

Whispered So Softly It Resounds Through The Forest,
Spoken So Loudly It Can Hardly Be Heard:

The Art Of Parallelism In Traditional Lao Literature

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Thesis Abstract

Parallelism is a fundamental yet overlooked organizational device in the composition of Lao literature. This device is used in the creation of style, developing in complexity and subtlety from the spoken language, prose, to poetic literature. In literature composed in the poetic form of *Kau:n A:n*, the plot on every level is organized in an intricate and symmetrical layering of parallel pairs. Narrative is built from a pattern which can be referred to as AAB, which consists of two initial sections, parallel in meaning and frequently similar in grammatical structure, followed by a third and final section which provides a conclusion. AAB patterns, which can be of any length, have traditionally been used by Lao (and other Tai) poets to narrate a progression of ideas, time, or events. Typically within a Lao story there are numerous layers of overlapping patterns. There is a consistent symmetry in the placement of smaller patterns inside of larger ones.

The AAB pattern provides a model from which the evolution of a Lao story can be interpreted. A comparative study reveals that when a story is copied, the text evolves through the systematic grafting of new AAB patterns onto older patterns, the enlargement of existing patterns, and the strengthening of existing parallels between statements. It appears that the continual recopying of Lao literature is responsible for the incredible intricacy of its parallel layers.

This thesis, in its initial chapter, also provides a general description of Lao literature, including the topics: a) the history of ancient Lao scripts and literature, b) the relationship between the literature and the Buddhist religion, c) sources of the literature in other societies, d) literary works in the *Nitsay*, *Hay* and *Kau:n A:n* literary forms: the different roles they play and the circumstances of their composition, transcription, performance, and preservation, e) the relationship between the literatures of Lanna and Laos, f) the major plot types, g) the use of formula and themes, h) the role of creativity in composition and transcription, and i) a history of the study of parallelism and a consideration of the role that parallelism plays in traditional Lao literary narrative.

The inventory in the appendix provides a list of 142 works of Lao literature, describing the literary forms in which they are written, their

length, extent of distribution, published equivalents, and possible relationship with works in other societies.

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very much alive. Thanks go to Pho: Si: Kaew and the people who work with him at the Kho:sa:na: Ophom Khwaeng for making arrangements for me to travel to Nau:ng Lam Jan. In the village itself, I would firstly like to express my great appreciation to the monks. The late Abbot of Nau:ng Lam Jan temple was particularly thoughtful, and much of my research was made possible through the help that he gave me when, with his kind permission, I sorted through and photographed literally thousands of palm leaves from his temple library. I would also like to thank Tha:w Phumi:, the Head of the village, the family who hosted me, and the many people who showed me Southern Lao hospitality. In Nau:ng Lam Jan I will always remember beautiful and haunting Na:ng Pathuma: for her inspiration.

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Finally, this thesis is dedicated to my mother, Alice Koret, who taught me to love reading literature.

Introductory Notes:

1: All of the passages from Lao literature quoted in this thesis, unless otherwise noted, are taken from palm leaf manuscripts rather than printed sources. When passages are quoted from the works *ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ* (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam), *ທ້າວຄັດທະນາມ* (Tha:w Katthana:m), *ທ້າວກຳພ້າໄກ່ໄຮ້ກ້ວ* (Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kae:w), and *ຊຸນບໍຣົມ* (Khun Bau:rom), page numbers are provided both in the manuscript from which they are taken and in a more readily accessible published transcription. Bear in mind, however, that the transcription may differ slightly from the manuscript version that has been quoted.¹

2: The English transliteration of Lao and Thai words and names follow the rules explained in the appendix. The major exception consists of words which are commonly spelled a certain way in English, for example, Laos, Lan Xang, etc. This includes names of ethnic groups and Lao and Thai provinces and large towns.² The spelling of the names of authors who write in English, regardless of nationality, follows the author's chosen spelling.

3: Published transcriptions, adaptations, etc. of works of Lao literature referred to in this thesis are listed under their title in the section 'Titles of Published Versions of Lao Works of Literature' in the bibliography of Thai and Lao language sources in the appendix.

4: When reference is made to a book written in Lao, the symbol (L) appears after the name of its author. Books in non-western languages lacking this symbol are exclusively Thai.

¹ The printed version of *Tha:w Kam Ka Dam*, transcribed by Suphon Somjitsri:panya, was copied from the identical manuscript that is quoted in this thesis. Further information concerning the printed versions of *Tha:w Kam Ka Dam* and *Tha:w Katthana:m* can be found under their titles in the section 'Titles of Published Versions of Works of Lao Literature' in the Thai bibliography. Information concerning the published versions of the other two stories can be found in the similar section of the Lao bibliography.

² However, these words are spelled according to the transcription rules when they occur as part of the title of a Lao or Thai book or manuscript.

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Chapter One: Lao Literature: An Introduction

Lao literature is a branch of a larger literary tradition that is shared by several Tai speaking groups of mainland Southeast Asia, including the Yuan, Kheun, and Leu.¹ Literature within this tradition can be found throughout Laos, north and northeastern Thailand, northeastern Burma, and parts of southern China.

A fundamental characteristic of Lao literature, both prose and poetry, is the consistent use of repetition and parallelism. Upon reading Lao stories, it is noticeable that after a certain event has occurred or an idea has been stated, that the same event or idea, expressed in slightly different form, will be repeated continuously. This element of the literature has led people to observe, generally in not so favorable terms, that it is repetitive and not overly original. However, upon examination of exactly how and why Lao literature repeats itself, one sees that rather than being haphazard or the sign of lack of skill on the part of a composer, the repetition is ordered very systematically. What has been dismissed as an inconsequential and, if anything, negative aspect of the literature, is, in fact, its basic structural principle. The plot of Lao literature on every level is composed of an intricate and symmetrical layering of parallel pairs.

My thesis is an examination of parallelism in traditional Lao literature. The thesis grew out of the realization that the medium in which Lao

¹ There has been much debate in recent years within Thailand over an appropriate name for the literature. There is a hesitation about calling the literature Lao because more of the ethnic Lao (who are the composers, transcribers, and performers of such works) live at present within the political boundaries of the Thai state than do in Laos. I myself, however, consider Lao the most appropriate label for the literature because the one common bond that links together its practitioners is that they are either ethnic Lao or appear to have borrowed fundamental elements within the tradition from the Lao. (Certain ethnic groups with strong cultural links with the Lao, such as the Phuthai and the Tai Aet of northeastern Laos, also maintain a similar literary tradition.) Many Thai books written on the topic refer to the literature as belonging to Isan, Isan being the Thai name for the region of northeastern Thailand where the majority of the ethnic Lao live. The literature described in these books was traditionally recorded in Lao scripts by ethnically Lao people both in northeastern Thailand and throughout Laos. To label it as the literature of Isan, a region of Thailand, is to place modern political boundaries on a cultural tradition that was in its prime before such boundaries were in existence. Another common label for the literature is "The Literature of the Kingdom of Lan Xang." Lan Xang was an ancient Lao kingdom whose territory included both present-day Laos and much of present-day northeastern Thailand. The Lao literary tradition began and many of its classic works were composed during the time of this kingdom. However the kingdom disintegrated in the seventeenth century whereas the literary tradition did not. As explained on pages 16-17, a large percentage of Lao literature and in particular Lao poetic works are distributed exclusively outside of the traditional cultural centers of Lan Xang, and were probably composed after its demise. Several works, such as *Tha:w Lao Kham*, *Pheun Wia:ngjan*, etc., are known to have originated considerably after the time of Lan Xang, even centuries afterwards. The literary tradition was quite active up until the earliest twentieth century, and exists at present. Therefore, although the tradition had its origins in the literature of Lan Xang, the label is misleading.

literature has been recorded and performed is foreign both to contemporary western and Southeast Asian scholars, and only if this foreignness is taken into account can a balanced study be made. An understanding of parallelism is an important step towards the 'decoding' of the literature that is necessary before an appreciation of its contents can truly be gained.

Lao literature has been the topic of little research in the west. The best work has been produced by the French, the former colonizers of Laos.² In English, there is virtually no published description of the subject. There is a short chapter on Lao literature by P. B. Lafont in *Southeast Asia: Languages And Literature* translated from the French. However, ancient literature is given slightly over a single page of treatment.³ There is an article by Phouvong Phimmasone in *Kingdom of Laos* which is entertaining, but filled with opinions without supporting evidence.⁴ There are short articles in *Laos: Area Handbook*, and *Laos: it's people, it's society, it's culture*, both of which are not only similar in content but in sections identically worded.⁵

² Even French works, however, are few. The major works are *Recherches Sur La Litterature Laotienne* by Louis Finot and *Le Roman Classique Lao* by Dr. A. Peltier. The latter is the more comprehensive survey of the literature.

³ The article includes a wide range of subject matter including the history of ancient and modern Lao literature, the Lao language, descriptions of the literature of various Tai ethnic groups within Laos, etc. *Laos* by P. B. Lafont

⁴ Examples are as follows: a) The author speculates that 'manuscripts of novels that are in Lao characters' are not older than the nineteenth century due to the shape of the letters observed on the manuscripts.' (p.343) Manuscripts, however, are constantly recopied and there is no reason why the transcriber would preserve an archaic form of script. b) 'Poems of the popular tales seem to date back to before the fourteenth century.' (p.343). Firstly, the 'poems of the popular tales' are precisely the works, mentioned above, that are recorded in Lao characters that he states are no older than the nineteenth century. Secondly, there is no evidence of the existence of any Lao manuscripts or poetry before the sixteenth century. c) 'The first novels written in Tham are Champa Siton, Bouddhasen, and Usaparot'. (p.343) According to the author, works written in the Tham script are composed in prose form and consist of the earliest of Lao literary works. (p.343) The problem with these statements is that firstly, there is no historical evidence that indicates when the above three works were written. To state that they are the 'first Lao novels' is not strictly based on the truth. Secondly, the first of the three works mentioned (which are described collectively as 'these prose novels') is written solely in verse, and is more commonly recorded in Lao than in Tham. d) '...(Lao poetry) is fairly rigid in structure and obeys the rules laid down by Treatises on grammar and versification.' (p.336) On the contrary, the poetry is very flexible, and there are no known traditional treatises describing its style of versification. *Literature* by Phouvong Phimmasone

⁵ Their source is likely to be the articles on Lao literature and versification in *Kingdom of Laos*, edited by Rene De Berval, based upon their wording and content.

