RHYME, REDUPLICATION, ETC. IN LAO

G.E. Roffe

The Lao dialect of the Tai language family, while exhibiting very few morphological processes, is characterized by a feature (which it probably shares with its sister dialects) which, by its form and the frequency of its appearance, cannot fail to capture the attention. In speaking of this aspect of Thai, Mary Haas¹ uses, among others, the term "elaborate expressions." The absence of these expressions from the continuum of speech or from the continuity of a text will rob that speech or that text of something essentially Lao and their presence will add to such speech or such a text a flavor and/or a sparkle which identify them as Lao. They are to the language what spice is to food, what polishing or setting is to a gem. Without them the speaker or writer will make himself understood, but prove to be rather dull and pedestrian. With them, he enthralls his audience with both lilt and light, making his message both meaningful and melodious.

This paper is based on a collection of over three hundred such expressions which the author has gathered. It is not exhaustive in any sense. He seeks to present this type of expression under rather loose headings. For a long time he has wrestled with the possibility of there being some underlying principle governing the construction of expressions of this kind. If there is—and there very, well may be—he has failed to discover it. It may lie buried deep in the subconcious. It may be an innate part and parcel of the métier of those who seem to be able to vie—often extemporaneously—with the minstrels and troubadours of the Middle Ages, stringing together expressions of this kind in seemingly interminable production, to the unending delight of their audience.

Let the reader beware he should be content with learning to use judiciously what others have done to enrich the language, leaving to the specialists among native speakers the responsibility of making further contributions in this rather particular and technical area.

The basic structure of these expressions is a polysyllabic phrase with an equal number of syllables on either side of an imaginary vertical dividing line. Usually these are 4-syllable expressions, although in some cases short syllables do not seem to be counted; otherwise the expression would be a 3-2 or a 2-3 construction. However, in some expressions the short syllable is probably counted on one or the other side or on both sides of the dividing line. When rhyming takes place, it is often--although not always--between the syllables immediately adjacent to the dividing line, viz., between syllables 2 and 3 (in a 4-syllable construction) or between syllables 3 and 4 (in a six-syllable construction). In the often bewildering variety encountered, tone--or pitch level--does not seem to play a determinant or significant rôle.

Consider the following:

A. <u>FIXED EXPRESSIONS</u>. These are without apparent rhyme or reason, apart from semantic relationship.

TO SUFFER, HAVE FEVER, TO BE ILL

1. เจ็บไล ป่อบใจ

to be sick

TREASURE WEALTH SILVER GOLD/COPPER วัยสิมเวิมพอว riches

every morning day night

กุกเจ้าอัมคืม

day in, day out

- B. ADAPTATION OF FOREIGN TERMS with some reduplication.
- MINISTRE (Fr) n.s. 1. ວິດ ຕິວັດ cabinet minister

CAPPIT o? (CAP)PITAINE (Fr)

null captain

COMMANDANT (Fr) COMMAN(DAINT = n.s.)

ກມນັງດັງ ກັນນັງແດງ

Or: CAMMANDANT (Fr) COMMANDO (Fr)

ກມນັງດັງ ກັນນັງໂດ

major

- С. REDUPLICATION (Tone--or pitch level--does not seem to be significant: e.g ເຫັນໜ້າເຫັນຕາ/ເຫັນໜ້າເຫັນໜວດ)
 - With half of components completely nonsense syllables (n.s.).

2. With partial component a nonsense syllable.

(Both [A9] and [A9]29] are accepted pairs.)

