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Trickster and the Village Women: A Psychosymbolic Discourse Analysis
of a Lahu Picaresque Story
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Trickster and the Village Women:

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ABBREVIATIONS

⤲	is an allofam of; has both a phonological and a semantic relationship to	Clf	classifier
		Conj	conjunction
Adv	adverb	Det	determiner
AE	adverbial expression	$Elab_n$	elaborate nominal expression
AE_{onomat}	onomatopoeic adverbial	esp.	especially
B_n	bound nominal morpheme	Interj	interjection
B_v	bound verbal morpheme	lit.	literally
AE_{stat}	stative adverbial		

M_{pfx}	prefixable morpheme	P_{uf}	final unrestricted particle
N	noun	P_{unf}	non-final unrestricted prt.
N_{deverb}	deverbative noun		
N_{ext}	extentive noun	P_{univ}	universal unrestricted prt.
$N_{interrog}$	interrogative noun	P_v	verb particle
NP	noun phrase	prob.	probably
N_{pron}	pronoun	prt.	particle
N_{sd}	spatial demonstrative noun	smn.	someone
		sthg.	something
N_{spat}	spatial noun	syll.	syllable
N_{time}	time noun	ult.	ultimately
		V	verb
Num	numeral	V_{adj}	adjectival verb
P_n	noun particle	$_vV$	pre-head versatile verb
P_{quot}	quotative particle	V_v	post-head versatile verb

I. Introduction.

The story that is the subject of this paper was recorded in 1965 in the Christian Black Lahu village of Sha-to-du in northern Thailand.[1] This village, three hours' walk to the east from the Thai town of Ta Ton at the terminus of the Chiang Mai-Farng road, is on the north bank of the River Kok, a stone's throw from the Burmese border. The villagers are all quite recent immigrants from Shan State in Burma, where Lahu have been settled for centuries.

As will immediately be apparent, the story has nothing Christian about it, and must be presumed to go back to the remote past. Several different people tried to tell the story, but got it badly garbled, evidence that it represented a remnant of a moribund cultural tradition. Finally, a man in his thirties announced that he knew the story well, and proceeded to rattle it off in 6 minutes and 30 seconds, with considerable panache. Faintly audible on the tape is the sound of some youngsters in the background, practicing Baptist hymns in four-part harmony.

There matters stood until the spring of 1976, when Alton L. Becker visited Berkeley for a quarter. Becker's own pioneering researches into Burmese and Javanese narrative structure made him curious to examine some of my Lahu texts.[2]

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[1] Lahu is a member of the Central Loloish subgroup of Lolo-Burmese, one of the main divisions of the great Tibeto-Burman family.

[2] Several hundred pages of texts from my 1965-6 and 1970 fieldtrips to Lahuland have already been roughly translated, but so far the only ones I have published are a group which illustrate the genre of bilingual jokes (Matisoff 1969).

Together we went over the Trickster story, and Becker opened my eyes to its psychosymbolic dimensions. His insightful comments provided the inspiration for this paper, and to him it is affectionately dedicated.[3]

The body of this paper consists of four parts (Sections II-V): the verbatim Lahu text,[4] with interlinear glosses and form-class designations for each morpheme; an annotated translation; a linguistic analysis in discourse-structural terms; and a psychosymbolic analysis.

Several texts in one or another Loloish language have already been published, so that comparative work on Loloish narrative style and structure is now feasible.[5] Interlinear glosses, bothersome as they are for the author, typist, and printer, are essential for close textual analysis.[6] Equally necessary is a fluent running translation, neither so literal as to be awkward nor so free as to obscure the structure of the original -- no easy task between languages as profoundly different from each other as Lahu and English.

Perhaps it is unnecessary to warn against jumping to conclusions about Lahu grammar on the basis of English translations. Sentence (2) of the Translation, to take a random example, contains the phrase _people_ _were_ _selected_ _and_

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[4]There is one departure from verbatimity, as explained in Note 8 to the Translation. The transcription used is discussed in Chapter I of The Grammar of Lahu (henceforth GL). Hyphenization conventions for polysyllabic words are as described in GL, section 3.31.

[5]These languages include Akha (Egerod and Hansson 1974), Nasu (Kao Hua-nien 1958), Ahi (Yüen Chia-hua 1953), Sani (Ma Hsüeh-liang 1951), and Lu-ch'üan (Ma Hsüeh-liang 1948). The anthropologist Anthony R. Walker has published nearly 30 prayers in the archaic Red Lahu liturgical language (see Bibliography for a sample). Texts have also appeared in Moso (e.g. Li Lin-ts'an 1946; Li, Chang, and Ho 1957) and Nakhi (e.g. Rock 1937), two closely related dialects with a fascinating pictographic writing system. (Moso-Nakhi is now considered by most Loloists to lie somewhat outside of Loloish proper.)

[6]In this paper, as in Matisoff 1969, I have adopted the practice of giving each word in the text a number on its first occurrence, which it retains in all subsequent occurrences, so that each separate word need only be glossed once. The utility of this tedious process is suggested metaphorically by the cartoon character Foghorn Leghorn, a large bellicose rooster who talks in a Southern accent, and is always losing his plumage in fights. Totally featherless after one such encounter, he astounded his friends by reappearing completely refeathered the next day. "Fo'tunately," he announced proudly, "Ah always numbahs mah feathahs!"

they <u>went</u> <u>off</u>. "Universal grammarians," looking for an example of the "pass-
ive" in an exotic language in order to win some theoretical argument, had bet-
ter be careful. There is no such thing as an active/passive distinction for
Lahu verbs. I used an English passive because no agent NP was expressed in
the Lahu. (The <u>they</u> in <u>they</u> <u>went</u> <u>off</u> is also not expressed in the original.)

This particular story was chosen for detailed analysis both for its
tightly-knit linguistic structure and for the thematic interest of its content.
It was told with elegance and economy, with occasional repetitions to increase
the dramatic effect.[7] The action never flags, and climax is piled on top of
climax (in more ways than one).

It is my hope that the linguistic, psychological, and sheer prurient
interest of this text will foster a greater appreciation of Tibeto-Burman lit-
erature by the general public.

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[7]See especially the incident of the consultation of the Tree-oracle,
in Discourse Units IV-A and IV-B.

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II. Lahu text with interlinear glosses.

I

(1) à-šwè thā Hɛ́ʔ-pā thâʔ Lāhū-yâ mâʔ bɔ̂ʔ ve.   (2) qhe-te-lɛ ô tè šɔ́ ɔ́,
   1   2   3   4   5   6 7 8   9   10 11 12 13

mâʔ bɔ̂ʔ e ve tê šɔ́, chɔ šɔ́ və lɛ qay ve cê.   (3) šu ɔ́ thîʔ qo, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ ô-ve ɔ́
 6   7 14 15 11 12 16 17 18 19 20 8 21   22 23 24 25   26   27 13

g̈âʔ=qú-ni tê khɛ thîʔ və lɛ, yàʔ-qɔ=qá ɔ́ câ tha, ɔ́ câ ve tê yàn tha ɔ́, phə̀ʔ
   28   11 29 24 18 19   30   23 31 2 23 31 15 11 32 2 13   33

lɛ ɔ́ câ ve te ve, yɔ̂ ɔ́ .   (4) phə̀ʔ ɔ̀ lɛ g̈âʔ-ɛ́ tê khɛ pɔ̂ʔ tɔ̂ʔ g̈ɛ̀ e lɛ, "âa,ŋà
19 23 31 8 34 8   35 13   33 36 19 37 11 29 38 39 40 14 19   41 42

mâ qay cɔ̂ lɔ.   nɔ̂-hɨ qay," tɛ̀ qô ve cê. "ŋà ɔ́-qhe-lɛ ɔ̀-hê chi tê mà mɔ̀ lɛ, qɔ̂ʔ
43 20 44 45   46   20   47 48 8 21   42   49   50 51 11 52 53 54 55

e ve yɔ̀.   mâʔ bɔ̂ʔ mà phɛ̂ʔ. qɔ̂ʔ e ša," qô ve cê.   (5) qhe-te-lɛ ɔ́ šu yɔ̂ qɔ̂ʔ
14 8 56   6   7 43 57 55 14 58   48 8 21   9   13 22 35 55

e cɨ tá ve.
14 59 60 8

1 (N_{time}) long ago / 2 (P_{univ}) temporal prt. [1+2 'once upon a time'] / 3 (N)
Chinese / 4 (P_n) accusative prt. [also àʔ or hàʔ] / 5 (N) Lahu people [see 90
yâ (N) 'child; son'] / 6 (N) war / 7 (V) shoot; fight / 8 (P_{univ}) indicative
nominalizer [related to 15 'relativizer' and 77 'genitive'] / 9 (Conj) then;
thereupon [lit. 'having done thus': cf. 117, 34, 19; see also 9-A (Sentence 20)] /
10 (N_{sd}) that; that one; a certain one; the one over there / 11 (Num) one; a /
12 (Clf) morning / 13 (P_{unf}) topicalizing prt. [related to 67-A (P_n) 'locative
prt.'] / 14 (P_v) prt. indicating outer-directed motion; away; off to / 15 (P_{univ})
relativizing prt. [related to 8 'indicative nominalizer' and 77 'genitive'] /
16 (N) people; person / 17 (V) select / 18 (P_v) prt. showing transportatory
motion or outer-directed action / 19 (P_{unf}) suspensive prt. marking its clause
as non-final in the sentence [related to 54 (P_{univ}) 'causal'] / 20 (V) go / 21 (P_{uf})
quotative prt.; marker of reported speech / 22 (N_{pron}) remote 3rd person pronoun:
they; others; somebody else / 23 (N) cooked rice; food; meal / 24 (V) make into
packet; wrap up / 25 (P_{unf}) conditional or temporal prt.; when; if / 26 (N_{proper})
the Trickster (name apparently < Shan) / 27 (Det) that; that one; the aforementioned
28 (N) kind of tailless chicken without breast feathers [cf. 37] / 29 (Clf)
classifier for animals / 30 (N) roadside; on one's route [cf. 127] / 31 (V) eat /
32 (Clf) time (also yâ) [11+32+2 'at the time that; when'] / 33 (V) unwrap; reveal /
34 (V) do; make [Clause + ve + te 'do in such a way that Clause'] / 35 (N_{pron})
3rd person pronoun: he, him; she, her / 36 (P_v) prt. marking completed action
or change of state / 37 (N) chick [g̈âʔ (N) 'chicken' + ɛ́ (M_{pfx}) 'baby'] / 38 (V)
jump / 39 (V) emerge; (V_v) out, outwards / 40 (V_{adj}) be fast; (V_v) rapidly, in a
flash / 41 (Interj) oh!; well...; ah! / 42 (N_{pron}) I; me / 43 (Adv) not / 44 (V_{adj})
be fitting, proper; (V_v) ought to, should / 45 (P_{uf}) emphatic prt. / 46 you (pl.) /
47 (P_{quot}) marker of end of quotation [related to 195 (P_{univ}) 'really, indeed'] /

48 (V) say / 49 (P$_{unf}$) strong topicalizer: as for [composed of 13+117+19]; (also ɔ-qhe) / 50 (N) sign; portent; omen / 51 (Det) this; this one; the one just mentioned / 52 (Clf) general classifier / 53 (V) see / 54 (P$_{univ}$) causal prt.: since, because [related to 19 (P$_{unf}$) 'suspensive'] / 55 (V) return; go home / 56 (P$_{uf}$) affirmative or declarative prt. / 57 (V) be; (V$_v$) be able, can / 58 (P$_v$) prt. marking intended action of 1st person / 59 (V) send on an errand; (V$_v$) causative: make do, let do; cause to do / 60 (P$_v$) prt. showing durative state, long-lasting or definitive action [also tā, ā, á].

II

(6) qhe-te-lɛ šu yɔ́ qô? e cɨ lɛ ɔ-qhe, pɛ̂=g̈ù-li thɔ́? lɛ, á-cè-gu khâ? lɛ ɔ,
    9   22 35 55 14 59 19   49   61   62 19   63   64 19 13
vâ=lɛ̂-qô? à? phɛ-chî lɛ, á-qā ɔ tɛ ve cê. (7) mû phɔ̂? qhe-te-lɛ ɔ, vɨ̀-vɨ̀-vɨ̀
 65   4 66 19 67 67-A 68 8 21   69 33   9   13   70
qo tɛ?-tɛ? ô vâ=dɛ̂-qō à? -- va=lɛ̂-qô? à? gâ? ve tê yâ thâ, qhe-te-lɛ ɔ yâ-mî=ma
25 71 10 72   4   65   4 73 15 11 32 2   9   13   74
ô tê g̈a qô? vɘ ve: "âa, nɔ́-hɨ ɔ-pā ve ɔ-ha-ku qɔ́? lâ ò mɛ̂. tâ chɛ̂ ò mɛ̂.
10 11 75 48 18 8   41 46 76 77   78   79 80 36 81   82 83 36 81
kɔ́? à mɛ̂." (8) qhe-te-lɛ ɛ̂-qhɛ̂ á-qhɔ tî phô? yɨ̂? e ve cê.
84 85 81   9   26   86 87 88 89 14 8 21

61 (N) bumblebee / 62 (V) hook onto; strike with curved instrument / 63 (N) crab / 64 (V) scoop out (as a solid from a liquid) / 65 (N) bamboo-sheath / 66 (V) tie sthg so it hangs suspended ("tie-hang") [cf. 238] / 67 (N) outdoors; area outside / 67-A (P$_n$) locative prt. [related to 13 (P$_{unf}$) 'topicalizer'.] / 68 (V) put down; place onto / 69 (N) sky; weather [69+33 'get dark; night falls'] / 70 (Interj; AE$_{onomat}$) bzz-bzz / 71 (Interj; AE$_{onomat}$) noise of scratching / 72 (N) tube of bamboo / 73 (V) scratch / 74 (N) woman / 75 (Clf) classifier for people / 76 (N) a male; (slang) husband / 77 (P$_{univ}$) genitive marker [related to 8 'indicative nominalizer' and 15 'relativizer' / 78 (N) soul; spirit / 79 (V) return; ($_v$V) do again, do back [掌qô? (V) 55] / 80 (P$_v$) benefactive prt. showing action impinges on a non-3rd person [cf. pî (V$_v$) 123] / 81 (P$_{uf}$) persuasive prt. / 82 (Adv) negative imperative / 83 (V) stay, be in a place; (V$_v$) continuous or progressive action / 84 (V) be afraid; be frightening / 85 (P$_v$) asseverative prt. / 86 (N) house; home / 87 (P$_{univ}$) only / 88 (V) pile up; ($_v$V) do in a group / 89 (V) sleep; lie down.

