; insert' and <tapc> (L 66) 'to go into deeply, to penetrate' (reflecting a phonological opposition of #voiceless initial versus #voiced initial, and a semantic oppo-

sition of transitive action versus intransitive result reminiscent of <khoi/goi> and <thutv/dutv> above),

- (v) <tsatv> (L 160) 'to press; push down' and <tshatv> (L 178) 'to crush; stifle, repress (as anger) (reflecting a phonological opposition of #voiceless initial versus #aspirated initial, and a semantic relationship of more general to more particular action),
- (vi) <senqh> (L 211) 'to shim, place underneath' and <senqc> (L 211, 359) 'to be located under, supporting the weight of' (reflecting an opposition between #voiced initial-cum-#A-tone and #voiced initial-cum-#C-tone),
- (vii) <bweix> (L 56) 'to boil' and <pyuix> (L 35) 'to bubble over', reflecting an opposition between #prenasalized-voiceless initial-cum-bilabial-medial-plus-diphthongal-rhyme versus #plain voiceless initial-cum-palatal medial cum-another-kind-of-diphthongal-rhyme;
- (viii) <phiuv> (L 35) 'to spray out of the mouth' and <phyuqv> '(idem)', reflecting an opposition between a #vocalic (#voiced velar obstruent (?))

ending and a #glottal stop (presumably <#-k) ending,

(ix) <dawn> (L 92) 'to be damp; to be wet' and <dawtc> (L 92) 'to be soaking wet', reflecting an opposition between a #nasal final and a #homorganic stop final,

(x) <wingc> (L 303) 'to go around, detour around' and <hwing> (L 300) 'to walk around, to encircle', reflecting an opposition between a (#voiced semivowel initial-cum-#C-tone and an #aspirated-semivowel initial-cum-#A-tone.

An intriguing pair is <seu> (L 211) 'to be even, straight' and <seux> (L 211) 'to be uneven, off-center', reflecting an opposition of #A-tone and #C-tone. Or consider <pienv> (L 13) 'to pass [something] off onto another; to evade one's responsibility by shunting it off onto someone else' and <phien> (L 36) 'to be out of the appropriate place, off-center'. Sometimes one of the pair is a verb while the other is a noun, e.g., <pouh> (L 20) 'to serve, wait on' and <pou> (L 20) 'a servant'; <bvaac> (L 57) 'to walk with a stick' and <pyaav> (L 34) 'a stick', <leuh> (L 286) 'to form a gap' and <leuc> (L 286) 'a gap, opening'. Or the opposition may be between a noun, as <gwaah> (L 149) 'branches', and <gwaav> (L 149) Clf for branches.

These seem to point back, as serving some derivation-morphological function in earlier times, to alternations between (i) *un-prenasalized and *prenasalized initials (<khoi/koɿ>, <thutv/dutv>), (ii) *voiceless and *voiced initials (<poʊ/poʊh>, <tapv/tapc>), (iii) *voiceless and *aspirated initials (<tsatv/tshatv>), (iv) homorganic *nasal and *stop finals (<dawn/dawtc>), (v) various *tones (<leuh/leuc>, <sia/siav/siæx>), and (vi) combinations of *segmental and *tonal alternations (<pyaav/byaac>, <phien/pienv>, <tonch/donac>). Perhaps a thorough investigation could reveal some regularities here.

2.4.2 Overlapping parts of speech. Possibly the limiting case of allofamy is multiple part-of-speech membership, where one and the same form, with no variation whatever, may belong to different parts of speech.

(a) Verb/noun. Usually what is involved is a word designating either an action, as a verb, or the product, instrument or locus of the action, as noun: e.g., <pyæwmh> (L 35) 'to perch, roost' and 'a perch, roost', <yweɿc> (L 316) 'to secrete gum/sap/juice' and 'gum/sap juice', <tsiem> (L 151) 'to wedge' and 'a wedge', <khadv> (L 137) 'to cover tightly; to close (as a box with a lid and a lock)' and 'basket, trunk; container (for personal belongings)', <tshongx> (L 181) 'to cross-stitch' and 'cross-

stitching (the product)', <daam> (L 89) 'to carry on the shoulder' and 'a load carried on the shoulder'.

This last word is probably an example of a widespread and probably productive process whereby, as in Chinese (Chao 1968:312 *et seq.*) a verb can beget a "cognate" or "inner" object which functions as its Verb-Clf (see Section 3.4.2.1.2). Thus from <diqv> 'to kick' one can derive <diqv> 'a kick', as in <diqv i diqv> (V Num Clf) 'kick two kicks'. If the verb is transitive the cognate object may be regarded as classifying or measuring the object noun rather than the verb, e.g., <daam i daam kaqc-naiv> "to carry-on-the-shoulder two shoulderloads [of] things", or <phwangv siac phwangv hmeiv> "to scoop-up-in-cupped-hands seven double-handfuls [of] uncooked-hulled-rice".

The end of this evolution is the emergence of a full-fledged autonomous noun, homophonous with its semantically kindred parent verb, i.e., a noun which is not limited to being a cognate object, tied to a context in which its parent verb is governing it. We have a kind of half-way house situation exemplified in the sentence <naandx jhienv tsoux daam daam> (L 259) 'to attach [things] together to make a load to carry on the shoulders' ("attach-together DUR-RES-ASP make shoulder-load carry-on-shoulders"), in which <daam> 'shoulder load' is an ordinary (i.e., "outer",

non-cognate) object of <tsoux> 'to make' and yet it is still flanked by its parent-verb in a pseudo-pivotal construction.[25] In other words the "pseudo-pivotal" construction could well be the stepping-stone whereby the homophonous cognate object of a verb becomes a syntactically independent, i.e., autonomous noun.

(b) Verb/numeral. Another case of overlapping parts of speech is provided by the verbs <tshamv> (L 153) 'to be complete', which as numerals, i.e., preceding a classifier, mean 'many' and 'the whole' respectively (for the latter case see first note to the table in Section 3.4.1.1 below).

2.4.21 Overlapping parts of speech among Chinese loanwords. Much investigation remains to be done in the area of Chinese loanwords so let us just note briefly two situations: (1) the multiple part-of-speech membership is borrowed as such from Chinese: e.g., <uic> (L 9) 'to meet together' and 'a meeting' (Chinese (AD #112)) '(idem)';[26] (2) Mien has imposed additional part-of-speech membership on the word after borrowing it from Chinese: e.g., <jhien> (L 960) 'to rule; to exercise authority' and 'a ruler; an

[25] Cf. the analogous sentence with allofamy, not homophony between verb and noun: <mv mazi pou pouh ninh> (L 20) 'There is no servant to wait on him'.

[26] This is a pre-modern loan; the same verb-noun overlap seems to be present in its modern-loan doublet <hweix> (L 300).

official', of which two part-of-speech meanings the Chinese original, (AD #447), seems to have only the latter.

2.4.3 Homonymy. To be distinguished from (co-)allofams, which show a family resemblance in meaning and form, and overlapping parts of speech or part-of-speech sub-categories, which show a family resemblance of meaning and identity of form, we have homonyms, which show identity of form and no semantic relationship at all. Like most (all (?)) languages, Hien has its share of homonyms, though they are the exception, rather than as in, for instance, Mandarin, the rule: e.g.,

- (i) <aapv> (1) (L 7) 'duck (N)' and (2) (L 7) 'to force, compel, constrain, urge strongly',
- (ii) <tangx> (1) (L 67) 'a bench with legs' and (2) (L 67) 'to break, snap, rip, be frayed',
- (iii) <thawnoy> (1) (L 83) 'soup; broth; water in which vegetables were boiled' and (2) (L 83) 'to hinder, obstruct, get in the way, obviate',
- (iv) <dia> (1) (L 85) 'medicine', (2) (L 85) 'cloth',

- (v) <tshaz> (1) (L 179) 'a pole', (2) (L 179) 'to iack', (3) (L 179) 'to grab hold of, pounce on, assault', and (4) 'to massage' (probably an offshoot of (3)).

CHAPTER III
THE NOUN PHRASE

3.1. The general structure of the Noun Phrase (NP).

In this account of the NP we follow the principle of expository convenience and informal eclecticism rather than a strictly formal, deductive presentation. Thus a distinction is sometimes drawn between deep structure and surface structure, and sometimes not. Sometimes the account is formalized and sometimes not. For the sake of lucidity of presentation we shall begin with a simplified account of the NP, and give a more technical presentation at the end of the chapter (Section 3.11). Our simplified account is as follows:

NP --> {Det} N {Det}

A NP consists of an optional Determiner Structure followed by an obligatory noun (N) -- the NP-nucleus, followed by an optional Determiner-Structure

E.g., <[naiv nawm] tshia [uav nyungc] >
 Det Det Det Det

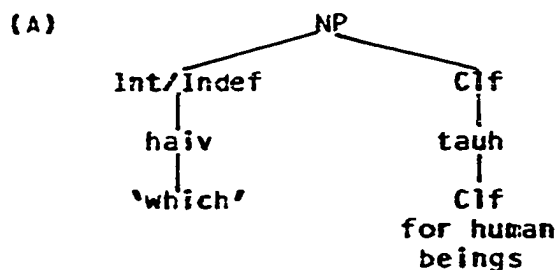
'This vehicle of that kind'

(*[This CIf] vehicle [that kind] *).
 Det Det Det Det

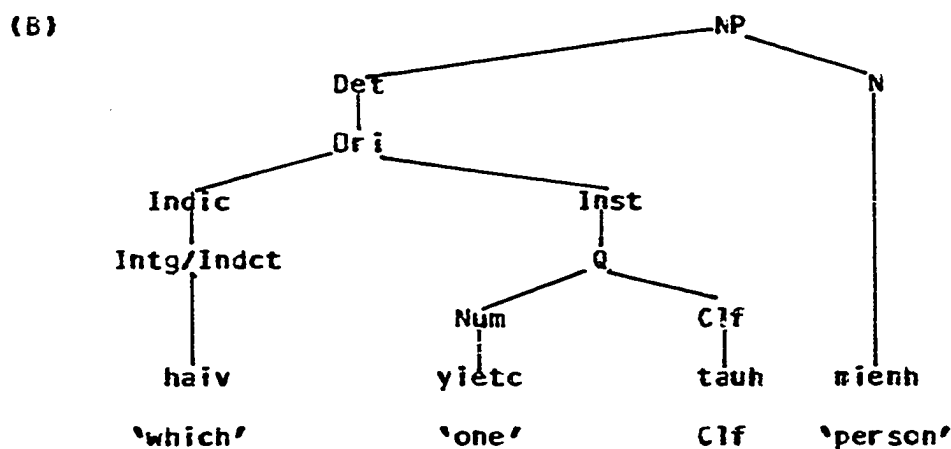
Without more ado we shall now proceed to the heart of the NP, its nucleus.

3.2. Autonomous nouns. A (first-order) autonomous noun (N) is a free form which may constitute a NP (nucleus) all by ^aitself. Subtypes of autonomous nouns include (a) common nouns, (b) proper names of place, (c) proper names of person, (d) personal pronouns, (e) demonstratives and (f) interrogative/indefinite pronouns.

The term and concept "autonomous noun" is taken from Matisoff 1973:Sec. 3.2. It is, as he points out, a surface structure phenomenon, but it is convenient to use it in describing Mien as well as Lahu. It is a surface structure phenomenon in several respects: (a) it disregards the question of whether an "autonomous noun" stands alone in the NP also in the deep structure, as is arguable with Demonstratives, or as the result of a deletion transformation; (b) interrogative "pronouns" are complex in structure and may have undergone deletion of a head-noun: e.g., <haiv/tau> 'who' has the surface structure (A):



but it probably has the underlying structure (B) (see Figure 3(XI) in Section 3.11).



In its journey from (B) to (A) <haiv/tauh> would have undergone <yietc>-deletion and head-noun deletion.

A limited noun (N_{lim}) may not constitute a NP nucleus, but is nevertheless semantically noun-like. These include specific-location nouns, numerals and classifiers. Taking autonomous nouns and classifiers to be subcategories of nouns, we should note that there can be overlapping between

subcategories of noun: e.g., <chiax> (L 107) as an autonomous noun meaning 'breath, life principle; voice; air, steam, gas; manner, temper, demeanor', and as a Clf for breaths taken, and <pcuv> (L 20), as an autonomous noun meaning 'ax; hatchet' and as a Clf for strokes of an axe.

3.2.1 Common nouns. As with presumably most languages, most nouns belong to this class. They may occur in the environment *Num + Clf --, i.e., as heads of quantifier expressions, and also as heads of subordinative constructions with <nyei> which is the subordinate-cum-possessive particle. (See Section 3.7). Morphologically they range from monomorphemic to higher-order compound nouns: e.g. <mienh> 'person' in <i tauh mienh> 'two people' ('two classifier person'), <pyauv> 'house' in <Fuqv-Awn nyei pyauv> 'Fou-One's house'. An example of a common noun which is a higher-order compound is <jhiem=puaz-docv=dzaeng>[11] (L 95) 'a gold ring' ('gold=hand-extremity (i.e., 'finger')=ring').

3.2.2 Proper nouns. Place-names together with personal names make up the category of proper nouns in Mien. Proper nouns are distinguished from common nouns by the fact that they cannot appear as head of quantified NP's, and as head of subordinative constructions with <nyei>. They are dis-

[11] For principles governing use of hyphens -- single, double, etc. see Section 3.3.1.

tinguished from pronouns in not being able to be followed by appositive NP's (or at least not in the same way: the question needs further investigation). Furthermore, if pronouns are introduced not by PS-rules, as here, but by a pronominalization transformation, and proper nouns are introduced by phrase structure rules, and this difference of origins has empirical import, then we have another syntactic difference.

Proper names can be divided on syntactic grounds (see Rule (9)(iii) and (iv)) and semantic grounds into proper names of person and proper names of place. Personal names share with pronouns the fact that they can be pluralized, or rather, collectivized, by the addition of a special morpheme, <bu>:^[2] e.g., <kweih tszci bu> (L 53) 'Gway Dzoy's group'). The Mien personal naming system is quite intricate, involving clan names, generation names, adult given names, childhood names and nicknames. Examples of childhood names are given in Section 3.4.1.3.2.5. The personal naming system is discussed in detail in Lombard (329-333). Personal names can also be pressed into service as place-names (see next paragraph).

[2] This structural feature is common to the South East Asian linguistic area, although of course the collectivizing morpheme differs from language to language: in Lahu, for instance, it is -hi (J.A. Matisoff: personal communication).

As for proper names of place, these like common nouns referring to some particular place, are normally accompanied by spatial co-deictics (see Section 3.11 PS-rules (1)(iii), (iv) or (v)--(2)(iii)--(9), and Section 3.2.5), and in fact these accompaniments have the power to turn personal names into place names (see Section 3.2.5).

3.2.3 Interrogative/indefinite pronouns. It is convenient to treat these as a kind of noun because they can fill the subject, object and oblique spots in the sentence: (for a more precise grammatical characterization see footnote in Section 3.2). Some examples are: <haiv#tau#h> 'who?/anyone', <haiv#nawm> 'what?/anything' <haiv#tsanc> 'when?/at any time', <haiv#nyunc> 'what kind?/anything, any kind' <tsoux#haiv-nyunc> 'why?/for any reason'. The interrogative meaning is obtained if the sentence containing the word has a content-question intonation or is an indirect (i.e. embedded) question. Otherwise the indefinite interpretation applies. In normal speech style the constituent <haiv> is reduced to <hav>. It is a bound morpheme, and carries the interrogative/indefinite part of the meaning. It is obviously an allomorph of the locative adverb <haix> 'where?/anywhere'.

The final syllable of each of the above forms is a classifier (see Section 3.4.2) or, in the case of <dau>, and

<naw>, a quasi-classifier (see Section 3.4.2.1.8). The constituent <hnangv> is a particle meaning 'like'. The constituent <tsoux> is a verb meaning 'to do', so that the expression translated 'why?/for any reason' is -- or is historically derived from -- a clause meaning 'to do what?/to do anything'; parallels for this are to be found in Thai, Lahu, Cantonese, etc.

In the expression for 'what?/anything' the classifier varies according to what kind of referent the speaker has in mind, as do classifiers in quantitative expressions, but probably to a lesser extent than in quantitative expressions. Interrogative/indefinite nouns can be followed by other nouns, to which they are subordinate, e.g., <haiv/nyungc tawngx> 'what kind of place?/in any kind of place'.

3.2.4 The demonstratives <naiv> 'this', <naic> 'that (near addressee)', <uay> 'you'. Demonstratives may occur as autonomous N's through the application of PS-rules of Section 3.11: these are Rules (1)(i)--(4)--(5)(i) (in this account of the phenomenon there is no N even in the deep structure, but the rules could be rewritten so as to provide a N in all cases, which would then be deleted by a transformation): e.g., <naiv haiv/nyungc> 'What is this' ('This [is] what?') (see Figure 3(V) in Section 3.9): <naiv Jhawn nyei pyauv> 'This is John's house', <naic yia gemh

faix haic> 'I don't want that -- it's too small' ('That I reject be-small very').

Dem's may occur adnominally in prenominal and/or post-nominal position through the operation of Section 3.11 PS-Rules (1)(ii), (iii), (iv) or (v)--(2)--(3)--(5)--(6). Prenominal Dem occurs in the surface structure "Dem (+ <teix>) (+ Num + Clf) + N" (<teix> "soreness" is a Group-Clf used when N is semantically plural): e.g., <naiv mienh> 'this person' (Dem + N), <naiv tauh mienh> 'this person' (Dem + Clf + N), <naiv teix mienh> 'these people' (Dem + Clf + N), <naiv teix i tauh mienh> 'these two people' (Dem + Clf + Num + Clf + N): when followed by Clf of whatever kind <naiv> is commonly reduced to <mv> or <nv>, according to subdialect, and <naic> to <nh>, according to my informants, and <nc> according to Lombard (254).

Post-nominally Dem concludes the NP and is resumptive: e.g., <mh tauh auv-kwaav-mienh naic> 'that widow' ('that Clf widow that'), where it is right next to the head-noun, or <uav nawm mong [yia tawh mingh iaanh tsawc] uav> 'that clock that I took to the shop to be repaired' ('that Clf clock I take go shop repair] that') (square brackets enclose KC).

In the body of a narrative <naic> can mean either 'that (near addressee)', or 'the, the aforementioned'. Furthermore the three Demonstratives -- or corresponding homonymous

adverbs -- have the space-deictic adverbial meanings 'here', 'there (near addressee)' and 'yonder', respectively.

3.2.5 Spatial co-deictics. These follow the demonstrative <uav>, and with it yield the following deictic expressions: <uav jhiav> '(that) up yonder (of a place above and at some distance from the speaker)'; <uav chaav maengx> '(that) over yonder on the higher side, up the hill!'; <uav maengx> '(that there) on that side, on the far side'; <uav dau> 'that (place) nearby'; <uav caangc> 'ahead there (at some distance from the speaker), over there (may be out of sight)'; <uav ngaanc> 'over yonder (at a medium distance from the speaker and at about the same elevation, the object lying beyond some natural lower area, such as a river or valley, but within possible view of the speaker)'; <uav hwaav> 'over yonder (at a medium distance and about the same elevation as the speaker, but the object is unable to be seen from his location)'; <uav diav uav> 'down yonder there'; <uav diav> 'down yonder (a place lower than and at some distance from the speaker's location)'; <uav diav haav maengx> 'down yonder side (where the trail goes down, levels off, and then rises slightly)'.

As an example, a Mien living approximately at sea level in Richmond, California, may speak of going to San Francisco (out of sight, across the San Francisco Bay, approximately

at sea level) in several ways, including <mingh uav hwaav Saen/Fraensivko (uav)>, or <mingh uav maengx Saen/Fraensivko (uav)>.

This system of spatial deixis seems, by comparison with other languages of the Southeast Asian area, to be (a) very highly differentiated, and (b) very much insisted upon: thus, for instance, for 'go home' one says <dzuax uav pyauv> ('return [to] yonder house, which may be out of sight') where other languages of the linguistic area would be content with 'return house'.

It is also interesting to note that by being incorporated into an expression of spatial deixis personal names become locative expressions: e.g., <mingh uav hwaav Kweih Tsoih uav> 'go over yonder to Gway Dzoy's place' (L 301) ('go over yonder Gway Dzoy yonder').

3.2.6 The personal pronouns. These can be tabulated as follows:

yia	'I'	yia/bua	'we'
meih	'you (sg.)'	meih/bua	'you (pl.)'
ninh	'he/she/it'	ninh/bua	'they'

When unstressed <meih/bua> becomes <mh/bua> and <ninh/bua> becomes <nah/bua> or <lah/bua>. <yia/bua> alternates in usage with simple <bua>: my informants deny, and Lombard does not mention, the distinction <yia/bua> 'we (exclusive)' versus <bua> 'we (inclusive)' attributed to Mien by Mao (1972:248).

3.3. Compound nouns. What Matisoff says under this heading about Lahu (1973:Sec. 3.3) applies almost without change to Mien:

"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 [compound noun] ... yet some constructions are of an intermediate nature ... [for] ... '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".

We consider (a) pronouns always to be separate words, (b) particles to be separate words from their head nouns, (c) numerals to be separate words from their classifiers, and (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 <neyi>, which in turn is separate from the following possessed head NP. All 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.

As with Lahu, all compound nouns are autonomous. The vast majority are binary, in the sense that they may be analyzed into two immediate constituents.

While compound nouns shade off into syntactic constructions in one direction they shade off into polysyllabic nominal morphemes in another. These are not very numerous but there are some quite common ones: e.g., <kaqc-naiv> 'thing' (L 121), <ku0-ngwaaz> (L 127) 'baby, child', <m0-gawngv> (L 234) 'head'. I have hyphenated them as if they were multiconstituent, following Matisoff (1973:Sec. 3.3). For further discussion regarding problematical cases in the identification of morphemes, see Section 3.3.5.2(c)

3.3.1 Compound orders and hyphenization. A first-order compound is one whose elements are both single morphemes: <tungz-awv> 'pig meat; pork', <pyauv-hien> 'beside the house' ("house-environs"), <mweiz-tawngv> 'honey' ("bee-sugar" <tawngv> < Ch. (AD #373.4)). Such compounds are written with a single hyphen between the constituents. A second-order compound has a first-order compound as one or

both of its constituents: <bing=tweiv=daauv> 'long-tailed monkey' (*monkey=tail-long*), <puaz=dccv=dzaeng> 'finger-ring' (*hand-extremity=ring*), <byauh=yaangh=tawn> 'a late-growing kind of yellow rice' (*rice-yellow=child*), <hunghtiax#dau=peih>[3] (L 230) 'king of the earth' (*king-father=earth-surface*).

These compounds are written with a double hyphen "=" between the two major constituents, with single hyphens between the other syllables. Similarly, third-order compounds (i.e., those having a second-order compound as a constituent), are written with a triple hyphen "≡" at the point where the first cut is to be made, and double and single hyphens where appropriate: <jhier≡puaz=doqv=dzaeng> (L 95) 'a gold ring' (*gold≡finger=ring*); <jhiem> <Ch. (AD #386.1)).

For each higher order we may add a hyphen at the point of primary division: thus <tom[≡hiaz-tungz=gaiv≡dui> 'big heap of wild pig's dung' (*big≡wild-pig=dung≡heap*, with <hiaz> <Ch. (AD #228), correspondence problematical).

[3] A slash through a hyphen or hyphen-combination does not change the logical meaning of the symbol, but is a pronunciation-marker, indicating that the syllable to the left of the hyphen is not subjected to tone-sandhi (see *passim*).

Doubtful cases can arise: the hierarchy of constituency may be unclear, compounds may contain unique, difficult-to-interpret syllables, and so on. In these matters we have followed Matisoff's (1973:Sec. 3.3.1) principles of hyphenation; i.e., (a) use single, unhierarchized hyphens when the constituent structure is completely obscure: e.g., <taŋŋ-nawŋ-nih> (L 74) 'jackfruit', except that (b) syllables may be run together in loanwords that are not easily segmented even in the donor language, e.g. <Saen/ Fraensisvko>, 'San Francisco'.

It is convenient to subdivide compound nouns into those whose immediate constituents are themselves nominal, i.e., noun-noun compounds, and those which contain a verb as one of their constituents.

3.3.2 Noun-noun compounds (N-N cpds). These can be conveniently divided into co-ordinate and hetero-ordinate.

3.3.21 Co-ordinate N-N cpds.

3.3.211 Appositional N-N cpds. This is a somewhat dubious category. Some candidates are <hungh-tiax> (L 230) 'king' and <hungh-maac> (L 230) 'queen' ("[the] sovereign-[our] father" and "[the] sovereign-[our] mother" respectively, <hungh> < Ch. (AD #1298), <tiax> < Ch. (AD #1006), tone problematical, <maac> < Ch. (AD #592), tone problemati-

cal). The problem here is that <hungh> could also perhaps be interpreted as a modifier and the second constituent as head, although the relationship is clearly not genitival.

Also perhaps belonging under this rubric is a curious kind of compound of the structure "mienh + V + mienh" (lit. "people V people") with the general meaning 'V-ing kind of people': let us baptize them double-mienh compounds and write an example provisionally without hyphens, as follows: <mienh japv mienh> 'stingy people' (L 111, 237), where <japv> (L 111) means 'to be tight; to pinch, to bind; to grasp (in a pincer motion)'. Now both "V + N" and "N + V" noun compounds almost always show tone sandhi on the first constituent (see Section 3.3.3 et seq.), while double-mienh compounds never show TS between the V and the final <mienh>.