3. With little-used component on one side of the line.

With one component having only remote relationship to the rest of the expression.

a. soulu soun to Join HAND to cooperate

5. With all components meaningful

a. a. a. a. a. b. customs RITES CUSTOMS WAY
be intimate, close customs, manners

TO SEE LIGHT, CLEAR TO KNOW TRUTH

เป็นแล้วฐล้ว

to see clearly, understand truely

THINGS WEAR THINGS WEAR

d. <u>เคือามา 291 ธ</u>

clothing

(Both Fages and Fagy)

are accepted pairs, while

yan and have a close
semantic tie.)

keep flesh put down heart
to have confidence

(Both 1019 and 01919 are accepted pairs, while the and 19 have a remote semantic relationship.

f. <u>จักมาใจกรอ</u>
to be of one mind/heart

(จัดใจ is an accepted pair.)

g. First and third elements identical; some semantic relationship between second and fourth, in addition to frequent, if partial, reduplication.

SEEK CRAB SEEK FISH BE A GROUP BE A GROUP (1) (2) to hunt for small to be broken up into groups (This is a productive pattern: cf. 3, 4, 5 below.) TO BE BEGINNING TO BE BEGINNING to be the beginning TO BE HEART (WOOD) TO BE HEART (WOOD) to be the essence or the gist แพ and any have a close semantic relationship.) THINGS WEAR THINGS COVER (This is a productive pattern: mueusue (5)clothing ອັນນຶ່ງອັນດຽວ (เสาร์ก means to lose one's LOSE MIND LOSE HEART (6)mind, a meaning that is not to be dismayed, carried over into this expression!) disappointed TREE WOOD TREE STRIP (7)ກກໄນ ກກຕອກ plantation, trees INHABITANT VILLAGE, INHABITANT VILLAGE

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(8)

ໄທບານ ໄທຊອງ

compatriots, fellow-citizens

This is a productive pattern:

HAVE BEGINNING HAVE END

(12) <u>มีกามี</u>ปาย
to have both beginning and end; so, to be well known

(Both nn and you have a semantic relationship.)

This is a very productive pattern:

<u>ນີ້ເພື່ອນີ້</u> ແຮງ	<u>ນີ</u> ໄຮ <u>ນີ</u> ນາ	<u>ນີ້ບາວນີ້ສາວ</u>
<u>บ</u> ีพมา <u>บ</u> ีตา	<u> </u>	
<u> </u>	<u>บ</u> ิสุด <u>บิ</u> สังว่า	
<u>ນີ້</u> ຮັດ <u>ນີ້</u> คອງ	<u>บิ</u> ธุบ <u>บิ</u> ธาา	

ນີ້ເງິນນີ້ຄຳ ນີ້ພໍ້ນີ້ແມ່
 ນີ້ອຳບນີ້ນ້ອງ ນີ້ເນັງນີ້ລູກ
 ນີ້ລູກນີ້ເຕົ້າ ນີ້ລູກນີ້ຫລາງ

<u>ນີ້ ເ ຖົ້ານີ້</u>ແກ

HAVE OLD HAVE MATURE

ແອດ<u>ດິກ</u>ແ໙ກ<u>ຢາ</u>ກ

(Can refer to a recognized wedding ceremony attended by elders)

h. First and third element have semantic relationship or other relationship; third and fourth exhibit the same, with or without phonetic reduplication.

REPLY FAVOR RETURN KINDNESS

(1) การบ บุม แทม <u>คม</u>

to return a favor show gratitude

(กายแทม and บุมคุม are accepted pairs.)

(2) <u>นอาจเม้าคอาย</u> unwed couple

(ต๊อ เม็ง and วิ๋อ คอาย are accepted pairs.)

FATHER TRADE MOTHER SELL

เลือง เมอาย

sales people (male/female)

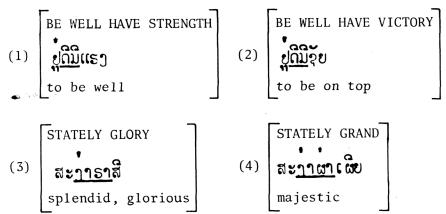
(ພິກາ ພິເໝ , and ກາຊາຍ are accepted pairs.)

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(4) มีกักแม่เค้า
original parents
(มีเม and กิกเค้า are accepted pairs.)