III

(9) qhe-te-lɛ ɛ̂-qhɛ̂ ô-ve ɔ , "âa, ŋà á-qhɔ tâ yɨ̂?. yà qhɛ̂ ò kɘ la,"
    9   26   27 13 41 42 86 82 89   90 91 92 93 94
qô? ve cê. (10) qhe-te-lɛ ɔ, "âa, mâ ò kɘ cɨ. lâ?-lɔ ve yò," tɛ̂ qô? ve tê
48 8 21   9   13 41 43 92 93 59   95   8 56   47 48 15 11
yɘn thâ, yɔ́-hɨ khā lɛ, ɛ̂-qhɛ̂ á-qhɔ g̈a yɨ̂? ve. (11) qhe-te-lɛ ɔ̂ , ɛ̂-qhɛ̂ ô-ve ɔ
32 2   96 97 19 26   86 98 89 8   9   13 26   27 13

yâ-mî=ma ô tê mō yɨ̂ʔ e pə̀ qhɔ́ʔ-nɔ́, nɔ́ʔ-qhɛ̂ g̈ä-thèʔ tē lɛ, chɨ̂ʔ lɛ, ô yâ
74   10 11 99 89 14 100   101   102   103   104 19   105 19   10 90

qha cɔ̀ pā qhɛ̂-qhɔ 5 tɛ ve cê.   (12) mû thî la lɛ 5, "nɔ́-hɨ ve yà qhɛ̂ ð kə
106 107 108   109 67-A 68 8 21   69 110 94 19 13   46   77 90 91 92 93

ve lɔ ni-ʔ.   ä-thɔ̀ʔ-ma šāy lâ tù le," qhe qôʔ lɛ 5, "âa, ä-thɔ̀ʔ-ma šāy lâ
8 45 111 112   113   114 80 115 116 117 48 19 13   41   113   114 80

tù thɔ̂, ä-thɔ̀ʔ-ma hə̂ʔ kằʔ hə̂ʔ," qôʔ lɛ, te-lɛ 5, phu-ši pî kằʔ mâ hə̂ʔ.
115 118   113   119 120 119   48 19   121 13   122   123 120 43 119

(13) ä-thɔ̀ʔ-ma pî kằʔ mâ hə̂ʔ.
      113   123 120 43 119

90 (N) child; son / 91 (N) shit / 92 (V) to shit [related to qɔ̀ (V) 'expel;
deliver'] / 93 (V) insert, go into; (V_v) do so it goes in; do in a thorough,
penetrating way / 94 (P_v) action towards center of interest; becoming; entering
a new state / 95 (V) guarantee / 96 (N_{pron}) they [35+ -hɨ 'pluralizer'] / 97 (V)
swear; take an oath / 98 (V) get, obtain; ($_vV$) manage to do, get to do; (V_v) able
to do / 99 (Clf) group; bunch; party of people / 100 (V) finish, come to an end;
(V_v) completed action / 101 (N_{time}) after, the time after; (N_{spat}) behind, the
place in back; (N) back (body-part) / 102 (N) fermented soybeans (lit. "shit-beans")
103 (Adv) thoroughly; with all one's might / 104 (V) crush; mash / 105 (V) crumple
into a ball / 106 (Adv) all / 107 (V) be there; have / 108 (P_v) agentive
nominalizer; one who V's [106+107+108 'all those who were there'] / 109 (N) rear
end; buttocks; anus / 110 (V) to dawn / 111 (V) look at; (V_v) try doing / 112 (P_v)
imperative glottal stop / 113 ($N_{interrog}$) what / 114 (V) pay compensation / 115
(P_v) irrealis; future; unrealized, hypothetical, or purposive action / 116 (P_{uf})
prt. marking substance questions (as opposed to yes-or-no questions) / 117 (Adv)
thus; in this way / 118 (P_{unf}) even; also [113+118 'whatever'] / 119 (V) hit upon;
get, obtain; want to get / 120 (P_{unf}) even, also (synonym of 118) [118+120
'whatever'] / 121 (Clause) thereupon, then [same as 9] / 122 (N) wealth; money
(lit. "silver and gold") / 123 (V) give; (V_v) marker of 3rd person beneficiary
[cf. lâ (P_v) 80] or causative versatile verb.

IV-a

(14) qhe-te-lɛ 5 ɛ̀-qhɛ̂ ô-ve ɔ-qhe-lɛ yâ-mî=ma ô tê mō ằʔ qôʔ pî ve,
       9   13 26 27   49   74   10 11 99 4 48 123 8

"âa, a-yɔ=qɔ̄ dɔ̂ʔ na e ," qôʔ ve cê.   (15) a-yɔ=qɔ̄ ô-ve 5 dɔ̂ʔ na e te lɛ
41   124 125 126 14   48 8 21   124   27 67-A 125 126 14 34 19

yâ-mî=ma ô tê mō ɔ̄-qhe, yằʔ-qɔ qɔ̂ʔ kɨ̄ 5 qay cɨ ve cê.   (16) ɛ̀-qhɛ̂ chi
74   10 11 99 49   127 128 129 67-A 20 59 8 21   26 51

yằʔ-qɔ thê-ɛ̀ qay lɛ, a-yɔ=qɔ̄ ɔ̄-qhɔ lɔ̂ʔ chɛ a qo 5, ɔ̄-thằʔ=phɔ̂ yâ-mî=ma dɔ̂ʔ
127   130   20 19   124   131 132 83   133 25 13   113   74   125

a qo 5, qɔ́-qɔ́ te a qo 5, "ä-thɔ̀ʔ-ma šāy pî tù le , ɛ̀-qhɛ̂ hə̂ʔ," qôʔ ve cê.
133 25 13   135 34 133 25 13   113   114 123 115 116   26   4   48 8 21

(17) qhe-te-lɛ ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ ô-ve ɔ̄, "âa, šāy pî-ʔ, šāy pî-ʔ," qhe qô ve cê.
9　　　26　27 13　41　114 123 112 114 123 112　117 48　8 21

(18) qhe-te-lɛ tê pɔ̂ qɔ̂ qô e . (19) ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi kàʔ ya-mî=ma qhɔ̂ʔ-nɔ̄ haʔ-haʔ
9　　 11 136 79 55 14　　26 51 120 74　　 101　　 137

g̈ɨ̂ qô e lɛ, á-qhɔ qɔ̂ mɨ, "âa, à-thɔ̂ʔ-ma qô lâ le, nɔ̂-hɨ àʔ," qô lɛ,
138 55 14 19　86　79 139　41　　113　　48 80 116　46　4　48 19

"âa, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ hàʔ šāy pî-ʔ tɨ̂ qô lâ ɔ," qhe qô ve cê.
41　 26　4 114 123 112 87 48　80 140　117 48 8 21

124 (N) hollow a-yaw tree / 125 (V) beat on; strike / 126 (V) listen to; (B_v)
ask a question / 127 (N) road [cf. 30] / 128 (V) be crooked; bent; curved
[related to 79] / 129 (P_v) locative nominalizer: the place where / 130 (AE_stat)
straight; directly / 131 (N_spat) interior; inside / 132 (V) enter / 133 (P_v) prt.
of intent, trying out an action; also used in suggestions and mild imperatives /
134 (N_spat) outside surface / 135 (AE_onomat) thump, thump! / 136 (Clf) time; occa-
sion [11+136: once again; immediately [cf. 150]] / 137 (Adv) quickly; fast; in a
hurry [cf. 143] / 138 (V) run / 139 (V) sit / 140 (P_uf) emphatic declarative prt.

IV-b

(20) "qhe-te tê pɔ̂ qɔ̂ dɔ̂ mâ heʔ qo mâ šɨ̄," qô lɛ, tê pɔ̂ qɔ̂ dɔ̂ na lɛ ɔ̄,
9-A　 11 136 79 125 43 141 25 43 142　 48 19 11 136 79 125 126 19 13

ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi ɔ hâʔ qɔ̂ lɔ̂ chɛ̂ ā lɛ ɔ̄, ya-mî=ma tê mo te lɛ, qó-qó dɔ̂ a lɛ,
26　51 13 143 79 132 83 60 19 13　 74　 11 99 34 19　 135 125 133 19

"âa, cha pî-ʔ,　 cha pî-ʔ," qhe qô cê. (21) qhe-te-lɛ ɔ̄, ya-mî=ma ô tê mo
41 144 123 112　144 123 112　117 48 21　　　 9　　 13　 74　　 10 11 99

g̈ɨ̂ qô e lɛ ɔ̄, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi kàʔ hâʔ g̈ɨ̂ qô e lɛ, á-qhɔ ɔ̄ gɔ̂-ne qɔ̂ te chɛ̂ lɛ,
138 55 14 19 13　26　51 120 143 138 55 14 19　 86 67-A 145　79 34 83 19

"âa, à-thɔ̂ʔ-ma qô ve le. à-thɔ̂ʔ-ma qô lâ le," qô lɛ, "âa, cha pî-ʔ, cha pî-ʔ
41　113　48 8 116　　113　48 80 116 48 19　 41 144 123 112 144 123 1

tɨ̂ qô lâ ɔ, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ ô," qô cê. (22) qhe-te-lɛ ɔ̄, ya-mî=ma tê qhâʔ-qhâʔ ve
87 48 80 140 26　146　48 21　　 9　　 13　 74　 11　 147　　 77

ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ tɨ̂ phô pàʔ ve cê.
26　87 88 148 8 21

9-A (Conj) well then; in that case [cf. 9] / 141 (V) be the case [43+141+25: 'if it
is not the case that; unless'] / 142 (V) know / 143 (Adv) fast; quick [same as 137]
144 (N) cunt / 145 (N) rattan strips [for weaving baskets, etc.] / 146 (P_n) vocative
prt. / 147 qhâʔ (N) village: tê qhâʔ-qhâʔ ve 'of the whole village' / 148 (V) fuck.

V

(23) qhe-te-lɛ ɔ̄ ɔ̂-phɔ tê mō qɔ̂ la lɛ ɔ̄-qhe, "âa, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi qhe chi qhe te
9　　　 13 149 11 99 79 94 19　49　　41　 26　 51 117 51 117 34

lâ ɔ. nɔ̂-hɨ mâ chɛ̂ qhɔ̂ʔ-nɔ̄ ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ pàʔ lâ ve," qô lɛ ɔ̄, tê pɔ̂ lɛ̀ ɔ̂-phɔ tê pa
80 140　46 43 83　101　 26 148 80 8　 48 19 13 11 136 150 149　11 151

qɔ́ʔ la lɛ, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ à́ʔ g̈à́ʔ-yù lɛ, tî-pɛ̄ a te lɛ phɔ e ve cê. (24) phɔ lɛ g̈ɔ̀ g̈à́ʔ-y
79 94 19   26 4   152 19   153 133 34 19 154 14 8 21   154 19 155 152

lɛ-ɛ̄-ɛ, g̈à́ʔ mâ mi. (25) qhà-qhe te g̈à́ʔ-yù kà́ʔ mâ mi. (26) tê pɔ̂ʔ mâ g̈a tá lɛ qɔ̂ʔ
156   157 43 158   159 34 152 120 43 158   11 136 43 98 60 19 79

la lɛ, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi ɔ̄, chi ve ɔ̄, pɛ̂-g̈ɨ̀ g̈ɔ̀ khâʔ hɔ lɛ, qhe te šɛ̄ lɛ ɔ̄, šá-lâ=yɛ̀
94 19   26 51 13 51 77 13 160 155 64 161 19 117 34 162 19 13   163

ɔ̄ thɛ-qɔ̄ qhɔ ɔ̄ lɔ̂ʔ yɨ̀ʔ tá lɛ, ô ve ɔ̄ ša-tú=kɨ̄=yɛ̀ hà́ʔ ni tā lɛ ɔ̄,
67-A 164 165 67-A 132 89 60 19 10 77 67-A   166   4 111 60 19 13

"ôo, g̈ɨ̀-ša tɔ̂ʔ la lɔ, yà́ʔ-ni lɛ̀," qhe qɔ̂ʔ ve cê. (27) qhe-te-lɛ yɔ̂ à́ʔ tân-tù tân
167 168   39 94 45   169   150 117 48 8 21   9   35 4   170   171

pî ve. (28) ɔ̄ cā pî a qo câ. (29) qhe te šɛ̄ lɛ ɔ̄, "ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ tí lɔ" dɔ̂ lɛ,
123 8   23 172 123 133 25 31   117 34 162 19 13   26 87 45 173 19

šu tê pɔ̂ʔ šī la lɛ, yù lɛ, dɔ̂ʔ-pɛ̄ a te lɛ, qɔ́ʔ phɔ e .
22 11 136 142 94 19 174 19 125 175 133 34 19   79 154 14

149 (N) husband / 150 (P_unf) topicalizing prt. [11+136+150 means either 'straightaw
immediately' or 'this time (as opposed to last time)'] / 151 (Clf) group-classifie
152 (V) chase after; chase in order to seize [cf. 157, 174] / 153 (V) kill /
154 (V) flee; run away / 155 (V) pull, drag; (_vV) do vigorously / 156 intonational
variant of 19 [cf. note 34 of Translation] / 157 (V) chase; drive (as a hunted ani
[cf. 152] / 158 (V) overtake; catch up with / 159 (Adv) how [159...120 'no matter
how; however'] / 160 (N) honey ["bee-juice": cf. 61] / 161 (V) dye; daub / 162 (P_v
prt. indicating prerequisite action; inchoative; do first or as a prelude to a
following action / 163 (N) cotton-storage building / 164 (N) large storage basket
[also phɛ-qɔ̄] / 165 (M_pfx) unprefixed form of 131: inside / 166 (N) joss-stick
temple [building with an altar for burning incense to g̈ɨ̀-ša (cf. 168)] / 167 (Inter
oh! / 168 (N) God; Great Spirit / 169 (N_time) today / 170 (N_deverb) an offering
[cf. 115] / 171 (V) make an offering (religious) / 172 (V) feed; give to eat
[causative of câ 'eat' (31)] / 173 (V) think / 174 (V) take; seize, grab [cf. 152]
175 (B_v) to death [125+175: 'beat to death'; 104+175 (sent. 41) 'crush to death'].

VI

(30) qɔ́ʔ g̈à́ʔ-yù lɛ, âa, tê pɔ̂ʔ lɛ̀ qɔ̂ʔ=g̈à́ʔ=qɔ́ʔ=g̈à́ʔ-yù lɛ, nɪ̌ qɛ́ lɛ ɔ̄, tɛ
     79   152 19 41 11 136 150 79 157 79   152   19 176 177 19 13 68

šɛ̄ lɛ ɔ̄, á-phà́ʔ g̈à́ʔ-bɛ, nɪ̌ ɳɔ̂ʔ-ɛ̀-thê-ɛ̀ te ā pî lɛ, "âa, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ qhà-šɨ̀ g̈à́ʔ-yù
162 19 13   178   179   176 180   34 60 123 19 41 26   181   152

qhâ mâ hếʔ ò lɔ. chɔ̀ kà́ʔ mù̃=nɪ́-g̈wɛ kà́ʔ tɔ̂ʔ ò lɔ," qɔ̂ʔ cê. (31) qhe te á lɛ
182 43 141 36 45 183 184 185   120 39 36 45   48 21   117 34 60 19

ɔ̄ qɔ̂ʔ e cê.
13 55 14 21

176 (N) penis [176+68 'expose the penis to view; pull out one's penis'] / 177 (V)
extract through a narrow opening [176+177 'retract the foreskin'] / 178 (N) leaves
179 (V) scratch together and cover with [also g̈à́ʔ-bɛ (cf. 73)] / 180 (Elab_adv) all
stiff and straight [cf. 130] / 181 (M_pfx) trail; tracks; the wake of smn / 182 (N)
way; path [either concrete or abstract] / 183 (N_sd) here / 184 (P_n) locative prt.,
used esp. with N_sd's / 185 (N) kind of ground mushroom with red cap.

VII

(32) qɔʔ e qhɔʔ-nɔ́ tê pɔ́ʔ, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi tê pɔ́ʔ qɔ́ʔ qồʔ e tê pɔ́ʔ, qɔ́ʔ ẅàʔ-yũ̀ ve chi
    55 14   101 11 136   26   51 11 136 79   55 14 11 136   79 152   8 51

ɔ̄, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi ve ɔ̄, šꞔ̂ʔ-cɛ̀ ɔ̀-pu=lɔ̄   ɔ̄ tâʔ gà-e ve cê. (33) šꞔ̂ʔ-cɛ̀=lɔ̄   ɔ̄ tâʔ
13 26   51 8 13   186   187 188 67-A 189 190 8 21   186   188 67-A 189

gè̀ʔ-e lɛ ɔ̄, qhe-te-lɛ ɔ̄, thu lɛ, mô lo lɔ̀-qá qhɔ kə   a tɛ̀ te lɛ, "âa, ŋà lɛ̀
191 19   13   9   13 192 19 193 194 195 165 93 133 196 34 19   41 42 150

nɔ̀-hꞔ thu lɛ mô í-kâʔ qhɔ kə a lâ qo lɛ̀, ŋà í-kâʔ lɔ̄ tɔ̂ʔ gè̀ʔ-e mâ šꞔ. ŋà à̀ʔ thu
46   192 19 193 197 165 93 133 80 25 150 42 197   198 39 191 43 199 42 4 192

lɛ nô há-phɔ̀ kə a lâ qo ɔ̄, ŋà lɛ̀ nɛ̂ʔ-kâʔ qay yɔ̀. šꞔ e yɔ̀," qɔʔ lɛ ɔ̄, thu lɛ
19 200 201   93 133 80 25 13 42 150   202   20 56 199 14 56   48 19 13 192 19

nô há-phɔ̀ ŋɛ pî a lɛ, há-qō qhɔ phɔ lɔ̂ʔ gè̀ʔ-e ve cê.
200 201 203 123 133 19   204 165 154 132 191 8 21

186 (N) tree / 187 (N) clump / 188 (B_n) sthg big / 189 (V) climb; ascend / 190 gà
(V) 'arrive at, reach'; (V_v) succeed in doing [gà-e is a fusion of this verb with e
(P_v) 14; cf. gè̀ʔ-e 191] / 191 (V_v) prob. an assimilated (even more fused) variant of
gà-e, meaning 'vigorous or rapid execution of an action'; alternatively gè̀ʔ-e may
have developed from gὲ (V_adj) 'fast' / 192 (V) chop at; chop down / 193 (N_sd) down
there / 194 (P_n) locative prt./ 195 (N) river / 196 (P_univ) really, indeed [related
to tὲ (P_quot) 'quotation-marker']; VERB+133+195+34: 'try to VERB' / 197 (N) water /
198 (V) swim / 199 (V) die / 200 (N_sd) up there / 201 (N) cliff; rock-face / 202 (AE)
to smithereens; all smashed up / 203 (V) lean against / 204 (N) cave ("rock-hollow")
[cf. 124, 205].