They are unreliable as a source due to their many errors.⁶ Lao versification is treated in an article by Thao Nhouy Abhay in *Kingdom of Laos*, and in *Courting Poetry of the Lao* by Carol Compton.⁷ Finally, there are translations and commentary on a few individual stories, including *Pha:dae:ng Na:ng Ai* by Wajuppa Tossa and Lao tales related to the Indian Ramayana and the legend of Krishna by Sahai Sachchidanand.⁸

Due to the lack of English source materials, it is necessary to begin this thesis with an introduction to Lao literature. Included within the introduction is a general background on the study of parallelism, and the

⁶In the 1972 version of *Laos: Area Handbook*, on pp.145-148, it states that a) 'Historical writings consists of anonymous chronicles in Pali.' (p.147) Historical writing is never written in Pali. The most famous work, Nithan Khun Bau:rom, (which the book on the same page spells incorrectly as Nilam Khun Burom), is one of the few Lao literary works that is not anonymous. b) 'Secular literature had its origins in epics dating from the thirteenth century, but little is known of these works' (p.146) There is, in fact, nothing known of these works or even of their existence. c) 'The greatest known Laotian poem, one known by every literate Laotian, is the Sin Xay. Taken from the Indic Panna:sa Jataka, it has been preserved in its entirety....' (pp.146-147) The work 'Sin Xay' is not taken from the Panya:sa Jataka, nor is the Panya:sa Jataka Indic in its origin. Lao literature, such as the work that is mentioned, is commonly known to Lao people whether or not they are literate, as literary works are not read privately but rather performed in public. d) 'The most modern Lao literature is derived from prose novels based on Buddhist writings. The form of the novels, however, was changed to verse in the 19th century.' (p.147) It is likely that this comment is based upon an erroneous statement originally made by Phouvong Phimmason in his article on Lao literature that have been discussed in point 'a' of footnote 4. If Mr. Phimmason had considered the spelling of Lao as well as the shape of its characters within certain manuscripts, we might have wound up with a conclusive statement in *Laos: Area Handbook* that the Lao literary tradition began after the communist party came into power in 1975. There are many other mistakes within the approximately three pages of text. Mention will only briefly be made of the other work, *Laos: its people its society its culture*, to which many of the previously stated errors also apply. It concludes its section on literature stating that the 'prevailing mood of Lao literature' is 'unconditional resignation to life, however unpleasant it may be'. 'Melancholy' is the 'underlying motif'. (p.93) A major theme of Lao literature is the struggle of a hero from the under-class to improve the status of himself and his family and seize the throne from an evil king. This hardly seems to me to be 'resignation'. Melancholy is also a strange description of the literature, which more typically is the precise opposite.

⁷ By far the best treatment of Lao versification in a western language is included in the third chapter, *La Versification Et La Langue Des Textes Laos*, of *Le Roman Classic Lao* by Dr. A. Peltier. Of the English language sources, Carol Compton's book gives a better general survey. She translates from a Lao text on versification, *Santhalaksana*, by Maha: Sila: Wirawong, and discusses how it applies to the Lao oral verse that she studied. The article *Versification* by Thao Nhouy Abhay also gives a good general introduction to versification, taking into account the influence that the medium has on the literature's form. The author's praise of the work *Sang Sinsai* at the expense of the rest of Lao literature, and his reasons behind it, however, should be taken with a grain of salt.

⁸ One particularly misleading idea that has been repeated in the majority of previous western works of scholarship is that Lao stories are identical in their plot. (A notable exception is Dr. A. Peltier's work, *Le Roman Classic Lao*). Phouvong Phimmason, in his article on Lao literature, gives a list of the 'most often to be met' characters within the literature: the hero, Indra, Kinnaris, Yaks, hermit-magicians, and the princess.' (pp.343-344) A similar list is included in *Laos: Area Handbook* (p.147) and P.B. Lafont's article *Laos*. (p.72) In his article on versification, Thao Nhouy Abhay states that works of Lao literature 'are all pretty much alike as regards the subject matter and also the form...' (p.347) A similar sentiment is also echoed in *Laos: its people its society its culture*, where it states that the contents of long epics, with the exception of *Sinsai*, are all 'similar and monotonous' (p.91), and in P. B. Lafont's article, where a comment that the literature is 'not remarkably original' is followed by a list of the stereotypical characters. (p.72) The truth, however, is that the group of characters listed above is included in one of four major plot types (as described on pp.59-64 of this chapter), not in the majority of the literature. Even in the plot type in which they occur, many of the 'most often to be met' characters will frequently not be found. Lao literary scholarship is similar to Lao literature in that it tends to consist of a chain of transcribers who copy what others have previously written. The advantage of Lao literature is that the transcribers are expected to correct mistakes, not merely copy them.

forms that parallelism takes within the Lao literary tradition. The introduction concludes with an outline of the thesis.

The Extent of Lao Literature

The Lao have recorded in writing a wide variety of subject matter. Most if not all of Lao manuscripts could be considered forms of literature. Similar to the Malay as described by Dr. Amin Sweeney, the Lao do not appear to have traditionally distinguished between writing as an art and as a craft.⁹ Regardless of the topic being addressed, the composers have tended to use an artistic style of expression. Frequently, the texts are recorded in verse, or if in prose, the prose is filled with alliteration, assonance, and the rhythmic matching of parallel statements.

Lao writing can be divided into the following categories:

A: Works in which a story is told; The majority of writing within the Lao language falls within this category.

B: Didactic works where moral teachings are composed in verse; They are commonly written as if the counsel of one relation to another, for example, the teachings of a father to his son, etc. This type of work includes *Inthinya:n Sau:n Lu:k*, *Pu: Sau:n La:n*, etc.

C: Poetic works which make extensive use of Phanya; a type of Lao poetry that has traditionally been used in the courtship between young men and women. The most famous work, a romantic poem entitled *Sa:n Leupasun*, has been interpreted as a coded ode of resistance to the Thai composed during the time of the Lao king Jao Anu.¹⁰

D: Works that describe the creation of the world and/or predict, in various stages, the future. Many of the works are based to some degree on Buddhist

⁹ *Authors and Audiences* by Dr. Amin Sweeney p.14

¹⁰ For a detailed explanation, see *Wannakhadi: Law* by Bausaengkham et al. pp.269-274. *Sa:n Leupasun* has served as the inspiration for political works both for and against the present government. *Pheu'y Sa:n Leup Bau Sun* by S. De:sa: (L), a lengthy poem printed in Laos in 1984, interprets the work as the struggle of Lao for freedom from foreign domination. The musical tape *Sa:n Leup Bau: Sun*, available at present at Lao stores throughout the United States, has an anti-communist message.

doctrine, describing the stages of the world in terms of the evolution of the Buddhist religion, its disappearance, and ultimate regeneration. Works include *Ka:la Nap Meu: Sua:y*, *Kaisau:n Dau:k Bua:*, *Sang Hau:m That*, and *Latsi: Sunthau:n*. The poetic work *Pu: Sangasa: Nya: Sangasi:* is one of several related accounts of the creation of the world common among various Tai-speaking groups, including the Yuan, Kheun, and Shan.¹¹

E: Historical chronicles, in which myth plays an important role; Chronicles include a) historical accounts of the Kingdom of Lan Xang, such as *Khun Bau:rom* (which also describes the origins of humanity), b) historical accounts of various regions, such as *Phongsawada:n Jampha:sak* (Chronicles of Champhasak), *Phongsawada:n Attapheu* (Chronicles of Attapheu), etc., c) historical accounts of various religious sites or objects, such as *Pheu:n Phra Kae:w*, *Pheu:n Phra Bang*, etc., and d) historical accounts of Southeast Asian history, such as *Phra Jao Lia:p Lok* and *Ulangkhatha:t*, which describe the Buddha's fabled journey throughout Laos and surrounding countries. One of the more recent historical works is *Pheu:n Wia:ngjan*, an account of the battle between Jao Anu of Vientiane and the Thai during the beginning of the nineteenth century. While most of the works are composed in prose, there are a few notable exceptions, including *Pheu:n Wia:ngjan*, *Tamna:n La:n Sang*, and some versions of *Khun Bau:rom*.

F: Texts of astrology, incantations, and the calling of the Khwan spirit;¹² These texts are often written in verse. A popular poetic form for such texts is *Hay*, which is based upon rhyme between poetic lines.

G: Medicinal Treatises;

H: Buddhist religious texts from the Pali canon, and religious commentaries;

For the purpose of this thesis, the discussion of Lao literature will be

¹¹ See *Pathomamu:lamu:lli:* by Dr A. Peltier pp.183-184

¹² Khwan' is a type of guardian spirit, a large number of which are believed to reside in one's body.

restricted to the first category, works in which a story is told.¹³

There are approximately one hundred and forty two works that fall into category A of Lao literature.¹⁴ There is no way to give an exact figure as the works are scattered throughout Laos and northeastern Thailand, including many places within Laos that have been inaccessible to researchers for years. Although there are some stories that occur throughout Laos, or within one of its major regions (north, central, or south), there are also many works that have an extremely limited distribution. In the past, surveys of Lao manuscripts (which have never distinguished with any consistency between the various categories) have been made specifically of collections within temple libraries. The surveys have out of necessity been limited in scope, and filled with error.¹⁵ A sizable percentage of Lao manuscripts also exist in private hands of which a survey has never been attempted.