(5) มีเก็าแม่ตั้ง
former parents (in former life?)
(มีเม form an accepted pair เก๋า and หลัง have a semantic relationship.)

(6) มีเมียง พords Listen (OBEY) Words
to obey
(เรือน์วี and โดยความ are an accepted pairs.)
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- D. The rhyming pattern is one of the most frequent, one of the most productive. Generally speaking, the expression is made up of four syllables, two on either side of the vertical dividing line, the adjecent syllables rhyming (cf. introductory section, above).
- 1. Simple 4-syllable expressions with syllables two and three rhyming.
 - a. Everything immediately meaningful and related.



ALTERNATE ALTERNATE LAYERS
(5) สิ<u>ลับรับ</u>รุ่9ม
very complicated

(In 3, 4 and 5 above note that the forst syllable is short, but apparently functions as a full syllable.)

BLOOD FLESH ANCESTRY BODY GREASE ເລືອດເນື້ອເຊື້ອໄຂ ancestry, parentage

OBSERVE COMMANDMENTS "EAT" ALMS

(7) โล้มภมิตาม

to conform to good conduct

(8) ไป ไม่ ได้มาใส่ม to conform to good behavior

(9) HOT CHEST FALL HEART

soughning a

to be profoundly moved

PITY KINDLINESS

(10)

and
to have pity on

And many, many more:

ນິຍົນຊົນຊອບ ກົກເคົ້າເຫງົ້າກໍ ຊົ່ວຊ້າລານົກ ແຕກງາສາຂາ ພູດຈາປາສັບ ຈັບໄດ້ໄລທັນ ຂຸດກົ້ນຄົ້ນຫາ ຫງາຍຊ້າລານົກ ຕືຕານຂ້ານສອນ ຕິດຫນາວກ່າວພັນ ຂໍ້ບົດກົດຫນາຍ ແຜ່ຜາຍປາຍກ້ວາງ ເຄື່ອງປູກລູກໄນ້ ໄຮ່ນາຕາກ້າ ພ້ອນພາງຮາງຫນ້າ ສຳຣວດກວດດູ

b. Semantic relationships less immediate.

(1) SMILE SMILE HAPPY CLEAR

ข้<u>มแขมแจม</u>โส

to be in a happy mood

(2) SLAVE SERF HORSE USE 290211122 Slave

HABIT HEART NECK/THROAT

(3)
\[
\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{3}\frac{1}{1}\frac{1}{3}

(5) KNOW MERIT KINDNESS PENALTY

รู<u>บม คุม</u>โทก

to be grateful

(6) CHILD CHILD RICE TENDER ลุก<u>เตาเยา</u>99ม
young children

- (7) POT POT SHATTER SHELL (COCONUT)

 multimation lie

 pots and pans
- (8) GEM RING 100,000 THING

 (Inoumnitation)

 abundant riches
- c. Cause-effect (or reverse) relationship.
 - REST (n.s.) TAKE REFUGE RELY ON

 (1) มามาอาลัย

 to live on the hospitality of...
 - REST STOP TAKE STRENGTH

 ພັກ<u>ເຊົາເອົາ</u>ແຮງ

 to rest regain strength
 - FALL LOSE (UNAWARE) LOSE GO

 กัก<u>เราเสา</u>ไป

 to lose by unawareness, drop inadvertently
 - BEAR (BE BORN) FLOWER ISSUE FRUIT

 (4) to produce

(6) SPROUT (BREAK OUT) FLOWER ISSUE FRUIT

to produce

2. Incredible reversal of semantic relationship.

ENTER OUTSIDE GO OUT INSIDE

(21)

to go in and out

- 3. Unsymmetrical expressions.
 - a. 3 2 syllable constructions

SERVE RUB/SHINE

(1) ชื่อละ<u>บัติลัติ</u>

to care for, serve

SUPPORT HOLD UP SUPPORT

9 ปฏิบัติที่วัฐ

to meet the needs of...

b. 2 - 3 syllable constructions

(1) SELL RACE LACK HONESTY, MORALITY

energy and an anion

to betray the nation

HAPPY BODY WELL HEART
(2) สุภ<u>ภายสะยาย</u>ใจ
to be happy

PATIENT MAKE AN EFFORT

to make a real effort

SURRENDER BODY OFFER UP HEART

(4) มอบุ<u>ภายถวาย</u>ใจ to surrender oneself completely (body and soul)_

- 4. 3 3 syllable constructions.
 - a. Unsymmetrical, untypical rhyming between third and sixth syllables, with additional reduplication (between first and fourth syllables).