VIII

(34) qhe te šē lɛ ɔ̄, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi ve nô há-qhɔ lɔ̂ʔ e lɛ ɔ̄, šu a-mꞔ ẅɔ̀ mə̂ʔ
    117 34 162 19 13   26   51 77 200 205   132 14 19 13 22 206 155 207

kə ve. (35) qhà-qhe te kâʔ mə̂ʔ kə mâ gà. (36) yɔ̀ á-pɔ̀ʔ qɛ̂ʔ phə̂ tɔ̂ʔ e ve cê --
93 8   159   34 120 207 93 43 190   35 208 209 210 39 14 8 21

cô ɔ̀-qhɔ chɛ̀ ā lɛ. [(37) qhe te šē lɛ ɔ̄, va-tɛ̂ te kə á ve cê.] (38) šꞔ̂ʔ-tà jũ̂ʔ
211 131 83 60 19   117 34 162 19 13   212 34 93 60 8 21   213   214

šꞔ̂ʔ-tà chɔ-chɔ lɛ, jũ̂ʔ kə ve cê. / (39) ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi ɔ̄ qhɛ̀ qô lɛ, ô šꞔ̂ʔtà à̀ʔ nɛ̂
  213   215 19 214 93 8 21   26   51 13 91 216 19 10 213 4 217

pꞔ a lɛ, nɔ̀-ū-u šē lɛ, "âa, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi qhɛ̀ tɔ̂ʔ ɔ̀ lɔ. šꞔ ɔ̀," qɔʔ lɛ, va-tɛ̂
123 133 19 218 219 19 41 26   51 91 39 36 45 199 36   48 19   212

te á lɛ ɔ̄, qɔʔ e cê.
34 60 19 13 55 14 21

205 (N) hole in the rocks; cave [cf. 204, 165] / 206 (N) fire / 207 (V) blow / 208 (N)
shirt / 209 (V) strip off, remove (as clothing) / 210 (V) fan / 211 (N_sd) way over
there; way in there / 212 (N) falling-log trap / 213 (N) stick [cf. 186] / 214 (V)
stab; pierce; poke with sharp object / 215 (V) hack off; chop off [here reduplicated]
216 (V) expel; send back [91+216 'defecate': same as 91+92] / 217 (V) smear onto;
stick sthg onto / 218 (V) stink [see note 72 to Translation] / 219 (P_v) prt. expressing
regret at the state of affairs [perhaps ult. related to 162].

(40) *qhe-te-lɛ̄ ɔ̄, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi á-thâ thâˀ -- á-thâ-á-yɛ̂ pû   a   lɛ, mâˀ pî   qha*
     9   13   26   51 220 4   221   222 133 19 207 123 223

lɛ-ɛ̄-ɛ, yâ-mî=há nî mà mû-ʂɔ̄=nâˀ ca ni gɨ̂   a   lɛ ɔ̄, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi á-thâ-á-yɛ̂ mâˀ
 19   224   225 52   226   227 111 228 133 19 13   26   51   221   207

khɔ̄ kâ   e lɛ, "ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ ɔ̀, ŋa̋=hɨ́-mà a-cî lɔ̀ˀ cɨ   a," qô ˀ ve cê. (41) *qhe-te-lɛ̄ ɔ̄,*
229 230 14 19   26   146   231   232 132 59 133 48 8 21   9   13

"ɔ̄-chi, mâ dâˀ ve tɛ̀ qɔ́-lɔ́ lɔ̀ˀ la-ˀ," qô ˀ a   lɛ ɔ̄, mâ dâˀ ve tɛ̀ qɔ́-lɔ́ lɔ̀ˀ la
 233   43 234 8 196 235 132 94 112   48 133 19 13 43 234 8 196 235 132 94

lɛ ɔ̄,   tē-pɛ̄ ʂe̋ cê. (42) *qhe-te-lɛ ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi ve ɔ̄ qɔ̀ˀ phɔ tɔ̂ˀ e gɛ̀ˀ-e ve*
19 13 104 175 219 21   9   26   51 77 13 79 154 34 14 191 8

cê, tê pâˀ.
21 11 136

---

220 (N) bamboo jewsharp / 221 (Elab_n) <u>id.</u> [see note 75 to Translation] / 222 (V) carry [220/221+222: 'take up the jewsharp (for courting)'] / 223 (P_v) enlivening prt. / 224 (N) nubile girl / 225 (N_um) two / 226 (N_time) morning / 227 (V) look for, seek; (_vV) go and do / 228 (V) visit; (V_v) do for pleasure, do for the fun of it / 229 (N) sound; noise; voice / 230 (V) hear / 231 (N_pron) the two of us [1st person dual] / 232 (Adv) a little; polite request-softener / 233 (Demonstrativ Interj) look here!; well now! [cf. 51] / 234 (V_adj) be pretty; be good / 235 (N_time;Adv) first.

(43) *te-lɛ-ɛ̄ tē pâˀ qɔ̀ˀ ga̋ˀ-yù ga̋ˀ-yù lɛ, ga̋ˀ-mi ʂe̋ cê.* (44) *ga̋ˀ-mi ʂe̋*
     236 11 136 79   152   152 19 157 158 219 21   157 158 219

lɛ ɔ̄, ɔ̄-qā qhɛ̂-qhɔ ɔ̄ phɛ-tɨ̂ ā lɛ, gɔ̀-ʂɛ pî cê. (45) *qhe-qo ɔ̄ mɛ̀ˀ-phû hɔ̄*
19 13 237 109 67-A 238 60 19 239 123 21   240 13 241 242

mù ˀ lɛ há-pɨ=de gɔ̀-ʂɛ pî qo, "álôo, álôo, álôo," qô ˀ cê. (46) *qhe-te-qo ʂɨ̂-bù=de*
243 19 244   239 123 25 245   245   245   48 21   246   247

ɔ̄ gɔ̀-ʂɛ pî a qo ɔ̄--èe--ʂɨ̂-bù=de ɔ̄ ga̋ˀ-ʂɛ gɔ̀-ʂɛ pî a qo ɔ̄, "álôo,
67-A 239 123 133 25 13 248   247 67-A 249 239 123 133 25 13 245

álôo, álôo," qô ˀ cê. (47) *há-pɨ=de gɔ̀-ʂɛ pî a qo, "qâ-câˀ, qâ-câˀ, qâ-câˀ,"*
245 245 48 21   244   239 123 133 25 250   250   250

qhe qô ˀ ve cê. (48) *qhe-te-lɛ ɔ̄ mâ ʂɨ̂.*
117 48 8 21   9   13 43 199

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236 (Conj) then; thereupon [same as *qhe-te-lɛ* 9; here pronounced with drawled intonation on *lɛ*] / 237 (N) water-buffalo / 238 (V) tether to; tie to [cf. 66] / 239 (V) drag along; pull roughly ("drag-lead") / 240 (Conj) then; at that point [same as 246, 9, 9-A] / 241 (N) face / 242 (M_pfx) underneath; bottom part / 243 (V) bend downward [242+243: 'turn upside down'] / 244 (N) rocky ground; expanse of rocks / 245 (Interj) ouch!; alas!; oy, oy, oy! / 246 (Conj) then; at that point [same as 9, 9-A, 240] / 247 (N) grassy ground / 248 (Interj) er...; uh...; I mean... [self-correcting syllable] / 249 (V) lead by driving [cf. 157 and 239] / 250 (Interj serves you right!; nyaah, nyaah!

(49) qɔ̂ʔ tɔ̂ʔ e gê?-e šē ve lɛ ɔ̄, tê pɔ̂ʔ lɛ̂ qɔ̂ʔ g̈à?-yù ve. (50) šu yù g̈a
   79 39 14 191 219 8 19 13 11 136 150 79   152   8   22 174 98

šē lɛ ɔ̄, ô-ō, í-kâʔ cò-ló ɔ̄-hɔ́ ɔ̄ phɛ-chî tá ve cê. (51) phɛ-chî tá lɛ ɔ̄,
162 19 13 251 197   252 188 253 67-A 66   60 8 21   66   60 19 13

qhe te šē lɛ, tâ-kà=pā tê mō̄-ló là cê. (52) qhe-te-lɛ "ɛ̂-qhɛ̂ ò, nɔ̄ à-thɔ̂ʔ-ma
117 34 162 19   254   11 99 188 255 21   9   26 146 256   113

te cò ɔ̄-hɔ́ ɔ̄ chê le," qô̂ʔ lɛ ɔ̄, "mê̂ʔ-šɨ̄ nà lɛ, mê̂ʔ-šɨ̄ šá mɨ̀ ve yâ ɔ nē̄,"
34 252 253 67-A 83 116   48 19 13   257 258 19   257 259 260 8 261 140 262

qô̂ʔ cê, Hɛ̂ʔ-pā ô tê mō à?. (53) "âa, ŋà-hɨ kâʔ mɨ̀ gâ, ɛ̂-qhɛ̂ ò," qô̂ʔ lɛ ɔ̄,
48 21   3   10 11 99 4   41   263 120 260 264   26 146 48 19 13

"yù tɔ̂ʔ a" qô̂ʔ pî cê ma nē̄.
174 39 133 48 123 21 265 262

(54) yù tɔ̂ʔ pî a lɛ, tɔ̂ʔ gà šē cê. (55) ɛ̂-qhɛ̂ ô-ve -- qhe-te-lɛ, tâ-kà=pā
   174 39 123 133 19 39 190 219 21   26   27   9   254

ô ve tê mō ɔ̄, lɔ̄ í-mû hɔ qhaʔ g̈àʔ ā ve, tâ-kà te là ve. (56) mê̂ʔ-šɨ̄ nà pā
10 77 11 99 13 266 267 268 147 157 60 8   269 3 255 8   257 258 108

dê-dê cɔ̄ šē lɛ, phɛ lɛ ɔ̄, ô ɔ̄-hɔ́ ɔ̄ cò hɔ́ í-kâʔ šá mɨ̀ ve te lɛ, tɔ̂ʔ-chê?
 270 271 219 19 272 19 13 10 253 67-A 252 242 197 259 260 8 34 19   273

ce a lɛ šɨ̄ pɔ̄ lɛ ɔ̄, tâ-kà=pā ô tê mō ve mɔ̄ phu ši ɛ̂-qhɛ̂ g̈a və ve cê.
274 133 19 199 100 19 13   254   10 11 99 77 275 276 277 26 98 18 8 21

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251 (N_sd) way over there [intonational variant of 10] / 252 (N) bridge / 253 (N_spat) underpart; bottom [prefixed form of 242] / 254 (N) merchant; trader / 255 (V) come [related to la (P_v) 94] / 256 (N_pron) you [singular] / 257 eyes / 258 (V) hurt; be sore / 259 (N) air, breeze, vapor; breath; vital force, spirit, energy / 260 (V) pass air noisily [259+260: 'imbibe the essence'; cf. note 94 to Translation] / 261 (P_uf) exclamatory prt. / 262 (P_uf) exclamatory prt. / 263 (N_pron) we [plural] (cf. 42, 231, 46) / 264 (P_v) want; desire [desiderative prt.] / 265 (P_uf) exclamatory prt. / 266 (N) mule / 267 (N) horse / 268 (N) elephant / 269 (N) trade / 270 (N_ext) all; the whole group of / 271 (V) happen to be the case [another sense of 44] / 272 (V) tie up [cf. the compounds 66, 238] / 273 (V) cut through [1st syll. tɔ̂ʔ 'cut' is an unrelated homophone of 39] / 274 (V) fall from a height; (V_v) do so sthg falls / 275 (N) things; property / 276 (N) silver / 277 (N) gold [276 and 277 also form a more collocated expression (122) meaning 'wealth (of all kinds)'].

XII

(57) qhe-te-lɛ qô̂ʔ e lɛ ɔ̄, á-qhɔ qɔ̂ʔ qô̂ʔ e ve tê yâ thâ, "ôo, ɛ̂-qhɛ̂,
    9   55 14 19 13   86   79 55 14 15 11 32 2   167   26

nɔ̄ qhà-qhe te g̈a le. ηà-hɨ nɔ̄ àʔ ši tù te ve kâʔ nɔ̄ phu-ši chi ma g̈a ve
256 159   34 98 116 263 256 4 199 115 34 8 120 256 122   51 278 98 8

qhà-qhe te le," qô̂ʔ lɛ ɔ̄, "âa, í-kâʔ šá mɨ̀ lɛ g̈a ve yò-qo. nɔ̄-hɨ te á là lɛ"
 159   34 116 48 19 13   41 197 259 260 19 98 8 279   46   34 60 80 19

qô? cê.   (58) qhe-te-lɛ 5, "âa, ηà-h‡ kà? hɜ̂? gâ,' qô? lɛ 5, te š‡ vₐ lɛ 5,
48 21   9   13   41 '263 120 119 264   48 19 13   34 280 18 19 13

ô kà? hɔ lo qhá-jū-lu h‡-ɛ̀ î-mû=qō tê g̈â tê mà pû c‡ lɛ 5, ô-ve h5
10 184 281 194   282   283   284   11 75 11 52 222 59 19 13   27 242

phɛ-ch‡ lɛ 5, chɔ lô? chɛ̂ pɜ̀ qhɔ̂?-n5, cô î-kâ? qhɔ 5 lô? e ve cê.
66   19 13   16 132 83 100   101   211 197 165 67-A 132 14 8 21

(59) tê pɔ̂? lɛ̀ î-kâ? cú pî a lɛ̣, phê?-dɔ̂ a-lâ cê. (60) qhe-te-lɛ̣ 5, ô
     11 136 150 197 285 123 133 19   286   287 21   9   13 10

à-pū=qu tê mà mà lô? e lɛ, "cô, cô, cô ni-?. šu š‡ bɛ̂ dã̂? ve," qô? a
   288   11 52 43 132 14 19 211 211 211 111 112 22 277 289 290 8   48 133

lɛ 5, yɜ̄ kà? pɔ̂? lô? e lɛ, tɔ̂?-chê? a lɛ, tê qhâ? ma š‡ e pɜ̀ lɛ 5,
19 13   35 120 38 132 14 19   273   133 19   11 147 278 199 14 100 19 13

chɔ tê qhâ? ve yâ-m‡ 5 yɔ̂ t‡ g̈a ve cê.
16 11 147 77 291 13 35 87 98 8 21

278 (N$_{ext}$) as much as; to the amount of / 279 (P$_{uf}$) emphatic variant of yɔ̀ 56 /
280 (V) lead to a place [here concatenated with a semantically empty te 'do' (34)]
281 (P$_n$) variant of locative 5 67-A / 282 (N) forehead-basket / 283 (N$_{ext}$) as big
as; the size of [h‡ is combined here with ɛ̀, a subordinating prt. that also occurs
in other kinds of stative adverbials (cf. 130, 180)] / 284 (N) large-mouthed
pickling jug / 285 (V) sink / 286 (V) struggle; writhe; flail around / 287 (P$_v$)
enlivening prt. [1st element related to qha 223] / 288 (N) old codger; gramps
[slightly pejorative, reinforced by choice of mà (general classifier) instead
of g̈â 75] / 289 (V) contend for; vie / 290 (P$_v$) mutual or reciprocal action /
291 (N) females; girls; women [near synonym of 74].

*   *
     *

III. Annotated translation.

I

(1) Once upon a time the Lahu were fighting a war with the Chinese.[1] (2) Well, on a certain morning, the morning for going off to war, people were selected[2] and they went off. (3) [But] while the others had made rice-packets[3] for themselves, this fellow ɛ̀-qhɛ̂[4] had wrapped up a sparse-feathered little chicken[5] to take with him, and on the road, when they ate, when it was time to eat, he unwrapped it and made as if to eat his meal. (4) As he unwrapped it and the little chick hopped right out, he said, "Oh, dear, I mustn't go [with you]! You all go [on ahead without me]! As for me, since I've seen this omen,[6] I'm going home. I can't possibly fight a war now. See you guys later!"[7] (5) And so the others let him go back.[8]

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1 This story, although recorded in Northern Thailand in 1965, dates from the faraway time when the ancestors of these Thailand Lahu were living in close contact with the Chinese. The Chinese by no means always came out ahead in conflicts with the once fierce Loloish tribes of Yunnan, and it was common for some Lolo groups to keep Chinese war-prisoners as slaves. See Lin Yueh-hua, The Lolo of Liang-shan, HRAF Press (1961). Most of the Lahu people still live in China.