Furthermore the first <mienh> could well be under TS since its underlying tone, <-h> i.e., falling, by nature shows no change under TS. This suggests a constituent structure of <mienh-japv#mienh> i.e., "tight-person=person". Let us now offer some more examples giving them this constituent structure: <mienh-dzweic#mienh> (L 237) 'pretty/handsome person' (<dzweic> 'pretty, handsome'), <mienh-kwai#mienh> 'clever person' (<kwai> 'clever'), <mienh-maaih#mienh> 'wealthy person' (<maaih> 'to have') which has a synonymous compound <putv-tsoih#mienh> (<putv>

'to be afflicted with; to become something out of the ordinary'; <tsoih> -- meaning uncertain; <putv tsoih> 'to be rich'; <mienh-jhomc#mienh> 'poor person' (<jhomc> 'poor'). For a possible explanation of the phenomenon of double-mienh compounds, see below.

3.3.212 Additive (dyandya) compounds. These occur (a) in numerals, in "augend + addend" constructions: e.g., <tsiepc-faam> 'thirteen' (see Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.2); (b) as combinations of nouns which jointly define a natural set -- let us call them jointly definitive binomes; e.g., <tiax-maac> (IS optional) 'parents' ("father-mother" < Ch. (AD #1006.1, #592.7 -- tones of both morphemes for some reason shifted from #A to #C)), <kawx-yiouz> 'brothers' (L 129) ("older brother-younger brother": <kawx> (L 129) < Ch. (AD #413), with same change of tone-class as for <tiax> and <maac> above); <yiem0-yaangh> 'the Yin and the Yang' ("Yin-Yang"; < Ch. (AD #274, #214.2)); <lungh-dau> 'the entire cosmos; heaven and earth' ("heaven-earth"); <nyaanh-pyaangh=nyaanh-piouu> (L 271) 'silver jewelry engraved with patterns of flowers and fruits' ("silver-flowers=silver-fruits").

Jointly definitive binomes have the property of being separable: each part may be severally made the object of a verb, without the collectivity-meaning of the unseparated

compound being lost; e.g., <lawz kawz lawz yiouz> 'to look for one's brothers' ("look-for older-brother(s) look-for younger-brother(s)"). [4] Although separable, the fact that the elements have combined to form a new and unitary entity is shown (a) by the TS which occurs in most cases, and (b) by the fact that the compound is treated as a unitary head in quantificational expressions: e.g., <pyei jhieqv puaz-tsau> 'the four (human) extremities; four hands and feet' ("four Clf hand-foot").

Sometimes the constituents are polar: if we refer to the constituents as A and B we can define the meaning as 'both A and B' or 'A, B and everything in between'; e.g., <dawm-muanz> (L 92) 'day and night; from morning till night' ("morning-night"). Another way in which additive compounds can be separated is by several reduplication of the constituents; e.g., <fun-faqv> 'descendants; grandchildren and great-grandchildren' ("grandchildren-great grandchildren") --> <fun-fun#faqv-faqv> 'all descendants'.

[4] The process of separation is simply the general process of which a special case has been referred to by the term "ionization of compounds", a term whose use in linguistics is of uncertain origin, but was fixed by Y.R. Chao (see for instance Chao 1968:155 et seq.) and was followed by Matisoff (see, for instance, Matisoff 1973:Secs. 3.39, 4.46). The result of the process is an "elaborate expression", in this case a verbal one; see Matisoff 1973:index of topics. Elaborate expressions in Mien stand in need of further investigation.

Regarding IS in additive compounds, see Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.1 for the numerals. With unreduplicated binary forms, the leftmost constituent normally undergoes IS. Where separate reduplication occurs, there is normally IS immediately to the left of "–", but not of "=".

3.3.22 Hetero-ordinate N + N compounds. These are more common than co-ordinate N + N compounds, and semantically one noun -- let us call it the specifier noun (N^{sp}) -- modifies the other -- let us call it the head noun (N^h). The direction of modification is not uniform in nominal compounds, whether the modifier be a noun or a verb (for the latter see Section 3.3.3). The first constituent normally undergoes IS whatever the direction of modification. The prevalent direction is "N^{sp} -N^h". It is convenient to discuss the smaller category, "N^h -N^{sp}" compounds, first.

3.3.221 N^h -N^{sp} compounds. Since these are a minority we can discern some kind of semantic grouping here, viz., animate things -- various natural species and aspects thereof: traditionally known non-Mien ethnic groups, kinds of birds, fishes, snakes and worms, insects, trees and plants, bones, natural fluids: e.g., <jhanx=law/hec> (L 98) 'the Lahu people', <jhanx=aav/khaah> (L 98) 'the Akha people' -- cf. <lu0-Mienh> 'the Iu people, Iu Mien' with N^{sp} first; <nawqv-go> (L 261) 'cove, pigeon' ('bird-

dove/pigeon"), <byauz-hleix> (L 57) 'star-fish' ("fish-star"), <naang-dzung=sim> 'pinworm' ("worm-pin/needle"), <kaeng-pyei> 'caterpillar' ("insect-hair"): <pyei> (< Ch. (AD #721)), with *tone gone to *clear -- cr *initial gone to *voiceless) (but cf. opposite order in <ku0-maeqc-kaeng> (L 119) 'large, brown, flying beetle' ("corn-insect")), <dyangx-kwaa> (L 86) 'papaya tree' ("tree-melon/cucumber": <kwaa> < Ch. (AD #432)) -- but cf. <somv-dyangx> (L 215) (a kind of tree), <byauh=tomh-tshuqv> (L 57) 'big-kernel rice' ("rice=big-kernel"), <lai-pyaangh> (L 289) 'cauliflower' ("vegetable-flower"), <kwaa-uam> 'large water-melon' ("melon-water"), <bunqv-zeih> (L 349) 'collar bone' ("bone-paddle"), <uam-dzuih> (L 11) 'saliva' ("water-mouth").

It should be noted here that the names of the various fingers and toes are also "head-first" but the modifiers are not, or at least not positively, nouns. Likewise, the compound names of higher animals are "head-first", but we have not positively identified any of their modifiers as nominal; there are plenty with verbal modifiers: e.g., <maaz-pen> (L 243) 'zebra' ("horse-striped"). Apart from these natural phenomena we have a handful of other compounds: e.g., <pyauv-phaangh> (L 33) 'a house with a guest platform' ("house-platform"), <nyaanh-hleax> (L 271) 'salary' ("money-month"), <hungh-tiax#dau-peih> (L 230) 'king of the earth' ("king-father=earth-surface"), <tshia=dau> (L 173)

'land vehicles' ("vehicle-land": cf. <tcuz-tshia> 'train' ("fire-vehicle").

As regards IS, this normally occurs to the left of "—" i.e., lowest-level juncture. The position to the left of "=" needs further checking.

Also deserving of mention here are the locational NPs consisting of prefix-containing specific location noun and located noun, when the prefix-containing specific location noun, which is the N, happens to come first: e.g., <ka-nyuaz=^hlomh> 'in(side) the forest' ("interior forest"). [5] Three points are to be noted here: (a) the constituents are reversible, (apparently) without change of meaning; (b) contrary to the norm in N-N compounds, the first constituent does not undergo IS; (c) these entities are on the borderline of morphological compounds and syntactic constructions; (d) they can be fused into indubitable compounds by fixing the specific-location noun to the right of N, and dropping its prefix: thus <pyauv ka^hlomh> 'beside the house' (no IS on N) --> <pyauv-lomh> 'id.' (with IS). See further Section 3.6.

[5] Note that the specific location noun really is the head, i.e., the compound refers to a kind of interior, not to a kind of forest. To obtain the meaning 'forest of/in the interior' one would have to use the subordinating particle <nyei>: thus <ka-nyuaz nyei lomh>.

Further to be noted here are compounds containing the augmentative form <tom0->. This is always preposed and since it is a bound form it is hard to assign it definitely to a form class: it translates as 'big', e.g., <tomh-byauz> 'big fish', but it may underlyingly be nominal -- 'big thing': cf. the diminutivizer <tawn>, as in <byauz-tawn> 'little fish', where <tawn> also occurs free as a noun meaning 'child'.

We should also mention again the compounds <hungh-tiax> 'king', <hungc-maac> 'queen' (see Section 3.3.2.1.1), in which it is hard to say whether the relationship of the constituents is appositional or modificational, and if the latter, what the direction of modification is.

3.3.222 N =N compounds. These are the unmarked form of compound, so semantically they can only be characterized negatively, i.e., they do not refer to the kind of thing specified at the beginning of Section 3.3.2.2.1. It should be noted that animate species, or parts of them, while figuring as heads in Section 3.3.2.2.2 can also function, like inanimate things, as modifiers, e.g., as possessors/originators/orientation-points or as materials:

- (i) <jhia-daav> (L 352) 'chicken's wing' ('chicken-wing'),

- (ii) <jhai-jhau> (L 96) 'her's egg',
- (iii) <jhai-lauz> 'a setting basket for hens',
<jhaix=m0-gawngv> 'glans penis' ("penis-head"),
- (iv) <diangx-jhiouh> 'wooden bridge' ("tree/wood-
bridge"), <h!auv-jhiouh> 'bamboo bridge',
- (v) <h!iaqv-jhiouh> 'iron/steel bridge',
- (vi) <hnaav-jhiouv> (L 96) 'the handle of a crossbow'
("crossbow-handle"),
- (vii) <mienh-waac> 'the Mien language',
- (viii) <lai-dzawmc> (L 191) 'vegetable-bowl'
("vegetable-bowl"),
- (ix) <hwingx-tsicuv> (L 300) 'head gardener' ("garden-
chief"),
- (x) <maeqc-kwaengv> (L 239) 'cornstalk (on which ears
are growing)' ("corn-stem"),
- (xi) <hmien-syaam> (L 232) 'facial whiskers' ("face-
whiskers"),
- (xii) <tsingh-kaengh> 'city gate' (<tsingh> 'city' < Ch.
(AD #1204), <kaengh> 'door').

Higher-order compounds that show this structure at all levels are, for instance, <ngonch-dopv=pin> (L 16) 'strips of leather used as a whip' ("ox-hide=whip"), <jhiem=puaz-dopv=dzaeng> (L 95) 'gold ring' ("gold=hand-extremity-ring"). There are also higher-order compounds whose immediate constituents show this structure but have a different structure at lower levels: e.g., <in-byaatc=dzatv> 'tobacco-pipe' ("opium-spicy hot=pipe"), which has the structure

$$\begin{array}{c} [N -V] \\ h \quad \text{adj} \quad \text{Nsp} \quad h \end{array} = N .$$

So far as TS is concerned, it normally occurs at all levels of juncture joining N_{sp} and N_h .

3.3.3 Verb-containing nominal compounds. These are nominalizations of clauses, and we will present them here according to the underlying clause. It is convenient to start with compounds containing adjectives, (V_{adj}) first, because of the simplicity of the underlying clause: subject-N + predicate V_{adj} .

3.3.31 Nominal compounds containing V_{adj} , These can be classified according to whether the V_{adj} follows the N_h , which is the usual case, or precedes it. Whatever the order, the usual rule is for the first constituent to undergo tone sandhi.

3.3.311 $V_{adj} + N_h$ compounds. There is a small set of adjectives that precede the N. It is hard to see any semantic rationale governing what adjectives precede the N, so we will simply give some examples of them: <syang> 'new', as in <syang-deic> (L 219) 'new fields', <loz> 'old jacket', <kaam> 'sweet', as in <kaam-tsiax> (L 125) 'sugar-cane' (<tsiax> 'sugar-cane'), <khungx> 'empty', as in <khungx=kaqc-pawng> (L 140) 'empty can', <pau> 'long, flowing (as a robe)', as in <pau-lui> (L 39) 'long robe', <khuv> 'good', as in <khuv/jhauv> (L 139) 'a good course of action.[6] Some V_{adj} normally follow N_h but precede it in a few compounds: e.g., <gaai> 'cry' in <gaai-hnoi> (L 146) 'dry days' (cf. <fan0-tsiu-gaai> 'dried peppers'), <paeqc> 'white', as in <paeqc-yiac> (L 310) 'a kind of white moth' (cf. <jhuv-paeqc> 'white dog').

Both "fore-" adjectives and "aft-" adjectives may co-occur in the same compound: e.g., <syang=jhuv-jhieqv> 'new black dog'. (Query: are there other than "common sense" criteria for placing the first cut, "=" , where we have done so here?) It has been claimed (Miao Language Team 1972:264) that the pattern of foreplaced V_{adj} is borrowed from Chinese, on the grounds that all the V_{adj} involved are Chinese loanwords. This is very possibly true, but a few

[6] Note that Lombard shows no IS here. The informant that I checked this with, however, used IS.

remarks need to be made in this connection:

(a) There are many V ^{adj}'s borrowed from Chinese that are not prepositive -- in fact the great majority of them are not -- so the question arises why one particular small subset of Chinese-derived adjectives is prepositive. Some may be modern loans, but <kaam> 'sweet', for one, is not.

(b) The pattern presumably begins with Chinese V ^{adj} + N compounds borrowed holus-bolus and spreads to compounds ^h in which N was not a loanword, e.g., <syang-hnyaangx> 'new year'.

(c) The very common augmentative morpheme <tom0-> 'big' is prepositive and is apparently not from Chinese. However since it cannot occur predicatively it cannot be demonstrated to be an adjective, and may in origin be a noun -- as is its (postpositive!) diminutivize counterpart <tawn> (see Sections 3.3.2.2.1, 3.3.5.2(b)). But, whatever its origins <tom0> is now felt to be semantically akin to the V ^{adj} <hlo> 'big' and clearly might have helped the prepositive-adjective pattern to establish itself in Mien.

(d) The variability of adjective placement is just another example of the general variability of modifier placement in Mien nominal compounds.

3.3.312 The "aft-" adjective. The "aft-" adjective is the norm and only a few examples will be given: <auv-hlo> (L 180) 'major wife' (<hlo> 'big'), <auv-faix> (L 5) 'a second wife (taken after death of first)' (<faix> 'small'), <auv-piqv> (L 13) 'sterile wife' (<piqv> 'barren, sterile'), <eiv-siqv> (L 3) 'red chair' (<siqv> 'red'), <eiv-waaic> 'broken chair' (<waaic> 'spoiled, broken'), <tungz-im> 'castrated pig' (<im> (L 1) 'castrate'), <tungz-tshaan> (L 180) 'medium-sized pig' (<tshaan> 'medium-sized').

More than one "aft" adjective may occur in one and the same compound: <jhianx-jhieqv=kcx> 'an aged black person' ('foreigner-black=old), and the first "aft" adjective undergoes tone sandhi before the second.[7]

3.3.32 Nominal compounds containing action-verbs. Once again it is the norm for the verb to follow. We will deal with the unusual, reverse, order first.

[7] The segmentation here is justified by that facts (a) that <jhianx-jhieqv> is an established term for a person belonging to a dark-skinned race, (b) that the adjectives are not reversible here -- one cannot say ≠<jhianx-kox-jhieqv>. If one wishes to alter the logical categorization to 'black aged person' one can indeed reverse the terms, but must substitute for the adjective <kox> a noun, such as <ong> (lit. 'father's father' but used in certain contexts to mean 'old man'): thus <jhianx-ong-jhieqv> 'black aged person'.

3.3.321 V + N compounds. A variety of underlying clauses is represented: e.g., <aa0-dzyaauc=buax> (L 9) 'nickname' (presumably from <X heuc Y buax "N" aa0-dzyaauc> "X calls Y [by-the-]name "N" play"), <aa0-dzyaauc toic> (L 6) 'playmate, friend' (presumably from <X tshaux toic aa0-dzyaauc> "X be-with companion play", although it might equally well come from <toic tshaux X aa0-dzyaauc> "companion plays with X", which would bring it into line with <bienz-toic> -- see below), <peu-tshia> (L 17) 'rented vehicle' (presumably from <X peu tshia> "X be-responsible-for vehicle"), <pwangh-waac> (L 31) 'words of praise' (presumably from <X kawngv waac pwangh Y> "X speaks words praise Y"), <bienz-toic> (L 45) 'companion' (presumably from <toic bienz X> "companion escorts X", thus an agentive construction).

The underlying clauses are tentative,[8] but at any

[8] We would suggest that the exercise of providing (syntactic) underlying forms for compound nouns is inherently tentative. Cf. English: "One difficulty with providing underlying forms for compounds such as [house cat, housefly, house guest and housepainter] is that in most cases the native speaker's understanding of the relationship is based not so much on his knowledge of the language as it is on his other knowledge, such as what a cat, a fly, a guest, or a painter normally does in regard to a house. No adequate suggestion has yet been made as to how to handle this kind of knowledge. In fact, many linguists feel that nonlinguistic knowledge such as this has no place in linguistic analysis. Yet speakers of English can create new compounds almost as readily as they can new sentences, and other people can understand them." (Liles 1972:17). Let us note further that in a review of nominal com-

rate it is quite clear that N stands in a variety of underlying grammatical relationships to V. There is perhaps a tendency for N to be in some kind of obliquely-governed relationship to V.

3.3.322 N + V compounds. Here perhaps there is a tendency for N to be either the subject or direct object of V in underlying grammatical structure: e.g., <auv-pyau> (L 5) 'a runaway wife' (<auv pyau> 'the wife runs away'), <bungv-phyatv> (L 43) 'dislocated bone' (<bungv phyatv> 'the bone slips out of place'), <nyaah-pawng> (L 42) 'buck teeth' (<nyaah pawng> 'the teeth protrude'), <juav-bong> 'a risen loaf of bread' (<juav bong> 'the bread rises'). So far these compounds have contained intransitive verbs, so that they are quite parallel in structure to [N + V]-compounds. Sometimes V is transitive (with object deleted): e.g., <tsaangz-thaw> (L 163) 'an elephant used to haul loads' (cf. <tsaangz thaw kaqc-naiv> 'the elephant hauls things').

Sometimes N is object: e.g., <ku0-ngwaaz=hlawpv> (L 283) 'a foster-child, adopted child' (<X hlawpv ku0-

pounds with verbal constituents in Thai, a language in which the verbal constituent must always stand to the right, Warutamasintop (1975) argues that they should be listed in the lexicon as single lexical items rather than derived by transformational rules (as in Fasold 1969, Warotamasikkhadit 1972) or by lexical rules (as in, for instance, Thomson 1973).

ngwaaz> "X picks-up-and-carries-in-arms child"), [9] <juav-
 ipv> (L 113) 'steamed bread' (X ipv juav> "X covers-over[
 and-processes] bread"), <nyaanh-dawngc> (L 93) 'a down-
 payment' (cf. <X dawngc nyaah> "X lays-down-as-security
 money"). Sometimes N is arguably oblique: <maaz-keh>
 (L 118) 'a riding-horse'^h (<X keh maaz> 'X rides on a
 horse'), <pyaav-byaac> (L 34) 'a walking-stick' (<X byac
 pyaav> "X walks-with-a-stick [with-a-]stick").

3.3.4 Compounds of more than two morphemes. These have
 been treated passim under the various headings so far. [10]
 We can divide them into (a) compounds that break down into
 either bimorphemic compounds or trimorphemic compounds and
 single morphemes on the one hand, and (b) compounds that
 contain a reduced relative clause on the other. Of the
 former category only one type remains to be treated, viz.
 those that contain verbs: N is complex and the modifier is
 a verb: e.g., <puaz-doqv=daauv> (L 25) 'middle finger'
 ("hand-extremity=long"); we have no sure examples of aft-
 placed complex N.^h

3.3.41 Nominal compounds containing a reduced rela-
 tive clause. Let us note first of all that for theories

[9] See footnote about this word in below.

[10] Sections 3.3.1, 3.3.2.1.1-2, 3.3.2.2.1-2,
 3.3.3.1.1-2.

which attempt to provide a syntactic deep structure for nominal compounds, every such compound contains a reduced relative clause. But in keeping with our general approach of eclecticism and expository simplicity we will discuss under this heading only those compounds where the RC is more obviously such, i.e., where the modifier is more than simply a noun or a verb.

(a) The most typical case is where modifier is [V + N]: e.g., with modifier first, <taav-hlieqv#mienh> 'blacksmith' ("beat-iron=person"), [11] <tshawh-dzaangc#kaqc-naiv> (L 183) 'an eraser' ("rub=written-words#thing"), <kaatv-tseiv#dzuqc> (L 125) 'special knife for cutting paper used in spirit ceremonies' ("cut-paper=knife"), <mangc-pyauv#mienh> 'watchperson' ("watch-house=person"); with N first <jhianx=tsauv#pyauv> 'watchman' ("foreigner=^hguard (v.)-house"), <tshia=pungx-puatv> (L 173) 'motorcycle' ("vehicle=release-fart").

(b) Modifier may also be a resultative binome <pungx-yiaz=gingx≡dia> (L 144) 'a diuretic medicine' (from <pungx-yiaz gingx> (L 144) 'to have pain when urinating' ("void urine smart")), <jiac#tingc#tsung≡dyangx> (L 337) 'a tree

[11] Note that this is the opposite of the Thai order, as exhibited, for instance, in raan-tat-phom 'barber shop' ("shop=cut-hair"), but is the same as the Chinese order in such compounds.

with firm roots' ("put-down=settle_h=roots_htree"); we have no examples of a prepositive N when the RC is of this degree of complexity.

(c) "RC" may also be [N + V]: <jhuv=tsaux-nauv> 'a dog with a broken leg' ("dog_h=leg=be-broken"), <bing=tweiv-daauv> (L 76) 'long-tailed monkey' ("monkey_h=tail-long"); in this case the compound is a nominalization of a [topic + subject]-sentence: <jhuv tsaux nauv> "with regard to the dog, the leg is broken", <bing tweiv daauv> "As for the monkey, the tail is long".

3.3.5 Other aspects of nominal compounds.

3.3.51 Compounds with bound constituents. These are dealt with separately, simply because it is not possible to ascribe with certainty a part-of-speech classification to bound forms. It should be recalled too that the boundary between compounds and polysyllabic morphemes is not clear-cut: see Section 3.3 above, and immediately following sections below.

3.3.52 Types of bound constituent.

(a) Prefixes: Some of these are clear in meaning, such as

(i) the augmentative <tom_h->, which, for instance,

when added to <jhiepv> 'bear' yields <tom₀-jhiepv> (L 71) 'large bear, mature bear', and when added to <mienh> 'person' yields <tomh-mienh> (L 71) 'adults, grown-ups',

- (ii) the hypocoristic <aaf> which is preposed to kinship terms: e.g., <aaf₁tia> 'daddy', <aaf₁maa> 'mommy', and
- (iii) <kai₀-> (L 12), usually reduced to <ka₀->, 'side', in the prefix-having spatial nouns; <ka₀-nyuaz> (L 122) 'interior; [space] inside', <ka₀-nyiac> (L 122) 'exterior; [space] outside', etc.; presumably the <ku₀-> of <ku₀-ngwaaic> (L 128) '[space] above' is a version of this with the reduced vowel harmonizing with the back-rounded element of the following stressed syllable.[12]

Other prefixes are not so clear in meaning: e.g., <m₀-> occurs in certain body-parts: <m₀-gawngv> 'head', <m₀-tsing> 'eye', <m₀-nawmh> 'ear'. Is this the same form as occurs in <m₀-lomh> 'cat'? It is quite likely that the <m₀-> in <m₀-jhaangc₁tawn> 'male human being, husband', is the same <m₀-> as in <m₀-siaqv₁tawn> 'female human being, wife', and it may well be a reduced form of <mienh> 'person' (cf. the double-

[12] See Section 1.2 for a discussion of vowel-harmony.

<mienh> compounds <mienh-jhaangc#mient> (L 327) 'men', <mienh-siaqv#mienh> (L 237) 'woman'), but this identification would hardly fit the other compounds just cited.

(b) Suffixes. The commonest suffix-like form we have collected is the diminutivizer <-tawn>, as in, for instance, <tiah-tawn> 'little table', <pyauv-tawn> 'little house'. This can also be used with animate nouns, such as <jhuv-tawn> 'little dog; puppy', and it is surely derived from the homophonous free form <tawn> 'son, child'.

Another suffix is the vocative suffix <-aa>, which is not preceded by tone-sandhi: e.g., <kawx'aa> 'Excuse me, sir' (to broach a strange man, lit. 'U elder brother').

There is a possible agentive suffix <-tauh> that we have found so far in only one word, viz. <touc-tauh> (L 64) 'a messenger' (from <touc> (L 64) 'to carry or convey a message'). Like <-tawn>, <-tauh> has a homophonous semantically close free form, in this case <tauh>, the Clf for human beings, higher animals and deities: cf. Thai tua, in tua-theen 'a representative' (theen 'to stand instead (of)') versus tua the Clf for personae in a theatrical performance, animals, articles of clothing and furniture.

(c) Morphans. By this term we mean, following Matisoff (1973:Sec. 3.333), who created it, 'orphan morphs that only

occur in one or two compounds, and to which it usually is impossible to assign any meaning distinct from that of the compound as a whole". As in Lahu, they are apt to occur in the names of animals and plants, which often run to several syllables: e.g., <hanʃsiah> (L 208) 'python' (both syllables), all but the first syllable in <nawqc=sienŭ-houh> (L 261) (a species of bird), all three syllables in <tawŭ-nawŭ-ni> (L 74) 'jackfruit', the middle syllable in <kaam-tsaiv-pyouv> 'orange' ("sweet-(?)-fruit"), and so on.