COUNTERACT SUFFERING, POVERTY FOSTER HAPPINESS

<u>บา้</u>บัญญาบา้ลู<u>วุสุท</u>

to promote, foster happiness

Rhyming between third and fourth syllables, with semantic b. relationship between first and sixth syllables only.

RETTY ONLY SHAPE KISS NOT SMELL GOOD

"beauty is only skin deep" "fair on the outside only"

Approximate or complete rhyming between third and fourth syllables, with complete reduplication between second and fifth syllables, plus semantic similarity between first and fourth and/or between third and sixth syllables.

SLAVE TWO OWNER SERVANT TWO MASTER

(1) ลา<u>สอาเจ้าขาวสอา</u>มาย to serve two masters

DEPENDING ON WHAT ONE CAN CATCH

(2)

PROPPING UP THE UNOBTAINABLE

ເຫັນແກທັນຢັນແກໄດ້

cupidity

TREASURE IN EARTH WEALTH IN WATER

(3) รับในดั้น สิ้นในมา้

natural resourses, underground wealth

(4) With added rhyming between first and forth syllables, reduplication of initial consonant in third and sixth syllables.

INHABITANT DIFFERENT REGION MAN DIFFERENT AREA

foreigner

(5) With added nonsense element, just to show that there is a vein of humor: there is no such thing as a

FISH (n.s.) CRAB SEA

<u>ປາທະລປທະ ເລ</u>

seafood

APPENDIX

The text below is artificially contrived, presenting expressions as they could appear in speech and: or writing, but without limitations imposed by style, elegance or other consideration.

TEXT

Note: Line two is the continuum of the text, with Lao and English alternating.

Line one gives the more or less literal equivalent of the Lao expressions.

Line three gives an attempted translation into English of the Lao expressions

The square brackets [] are designed to enclose the Lao expression, plus the literal equivalent in English, and, in addition, the free translation into English.

DAY ATTACH DAY CONTINUE day after day

there they see people of ทุกจาก ทุกผาสา every tongue and tribe EVERY RACE EVERY LANGUAGE

such as

PEOPLE DIFFERENT REGION, MALE (prefix) DIFFERENT DISTRICT ຊາວຕາງດາວ ທາວຕາງແດນ people of different origins and areas

FOREIGNER NOSE MELON

and

CITIZEN SKY SLAVE LAND

with and citizens of the realm

FATHER TRADE MOTHER SELL ENDURE MAKE EFFORT The sales-people (men/women) do their best

to sell

them the things they have

HUNDRED SORT THOUSAND KIND

SOUTHWARD

in great variety

. But

VILLAGE OUTSIDE FRONTIER VILLAGE many of them come from UNUNDASTATION remote villages

and they often do not

TRUST FLESH BELIEVE HEART

merchants. Others they know and, since they have not

SEE FACE SEE BEARD

for a long time, they squat down

seen hide nor hair (of them)

to ปรูมปามฤามอาว . When they have purchased visit and get the news

articles

MANNER FULL CHEST FULL HEART

in the strength of the

ESCAPE RETURN TURN AROUND RETURN (home)

""
บลิขลาอถาอคิม

return home

and, after

REACH HOUSE ARRIVE HOUSE ຮອດຢາວ ເຖິງເຮືອນ reaching home

some of them, acting as

FATHER TRADE TRADING

**
ผคาผามัก
traders

take their wares through

MOUNTAIN CLIFF FOREST JUNGLE
ພູພາປາດິງ
mountain and forest

for resale to

 VILLAGE STREAM BANANA FOREST
บามพอย ภอยปา
(in the backwoods)