2 The Lahu now in Thailand are all quite recent immigrants from Shan State in Burma, where they have been living for centuries as they slowly filtered southward from their ancestral homeland on the Yunnan-Tibet border. It is likely that it was the Shans who did the conscripting of recruits for military service in skirmishes against the Chinese. There are still many more Lahu living in Shan State than in Thailand. (The Shan are a Tai people.)

3 The usual wayfarer's food is a cake of steamed rice wrapped in a banana leaf.

4 This is the Trickster's proper name. (It is sometimes pronounced more like ɛ̀-qhài or ɛ̀-qhàn.) This name is clearly non-Lahu in origin, though its etymology is obscure. ɛ̀- is a common prefix to Shan men's names. Henceforth we translate ɛ̀-qhɛ̂ as 'Trickster.'

5 ğâʔ=qû-ni is "a kind of tailless chicken without breast feathers," literally "naked chicken" (ɔ̂-qû-ni 'something naked'). It is possible that there is some pun intended here with nī 'penis,' though the ni (~nî) of ɔ̂-qû-ni really means 'red' [see note 52].

6 According to traditional Lahu belief, anything unusual or scary that happens on a journey (e.g. seeing a dead body) is taken as an evil omen, and as a persuasive reason to go back home.

7 The expression qò? e šā, literally "I shall go back," is a common Lahu formula for leavetakings.

8 On the tape Sentence 5 appears right after <u>You all go</u>. This was felt to be a clumsy ordering both by the story-teller himself and by other Lahu who listened to the tape, a feeling which is reinforced by the fact that the first clause of the first sentence in Section II recapitulates Sentence 5 in the normal "chaining" way.

II

(6) Then, when they had let him go back, he ripped open a bumblebee's nest,[9] scooped out some crabs,[10] and tied them so they dangled from a bamboo-sheath,[11] and

placed this [all] outside the house [of a certain woman]. (7) Then when night fel[l]
and [the bees went] bzz-bzz-bzz and [the crab] went scratching *teh-teh*[13] against t[he]
bamboo-tube -- er, bamboo-<u>sheath</u>,[14] Trickster said to the woman, "Aha, the spirits
of your husbands [15] have come back to you! Don't stay here any more! It's too
scary!"

    (8) So they all went trooping over to the Trickster's house to sleep.

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9 *pɛ̄=g̈ù-li* 'bumblebees' live in holes in rotting trees, one insect per hole. It [is]
not specified how many bees the Trickster took. He also must have put the bee(s) [in]
some kind of container, though the narrator does not bother to say this.

10 From a body of water nearby. Again the narrator does not say how many crabs we[re]
fished out.

11 *vâ=lɛ̂-qô?* 'a crinkly covering adhering to the surface of young bamboo plants.'
The Trickster selected this material for the noise it would make when scratched.

12 *mû phɔ̂?* *ve*, lit. "the sky is revealed," is the Lahu idiom for night falling. [The]
idea seems to be that only at night is the sky revealed for what it really is, a bl[ack]
star-studded expanse. *phɔ̂?* is the same verb as 'unwrap' [Section I].

13 Bees go *vɨ̄-vɨ̄-vɨ̄* in Lahu, while crabs go *tê?-tê?* when they scratch.

14 The narrator momentarily misspoke himself, saying first *vâ=dɛ̂-qō* 'tube of bamb[oo]'
instead of *vâ=lɛ̂-qô?*.

15 The Trickster is now talking to all the jittery women of the village, who have
evidently all come running out of their houses. He uses the expression *nɔ̂-hɨ ɔ̂-pā*
'your (pl.) husbands.' *ɔ̂-pā*, lit. 'a male,' is a slightly vulgar or insulting ter[m]
for 'husband,' since the <u>mot juste</u> is *ɔ̂-phɔ̂*.

III

    (9) Then that[16] Trickster said, "Oh, come now, don't sleep at my house. Your
kids will shit all over everything." (10) So then they swore to him, saying, "Oh,
we won't let them shit. We guarantee[17] it!," and they were allowed to sleep at
Trickster's house. (11) Then, after the bunch of women fell asleep, the Trickster
thoroughly mashed up some shitbeans,[18] squeezed [the paste] into balls,[19] and
smeared it on the rear ends of all the children who were there.

    (12) When dawn broke he said, "Just look at the way your kids have crapped up
my whole house![20] What will you give me as compensation?,"[21] and they said, "Oh,
any compensation at all! Whatever you want to take, take!," but when they offered
him money he wouldn't take it. (13) No matter what they offered, he wouldn't take
it.

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16 *ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ ô-ve*, lit. "that Trickster." The demonstrative *ô-ve* functions as an ana-
phoric marker in this narrative: 'the Trickster we have been talking about, the
Trickster already mentioned.' To avoid heaviness in the English, this is usually
simply translated with the definite article, 'the Trickster' [as in Sentence 11].
For the anaphoric use of *chi* 'this,' see Note 25.

17 The women use the rather high-flown loanword *lâ?-lɔ* 'guarantee' (cf. Thai
rábrɔɔŋ), which adds to the comic effect.

18 *nɔ́ʔ-qhɛ̂*, lit. "shit-beans," are fermented soybeans made into paste or cakes and often eaten fried with vegetables and ginger. The name arises from its dark brown color, its consistency, and its pungent odor. This is also called *nɔ́ʔ-kɨ̄*, lit. "rotten-beans," which is also the literal meaning of its Burmese name *pê-pouʔ* (written Burmese *pâi-pup*).

19 *chɨ̄ʔ* 'to crumple up, make into a ball.'

20 *qhɛ̂ ɔ̀ kə*, lit. "shit into." The verb *kə* 'insert' is sometimes used as an auxiliary verb to indicate thorough, penetrating action. The phrase 'my whole house' is an attempt to render this idea in English.

21 *šāy* (or *šɛ̄*) 'pay compensation' is another legalistic loanword from Tai (cf. Siamese *càaj* 'pay').

IV-a

(14) Then the Trickster said to the bunch of women, "Well, go and beat on the Hollow A-yaw Tree,[22] and listen [to what it tells you]."[23] (15) In order to go beat on that Hollow A-yaw Tree-oracle, he made the women take the long way around.[24] (16) The Trickster himself[25] went by the straight road, and got inside of the Hollow A-yaw, and the women tried beating on the outside, going <u>thump-thump</u>,[26] saying, "What sort of compensation shall we give to Trickster?" (17) And the Trickster said,[27] "Ah, give him compensation, give him compensation!" (18) So they went back home again. (19) The Trickster also ran back after the women as fast as he could, [so he was] sitting in his house [when they got there], and said, "Well, what did it say to you?," and they said, "Well, all it said was, 'Give compensation to Trickster!'"

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22 *a-yɔ=qō* 'hollow (*qō*) a-yaw tree.' The *a-yɔ* (either <u>Lagerstroemia</u> <u>cylindrica</u> or L. <u>macrocarpa</u>) is one of the four 'master trees' (*šɨ̄ʔ=jɔ̂-mɔ̂*) of Lahu tradition. It is a very tall, straight tree, believed especially apt to be hit by lightning.

23 The whole complex verbal idea, 'beat on and listen to what it says' is conveyed by the concise two-verb concatenation *dɔ̂ʔ na* 'beat' + 'listen.' It could equally well be translated 'beat on and ask it [a question],' since the verb *na*, like Japanese *kiku*, can mean either 'ask' or 'listen to,' according to context. (When it means 'ask' it usually appears in the compound *na-ni*.) Instead of repeating 'listen' in the translation of Sentence 15, the phrase is rendered there as 'beat on ... oracle.'

24 *yà ʔ-qɔ qɔ̂ʔ kɨ̄*, lit. "a place where the road curves."

25 *ɛ̂-qhɛ̂ chi*, lit. "this Trickster," here translated 'the Trickster himself' for contrast with the women. The determiner *chi* 'this' and the demonstrative *ô-ve* 'that' (see Note 16) are sometimes interchangeable as anaphoric markers, and are usually both translated simply as 'the.' (The narrator tends to alternate them for variety. He used *ô-ve* in Sentences 14 and 17, but *chi* in Sentences 16 and 19.)

26 *qó-qó* or *qô ʔ-qô ʔ*.

27 No doubt in a disguised "oracular" voice, though the story-teller made no effort to reproduce this in his narration.

(20) "Well, then," he said, "unless you beat on it once more, you won't know [what to do]," so again they [went to] beat on it and ask it [a question][28] -- the Trickster had quickly gotten inside of it again -- and the women in a body[29] beat on it, <u>thump-thump</u>, and it said, "Oh, give him cunt, give him cunt!"[30]

(21) At this the bunch of women ran back home, and the Trickster also ran back fast, and sitting in his house working this time[31] with strips of rattan he said, "Well, what did it say? What did it tell you?" and they said, "Well, Trickster -- it just said, 'Give him cunt, give him cunt!'"

(22) Whereupon Trickster proceeded to fuck[32] every single woman in the village, one after the other.[33]

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28 Or 'beat on it and listen [to what it said].' See Note 23.

29 *tê mō̄ te lɛ*, lit. "making a group."

30 *cha* 'cunt, vagina, female pudenda.' The Lahu language has no euphemisms for human sexual organs or excretory functions. *cha* (or *cha-pɛ̀ʔ*), like *nī* or *nī-qhɛ̀ʔ* 'cock, penis, male genitalia,' is plain-spoken, neither medical, circumlocutory, nor vulgar.

31 'This time' renders the Lahu auxiliary verb *qɔ̄ʔ* 'do again, do in turn, do as another in a series of actions.'

32 *pàʔ* 'copulate, have intercourse with, fuck.' See Note 30.

33 *yâ-mî̄=ma tê qhâʔ-qhâʔ ve*: the meaning 'every one in the village' is conveyed by the reduplication of *qhâʔ* 'village.' The idea 'one after the other' is provided by the auxiliary verb *phôʔ* 'perform an action as one of a group; perform several simila actions.' As a main verb, *phôʔ* means 'to pile up, make a heap.'

V

(23) Well, when all their husbands came back [from the war], they said, "Oh, Trickster did this and that to us! After you all were gone, Trickster fucked us!," so straightaway, as soon as all the husbands were back, they chased after Trickster trying to kill him, and he ran away. (24) He ran away and they chased him and chased him,[34] but they couldn't catch him. (25) No matter how they chased him they couldn't catch him. (26) Unsuccessful once again,[35] they came back home, while this Trickster, this guy,[36] he scooped out some honey[37] and smeared himself with it,[38] and then[39] he went and lay down inside[40] a storage-basket[41] in a cotton-house,[42] then when they saw him in the joss-stick temple[43] they said, "Oh, the god has appear to us today!"[44] (27) So they made offerings to him.[45] (28) When they gave him the food he ate it. (29) When he did this,[46] they thought "It's only the Trickster!," realizing[47] it all of a sudden, so they grabbed him and tried to beat him to death, but[48] again he ran away.

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34 The prolongation of the action is conveyed in the original by an exaggerated drawling intonation on the clause-concatenating particle *lɛ*.

35 *tê pɔ̂ʔ mâ g̈a tá lɛ*: lit. "once again not having gotten him."

36 The story-teller uses a succession of two topic noun-phrases in apposition, both to establish sufficient contrast with the ineffectual actions of the husbands, and to give himself a bit of breathing space before launching into the rapid series of clauses which is to follow in the same sentence.

37 Presumably from a nearby honey-tree. The economy of detail the story-teller permits himself is possible because his whole audience (except the poor recording linguist) had already heard the story many times before.

38 All these English words are necessary to translate the three-verb concatenation, *g̈ɔ* 'perform vigorous action' + *khâʔ* 'scoop' + *hɔ* 'dye': *pê-g̈ɨ̈ g̈ɔ khâʔ hɔ lɛ*, lit. "honey-VIG.ACT.-scoop-daub-MORE TO FOLLOW."

39 Instead of 'and then,' the phrase *qhe te šē lɛ ɔ* could be translated 'having done this.' The presence of the verb-particle *šē* 'prerequisite action' makes this expression 'verbier' than the lexicalized concatenative conjunction *qhe-te-lɛ* which occurs so often in this text. See <u>Linguistic</u> <u>Analysis</u>, Section D.

40 *thɛ-qō qhɔ ɔ lɔ̂ʔ yɨ̂ʔ tá lɛ*: lit. "storage-basket + interior + LOCATIVE + enter + lie down + DURATIVE + MORE-TO-FOLLOW."

41 *thɛ-qō* or *phɛ-qō* 'a huge basket, often taller than a man and several feet in diameter, used for storing paddy or other harvested crops.'

42 *šá-lâ=yè* 'an outbuilding where cotton was stored.' The cotton sticking to the honey gave the Trickster a sort of tarred-and-feathered appearance, so that he looked like something 'out of this world.'

43 *ša-tú=kɨ̂=yè* (or *ša-tú=kɨ̂* or *ša-tú=yè*): lit. "incense-burn-place-house," a building where there was an altar for burning incense-sticks. Lahu 'animists' burn incense and candles to honor the supreme supernatural *g̈ɨ̈-ša* [see Note 44, and the works of anthropologist A.R. Walker], the last syllable of whose name seems to be related to the morpheme *ša* 'joss-stick, incense-stick.' The Pidgin English word *joss*, meaning 'idol, cult-image,' itself derives ultimately from Portuguese *deos* 'god.'

44 *g̈ɨ̈-ša*, here translated 'the god,' is the Great Spirit of Lahu animist religion, conceived of as an incorporeal and abstract being far above the nature spirits (e.g. Mountain-Spirit, Water-Spirit, Rainbow-Spirit, etc.), who are rather stupid and often malevolent. *g̈ɨ̈-ša* has his own priests, who enjoy higher status in the community than the 'spirit-doctors' who deal with the *nê* or nature-spirits.

45 *tân-tù tân pî ve*: Lahu has a cognate-object construction here which would be too heavy in literal English translation ("they offered him offerings"). *tân* is a loan-word from Shan, which in turn borrowed the word from Burmese.

46 A real god is supposed to inhale merely the 'breath' or essence (*šá, ɔ-šá*) of a food-offering, so Trickster is revealed as a non-divine being. This incident is reversed symbolically at the end of the story, where Trickster claims to have made his fortune by 'inhaling the air' or 'imbibing the essence' -- thus indirectly proclaiming himself to be a god. See Section XII, below.

47 *ší la lɛ*: lit. "coming to know," i.e. 'realizing.' The verb-particle *la* 'enter a state' is related to the full verb *là* 'come.'

48 'But' here translates the concatenative particle *lɛ* 'MORE-TO-FOLLOW,' which serves to indicate that the preceding clause is not the last in the sentence. It is usually translated 'and,' though occasionally we render it by a different conjunction (<u>so</u>, <u>but</u>, etc.) or by a participial construction. Any number of *lɛ* may occur in a Lahu sentence or narrative without the hearer experiencing a feeling of repetitiveness. The same is not true of English <u>and</u>, which gives a tedious, babyish quality to a narrative if used between every clause. [See <u>Linguistic Analysis</u>, Section E.]

(30) Again they chased him, and oh, this time as they were chasing and chasing him, he pulled out his penis and skinned back his foreskin,[49] and scratched together some leaves to cover himself, and made his penis all stiff and straight,[50] and they said, "Well, Trickster's trail has petered out now![51] And here's a red Phalloides mushroom[52] that has sprouted." (31) After this they went home.

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49 *nī qέ ve* 'retract the foreskin.' *qέ* means 'to extract through a narrow opening (It is also used, e.g. for removing mucus from the nose.)

50 So that only his glans protruded through the covering of leaves. (It is to be noted that our word glans itself is a metaphorical extension of a plant-name, 'acor

51 The reader will perhaps forgive this pun. The literal meaning of this sentence is "There is no longer any way to chase after Trickster's trail."

52 *mù=ní-ɠɔ* or *mù=ní-ɠwɛ* 'a kind of tasty ground mushroom with a red cap (white underneath) that resembles a glans penis.' The second syllable *ní* means 'red,' but recalls the homophonous (except for tone) syllable *nī* 'penis.' *mù* means 'mushroom' and *ɠɔ* means 'round.' 'Red phalloides' is a feeble attempt to render this phytonym in English.

(32) After they went home, the Trickster went back again too, and this time when they were chasing him, this guy, this Trickster,[53] he managed to climb up into a big clump of trees.[54] (33) When he had gotten to the top of a big tree,[55] at that point,[56] as they chopped away at it, trying to get it to fall into the river down below, he said, "Oh, in my position,[57] if you would only chop so that I fall into t water down there, I'd be able to swim back out and I wouldn't die.[58] [But] if you chop me[59] so I land on that rocky cliff up there, I'd surely be smashed to smithereens![60] I would die!," and so they chopped it in such a way that its fall was brok by the cliff up there,[61] and he managed to escape into[62] a cave in the rocks.