(d) Loan morphemes. Perhaps as many as fifty percent of the morphemes of Mien represent pre-modern loans from Chinese. These figure not merely as nominal morphemes, but as verbal morphemes and particles as well. Both bound and free morphemes are represented among the pre-modern loans from Chinese, as well as compounds borrowed as such. Many examples of morphemes and compounds borrowed from a pre-modern form of Chinese, as well as from contemporary Yunnanese and Lao are to be found in the subdivisions of Section 3.4.1 on the Numerals.

3.3.53 Reduplication in nominal compounds. The only kind of reduplication we have come across is separate reduplication of the constituents of additive compounds: see Section 3.3.2.2.1.2.

3.3.6 Final remarks on order of modifier and modified. Subsuming under the term "modifier", nominal morphemes, compound nouns, verbs and reduced relative clauses, we can conclude our review of the various kinds of compounds in Mien with some generalizing remarks: viz.

(a) where the modifier is a noun (simple or compound) or a reduced relative clause, animate N_hs tend to be on the left, and inanimate N_hs, with very few exceptions, on the right,

(b) where the modifier is a V_{adj}, the order seems to be a lexical feature of the V_{adj} -- most adjectives are postpositive but some are prepositive;

(c) where the modifier is an action verb there seems perhaps to be an ergative principle applying: if in the clause underlying the compound N_h is subject of an intransitive verb or object of a transitive verb then N_h is on the left, otherwise it is on the right; however this ergative principle, if real, is cut across by a tendency of animate N_h other than those referring to ethnic Mien persons to occur on the left under any circumstances, and for the individual word <mienh> to occur on the right under any circumstances.

Thus the ergative principle is seen most clearly in compounds where N is not <mienh> but is human. Thus: subject of intransitive verb -- <auv-p^haux> (L 5) 'a runaway wife' ("wife=flee"), <bungv-phyatv> (L 43) 'dislocated bone' ("bone=slip-out-of-line"), <tseiv-beux> (L 47) 'firecracker' ("paper=explode"), <juav-bong> (L 113) 'risen bread' ("bread-rise") object of a transitive verb -- <kuU-ngwaaz-hlawpv> (L 283) 'a foster-child, adopted child' ("child=pick-up"), [13] <tawn-maaiz> (L 75) 'a son adopted through purchase' ("son-buy"), <juav-ipv> (L 113) 'steamed bread' ("bread=cover-over"), <nyaanh-caungc> (L 93) 'a down-payment' ("money=lay-down"), <dzuih-paengx=tsua> (L 166) 'pursed lips' ("lips=pucker (trans.)").

As examples of the subject of transitive verb with a N other than <mienh> (such cases are hard to come by) on the right, we have <bienz-toic> (L 45) 'companion' ("escort=companion"), <touc-tauh> (L 64) 'a messenger' (cf. <touc waac> (L 64) 'to bear a message' ("to bear-as-a-message language"), and <tauh> otherwise a Clf for persons, here equals 'person'). It should be emphasized that the hypothesis that ergativity may partly explain the constituent ordering in this class of compound is highly tenta-

[13] Cf. the semantically analogous Lahu ya-g (J.A. Matisoff -- personal communication), and Malay anak angkat.

tive, and needs to be checked against a much larger body of lexical data than we currently have.

It is in terms of the tendency of the word <mienh> to occur on the right in compounds that we can attempt to explain some peculiarities of <mienh>-compounds: (a) <mienh> can not be combined with the noun-derived diminutive <tawn> (Query: Is this because this would force it to appear on the left?); (b) where <mienh> is combined with a postpositive adjective, or intransitive verb of which it is the underlying subject, <mienh> appears on the left but another, "dummy", <mienh> is placed at the right: hence the phenomenon of the "double-mienh compound". (See Section 3.3.2.1.1).

Other examples of this are: <mienh-dzweic#mienh> (L 237) 'pretty person' (<dzweic> 'pretty'), <mienh-lweic#mienh> (L 237) 'lazy person', <mienh-hngongx#mienh> (L 237) 'simpleton, harmless person' (<hngongx> 'docile, stupid'). In these double-<mienh> compounds the medial modifier may be a bound form, as in <mienh-jhaangc#mienh> 'male person'.

If the modifier is a relative clause derived from a "comment", or a sentential predicate construction, there may be an optional <mienh> on the right: thus <mienh=tsaux-nau (=mienh)> 'person with a broken leg' (see *passim*).

However, the hypothesis that the occurrence of the final <mienh> in double-<mienh> compounds is caused by the discomfort of having the word <mienh> on the left of a nominal compound referring to a person needs refinement, for (a) Mien possesses compounds with <mienh> on the left that are lexically distinguished by the presence or absence of the final <mienh> -- <mienh-kox#mienh> (L 237) 'old person', (<kox> 'old') versus <mienh-kox> 'village headman'; notice that the latter form is semantically excentric, it may be that the right-appended <mienh> represents a productive process used only in semantically endocentric compounds; (b) forms occur in which the left-most constituent is not <mienh>; although it does have a human referent, and yet the pleonastic right-appended <mienh> may be used: e.g., <auv-kwaav(=mienh)> 'widow' ('wife-bereft=person').

3.4. Special types of NP (1) quantified NP. By quantified NP we mean an NP containing a Q (see, PS-rules in Section 3.11). In connection with the quantified NP we shall discuss first the constituent "Num" (Sections 3.4.1, et seq.) and the "Cif" (Section 3.4.2).

3.4.1 The numerals (Num). [14] Numerals include the

[14] The following account of the Mien numeral system takes as its starting point the excellent summary in Purnell 1968:312-320.

numbers 1-9, multiplicative and additive constructions involving these (see Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.2 below), and the words 'many', 'several', 'how many?' and 'half'. Partly as a result of extensive borrowing from Chinese, the Mien numeral system is a rather complicated one. Some idea of its complexity can be gathered from the following table of the numerals involved in counting in the abstract from 1-30:

1. yietc	11. tsiepc-yietq	21. nyic-tsiepc=yietq
2. i	12. tsiepc-nyeic	22. nyic-tsiepc=nyeic
3. pua	13. tsiepc-faam	23. nyic-tsiepc=faam
4. pyei	14. tsiepc-feix	24. nyic-tsiepc=feix
5. pyaa	15. tsiepc-hmz	25. nyic-tsiepc=hmz
6. jhuv	16. tsiepc-luaqc	26. nyic-tsiepc=luaqc
7. siac	17. tsiepc-tshietv	27. nyic-tsiepc-tshietv
8. hietc	18. tsiepc-petv	28. nyic-tsiepc=petv
9. duah	19. tsiepc-jhuav	29. nyic-tsiepc=jhuav
10. tsiepc	20. nyic/tsiepc	30. faa-tsiepc

In the above table, numbers 1-9 are simple, i.e., they consist of a single morpheme; numbers 11-30 are complex, i.e., they consist of multiple morphemes, while <tsiepc> 'ten' is probably complex in underlying structure (see Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.4.1 below). What makes the above set of numerals relatively complicated, as East Asian languages go, [15] is (a) the suppletion (no common expression of 2-9

[15] The Japanese numeral system is even more compli-

as between simple 2-9 on the one hand, and 11-999 on the other) and (b) the morphophonemics, to some extent segmental but more especially tonal, i.e., the occurrence or non-occurrence of tone sandhi. (See Section 3.4.1.31.1.1.8 below.)

3.4.11 Classification of numeral morphemes by co-occurrence. In terms of co-occurrence possibilities the numeral morphemes for 1-9 fall into three mutually exclusive sets, and a fourth set which largely overlaps with the second. The "powers of ten" are parcelled out among the first two sets. The sets are as tabled below:

cated.

No.	Set I	Set II	Set III	Set IV
1.	yietc	yietv	kauv**, taa(x)**	kcih**, meix**, mwaangz**
2.	i	nyeic nyic	naix**	naix**
3.	pua	faam faa-	san	faam
4.	pyei	feix	sux	feix
5.	pyaa	hmz	uv	hmz, manv**
6.	jhuqv	luaqc	luc	luaqc
7.	siac	tshietv	tshic	tshietv
8.	hietc	petv	paac	petv
9.	duah	jhuav tsiepc	jhiouv sipv	jhuav tsiepc
	'ten'			
	'hundred'			
	'thousand'	tshin		
	'ten thousand'	waanc		
	'hundred thousand'	sinx		
	'million'	laanh		
	'many'	tshamv		
	'several'	tsiax		
	'how many'	buqc-tsiax		
	'half'	daamv		
	'the whole'	tsiangx-*		
	'only one'	duqc		

* This form is entered in L 152 as if its underlying tone were <-h> and tone sandhi did not apply. On the grounds that it is an areal feature for verbs which mean 'to finish' to also mean 'all, the whole' I am interpreting the phonetically falling tone as simply reflecting tone sandhi between the verb <tsiangx> (L 153) 'to complete; to become finished' as the following Clf, as occurs with <tshamv> 'many', <daamv> 'half' and perhaps vacuously with <duqc> 'only one' (see Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.1(B)(g) below.

** Form not necessarily a numeral: see Section 3.2.5 below.

*** My informants deny that <manv> is in any sense a numeral, but Purnell (1968:317-322) cites it as such (see Section 3.2.5 below).

There is more on co-occurrence questions at Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.3 below.

3.4.12 Provenience of the Num morphemes. 'One' of Set I is fairly obviously from Chinese, but the tone is irregular (cf. the regular 'one' of Set II). The numerals from 'two' to 'nine' of Set I presumably go back to proto-Miao-Yao.[16] Set II, and Set II in its entirety, along with 'thousand', 'ten thousand' and 'hundred thousand' are pre-modern loans from Chinese; 'million' is from Lao.[17] 3-9 of Set II are modern loans from Chinese,[18] i.e., from some form of southwestern Mandarin. <sipv> of Set III is presumably from Lao. The remaining forms of Set III, as well as those of Set IV which do not coincide with Set II require further study.

3.4.13 Ordinary and special numeration. Since Sets III and IV are highly restricted functionally (see below), we shall confine our remarks in this section to Sets I and II

[16] There are some problems here: see Purnell 1970.

[17] Purnell (1968:317-322) offers no form for 'million', but presumably the Thailand Mien have borrowed the Northern Thai form, which in its Mien guise may well be identical with the Lao-derived form.

[18] Attributions to Chinese are based on Downer (1973), simplifying his stratification to two: modern and pre-modern loans. For further refinement and discussion of problems see Downer op. cit. Presumably the rime of <jhuav> '9' comes from contamination with <duah> 'id'.

whose functions can be divided into (a) ordinary numeration, cardinal and ordinal, including counting in the abstract, and (b) special numeration.

3.4.131 Ordinary numeration.

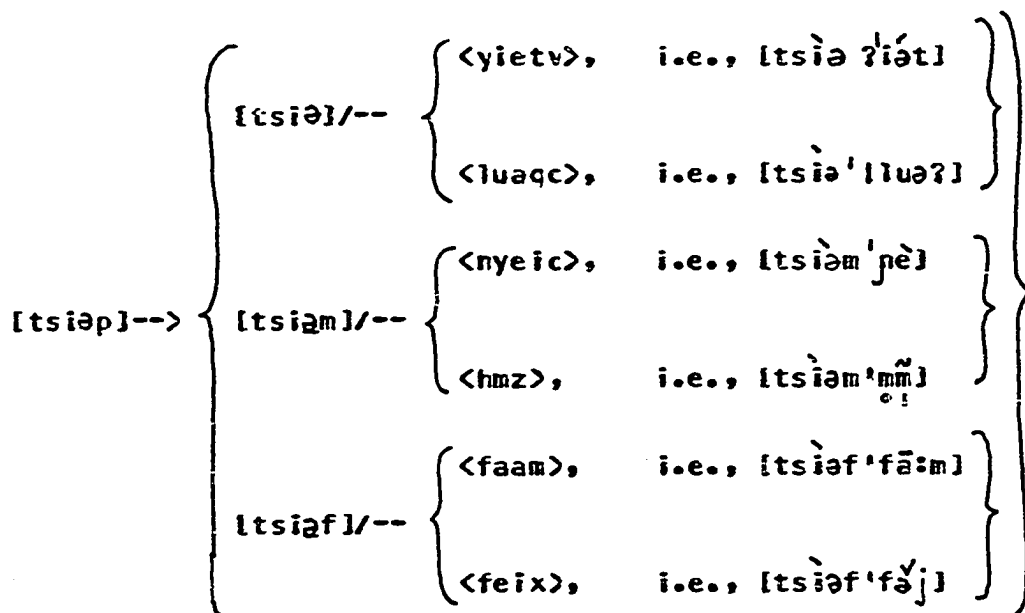
3.4.1311 Cardinal numerals.

3.4.13111 Morphophonemics of the numerals. From the scope of the term morphophonemics we exclude the suppletive phenomena discussed in Section 3.4.1 and Section 3.4.1.1 above, while including in it variation in the form of morphemes whether determined by phonological, grammatical or lexical factors.

(A) Segmental morphophonemics.

(a) Obligatory (i) <nyeic> '2' of Set II, is replaced by <nyic> when it multiplies <tsiepc> 'ten', i.e., when it corresponds to English "twen-" (see Section 3.4.1 above). (ii) <faam>, '3' of Set II, is replaced by <faa> in a few cases, e.g., (1) when it multiplies <tsiepc> 'ten', i.e., when it corresponds to English "thir-", and (2) when modifying <hlaax> 'month' (see Section 3.4.1.3.2.4 below). Not enough cases of the replacement have been found to determine whether it is conditioned phonologically, grammatically or lexically. Further investigation is needed.

(b) Optional (1) Even at fairly slow rates of speaking [tsi_p] representing <tsiepc> 'ten, -ty' is replaced by [tsi_ɨ] when followed by the addend <luaqc> '6', i.e., in 16, 26, 36, etc. and larger complexes including these. (2) At slightly faster rates of speed [tsi_p] changes before complement morphemes in additive constructions as follows:



(1) What happens at this rate of speaking in the environment " / -- <-jhuaqv> " requires further study.

(2) At still faster rates of speed [tsi_p] --> [ts_ə], with indeterminate vowel (and tone) before all complement morphemes in additive constructions.

(B) Optional morphophonemics. IS occurs (a) in the morphemes for 1 and 3 of Set II when preceding a "Clf" rñ

multiplicand[19] (see, for instance, table in Section 3.4.1 above); (b) between <tsiepc> 'ten, -ty' and a following addendum "ones" (see, for instance, table in Section 3.4.1 above); (c) between <nyeic> 'two' and following <paeqv> multiplicand in short-form numerals (see Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.4 below); (d) between <nyic> 'twen-' and the following Clf multiplicand <tsiepc>, if this construction is followed by an addend 'ones'-morpheme: cf. <nyic/tsiepc> '20' and <nyic-tsiepc=yietv> '21'; (e) between the morpheme for '3' of Set II and the word <hlaax> 'mcnth' in <taa-hlaax> 'third lunar month' (see below); (f) in short-form Num's (see Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.4 below) between the penultimate power-of-ten morpheme and the final morpheme; (g) between the numerals <tshamv> 'many', <daamv> 'half', <tsiangv> 'whole' -- and perhaps vacuously <duqc> 'only one' -- and a following Clf.

3.4.13112 The grammatical structure of numbers. In Section 3.4.1 above we distinguished between simple and complex numerals. In the numbers <yietv-paeqv> '100', <yietc tshin> '1,000', <yietc waanc> '10,000', <yietc sinx> '100,000' and <yietc laanh> '1,000,000', the numeral <yietv ~yietc> '1' may optionally be deleted according to the general rule of optional deletability of that numeral in

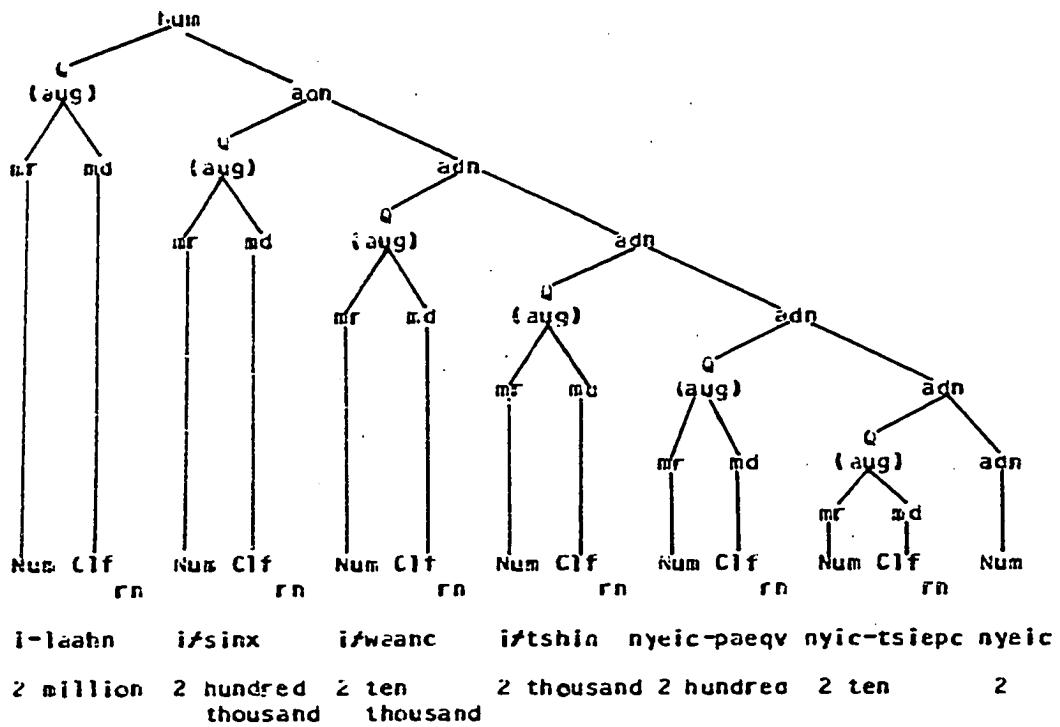
[19] For explanation of terms "multiplicand", "addendum", "Clfrn" see Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.2 directly below.

quantity-expressions (Q) (see further Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.4.1 below), and the resultant numerals are then superficially simple but underlyingly complex. <tsiepc> is exceptional in that it can never be preceded by <yietv ~ yietc> in the number '10', but there is evidence that the <yietv ~ yietc> is there underlyingly (see Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.4.1 below), so that we could conclude that the '1'-deletion rule is obligatory with <tsiepc>.

In complex numerals, multiplicative constructions consist of a multiplier, (mr), or numerator, and a multiplicand (md) which will be a classifier (Cf) expressing a power of ten. We will follow Matisoff in calling these Cf's "round number classifiers" (Cf_n). Complex numerals also involve additive constructions, which consist of an augend (agd) and an addend (adn). The constituent structure of the complex numeral 2,222,222 is shown in the tree diagram below:

FIGURE 3(1)

The Constituent Structure of the Complex Numeral
 Siaanh i/sinx i/waanc i/tshin nyeic/tsiepc=nyeic
 '2,222,222'



Note: For unexplained node-symbols see Section 3.11

3.4.13113 Co-occurrence among Num morphemes of Sets I, II. Sets I and II are partly complementary, e.g., if the meaning 'ten(s)' or 'hundred(s)' is to be expressed there is no choice but to use the Set II morphemes <tsiepc> and <paeqv>, i.e., the choice is determined by the meaning. But choice of number morpheme is determined in syntactic rather than semantic ways as follows: (1) Set II morphemes must be used (a) as the multipliers of <tsiepc> and <paeqv>, (b) as the addends to multiples of <tsiepc>, i.e., as the addends in the numbers <tsiepc-yietv> '11' through <jhuav/tsiepc=jhuav> '99' and complexes including these, (c) at the end of short-form numerals (see below); (c) before a few non-Num Clf's (i.e. Clf's that are not Clf 's: see below; rn (2) elsewhere use Set I. Thus:

<u>Set I + Set II</u>		<u>Set II + Set II</u>	
pyeiʔtshin	'4,000'	tsiepc-nyeic	'12'
siacʔwaanc	'70,000'	hrzʔtsiepc	'50'
duahʔsinx	'900,000'	faam-paeqv	'300'

3.4.13114 Short forms of numerals. If a number above 100 is round it may in Mien, as in many languages of East Asia, be abbreviated. The short form of a numeral is obtained (a) by deleting the first numeral morpheme if it is 'one' (i.e. by applying the '1'-deletion transformation to

the beginning of the numeral), along with (b) by deleting the last Clf (unless it is also the first Clf), (c) by converting the morpheme ^{rn} thrust into final position by applying rule (b) (i.e. the last ^{rn} mr) into Set II if it is not of Set II already, and (d) applying IS between what are now the last two morphemes, and (e) by applying IS to <nyeic> if followed by <paeqv>. Some examples:

Number	Long Form	Short Form
240	nyeic/paeqv#feix-tsiepc	nyeic-paeqv=feix
530	hmz/paeqv#faa-tsiepc	hmz/paeqv=faam
1,100	yietc/tshin#pyaaf	tshin/yietv
15,000	yietc/waanc#pyaaf/tshin	pyaaf/waanc=hmz
170,000	yietc/sinx#siac/waanc	sinx-tshietv
920,000	duah/sinx#i/waanc	duah/sinx=nyeic

3.4.1.3.1.1.4.1. Some generativistic remarks on shortened numerals. If we regard the production of short-form numerals as a derivational process, then (i) rule (c) must be applied after rule (b): this means that at least some transformations must precede lexical insertion; (ii) rule (d) must be applied after rule (b): this means that at least some transformations apply before some rules of IS; (iii) since rules (a)--(e) above will not generate the short form of <yietv-paeqv#tsiepc> '110', which is <paeqv-yietv>

but they will do so if the "tens" Clf has a multiplier \overline{rn} <yietv>, i.e., if the long-form input is <yietv-paeqv#yietv-tsiepc>, this counts as some evidence that the numerals <tsiepc-yietc, tsiepc-nyeic ... tsiepc-jhuav> '11, 12 ... etc. -- to which the "l"-deletion transformation obligatorily applies (See above, and below).

3.4.13115 Other features of Num's:

(A) Num's with gaps. In Mien, as in English, and presumably in most (if not all) languages that count above ten, if the \overline{mr} of a Clf is semantically zero then a gap will appear in the surface structure of the Num at both the \overline{mr} and Clf positions. For instance, in Mien as in English 'one' is one, or its Mien equivalent, and not, as it were, "nonety-one", or its Mien analogue. Similarly, '1,001' is one thousand and one, or its Mien analogue, and not, as it were, "one thousand no hundred and nonety-one", or its Mien analogue. Now in Mien, for Num's in the hundreds or greater showing a gap immediately before the "cnes" position, the "ones" position is filled by Set I morphemes: e.g., '202' ends in <i>, and not in <nyeic>, '203' ends in <pua>, and not in <faam>, and so on.

(B) Num's with <tshaux> 'and'. Mien further resembles English in that '201, 202, 301, 405' etc. contain an optional <tshaux> 'and' in their verbalization: thus

<nyeic#paeqv#(tshaux#)yietc, nyeic#paeqv#(tshaux#)i ... >
 '201, 202 ... ' and so on.

3.4.13115 Cautionary remark about high numbers. There is a certain air of unreality about high numbers in Mien. Informants hesitate, for instance, about when to insert <tshaux> 'and' (indeed Purnell (1968) does not even mention the insertion of <tshaux> at all). Informants may further say <tsiepc tshin> instead of <waanc> for '10,000', and <paeqv tshin> instead of <six> for '100,000', unless they are thinking carefully.

The fact is that the Mien do not have much use for high numbers in their traditional life, and where modernization has brought the need to use them, they usually quote the high numbers in the language of modernization, i.e., Lao for the Laotian Mien (and presumably Thai for the Thailand Mien). Many Laotian Mien have had some schooling with Lao as the medium and thereby learned some arithmetic, in which case they do their computations in Lac. They are hard put to it to do even simple arithmetic in Mien.[20] Western-style year-numbers and dates in general are usually quoted in Lao.

[20] Cf. the situation with the Thailand Lahu: Matisoff 1963: Sec. 3.4.1.

3.4.1312 Ordinal numerals. Ordinal numerals are formed by preposing to the corresponding cardinal numeral the bound form <tei0-> or <tai0-> (< Ch. (AD #985.3)).[21] Thus:

tei0-yietc	'first'
tei0-nyeic	'second'
tei0-faam	'third'
tei0-jhuav	'ninth'
tei0-paeqv	'hundredth'
tei0-tshin	'thousandth'

etc. For 'first' there is also the morpheme <taauh> 'first, foremost; the top; the beginning' (L 68) < Chi. (AD #1194) (pre-modern loan). Syntactically, like cardinal Num's, the ordinals cannot be preposed directly to the head noun (N) but require the intervention of a Clf: e.g., <teih-yietv^h tauh mienh> or <taauh tauh mienh> 'first Clf person', 'the first person'.

[21] The tone of the Mien form, phonetically falling, could represent either an underlying falling tone (assumed in Lombard's spelling of the word (L 65)) or the neutralization of tones 1-6 in IS. Etymological tones are, of course, irrecoverable in bound forms only found under IS. We are assuming that the etymological tone has indeed been lost through IS, since the Chinese origin of the word seems so patent. The etymological tone would be <-c> [ɿ], lower C.