TORRENT DITCH VILLAGE SMALL

velocity v

far from conj

MOTHER WATER COURSE WATER
ແມ່ນ ໍ້າ ລໍາເຊ
water courses

MAKE (dry) RICEFIELDS PLOUGH (wet) RICEFIELDS while others farm (uplands and lowlands)

This is the way they

DO COME SEARCH EAT

บำมาตาที่

nake their living

must [Sake MIND PUT HEART]

(อาจิศิสโจ

put heart and mind into it]

EVERY MORNING DAY NIGHT

พุทธุาอ อัมคิม

morning, noon, and night

ISSUE SWEAT ISSUE STRENGTH

997119 9971151

in order to have sweat and labor

ENOUGH EXIST ENOUGH EAT . Otherwise they may very well enough to live on

LACK WANT FRUIT (or areca nut) EXPENSIVE ອິດປາກຫມາກເພງ
experience famine

HAVE WIFE HAVE CHILD

have wife and children

they will leave them at home to

CHERISH (n.s.) CHERISH (TAKE CARE OF) ຮັກສົນ ຮັກສາ

the house and look after

watch over, take care of

DUCK CHICKEN COW CARABAO
the เปักไทวิอคอาย
animals

MOTHER PATERNAL GRANDMOTHER MOTHER WOMAN

(CUU) (CUU)

women

will watch over the

CHILD SMALL SUGARCANE TENDER

and will

WEAVE LOOM PLANT MULBERRY (trees)

r ำทูกปูกมอม
weave and do the gardening

Sometimes the children will

BE SICK HAVE FEVER GET DISEASE
เจ็บไล ไกพยาก
become ill

and the father may come home to

learn that one or another has

HIDE EYE LEAVE WORLD

ລັບຕາ ລາໂລກ passed away (from sight, from world)

and he will be ຢ່າງເຫລືອອີກທຶກໃຈ . In the market, in inexpressibly heartbroken

addition to the people from

VILLAGE OUTSIDE VILLAGE RICEFIELDS บามมอก บามมา the countryside

one often sees soldiers, sometimes a

captain captain

even a

COMMANDANT--COMMANDO
กับบัวถั่ว กับบัวโถ for there is major

WAR TIGER NORTH SOUTH

ເສິກເສື່ອ ເຫນືອໃຕ້ . Rarely does one see a fierce war throughout the land

MINIS(tre)--MINAT

Cabinet Minister

for they are too occupied with

WORK VILLAGE WORK COUNTRY

ວຽກບ້ານການເນື່ອງ

national affairs (politics)

. Some of them

THINK BIG ASPIRE/

are ambitious

CHOOSE HIGH

. Others do not

SEE CHEST SEE HEART

TOTAL TOT

the

INHABITANT VILLAGE INHABITANT VILLAGE

ໄຫບານ ໄຫຊອງ

ordinary people

When these people come to

them to

CRY OUT REQUEST RAISE HAND

ຮອງ ຂໍ ຍໍ ນື

make a request of them

they conduct themselves as

though they are not

LIVING IN PRECEPTS EAT IN ALMS

ปูในสัม ภิพในตาม

behaving according to the (Buddhist) codes

SAY EVIL/ANGRY SIGNBOARD/COLOR On the contrary, they speak evil of them, falsely accuse them, etc.