The majority of Lao stories (sixty-eight works) are composed solely in a poetic form known as *Kau:n A:n* which can be performed both on religious and secular occasions. There are also a sizable number of works which are intended exclusively for Buddhist religious use: Thirty-four stories in a prose form known as *Nitsay* and thirteen stories in the verse form of *Ha:y*. An additional twenty-three works exist in *Nitsay* prose (and/or *Ha:y*) and

¹³ There are some works that overlap categories. If a work revolves around a central plot, it is included in category A whether or not it simultaneously falls in another category. For example, the didactic work *Tha:w Kham-sau:n* is included in the first category because it follows a story-line. Similarly, there are several literary renditions of Lao history which tell a story, for example, *Tha:w Hung Tha:w Jau'a:ng*, *Tha:w Ba: Jau'a:ng*, *King Jau'a:ng Han*, and *Tha:w Lao Kham*, the first three of which describe the adventures of the historical figure *Tha:w Jau'a:ng*. Jataka tales, stories of the lives of the Bodhisattva taken from the Buddhist Tripitaka, are also included in Category A.

¹⁴ A list of Lao works of literature is provided in the appendix.

¹⁵ There have been a number of surveys that have been made within the past, by Finot in 1917, Khe:n in 1958, and La Font in 1959. The surveys document manuscripts in temples within Luang Prabang, Vientiane, and Champhasak. The French surveys, particularly those not written in the Lao script, suffer from frequent misspelling of titles that often render them unrecognizable. There is no attempt in any of the surveys to indicate whether the contents of the works are religious, historical, literary, etc. At the same time, individual works are often repeatedly listed due to alternate titles. Finally, because of the great changes in Laos since the time of these surveys, a large percentage of the manuscripts are no longer in the temples where they are listed. In the past several years, an ambitious inventory of manuscripts has been conducted within northeastern Thailand with the sponsorship of Toyota. Again, there is no standardization of titles. Approximately twenty volumes have been printed listing the findings. While useful, only a small percentage of temples within a given province have been surveyed, and surveys of several important provinces were barely started before the funding ran out. This is the case, for example, with Naung Khai, a province which should have been given high priority in the survey due to its historical connection to the ancient Lao capital of Vientiane. More distressing than the survey's incompleteness, however, is the fact that when I attempted to find manuscripts in several villages in Ubon province based upon the survey, I found not one of the manuscripts listed, and was informed that no one had visited the village to make such a survey. The accuracy of the survey apparently depends upon the region. I was more successful in making use of the survey in Maha Sarakham province where the books were published. At present, a Toyota funded survey is under-way in Laos.

Kau:n A:n poetic versions.¹⁶ Finally, there are many tales that occur in two or more Kau:n A:n poetic versions that vary widely.

The length of a story varies. An average work is slightly over one hundred leaves. There are, however, many stories that are under forty leaves in length and also many that exceed seven hundred leaves.

Lao Manuscripts

There are several methods of recording Lao texts. The majority of Lao writing is recorded onto the leaves of a species of palm tree. The leaves are cut into long strips that serve as pages, after which a metal stylus is used to inscribe the words. Rubber oil is applied to the text, darkening the grooves made by the stylus, and then excess oil is wiped off with rice chaff, sand, or other available material. Once inscribed, holes are pierced into the leaves, which are then bound with string inside of two long strips of wood that serve as covers. Under good conditions, palm leaf texts can last over a hundred years. Lao manuscripts are continually recopied both for purposes of circulation and to preserve the works as the leaves that they are written on begin to deteriorate.

Lao literature is also occasionally written on folding books made of white mulberry paper.¹⁷ Less commonly, some stories are recorded on small strips of bamboo that are tied together in bunches.

The History of Lao Scripts and Literature

Lao literature is largely developed from the literary tradition of the Yuan, a Tai group inhabiting the area that is now northern Thailand. The two scripts in which the literature is recorded, Tham¹⁸ and Lao, are closely related to and probably derived from their Yuan counterparts, Tua: Meu'a:ng and Fak Kham. To understand the linguistic and literary history of Laos, it is necessary therefore to appreciate the close relationship between the Lao Kingdom of Lan Xang and the Yuan Kingdom of Lanna. The Thai have

¹⁶ There are four additional stories of which I am unsure of the form. The figures given here are based on the inventory of Lao literature in the appendix, and are approximate. Further research will no doubt uncover the existence of a certain number of additional works.

¹⁷ This practice is more common among the Yuan, Kheun and Leu.

¹⁸ The name for the Lao script, 'Tham', i.e. dharma, reflects its religious use.

traditionally considered the people of both kingdoms to be Lao. This belief is also held by the historian George Coedes, and western missionaries who have worked within the area.¹⁹ The Yuan and the Lao themselves express in their chronicles an ancient belief that they were originally one and the same. According to the Lao chronicle *Khun Bau:rom*, the first ruler of Yonok (i.e. the Yuan) was Khun Kham Phu:ang, the fourth son of Khun Bau:rom, the first Lao king.²⁰ In *Phongsawada:n Chiang Mai* (Chronicles of Chiang Mai), the Mangra:y dynasty traces its ancestors back to a king referred to as Pu: Jao Lao Jok in present-day Chiang Saen on the Mekong river.²¹ King Mangra:y was the twenty-fifth king of a lineage in which every king prior to King Mangra:y is referred to by the title of Lao. The related origin of the Lao and the Yuan can also be seen in the similarity in culture and language between the two societies. The people of both kingdoms speak languages within the Tai linguistic family. The dialects spoken within the traditional capitals and cultural centers of both kingdoms, Luang Prabang (of Lan Xang) and Chiang Mai (of Lanna), are especially closely related. The major poetic forms of the Lao and the Yuan, Khlo:ng, Ka:p, and Ha:y, (which exist in oral as well as written form²²) also share close similarities. The style and content of the poetry that is used by young men and women during courtship is remarkably similar between the two, as is the poetry that is used in ceremonies to call the Khwan spirit.²³

History of the Kingdom of Lanna, its Scripts and Literature

The Kingdom of Lanna was founded prior to the Kingdom of Lan Xang.

¹⁹ *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* by George Coedes p.195 The titles of several books describing the experiences of western missionaries in Chiang Mai reflect this belief, for example, *The Lao of North Siam* by L.W. Curtis and *A Half-Century Among The Siamese and The Lao* (an account of a missionary's experiences among the Yuan of northern Thailand, the Kheun of northeastern Burma, and the Leu within the neighboring region of China) by Daniel McGilvary D.D.

²⁰ *Nitha:n Khun Bau:rom Ra:sa:thira:t Sabap Thi: Neung* transcribed by Maha: Sila: Wirawong (L) p.32 In some versions, the son's name is Sa:y Phong. *ibid.* p.23

²¹ The use of Lao as a title for Yuan kings suggests a relationship between the Yuan and the Lao. Pu: lao is a title reflecting seniority and high rank. Jok is a type of shovel used for farming over which the kings in this lineage had a monopoly. (Whether this is the actual origin of the term or invented afterwards as an explanation is uncertain.) *Jek Pon La:w* by Sujit Wongthet p.15

²² There is evidence that each of the verse forms exist in oral as well as written form with the exception of the form of Khlo:ng among the Yuan. However, as written Lao Khlo:ng appears to have evolved from Lao oral verse rather than to have been borrowed from the Yuan, logically, written Yuan Khlo:ng would similarly be descended from an oral form rather than invented independently in writing.

²³ The close relationship of Lao and Yuan courting poetry is the topic of the book *Kham U. Ba:w U: Sa:w Lae Phanya: Kia:w Isa:n* by Songsak Prangwattana:kun.

At the time of Lan Xang's origin, Lanna had already established a high level of political organization and culture. Through contact with Haripunchai, Sukhothai, and Sri Lanka, the Yuan developed a tradition of Buddhist scholarship from which an extensive literary tradition emerged.

The Yuan became prominent in the area that is now northern Thailand under the Mangray dynasty during the years 1258 to 1556.²⁴ King Mangray defeated the Mon Kingdom of Haripunchai, which occupied the contemporary province of Lamphun, during the year 1281, and established the city of Chiang Mai as his capital in 1296. Yuan culture owes much to the Mon. The Mon alphabet was adapted by the Yuan to create the script known as Tua: Meu'ang.

During the reign of King Keu'na: from 1367 to 1388, Buddhist scholarship flourished.²⁵ The neighboring Kingdom of Sukhothai was an important center of Theravada Buddhism and spread its influence through its religious teachings.²⁶ The renowned monk Phra Maha: Sumon Thera established a religious sect in Sukhothai based upon the reformation of incorrect practices that were common among Buddhist monks. He was invited by King Keu'na: to purify the Buddhist clergy within Lanna. Over eight thousand Yuan monks were re-ordained into the new sect, and an important temple was built for Phra Maha: Sumon Thera in the city of Chiang Mai. One result of his mission was the introduction of what became the Fak Kha:m script (which is similar to and perhaps the source of ancient Lao), based upon the script of Sukhothai.²⁷ The first inscription in this script is found in the year 1370 at Phra Yeun temple in Lamphun.²⁸ Later on, the

²⁴ Dates for the defeat of Haripunchai and the founding of Chiang Mai are taken from *Wannakam La:nna:* by Dr Udom Rungreu'a:ngsi, pp.2-3. The dates for the reign of Yuan kings follow those given in the article *The Relationship between the Religious and Political Orders in Northern Thailand* by Donald Swearer and Sommai Premchit. Historical dates given in different Yuan chronicles vary, but according to the above article, the dates listed in the Yonok Chronicles have generally been accepted as the most accurate by western scholars. (p.33 fn.2) The dates given in *Wannakam La:nna:* by Dr. Udom Rungreu'a:ngsi: and *Prawat Lae Wannakadi: La:nna:* by Mani: Payau:myong on p.5 are similar to those given in the previously mentioned article with minor discrepancies.

²⁵ *Statecraft in the Reign of Lu Tai of Sukhodaya* by Barbara Watson Andaya. According to this article, with the threat of Ayudhaya in the south, the religious missions of Sukhothai 'filled a critical role in building up the network of alliances necessary to maintain a viable state'. (p.36) Also described in the article *Laksana Khau:ng Wannakam Phak Neu'a: Lae Wannakam Isa:n Cheu'ng Priapthia:p* by Thawat Punno:thok, p.36 Also, in *Wannakam Isa:n* by the same author, pp.27-31

²⁶ *Laksana Khau:ng Wannakam Phak Neu'a: Lae Wannakam Isa:n Cheu'ng Priapthia:p* by Thawat Punno:thok p.25 Also, *Wannakam Isa:n* by the same author, pp.27-31

²⁷ *Pha:sa. Lae Aksau:n La:nna: Thaiy* by Sommai Phre:mjit p.117

²⁸ *Wannakam Thau:ng Thin* by Thawat Punno:thok p.41 The initial inscription in this script is similar in shape and orthography to the script of Sukhothai. It developed characteristics of its own as time went on.