3.4.132 Special numeration. Under this heading we group a miscellany of cases which are peculiar in one way or another.

3.4.1321 Usage with certain classifiers. The rule stated in Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.3 above means that Set I morphemes for 1-9 are used in front of Clf's other than Clf's that are not Clf 's, with the exception of a couple of such Clf's that require ^{rn} Set II numerals. The only such Clf's that we have found so far are used in weighing precious metals: viz. (a) <tsinh> 'a "mace", tenth of a Chinese ounce, or tael' (< Ch. (AD #1072.4) (Lombard (342) and Purnell (1968:319) show <tsin> i.e., mid tcne) and (b) <lungz> 'Chinese ounce, tael' (< Ch. (AD #542)). Both Clf's are pre-modern loans. Perhaps the entire stylistic register for dealing in precious metals is from (pre-modern) Chinese, hence the use of the Chinese Num's. [22] Between these two Clf's and the preceding Num's the same rules of TS apply as do between mr (Num) and md (Clf) within complex Num's (see above). Thus <yietv-tsinh, nyeic^{rn}tsinh, faam-tsinh, feix^{rn}tsinh> etc.

[22] Cf. specialized English terms, e.g., troy weight, etc. (An analogy brought to my attention by J.A. Matisoff, p.c.)

3.4.1322 Days of the week. The week and its days are cultural phenomena newly borrowed by the Mien. There is as yet no common way of talking about them.

(a) The Christian Mien borrow the Chinese word for 'week' (Chinese (AD #538.1, #687)) in the form <leiz-paaix> or <liz-paaix> as well as the Chinese manner of referring to Monday through Saturday as "week one" (Chinese (AD #538.1, #687, #201)) through "week six" and Sunday as "week day" (Chinese (AD #538.1, #687, #937)), though they use the inherited PMY morpheme for 'day'. Set II numerals are used. Thus:

<leiz-paaix#yietv>	'Monday'
<leiz-paaix#nyeic>	'Tuesday'
<leiz-paaix#faam>	'Wednesday'
<leiz-paaix#hnoi>	'Suncay'

Since it has strong Christian overtones, this way of referring to the days of the week is something of a shibboleth among the Mien.

(b) Purnell mentions (1968:319) another way of referring to the days of the week which is not recognized by my informants: -- viz. to use the ordinal Num's, calling the days, again starting with Monday, "first day", "second day" and so on: thus -- <tei0-yietv hnoi, tei0-nyeic hnoi>

'Monday, Tuesday' etc. Purnell does not make it clear what Sunday is called in this system.

(c) The usual wont of my informants is to borrow the Lao names for the days of the week (which themselves are borrowed from Thai, where they were calqued on the English or French prototypes -- "Moon day, Mars day, Venus day" etc. -- using the Sanskrit names of the heavenly bodies): Thus

wanh jhan	'Monday'
wanh angkhaanh ~ aakhaanh	'Tuesday'
wanh phutv	'Wednesday'
wanh phavhatv	'Thursday'
wanh sukv	'Friday'
wanh saux	'Saturday'
wanh aathitv	'Sunday'

3.4.1323 Days of the lunar month. Here the bound form <saeng0-> (< Ch. (AD #8040 (?)) is subjected to IS and preposed to the Set II Num's. Thus:

saeng0-faam	'3rd day of the lunar month'
saeng0-hmz	'5th day of the lunar month'
saeng0-luaqv	'6th day of the lunar month'

etc.

3.4.1324 The twelve lunar month names. Except for the first month (see below) these are formed by preposing the Set II numerals to the morpheme <hlaax> 'moon, month'. For the third month the numeral <faam> undergoes IS (see Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.1(8) above) and also loses its final nasal (see Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.1(A) above). According to Purnell (1966:319) IS occurs between all the numerals and <hlaax>, but according to my informants it occurs only between <faa(m)> and <hlaax>, i.e. the rules are the same as between *mr* and *md* in complex numerals (see Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.2 and Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.1.2(a) above. Thus:

tsi0-hlaax	'1st lunar month'
nyeic#hlaax	'2nd lunar month'
faa-hlaax	'3rd lunar month'
feix#hlaax	'4th lunar month'
hmz#hlaax	'5th lunar month'
luaqv#hlaax	'6th lunar month'
tshietv#hlaax	'7th lunar month'
petv#hlaax	'8th lunar month'
jhuav#hlaax	'9th lunar month'
tsiepc#hlaax	'10th lunar month'
tsiepc-yietv#hlaax	'11th lunar month'
tsiepc-nyeic#hlaax	'12th lunar month'

The lunar calendar is borrowed from the Chinese, with the

same system of intercalary months. "To intercalate" is <nyunc> (Chinese (AD #948), pre-modern). Knowing this we can explain the form <tsi0> in the name of the first month as (Chinese (AD #1198)), which as a pre-modern loan would yield <tsing>, which would then, like <faam> undergo TS and lose its final nasal; Purnell (1968:319) gives its underlying tone as <-h>, but this must be just a guess: cf. <tsingh>, (L 155) 'city (formerly walled)' < Ch. (AD #1204). It might be pointed out here, in passing, that Mien has also borrowed the rest of the traditional Chinese calendrical and horary system of ten "celestial stems" and twelve "earthly branches", though it is falling into desuetude except, for divinatory and ritual purposes, among supernaturalist experts.

3.4.1325 Naming of offspring by birth order. "Childhood names are basically numbering systems, one for boys and another for girls ... The bound forms ['lauv'] and ['mh'] (a contraction of ['muic']) 'daughter' [with TS -- C.C.] are preposed to names for boys and girls respectively". (L 331) The names for the sons and daughters are respectively what I have called Num's Sets III and IV in Section 1 above. Here are the forms I collected, and alongside them Lombard's forms (332). They run from first-born down to tenth-born (the ranking actually assigned an individual may be fictitious (L 332)). As usual, I have respelled Lombard's forms.

Set III: --Sons

	<u>Court</u>	<u>Lombard</u>
1	laqc kauv, lauv taax	lauv kauv, lauv taa
2	taqc naix	laqc raix
3	lauv san	lauv san
4	lauv sux	lauv sux
5	lauv uv	lauv uv
6	lauv luc	lauv luc
7	lauv tshic	lauv tshic
8	lauv paac	lauv paac
9	lauv jhiouv	lauv jhiouv
10	tsiepc	lauv sipv

Set IV: Daughters

	Court		Lombard
1	{ m0- } { a0- }	koih,	m0- meix
	{ kuv- } { a0- }	meix, mwangz	{ kuv- } m0- } meix, mwangz
2	{ m0- } { a0- }	naix	m0- naix
3	"	faam	" faam
4	"	feix	" feix
5	"	hmz	" manv
6	"	luazc	" luaqc
7	"	tshietv	" tshietv
8	"	petv	" petv
9	"	jhuav	" jhuav
10	"	tsiepc	" tsiepc

Note that Set IV for the most part coincides with Set II, while Set III, as we said above, represents some form of south-western Mandarin, presumably the form of Yunnanese used as a lingua franca in the Golden Triangle. [23] <taax> for the eldest son would represent Chinese (AD #952) (see Mien-Mandarin tone correspondences in Downer 1973:10), while Lombard's "taa" is difficult to interpret: perhaps it is a

[23] See, for instance, Lombard (9-99), s.v. "Janj" (i.e. <jhanx>),

mistranscription. The provenience and interpretation of <kauv, naix, koih, meix, mwangz> require further investigation. My informants deny that the name <manv> has any numerical import. Notice that 'tenth sen' is a suppletive Num: in Court's list it lacks the prefix <lauv> and is borrowed from Set II. In Lombard's list it is borrowed, presumably from Northern Thai, though it might equally well be from Lao.

3.4.1326 Numbers in lexicalized combinations. Following are a few examples of numerical expressions that are special in one way or another:

(a) <feix-kawqv> 'to be square' (etymologically the pre-modern representation of Chinese (AL #809, #500)). This differs from the ordinary enumerative expression <pyei pung kawqv> 'four corners', which has the Set I Num <pyei> and the Clf <pung> 'side' (<Ch. (AD #25)> (<pung> is omitted according to Purnell (1968:319)). It can function as a preposed attributive expression as in <feix-kawqv#tiah> 'square table' (with TS at the "#=" juncture according to Purnell (1968:320)). <feix-kawqv> also differs from ordinary numerative expressions that show the Set II numeral <feix> in that it subjects this morpheme to TS (see Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.2 above).

(b) <feix-pung> 'in all directions'. This differs from the corresponding ordinary numerative expression <pyei pung> 'four sides' (see (a) immediately above; <pung> is functioning here as an Auto-Cif (see below)) in showing the Set II numeral, and like <feix-kawqv> in (a) above, it is irregular in showing TS. Again like <feix-kawqv> its constituents can be severally reduplicated to produce <feix-feix=pung-pung> 'in all the four quarters and directions' (no TS at the "=" juncture according to Purnell (1968:320)).

(c) <faam-wuanh#tshietv#baeq> (cf. L 363, where no TS between <faam> and <wuanh>) 'the three major souls and seven lesser souls' (the pre-modern representation of Chinese four-syllable-expression. This is a formulaic expression used in invocations. It is irregular in using the Set II numerals and omitting Cif's: cf. the ordinary numerative expression <pua nawm wuanh> (L 304) 'the three major souls'.

(d) <faam-pung#feix#luc> (L 288) 'all directions' (etymologically the pre-modern representation of a Chinese four-syllable expression meaning literally "three sides four roads"). This expression, like (a)-(c) above, is special in using the Set II numerals and in lacking a Cif before <luc> 'road'.

The syntactic peculiarities of the above four numerical lexicalized combinations may be due to their stemming from the

liturgical or song language (i.e., being borrowed from and/or modelled on classical Chinese).

3.4.2 Classifiers. A classifier (Clf) is a type of limited noun that occurs in immediate constituency with numerals (Num). Semantically Clf's serve to specify in some way, either qualitatively or quantitatively, a noun (overt or implicit), or a verb (see Figures 3(II)-3(III), below). In the case of Clf's specifying verbs the Clf most commonly means 'times', but other meanings, such as 'ways' are possible, and syntactically the Clf will immediately include a VP of which the V (or a VP immediately dominating it) is head (see Figure 3(IV), below). In the case where the Clf specifies a noun it will be included in a NP of which the N is the head, at least in underlying structure.[24]

Because even Clf's that specify verbs are themselves a kind of noun, and thus by definition form part of a NP although functioning adverbially, we shall deal with all Clf's in the present section. We shall refer to classifiers of nouns as noun-Clf's and classifiers of verbs as verb-

[24] if the noun is not present in surface structure and the referent is situationally obvious, it may be necessary to say that the Clf is specifying either a semantic entity whose lexical significant happens to have been deleted, or, more probably, that Clf's specify the real-world referent directly, regardless of how (and whether) the latter is lexically encoded.

Clf's. For many of the terms and the general plan of the following exposition we are indebted to Matisoff (1973:Sec. 3.42). Syntactically, Clf's perform the function of enabling Num's to enter into constituency with nouns and verbs. Semantically, they individuate, instantiate or otherwise precise the reference of a noun or verb.

Especially with nouns, where homonymy or polysemy is present, Clf's perform a very important disambiguating function, as can be seen from the following examples: <i nawm dia> 'two pills' versus <i tseu dia> 'two bolts of cloth'; <i nawm tsyangh-hoc> 'two hours' versus <i puan tsyangh-hoc> 'two minutes'; <i litv uam> 'two liters of water' versus <i tiuh uam> 'two streams/ivers' versus <i pouc uam> 'two crossings of a stream/river'. As <i pouc uam> shows, the Clf may not only narrow the sense of a NP, but it may also add to it -- in this case adding a deverbative meaning. It should also be noted that Clf's may fail to disambiguate: thus <i tiuh jhung> means either 'two dragons' or 'two rainbows'; <i tiuh pyauv> means either 'two trails' or 'two methods'.

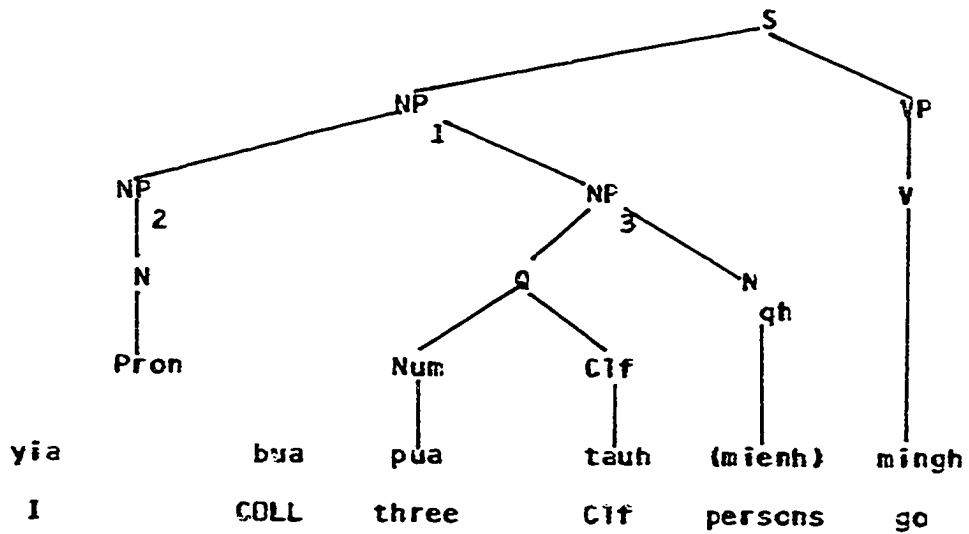
As a final general remark on classifiers, it should be noted that finer points of classifier usage are very likely to vary from one locality or sub-dialect to another.

FIGURE 3(11)

Structure of <yia_bua_pua_tauh_(mienh)_mingh>

'We three go'

NP₂ and NP₃ are in apposition to one another.



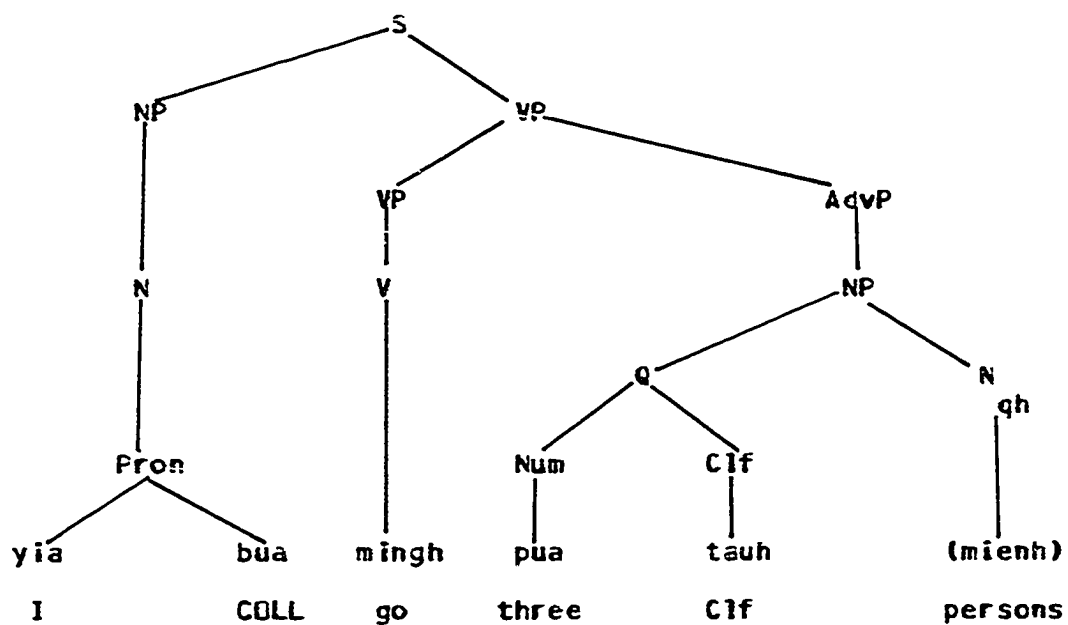
Note: For unexplained node-symbols see Sec. 3.11

FIGURE 3(III)

Syntactic Structure of

<yia-bua_mingh_pua-tauh_mienth>

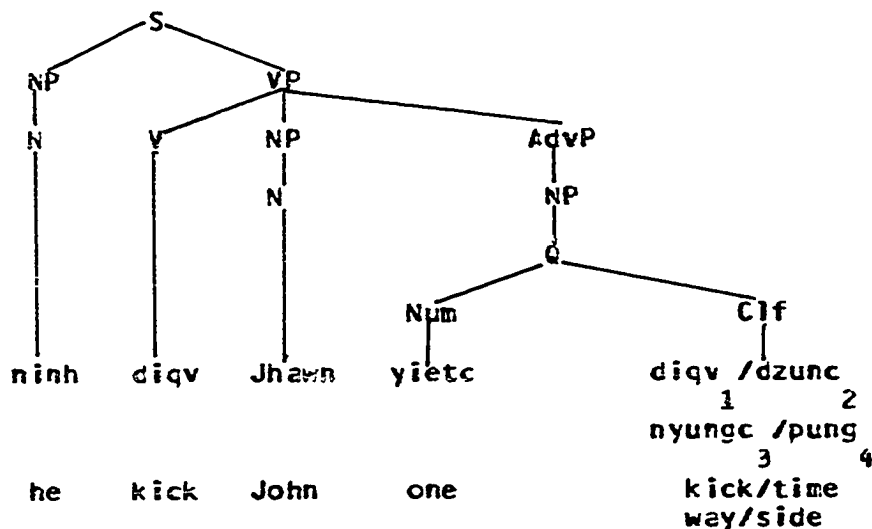
'We go as a threesome (à trois)'



Note: For unexplained node-symbols see Sec. 3.11

FIGURE 3(IV)

Syntactic structure of <ninh diqv Jhawn
yietc diqv/dzunc/Cungc/pung>



- 'He gives John one kick' (Clf's and)
- 'He kicks John in one way' (Clf)
- 'He kicks John on one side' (Clf)

Note: For unexplained node-symbols see Sec. 3.11

Etymologically we have traced several Clf's to Chinese, and it is very likely that further investigation would reveal a Chinese origin for quite a few more.

3.4.21 Kinds of Clf's. On formal or semantic grounds it is convenient to distinguish at least the following subtypes of Clf's.

3.4.211 Auto-Clf's.

3.4.2111 Noun-autoclassifiers. Some nouns may be their own Clf's. This is often the case in Southeast Asian languages with classifier-systems, but Pien seems to contain remarkably few such. In fact the present investigator has found only a handful, of which several refer to units of time, e.g., <hnoi> 'day' and <hnyaangx> 'year'. Furthermore they seem to have the syntactic peculiarity that the homophonous-coreferential head noun must be obligatorily deleted.

Thus, in order to say 'two days' or 'three years' one says <i hnoi> or <pua hnyaangx>, and these are normal Num + Clf constructions, but though the head noun should follow the Num + Clf construction directly it seems to be ungrammatical to say, for instance, <i hnoi hnoi> or <pua hnyaangx hnyaangx> and so on, presumably because of a surface structure constraint blocking the occurrence of sequences of homophonous-coreferential nouns in the same NP (it sounds awkward). Some other autoclassifiers of nouns are: <pung> 'direction; side', <nyungc> 'kind, way'.

3.4.21111 Familial noun-autoclassifiers of concerted involvement. These are an interesting kind of N-autoclassifier, also found in other languages in the area. As human beings, kinsmen normally take the specific Clf's for human beings (see Section 3.4.2.1.3), but when certain combinations of kinsmen are living or acting together as a group certain kinship terms may be used as autoclassifiers.

Thus one says <i muaz> 'the two siblings (together)' (cf. Thai ส๒๒๓ phîi-n๒๒๓), <i tawn-maac> 'mother and child (together)' (lit. "two child[-and]-mother"), <i tawn-tiac> 'father and child together' (cf. Thai ส๒๒๓ m๑๑ l๑๑k, ส๒๒๓ ph๑๑-l๑๑k), but in order to say 'father, mother and child together' one resorts to the prototypical familial autoclassifier of concerted involvement, <hmwangv>. This can be glossed for convenience as 'family', but in order to understand its behavior as an autoclassifier it is better translated as 'family co-members, comprising at least the nucleus of husband and wife'; thus <i hmwangv> ("two hmwangv's") means 'married couple; husband and wife (together)'.

This then brings us to the way one says 'father, mother and child (together)', viz. <puə hmwangv> ("three hmwangv's"), though one can also say, periphrastically, <i hmwangv tshaux tauh tawn> lit. "two hmwangv's and one"

human-Clf offspring".

3.4.2112 Verb-autoclassifiers: homophonous cognate objects. In some cases a verb may be its own Clf. Thus the verb 'to kick' is <diqv>, and in order to say 'he gives John one kick' one may say <ninh diqv Jhawn yietc diqv> ('he kicks John one kick'), in which the second <diqv> is a Clf, and could be replaced by the Clf <czunc> 'time' without changing the meaning (See Figure 3(IV) in Section 3.4.2). This use of a verb as its own Clf seems to be possible to a quite considerable extent, and whether the phenomenon is lexically or syntactically constrained is a question requiring further investigation. Using a verb as its autoclassifier is in fact using it as a homophonous cognate object (see Section 3.4.2.1.2 below regarding cognate objects). Where the verb is transitive, i.e., where it has an autonomous noun as (outer) object, the verb-autoclassifier can be regarded as functioning as a measure classifier of the autonomous noun (see Section 3.4.2.1.4 below).

3.4.212 Verb-Classifiers (V-Clf's). A diagram of the syntactic structure in which V-Clf's occur is given in Figure 3(IV) above. What is in fact happening is that they are occurring in NP's dominated by adverbial phrases (AdvP), i.e., functioning adverbially. They are in fact what are traditionally known as cognate objects, and Chao 1968:312 et

seq. uses this latter term with reference to Chinese. As Chac (1968:312) notes, cognate objects may occur as structures indicating the number of times of an action, its duration, extent, direction or destination. We shall discuss them further in Chapter IV. But we can go beyond cognate objects and argue that the Clf's in Figure 3(III) are also V-Clf's. But these are clearly also N-Clf's, so that we would have to say that V-Clf's comprise all N-Clf's plus the subset that can occur in the structure in Figure 3(IV).

It is further arguable that the Q of Figure 3(IV) at a deeper level has the same structure of the Q of Figure 3(IX) in Section 3.11 below, but that the N does not occur on the surface either because (a) it is identical with the Clf, i.e., it is an Auto-Clf, and thus undergoes an obligatory deletion of N that is homophonous and coreferential with the Clf (see (1) above), or because (b) it is abstract, i.e., it is a bundle of semantic features with no phonological representation, or perhaps is represented by a recent formal-register loanword equivalent to 'occasion', 'method' etc. which is too pedantic to be in natural use.

3.4.2121 A selection of Verb-Clf's. Since, as we have indicated above in Section 3.4.2.1.1.2, verbs may be auto-classified, i.e., verbs may generate homophonous autoclassifiers to an extent that needs further investigation, we

shall not try to list homophonous verb-autoclassifiers -- there may after all turn out to be as many of them as there are verbs in the language -- we shall list some non-homophonous V-Clf's. Again there is some overlap with other kinds of classifiers:

<pouv>	for strokes of an axe
<pouc>	for steps (cf. <biac>), stages, stream crossings
<pung>	for directions, sides
<biac>	for steps or strides; stitches
<phawng>	for rows of hoeing
<touc>	for a certain period of time; trips
<thawngx>	for calamities; crops; marriages (cf. <tshaamx>); stages of life
<kawng>	for puffs of air or blasts of wind
<jiac>	for doses, or events in which several things happen at the same time (also <giac>)
<dzunc>	for times, occurrences, instances
<nyungc>	for manners, ways, modes
<luix>	for litters of animals

3.4.213 Specific Clf's. These are the "classifiers" par excellence, that have, in principle, to be memorized separately for each noun in the language. However to describe them thus is an overstatement for at least two reasons: (a) nouns referring to non-discrete entities take measure Clf's that are, in many cases, determined not by the

identity of the noun, but, as we said in Section 3.4.2.1.3 above, by real-world circumstances, i.e., the object or action used to do the measuring, and (b) specific Clf's tend to refer not so much to particular nouns as to classes of real-world entities, such as human beings, animals, long thin objects and so on.

Having said that, however, we must, on the other hand, note (a) that some specific Clf's are used for very restricted classes of things, such as <simv>, apparently used only of lengths of thatch mats (the latter being used for roofing a house), as in <pyei simv gaan> 'four lengths of thatch mats' (L 209, 341), or <gwaav> for branches or limbs (L 199, 342), and (b) that in some cases it is hard to see what the distinguishing feature of the class is, as with the specific Clf <thawngz> used for calamities, marriages, crops or stages of life, as in <pua thawngx raanc> 'three calamities', <yietc thawngx tiu-sen> 'one crop of peanuts' (L 83, 341) -- in fact, in Mien, as in other Asian noun-classifying languages, there is one particular Clf (see Section 3.4.1.2.4 below), the usage of which seems hypertrophied to a point that might threaten the entire system of classification.