SUPPLE STOOP HUMBLE HEART The poor suppliant will 991191 19119 but all to bow in humbleness of heart

FACE SLAVE FACE SERF

พมาลา พมาลอย
slaves and serfs

GO COME SEEK DROP IN AND VISIT

ไปมาชาแอ
visit back and forth

(n.s.) ALWAYS ສະຫນຳ ສເນີ all the time (n.s.) COFFEE ກາພ໊ອກ ກາເພື່ coffee

or มา้ารูมา้ารูจ . If they are good friends they will see to it

MEAT COME FISH GO

HAVE CHILD HAVE GRADE CHILD

CHILD

ລູກນຫລານ

has children and grandchildren

BELIEVE LISTEN WORDS เจือนัก เดยความ
obey what they are told will see to it that they

HAVE THING BITE THING EAT have food to eat

HAVE THING THE AND THE HAVE THING WEAR THING COVER

and

will teach them to behave according to

RULES WELL-ORDERED

KILL FATHER BEAT MOTHER

2าม ก็เบ

mistreat their parents

GORE FATHER OPPOSE PATERNAL
GRANDFATHER

วัน กับ
be ungrateful to their elders

They will send them to school in order for them to

READ CAN WRITE BE ABLE 9ามโกลงมเป็ม . If they study too much they may be able to read and write

ACHE TOPKNOT DIZZY HEAD suffer headaches

ACHE TOPKNOT DIZZY HEAD

ขอกเก้าเมิวต๊อ

. They must

suffer headaches

hathe

daily and be ready to help wash

THINGS USE THINGS (n.s.)
เคือาใจ ຂອງสอบ ,

remembering that they will one day receive

PRICE HIRE REWARD

Some people put on airs and think their comportment is something

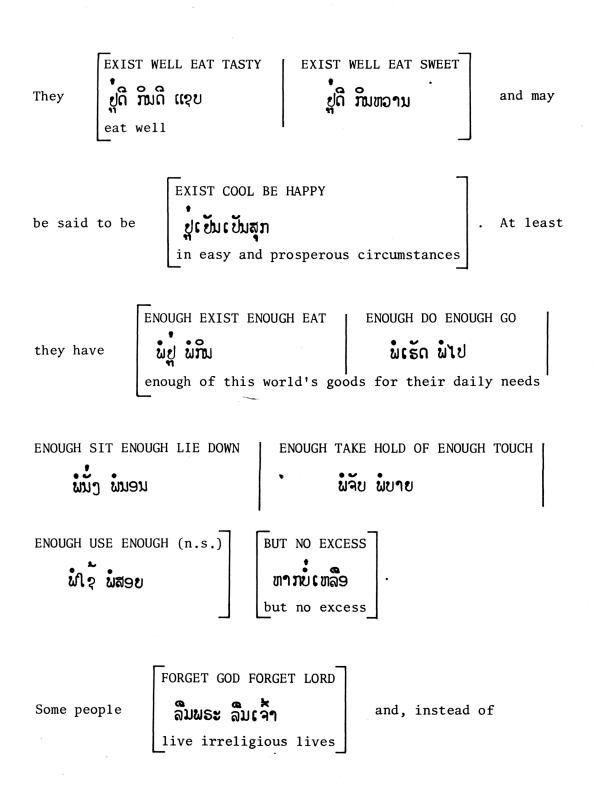
IMPOSING SPLENDID while others, on the contrary,

LOW LITTLE WITHDRAW DOWN take a humble place

. In between are the folks who

but have not HAVE FACE HAVE EYE are respected

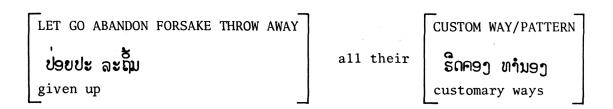
HAVE HAVE SEEK OBTAIN



HAVE NAME HAVE VOICE

, they cause their friends to having a good reputation

LOVE FAITHFUL LOSE MIND LOSE HEART เสียจ๊ก เสียใจ and those who are not be disappointed (in them) RECOUNT NEWS PROCLAIM ANNOUNCE go out and until nobody, spread the news WOMAN MAN LITTLE BIG ຍິງຊາຍ ນອຍໂຫຍ neither nor men nor women, big or little OLD MATURE YOUNG SMALL AGREE RECEIVE COUNT HOLD ເຖົ້າແກ ໜຸ່ນນ້ອຍ ຍອນຮັບ ນັບຖື any longer even young or old respects (them) WEALTH GOODS SILVER GOLD/COPPER ຊັບສິນ ເງິນທອງ though they are , because they have