Fak Kha:m script came to be used by the Yuan exclusively for recording matters of a non-religious nature. The first known Yuan poetic work that is written in the popular Tai verse form of Khlo:ng, entitled Usa: Ba:rot, is believed to have been composed during or before this period.²⁹

It is speculated that the Tua: Meu'a:ng script, based upon the Mon alphabet, was created by the Yuan at the beginning of the Mangra:y dynasty. However, the first inscription that has been found in this script dates from the year 1376, during the reign of King Keu'na:³⁰ The inscription is from a temple in Sukhothai, rather than Lanna. The first Tua: Meu'a:ng inscription within Chiang Mai is not until the year 1465, at Wat Chiang Man.³¹ The Tua: Meu'a:ng script, in contrast to Fak Kha:m, was used in Lanna solely for religious purposes.

The renaissance of Buddhism in Lanna paved the way for further linguistic and literary development. In 1423, a delegation of Yuan monks traveled to Sri Lanka, where the Buddhist scriptures were originally recorded. They studied the Singhalese script and style of Buddhist recitation. The monks returned to Chiang Mai in the year 1431 and established the Maha: Wiha:ra order within Lanna during the reign of King Sa:m Fang Kae:n (1411-1442).³² During the reign of King Phra Jao Ti Lo:karat in the years 1442 to 1487, the Maha: Wiha:ra sect became exceedingly popular. With the help both of Yuan monks who had studied in Sri Lanka and Singhalese monks who had returned with them, the level of Buddhist scholarship and religious practice within Chiang Mai grew immensely. Yuan monks became proficient in Pali, the language of the Buddhist scriptures, to the extent that they could compose original Pali works. The Tua: Meu'a:ng script was improved, with the addition of letters so that the alphabet could incorporate the entire sound range of the Pali language as interpreted by Singhalese monks.³³ The high level of Buddhist scholarship in Lanna is illustrated by

²⁹ *Wannakam Thau:ng Thin La:nna* : by Lamun Janhau:m p.76 A legal text from the time of King Keu'na: describes the popularity of this poem. It is written in an early form of Khlo:ng known as Khlong Dan, of which it forms the sole example.

³⁰ Dates and locations of early examples of Tua: Meu'a:ng are taken from *Rabop Kan Khia:n Aksau:n La:nna*: by Dr. Udom Rungreu'a:ngsi: pp.13-14

³¹ According to Dr. Rungreu'a:ngsi:, the oldest known use of the Tua: Meu'a:ng script within Lanna is in a manuscript dated from the year 1399, located in the province of Phayao.

³² *The Relationship between the Religious and Political Orders in Northern Thailand* by Donald Swearer and Sommai Premchit p.28 Also described in: *Pha:sa: Lae Aksau:n La:nna: Thaiy* by Sommai Premchit pp.117-118

³³ *Pha:sa: Lae Aksau:n La:nna: Thaiy* by Sommai Premchit pp.118-120

the fact that according to the Yuan chronicles, during the years 1476-1477, the eighth international conference to create a new recension of the Buddhist scriptures, the Tripitaka, was held in Chiang Mai.³⁴

Yuan literature reached its highest level under the reign of Phra Meu'a:ng Kae:w from 1495 to 1528. Many literary works were composed in the Pali language. The first Yuan work in the poetic form Khlo:ng Si: Supha:p, entitled *Nira:t Haripunchay*, was written during his reign.

The Mangray dynasty ended in the year 1556 when the Burmese took control of Chiang Mai. During the two centuries of Burmese occupation, Yuan literature and Buddhist scholarship declined greatly.

History of Laos, its Scripts and Literature

Laos has a long history of civilizations predating the Lao. The Kingdom of Funan, of which southern Laos formed a part, dates back approximately two thousand years. A later kingdom, Chenla, became prominent within the same area of Laos in the seventh century. After this time, Khmer influence grew and became powerful throughout southern, central, and northern Laos. What each of these kingdoms share in common is an Indian cultural heritage.³⁵ The effect of this heritage upon the folklore and eventual literature of the Lao who later came to control the area is worthy of speculation.

The known history of the ethnic Lao in the region began in the fourteenth century. The Lao Kingdom of Lan Xang was first established in 1353 by King Fa: Ngum. His reign corresponds to the time of King Keu'na: of the Kingdom of Lanna. With the help of Khmer backing, Fa: Ngum succeeded in joining together Laos and part of present day northeastern Thailand into a united kingdom. In doing so, he took advantage of the weakened power of the Kingdom of Sukhothai, which since the end of the thirteenth century had claimed Vientiane and Luang Prabang to be within its domain. Fa: Ngum invited Buddhist monks and scriptures from Cambodia

³⁴ *ibid.* pp.118-119. However it is speculated in the article *The Relationship between the Religious and Political Orders in Northern Thailand* by Donald Swearer and Sommai Premchit that the conference never actually took place. The conference is described in little detail in the Yuan Chronicles whereas meetings of much less significance are more comprehensively treated. The article further states that the conference is referred to as the Eighth Official Buddhist Council exclusively among Thai Buddhists rather than being universally recognized as such.

³⁵ *The Krsna Saga in Laos* by Sahai Sachchidanand, Introduction p.1

and strengthened the role of Theravada Buddhism within Laos.³⁶

According to the Yuan religious chronicle *Mun Sa:sana*, a delegation of monks from Sukhothai traveled to Luang Prabang at the same time that Phra Maha: Sumon The:ra travelled to Lanna during the reign of King Keu'na:. If this were true, one might expect to find inscriptions recording the event in ancient Lao script in Luang Prabang during this period. However, none have been found.³⁷ The earliest inscription in the Lao script that has been discovered within the historical area of Lan Xang actually dates a few years before the time that Phra Maha: Sumon The:ra traveled to Chiang Mai. The inscription, dated 1350, is located a great distance from Luang Prabang in the Phangkhon district of Sakon Nakhon province in northeastern Thailand.³⁸ The date of the inscription, however, is questionable, as the second oldest known inscription in the Lao script dates from only 1528, almost two centuries later.³⁹

During the next two centuries, the Kingdom of Lan Xang grew in power and developed a thriving culture. Many of its kings were ardent supporters of Buddhism.⁴⁰ It is not known, however, what if any manuscripts or literature existed at the time. The earliest known inscription in Tham, the religious script of Lan Xang, dates from 1490, at Si: Sake:t Temple in Vientiane.⁴¹ This script is an adaption of the Tua: Meu'a:ng script of the Yuan.⁴² The closeness in dates of the earliest inscriptions in both kingdoms (1465 and 1490) illustrates the close relationship and cultural exchange between the two kingdoms.

The earliest evidence we have of Lao literature is from the beginning of the sixteenth century. During this period, Yuan culture was at its height.

³⁶ *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* by George Coedes p223

³⁷ *Wannakam Isa:n* pp.29-31

³⁸ If the date is correct, the existence of this inscription suggests that perhaps the Lao script came from a different source than Sukhothai. Although the inscription in Sakon Nakhon is from the same time period as the Sukhothai inscriptions, the letters are considerably different in shape from their Sukhothai counterparts. Normally if a script were borrowed, it would take a longer time before the shape of the letters would change to this extent from its original source. *Silaja:reuk Isa:n* by Thawat Punno:thok pp.225-227

³⁹ *ibid.* pp.225-227

⁴⁰ *Phongsawadan La:w* (Chronicles of Laos) Arranged by Maha: Sila: Wirawong (L) pp.50-52 It must be noted that the 'Chronicles of Laos' is a modern work. It consists of Maha: Sila: Wirawong's interpretation of Lao history based upon various ancient chronicles. Many of his interpretations are questioned by more recent students of Lao history.

⁴¹ *Wannakam Isa:n* by Thawat Punno:thok pp.79-80

⁴² *ibid.* pp.80-81

King Wisun reigned from 1496 to 1548.⁴³ The period of King Wisun, together with the two kings that followed, marked a religious renaissance that was to have a strong impact on Lao literature and culture. During King Wisun's reign, the historical work *Khun Baurom* was composed, and the literary work *Nang Tantrai* was translated and adapted from the Hindu work *Panchatantra*.⁴⁴ Both works were authored by monks of high position. During the reign of King Wisun's son, Pho:thi:sa:ra:at, from 1516 to 1548, Yuan influence increased steadily. Many of the important monks in the capital city of Luang Prabang were either born or educated in Lanna, for example, the Supreme Patriarch, Maha: Si: Jantho:, a native of Phitsanuloke who was educated in Nan (both provinces in Lanna) and Phra Maha: Samuthakho:t, who completed his religious studies in Chiang Mai. When the king ordained at Wisun temple (where *Khun Baurom* had been written), both of these monks served as the king's teachers.⁴⁵ In the year 1523, King Pho:thi:sa:ra:at sent a delegation asking for Buddhist scriptures and monks from Chiang Mai to advance the practice of Buddhism in Lan Xang. The Yuan sent several learned monks as well as sixty texts of the Buddhist Tripitaka scriptures.⁴⁶ Yuan literature, which is largely composed in religious form, probably entered Lan Xang both through this delegation and through the monks residing in Luang Prabang who were born and educated in Lanna. Considering that the composers of Lao literature during this period are likely to have primarily been monks of high education within Luang Prabang, it is not surprising that Yuan literature would have had a great impact. If the date of the previously mentioned inscription in ancient Lao in the fourteenth century proves incorrect, the oldest known evidence of the Lao script dates from the reign of Pho:thi:sa:ra:at. If so, ancient Lao is probably an adaption of the Fak Kham script of Lanna.⁴⁷

⁴³ Dates of the reigns of Lao kings are taken from *Wannakam Isan* by Thawat Punno:thok pp.32-35

⁴⁴ *Nithan Khun Baurom Rasathirat Sabap Thi: Neung*, transcribed by Maha: Sila: Wirawong (L) Introduction p.1 *Khun Baurom* was composed in the year 1503. We have no exact date for the composition of *Nang Tantrai*.