Having made those cautionary remarks, let us give some examples: <laanh> for human beings (adults only, according

to Lombard (343), denied by my informants), <tauuh> (< Ch. (AD #1015)) for human beings, higher animals, ghosts and spirits (sometimes, see Section 3.4.2.1.6), and doors (L 65, 342); <tiuh> (< Ch. (AD #257)) for long narrow objects, animate or inanimate, literal or metaphorical, including snakes, dragons, rainbows, rivers, roads, stories, songs, lives and minds; <paengx> (< Ch. (AD #740.2)) for pencils, guns and other long, thin objects (here my informants said that the objects were not as long as those classified by <tiuh>, but it should be noted that <paengx> also exists as a head-noun meaning 'handle' -- its only point of contact with Chinese, for the Chinese original is not, apparently used as a Clf in the source-language, as are the other Chinese forms so far cited); <chongx> for rooms, narrow fields, small spaces (L 108, 34-2); <phaan> for mosquito nets; <dzong> for fields to be cultivated.

Where the grouping effected by the specific Clf does not seem to make sense, as, for instance that of human beings, higher animals and doors, there are at least three possible explanations: (a) that further investigation would reveal that the native speakers do perceive the entities grouped as having something in common, for instance, that doors are to the Mien somehow anthropo- or zoomorphic; [25]

[25] The fact that the Chinese source-word for <tauuh> means 'head' as a Nh in Chinese should be borne in mind.

(b) that there once was something in common which cultural change -- let us say, a change in the design of doors -- has now effaced; (c) that not only the Clf was borrowed, as in the case of <tauu>, but also the grouping of entities to be used with the Clf (which pushes the problem of the reason for the grouping back to the source-language).

It should further be pointed out, typologically, that what distinguishes Mien and other noun-classifying languages from, say, English, is not the existence of Clf's per se -- after all, we say in English "an item of news", "a stroke of luck", etc. -- but the absence of count nouns as a grammatical category. For the singular-plural marking is a means of individuating nouns, and lacking this method, other types of language perforce resort to other stratagems: it is individuation which is the specific function of "specific Clf's".

3.4.2131 A selection of specific classifiers. The following list of specific classifiers is compiled from L 341-343 and from my own work with informants. We feel that it is fairly complete, but we make no claim that it is absolutely exhaustive. There is some inevitable overlap with Measure Clf's and Group Clf's:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| <aax> | for words or phrases (cf. <jhioux>); mouthfuls; small amounts |
| <pienx> | for flat, smooth objects, such as razor |

- blades (which can also take <dzung>), phonograph records (which can also take <khwaiv>); left-overs
- <penv> for planks and long flat objects (man of these can also take <khwaiv>)
- <paengx> for pencils, guns, and other long thin objects (cf. <tiuh>)
- <paav> for brooms; bundles of things
- <puaqv> for areas, sections or sides (cf. <pung>); groups of people
- <pung> for sides (cf. <maengx>, <puaqv>), corners, riverbanks, (attached) wings
- <puanv> for books
- <puan> for hours (according to L 341: query whether it is not rather used for minutes: cf. <nawm>)
- <puanc> for families; households (cf. <pyauv>); sections or divisions of books; categories of knowledge
- <pyauv> for families, households (cf. <puanc>)
- <phin> for pages
- <phoux> for ships, boats; grindstones; scissors; pliers
- <phaan> for mosquito nets
- <tiemv> for dots or periods
- <tiuh> for long narrow objects, such as snakes, dragons, trees, sticks, rivers, trails, rainbows; for stories, songs, minds, lives
- <tiuc> for reasons, tasks, Elements (of the Four Elements)
- <teix> for jackets and trousers
- <tauh> for people (cf. <laanh>) animals, spirits, ghosts; doors

<tawv>	for clouds; for bunches and clusters
<thawngx>	for calamities; crops; marriages; stages of life
<diepv>	for drops
<jhiaqv>	for hands and feet (also <kiaqv>)
<jhioux>	for words and phrases (cf. <aax>)
<chongx>	for rooms, narrow fields and small spaces
<kiaqv>	(see <jhiaqv>)
<kweix>	for seasons (Auto-Clf)
<khaang>	for matters, affairs, sections; storeys of a house
<khuv>	for needles, and small instruments
<khwaiv>	for flat, thin things (cf. <pienx>); curtains
<gwaav>	for branches, limbs
<tseiv>	for thin flat things, such as sheets of paper, letters, blades of grass
<tsangc>	for areas of confinement in the spirit world
<tsung>	for knives; clumps, clusters
<dzong>	for fields to be cultivated
<hingv>	for opposite poles in time or space
<maengx>	for sides, parts, edges or divisions
<nawm>	(see Section 3.4.2.1.4)
<laanh>	for people (adults, cf. <tauh>)

3.4.214 The broad-purpose specific Clf <nawm>. Like many languages with systems of noun-classification, Mien has one specific Clf of very general scope. [26] This is <nawm>.

However it does not seem to share with Lahu lɔaʔ, the feature of being freely substitutable for more specific Clf's. Informants reject its use for human beings, no matter how despised, and higher animals, for instance. But it is used with lower animals, and a whole array of material and immaterial entities: for instance, while fishes require <tauʰ>, <nawm> is used with birds, fowls, tortoises, crabs, shrimps, ants, flies, mosquitoes and insects in general, fruit and vegetables (in which case it refers to individual items), medicine (in which case it refers to pills), ball- and grain-shaped things (perhaps its original sphere of usage), cups, bottles, boxes, bags, sacks, horns of animals, teeth, hammers, vehicles, houses, shops, beaches, places, countries, forests, corners, barriers and checkpoints, written characters, names, timepieces, watches of the night, months, seasons (which can also be auto-classified), souls and certain kinds of ghosts (others take <tauʰ>), customs and traditions, sorrows (there may be some overlap with <thawngx> here (see above)), etc., etc.

In general it is the "garbage can" Clf. It seems to be broader in usage than Thai ʔan, for instance, but it is narrower than Mandarin (AD #422.4) and Lahu ɔa, in that it can-

[26] See Hatisoff (1973:Sec. 3.42(7)) with fn. 61, on Lahu and in general. To his examples we can add the Malay Clf buah.

not be used with human beings and higher animals. Its use with immaterial and abstract entities seems to guarantee it a great future. With its catchall character it is hard to say whether it is threatening the whole semantic basis of the specific-Clf system, or is, on the contrary, an integral and essential part of it, the pis-aller that enables that ambitious enterprise to which the Mien are committed by the typology of their language -- viz. the classification of the whole of reality -- to succeed at all.

3.4.215 Measure-Clf's. These are used to quantity N 's^h referring to entities, that are, or can be viewed, as non-discrete, such as liquids, particulate substances, areas of land, stretches of road and so forth. They are usually referred to in English as mass nouns. Except for "abstract" measures, introduced from other languages, such as 'meter', 'liter', 'Chinese ounce' and so forth, they are mostly "concrete", i.e., derived by homonymy from either the noun for the thing which measures, or the verb for the action which measures.

Thus the noun <pienh> (L 13) means 'basin'. Now basins are discrete entities, and as (empty) items of equipment they can be counted: <pienh> is a N^h and takes its special Clf <nawm>. But when rice is being measured by the basinful, <pienh> (or its homonymous derivative) is used as a

measure Clf: thus <i pienh byauh> 'two basin(ful)s of rice'. Similarly <paengh> 'bottle; jar; container' (L 19) has this double usage and it is probable that the name of any container can be used as a measure-Clf (as, for instance, in Thai).

On the other hand we have verbs of action from which measure Clf's are derived. Thus there is a verb <phwangv> 'to scoop up in two hands', from which is derived the homonymous measure Clf meaning 'a double handful' as in <siac phwangv hmeiv> (L 43) 'seven double handfuls of rice'. Likewise <nyau> (L 268) 'to pick up or grasp in the hand' yields the measure Clf <nyau> 'handful', <tsamh> (L 160) 'to measure by stretching out both arms to full length' yields <tsamh> a measure-Clf for cloth, etc. Measure-Clf's homophonously derived from nouns and verbs are a commonplace of South East Asian, and other, languages: c.f. English "a basin of rice", "a pinch of salt", "a finger of rum", etc. Some measure Clf's that are not "concrete" in the sense just defined are provided by nature itself rather than human intervention, such as <hnoi> 'day' and <hnyaangx> 'year'.

3.4.2151 A selection of Measure Classifiers. As with the other lists of classifiers, the present one makes no claim to completeness and shows some overlap with other kinds of Clf's:

<aax>	for words or phrases of speech (cf. <jioux>); mouthfuls; small amounts
<pienh>	for basinfuls of rice
<piac>	a portion, such as of grain
<pipv>	for measuring dry stuffs, a unit equaling approximately five-eighths of a bushel (L 341); my informants say that it can also be used to measure liquids
<peu>	for packages and bundles
<paav>	for bundles of things
<puv>	for lumps of things
<pui>	for cups of tea (cf. <tsanv>); for matching halves of an object
<puan>	for hours (L 341: Query: Or is it minutes?)
<puih>	for certain kind of containerfulls, approxi- mately one bushel
<baatv>	for <u>baht</u> , a unit of Thai currency
<pheng>	for partitions or sections of walling
<phou>	for clumps, bunches, buncles
<phanx>	for loads which are tied or strapped together
<phwangv>	for double handfuls
<taangh>	for moments of time (cf. <sih>)
<touc>	for periods of time
<tawv>	for bunches, clusters
<daam>	for shoulder loads
<diepv>	for drops
<dawqv>	for cubits (from elbow to tip of middle finger)
<dawnh>	for U.S. dollars

<thawngx>	for stages of life; marriages; crops (cf. <tshaamx>); calamities
<jhioux>	for words or phrases of speech (cf. <jhoux>)
<jhui>	for basketfuls
<kou>	for measuring time, a unit of approximately three years' duration
<khanx>	for measuring weights: one-sixth of a kilogram
<khawqv>	for measuring dry stuffs
<ganx>	for indicating half sections of a unit; according to my informant, the measure from the tip of the forefinger to the first joint (cf. <kweih>)
<tsinh>	for maces, a unit of weight of precious metals, one-tenth of a <lungz>
<tseuv>	for bolts of cloth
<tsamv>	for lengths of cloth and space
<tsanv>	for cupfuls
<tsanv ¹ >	for crops (cf. <thawngx>), used for rooting a house)
<tsanv ² >	
<tshaamx>	for measuring time, a period from about twelve to twenty days; a "while"
<feix'tshunh>	for arm's reaches
<sih>	for moments of time (cf. <taangh>)
<simv>	for counting lengths of thatch mats
<senh>	for U.S. cents
<saengv>	for measurements with a container made from small sections of bamboo
<sutv>	for bundles or rolls of beading
<hnoi>	for days

<neix>	for a cycle of twelve years
<naamx>	for for hand spans
<hnyaangx>	for years
<nyau>	for open handfuls
<nyum>	for bundles of rice
<ngaqv>	for lengths of wood or bamboo
<hlengx>	for slices, such as of fruit
<hlamx>	for sections of bamboc (i.e., that part between two joints
<lungz>	for measuring precious metals, a Chinese ounce, ten <tsinh>'s
<wuanc>	for verses or sections of a lyric
<yiemc>	for parts, verses, layers, sections or portions; suits of clothes
<yienv>	for bowlfuls

3.4.216 Group Clf's. Several Clf's referring to aggregates or collectivities may occur only with the Num <yietc> 'one', whether present or deleted in the surface structure. Here <yietc> has a meaning like 'all' or 'whole'. Such are the Clf's <tsuav> (L 168) and <tswangx> (L 171): thus both <yietv tsunv mienh> and <yietc tswang> mienh mean 'everyone; the whole group', although it does not seem possible to delete the <yietc> with <tsuanv>. <maanc> 'all' (L 245) may perhaps be a group Clf, as in <maanc mienh> 'all the people', but if so it seems to have the feature that the Num <yietc> is obligatorily deleted.

The Clf <teix> means something like "someness": it is in effect plural marker with demonstratives and interrogative/indefinites -- cf. <naiv teix mienh> 'these people' versus <naiv mienh> 'this person', while in adverbial phrases <teix> occurs with and without <yietc> meaning 'to some extent', e.g. <meih thui^hx tshiatv yietc teix> 'you back off a little' ("you withdraw move-cut one someness"), so that <naiv teix mienh> is literally and syntactically, "this someness of people", and is in underlying structure <naiv yietc teix mienh> -- Dem Num Clf A -- "this one someness of people": see Figures 3(IX) and (X) in Section 3.11.

Being able to occur only with the numeral <yietc> 'one' is not the normal situation for group classifiers. In the following section we list some normal group classifiers.

3.4.2161 A selection of group classifiers. The following list does not claim to be exhaustive, and it has some overlap with other categories of Clf, especially with measure classifiers:

<awtv>	for pairs (as flashlight batteries); not recognized by my informants
<pom>	for clumps of plants that grow in clumps, such as bamboo, paddy
<puaqv>	for groups of people
<pyauv>	for families, households
<bia>	for pairs of shoes (cf. <laengc>)

<bomz>	for a group of people -- seated according to Lombard (342), not necessarily so according to my informants
<tawv>	for bunches or clusters
<toix>	for pairs or couples, such as people and flashlight batteries, but not shoes
<toic>	for generations of people
<thawqc>	for bunches, such as bananas
<dui>	for piles or groups
<jhauv>	for groups of travellers
<jhoih>	for bunches or clusters of fruit; pyramid-shaped sections of cross-stick designs
<kwanh>	for herds, crowds, groups
<jiac>	for doses or events in which several things happen at the same time (also <giac>)
<ganx>	for chunks, lumps; half sections of a unit
<tsiu>	for flocks of chickens
<tsung>	for clumps or clusters
<sung>	for pairs of things
<houz>	for households, families, clans
<nanv>	for tied-up bunches of vegetables
<nyum>	for bundles of rice
<laengc>	for pairs of things, such as shoes, (cf. <bia>), stilts
<lawtc>	for pairs of things such as flashlight batteries (cf. <awtv>)

3.4.217 Round-number Clf's (Clf 's). These are the Clf's that refer to powers of ten: viz. <tsiepc> 'tens',

EQ

<paeqv> 'hundreds', <tsinh> 'thousands', <waanc> 'ten-thousands', <sinx> 'hundred-thousands', <laanh> 'millions'. The grammatical structure of Num's containing Clf's is explained in Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.2 Cc-occurrence restrictions between Num and Clf^{rn} are explained in Section 3.4.1.3.1.1.3.

3.4.218 Quasi-Clf's. The defining frame for a Clf is "Num-N", but Clf's also characteristically occur in the (surface) frames (a) "Demonstrative -- N" and (b) "Interrogative/Indefinite -- N": -- examples (a) <naiv tauh mienh> 'this person' ("this Clf person"), and (b) <haiv/ tauh> 'who?/anybody'. There are some words that can occur in frames (a) and (b) but not in "Num -- N". From a deep-structure point of view we would claim that frames (a) and (b) have undergone <yietc> ('one')-deletion and are underlying (a) "Demonstrative <yietc> -- N" and (b) "Intg/Indef <yietc> -- N" -- in other words, (a) and (b) actually do contain the criterial frame "Num -- Clf" but the Num has to be <yietc> 'one', which is subsequently deleted.

In either case we can define a class of quasi-Clf's: surface structure-wise they cannot occur in "Num -- N" but they can occur in frames (a) and (b); deep structure-wise they can occur in "Num -- N", or "Num --", but Num has to be preceded by a Demonstrative (frame (a)) or Intg/Indef (frame

(b)), and Num can only be <yietc> 'one', which is subsequently obligatorily deleted. Examples of quasi-Clf's are <dau> 'ground', as in <uav dau> 'there' ('that ground') and <haiv/dau> 'where?/anywhere' ('which?/any ground'), and <naw> 'kind(?)' as in <mv naw> 'like this' and <hnangv haiv/naw> 'how?/anyhow' ('like which?/any kind?'). Reduplicability may also establish another category of quasi-Clf: see the case of <hlaax> 'month' in Section 3.4.2.2.

3.4.22 Reduplication of Clf's. The only use of the reduplication of Clf's that the investigator has discovered is to convey the meaning of 'every'. The first constituent of the reduplicative construction undergoes IS: e.g., <meih hnoi-hnoi taaih naiv> 'you come here every day', <bua lu0-Mienh tauh-tauh maaih fuqv maaih loqc> 'every one of us Lu Mien has wealth and happiness'. Other examples are <nawm-nawm> 'everything', <tawv-tawv> 'every clump'. The reduplicated Clf may be followed by its N: e.g., <tauh-tauh mienh
h
> 'everybody'.

It should be noted that some words constitute a special category of quasi-Clf's: thus <hlaax> 'month' is not a Clf because it requires the intervention of the Clf <nawm> in order to be counted: e.g., <i nawm hlaax> 'two months'. Yet it undergoes reduplication like a Clf -- <hlaax-hlaax> 'every month' -- and it is, as a natural measure of time,

semantically analogous to <hnoi> 'day' and <hnyaangx> 'year', which are Clf's.

3.4.3 A note on singular/plural as a grammatical category in Mienh. Just as Chinese with its suffix men (AD #609.1) has the germ of the Indo-European style grammaticalized number, so does Mien tco, with its morpheme <buə> appended to pronouns and appendable to nouns (see Section 3.2.6) together with its morpheme <teix> added to demonstratives and interrogatives/indefinites when their N^h is semantically [+Plural] contain the seeds of grammatical number. If Mien were to develop further in this direction we could expect a priori a simultaneous decay of the noun-classification system.

3.4.4 Polyquantification. A polyquantificational expression, "QQ", is one which contains two or more Num + Clf combinations belonging to the same NP. QQ's may be subdivided into "QQ reduplications" (where the Q's are identical) and "QQ combinations" (where the Q's are different). QQ's reduplications that the investigator has come across are sequential in meaning and are syntactically adverbial phrases: e.g. <yiətə pəuc yiətə pəuc piəqə pəuc> (L 207) 'to make progress one step at a time' ("one stage/step one stage/step enter stages"). Often the <nyei> that marks adverbial phrases is present: <ninh mingh dzəyauç

ninh nyei muaz-toic yietc tauh yietc tauh nyei> 'he went to visit his brothers one after the other' ("... 'one person one person'-ly"). QQ reduplication cannot be generated by the PS-rules in Section 3.11 since they are patently the result of transformations.

The clearest case of QQ combinations the investigator has come across is in the case of large complex Num's, which contain sequences of structures containing Clf 's (see Section 3.4.2.1.7 above). If we consider deep structure as well, then we should consider constructions involving the plural number <teix> to be QQ combinations: these are generated by the Rule (8)(i) of the PS-rules in Section 3.11 e.g., <hlaang uav [yietc] teix i tauh mienh> 'those two tall persons' (see Figure 3(IX) in Section 3.11).

3.4.41 Fractions. The only fractions in common use in Mien are one-half, and Num-and-a-half. Half is expressed by <damv> joined by IS to the Clf: thus <damv-paengh uam> 'half a bottle of water' and Num-and-a-half by "Num Clf pienx", e.g., <pua hnyaangx pienx> (L 13) 'three and a half years'. In these expressions <damv> is grammatically a Num meaning 'half', and it undergoes IS before the following Clf, with which it is in multiplicative relationship. <pienx>, on the other hand, while it also means 'half', is a Clf, with its Num <yietc> 'one' deleted, and is in additive relationship

to the quantificatory expression that precedes it. The presence of the Num <yietc> and the additive relationship can be made clear in periphrasis: thus <pua hnyaangx tshaux yietc pienx> 'three years together-with one half'.

3.4.42 Independent multiple quantification. This refers to the case where the individual Q's belong to separate NP's. The only case I have noted is in the stating of rates, e.g., <maaic pyouv yietc nawm i baatv> 'to sell fruit at two baht a piece' ('sell fruit one piece two baht').

3.5. Special types of NP (II): demonstrative NP. These are simply NP's containing demonstratives. (See Section 3.2.4). The demonstratives, like KC's, may occur in either prenominal or postnominal position.

3.5.1 Quantified NP's with demonstratives. These are derived in a quite straightforward way by the PS rules in Section 3.11 (see illustrative figures in Section 3.11 for examples).

3.6. Special types of nominal nucleus (III): locational NP's. By locational NP's we mean NP's containing a specific-location noun meaning such things as 'inside', 'outside', 'beside' etc., e.g., <kapv ka-nyuaz> 'inside the box' ('box inside'), <naiv nawm pyauv ga0-haav> 'behind this house' ('this Clf house behind'). The order of specific

location-noun and head noun may be reversed under circumstances that require further investigation. Likewise a postpositive demonstrative may be used in circumstances that require further investigation, e.g., <naiv ga0-haav naiv> 'behind this'. In view of these uncertainties I have not tried to introduce specific location nouns in the PS rules of Section 3.11. Locational NP's are also discussed at Section 3.3.3.2.1.

3.7. Subordinative constructions with <nyei>. These are introduced at two points in the NP by PS-rules (1)(v)--(2)(iv) and (3)(i)--(13). Rules (1)(v)--(2)(iv) introduce the "NP + <nyei>" construction which is possessive in meaning: e.g., <jhawn nyei pyauv> 'John's house'. By Rule (2)(iv) the generation of "NP + <nyei>" structure is recursive, e.g., <jhawn nyei maa nyei aa0-dzyaauc/foic nyei pyauv> 'John's mother's friend's house'.

The rule-sequence (3)(i)--(13) introduces <nyei> after relative clauses. Examples are <[tsov nyanc] nyei nawqc> 'a bird that is boiled before it is eaten' ("[boil eat] <nyei> bird"). It could be claimed that the possessive "NP nyei" structure and the specificatory "RC + nyei" structure are the same phenomenon and that I should not have treated them differently in the PS-rules. This is quite possible: the question requires further investigation, but it should be

noted that the possessive <nyei> is not omissible,[27] whereas the <nyei> after RC's may in certain cases be either replaced by <uav nyungc> (lit. "that kind") or omitted altogether.

3.8. NP's with N deleted. (a) N is usually deleted in an appositional NP following a pronoun (generated by PS Rule 1(ii) of Section 3.11). Thus <yiafbua i tauh \emptyset mingh>[28] 'we two go' versus the full form <yiafbua i tauh mienh mingh> 'id.' ('we two Clf person(s) go'); (b) N_h is usually omitted in quantified NP's used adverbially: e.g., <yiafbua mingh i tauh \emptyset >[29] 'Two of us went; we went à deux' versus the full <yiafbua mingh i tauh mienh> ('we go two Clf person(s)'); <aengx taaih tauh \emptyset > (L 345), 'and another one came' ('yet come [sc. one] Clf'); (c) N can be omitted after preposed RC's, and this corresponds to substantivization of adjectives in European languages: e.g., <hlo nyei \emptyset taaih> (L 282) 'the big one is coming' (' [big RELATIVIZER] come'), <hlo nyei uav nam \emptyset > (62) 'that big one' (' [big RELATIVIZER] yon Clf'), <ninh yangh jhuatv \emptyset > (' [big RELATIVIZER] yon Clf').

[27] When quizzed my informants insist it is not omissible even after pronouns. The points needs further checking in natural speech, but since the <nyei> is under such circumstances normally reduced to a fleeting syllabic nasal, it is by no means easy to check.

[28] "∅" is written at the point where N_h would occur.

[29] In this and the following examples in this section "∅" marks the spot where N_h has been deleted.

uav tiuh Ø> (L 113) 'He went the roundabout way' ("He went [crooked] yon Clf(for routes)"), <maiv pun nyei uav teix RC RC Ø, laengx ninh/bua nyei ei> (L 287) 'As for those who did not give [sc. an offering], take note of their [sc. god] intentions' (part of a prayer) (" [not give RELATIVIZER] yon PLURALIZING-Clf acknowledge they POSSESSIVIZER intention"), <jhiax uav dau maengx i tauh Ø> (L 115) 'the two who went over to that side' (" [cross-over that place side] two Clf"), <mingh tauh Ø> (L 56) 'the one who went' (" [go] Clf") (the last two examples are structurally ambiguous: as glossed they are NP's structurally the same as <touc tauh> 'the one who carries a message' in Figure 3(VI) of Section 3.9; but they may also be VP's structurally identical with <touc tauh> in Figure 3(VII) of Section 3.9, except that Num has not been deleted, and meaning respectively 'they went over to that side 'à deux', and 'went alone'; see Section 3.9).

It may be that what triggers deletion of N_h is not the local structural description but the fact that the NP attached is anaphoric: note the following typical cases of anaphora <nv tauh Ø kauh fauv> (L 200) 'this one is more clever' ("this Clf more clever"), <i tath Ø phuix tuqv jiac> (L 42) 'the two are compatible' ("two Clf be-matched be-able descend"). For examples of structures with N_h deleted see Figures 3(XI) and 3(XII) in Section 3.11.

3.9. Multiple structural ambiguity partially resolved by tone sandhi. Multiword NP's shade off into compound N's in one direction, and are to be distinguished from homophonous VP's in the other. In Figures 3(X)-3(XII) below we illustrate this point with the triplet (a) <touc-tauh> (L 64), a compound-N 'messenger' (with tone sandhi on <touc>) (represented in Figure 3(V)), (b) <touc tauh>, (without tone sandhi) representing (a) the NP, 'the one who carried the message' (represented in Figure 3(VI)), and (c) (phonologically identical to (b), except, perhaps, in intonation -- this needs further investigation) a VP 'carried the message alone' (represented in Figure 3(VII)). For examples and expansions of the various notes see PS rules in Section 3.11.