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53 The story-teller uses a double topic NP to give himself a second to think. See Note 36.

54 *šɨʔ-cὲ ɔ-pu=ló*: the narrator amends this to *šɨʔ-cὲ=ló* 'a big tree,' when this clause is "chain-repeated" in the next sentence.

55 *tâʔ gà-e* or *tâʔ gὲʔ-e*, lit. "climb" + "arrive," i.e. 'get to the top of, clim to the top.' In the Lahu, this clause is an almost verbatim "chain-repetition" of the last clause of the previous sentence, but an exact repetition would be tedious in English: '...he got to the top of a big clump of trees. When he got to the top of a big tree...' This is another example of the truism that one language's cohesi devices may be too 'gummy' for another language. See Note 48.

56 This translates the Lahu 'filler' *qhe te lɛ ɔ.*

57 This renders *ŋà lὲ*, lit. "as for me," a strongly topicalized first person pronoun. See Note 59.

58 This sentence is translated with conditional auxiliaries, because it sounds somewhat better than the more literal: "If you chop and I fall into the water down there, I'll be able to swim back out and won't die." The only marker of

conditionality in the Lahu is the particle *go* 'if; when' at the end of the first clause.

59 The verb *thu* 'chop down' is here construed with a personal direct object, though it is much more usual to have 'tree' as its object. This is preserved in the translation, and in fact reinforces the symbolic psychosexual meaning of the chopping -- i.e. an attempt at castration of the potent by the impotent.

60 *nê?-kà? qay ve* 'go smash, get smashed to smithereens.' *nê?-kà?* is one of a class of morphemes that forms vivid adverbial expressions with the verb *qay* 'go,' much like English 'go kaputt,' 'go blooey,' etc. The 'surely' in the translation is motivated by the strongly topicalized *ŋà lὲ*, which appears in this sentence too [see Note 57].

61 *ŋε pî*: lit. "lean against" + "give," i.e. 'cause to lean against, cause to be propped up on.'

62 'Managed to escape into' is conveyed by a string of three Lahu verbs: *phɔ* 'flee' + *lò?* 'enter' + *gà-e* 'arrive at [one's goal].' The latter morpheme has developed an assimilated fusional variant (*gè?-e*) with a more abstract meaning, 'vigorous execution of an action.' See Note 55.

<center>VIII</center>

(34) Then, when the Trickster had gone into the cave up there, the others blew smoke[63] inside with all their might.[64] (35) But try as they would,[65] they couldn't get it to blow inside.[66] (36) He had taken off his shirt and was fanning it out again[67] -- from where he was, inside there.[68] [(37) After this, they made a falling-log trap for him to get caught in.[69]][70] (38) They poked in sticks[71] -- they hacked off some sticks and poked them inside. (39) So the Trickster took a shit and smeared it on the sticks, and it sta-a-nk[72] like hell, and they said, "Aha, the Trickster's shit is coming out of him now![73] He's dead!," and they set a falling-log trap[74] and went back home.

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63 *à-mī* 'fire.' The Lahu says 'blew fire inside,' though this must be translated as 'smoke' for clarity in English. Burning brush at the mouth of a cave is a common method for smoking animals out, or of asphyxiating them so they can be removed after they die.

64 * gɔ̈ mâ? kɔ* is a three-verb concatenation meaning literally "drag-blow-insert." *gɔ̈* 'drag' here functions simply to make the verbal action more vivid, and is rendered as 'with all their might.'

65 *qhà-qhe te kà?*: lit. "whatever they did."

66 *mâ? kɔ mâ gà*: lit. "blow-insert-not-reach." *gà* 'reach, arrive' is a 'potential complement,' here negated by *mâ*, that expresses the non-successful outcome of the verbal action *mâ? kɔ* 'blow into.'

67 This sequence of actions is expressed by a concise sequence of three Lahu verbs, *qê? phâ tɔ̂?*: 'take off' (this is preceded by its object *á-pô?* 'shirt') + 'fan' + 'emerge, do outwards.'

68 This last clause is stuck onto the end of the sentence as an afterthought, and is marked as such by the concatenative particle *lε* at the end, which normally occurs only in non-final position.

69 *va-tê te kɔ*: lit. "falling-log trap + make + insert." Since the trap was set up outside the cave, *kɔ* does not have its literal meaning 'insert' here, but its

more abstract meaning of 'in such a way that the verbal action penetrates its goal. See Note 20.

70 This whole sentence was uttered prematurely by the narrator, who had forgotten momentarily to recount the episode of the sticks. He supplies the falling-log trap incident in its proper place below, at the end of Sentence 39.

71 Slightly rattled by his error, the story-teller makes a false start in this sentence also, uttering the clause about poking the sticks before the one about hacking them off the trees they came from. He immediately corrects himself. (This story was told at high speed, in 6 minutes and 20 seconds, and it is not surprising that the narrator made a mistake or two. In general it is told extremely well, with great economy of detail, so that the pace never flags.)

72 The verb nù 'stink' is pronounced with exaggerated drawled intonation. See Note 34.

73 ɛ̀-qhɛ̂ chi qhɛ̂ tɔ̂ʔ ɔ̀ lɔ: qhɛ̂ tɔ̂ʔ 'shit emerges.' The tape is not perfectly clear at this point, and it is possible that it should be transcribed qhɛ̂ tē 'shit is crushed (out).'

74 va-tɛ̂ 'falling-log trap': a complicated and delicately contrived kind of trap, which the animal springs by stepping on a board which instantaneously activates a series of rods, the last of which releases a heavy log. The husbands, although they believe Trickster to be dead, leave this trap at the mouth of the cave as a precautionary measure.

IX

(40) After this, the Trickster took up his jewsharp -- his jawharp,[75] and blew on it with gusto,[76] and early the next morning two young girls[77] came to have a look,[78] and when they heard the sound of the Trickster playing the jawharp, they said, "Yoo-hoo,[79] Trickster, please let the two of us come in!"[80] (41) Then he said, "Well, then, let the one who is truly uglier come in first," and when the one who was truly uglier came in first, she was crushed to death.[81] (42) Thereupon the Trickster managed to escape outside once more.[82]

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75 á-thâ 'jewsharp': a pair of supple bamboo strips with thin reeds and notes a fourth apart, which the player blows on while flicking the ends up and down. The two notes are alternated and iterated with considerable rhythmic complexity, and the instrument is used mostly in courtship. The story-teller corrects the simple word á-thâ to the more formal compound word á-thâ-á-yɛ̂ (here rendered by the euphemism 'jawharp'). Technically, á-yɛ̂ refers to a slightly different kind of instrument with strips tuned an octave apart. á-thâ-á-yɛ̂ sometimes means 'jewsharps of both kinds,' but here it is simply a more sonorous synonym of á-thâ.

76 'With gusto' translates the emphatic particle qha, as well as the drawled intonation on the following concatenative particle lɛ.

77 yâ-mî=há 'girl of marriageable age, nubile young woman.' The Trickster had so far confined his relationships to married women.

78 ca ni gɨ̂ 'come to look for the fun of it.' It is not entirely clear whether the girls came simply out of idle curiosity to view Trickster's 'remains' (before having heard the music), or because they were entranced by the music. The latter interpretation seems more likely.

79 'Yoo-hoo' was chosen to render the Lahu vocative particle ɔ̀, since its 'Blondie-and-Dagwood' quality suggests the empty-headedness the girls display.

80 The girls had evidently learned of Trickster's amatory prowess from their mothers and were eager to see for themselves.

81 It is hard to understand the girls' docile stupidity here. From our point of view it should have been more effective for Trickster to have said, "Let the prettie one of you come in first." Then presumably they would have vied for the honor of being first. One can only conclude that the girls were so much under Trickster's spell that they obeyed him literally, making an objective assessment of who was uglier.

82 The verbal idea is expressed by a string of four verbs: *qɔ̂ʔ* 'return, do again' + *phɔ* 'flee' + *tɔ̂ʔ* 'emerge' + *gà-e* 'manage to do successfully' (or *gὲʔ-e*). See Note 62.

<div align="center">X</div>

(43) Then, again they chased and chased him, and [this time] they caught him.[83]

(44) When they caught him they tied him to the ass of a water-buffalo, and dragged them along.[84] (45) Then they bent his face over downwards and dragged him over a piece of rocky ground, and he said "A-lo, a-lo, a-lo!"[85] (46) Then they dragged hi over some grassy ground -- uh, they drove him and dragged him along ove some grassy ground,[86] and he said "A-lo, a-lo, a-lo!" (47) And when they dragged him [again] over the rocks they said, "Serves you right, serves you right, serves you right!"[87] (48) [But] he didn't die.

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83 The verb-particle *šē* is used after the verb *g̈àʔ-mi* 'catch by chasing,' in order t convey a nuance of regret. (The narrator here takes Trickster's point of view.)

84 *g̈ɔ-šɛ*, lit. "drag-lead." Here *g̈ɔ* is used in its literal sense of 'drag,' and not merely as an enlivener of the verbal idea [see Note 64]. It is immaterial whethe we take the object to be the buffalo or the Trickster, since they are tied together. (No object is expressed in the Lahu.)

85 *álôo* (or *àlôo*, or *alôo*) is an interjection expressing pain, grief, surprise, etc.

86 The narrator retracts his original clause by means of the "self-correcting" interjection *èe*, here translated as 'uh.'

87 The interjection *qâ-càʔ* is used to gloat at somebody's discomfiture. The story-teller emphasizes Trickster's plight so that the audience can fully enjoy it. He won't be kept down for long. This episode, among its other functions in the story serves to put Trickster's ultimate complete triumph into higher relief.

<div align="center">XI</div>

(49) Again he managed to get out, and once more they chased after him.

(50) Once they had seized hold of him, they tied him so he hung underneath a big brid over the water, some distance away.[88] (51) After they had left him strung up there, at that point,[89] a large group of traders[90] came along. (52) And they said, "Hey, Trickster![91] What are you doing there under the bridge?,"[92] and he said -- to that bunch of Chinese[93] -- "Since my eyes are sore, my eyes are 'imbibing the essence!'"[94] (53) "Well, we would like to imbibe it also, Trickster!" they said, and he said, "Let me loose then!" (54) So they let him loose, and he got free.[95]

(55) So the Trickster[96] -- now that group of traders had been driving their mules, horses, and elephants around to the villages, having come to trade them. (56) Since they all happened to have sore eyes,[97] he tied them up, and as they were trying to "imbibe the essence of the water" under there, under the bridge, he cut them down so they fell in and died, and Trickster got away with all their goods, their silver and their gold.

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88 'Some distance away' translates the spatial demonstrative pronoun ô 'over there here pronounced with exaggerated intonation to indicate greater distance.

89 This renders the connective filler qhe te šē lɛ.

90 As we soon find out, these were Chinese travelling merchants. This provides an interesting symmetry with the beginning of the story, where the men are going off t fight the Chinese. Evidently the confrontation with the Chinese operated at many levels in ancestral Lahuland.

91 Note that the traders recognize the Trickster without ever having been introduc to him. Trickster is larger than life and known to everybody. He shares this univ ersal recognizability with Wakdjunkaga, the Trickster figure of the Winnebago Indians [Radin 1956/1973].

92 This could equally well be translated 'Why are you under the bridge?', since the usual Lahu way of saying 'why' means literally "doing what?" (à-thɔ̀ʔ-ma te [lɛ]).

93 The phrase 'to that bunch of Chinese' is inserted as an afterthought at the end of the Lahu sentence.

94 Šá mɨ ve, here translated 'imbibing the essence,' is an expression of key symbo importance in this story. It does not occur in ordinary speech, and is clearly mear to be pregnant with meaning. Šá means 'air, breeze, vapor; breath; vital force, spirit, energy, incorporeal essence.' The verb mɨ means 'to pass air noisily throu the mouth or nose,' as in the following expressions: ə̂ʔ-mɨ ve 'hiccup,' ə̂ʔ-mɨ ve 'belch,' qa-mɨ ve 'sing,' tí-šîʔ mɨ ve 'whistle,' há-mɨ ve 'yawn,' há-thî mɨ ve 'sneeze.' See Section XII.

95 The verb-particle šē 'regret' (homophonous with another particle of aspectual meaning, something like 'prerequisite action') is used in this clause, as if the narrator were sorry that Trickster got loose. He is here taking the opposite attitu to the one mentioned above [Note 83]. It should be noted that it is often difficult to tell the two šē particles apart in connected narrative. [See Linguistic Analysis Section E.]

96 The narrator, who had started to say what the Trickster did next, backtracks in order to give us some more background information on the traders.

97 Due to the long dusty roads they had to travel. Trickster had alertly noticed that their eyes were red.

XII

(57) After this he went back, and when he had returned to his home again they said, "Oh, Trickster, how did you get [all this]? How did it happen that you got so much silver and gold even though we tried to kill you?," and he said, "Well, I just got it by 'imbibing the essence' of the water![98] Since it was you all who did this for me..."[99]

(58) Then they said, "Oh, we'd like to get it too!," so he led them away, making each man carry with him to that place a pickling-tub[100] as big as a

forehead-basket,[101] and he strung them up there underneath [the bridge], and after the people had gotten inside [their tubs] they entered the water.[102] (59) Immediately he made them sink down into the water, and they thrashed around furiously.[103]

(60) Then, since there was one old codger who hadn't gone in, he said to him, "There, there, there, look! The others are fighting with each other over the gold!," so he jumped in too, and [Trickster] cut through [the ropes], and after the whole villageful [of men] had died, he got the women of all the people in the village for himself.

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98 With this remark the Trickster is indirectly revealing himself to be a god, for only gods can live off the incorporeal essence of things. This is a symbolic inversion of the incident in Section V, where he was found out not to be a god when he ate the substance of the food-offerings in the temple. See Note 46.

99 *nɔ̀-hɨ te á lâ lɛ*: the particle *lâ* indicates action that benefits a non-third person (in this case 2nd person benefitting 1st person). Trickster is pretending to be grateful to the men for having strung him up under the bridge.

100 *í-mû=qō*: 'a large-mouthed vessel made of earth, sand, and cement, used for pickling.'

101 *qhá-jū̄-lu*: 'a deep loosely-woven basket used for transporting water-gourds, carried by a strap around the forehead so that the hands are left free.'

102 Instead of the rather flat clause 'they entered the water,' my chief informant (1965-6) suggested the emendation:

   a-yɛ́-yɛ́ phɛ̂ lɛ, cô í-kâ? qhɔ 5 lò? e cɨ ve cê

'he slowly (*a-yɛ́-yɛ́*) released (*phɛ̂*) [the ropes] and made (*cɨ*) them enter the water.'

103 'Furiously' translates the emphatic verb-particle *a-lâ* (sometimes pronounced *qha-lâ*).

*   *

*

IV. Linguistic analysis: cohesive devices and text-building strategies.

To facilitate discussion, the text has been divided into twelve subparts or "discourse units," following the natural breaks in the unfolding of the plot line of the narrative.[1]

A. The Quotative Mood

The sentences of the entire text are numbered consecutively from 1 to 60, with the proviso that all utterances within a single turn of quoted dialogue receive the same number. Thus, in (7) we find a string of three grammatically separate sentences within the same turn:

...*"âa, nɔ̀-hɨ ɔ̀-pā ve ɔ̀-ha-ku qɔ̀ʔ lâ ò mɛ̄. tâ chê ò mɛ̄. kɔ̀ʔ à mɛ̄."* /
"Aha, the spirits of your husbands have come back to you! Don't stay here any more! It's too scary!"

Similarly, some utterances we number as single units contain sentential material from a succession of two different speakers:

(19) ... *"âa, à-thɔ̀ʔ-ma qôʔ lâ le, nɔ̀-hɨ àʔ," qôʔ lɛ, "âa, <u>è-qhɛ̀ hàʔ šay</u> <u>pî-ʔ</u> tî qôʔ lâ ɔ," qhe qôʔ ve cê.* / ... and [Trickster] said, 'Well, what did it say to you?' and they said, 'Well, all it said was <u>Give compensation to Trickster!</u>'[2]

The story does in fact include a great deal of quoted dialogue (no fewer than 34 turns of reported speech), which contributes greatly to the lively immediacy of the narrative tone. The only verb available in Lahu for marking quoted material is *qôʔ* 'say,' which recurs constantly in the text, but so "automatically" and unobtrusively that it conveys no unpleasant feeling of repetitiveness.[3] It may precede the quoted material, follow it, or both.