⁴⁵ *Phongsawadan La:u* (Chronicles of Laos) Arranged by Maha: Sila: Wirawong (L) p.54. King Pho:thi:sa:ra:at's son, Se:thathira:t, similarly ordained for a period of time during his reign. *Lae Laur: Phongsawadan La:u* by Jaruwan Thammawat p.88

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.54 This religious exchange is also recorded in the Yuan Chronicles. See *Khwam Samphan Rawang Lanna: Kap Lan Sang Nai Dan Wannakam* by Dr. A. Peltier pp.149-150

⁴⁷ According to Thawat Punno:thok, the ancient Lao recorded on inscriptions from this period are very similar to Fak Kham inscriptions from a similar time period in Lanna. The writing style changes during the next few centuries. *Rayngan Ka:n Sammana: Tha:ng Wichaka:n La:nna:* edited by Songsak Pra-ngwatanakun p.54

When the king of Lanna, Jao Say Kham, died in 1543, he left no heir to the throne. At the time, the major queen of King Pho:thi:sa:ra:ra:t of Lan Xang was a daughter of the deceased king of Lanna. King Pho:thi:sa:ra:ra:t's son, Se:tha:thi:ra:t, was therefore related by blood to the royal line of Lanna. With the invitation of Yuan ministers, he proceeded to take the throne of Chiang Mai. Se:tha:thi:ra:t ruled Chiang Mai during the years 1543 to 1548. When his father died in the year 1548, he returned to Lan Xang, bringing with him Buddhist scriptures, monks and important Buddha images including the Phra Kae:w Morakot and Phra Sae:k Kham. This is another important occasion in which Yuan literature is likely to have been brought to Lan Xang from Chiang Mai.⁴⁸

Although it was the intention of King Se:tha:thi:ra:t to return to Chiang Mai, this was made impossible when the Burmese took control of Chiang Mai in the year 1558. It was during the following century, after Lanna's decline, that Lao literature is considered to have reached its classical stage.⁴⁹ Religious literary works within Lanna were largely composed in prose or the poetic form of Hay. The Lao transformed the majority into the Lao verse form Kau:n A:n, and generally adapted them to suit the tastes of a Lao audience. Many additional works were also created. According to *Phongsa:wada:n La:w* (The Chronicles of Laos), Lao literature flourished under King Suriyawongsa, who reigned from 1633-1690, when works such as *Sang Sinsai* are believed to have been written.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, it is rare for a manuscript to tell either the author of the text or the date in which it was composed. Texts are constantly altered during the process of transcription, and changed to suit the needs of the time or location. It is thus very difficult to establish a precise chronology for individual works of Lao literature.

Due to internal rivalries, Lan Xang split into three separate kingdoms at the end of the seventeenth century: Luang Prabang, Vientiane, and Champhasak. This split and the weakness that followed had a great effect on the future of Lao literature, language, and culture in general.⁵¹ Lao fortune

⁴⁸ *Wannakam Isa:n* by Thawat Punno:thok pp.33-34 Also *Phongsa:wada:n La:w* (Chronicles of Laos) Arranged by Maha: Sila: Wirawong (L) pp.56-58 According to Maha: Sila: in the 'Chronicles of Laos', Prince Se:tha:thi:ra:t succeeded the Yuan King Phra Meu'a:ng Ket Kao. However, according to the chronology of Yuan monarchs in *Wannakam La:nna:* by Dr. Udom Rungreu'angsi: and *Prawat Lae Wannakadi: La:nna:* by Mani: Phanaumyong, the king preceding him is Say Kham.

⁴⁹ *Khwa:m Samphan Rawang Lanna: Kap La:n Sang Nai Dan Wannakam* by Dr. A. Peltier p.153

⁵⁰ *Phongsa:wada:n La:w* (Chronicles of Laos) Arranged by Maha: Sila: Wirawong (L) p.81

⁵¹ *The Lao Language* by L.N. Morev p.4

vacillated with the power of its two neighbors, Siam to the west and Vietnam to the east. By the nineteenth century, most of Laos was either a vassal of Siam or Vietnam, or both at the same time.

When the Thai army razed Vientiane in 1829 after a revolt by the Lao king Jao Anu, they destroyed the Buddhist temples and took thousands of manuscripts from temple libraries. In 1893 the French annexed the territory that comprises present-day Laos and the Thai retained only the area that is now northeastern Thailand, a small percentage of what they formerly controlled. The division of regions inhabited by the Lao based upon political rather than ethnic considerations has resulted in a situation where over ten million Lao at present live within the boundaries of Thailand whereas under two million live inside of Laos.

The ethnic Lao that came under Thai rule received minimal Thai cultural influence before the middle of the nineteenth century. As long as the Thai rulers regularly received their taxes or tribute, they were content to allow the Lao to administer themselves under the traditional Lao system of government. However in 1892, under the reign of King Chulalongkorn, the Thai reformed the way in which the various regions within their kingdom, such as north and northeastern Thailand, were governed. Administrators from Bangkok were brought in to replace traditional rulers.⁵² In addition, during the early twentieth century, under King Vajiravudh, primary education became compulsory by law. The law was not actually enforced, however, until after 1935 and many of the schools in northeastern Thailand were built even later, with UNESCO aid.⁵³ The curriculum of Thai schools taught exclusively Thai history, literature, and language in an attempt to integrate the ethnic Lao as members of the Thai state. From this time onwards, traditional temple education, regional scripts and literature began to lose their importance.⁵⁴ The teaching of the history or culture of ethnic groups other than the Thai has been restricted within Thailand due to the belief that it would encourage regional separatism. This has resulted in the fact that the people of northeastern Thailand have been taught to look down upon their own culture and to have little awareness that they have any history separate from that of the Thai. In recent years, however, college-level

⁵² *A History of South-East Asia* by D.G.E. Hall p.673

⁵³ "Kaen"Playing and "Mawlum" Singing in Northeast Thailand, Ph.D. thesis by Terry Miller p.29

⁵⁴ *Naew Thang Seuksa: Wannakam Pheun Ban Praphet La:ylak* by Thawat Punno:thok p.13

courses concerned with 'regional studies' have begun to be taught and the subject has attracted increasing interest among the people of the provincial areas of Thailand.

The Lao who came under the control of the French fared no better in the preservation of their culture. French, the language of the colonizers, was established as the official language of Laos. In high schools and colleges in the major towns, French was the sole language of instruction, and French history and culture was taught in place of that of the Lao. The Lao elite often came to look down upon their own culture and language in which they were largely uneducated. Indeed much of Lao literature that was written by the Lao elite during the colonial period was composed in the French language in imitation of French literary styles. Even after independence in 1954, although Lao officially became the national language, in practice French remained prominent in the spheres of government and higher education. The consistent implementation of Lao as a national language began only with the communist victory in 1975.⁵⁵ However, due to the political orientation of the regime, Lao traditional culture (and literature in particular) has become subject to Marxist analysis and much has been rejected due to its emphasis on the rites and values of the monarchy.⁵⁶

Despite the lack of official sponsorship, the Lao people under Thai and French control continued to preserve their tradition of transcribing, performing, and composing works of literature. Naung Lam Jan Temple, for example, an important center of southern Lao literature in rural Suwannakhet province, reached its height after the French took control of the country at the end of the nineteenth century. In contrast to previous histories of Lao literature, the data from the survey of Lao literary works in the appendix suggests that the majority of Lao stories, and particularly those composed by the Lao themselves, originated after the demise of the Kingdom of Lan Xang. A large percentage of the stories are solely distributed outside of the traditional cultural centers of Lan Xang in rural areas with extremely

⁵⁵ *Dignity, National Identity and Unity* by Chagnon, J., Rumpf, R. pp.2-9

⁵⁶ With the incentive of foreign capital (such as funding from Toyota) to preserve Lao manuscripts, however, the Lao government has begun to present itself in the role of preserver of the Lao literary heritage. See, for example, the introduction to *Sammana: Bai Lan Thua: Phathet Khang Thi: Neung*, edited by Khamphaeng Kettawong (L)

limited circulation.⁵⁷ They are not independent of the Lan Xang tradition, however, as they are clearly influenced by the conventions that one commonly finds in works of Yuan or probable Lan Xang origin. Such stories are likely to have been composed by common people on the village level.⁵⁸

During the past half-century, however, the Lao literary tradition has increasingly declined. Fewer and fewer Lao men enter the monkhood and learn the traditional scripts that are the necessary key to reading the texts. In northeastern Thailand, even the monks can not generally read the ancient scripts and rely on printed texts for their sermons.⁵⁹ The art of transcribing manuscripts is known by few. At the same time, mass communications such as radio, film, and television have replaced the traditional role of Lao poetic epics as a source of entertainment. However, the performance of Lao literature has by no means disappeared within Laos and is very much alive in many of the rural areas. *Mau: Lam*, a type of musical entertainment whose texts and performance styles are based upon Lao literature, remains popular throughout Laos and northeastern Thailand.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ It must be noted that one reason that certain works may no longer be found within Vientiane or central Laos is because the Lao capital was razed by the Thai and much of the population of Central Laos was forcibly resettled in Thailand. However, as noted in fn. 136 on p.36, an inventory of manuscripts compiled by Louis Finot shows that a large variety of Lao literary works existed within Vientiane at the beginning of the twentieth century, a relatively short period of time after the abandonment of the city which followed its destruction by the Thai. Surveys of temples both within Vientiane and other areas of central Laos show the existence of a wide range of titles that occur consistently throughout this area. One wonders, therefore, whether works that are not found within central Laos at present disappeared as a result of the war with the Thai (unlike the many other stories that managed to survive) or whether such works ever existed within the region at all. Consider in particular the many Lao stories whose distribution is limited to a small geographical area. Is it feasible that such works were originally composed within central Laos, disappeared from the region, and then reoccurred with great popularity exclusively in a handful of villages, often at a great distance from where they were created? A more plausible explanation is that such works are local compositions. It is noteworthy that many stories of limited distribution are found in areas that have important centers of Buddhist scholarship. For example, two locations in which I discovered a large number of unusual titles are the vicinity of Nau:ng Lam Jan village in Suwannakhet province and the province of Ubon in northeastern Thailand. Both areas are the site of temples that were important traditional centers of religious education. Note also that both locations reached their religious and cultural peak after the decline of Lan Xang. The prominence of the temple in Nau:ng Lam Jan as a literary center occurred only after French colonization at the end of the 19th century (as explained to me by monks and villagers in Nau:ng Lam Jan and confirmed in a pamphlet that describes the history of the temple printed in Vietnam).