Note that in the example in the last paragraph tone sandhi only serves to distinguish the compound noun from the NP and the VP, but that the latter two are homophonous, and so structurally ambiguous. This situation seems to obtain quite generally for tone sandhi with reference to nominal phenomena, i.e., tone sandhi marks "vocabulicity", "lexicity", "wordhood" -- call it what you will -- i.e., the status of being a single word, when it inheres in a collocation of words. Or, to put it dynamically, tone sandhi is part of "vocabulization" or "lexization" in Mien, the process whereby a collocation of words becomes a vocable or

single word.[30]

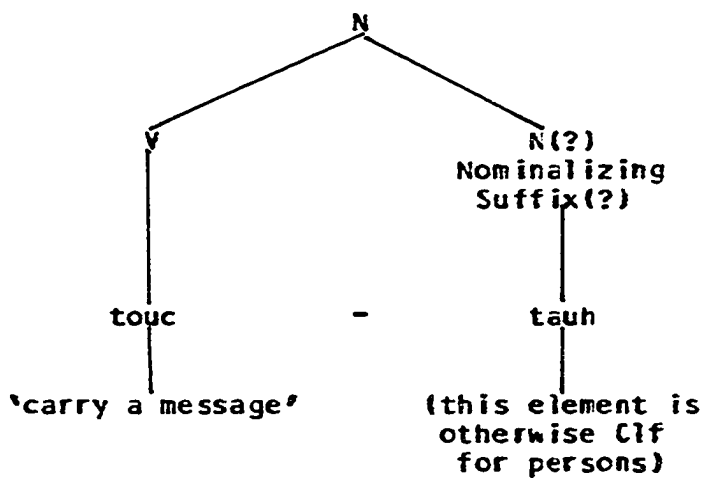
[30] The question of whether a collocation has the status of single word in a language is separate from the question of whether it belongs in the lexicon: common sense would indeed suggest that words which are derived in a perfectly regular manner from other words already entered in the lexicon need not themselves be entered into the lexicon. For instance, in English it would seem unnecessary to enter into the lexicon every word that begins with non- or ends with -maker inasmuch as these are perfectly perspicuous semantically and can be coined at will. But we should enter, for instance, nonentity, since that is not really the opposite of entity, and shoemaker and watchmaker, since in these post-medieval times the referents do not characteristically make shoes or, as the case may be, watches.

FIGURE 3(V)

The structure of a compound noun

<touc-tauh>-'messenger'.

Compound status marked by tone sandhi on V.

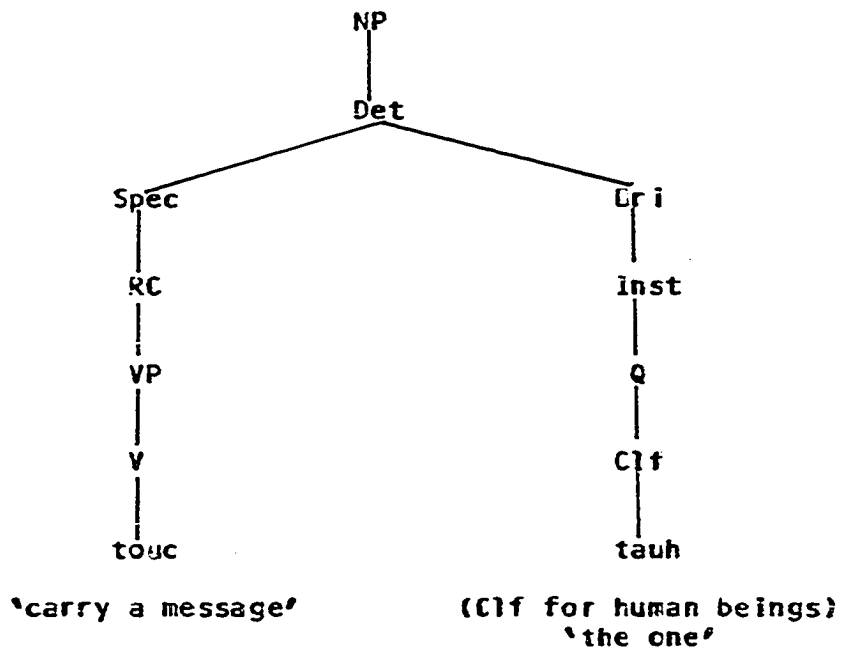


Note: For unexplained node-symbols see Sec. 3.11

FIGURE 3(VI)

The structure of the headless NE <tauh tauh>

'the one who carries the message'

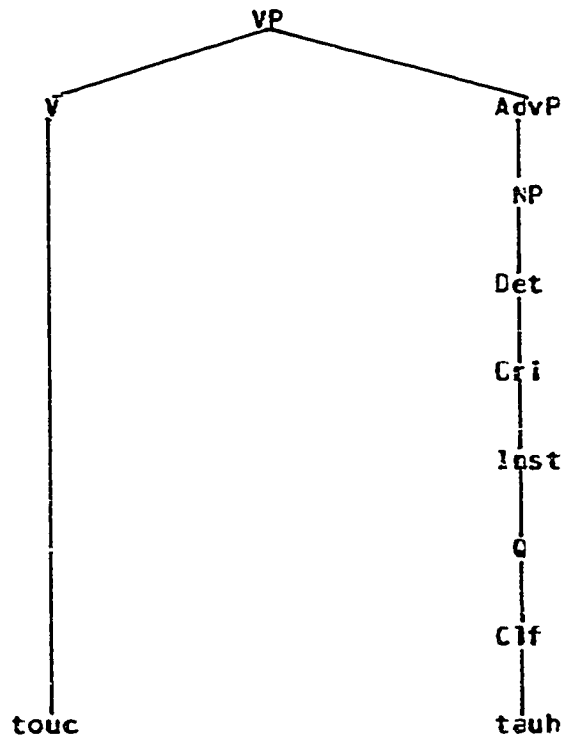


This is an intermediate structure: the deep structure has a (head) N which is a sister to Det under the NP node, and a Num <yietc> 'one' sister to Clf under the Q node.

Note: For unexplained node-symbols see Sec. 3.11

FIGURE 3(VII)

The structure of the VP <toic tauh>
'carried the message on his/her own'



'carry a message'

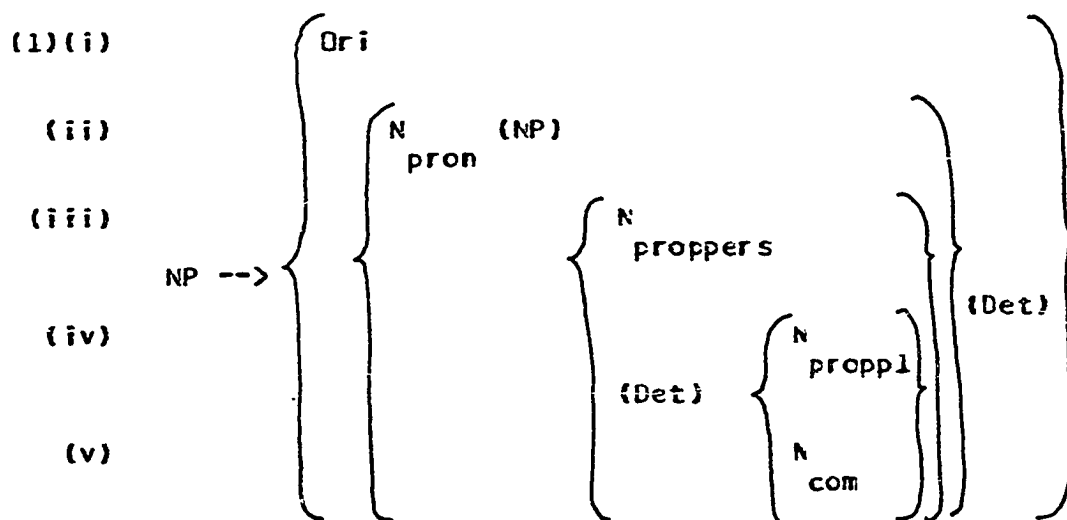
(Clf for human beings)

This is an intermediate structure with the same deletions as in Figure 3(XI). Quantified NP's under AdvP have the meaning 'alone', 'à ceux', 'à trois' etc.

Note: For unexplained node-symbols see Sec. 3.11

3.10. NP's accompanied by particles. There are three forms that accompany NP's and might be considered particles: (a) the preposed hypocoristic <aa> with kinship terms: e.g., <aa tia> 'daddy', <aa maa> 'mommy', (b) the postposed vocative <aa>, e.g., <kawx aa> 'excuse me, sir' (to broach a strange man, lit. "O elder brother"), and (c) the postposed topicalizing particle <aeq>, e.g., <meit nyei pyauv aeq ...> 'Now as for your house, ...'. However we have interpreted form (a) as a prefix (see Section 3.3.3.5.2.(a)), and form (b) as a suffix (see Section 3.3.3.5.2.(b)). As for form (c), we interpret it syntactically not as entering immediately into constituency with the NP as such, but with the topic, a higher-order entity (see Section 2.3.4).

3.11. The structure of the NP in technical detail (PS rules). Here is a set of phrase-structure rules with which we can end our account of the NP. They are regrettably heavy reading and we hope that our examples in the preceding sections of this chapter have been copious and lucid enough so that the present section can be skipped. For concrete examples of the rules, the reader is urged to refer constantly to Figures 3(VII)-(XII) below. These are cross-referenced to the rules and exemplify each of them.

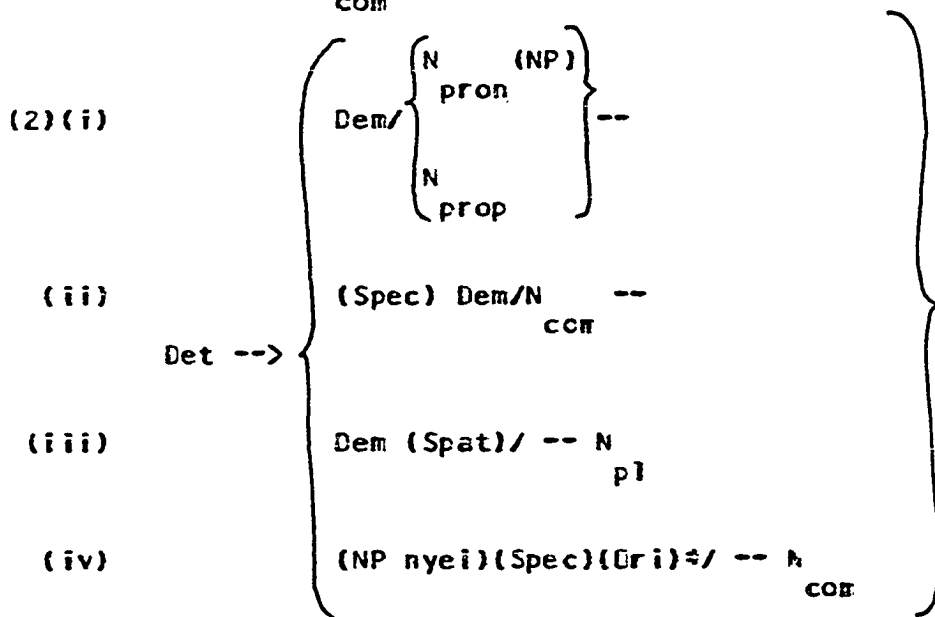


A NP may consist of (i) Orienter Phrase[31] (Ori), or (ii) a personal pronoun (N_{pron}) optionally followed by an NP in apposition, optionally followed by a Determiner Structure (Det), or (iii) an anthroponym, or personal proper name (N_{proppers}), optionally followed by a Det, or (iv) an optional Det followed by a toponym, or proper noun of place,

[31] I would like to apologize for the neologisms in this section. They are necessitated by the old problem of naming the levels of a hierarchy: what do you do when you have distinguished more levels than there are terms in the current terminology? One could just as well use abstract symbols but I believe that semantically motivated neologisms, however jarring, are easier for the human mind to process.

"Orienter" is a cover term for "Indicant" and "Instantiator". "Indicant" is a cover term for demonstratives and interrogatives. "Instantiator" is a cover term for numerals and classifiers -- also grouped here under the term "quantity-expression" (Q) (the later borrowed from Matisoff) -- coined because it seemed convenient in the rule-writing to insert an additional node immediately above "Q".

optionally followed by Det, or (v) an optional Det followed by a common noun (N_{com}), optionally followed by Det.



* At least one of the items in parentheses must be selected.

A Determiner Structure may consist of the following things according to grammatical context: (i) in the context following a pronoun followed by an optional NP, or the context following a proper noun (N_{prop}), Det consists of a demonstrative; (ii) in the context following a common noun Det consists of an optional specifier structure (Spec) followed by an obligatory demonstrative; (iii) in the context preceding a place-noun (i.e., a noun, proper or common, referring to a place), Det consists of a demonstrative followed by an

optional spatial co-deictic (Spat -- see Section 3.2.5);
 (iv) in the context preceding a common noun Det consists of an optional structure of "NP + nyei", followed by an optional Spec, followed by an optional indicant[32] structure, followed by an optional instantiator[33] structure: of these four options, at least one must be selected.

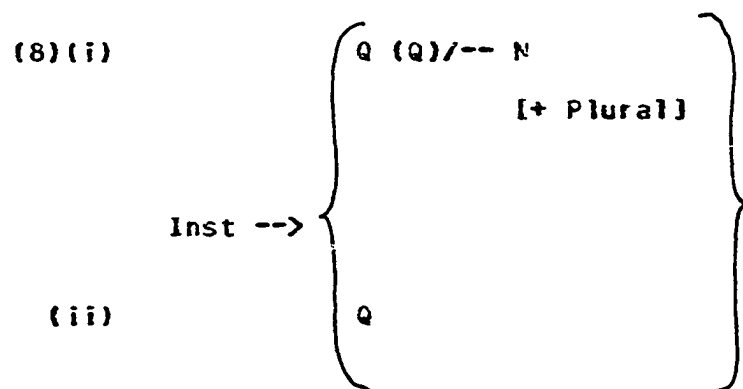
The constitution of the specifier structure (Spec) requires further investigation, but it may be tentatively stated as follows:

$$\begin{array}{l}
 (3) \\
 \text{(i)} \\
 \text{Spec} \rightarrow \text{(Dem)} \\
 \text{(ii)}
 \end{array}
 \left\{ \begin{array}{l}
 \text{RC} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sub} \\ \text{Ori} \end{array} \right\} / \text{--- (Eri)N} \\
 \text{RC (Eri)/N ---}
 \end{array} \right.$$

In the context preceding an optional Orienter Phrase and an obligatory noun, the Specifier Phrase consists of (i) an optional demonstrative followed by a Relative Clause (RC) and an optional Subordinator, or (ii) an optional Demonstrative followed by a Relative Clause followed by an optional Orienter phrase; in the context following a noun the Specifier Phrase consists of a Relative Clause followed by an

[32] See preceding footnote.

[33] See footnote before last.



(i) In the environment preceding a noun with the semantic feature [+ Plural] the Instantiator Phrase consists of a quantity-expression followed by an optional quantity-expression; otherwise (ii) it consists of a quantity-expression. Rules (7)(i) and (ii) are to be applied in the order in which they are numbered.

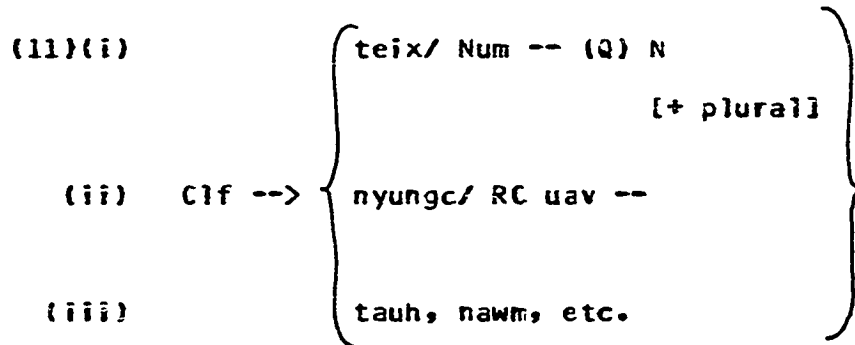
(9) Spat --> jhiav, chaav maengx, maengx...etc.*

* For the glosses, which are rather intricate, the reader is referred to Section 3.2.5 above.

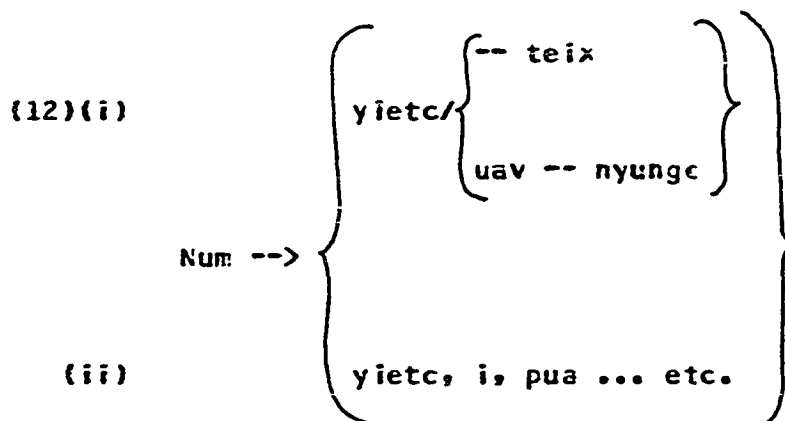
Spatial Co-deictic consists of <jhiav>, or <chaav maengx>, or <maengx> ... etc. (See list at Section 3.2.5).

(10) Q --> Num Clf

Quantity-expression consists of a Numeral followed by a Classifier.



Classifier consists (i) in the environment following a Numeral and preceding an optional quantity-expression followed by a noun with the semantic feature [+ Plural], of <teix> ('someness'), (ii) in the environment following a sequence of Relative Clause and <uav> respectively, of <nyungc> ('kind'), (iii) otherwise, of <tau>, <nawm>, etc.



Numeral consists, (i) in the environment preceding <teix> (Clf, 'someness') and in the environment following <uav> (Dem, 'yonder') and preceding <nyungc> (Clf, 'kind'), of <yietc> ('one'), otherwise (ii) Numeral consists of <yietc> ('one'), <i> ('two'), <pua> ('three') ... etc. (See Section 3.4.1 and subdivisions).

(13) Sub --> nyei

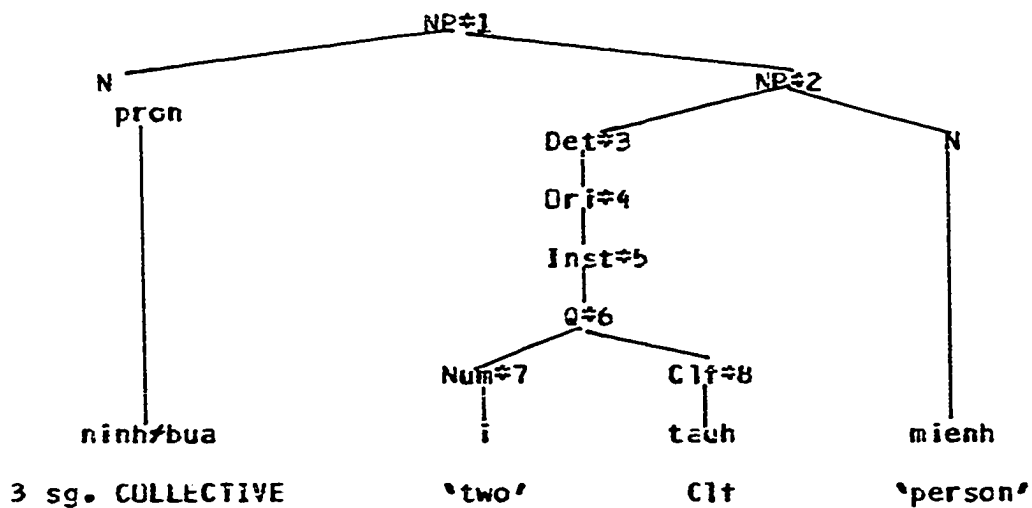
The Subordinator consists of <nyei>.

For an account of the entities not yet rewritten to terminal symbols -- i.e., Noun, N, N, N -- see the Sections 3.2 et seq. proppers proppi com

Here follow figures of tree diagrams illustrating the various rules. Various nodes are provided with reference numbers; at the corresponding number beneath the figure is indicated the PS-rule involved in the rewriting of the symbol. In Figure 3(IV) the introduction of the constituent QUEST and its placement vis-a-vis NP and VP is not germane to the structure of the NP and is a matter of expository convenience only.

FIGURE 3(VIII)

Phrase Structure of
 <ninh:bua i tauh mienh>
 'The two of them; the two persons'



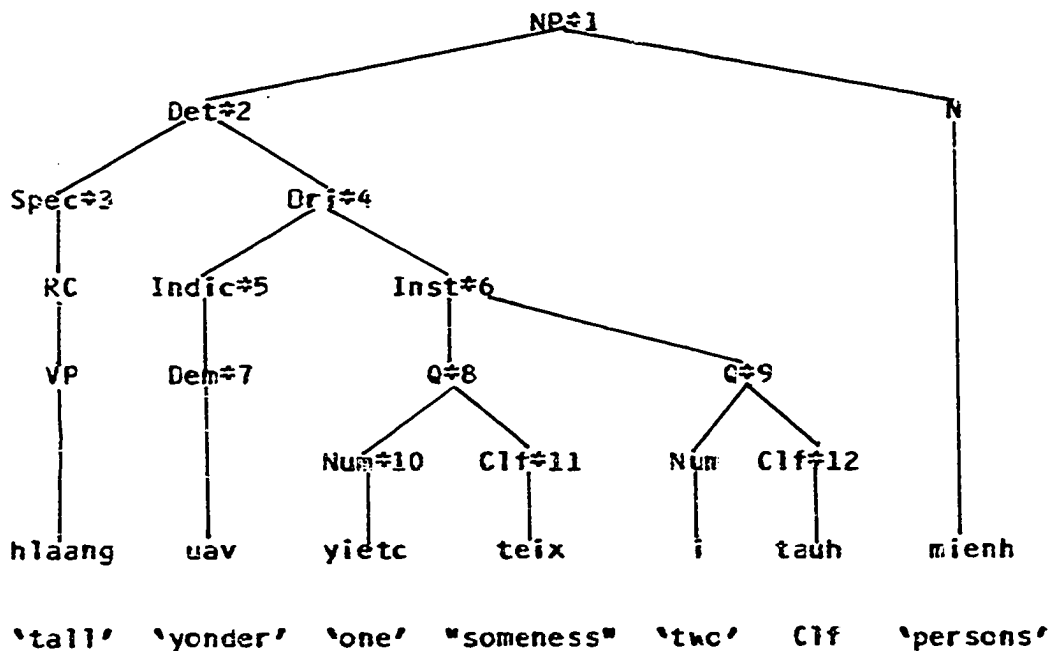
- | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|
| #1 Rule (1)(ii) | #4 Rule (4) | #7 Rule (12)(ii) |
| #2 Rule (1)(iv) | #5 Rule (8) | #8 Rule (11)(iii) |
| #3 Rule (2)(iv) | #6 Rule (10) | |

FIGURE 3(18)

Phrase Structure of
 <hlaang uav teix i tauh mienh>

'These two tall persons'

(<'Yonder someness of two tall persons'>)



#1 Rule (1)(v)
 #2 Rule (2)(iv)
 #3 Rule (4)
 #4 Rule (3)(i)
 #5 Rule (5)(i)
 #6 Rule (8)(i)

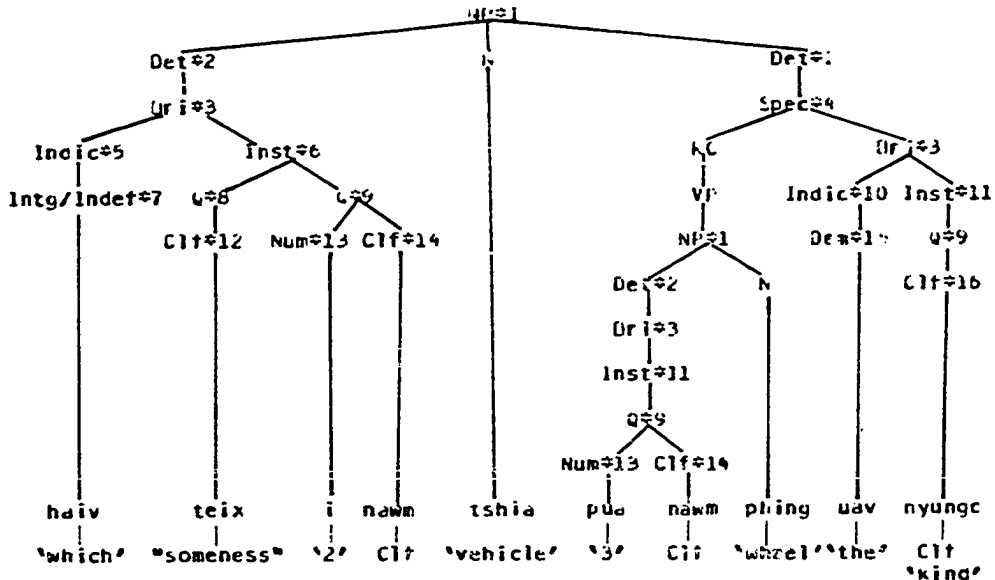
#7 Rule (7)
 #8 Rule (10)#
 #9 Rule (10)
 #10 Rule (5)(ii)
 #11 Rule (8)(ii)

#12 Rule (11)(i)
 #13 Rule (12)(ii)
 #14 Rule (11)(iii)
 #15 Rule (6)(i)
 #16 Rule (11)(ii)

#> <yietc> will be subsequently obligatorily deleted.