EAT (drink) ALCOHOL INTOXICATED DRUG/MEDICINE ກິນເຫລົ້າ ເນົາປາ

are given to intoxication

Everybody

AFRAID FEAR BODY TREMBLE

trembling with fear

, convinced that such people will

LEAD WIFE CARRY CHILD

พาเมัย เจ้ยลูก

lead wife and children

MAKE FRIENDS SEEK SOCIETY

establish close and friendly relationships

GO COME SEEK TOWARD

visiting back and forth

with people who do not

LISTEN DHARMA REMEMBER PRECEPTS

ฝ้าทับ จาสิม

conduct themselves as they should

but, rather

DECEIVE OWNER TAKE, THINGS

ຫລັກ ເຈົ້າ ເອົາ ຂອງ

steal

and then take their ill-begotten gain

KILL CHICKEN OPEN ALCOHOL and everyone wonders how they entertain (lavishly)

expenditures

CON BODI CARABAU

of this kind. Such people are KILL COW BODY CARABAO

IGNORANT THEY LIGHT INTELLIGENCE IGNORANI Inei Eigni and don't seem to

realize that their

ENEMY GROUP EVILDOERS
สักฏขนู มาม
will increase and

the number of their friends will

REDUCE SMALL WITHDRAW DOWN

and few will

TRUST FLESH PUT DOWN HEART
ไอเมื่อ อากูใจ
rely on them anymore

BUT TRUE AT TRUTH

แต่แพ่ ที่จิกู

But, in truth

MEAT/FLESH INSIDE HEART AFFAIR the is that they heart of the matter

LACK FALL RECEDE (n.s.?)

and one of these days not only

and one of these days not only

will they

| dอกสาม อามเท้า | but they will have a dizzy headache |

FALL DOWN DISAPPEAR DIE GO
ลมพาย ตายไป
. It would be good if some friend were collapse and die

to HURT INTESTINES BURN HEART
เกียไส์ ไฟม์ใจ
be concerned

| MANNER EXCEED OVERFLOW
| ปาງเพลือล์ม
| exceedingly

(escape) BEYOND GUESS to the point of doing his best to

SUPPORT TOPKNOT TAKE SOUL he1p

them and lead them out along the

STREET WAY PATH

to a PROFESSION SEEK EAT

to a Profession seek EAT

teaching them to

livelihood

MANNER INDUSTRIOUS (n.s.?) STRONG/HARD

until they will be

PRAISE RAISE/LIFT UP CONGRADULATE FLATTER

ບອງຍໍ ສໍຣະເສີນ praised, respected

in their

TRIBE FAMILY LINE CIRCLE TRIBE family circle

Then, too, they will be

HAPPY BODY WELL HEART happy and well

IAPPY BODY WELL HEART
สุภภาย สยาชใจ

Instead of 2าบุวาก อากสัมพัม
disgracing their race and being without morality

DEPORTMENT SPEECH

their

Solution 2131

conduct

will be respectable and their

STANDARD MAINTAIN EXISTENCE
มาตฤามภามคอาจุ๊บ
standard of living

will enable them to

BE COMFORTABLE HAPPY WELL ម្លាប់ ម្លាប់ Live in comfort and good health

No longer will their

TROUSERS TEAR FRONT PHA (noung) TEAR BEHIND สั่ว อากพมา ผา อากพลั่ว clothes be tattered and torn

and they will be

able to ENTER OUTSIDE GO OUT INSIDE

cenus 99111

go in and out

AGAINST FACE AGAINST EYE nown non

their neighbors without

BE ASHAMED SELL FACE
90910 210001
being ashamed

NOTES

Mary Haas, Thai English Student Dictionary. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1970; pp. xvii ff.