⁵⁸ The evolution of Lao literature after the demise of Lan Xang is discussed further in Section b on pp.57-58.

⁵⁹ In recent years, several works of Lao literature have been printed on palm leaves in the Thai script and mass-produced at a religious publishing house in Bangkok. They are recommended as a fitting gift for layman to present to temples. At one important temple in Suwannakhet, I discovered more of these 'printed palm-leaves' than actual manuscripts. I was told that the original works had been given to Thai people from across the border in exchange for the modern printed versions.

⁶⁰ For a description of the decline of ancient Lao scripts and the literary tradition in northeastern Thailand, see Terry Miller's thesis *"Kaen" playing and "Mawlum" Singing in Northeast Thailand* pp.29-30. For sources on *Mau: Lam*'s adaptation of the literary tradition, see fn.178 on page 50 of this chapter.

Traditional Lao Literature and Religion

The Buddhist religion was a powerful institution that played an important role within the Kingdom of Lan Xang. According to Thawat Punno:thok, the power of the temple was comparable to that of the monarchy.⁶¹

Through royal donations, a significant amount of the kingdom's land and work-force came under the control of the temple. The temple was a great land-owner, controlling farmland and perhaps even villages.⁶² People who lived on royally donated land came under the sole administration of the temple, and were spared the royal tax, paying instead a percentage of their produce to the temple.⁶³ Slaves were also frequently donated by the monarchy. The position was passed down hereditarily. Slaves were exempt from government tax and could not be levied to perform labor for the government or inducted into the army.⁶⁴ An important sign of the power of the temple can be seen by the fact that from the time of King Sa:m Saen Thai (1373-1416) onwards, under each reign various important temples were designated as 'areas of amnesty from royal decrees' where one guilty of a disobeying the king could escape punishment by entering the temple and performing the temple's work.⁶⁵

Buddhist monks exercised political power within the kingdom. For example, when a mission was sent to negotiate the borders between Lan Xang and Ayudhaya in 1558, the Lao representatives included both important ministers and monks.⁶⁶ It was customary for kings to ordain for a period of time during their reigns (as we have previously noted concerning Kings Pho:thi:sa:ra:at and Se:tha:thi:ra:t). During their period of ordination, leading monks served as the kings' teachers. The political power and prestige that the monkhood enjoyed, both in Lanna and Lan Xang, can further be seen by

⁶¹ *Sila:ja:reuk I:sa:n* by Thawat Punno:thok pp.132, 167

⁶² *ibid.* pp.94-95

⁶³ *ibid.* pp.94-95, 150

⁶⁴ *ibid.* p.126 Due to the threat of the Burmese, inscriptions announcing the royal donation of slaves in the reign of King Se:tha:thi:ra:t were appended with the statement that such slaves could be called upon by the king in times of war owing to the fact that the country's enemies were also the enemies of Buddhism. *ibid.* p.127

⁶⁵ *ibid.* pp.131-132, 166-167 Inscriptions recording royal donations of slaves and land can also be found in the Kingdoms of Lanna and Sukhothai. The temple in Lanna appears to have been an especially large land-owner. However, as of yet there has been no evidence found in either of the two kingdoms that temples were similarly designated as areas of amnesty. pp.153-168

⁶⁶ *ibid.* p.126

the fact that the literary and historical works of both societies, composed largely by the monkhood, include among their teachings the proper role of kings and high officials. Kings are praised both for their observance of Buddhist precepts and their general support of the religion. At the same time, deviance from acceptable religious behavior presents a primary legitimization for the forfeit of royal power.⁶⁷ One popular type of literature describes the unhappy fate of an immoral king at the hands of a righteous commoner.

Buddhism was beneficial to the monarchy in that it was the guiding force with which to control the behavior of the country's people. Moral instruction as taught by monks was more readily accepted and taken to heart by the Lao people than secular law. Buddhism provides an effective incentive for following its teachings: The more that one follows its precepts, the more one will accumulate ບຸນ (bun) 'Bun', merit, that will help both in present and future life-times. In contrast, the more that one commits morally wrong actions, the more one will accumulate ກຳ (kam) 'Kam,' the suffering that is the result of one's sins. If, as was the case in Lao society, people have strong religious faith and regularly participate in temple organized activities, behavior can effectively be regulated.⁶⁸ The significance of Buddhism in establishing standards of behavior can be seen by the fact that early Lao works of law were based upon codes of religious discipline. Punishment was similar to that meted out to monks who went against the rules of the Buddhist order.⁶⁹ When a case was being decided in court, religious works such as *Ja:takas* would be evoked as examples to support the appropriateness of a particular judgment.⁷⁰

The Buddhist concept of Kam or 'fate' has also traditionally served the monarchy in teaching the Lao to accept their station in life. The rich and powerful achieved their rank through past acts of merit, whereas the poor were in the process of paying for their past sins.⁷¹ The role of the king as a supporter of the religion, as could be seen in his publicized charitable religious acts, also greatly added to his legitimacy in the eyes of the common

⁶⁷ *ibid.* p.90

⁶⁸ *ibid.* pp.147-149

⁶⁹ *ibid.* p.149 Also, *Lae: Laut Phongsawadan La:w* by Jaruwan Thammawat p.88

⁷⁰ *Lae: Laut Phongsawadan La:w* by Jaruwan Thammawat p.88

⁷¹ *Sila:ja:reuk Isan* by Thawat Punno:thok p.149

people.

Lao literature was a primary means by which the Lao monkhood communicated Buddhist religious values to lay people. While some texts are specifically didactic, all works expound on Buddhist precepts, in particular the results of performing good deeds or committing sin. A study of the *Panya:sa Ja:taka* (which has served as a major inspiration for Lao literature) has shown that stories within the collection 'emphasize precisely the values deemed most important for the layman: the four noble truths, the role of Karma and merit-making, *dhana*, and the precepts'.⁷²

In Lao society, the cultural center has traditionally been the temple. In the past, most Lao men spent a considerable amount of their teenage years as temple novices, where they gained literacy and received their general education. The ability to read, perform or compose Lao literature was entirely based upon skills that were learned in the temple. In the eyes of the Lao, both literature and the process of learning itself have therefore become intimately associated with the Buddhist religion. Works of Lao literature, whatever their origins or contents happen to be, are by and large presented as religious tales. This both legitimizes them in the eyes of their sponsors and affords them the high respect with which they are viewed by the Lao public, not merely as entertainment but as teachings of the Buddha. At the same time, whereas the stories are given status by their association with Buddhism, the popularity of the stories makes them a useful vehicle with which to spread Buddhist teaching among the Lao.

Up until the present, Buddhist religious beliefs within Lao society have been mixed with Brahman and regional Southeast Asian beliefs in the supernatural.⁷³ Lao literature reflects the beliefs of the people who have created the stories. Works include, for example, the non-Buddhist Lao belief that rain is caused by Nagas playing in a celestial river;⁷⁴ that the deity Thae:n Lau: has a role in shaping a human's destiny on earth,⁷⁵ and that one's lover

⁷² *An Historical and Structural Study of the Panna:sa Ja:taka* by Dorothy Fickle p.278

⁷³ Historical chronicles show that kings of Lan Xang, from Fa: Ngum onwards, have persistently attempted with limited success to promote Buddhism as the sole religion of their kingdom and to eradicate the worship of spirits. In 1547, King Pho:thisararat went as far as abolishing the worship of *ŋ* (*phi*) locally revered deities, and attempted to burn down all of the shrines to such deities that had been established by his predecessors. Belief in 'Phi', however, has persisted and is still very common in present-day Laos.

⁷⁴ For example, in *Khun Theung*

⁷⁵ See, for example, *Takatae:n Kham*

is predestined and can be determined by the performance of a certain ceremony.⁷⁶ Buddhist and non-Buddhist beliefs tend to complement one another in the telling of a story. In *Tha:w Khatthana:m*, for example, Buddhist religious tenets are explained in comparison with the steps used in building a Bang Fai, a Lao bamboo rocket used in a traditional Tai fertility ritual.⁷⁷ In other examples, Buddhist beliefs are presented side-by-side with non-Buddhist Tai beliefs in a manner that shows Buddhism's superiority. In the work *Phanya: Khankhak*, the Bodhisattva is depicted as a righteous king who defeats Phanya: Thae:n, a high-ranking Tai deity, when the latter in jealousy causes a drought. On one level, the story places Buddhism on top of the hierarchy of beliefs. Whatever meaning, however, is inherent in the story's content, its main use has come to be in its performance during a non-Buddhist ritual to appeal for rain during a dry spell. During this ceremony, Buddhist monks are invited to chant the story with the purpose of forcing Phanya: Thae:n to release the rain that he is withholding from needy Lao farmers.

Sources of Lao Literature

Lao literature can be divided according to its origins as follows:

1) Works of Indian Origin

1.1: Indian Buddhist Works

Canonical Jataka Tales: Canonical Jataka tales are a collection of over five hundred stories that describe the Bodhisattva in his various incarnations. The Bodhisattva, or the one who will become the Buddha, must perfect himself through the course of many life-times before he can achieve enlightenment. Jataka tales form a part of the Buddhist religious canon, the Tripitaka. They are believed to take as their source oral folk tales. Each story of the Bodhisattva is divided into three sections, as follows:

⁷⁶ See, for example, *Khunlu: Na:ng Ua:*

⁷⁷ *Tha:w Khatthana:m*, printed version transcribed by Amphau:n Namlaio pp.99-100

1 The Patjupanna Watthu 'The Story of the Present' In this short introductory section, the Buddha is asked a question by his disciples.