FIGURE 3(X)

Phrase Structure of Shaiy teix i nawm
tshia pua nawm phing uay nyungc
'Which two three-wheeled vehicles?'
("Which two vehicles of the three-wheels i-havingl kind")



- | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|
| #1 Rule (1)(v) | #7 Rule (7) | #12 Rule (11)(i) |
| #2 Rule (2)(iv) | #8 Rule (10)** | #13 Rule (12)(ii) |
| #3 Rule (4) | #9 Rule (10) | #14 Rule (11)(iii) |
| #4 Rule (3)(i) | #10 Rule (5)(ii) | #15 Rule (6)(i) |
| #5 Rule (5)(i) | #11 Rule (8)(ii) | #16 Rule (11)(ii) |
| #6 Rule (8)(i) | | |

** Obligatory <yietc>-deletion subsequently applied.

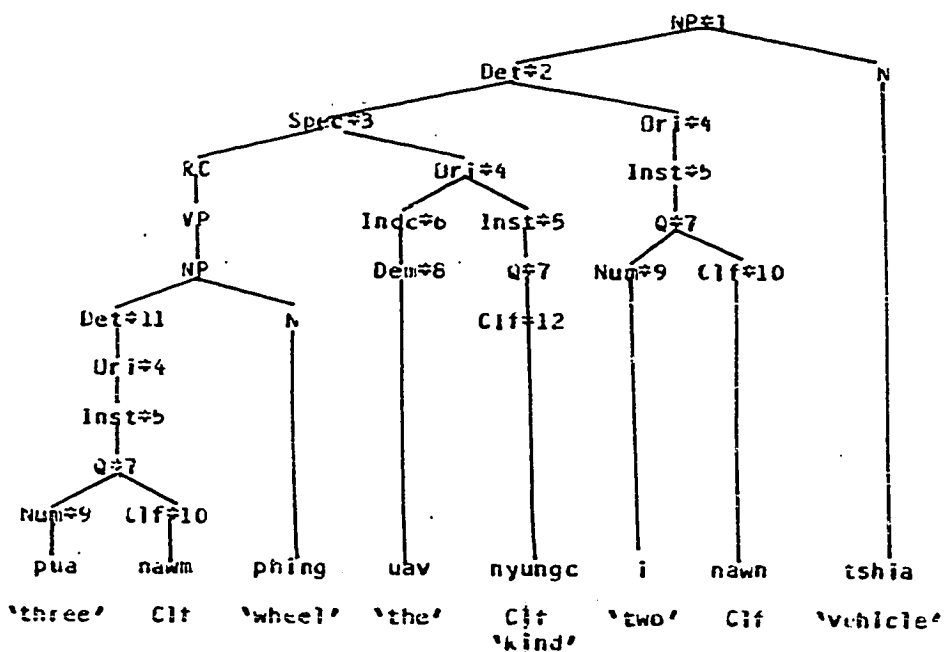
FIGURE 3(81)

Phrase Structure cf

Spua nawm phing uay nyungc i nawm tshia

'The two three-wheeled vehicles'

(~~'Two the-three-wheels I-having~~ kind vehicles')

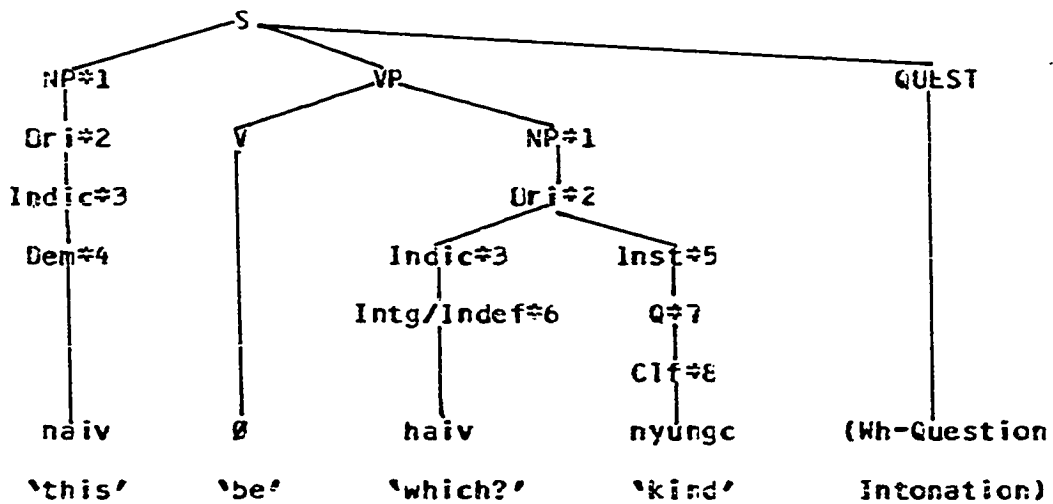


- #1 Rule (1)(v)
- #2 Rule (2)(iv)
- #3 Rule (3)(i)
- #4 Rule (4)

- #5 Rule (8)(ii)
- #6 Rule (5)(i)
- #7 Rule (10)
- #8 Rule (6)(i)

- #9 Rule (12)(i)
- #10 Rule (11)(iii)
- #11 Rule (2)(iv)
- #12 Rule (11)(ii)

FIGURE 3(111)
 Phrase Structure of
 <naiv haiv nyungc>
 'What is this?'



- #1 Rule (1)(i)
- #2 Rule (4)
- #3 Rule (5)(i)
- #4 Rule (6)(ii)
- #5 Rule (8)(iii)
- #6 Rule (7)
- #7 Rule (10)#
- #8 Rule (11)(ii)

Num <yietc> subsequently deleted.

CHAPTER IV

ASPECTS OF THE VERB PHRASE AND CLAUSE

4.1. The structure of the VP. This is problematic in various ways but a simplified overview can be given as follows:

		(a) (NP) (NP)
VP -->	(AdvP) V nucl	(AdvP)
		(b) Clause

A verb phrase consists of an optional adverbial phrase (AE) followed by a Verbal Nucleus, followed by (a) an optional NP, followed by another optional NP, or (b) by a clause (this embedded clause functions as object of V, and will be discussed at (complex 5 below).

4.2. Criteria for verbhood and some associated problems. As with Chinese, Lahu, Thai, etc., it is convenient to define verbs in Mien as that term-class which can occur in the syntactic environment immediately following the negative particle, i.e., for Mien, in the environment */maiv--/. This criterion is easily grasped, intuitively correct and easily applied, but there are a handful of forms that we have discovered that are problematical under this criterion, in terms of what we can call the secondary characteristics

of verbs. These we will now discuss:

(a) Failure to appear in the positive, while we take negatability to be the defining characteristic of verbs, a "verb" which can occur only in the negative is an aberrant phenomenon. Examples of these in Mien are to be found as follows:

- (i) in the negative imperative locutions (where <maiv> 'not' appears in its contracted form <mv>): <mv tuqv> (L 234), <mv tungv> (L 234), and <mv tungx> (L 234), all meaning 'con't' [1] e.g., <mv tuqv mingh>, <mv tungv mingh>, <mv tungx mingh>, all meaning 'Don't go!'. It should be noted that it is only as an imperative marker that <tuqv> does not appear in the positive (for other uses see below).
- (ii) in the expressions meaning 'scarcely, hardly, not very' <mv kamh> (L 241), <mv naangc> (L 241): e.g., <mv kamh ko> (L 241) 'not very far', <mv naangc kaux nyanc> (L 241) 'to have scarcely enough to eat' ('scarcely be-enough eat'); here too there is a homophonous form [| kam], which

[1] My informants do not recognize the second form, and say that the third form is characteristic of Thailand Mien.

might represent phonologically either <kamh> or <kam0->, that appears in the polysyllabic verbs <kam0-tsiav> (L 123) 'to be repelled by' and <kam0-dziax> (L 123) 'to be afraid; to be reluctant', which do occur in the positive;

- (iii) in the polite expression <mv chaqv>, <mv chaqc> (high tone according to Lombard (108), low tone according to my informants) 'can't bother to', as in <mv chaqv tshau> (L 108) 'Don't bother to hand it [to me]' (as said to a host who offers one, for instance, tea, implying, 'I'll just help myself');
- (iv) in the expression <mv lamh> (L 241) 'to lack place or occasion for', as in <mv lamh kawngv> (L 242) 'to lack a suitable occasion to say [it]';
- (v) in the expression <mv kunv> (L 241) 'to not be concerned about', as in <mv kunv taic> (L 241) 'to show no concern about [the possibility of] dying': here there is a homophonous form <kunv> that appears in imperative expressions;
- (vi) in the expression <mv kaengh> (L 241) 'not yet', as in <tsoah mv kaengh czengh> (L 241) 'the tea is not yet used up';
- (viii) in the expression <mv taih>[2] (L 65) 'of course';

[2] L 65 spells this expression with a syllabic "n"

naturally', as in <jhomc, mv taih maaih nyei; maaih, mv taih maaih nyei> (L 65) 'Poor [people], of course we have them; rich [people], of course we have them'; (viii) in the expression <mv paac> (L 234) 'but; however; also', as in <ninh kox nyei, mv paac mv dongc haix aqc-maangc> (L 234) 'He's old, but not particularly bad looking' ("He be-old Prt , but not be-as-much-as whichever be-unpleasant=look-at"), <ya mv paav oix nyei> (L 234) 'I also want some' ("I also want Prt "); because of the cubious verbhood of these forms, we interpret these combinations in which a negative meaning cannot be discerned to be lexical units, and so hyphenate them: -- <mv-taih>, <mv-paac>.

(b) Failure to appear in the negative. This, of course, should by definition exclude a form from verb status. But there is a verb <se> ~ <sue> (L 212; see also Section 2.3.4.2.2.) 'to be, to be the case that, to be a fact that', which is semantically virtually identical and syntactically virtually in complementary distribution with the verb <tseiz> (L 157) 'to be, to be the case, to be

-- <mv taih> -- as if the nasal did not represent the negative particles; my informants pronounce it as spelled here.

correct', with the latter verb tending to be limited to non-assertive sentences, i.e., negative and interrogative sentences.

(c) Syntactic behavior in the negative not parallel to the positive: the case of <mv pei>. There is in Mien an expression <mv pei> (L 234) 'to be uncertain; to wonder; perhaps'. Now there is also a verb <pei> 'to know' from which the just-quoted meaning of <mv pei> is deducible, although it is somewhat idiomatic, but not its syntactic behavior, for <mv peiv> in the above meaning is in effect a sentence-final particle; compare the sentences in (i) below, in which <pei> occurs positive and negative as a syntactically normal verb meaning 'to know', and the sentences in (ii) below, in which <mv pei> is functioning as a sentence-final particle: -- (i) <pei nyei hiuv nyei> (L 17) 'to know thoroughly' ("know ASSRT [and] know ASSRT"), <maiv pei tuqv> (L 17) 'not know'; (ii) <ninh minch haiv/dau mv pei> (L 234) 'I wonder where he is going' ("he go where [I] wonder"), <ninh/nyei tawn-jhweiv taix ninkh taic aq mv pei> 'Maybe her son is going to kill her' ("Her son kill her dead NEW-SIT-ASP maybe"), [3]

[3] There is a perfectly analogous construction in Thai in which the expression for 'not know' <maj ruu>, is used sentence-finally.

[4] For narrative vividness the event is presented aspectually as if it had already happened.

In need of further investigation with regard to their secondary verbal characteristics are the morphologically exocentric forms <feix-pung> (L 157) 'to be square' ('four-side', morphologically Num + Auto-Clf), as in <pyei pung maaih nyei, mv paac mv feix-pung> (L 27) 'It has four sides, but it is not square', and <thinh-teic> (L 77), which is fundamentally a polar nominal compound, 'heaven and earth', used idiomatically to mean 'everything, everywhere, completely, utterly' (much as in English ~~move~~ *move heaven and earth*) in ionized form: e.g.,

(i) <hemx thinh hemx teic> (L 78) 'to scold up and down; to scold about everything' ('scold [about] heaven [and] scold [about] earth'),

(ii) <lahu thinh lah teic> (L 78) 'to be an exasperatingly long time' ('be-as-long-a-time [as] heaven [and] be-as-long-be-as-long-a-time [as] earth'),

but appears un-ionized and verbalized, or at least adverbialized, after the negative particle, in expressions such as <tscux kong maiv thinh-teic> (L 78) 'to work at a task but be unable to complete it' ('do work not [doing] heaven [-and] -earth').

The above cases are the only forms we have discovered whose status as verbs is problematic!, so that we can now

proceed to general remarks about verbs. Firstly, it should be noted that unlike Chinese but as in Thai, Lahu, etc., one and the same negative particle occurs before all verbs without exception: specifically 'not to have; for there not to be' is <mv maaih>. Secondly, semantically, verbs, as might be expected, refer to events and states of affairs.

4.3. Morphological aspects of the verb. Mien is an isolating language, typical of the linguistic area made up by Chinese, Thai, Vietnamese, etc., and verbs, like all parts of speech, are unchanging, having no morphology in the sense of accidence, i.e., paradigms of changes rung on certain parts of speech, of the Indo-European, Semitic or Indonesian type. However, we will follow Chao (1968) and Matisoff (1972) in using the word "morphology" to refer to processes of compounding, reduplication and elaboration of the verb phrase nucleus. For traces of a fossilized derivational morphology, see Section 2.4.1.1 above.

4.4. Overlapping subcategories of verbs. Some times an intransitive verb can be used transitively: e.g., the verb <phyatv> (L 43) means 'to slip past/out of line; to move beyond; to drop away', implying events that occur without human intervention, as in <burgv phyatv mic aq> (L 43) 'the bone has become dislocated', but it can also be used with a human agent (or at least an unintending human

agent) as subject and the thing that moves, literally or metaphorically, as object; as in <yia maiv phyatv meih nyei nyaanh dawtv> (L 43) 'I won't let your money be lost through oversight' ("I not let-slip-away your money [so that it] falls [out of existence]").

The case of a verb which seems to be basically [-agent], being able to occur with a subjectivalized non-intending "agent" seems rare in Mien. I have not come across any others. Perfectly productive, however, is the case where a verb that normally takes an agent and a patient, with the agent as subject and the patient as object, may have no expressed agent and take the patient in front of it as a topic: e.g., <ninh nyanc hnaangx, mv tuqv nyanc lai> 'He ate the rice but not the vegetables' can become <hnaangx nyanc, lai mv tuqv nyanc> ('The rice, I (some agent) ate, the vegetables, I (the same agent), didn't eat').

Since almost any semantically transitive verb can enter into the second construction, it seems better not to set up two categories of verbs, [+agent, +patient] and [+patient], but to say that you have one subcategory, viz. transitive, which can always undergo agent-deletion and patient-topicalization (for further discussion, see below).

4.5. Verbs classified by morphological structure.

4.5.1 Canonical form of verbs: monomorphemic, monosyllables. Simple verbs are made up of a single morpheme, and verb morphemes, like all morphemes in Mien, are in the great majority of cases monosyllabic. Examples of simple, monosyllabic verbs will be found on almost every page of this study, and there is no need to mention any here. What was said above in Section 3.3 regarding nouns applies mutatis mutandis to verbs: viz, when confronted with a polysyllabic string whose most important component seems to be a verbal morpheme, the analyst only has two likely alternatives to consider: either the string is a syntactic construction, consisting of more than one word, or it is a composite verb.

Yet some constructions are of an intermediate nature, for 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 components. And indeed the polysyllabic string may be neither morphological compound nor syntactic construction but simply a polysyllabic single verbal morpheme.

4.5.2 Some verbs of dubious morphemic structure: polysyllabic verb morphemes or compound verbs? We have three situations, the first two of which are inherently

dubious and the third may in fact be dubious because hard to separate from the second: viz, (1) polysyllabic verb morphemes, (2) verbs containing an identifiable morpheme together with a morpheme, and (3) compound verbs. As with nouns we will separate every syllable by a hyphen whether identifiable as a morpheme or not. Assignments to category (1) or (2) are of course provisional, since someone may come along and identify the component syllables as morphemes.

4.5.3 Polysyllabic verbs. E.g., <laŋŋ-khuŋv> (L 288) 'to forget', <dzaŋŋ-hleng> or <dzaŋŋ[-hlengx> (L 187) 'to tie on one's side', <tunŋ-yun> (L 73) 'to be perfect', <tingx/laaih> (L 62) 'to disappear, become lost', <kamŋ-dziax> 'to fear', <kamŋ-tsiav> 'to find repugnant', <fiŋŋ-heic> 'casual, unhurried', <laeng/kaeng> (L 287) 'to be naked'.

Of these <kamŋ-dziax> 'to fear' and <kamŋ-tsiav> 'to find repugnant' can be suspected of belonging to category (2) because of semantic similarity: can we, or could one once, extract a morpheme <kamŋ> with identifiable meaning and tone? On the other hand <laeng/kaeng> may be suspected of actually being a compound because it is separately reduplicable: <laeng/laeng/kaeng-kaeng> (L 287) 'to be naked'.

4.5.4 Verbs containing an identifiable morpheme together with a morpheme. E.g., <hung[-heic> (L 223, 230)

'to be easy' where <hung0-> is mysterious, but <heic> (L 223) exists alone, with the same meaning. Parallel to this is the case of <lai0-hlopv> (L 289) 'to be dirty, filthy, defiled', where <lai0-> is mysterious, but <hlopv> on its own means pretty much the same thing as the disyllabic form (L 282). An interesting set of cases begins with the syllable

- (i) <taq0->: <taq0-bienv> (L 64) 'to be inside out' versus <bienv> (L 15) 'to turn something over',
- (ii) <taq0-gaangx> (L 65) 'to turn around' versus <gaangx> (L 147) 'to turn around; turn about face; be backward',
- (iii) <taq0-gopv> (L 65) 'to lie on one's stomach' versus <gopv> (L 147) 'to turn over, turn to the side',
- (iv) <taq0-dzyaux> (L 65) 'to lie on one's back', which has no form <dzyaux> attested.

The interesting point is that for <taq0-gaangx>, at least, there is a by-form attested, <taaux/gaangx> (L 68), in which <taaux> is itself a free verb morpheme (L 68) meaning 'to turn around to the opposite side, to turn about face; to turn against; to be cross-eyed'.

Now <taqŋ-> could be a reduced form of <taaux>, so that it is basically a question of the sprachgefühl of each idiolect-speaker: if he considers <taqŋ-> to be a reduced <taaux> then all the above forms are verb compounds; if he does not, then they are not. In any case it does not seem that we can account for <taqŋ-lergv> (l tɕ) 'to be reckless and daring' in this way. Now there are quite a number of disyllabic nouns, and a rather lesser number of verbs, containing a reduced first syllable, and in some cases the reduced syllable can be identified with either a free form, or at least a less-reduced bound morpheme, and in some cases it cannot.

4.5.5 Verb compounds. Much work remains to be done here. For instance, taking Chao (1968) as our criterion, because of the typological similarity between Mien and Chinese, we need to investigate how easy and useful it would be to set up for Mien the full range of compound types he sets up for Chinese, viz. subject-predicate compounds of verbal meaning, co-ordinate compounds, subordinate compounds, verb-object compounds, subordinative compounds, and complex compounds. Let us here give a sketchy account of what we know in this area, further noting that any combination of "V + V" is a case of verb serialization and we have not yet finalized a methodology for deciding whether such a sequence is a single word, i.e., is dominated by a "V"-node

or not. Our remarks then are tentative.

4.5.51 Co-ordinate compounds. Here the problem is to decide whether the sequence of verbs really is a single word or is a case of conjunction reduction with the structure and meaning of 'to V and to V' or 'Adj and Adj'. Let us venture some apparent examples:

- (i) <taaux#gaang> (L 68) 'to turn around' (see above),
- (ii) <pien#naaic> (L 13) 'to question thoroughly and firmly' (<pien> (L 13) 'to interrogate; investigate; enquire about', <raaic> (L 258) 'to ask or enquire'),
- (iii) <taic#tswang> (L 171) 'to die' (<taic> (L 65) 'to die', <tswangc> (L 171) 'to die' (slang)),
- (iv) <paeqc#bouc> (L 49) 'cream colored; soft white' (<paeq> (L 19) 'be-white', <bouc> (L 49) 'to be off-white in color'),
- (v) <opv#tshweix> (L 8) 'to become aged, brittle or mildewed' (<opv> (L 8) 'to be mildewed or rotten; to be brittle', <tshweix> (L 184) 'to be fragile, breakable, easily spoiled').

These are synonymous or nearly synonymous compounds, of which outright identity of the components, in the form of reduplication might be considered the limiting case: e.g., <phing#phing> 'to roll' (L 37) (<phing> (L 37) 'to roll'), as in <tsoux phing#phing> (L 37) 'to make roll' (Query: compound word? Or syntactically compound predicate made up of separate words by conjunction reduction?).

Reduplicated words may also enter into co-ordinate compounds: e.g., <banv-banv#buav> (L 51) 'to be completely blurred' (<banv> (L 51) 'to be indistinct, blurred', <buav> (L 53) 'to be dim, blurred (of vision)'), but since the compound <banv#buav> also exists, we may perhaps regard it as underlying, and <banv#banv#buav> as derived from it by partial reduplication, yielding a structure <banv#banv#buav>.

In connection with co-ordinate compounds there sometimes appears a syllable <kuqv>, as in (1) <bopv kuq paeqc> (L 52) 'to be very white' (<bopv> (L 52) 'be white, bright, light', <paeqc> (L 19) 'be white'), and (2) <banv kuv buav nyei> (L 51) 'to be completely indistinct and blurred'. This syllable requires further investigation.

4.5.52 Subordinative compounds. These V + V compounds show tone sandhi (a fairly good sign that they are single words and not syntactic combinations): e.g.,

- (i) <siqv-lunx> 'light red' (<siqv> 'red', <lunx> 'be young; be-light of hue');
- (ii) <siqv-kox> 'dark red' (<kox> 'be-dark; be-dark of hue'),
- (iii) <tsweix-maeng> 'acrid' (as of green wood burning ("smelly-green")).

In all the V + V subordinative compounds the head verb is on the left and the modifier is on the right. The only exception we have found is the bound intensifier <tomŪ-> (L 71), which is identical with an augmentative bound form found with nouns^[5] (see Section 3.3.5.2(a)).

The point is that since it is bound, and occurs compounded with both nouns and adjectives its part-of-speech membership is hard to establish. It could be a verb meaning 'be big; manifest greatly', or perhaps it is better regarded as a prefix: e.g., <tomŪ-muanc> 'be exceedingly fine', <tomŪ-faix> 'to be exceedingly small'. In these forms the semantics, i.e., smallness, show that <tomŪ-> has lost any idea of bigness and simply become an intensifier. Morphologically it can also come into constituency with verb forms that are already compounds: e.g., <tomŪ=paecc/bouc> (L 19)

[5] My informants use it with nouns but do not accept its use with verbs, so there might be some local variation here.

'to be extremely light skinned' (for explanation of <paecr bouc> see above, this section.

4.5.53 Psycho-collocations: are they compounds or syntactic constructions?[16] These are widespread (universal?) morpheme-combinations, consisting of the "psycho-noun", the word for an internal organ conceptualized as the seat of emotions and thoughts, and a "psycho-mate", usually an action verb or adjective, completing the meaning of mental event, mental state, or personality characteristic. Mien shows here the same complication that it does with numerals -- namely the use of both native and borrowed (ex. Chinese) words: thus the native psychc-noun is <hnyiouv>

[16] The term is taken, like so many ideas in the present work, in this case from Matisoff (1985), to which we have not had access but which by the author's admission inspired Jaisser's (1985) work on Hmong, to which we have had access only to the hardcut. There we find the following explanation (which may or may not be a quote from Matisoff (1985):

"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 with explicit psychological reference (translatable 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 Hmong: Psycho-noun SIAB 'liver' + psycho-mate, Psycho-mate + psycho-noun SIAB 'liver'

(L 263), meaning psychologically 'heart; mind; center of the personality' and physiologically 'the alimentary canal', [7] while from Chinese they have a single etymon ((AD #801)) represented with two vocalisms, <fin> and <fiem>. [8] As with Thai, putting the noun first usually denotes a permanent characteristic, e.g., <fim/faix> (L 195) 'to be (by nature) timid, cautious, careful, restrained' (<faix> (L 198) 'be small'), while putting the V first usually denotes a temporary state, e.g., <faix-fim> (L 195) 'to be careful or cautious (on a particular occasion)'. (Cf. Thai caj dij 'to be kind (by nature)' versus dij caj 'to be glad').

If these combinations were syntactic, the "N + V"

[7] The full translation of the word, as given in Lombard (263) before the list of collocation, is 'heart; mind; center of the personality; (physiologically conceived) the canal running from the mouth through the throat and and intestines to the anus'. Note that as a physiological conception this represents the alimentary canal and does not correspond to Thai caj 'heart', Chinese (AD #801) 'heart', or hmong siab 'liver'.