A more general way of indicating that something is <u>reported at second-hand</u> is the "final unrestricted particle" (P_{uf}) *cê*.[4] This particle is not limited to reported

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[1] The fourth unit has been subdivided into IV-a and IV-b, since the same motif (the consultation of the tree-oracle) is repeated twice for dramatic effect.

[2] The second turn in this particular example contains a quote within a quote (the innermost one being underlined).

[3] It appears, e.g., four times in the passage from (19) just cited. In English also, many good writers and talkers use the verb <u>say</u> exclusively for marking reported speech with no ill effect. Lesser writers (e.g., children's authors who are concerned with building up the kiddies' vocabulary) have dozens of different verbs of saying in their arsenals: "Why, yes!" he agreed/expostulated/replied/averred/maintained/exclaimed/objected/insisted, etc. etc.

[4] Discussed in sections 2.1, 4.725, 6.32 of Matisoff 1973 (henceforth "GL"). See the <u>List of Abbreviations</u> for "P_{uf}" and all other grammatical terms introduced, and GL for full details.

speech, but may be used to mark any sentence as hearsay:

> (2) ... *chɔ šɔ̄ və lɛ qay ve cê*. / ... people were selected and they went off
> [so the story goes].

In such cases, where reported speech is not involved, *cê* is usually better left un-translated, since it would be intolerable in English to keep throwing in tags like so the story goes, it is said, we are told that, etc. The liberal use of *cê* is one of the most striking characteristics of the Lahu story-telling style. It need not be used at the end of every single sentence -- that would be too much -- but about once every two sentences is just right to maintain the proper narrative atmosphere,[5] placing the whole discourse in the realm of storyland. It puts the listener into a "quotative mood," enticing him to a suspension of disbelief. At the same time, it absolves the narrator from responsibility for the fantastic goings-on he recounts.

In the case of actual reported speech, it is usual to close the quote with a combination of the verb *qô?* and the particle *cê*:

> (26) ... "*ôo, g̈ɨ̀-ša tɔ̂? la lɔ, yà?-ni lɛ̀*," *qhe qô? ve cê*. / ... they said,
> "Oh, the god has appeared to us today!"

The combined meaning is something like it is said that X said "Y"; or the story tell us that X said "Y".[6]

B. **Inter-sentential chain-repetition and the manipulation of old/new information**

A favorite Tibeto-Burman narrative strategy is to link adjacent sentences to each other by repeating elements of the final clause of the previous sentence in the first clause of the following one.[7] Our story provides over 20 examples of these "chain-repetitions," and it is clear that they are the most important cohesive devic in the Lahu story-teller's arsenal.

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[5] *cê* occurs 43 times in our text, in the following sentences: 2,4(twice),6,8, 9,11,14,15,16,17,19,20,21,22,23,26,30,31,32,33,36,37,38,39,40,41,42,43,44,45,46,47, 50,51,52,53,54,56,57,58,59,60. If we also give numbers to each individual sentence in the quoted dialogue, the text contains exactly 86 sentences, twice the number in which *cê* appears.

[6] Often, as in this example, the nominalizer *ve* intervenes between the *qô?* and the *cê* (cf. also sentences 16,17,19,40,47). Sometimes *qô? cê* is used alone (20,21, 30,45,46,52,57).

ve is the most complicated particle in Lahu grammar. Its most important func-tions are nominalization, relativization, and genitivization, three processes which are closely interconnected in the grammar (cf. Matisoff 1972 and GL passim). In the Lahu text (Part II) the occurrences of *ve* are numbered 8, 15, or 77 according to the role it is playing in each instance.

[7] This discourse feature was already discussed briefly in Matisoff 1969, p. 206

These repetitions may be classified according to several criteria, including (a) the grammatical nature of the repeated material; (b) the amount and nature of th material intervening between the repetitions of the identical elements; and (c) the point in the narrative where the chaining occurs.

Often the only elements that are repeated belong to the VP's of their respecti clauses. In the minimal case, a single verb in the prior clause recurs in the later one:

... tî-pē a te lɛ <u>phɔ</u> e ve cê. <u>phɔ</u> lɛ g̈ɔ̈ g̈à?-yù lɛ, g̈à? mâ mi. [V.23/24]^8 /

... trying to kill him, and he <u>ran away</u>. He <u>ran away</u> and they chased him, but they couldn't catch him. [phɔ (V) 'run away, flee']

Sometimes a verb-particle (P_v) or auxiliary verb (VV)^9 is repeated along with the verb-head:

... í-kâ? cò-ló ɔ̀-hɔ́ ɔ̄ <u>phɛ-chî tá</u> ve cê. <u>phɛ-chî tá</u> lɛ ɔ̄ ... tâ-kà=pā tê mō=ló là cê. [XI.50/51] / ... they <u>tied</u> him <u>so he hung</u> underneath a big bridge over the water. After they had <u>left</u> him <u>strung up</u> there a large group of traders came along. [phɛ-chî (V) 'tie something so it hangs, string something up' + tá (P_v) 'perfective or durative action; action that is long-lasting in its effect']^{10}

Similarly,

... ɔ́-qā qhê-qhɔ ɔ̄ phɛ-tī a lɛ, <u>g̈ɔ̀-šɛ pî</u> cê. qhe-qo ɔ̄ mê?-phû hɔ́ mù? lɛ há-pɨ=de <u>g̈ɔ̀-šɛ pî</u> qo, "álôo, álôo, álôo," qô? cê. [X.44/45] / ... they tied him to the ass of a water-buffalo, and <u>dragged</u> [him] along. Then when they bent his face over downwards and <u>dragged</u> [him] over a piece of rocky ground, he said "A-lo, a-lo, a-lo!" [g̈ɔ̀-šɛ (V) 'drag along' + pî (V_v) 'give; perform action that affects a third person'].^{11}

Sometimes the repeated portion is more complex grammatically, comprising mater- ial from one or more NP's in addition to the verb:

[I.1/2] ... Lâhū-yâ ¦ <u>mà?</u> │ <u>bɔ̂?</u> ve. qhe te lɛ ... <u>mà?</u> │ <u>bɔ̂?</u> e ve tê sɔ́ ɔ̄ ... /

... the Lahu were fighting a war ... Well, on the morning for going off to war ... [mà? (N) 'war' + bɔ̂? (V) 'shoot, fight']^{12}

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^{8}In these references to the story, roman numerals show the discourse unit, while the two chained sentences are in arabic numerals separated by a slash. Like this example are I.3/4 [with phɔ̀? (V) 'unwrap'] and III.10/11 [with yɨ? (V) 'sleep'].

^{9}In this story the only auxiliary verbs which happen to occur in chain repe- titions are all "post-head versatiles" (V_v). See Matisoff 1973, section 4.33.

^{10}Like this example are I.4/5 and VI.31/VII.32 [with qô? (V) 'return home' + e (P_v) 'motion away'] and X.43/44 [with g̈à?-mi (V) 'catch by chasing' + šɛ (P_v) 're- grettable event'].

^{11}Like this example are III.9/10 [with ò (V) + kə (V_v)], VIII.34/35 [with mə̂? (V) + kə (V_v)], and XI.53/54 [with yù (V) + tɔ̂? (V_v)].

^{12}By convention we diagram the boundary between two Lahu NP's by a dotted verti- cal line, and the boundary between the last NP of a clause and its VP by a solid ver- tical. Like almost all members of the Tibeto-Burman family, Lahu is a verb-final language.

[I.5/II.6] *qhe-te-lɛ* ɔ̄ <u>šu</u> ¦ <u>yɔ̂</u> │ <u>qɔ̀ʔ e cɨ</u> *tâ ve. qhe-te-lɛ* <u>šu</u> ¦ <u>yɔ̂</u> │ <u>qɔ̀ʔ e</u> <u>cɨ</u> *lɛ* ɔ̄*-qhe* ... / And so the others let him go back. Then, when they had let him go back ...

[III.8/9] ... *ɛ̀-qhɛ̀* <u>á-qhɔ</u> *tí* │ *phô ʔ* <u>yɨ̂ʔ</u> *e ve cê* ... "*âa, ŋà* <u>á-qhɔ</u> │ *tâ* <u>yɨ̂ʔ</u>..." / ... they all went trooping over to Trickster's house to sleep ... "Oh, don't sleep at my house ..." [*ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ á-qhɔ* (NP) 'Trickster's house' or *ŋà á-qhɔ* (NP) 'my house' + *yɨ̂ʔ* (V) 'sleep']

[IV-A.14/15] ... "*âa,* <u>a-yɔ=qɔ̄</u> │ <u>dɔ̂ʔ na e,</u>" *qɔ̂ʔ ve cê.* <u>a-yɔ=qɔ̄</u> *ɔ̂-ve* ɔ̄ │ <u>dɔ̂ʔ na</u> *te lɛ* ... / "Well, go and beat on the Hollow A-yaw Tree and listen ..." In or-der to go beat on that Hollow A-yaw Tree-oracle ...[13]

[VII.32/33] ... <u>šɨ̂ʔ-cɛ̀</u> ɔ̄*-pu=*<u>ló</u> ɔ̄ │ *tâʔ gà-e ve cê.* <u>šɨ̂ʔ-cɛ̀=ló</u> ɔ̄ │ *tâʔ gè ʔ-e lɛ* ɔ̄ ... he managed to climb up into a big clump of trees. When he had gotten to t[he] top of a big tree ...[14]

[VII.33/VIII.34] ... <u>há-qɔ̄</u> *qhɔ* │ *phɔ* <u>lɔ̀ʔ</u> *gè ʔ-e ve cê* ... *nô* <u>há-qhɔ</u> │ <u>lɔ̀ʔ</u> *e lɛ* ɔ̄ . ... and he managed to escape into a cave in the rocks ... When [Trickster] had gone into the cave up there ...

A more complex type of repetition, where a noun and a verb are held constant across two sentences while other material is varied antonymically or contrastively, is found in:

[IV-A.15/16] ... *yâ-mî=ma ô tê mɔ̄* ɔ̄*-qhe,* <u>yà ʔ-qɔ</u> <u>qɔ̀ʔ kɨ̀</u> ɔ̄ │ <u>qay</u> *cɨ ve cê.* *ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi* <u>yà ʔ-qɔ</u> │ <u>thê-ɛ̀</u> <u>qay</u> *lɛ* ... / ... he made the women take the long way around. The Trickster himself went by the straight road ... [*yà ʔ-qɔ* (N) 'road' and *qay* (V) 'go' are repeated, while *qɔ̀ʔ kɨ̀* ɔ̄ and *thê-ɛ̀* are contrasted]

It is worth noting that chain repetition involving both nominal and verbal mor[phemes] phemes seem especially frequent at the boundary between successive discourse units,[1] though too much cannot be made of this in view of the ease with which VP's can con-stitute clauses all by themselves in Lahu.[16]

Another way to classify inter-sentential repetitions is by looking at the mate[r]-ial which intervenes between the repeated elements. Often the chaining is <u>direct</u>,

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[13]See Note 23 to the Annotated Translation.

[14]See Notes 54 and 55 to the Translation.

[15]I.5/II.6; II.8/III.9; VII.33/VIII.34. It should be remembered that I have set up these discourse-unit boundaries on the basis of the story line, rather than [on] any purely linguistic criteria.

[16]A trans-unit chain repetition involving only VP's is in VI.31/VII.32 [with *qɔ̀ʔ* (V) and *e* (P_v)].

with nothing coming in between the repetends except perhaps for final particles in the prior sentence and/or an initial conjunctive expression [17] in the following sentence.[18] Sometimes, however, a full NP or even a whole clause may intervene:[19]

[I.1/2] ... ɔ̂ tê sɔ́ 5 ... (temporal NP: 'on a certain morning')

[VII.33/VIII.34] ... ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ chi ve ... (subject NP: 'this Trickster')

[III.10/11] ... ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ ɔ̂-ve 5 ¦ yà-mî=ma ɔ̂ te mō ... (two subject NP's: 'that Trickster' + 'the bunch of women')[20]

[I.3/4] ... 5 | câ ve te ve, yɔ̂ 5 ... (final clause of prior sentence: 'and made as if to eat his meal, he did')

[VIII.34/35] ... qhà-qhe te kà? ... (concessive clause: 'but try as they would')

[X.44/45] ... mê?-phû ¦ hɔ́ | mù? lɛ ... (non-final clause of subsequent sentenc 'they bent his face over downwards and').

Inter-sentential chain repetition, viewed in terms of its function in discours is a powerful and flexible device for manipulating the flow of old and new informati as a narrative unfolds.[21] This "information" does not reside primarily in the NP's of the sentences. Nouns are clearly subordinate in importance to their verbs in the verb-final Tibeto-Burman languages. The VP is the power center of the Lahu sentence What moves a Tibeto-Burman narrative along, what gives it its dynamism, is the flash: by of verbal events in series.

Let us return to the example of V.23/24:

... ɔ̂-phɔ̂ tê pa qɔ̂? la lɛ, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ à? g̈à?-yù lɛ, tî-pē a te lɛ, phɔ e ve cê. phɔ lɛ g̈ɔ̂ g̈à?-yù lɛ, g̈à? mâ mi. / ... The husbands came back and [they] chased after Trickster, and [they] tried to kill [him], and [he] ran away. [He] ran away and [they] chased [him], and [they] couldn't catch [him].

The first clause has an overt subject (ɔ̂-phɔ̂ tê pa 'the husbands') and the second clause has an overt object (ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ à? 'Trickster'), but, as the brackets in the trans- lation indicate, the remaining five clauses in this passage have no overt subjects o: objects at all, indeed no NP's of any kind. The verbs themselves ('tried to kill,' 'ran away,' 'chased,' 'couldn't catch') have the power to make it abundantly clear who is doing what to whom, even when the subject and object roles are reversed withi: the same sentence.

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[17] See below, Section D.

[18] A good example is I.5/II.6, quoted above. Also V.23/24, VI.31/VII.32, VII.32/33, X.43/44, XI.50/51.

[19] A Lahu clause minimally contains a VP (plus zero or more preceding "associate NP's). See Matisoff 1973, pp. 39 ff.

[20] These two NP's belong to separate underlying clauses, with the predicate of 'women' (yɨ̀? 'sleep') actually occurring before the predicate of 'Trickster' (tē 'ma up') in the surface sentence.

[21] It would betray a narrow Western outlook to wonder how a 'flow' can 'unfold.' Today's mixed metaphor may be tomorrow's accepted model.

These two sentences are linked as wholes by means of the chain-repetition of the verb *phɔ* 'run away,' which occurs both in the final clause of #23 and in the initial clause of #24. The 'running away' was new information at its first mention, but immediately becomes old information in the next sentence. The fleeing is a prerequisite to (or presupposed by) the subsequent act of chasing.

Within each individual sentence the series of verbal events are demarcated by the concatenative particle *lɛ*,[22] which here occurs at the end of each non-final clau (three times in #23 and twice in #24). *lɛ* serves merely to indicate that its clause is <u>not the last</u> in a series of verbal events within a single sentence. Often it is best translated by 'and':[23]

'... the husbands returned <u>and</u>

[they] chased after Trickster <u>and</u>

[they] tried to kill [him] <u>and</u>

[he] ran away.'

This quickly becomes tedious in English, however, and it is better to vary one's tra lation by using participles ('they chased after Trickster <u>trying</u> to kill him') or conjunctions other than <u>and</u> ('they tried to kill him, <u>but</u> he ran away'), etc.[24]

Since it is <u>grammatically</u> possible to string together *lɛ*-clauses endlessly in single Lahu sentence, the narrator must decide on the basis of other criteria when i is time to bring a sentence to a close. When the sentence has grown so long and com plicated that clarity is threatened, or when the narrative action takes a sharply di ferent turn, or simply because he has run out of breath or needs a second to think about what to say next, the storyteller will end the sentence (often in a burst of final particles). This done, he can then start afresh on a new sentence, using as his jumping-off point a clause containing the same verb he has just used in the tail end of his last sentence. But this time the entire preceding string of verbal actio has become old information, presupposed by and prerequisite to what will follow. In languages with inflectional verb morphology, this can be conveyed by a participial o gerundive construction: '... and he ran away. <u>Having run away</u> ...' (The auxiliary verb <u>have</u> in English nicely conveys the idea of givenness or old information: 'here we <u>have</u> before us as something given the fact that he ran away.') Verb-final inflec tional languages like Sanskrit, Tamil, and Japanese are even closer to Lahu in their

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[22]Technically speaking, *lɛ* belongs to the syntactic class of particles I call "non-final unrestricted" (P_{unf}'s).