2 The Atit Watthu 'The Story of the Past' Prompted by his disciples' inquiry, the Buddha relates a story of a past life-time to illustrate the answer to the question that he has been asked. This section forms the main text of the story.

3 The Samothanna 'The Connection' In a brief final section, the Buddha reveals the identity of the characters within his past life-time, each of whom has a counterpart within his present.

Jataka tales, particularly the Mahanipata, accounts of the last ten lives of the Bodhisattva, are popular throughout Buddhist Southeast Asia. In Laos, one encounters primarily versions of the last ten tales. The *Vesantara Jataka*, the last of the ten, is the most popular, and is read annually in its entirety at a major religious festival known as Bun Phawet. The Jataka tales largely occur within Laos only in Nitsay prose or Hays versions, a few having been transformed into Kaun An poetry by the Lao scholar Maha Sila Wirawong in the early twentieth century.

1.2: Indian Hindu Works:

A small minority of Lao literary works are of Hindu origin, including:

a: Stories related to the *Ramayana*: *Phra Lak Phra Lam*, which exists in prose and poetic form, is based upon the *Ramayana*. According to the Indian professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji, the prose version of this work appears to be 'the most aberrated and bizarre' of the non-Indian versions of the epic tale.⁷⁸ It is also one of the lengthiest works of Lao literature.⁷⁹ Another related story of Yuan origin, *Khway Thauraphi*, also describes the life of

⁷⁸ *Ramayana In Laos: A Study in the Gvay Dvorahbi* by Sachchidanand Sahai Introduction p.X

⁷⁹ The entire work, approximately eight hundred pages in length, has been printed in two volumes by Sahai Sachchidanand.

Rama.⁸⁰

b: Stories based upon Indian legends of Krishna: *Phrakeut Phrapha:n*, which occurs in prose and poetic form, is based upon Indian tales of Ba:na:sura or Usa: Aniruddha.⁸¹ *Usa: Ba:rot*, which is probably derived from an equivalent work in Lanna, is also based upon related Indian mythology.⁸²

c: Stories based on the *Panchatantra*: The Lao work, *Nang Tantrai*, believed to be composed during the reign of King Wisun (1496-1548), is a collection of tales based upon the Sanskrit *Panchatantra*.

2) Works of Southeast Asian Origin

Lao literature that was composed by the Lao or borrowed from the Yuan or Mon shares a close relationship with the traditions of oral story-telling among Tai and non-Tai peoples of mainland Southeast Asia. The relationship can be seen both in the style in which the stories are told and in the stories themselves. Themes that occur within Lao literature can be found, for example, among the oral tales of the Lao, Kheun, Yuan, Tai Dam, Sarai, and Khammu.⁸³ The most prevalent poetic form of Lao literature, Kau:n A:n, appears to have its origins in orally composed Lao poetry such as Phanya.⁸⁴ There is also evidence that the type of parallelism that is described

⁸⁰ This story has been translated into English and discussed in relationship with the Indian *Ramayana* in the book *The Ramayana in Laos: A Study in the Gvay Dvorahbi* by Sachchidanand Sahai. I hesitate, however, to call the story Lao, as there appears to be only two copies, one in the Yuan script in the palace library in Luang Prabang, and the second, also in the palace library, copied into Lao as recently as 1971 with the unusual comment that nothing has been changed from the earlier Yuan version. (*The Ramayana in Laos* p.2)

⁸¹ The Indian scholar Sahai Sachchidanand has translated *Phrakeut Phrapha:n* and studied its relationship to Indian mythology in the book *The Krsna Saga in Laos*. There is a related story, composed in Kau:n A:n, entitled *Kambang*.

⁸² The poetic work *Usa: Nitha:n*, of which I have seen a single copy at the National Library in Vientiane, may be identical to *Usa: Ba:rot* or else a variant. In its opening pages, it describes the exploits of Phra Keut.

⁸³ See *Le Roman Classique Lao* by Dr. A. Peltier pp.35-38, and also the introduction to *Sumangala Patumamukkha* by the same author. The relationship between Lao and Khammu literature will be discussed further in the section on Lao plots on pages 59-64 of this chapter. Collections of oral folk-tales of various peoples within the region reveal many similar motifs. See, for example, the Chinese work *Dai Folk Legends* by Yan Wenbian et al (in particular, *The Cicada-Faced Man*, pp.10-24), and the Lao collections of folk-tales *Nitha:n Pheun Meua'ng La:w* by Kidaeng Phau:nkaseu'nsuk and *Ho:m Nitha:n Pheun Meua'ng* by the Satha:ban Khon Khwa: Silapa Wannakhadi: Haeng Sa:t. The collections of Lao tales include examples from many different ethnic groups throughout Laos.

⁸⁴ See pp.112-113 of chapter two.

in this thesis evolved from oral narrative style.⁸⁵ Oral story-telling undoubtedly preceded the literature and has continued to coexist with it as a separate but related tradition.⁸⁶

2.1: Works of Yuan or Mon Origin⁸⁷

2.1.1: Panya:sa Ja:taka The Panya:sa Ja:taka is a collection of approximately fifty stories that were written in imitation of the scriptural Ja:taka tales. Similar to the Ja:taka tales, stories in the Panya:sa Ja:taka are divided into three sections.⁸⁸ The Panya:sa Ja:taka can be found in various versions throughout mainland Southeast Asia, among the Burmese, Kheun, Yuan, Lao, and Khmer. The stories are written in Nitsay prose, and composed both in Pali and in the language of the society in which they occur.⁸⁹ There is considerable difference between the varying versions. Dorothy Fickle, in her thesis on the Panya:sa Ja:taka, states that there are a total of 105 stories within the Yuan, Lao, Khmer, and Burmese collections.⁹⁰

Because of their style and consistent use of the Pali language, stories in the Panya:sa Ja:taka are generally believed by their intended audience to be

⁸⁵ See pp.242-246 of chapter six.

⁸⁶ *Pathomamul:lamuli* : Dr. A. Peltier p.184

⁸⁷ It is important to note that when a Lao work has a Yuan counterpart of similar title, the work may or may not have been borrowed from the Yuan. Historical evidence of the cultural exchange between the two societies (as explained in this chapter) suggests that many of the works were brought to Lan Xang from Lanna during the period in which Chiang Mai was at its cultural and literary peak. However, it is dangerous to generalize about the direction of literary evolution without looking at the specifics of individual works. The Lao reached the height of their literary achievements during the period of the Burmese occupation of Chiang Mai, when Lanna culture was at an ebb. It is not unlikely that during this time the Yuan would have borrowed works from the Lao. (See, for example, fn.96 on page 26.) In certain cases, works which appear to have originally travelled to Lan Xang from Lanna were several centuries later reintroduced into Lanna from Laos. An example of this is the Panya:sa Ja:taka collection (and probably many other works) at Sung Men temple in Phrae province in northern Thailand, which were transcribed from Lao manuscripts in Luang Prabang. It must also be borne in mind that although the title of a Lao and Yuan work may be similar, one must examine the contents of each before one can determine the relationship between the two.

Literary works of Mon origin, if any, are likely to have entered Laos through the Kingdom of Lanna. Much more research is needed to distinguish between works of Yuan and Mon origin.

⁸⁸ In Lao the sections are known as ປະຈຸບັນຊາດ (Pajupan Sa:t) 'The Present Life', ອະດີດຊາດ (Adit Sa:t) 'The Past Life,' and ມ້ວນຊາດ (Muan Sa:t) 'The Assembling'. Not every story in the collection includes all three sections.

⁸⁹ The Pali text is apparently considerably flawed grammatically with 'many deviations from classical Pali', as noted in studies by Terral, Martini, and Coedes. *An Historical and Structural Study of the Panna:sa Ja:taka* by Dorothy H. Fickle p.258 Also noted in *Kan Seuksa: Reu'ang Panya:sa Cha:dok* by Niyada: Sa:rikaphu:ti p.554

⁹⁰ *An Historical and Structural Study of the Panna:sa Ja:taka* by Dorothy H. Fickle p.15 The collection that she refers to as the Thai version is the Thai National Library's transcription of the Lanna text. She does not include the Kheun version in her study.

translations from South Asian Buddhist works rather than of Southeast Asian origin.⁹¹ Contemporary scholars, however, have concluded that the Panya:sa Jataka was originally composed by Southeast Asian Buddhist clergy who reworked regional oral stories and to a lesser extent tales from various Buddhist sources to serve a religious purpose.⁹² Thai writers, starting with the historian Prince Damrong, have generally attributed the work to Yuan monks (or novices) between the mid fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. It is believed that only during this period would the Yuan have possessed a sufficient level of scholarship to have been able to compose extensive texts in Pali.⁹³ However, several recent scholars such as Anatole Peltier, Niyada: Sa:rikaphu:ti, and Prakha:ng Nimma:nhe:min have presented evidence that the text was composed earlier by the Mon, and borrowed by the Yuan after they defeated the Mon Kingdom of Haripunchai and established their capital in Chiang Mai.⁹⁴ There has also been some disagreement among scholars as to whether individual stories within the collection originally existed in oral or in written form. In some cases, there is evidence that the oral versions are much older.⁹⁵

The Panya:sa Jataka tales probably entered Laos from Chiang Mai during the sixteenth century, when there was close contact between the two

⁹¹ The Lao often make the distinction between the ຫ້າສິບຊີວິດ (Ha: Sip Sat) 'Fifty Lives' (i.e. the Panya:sa Jataka) and the ສິບຊີວິດ (Sip Sat) 'Ten Lives' (i.e. the last ten stories of the Canonical Jataka that are popular within Laos), but do not distinguish the former as being apocryphal and Southeast Asian in origin and the latter as being from the Buddhist scriptures.