[8] Mien shares with Hmong its propensity to use this Chinese etymon in psycho-collocations:

"'xeb' is the Hmong pronunciation of the Chinese word for 'heart', regarded as the seat of the affections and in this sense equivalent of the Hmong 'siab'. It is found in many words involving the affections or mental activity and taken wholly or in part from the Chinese:"

(Heimbach 1979:406, cited in Jaisser 1985:12).

structure would have the constituent structure "Topic Comment", meaning roughly "with regard to the heart, a state of smallness exists", while the "V + N" construction would have the constituent structure "V + locative N" ("a state of smallness exists in the mind"). Whatever their syntactico-morphological status, both kinds of psycho-collocation can function as a comment, and for such a comment the topic has to be at least [+ sentient] and [+ agent] if not [+ human].

Given the fact that they mostly refer to a temporary mental event or state, between the topic and comment with "V + N" psycho-collocation the verb "feels", "experiences" or "manifests" has to be mentally supplied, so that, for instance, a structure "NP/taix fim" means "NP experienced/manifested being-small in the heart". But the semantic question arises why the verb supplied in this case is a temporary one, viz. "feel/manifest on a particular occasion", rather than "be (permanently) characterized by". Perhaps the secret is in the presence of the locative: for if we compare the faraway language of Russian, we find that there too the essentially locative verbal prefixes have a constraining effect on the generality of the aspect of the verb.

Let us note too, that, regarded as a compound, the "N + V" structure corresponds to Chao (1968:665)'s category of

"adjective" and the "V + N" structure to Chao (op. cit.)'s "status verb". I shall argue below that the psycho-noun refers to an inalienable part of the self, and that as such it ought to be subject in terms of grammatical relations, and that to reduce it to the status of oblique object, as in done in the "V + N" structure, is to produce a marked sentence type, a "displacement" in Nichols (1975)'s terms.

In order to decide whether these psycho-collocations are verbal compounds or, as Marchand (1866) calls them, "syntactic groups", we might have recourse, mutatis mutandis, to the two criteria Warutamasintop (1975:453) proposed to settle the question in Thai for "N + V" collocations that are nominal:

(1) Selectional restrictions: If the psycho-noun cannot co-occur with verbs in a liberal way, e.g., if it can occur with only a limited number of verbs, then it is likely that collocation is a compound: further investigation is required here, but it is our impression that "psycho-nouns" in Mien have only a defined set of possible "psycho-mates".

(2) Semantic unpredictability: If the psycho-collocation is not understood as the sum of the constituents, it must be a compound: for instance, in <hnyicuv gaai> (L 263) 'to be satisfied, content', but meaning literally 'the heart is dry', we would appear to have an

unpredictable meaning,[9] and we are fairly confident that further investigation would reveal more such.

By these criteria, I venture to say that Mien psycho-collocations are compounds not syntactic constructions, but I wonder whether Warutamasintop's criteria are not calculated to identify idioms rather than compounds, and idioms, as we know, are not specified as to grammatical form: they may be sentences, phrases or compound words. So for myself at this point the grammatical status of psycho-collocations is uncertain -- as indeed it may be in ontological reality.

For a list of Mien psycho-collocations containing the psycho-noun <hnyiouv> see Lombard (263); for a few with <fiu> see Lombard (195); for one with <fiem> see Lombard (194).

4.5.531 Psycho-collocations, "heart"-extraction, and cross-language typology of sentence-construction. It is an areal feature of Southeast Asia, China and Japan that they avoid using the verb 'to have' with inalienable possessions of which something is being predicated: i.e., they say "(with regard to) elephants, the nose is long", in the "double subject construction", in preference to "elephants have

[9] Of course this example may once have been (may still be (?)) well-motivated in terms of an indigenous humoral theory of mental state and dispositions.

long noses". It is a further areal feature (how widespread I don't know) to extract the seat of the emotions out of the sentient being's "self" and treat it as a separate argument to a predicate of mental character, making it the "inner subject" in a double subject construction: i.e., to produce sentences of the type "John, the heart is small"; i.e., sentences with a comment made up of psycho-noun + psycho-mate, where European languages would use a predicative adjective-of-character such as 'timid'. Now given the propensity of Mien and its neighbors to "discretize" the seat of the emotions with the totality of the self and make it a separate argument -- grammatically the subject of the psychological predicate [10] -- we might take the view that the treatment

[10] This casts doubt on universal theories of logical structure that regard the number of "arguments" with "predicates" of various types as non-problematical. It is typical of such theories to regard predicates of mental qualities such as be timid or mental events such as get a surprise as one-place predicates (semantically involving a "patient" or an "experience" as their single argument). I would argue that languages of the Southeast Asian type enable us to see that a human "argument", or self, is not simple -- it can be divided into (i) a "heart" and the remainder, as two separate arguments, (ii) the physical person and the remainder as two separate arguments, (iii) the space occupied by the physical person and the remainder as two separate arguments, and so on. Furthermore, the distinction between "arguments" and "predicates" is not clear: thus, for instances, in a sentence such as I am talking about Jim, it would probably be said that about is a "predicate", whereas it is clear in (some) Southeast Asian languages that is is an argument extracted from the complex of an ontological "entity" or "identity", and meaning 'subject' or '(subject) matter': e.g., Thai 'speak about x' is "speak subject x", and it is clear that subject is an argument (a lo-

of the "heart" as a locative in psycho-collocations of the form "V + N" is a failure of subject selection, an instance of a shift from the normal sentence pattern, to a marked sentence type or as Nichols (1975) terms such shifts, a "displacement". Typologically this brings Mien and its neighbors into the language-type that undergoes "displacement" with psychological predicates, in this case (by tendency) psychological predicates denoting a temporary state.

According to Nichols (1975:350-351) "specific displacement patterns, or a general absence of displacements, (where not internally conditioned, are remarkably conservative, and] could be diagnostic for genetic reconstruction ... We may have discovered an area of syntax sufficiently stable to support genetic hypotheses". (Emphasis curs).

Nichols' view may seem convincing in Indo-European, Finno-Ugric and the Caucasus, where there is lots of morphology to back up the syntax, but in the linguistic habitat of Mien, where syntactic patterns seem eminently borrowable,

cative one), because one can add the locative-verb arrive -- "speak arrive subject X" -- without changing the meaning. In sum: Southeast Asian languages cast doubt on the universality of "predicate-argument" logic in two ways: (1) they split "arguments" and thereby add extra "places" to "predicates", (2) they treat as "arguments" what the logician would regard as "predicates". It is time, I would claim, that the "logic of language" was re-evaluated in the light of Southeast Asian languages.

including change of basic word order, Nichols' proposal doesn't look very convincing. But perhaps it is worth looking for further evidence of "displacement" and seeing if we can work out a general typology refined enough to yield a "displacement profile" for each language in the area.

4.5.6 Reduplication in verbal structures. Since we are taking the conventional view that reduplication is a morphological process, not a syntactic one, we must first point out some cases that we interpret as pseudo-reduplication, because they are syntactic, i.e., dominated by "V", but not by "V". The syntactic construction "V + a homophonous nominal form": the latter may be either (a) a verb followed by a homophonous V-Clf as a cognate object, e.g., <diqv diqv> "to kick a kick" (with the numeral <yi> etc understood before the Clf, or (b) a verb followed by an autonomous noun object, as in <tsongx tsongx> "to cross-stitch cloth-which-is-being=cross-stitched", i.e., 'to do cross-stitching': cf. English 'to eat eats', or better still, 'to drink drink'. It is, however, arguable that <tsongx/tsongx> is a single lexical item, and thus by some kinds of reasoning, a compound.

4.5.61 Reduplication without tone-sandhi. There is no tone sandhi here and it is arguable that we are simply dealing with a syntactic entity: a reduced conjunction of two

identical predicates: as if one said in English *he ran, ran* instead of *he ran and ran*: e.g., <tsoux phingphing> (L 37) 'to make roll' (rather 'to make roll and roll', i.e., a syntactic conjunction of V's); <uam phaev phaev> (L 349) 'the water is bubbling', <dzioux dzuqc saetv saetv teix> (L 212) 'to give the knife a few strokes on the whetstone' ('whet knife rub rub [one] someness').

Sometimes the first instance of the reduplicand has a high dragged-out intonation: e.g., <mi-i-ingv mingh> 'on and on they went', ('[they] go-o-o go'), <czua-a-anv dzuanx> 'back, back they went' ('[they] go-ba-a-ack go-back').

While it is arguable that these repetitions of action-verbs simply represent the surface structure "[V V]" or perhaps even " $\begin{matrix} VP & VP \\ | & | \\ VP & VP \end{matrix}$ ", i.e., a syntactic conjunction of "V + V" or "VP + VP" under "VP" with the semantics of repeated events, we do also find repetition without tone sandhi with adjectives: <m0-gawngv leix leix jaang uav> (L 280) 'the head is completely bald' ('head be-bald be-bald be-bare Prt'). Perhaps the semantics is of numerous places where the state referred to obtains, rather than numerous instances of the action reference, to happening. The last pattern brings us to our next pattern of reduplication.

4.5.611 Reduplication of the verb without tone-sandhi, followed by the particle <uav>. See the last exam-

ple in the preceding section. Presumably the morpheme <uav> which in other cases means 'that' or 'there' in some way makes the expression more vivid. Other examples comprise both action verbs and adjectives: <jhuv jeic jeic uav> (L 103) 'the dog is baring his teeth', <hwei hwei uav> (L 300) 'they're sprouting up all over', <lui-houx feqv feqv uav> (L 196) 'the clothing is all torn and tattered, <byaauz pomh pomh uav> (L 25) 'the suds foam all over the place'.

4.5.612 Reduplication of the verb without tone-sanghi, the elements separated by the intensifier/extensifier morpheme <taax>. Both action verbs and adjectives may be involved, e.g.,

- (i) <phyatv taax phyatv> (L 43) 'to be completely cut of line',
- (ii) <lopc taax lopc nyei taaih> (L 57) 'to come galloping in' in which <lopc taax lopc nyei> is functioning adverbially (for reduplication in adverbial phrases, see below).

4.5.613 Some generalizations on reduplication so far:

- (1) It has not involved tone-sanghi.
- (2) It has involved both action-verbs and adjectives (for this distinction see below).

- (3) It has conveyed an idea of emphasis or vividness, with an action occurring repeatedly or a state appearing in many places or everywhere.

4.5.614 Reduplication on adverbial phrases. Here we sometimes find tone sandhi, sometimes not, so the subject is treated in the section below on reduplication with tone-sandhi.

4.5.62 Reduplication with tone-sandhi. This can only occur with adjectives or status verbs (see below for sub-categorization of verbs): e.g.,

- (i) <tsaux om taaih pyawtv-pyawtv> (L 35) 'the foot has swollen up' (*foot swell PERF be-distended=be distended*),
- (ii) <hlo-hlo> 'very big' (*big-big*),
- (iii) <syang-syang> 'brand new' (*new-new*).

4.5.621 Reduplication in adverbial phrases. [11] Reduplicative adverbial phrases may either precede or follow the main verb: in the post-verb position we have

- (i) <tsaux om taaih pyawtv-pyawtv> (L 35) 'the foot swell PERF distendedly-distendedly' and

[11] For explanation of the category adverbial phrase see below.

- (ii) <dzioux dzuqc saey saey teiz> (L 212) 'to whet the knife with a few rubs'.

When the reduplicative adverbial phrase precedes the verb it may or may not show tone sandhi, but it may be followed by the subordinating particle <neyi> and in this case no tone sandhi occurs: e.g.,

- (i) <ninh haiz dauh-mauh isawpy isawpy neyi ming> (L 169) 'they heard the tiger padding noiselessly along' ("... noiselessly-pad noiselessly-pad <neyi> go"),
- (ii) <byungc phyaai neyi jiac> (L 43) 'the rain is coming down lightly' ("rain sprinkle sprinkle <neyi> descend").
- (iii) <lopc taax lopc neyi taaih> (L 67) 'to come swarming in'.

Examples without <neyi>:

- (i) <nongx nongx tshawng> (L 183) 'to consider the meaning carefully' ("be-good=be-good consider-meaning") (Query: Shouldn't the AcVP have tone sandhi?)
- (ii) <manc-manc tsoux> (L 243) 'do it gently; take your time doing it' (<manc> (L 243) 'be slow, gradual,

unhurried'.

4.5.622 Reduplication of compounds. This takes form either as (1) "A-A=B-B", as in (i) <laengʃlangʃkaengvʃkaengv> (L 287) 'be naked' (<laengʃkaengv> (L 287) 'to be naked, unclothed'), (ii) <koxʃkoxʃhnyatvʃhnyatv> (L 263) 'to be old and bent' ("be-old=be-old=be-stooped=be-stooped"), <koxʃhnyatv> 'to be old and bent', or (2) "A-A=B" (or is it "A=A-B"), as in <banv-banvʃbuav> (L 51) 'to be completely blurred'.

4.6. Secondary features of verbs: Subcategorization.

(1) Combinability with <taic> as intensifier. We can by this distinguish a subcategory of verbs, viz. adjectives (V_{adj}): e.g., <dzweic taic> 'look very good'. As a man verb <taic> (L 192) means 'to die', and we can identify the use of the verb 'to die' as an intensifier after adjectives as an areal feature: cf. Thai suay ca laay '(id.'). With verbs referring to action, which we will call action verbs, and further distinguish below the use of a following <taic> creates a resultative complement meaning 'and die; to death': e.g., <dawtv taic> 'fall to one's death'.

(2) Combinability with <tsienz> as superlativizer: e.g., <dzweic tsienz> 'to look extremely good'. This morpheme cannot be used with action-verbs.

(3) Combinability with <tingc> as superlativizer: with V possible: e.g., <dzweic tingc> 'best locking'; with ^{adj} V forms a resultative complement meaning 'to the end'.
action

(4) Combinability with <jhienv> as a progressive aspect marker:

(i) with V not possible unless supported by ^{adj} <mingh>, which as a main verb means 'to go' with the meaning of steady intensification: e.g., <dweic jhienv mingh nyei> 'to keep getting more and more good-looking';

(ii) with V : regular "V jhienv nyei" 'to be
^{act} V 'ing'.
^{act}

(iii) Combinability with <tuqv> 'get to, got to, did', an indicator of past time: with V, not possible (except in a few cases with ^{adj} special meanings); with V, regular: "tuqv V " 'get/got too V, V 'ed'.
^{act} ^{act} ^{act}

(iv) Use in imperative: with V, not possible (except in a few cases with ^{adj} special meanings); with V, freely possible.
^{act}

(v) Use in reciprocal constructions: with V, not possible (except in a few cases with ^{adj} special mean-

ings); with V_{act} , possible where the V_{act} takes an NP complement (DO, IO or oblique).

(vi) Use in reduplicative constructions: (a) with IS an intensified meaning: with V_{act} , possible (with some restrictions (?)), with V_{adj} , not possible (with some exceptions, with special meanings); (b) without IS, followed by particle <uav>, meaning 'to be V_{act} 'ing all over the place: V_{act} (?), V_{adj} , possible, but perhaps only with intransitives.

(vii) Combinability with <maangc> (as main V meaning 'to look') in construction meaning 'to V by way of investigation': with V_{act} , not possible; with V_{adj} , possible where inherent meaning of V allows it.

(viii) Use as first member of resultative VP-binome: with V_{adj} , not possible; with V_{act} , freely possible.

4.6.1 Auxiliaries (V_{aux}). The criteria above serve to distinguish active verbs from adjectives. More research is needed to establish the syntactic distinguishing marks of auxiliaries (V_{aux}) -- it is roughly that they take VP complements in surface structure -- and we shall simply list some auxiliaries identified semantically:

- (1) <oiX> 'want to'; negative <mv oiX>. It is followed by a VP.
- (2) <tsuqc>, <aaʔtsuqc> or <cixʔtsuqc> 'must, have'; negative <mv tsuqv> 'no need to'.
- (3) <tsuqc> + [(NP) / V NP]: This is a kind of passive. NP must be coreferential with the subject/topic of <tsuqc> or an inalienable part of it.
- (4) <tuqv> preceding V negative <mv tuqv V > 'didn't get to' (also "Don't go!") (see (7) below).
- (5) <tuqv> following a V: 'V is possible, can V'.
- (6) <khuv> + VP: 'be pleasant to VP'.
- (7) <aq> + VP: 'be unpleasant to VP'.
- (8) <mv tuqc> + VP: (prohibitive) 'Don't VP!'
- (9) <mv tsuqc> + VP: (prohibitive) 'Don't VP!'
- (9) <mv tuqc> + VP: (prohibitive) 'Don't VP!'
- (10) <mv tungv>, or <mv tungx> + VP: (prohibitive) 'Don't VP!'
- (11) <mv chaq> + NP: (polite prohibitive) 'Don't bother to'.
- (12) <mv kamh> + VP: 'scarcely, hardly, not very VP'.

(13) <mv naang> + VP: 'scarcely, hardly, not very VP'.

(14) <mv lamh> + VP: 'lack place or occasion to VP'.

(15) <mv kaeng> + VP: 'not yet VP; haven't VP'ed yet'.

(16) <kunv> + VP: (permissive-imperative) 'Go ahead and VP!;
It's okay to VP'.

Further investigation is needed to establish a syntactic definition of, and other aspects of auxiliaries in Mien.

4.7. Basic word order in the clause. Mien is a SVO language, but like its neighbors it may put the grammatical object first as a topic: thus *X <bawqc> Y* 'X hits Y' may, under certain pragmatic conditions become *Y/X <bawqc> with the semantic relations of agent and patient remaining the same. In a contrastive sentence one may omit the agent: *Y/bawqc, Z/maiv bawqc* (*Y [somebody] hits, Z [the same person] doesn't hit*). These facts are common to Thai, Mandarin and presumably all basically *SVO* languages in the area. As for object-placement in serial verb constructions this is a complex question that will not be discussed here. Indirect object placement will be discussed in the next section.

4.7.1 Constructions of giving. Here the DO precedes the IO, an order which is an areal feature: <yia pun sou

meih> 'I give the book [to] you'. It is also an areal feature that the "verb of giving + NP" construction can also be used with a VP complement to the NP, making up a serial verb construction of the pivotal kind with the verb of giving taking on permissocautive meaning.

4.8. Verb- (or VP-) serialization. This has been, or will be, dealt with under various headings, e.g., clauses as topics, clauses with resultative complements, strings of verbs (or VP's), parataxis, clausal or verbal complements, purpose clauses, clauses of reason, the pivotal construction, the pseudo-pivotal construction, auxiliaries + VP complements, and the reader is directed to refer to the relevant sections. There is one other kind of serial-verb construction that has not yet been dealt with and that has been called the co-verbial construction.

4.8.1 Second verbs as directional complements. VP's can be followed by directional complements in the form of verbs; the glosses are the meanings they have as main verbs: <faux> 'to ascend', <jiac> 'to descend', <pinqc> 'to enter' and <tshaatv> 'to emerge', <dzwenx> 'to return', <jhiax> 'to cross over', and <goi> 'be open, be apart, be away' to produce meanings like the German prefixes *her-*, *hin-*, *herauf-*, *herab-*, etc. in a manner almost identical to Mandarin as illustrated in Chao 1968:458.

4.6.2 The verbs <ningh> and <taaih> used as aspectual/evaluative/diectics complements. These indicate a change of state, and by the choice of <ningh> one can indicate that the change is not desirable, or neutral, while <taaih> marks it as desirable: e.g., (using contractions with the change-of-state particle <aq>) <thutv mic aq> 'He's (gone and) taken it off (when he shouldn't have)' versus <thutv taac aq> 'He's taken it off (as we hoped he would)'.

4.6.3 The co-verbial construction. This resembles a "V + PP" expression in English, except

- (1) that the order of elements is reversed "PP + V",
- (2) the "preposition" can also be used in other constructions as a (main) verb, hence its name "cc-verb", and
- (3) the NP in the "PP" has to be [+Human]. In other words, they are used when human beings find themselves in some kind of locative case role, e.g.,

$$\langle \text{yia} \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(a) thengx} \\ \text{(b) kan} \\ \text{(c) tshaux} \end{array} \right\} \text{neih thcv teix dia} \rangle$$

'I ask you for a little medicine' ("I associate-with-you [in order to] ask-for some medicine; I ask for some medicine from you" -- sentences (a) and (b)), and 'You and I ask for

some medicine' ('I be-with you ask for medicine' -- sentence (c)). It needs further checking to establish whether sentences (a) and (b) can also bear the meaning of sentence (c), the latter being unambiguous. Co-verbial expressions seem to be the preferred means of dealing with human oblique objects. My impression is that the coverbs are not as "deverbalized" as in Mandarin: for instance, they may take aspect markers freely. As for (human) indirect objects, these follow the main verb in the next construction to be discussed.

4.8.4 The VP + <pun> + NP construction. This has the meaning 'VP for NP', e.g.: <yia toqc sou pun neih> 'I read a book for you'. The constituent following the <pun> may also be clausal <yia toqc sou pun meih mwægə> 'I read the book for you to listen to', or we can regard the NP after <pun> as pivotal here. The link with <pun> in this construction seems to keep it an indirect object, i.e., not an oblique object, and it is the co-verbial treatment of oblique human objects that provides evidence (a) that [+human] is a syntactic category in Mien, and (b) that oblique objects are distinguishable grammatically from indirect objects.

4.9. Other constituents of the clause: adverbial expressions of time, manner and place.

4.9.1 Time. Expressions of point of time may stand as topic at the front of the sentence, e.g., <aaɿ tsaŋh yia jaauɿ meih> 'In a minute I'll teach you', and <lcɿ-hŋoi maaih tauh auv-kwaav-mienh> 'Long ago there was a widow'. Some, however, must occur between the subject and the verb, e.g., <ninh tshov/hoc thaux> 'He just now arrived', and <yia tshabɿ faix nye> (L 183) 'I was still small', or <ninh aɿ loɿ faux kuh-ngwaaiɿ mingh> 'She always went up to the sky'. It is interesting that the placement of such time expressions is the same in English, more or less, i.e., there seem to be two sets. Perhaps there is some analogy here to the inner and outer locative expressions of Chinese, with the sentence-initial set corresponding to the outer locative. Mien has no word for 'from', and instead usually uses the locative verb <yiem> 'to be at; to be there; to dwell', e.g.: <yiem naiv jhiax mingh> (L 116) 'from now on'. Extent of time is expressed by a Num + Clf expression placed after the verb, e.g., <ninh aengɿ tscix kox yietɿ hɿyaangɿ> (L 169) 'He has grown older by yet another year', or <yia yiem naiv amelikaa tuqv pyaa hɿyaangɿ> 'I have been in America for five years' or <yia tscux korg yiem jhuqv nawn tsyangh-hoc laɿz hietɿ nawn tsyangh-hoc> 'I worked from six to eight'.

4.9.2 Manner. There are three ways of expressing manner in Mien:

(a) One is to add a stative verb after the verb that is being modified in a resultative construction, e.g., <ninh lawh longx fuqc-jhwei> 'She rears the children well' ('She rear be-good children'). The placement of the object is tricky, in that the stative verb precedes it in the positive, as above, and follows it in the negative: <ninh tawn fuqc-jhwei mv longx> ('She rear children not be-good').

(b) The second way is for the manner expression modifying the verb to precede the verb and be connected to it by the particle <nyei>, e.g.: <byungc phyaaai phyaaai nyei jiac> 'The rain is coming down lightly' ('Rain sprinkle sprinkle nye descend') (L 43).

(c) The way a high degree of something is expressed is to place the word <haic> 'very' at the end of the VP: <aqc' tuqv kan mienh leiz haic> 'It is very difficult to follow the customs of the Mien' ('Difficult follow Mien customs very').

4.9.3 Place. Location is expressed in several ways in Mien:

(a) by an oblique object used with a verb, e.g., <paix dyangx> (L 21) 'to lean (something) against a tree' ('lean tree'), <yia dzuanx uav pyauv> 'I'm going home' ('I return over-there house').

(b) By the use of the locative verb <yien>, e.g., <yia yiem pyauv> 'I am at home', <aah-hnoi yia yien liv/chamaawn> 'Yesterday I was in Richmond'.

(c) By the use of a <yiem> phrase together with another VP, i.e., by VP serialization, e.g.: <yia tsoux kong yiem pyauv> 'I work at home' ('I do work be-at home'). Here the VP's seem to be reversible without a change of meaning: <yia yiem pyauv tsoux kong>.

The NP that follows <yiem> in (b) and (c) above may be used alone, or accompanied by a specific-location noun, or localizer, semantically corresponding to an English preposition, e.g., <kaih-nyuaz> 'inside; within; inner', as in <ninh an nyaanh yiem kapv kaih-nyuaz> 'He put money in a box' ('He put money be-at box inside'). Sometimes the localizer is tacked on to its noun, forming a compound with tone sandhi: <kaengh-daangc> 'in front of the door', <pyauv-hien> 'beside the house'. When it is not so attached, the order of localizer and head noun may be reversed under conditions that require further investigation.[12]

[12] For a study of locative constructions in Mien and Mandarin see Solnit (n.d.).

CHAPTER V
CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present work is very far from being a comprehensive study of Mien grammar and our indebtedness to the pioneers will be obvious on every page. We intend that our contribution, which takes the form of a review of published data, presentation of new data, and analysis, firstly in the light of certain aspects of contemporary grammatical theory, and secondly in the light of typological comparison from the general linguistic area of which Mien forms a part, will be only the beginning of a more ample grammatical study that we intend to carry out as a continuing enterprise.

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