[23]When *lɛ* conjoins NP's rather than clauses, 'and' is the <u>only</u> possible translation: *Lâhū-yâ lɛ Hɛ̂ʔ-pā* 'Lahu and Chinese.'

[24]See Note 48 to Annotated Translation. The particle *lɛ* occurs clause-finally over 100 times in our text. In 66 of these cases it appears alone at the end of its clause; in 35 cases it is followed by the topicalizing P_{unf} *ɔ̄*, and twice by the latter's variant *ɔ̄-qhe* [see below]. This count does not include the many cases where *lɛ* follows the pro-verb *te* in lexicalized conjunctive clauses [below, Section D].

concatenative techniques. They have overt morphological means of marking clauses as
non-final[25] (e.g. the -tvā 'gerund' in Sanskrit or the -TE form in Japanese) which
correspond exactly in function to the Lahu particle lɛ, especially insofar as these
non-final clauses may be strung together endlessly without stylistic harm -- without
seeming tedious or babyish or prolix. There seems to be something in the very natur
of verb-final languages which favors multi-clausal sentences. It is as if speakers
of such languages are used to <u>delaying their gratification</u> for a long time -- the jo
of rounding off a completed sentence is all the sweeter for having been deferred.

C. <u>Static repetitions</u>

In all the cases just discussed, repetition serves to <u>advance the narrative</u>,
pushing the hearer along from one event to the next in a dynamic way. Other kinds
of repetitions occur in Lahu discourse which serve more 'static' functions: para-
phrases or "repairs." In these instances the narrator feels a little more elucidati
is necessary, so he repeats what he has just said in fuller form or in slightly
different words:

[I.2]   ... ô tê sɔ́ ɔ̄, mà? bɔ̂? e ve tê sɔ́ ... / ... on that certain morning,
the morning for going off to war ...

[I.3]   ... ɔ̄ câ thâ, ɔ̄ câ ve tê yâ thâ ɔ̄ ... / ... when they ate, when it was
time to eat ...

[III.12/13]   ... phu-ši pî kà? mâ hɔ̂?. à-thɔ̂?-ma pî kà? mâ hɔ̂?. / ... but
when they offered him money he wouldn't take it. No matter what they offered,
he wouldn't take it.

[V.24/25]   phɔ lɛ g̈ɔ̄ g̈à?-yù lɛ, g̈à? mâ mi. qhà-qhe te g̈à?-yù kà? mâ mi. /
He ran away and they chased him, but they couldn't catch him. No matter how
they chased him they couldn't catch him.

[XII.57]   ... "ôo, ɛ̂-qhɛ̀, nɔ̄ qhà-qhe te g̈a le. ŋà-hɨ nɔ̄ à? ǰɨ tù te ve kà?
nɔ̄ phu-ši chi ma g̈a ve qhà-qhe te le" ... / ... "Oh, Trickster, how did you
get all this? How did it happen that you got so much silver and gold even
though we tried to kill you?"

Repetitions of this type may be called <u>appositional</u> (as opposed to <u>chaining</u>).
They involve referentially synonymous NP's [I.2, I.3] or entire sentences [last three
examples] that have identical value on the scale of new vs. old information. Chain-
ing repetition, by contrast, mediates a value-change from new to old.

D. <u>Initial conjunctions: lexicalized conjunctive clauses</u>

At about forty points in our text, we find at the beginning of a sentence (or,
less often, at the beginning of a non-initial clause within a sentence) a conjunctive

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[25]For these languages we might even say non-<u>finite</u>. But it is better not to
use terms like 'finite' and 'non-finite' for analytic languages like Lahu, since they
seem more appropriate to inflectional languages. (One speaks of 'non-finite <u>verb
forms</u>,' but Lahu verbs are invariant in form.)

expression of the general type *qhe-te-lɛ*, literally 'having done thus' [*qhe* (Adv) 'thus, in this way' + *te* (V) 'do' + *lɛ* (P_{unf}) 'MORE-TO-FOLLOW']. The verb *te* is her filling the abstract role of a 'pro-verb,' with the power to refer anaphorically to any preceding verbal event.[26]

By its internal structure *qhe-te-lɛ* is a full non-final clause in its own rigt containing a bona fide verb (modified by an adverb *qhe*) and a P_{unf} which connects it to the next clause in its sentence. However, this expression is now lexicalized to the point where it must be translated by some English conjunction like 'then,' 'so,' or 'thereupon.' It would be too "painfully literal" to render it has 'having done thus'!

qhe-te-lɛ occurs 11 times in the story [Sentences 2,6,8,9,17,18,27,42,52,55,5 Even more often (15 times) it is followed by the topicalizing P_{unf} ꜜ (see Note 24), forming the expression *qhe-te-lɛ* ꜜ [Sentences 5,7 (twice),10,11,14,21,22,23,33,40,4 48,58,60]. Once in a while the *qhe* is omitted, yielding *te-lɛ* [Sent. 43] or *te-lɛ* [Sent. 12].[27] Alternatively, the particle *lɛ* may be left out, giving *qhe-te* [Sent. Instead of *lɛ* a different P_{unf} may be used: *qo* 'when; if; topicalizer,' forming ex pressions like *qhe-te-qo (ꜜ)* (lit. "when it was done thus") [Sent. 46]. If *qo* is u the *te* may be omitted, yielding *qhe-qo* ("when thus") or *qhe-qo* ꜜ [Sent. 45].

It is also possible to retain all three morphemes of *qhe-te-lɛ*, and also add verb-particle (P_v) after *te*, either the 'prerequisite action' particle *šē* or the perfective particle *á*, forming conjunctive mini-clauses like *qhe te šē lɛ* [Sent. 51 *qhe te šē lɛ ꜜ* [Sents. 26,29,34,37], and *qhe te á lɛ ꜜ* [Sent. 31]. In these cases, the *te* is somewhat verbier than a pro-verb, and we write the expressions without hyphens.

Lahu thus has a wide assortment of conjunctive expressions available for use initial position. These may be varied and alternated with each other so that no tedium results from their constant use.

Just as *lɛ* is the '... and ... and ... and' which strings together clauses wi in a sentence, *qhe-te-lɛ* and its variants are the 'then ... then ... then' which link sentences to each other in a narrative.

The intonational behavior of these initial conjunctions seems paradoxical at first. Although the presence of a non-final unrestricted particle (*lɛ* or *qo*) is enough to prove that the conjunctive expressions belong <u>grammatically</u> with the <u>following</u> material in their sentences, <u>intonationally</u> they are often pronounced in the same breath as the end of the <u>preceding</u> sentence, with a noticeable pause befor the rest of their 'own' sentence:[28]

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[26]Verbs meaning 'do' are pressed into pro-verbal use in perhaps all languages The Japanese conjunctive clauses *sō shite* or *sō suru to* 'having done thus; thereupo then' are exactly equivalent in semantic structure to Lahu *qhe-te-lɛ* and its variant

[27]This is exactly analogous to Japanese *suru to*, a reduced variant of *sō suru to*, with the adverb *sō* 'thus' omitted.

[28]I had never paid any attention to this phenomenon until I relistened to the tape of this story in February 1979.

[IV-A.16/17] "... à-thɔ́ʔ-ma šāy pî tù le, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ hà̀ʔ," qồʔ ve cê. qhe-te-lɛ ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ ô-ve ɔ̄ ... / ... and said "What sort of compensation shall we give to Trickster?" So the Trickster said ...

This tension between the grammatical and intonational constituency of the conjuncti expressions can be seen to serve an important discourse function. By starting the next sentence in the same breath as the previous one, the narrator succeeds in 'hol the floor': the listeners know that more is to come, and are not at liberty to int rupt. At the same time, the narrator can take a moment to think before going on to frame the rest of his new sentence. Having established that more is to come, he ca take his time about continuing.[29]

E. Particles in Lahu discourse

Lahu has dozens of grammatical particles for showing the syntactic and semant interrelationships among the parts of a single sentence, between different sentence in a discourse, or between what is said and the speaker's attitude toward what he i saying. The behavior of these particles is a vast and intricate topic, and cannot gone into systematically here.[30]

I would just like to make a few points about the dynamics of the Lahu particl in connected discourse.

The most basic particles (ve, lɛ, ɔ̄, etc.) occur with consistent frequency throughout a discourse. The functions they serve are so vital to the grammar, and so abstract, that it is impossible to build sentences without them. In the case of less basic particles, however, a curious asymmetry of distribution can sometimes be observed. Thus the "psycho-ostensive" verb-particle šē,[31] which indicates that the speaker feels the verbal event he is reporting is regrettable,[32] is not used at all in our text for the first 38 sentences. Then it suddenly pops up several times in quick succession [Sents. 39,41,43,44,49,54,56]. This 'clustering effect' does not seem to be due to anything objective in the story-content itself -- the wild and woolly incidents reported in the text are all equally 'regrettable' from the stand-point of conventional morality from start to finish. Rather it is as if once the

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[29]Lahu has another sentence-introducer with special intonational properties. This is à-šwè thâ 'once upon a time,' which occurs only at the very beginning of a story, and is usually pronounced with exaggerated drawling intonation. See I.1.

[30]For full details the reader is referred to The Grammar of Lahu.

[31]By 'psycho-ostensive' I mean 'purporting to indicate the speaker's attitude toward what he is saying.' For an extended analysis of psycho-ostensive formulaic expressions in Yiddish, see Matisoff 1979.

[32]This particle is apparently of Tai origin. It is homophonous with another verb-particle šē of aspectual meaning ('prerequisite action'). See Notes 83 and 95 to the Translation.

story-teller 'activates' the particle it remains subliminally in his consciousness, and he finds himself using it again and again for a while until the 'contagion' subsides.[33]

Similarly, the final unrestricted particle mē 'persuasive; urging' is used three times in succession in II.7:

... "âa, nɔ̂-hɨ ɔ̂-pā ve ɔ̂-ha-ku qɔ̂ʔ lâ ò mē. tâ chê ò mē. kɔ̂ʔ à mē." /
... "Aha, the spirits of your husbands have come back to you! Don't stay here any more! It's too scary!"

In IV-A.16, the particle sequence a + qo + ɔ̃ (roughly equivalent in meaning to the much more frequent lɛ) suddenly occurs in three successive clauses:

... chê a qo ɔ̃ ... dôʔ a qo ɔ̃ ... te a qo ɔ̃ ...

In VI.30, the sequence of ò (P$_v$) 'completed action' and lɔ (P$_{uf}$) 'emphatic' occurs twice in succession:

... "âa, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ qhâ-šɨ g̈àʔ-yù qhâ mâ hêʔ ò lɔ. chò kàʔ mù=nî-g̈wɛ kàʔ tɔ̂ʔ ò lɔ" / ... "Well, Trickster's trail has petered out now! And here's a red Phalloid mushroom that has sprouted!"

Sentences XI.52/53 provide us with a more subtle example of "particle contagion. In #52, Trickster says:

"... mɛ̂ʔ-šī šá mɨ̀ ve yâ ɔ nē" ... / "... My eyes are imbibing the essence!"

This clause ends with a series of highly colloquial emphatic final particles (yâ + ɔ + nē), which are here appropriate since they occur in reported speech. However, the following sentence also ends this way:

... "yù tɔ̂ʔ a" qôʔ pî cê ma nē. / ... "Let me loose then," he said!

As the peculiar punctuation in the translation indicates, the narrator has again use two colloquial emphatic particles (ma + nē), but not where they "belong" (i.e. in th quoted clause). He puts them outside the quotation, even after the quotative P$_{uf}$ cê [see Section A above], where he should be talking in his neutral narrator's persona, at a remove from the reported dialogue.

F. Anaphora and topicalization

Lahu has a rich array of particles and particle sequences available for topicalization duty, including ɔ̃, ɔ̃-qhe, ɔ̃-qhe lɛ, lɛ̀, qo, qo ɔ̃, tî qo, tî qo lɛ̀, etc. Any Lahu NP or clause[34] may be topicalized, with a variety of semantic effects. We cannot begin to go into this ramified 'topic' here!

Suffice it to say that the Lahu topicalization apparatus interacts closely wit its system of anaphoric demonstratives, and that together they regulate the play of

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[33]We have all had the experience of rereading a letter we have just written an being shocked to find that we have used the same word three times in the course of a couple of sentences.

[34]We have seen [Note 24, above] that ɔ̃ occurs freely after the particle lɛ at the end of non-final clauses.

old and new information, foregrounding and backgrounding, definiteness and indefin-
iteness, in the discourse.

The Lahu demonstrative morphemes *chi* and *ô-ve* are usually best translated 'this'
and 'that' respectively.[35] When used in connected narrative, however, they may func-
tion more or less interchangeably as anaphoric markers and are usually best trans-
lated simply as 'the':

[IV-A.14/15] ... "âa, a‑yɔ=qō dɔʔ na e," qôʔ ve cê. a‑yɔ=qō ô-ve ɔ̄ dɔʔ na
e te lɛ ... / ... "Well, go and beat on the Hollow A-yaw Tree and listen,"

he said. In order to beat on that/the Hollow A-yaw Tree ...
ô-ve is not used here to make *a‑yɔ=qō* definite -- there is only one A-yaw Tree-
oracle in any case.

Similarly, the Trickster is introduced <u>on his first mention in the story</u> (I.3)
as ɛ̀‑qhɛ̀ ô-ve ɔ̄, literally 'as for that Trickster.' Clearly, *ô-ve* can have exophoric
as well as anaphoric force: 'that Trickster that we all know about already.'

The Trickster is referred to most often in the story with the demonstrative
chi, with optional *ve* and/or topicalizing ɔ̄:

ɛ̀‑qhɛ̀ *chi* : Sents. 16,19,21,32,39,40 (twice).

ɛ̀‑qhɛ̀ *chi ve* : Sent. 34.

ɛ̀‑qhɛ̀ *chi* ɔ̄ : Sents. 20,26,39.

ɛ̀‑qhɛ̀ *chi ve* ɔ̄ : Sents. 26,32,42.

Whenever Trickster is referred to with *ô-ve*, the topicalizer ɔ̄ is also used:[36]

ɛ̀‑qhɛ̀ *ô-ve* ɔ̄ : Sents. 3,9,11,17.

ɛ̀‑qhɛ̀ *ô-ve* ɔ̄‑qhe lɛ : Sent. 14.

One's choices among *ô-ve*, *chi*, and the topicalizing particles are dictated by a
complex interplay of stylistic and esthetic factors as subtle as those which govern
the use of English intonation, and words like <u>the</u>, <u>a</u>, <u>this</u>, <u>that</u>. I submit that no
mere formalism can ever do justice to this complexity, in principle.

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[35]These two words have different syntactic properties, since *ô-ve* derives from
the spatial demonstrative pronoun *ô* 'over there' plus *ve* 'genitive particle' (i.e.,
'that' = 'of over there'). See Matisoff 1973, Section 3.5.

[36]An apparent exception is Sent. 55, but that involves a false start.

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V. Psychosymbolic analysis.

A. Universality of the Trickster figure

In his famous book, The Trickster: a Study in American Indian Mythology, the anthropologist Paul Radin flatly declares:

> "[The Trickster] is admittedly the oldest of all figures in American Indian mythology, probably in all mythologies." [p. 164][1]

The psychologists C.G. Jung and Karl Kerényi, in their contributions to Radin's volume [see Bibliography], make it clear that they consider Trickster to be one of the archetypes of the collective unconscious of humanity. He appears all over the world in a thousand guises, sometimes cosmic and supernatural, but often a schlemiel or buffoon, or even an animal.

On the cosmic end of the scale, the Greek god Hermes (patron of thieves as well as of physicians) has a Trickster aspect to his complex personality.[2] In India, Lord Krishna, regarded as the 8th avatar of Vishnu in his divine aspect, is also often portrayed as a powerful but mischievous child, who plays gently erotic tricks on milk-maids, etc.

In the Judaeo-Christian tradition we have our very own Trickster in the form of Satan or Mephistopheles. On the other side of the world, in the 8th century Japanese mythological chronicles, Nihongi and Kojiki, the sun-goddess Ama-terasu-ō-mi-kami has a younger brother, Susa-no-ō (須佐之男), who acts in classic Trickster ways.[3]

Mediating between the gods on the one hand and mankind on the other are culture heroes, who typically exhibit Trickster-like characteristics. Prometheus craftily stole fire from the gods to bestow it upon mankind. Wakdjunkaga, the Trickster of Radin's Winnebago Indians, uses the bruised pieces of his once-gigantic penis, now mostly gnawed up by a chipmunk, in order to create useful crops for human beings:

> "Oh, my, of what a wonderful organ he has deprived me! But why do I speak thus? I will make objects out of the pieces for human beings to use." Then he took the end of his penis, the part that has no foreskin, and declared, "This is what human beings will call the lily-of-the-lake" ... Then he took the other pieces declaring in turn: "This the people will call potatoes ... turnips ... artichokes ... ground-beans ... dog-teeth ... sharp-claws ... rice ..." [p. 39]

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[1] And again (p. 132), "The similarity of the exploits attributed to ... all ... trickster-heroes in North America is quite astounding. The only possible inference is that this myth-cycle is an old cultural possession of all the American Indians."

[2] Kerényi points out the contrast between wily Hermes and guileless Herakles, who is merely a strongman.

[3] One of his notorious pieces of mischief involved "flaying a piebald horse backwards," an act so startling to Amaterasu that she pricks herself in the pudenda with her distaff, and withdraws in terror into her cave, leaving the world in darkness. My thanks for this information to Susan Matisoff.

As this passage shows, Wakdjunkaga is a schlemiel and buffoon as well as a culture hero -- it was very dumb of him to have let the chipmunk gnaw off most of his penis in the first place.[4]

The buffoonery becomes more and more salient as we follow our Tricksters down the great chain of being to the strictly human level in world literature and folklore. The cunning Odysseus of Greek epic is a relatively dignified specimen of the breed.[5] More earthy is the medieval Till Eulenspiegel, a north German peasant clown of the 14th century, probably a real person whose practical jokes on clerics and townsfolk were embellished in popular literature.[6] In Renaissance France, the immortal characters of Rabelais (1490-1553) -- Gargantua, Pantagruel, Panurge, Frere Jehan des Entomeures -- are all Trickster figures, ribald and outrageously larger-than-life. Tricksters are still alive and well in modern Western literature, from highbrow novelists like Thomas Mann[7] to cartoon characters like the Roadrunner and Bugs Bunny (who invariably outwit the Coyote and Elmer Fudd, respectively.)[8]

Moving East of Suez, the Turks and the Persians have laughed for centuries at the exploits of the trickster Nasruddin Hodja. Amin Sweeney describes a very similar character in Malay literature.[9] The anthropologists Edward and Bambi Schieffelin report a classic cosmic-schlemiel type of Trickster among the primitive Kaluli tribe of the Bosavi Highlands, Papua New Guinea. He is called Newelesu, and is regarded as the ancestor of the Kaluli, who ascribe their low status in the world to his cosmic stupidity.[10]

Zeroing in on the Lahu geographical area, it is becoming apparent that Trickster figures abound all over northern Southeast Asia as well. Viggo Brun (1976) has pub-

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[4]"The two-fold function of benefactor and buffoon is the outstanding characteristic of ... trickster heroes ... in aboriginal America." Radin, p. 124.

[5]Cf. "tricky" episodes in the Odyssey like the blinding of the Cyclops Polyphemus, the passage between Scylla and Charybdis, the escape from the Siren's song,

[6]His name, "owl-mirror" in German, was Englished to Howleglas at an early date

[7]See his Confessions of Felix Krull, Confidence Man (1954).

[8]Anthropomorphized animal Tricksters are of course to be found in folk tradition all over the world. Reynard the Fox was the foxiest animal in medieval Europe. The North American Indians have Hare (in the East) and Coyote (in the West). The Spider is often cast as a Trickster, probably because of the guile it displays in spinning traps for its prey. Radin reports a Spider Trickster among the Oglala Dakota. Danancey the Spider is the chief Trickster in Caribbean folklore, and has obvious antecedents in African legend (see Rattray 1930). The elegant spider "Bug Rogers," in the comic strip Gordo, as well as the bumbling teenage superhero Spiderman, are more recent avatars of this arachnid archetype.

[9]Personal communication, February 1979.

[10]He is usually contrasted to his brother Dorsali, a "smart Trickster" now often identified as the ancestor of the white man. The name newelesu is also applied to a huge and spectacularly ugly insect.

lished a long Northern Thai tale called <u>Sug, the Trickster who Fooled the Monk</u>. The
Tibetans have their own <u>Uncle Tŏng-pa</u>.[11] Gabrielle Yablonsky describes a Bhutanese
lama-trickster called <u>Džug-pa Kun-legs</u>, subject of a book by R.A. Stein [see Biblio-
graphy].

A lot of detailed comparative study will be necessary before we can trace the
genealogy of the Lahu ὲ-qhὲ in relation to the Trickster figures of any other South-
east Asian peoples. For now let us just proceed to examine the symbolic structure o
our text in more detail, trying to unravel the seemingly disparate motifs that are
united in the Lahu Trickster's personality.

B. <u>Symbolic dimensions of the Lahu Trickster</u>

Perhaps a little diagram will help to make things clear. See Figure 1:

<div align="center">FIGURE 1.</div>

A———B: Associative Relation

A⌒B: Antonymic Relation
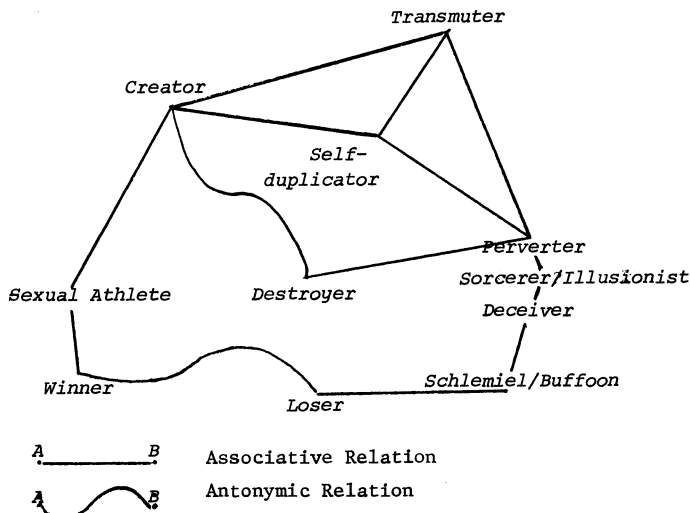
(1) <u>ὲ-qhὲ as supernatural: creator and transmuter</u>. The behavior of ὲ-qhὲ is total
self-serving. What he wants, he takes -- and he wants everything, all the women, al
the silver and gold, all the husbands' penes on a platter. He is not constrained by
ordinary standards of morality; amoral rather than immoral, beyond human praise or
blame. He causes the death of many people -- a girl who was attracted by his music,
the Chinese traders, the husbands, the old codger at the end. But he never loses ou
sympathy. We don't give a damn for the other people in the story. They are two-
dimensional cartoon characters, mere foils for Trickster. The traders are greedy an

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[11]ɔ̃qu tŏpa. A brief text featuring this character is given in Goldstein 1970,
pp. 176-7. See also Rinjing Dorje 1975.

gullible, the wives are stupid and lascivious, the girls are empty-headed, the hus-
bands are impotent cuckolds. ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ can do what he wants with them and we will laug
He has the right to destroy precisely because he is the creator himself.[12]

Like Wakdjunkaga, the Trickster of the Winnebago Indians, who calls everythin
in creation, animal or vegetable, "younger brother," and whom every creature instan
recognizes without needing to be introduced to him, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ is immediately addressed
name by the Chinese traders[13] who had presumably never seen him before [Sent. 52].

ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ in fact controls all of creation. In his own grotesque way, he manipul
the entire animal and vegetable world for his own purposes. He turns a rice-packet
into a live chick (I); he transforms some crabs, bees, and a bamboo-sheath into the
spirits of human beings (II); he transmutes fermented soybeans into babyshit (III);
he metamorphoses his glans penis into the cap of a mushroom (VI).[14]

ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ can even change his own form, revealing his true nature as a supernatur
being. He becomes a tree-oracle (IV-A,B). He smears himself with honey and cotton
and receives the people's worship (V).

Using whatever is at hand -- snips and snails and puppy-dogs' tails -- he int
changes life-forms, shuffles up the links in the great chain of being.

It does not matter that ɛ̀-qhɛ̀'s metamorphoses are illusions, sleight-of-hand,
parodies of creation.

(2) ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ as enantiodromiast: reconciler of opposites and enemy of boundaries.
Let us return for a moment to Susa-no-ō, the Trickster-like god of the Kojiki. We
have seen [Note 3 above] that one of his pranks involved flaying a piebald horse
backwards, an act so perverse it provoked terror. Another of his infamous exploits
was to break down the earthen dikes between Amaterasu's rice-fields,[15] so that her
fields were indiscriminately flooded. These are two typical pieces of Trickster-
like behavior: doing the opposite and destroying boundaries.

Satan, the Anti-Christ, the arch-deceiver, can change his form at will. His
devotees used to worship him by saying the Mass backwards. He is the perverse one,
always doing the opposite of what one expects.[16]

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[12]As Lenin so charmingly put it, "You can't make an omelette without breaking
eggs."

[13]Unlike Wakdjunkaga, however, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ does not fit the profile of a culture
hero in this story. There are many different subtypes of Trickster!

[14]Amin Sweeney points out a very similar episode in a Malay Trickster story,
where a woman pulls and pulls on Trickster's "mushroom" but is unable to pluck it
out (in fact it just keeps getting bigger). Eventually she gives up in disgust,
complaining loudly about how tough the roots must be.

[15]The Lahu call such dikes ɔ̂-tê.

[16]Goethe has him say, *Ich bin der Geist, der stets verneint* ("I am the spirit
who always denies"), Faust, Part I, line 1338.

Wakdjunkaga constantly acts in precisely the opposite ways from what the cultural norms of the Winnebago would require. (E.g. he sleeps with his wife just before going on the warpath, an absolute cultural no-no.[17])

Our Lahu Trickster also knows no boundaries and plays with opposites.[18] In one key episode (IV-A,B) he actually succeeds in <u>being in two places at once</u>. When the women return from consulting the tree-oracle they find ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ calmly sitting at home weaving rattan strips, not even breathing hard from the exertion of cloning himself!

<u>Breath</u> or <u>air</u> (Lahu šá or ɔ́-šá) is actually a key image in the story, serving on one level as a metaphor for ɛ̀-qhɛ̀'s elusiveness and ubiquity. He is <u>master of sounds</u>, which are carried on the air. Though imprisoned in a cave, the sound of his jewsharp carries through the air and attracts the girls who will set him free.[19] In his guise as a god in the joss-stick temple (V), he is presented with food-offerings Instead of merely inhaling their essence (ɔ́-šá), as would be expected of a "real" god, he does the opposite and eats the corporeal food itself.[20] Later, by a brilli symbolic reversal, he triumphs over the traders (XI) and the husbands (XII) by "imbibing the essence" (šá mɨ̀ ve) of the river-water, revealing himself to be a god after all.

ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ is in fact an embodiment of <u>enantiodromia</u>, the conversion of things into their opposites.[21] This strategy pervades the struggles between him and his antagon ists, the hapless husbands, on whom he uses "reverse psychology" and what we might call the "boomerang technique" to devastating effect. When cornered up in a tree, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ convinces the husbands to chop him down so he'll be smashed on the rocks, and won't fall into the water, from where he claims he could swim to safety. Actually he had planned to land on the rocks all the time. He knew that if he wanted A, all he had to do was to say he wanted not-A. He is always one reversal ahead of his outmatched "opponents." Everything the husbands try to do to him backfires or boomera They try to smoke him out of the cave where he has taken refuge -- but ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ is <u>master of the air</u>! He simply fans the smoke back out again (VIII). They set a tra for him at the cave-mouth, but it is somebody else who gets caught in it (IX). The string him up under the bridge (XI), but he succeeds in <u>turning the tables</u>, changin

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[17]See Radin, pp. 4-6. The flouting of cultural norms in folklore has of cours a great pedagogical value. By implicitly holding such "opposite" behavior up to ri cule the story-teller is inculcating the proper code of conduct in his listeners.

[18]From one point of view, transmutations of matter [preceding section] are a denial of boundaries between states of being.

[19]ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ also exploits the sounds of bees and crabs for his own purposes (II).

[20]See Note 46 to the Translation.

[21]This sonorous Greek root, <u>enantio-</u> 'opposite,' also occurs in the rhetorica term <u>enantiosis</u>, saying the opposite of what is really meant (a fancier name for 'irony'). For some discussion of the close relationship between antonymy and synon ymy, see Matisoff 1978, pp. 82-86.

places first with the traders (XI) and finally with the husbands themselves (XII).[2]

With the women too, ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ talks out of both sides of his mouth, dazzling them by his simultaneous espousal of opposite positions. He warns them not to let their babies shit in his house -- then he makes it impossible for them to comply by creat the "shit" himself. This is the technique that Gregory Bateson has called the "dou bind,"[23] and in real life it can lead to "schismogenesis" as the victim goes crazy with guilt trying to satisfy two contradictory demands at once.[24] To put it somewh crudely, not only does ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ fuck the women's bodies, he fucks with their minds as well.

(3) <u>ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ as sexual athlete and buffoon.</u> Once in a while ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ gets caught -- <u>let</u> himself get caught, we suspect -- and he is tied to the ass of a water-buffalo (X), or strung up under a bridge (XI). There is a great esthetic pleasure for the liste ers in this further reversal -- seeing the tables turned on the table-turner himsel For the moment the Trickster is the butt of the joke, the schlemiel, the buffoon. But everyone knows this cannot go on for long. ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ is no martyr, no loser. No matter what happens he will bounce back, like the cartoon character flattened by a steamroller who pops back out to his normal shape afterwards.

ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ is clearly not a loser, but the <u>big winner</u>. He is the champion, in par- ticular the <u>sex champion</u>, overflowing with appetite and generative power. As such, he is on one level the object of wish-fulfillment fantasies by both the male and fe- male listeners (the men wishing to be just like him and the women wishing they coul go to bed with him themselves). The story is in fact full of sexual imagery, so obvious that you don't have to belong to a particular school of psychological analys to appreciate **its** significance.

The Hollow A-yaw Tree-oracle and the cave[26] are places of powerful refuge for ɛ̀-qhɛ̀ -- about this there seems little womb to dispute. While the hollow of the tre is female, the upright trunk itself is male.[27] When the women beat on it, the tree-

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[22]One thinks of the lines from Shakespeare:
> "This even-handed justice
> Commends the ingredients of our poisoned chalice
> To our own lips."   (<u>Macbeth</u> I.7, lines 10-12)

On a less exalted level, the boomerang technique is a favorite device in cartoons of the Coyote-and-Roadrunner type. It seems to appeal to that childish sense of justic that lies behind defensive taunts like "Everything bad you say goes right back to you -- <u>nyaah, nyaah</u>!"

[23]See Bateson 1972.

[24]Everyone knows the story about the mother who gave her son two neckties for his birthday. When he appeared wearing one of them at their next meeting she said, "So what's wrong with the other one?"

[25]This is comparable to, e.g. the pleasure 17th or 18th century audiences woul feel at witnessing temporary reversals of master and servant roles in a play of Molière or an opera by Mozart.

[26]Both of these words, *a-yɔ=qō* and *há-qhɔ=qō*, contain the morpheme *qō* 'hollow object.'

[27]The *a-yɔ* tree is known for its height and straightness. See Note 22 to the Translation.

penis is stimulated to speak to them. è-*qhè* specifically uses his penis as a weapon of deceit, transforming it into a mushroom (VI). It is as if he hypnotizes the others by his phallic power, and they must suddenly break off the chase and slink home.

In symbolic potency contests with the other men, è-*qhè* always wins. The husbands try to cut down the tree he's in, an act of castration, but è-*qhè* escapes into a power-place. The husbands try to stab him to death by poking sticks inside the cave -- a phallic image if there ever was one. To this è-*qhè* replies by the clownish act of shitting on the sticks, symbolically negating and dismissing their sexuality. (His worst part is better than their best part.)

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The Lahu Trickster, è-*qhè*, like his counterparts in literature, mythology, and folklore the world over, is a complex figure that can be appreciated on many different levels. It is hard to improve on the formulation of Radin (pp. 168-9):

> "The symbol which Trickster embodies is not a static one. It contains within itself the promise of differentiation, the promise of god and man. For this reason, every generation occupies itself with interpreting Trickster anew. No generation understands him fully, but no generation can do without him... And so he became and remained everything to every man -- god, animal, human being, hero, buffoon, he who was before good and evil, denier, affirmer, destroyer and creator. If we laugh at him, he grins at us. What happens to him happens to us."

The image of the Trickster is still very much with us in our own culture. The days of the Watergate "dirty tricks" and Tricky Dick Nixon are still not so far behind us. Could the manifold absurdities of our world be due to the mad caprice of some cosmic Trickster who is experimenting with us?

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