⁹² Dorothy Fickle, in *An Historical and Structural Study of the Panna:sa Jataka*, has found a total of six stories in the Thai National Library (i.e. Yuan) Panya:sa collection that have parallels in other Buddhist works. "Most are from Buddhist Sanskrit collections (and) a few (are) in Chinese or Khotanese texts." p.49 The Thai scholar Niyada: Sa:rikaphu:ti writes that several stories borrow themes from works in the Canonical Jataka tales or from non-canonical works of Indian and possibly Tibetan origin. *Ka:n Seuksa: Reu'a:ng Panya:sa Cha:dok* pp.554, 564

⁹³ *ibid.* p.554

⁹⁴ Dr. Peltier states as evidence, for example, that according to the Yonok (i.e. Yuan) Chronicles, King Mangray, who defeated the Mon and founded Chiang Mai, listened to a sermon in 1288 which consisted of one of the stories in the Panya:sa Jataka collection. This places the composition of at least one of the stories as being considerably before the height of Yuan culture and literature. At the same time, he credits Prakau:ng Nimma:nhe:min with the observation that many of the names of the stories' heroes correspond to the names of historical Mon kings. *Le Roman Classique Lao* by Dr. A. Peltier p.29 Niyada: Sa:rikaphu:ti, in her article *Ka:n Seuksa: Reu'a:ng Panya:sa Cha:dok*, provides additional reasons why works within the Panya:sa Jataka are likely to have been written before the mid-fourteenth century and similarly suggests that the Mon Kingdom of Haripunchai, which had a flourishing Buddhist culture, was the source of the work. pp.554-556

⁹⁵ For example, a) There are reliefs from the story *Sudhana Mano:ra* on the Javanese monument Borobudur dating from the early ninth century (following the details of the Panya:sa Jataka rather than the Sanskrit versions), and b) The hero of the story *Suphamuttha* is referred to in an inscription from the year 1266 on the Thawkuthathamutti pagoda near Pagan, Burma. *An Historical and Structural Study of the Panna:sa Jataka* by Dorothy H. Fickle p.8

kingdoms. Approximately seventeen works of Lao literature appear to have been based upon stories from this collection. Stories that were taken from the Panya:sa Ja:taka were enlarged upon and often transformed by the Lao into poetry. Some works, however, were originally enlarged upon by the Yuan, and Lao versions may well be adaptations of the enlarged Yuan renditions rather than taken directly from the Panya:sa Ja:taka.⁹⁶ Important prose works that are likely to have been derived from the Panya:sa Ja:taka include *Tha:w Khatthana:m* and *Tha:w Hua:*. Important poetic works include *Nok Kajau:k*, *Na:ng Auraphim*, and *Tha:w Si:thon*. There are also twenty-four stories in the Lao version of the Panya:sa Ja:taka that appear to have no counterparts in other versions, and can perhaps be viewed as Lao additions.⁹⁷ The Lao version of the entire Panya:sa collection, known as *Ha: Sip Sa:t* or 'fifty lives', is rare to find in its entirety inside of Laos. One more frequently comes across a few individual stories taken from the collection.⁹⁸

The significance of the Panya:sa Ja:taka on Lao literature goes far beyond the number of stories actually borrowed. Above all, the Panya:sa collection is important in its idea of composing stories, however their origin, in the guise of scriptural Ja:taka tales.

2.1.2: Stories outside of the Panya:sa Collection: In Lanna, there are approximately 200 stories outside of the Panya:sa collection, the majority of

⁹⁶ In certain cases, it is also possible that the Lao originally enlarged on works in the Panya:sa collection and that later on the Yuan borrowed the expanded works from the Lao. The popular Lao story *Tha:w Katthana:m* and Yuan story *Kathana Kumma:n* (both of approximately two hundred leaves in length) share a similar plot to the story *Si:hanat* (approximately forty leaves in length) in the Panya:sa collection. Dr. Harold Hundius in personal conversation suggested that the use of language in the Yuan version of the story (*Kathana Kumma:n*) indicates that it may have been adapted from the Lao.

⁹⁷ *An Historical and Structural Study of the Pannasa Ja:taka* by Dorothy H. Fickle pp.20-23. More research is needed to determine the nature of these stories. Eleven of the titles are similar to titles in the canonical collection (ibid. p.55) and may or may not be related. Also, some tales may only differ from stories in other Panya:sa collections in their title.

⁹⁸ No doubt a major reason for the collection's rarity is its immense size.

which are composed in the form of apocryphal Jataka tales.⁹⁹ Indeed, the great majority of Yuan literature falls in this category.¹⁰⁰ One of the principal differences between these stories and the tales in the Panya:sa collection is in their use of the Pali language. In stories outside of the Panya:sa Jataka, the Pali language tends to occur inconsistently throughout the text, and generally consists of small phrases rather than lengthy passages. A second difference is that many of the stories are composed at least partially in the verse form Hay as compared to the Panya:sa Jataka, which is written entirely in Nitsay prose. Yuan tales of this category are likely to have entered Lan Xang at the same time as the stories in the Panya:sa collection. There are approximately thirty-six Lao tales with similar titles to Yuan works of this type. Important Lao prose works with Yuan counterparts in this category include *Sia:w Sawat* and *Suphom Mokkha*. Poetic tales include *Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam*, *Na:ng Phom Hau:m* and *Tha:w So:wat*. Lao works with Nitsay and Kau:n A:n poetic versions include *Sang Sinsai*, *Phanya: Khankhak*, and *Bua: Hau:ng Bua: Hia:w*. Several of the Lao versions of the stories, such as *Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam*, have significant differences from their Yuan equivalents.

2.2: Works of Lao Origin

Approximately seventy-one Lao stories (slightly under fifty percent of the total) do not appear to have counterparts in Yuan, Thai, or Indian works. It is likely that these tales have originated in written form inside of Laos.¹⁰¹ The themes and motifs in the majority of these stories are similar to those

⁹⁹ Dr. Harold Hundius, in a paper entitled *Ka:n Seuksa: Cha:dok La:nna: Nai Ngae: Sangkhom Witthaya*, states that there are between two hundred to two hundred and thirty independent Yuan Jataka tales. I have not yet seen this paper. However, one hundred of the works from the list in Dr. Hundius's study are reprinted in *Wannakam La:nna:* by Dr. Udom Rungreu'a:ngsi. (pp.141-143) Another study, *Khwa:m Samphan Rawa:ng Wannakam La:nna: Kap Wannakam Prajam Chat* by E:mau:n Chittaso:phon includes a list of two hundred and twelve titles originally compiled by the Institute of Social Science in Chiang Mai. (pp.24-26) The actual number of works may be somewhat less. This is due to the fact that several identical stories appear to be repeatedly listed because of their alternate titles. Further research is needed to determine the exact nature of the stories. Some are simply expanded versions of stories in the Panya:sa Jataka. Certain others do not claim the Bodhisattva as their hero. The stories all appear to be used as sermons and accordingly the story-line is always manipulated for religious purposes. In *Hua: Lan Beu'a: Het*, for example, which is not a life-story of the Bodhisattva, a humorous tale (which is popular in oral form) is used as an illustration of how people suffer for evil deeds in past life-times.

¹⁰⁰ Despite their great number, there is a scarcity of scholarly work on Yuan tales of this type. Published works and theses on Lanna literature devote most of their attention to the small minority of works composed in poetic form.

¹⁰¹ At least three of these stories, *Tha:w Bae*, *Ninya:y Hau:y Hay*, and *Tha:w Ma: Yuy*, have Kheun equivalents, as can be seen in *Tai Khoeun Literature* by Dr. A. Peltier (respectively listed as numbers 2, 134, and 154) and may be of Kheun origin.

that occur in the literature of the Yuan, Kheun, and Leu. This similarity is not necessarily the result of one society's literary influence upon another, but rather the fact that the stories originate from a common source: the oral folk tradition of story-telling that has been shared between the different but closely related cultures. The majority of such works are composed in poetry and claim their hero to be the Bodhisattva.¹⁰² Important apocryphal Jataka tales in this category include the prose works *Tha:w Kampha: Pa:daek Pa:samau:* and *Khun Theung*. Poetic works include *Ka:lake:t*, *Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kae:w*, *Khunlu: Nang Ua;* and *Singa:lo:*. There are also a minority of Lao stories that cannot be classified as apocryphal Jatakas. Many of these are literary accounts of Lao history. For example, several tales describe the life and battles of an historical figure, King JEu'a:ng.¹⁰³ The lengthy poetic work *Tha:w Hung Tha:w JEu'a:ng* is considered to be one of the finest examples of Lao literature.

2.3: Works Borrowed from the Thai

A small number of Lao stories share Thai equivalents, including: *Innao*, *Aphaimani*, *Pa Pu: Thau:ng*, *Tha:w Kai Thau:ng*, *Janthakhorop*, and *Kae:w Na: Ma:*. These tales appear to be adaptations based upon the Thai works.¹⁰⁴ Such stories are likely to have been composed at a much later time than literature taken from other sources. During the period in which Lao literature was at its peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Kingdom of Lan Xang had little contact with the Thai. Significant Thai cultural influence began within the last century. None of the works are commonly found within Laos or northeastern Thailand.

¹⁰² There is not necessarily a strong demarcation between poetic works in which the hero is or is not claimed to be the Bodhisattva. In some works, the story is clearly set in the context of a Jataka, including many references to the hero as the Bodhisattva and a conclusion that defines the identity of each character in relationship to the Buddha. In other works, however, there is only a single reference to the hero as the Bodhisattva, usually at the beginning of the tale. It would be possible for this type of statement either to be omitted from or added to a story depending upon the motivation of its particular transcriber.

¹⁰³ JEu'a:ng can refer both to a historical figure and a mythical figure revered by many Tai and non-Tai ethnic groups in Laos.

¹⁰⁴ According to Dr. A. Peltier in *Le Roman Classique Lao*, an examination of the language of *Pa: Pu: Thau:ng*, *Tha:w Kai Thau:ng*, and *Kae:w Na: Ma:* indicates that the stories are adaptations of the Thai works of similar title. (pp.336, 458, 463)

Prose and Poetic Forms of Lao Literature

There are two basic types of Lao literature which serve two different roles in Lao society. The two types of are differentiated both by their style of writing and the script in which they are written. Texts that are intended to serve as religious teaching in a temple are recorded in the Tham script in a form of prose.¹⁰⁵ Texts that are used as entertainment outside of the temple (in which the religious role is weakened but still present) are written in the ancient Lao script in poetic form. The distinctions between the two types of literature stated here are intended only as a general guide, and as shall be seen, there is a considerable degree of intermingling between the two.

Nitsay Prose Literature (ນິດສັຍ)

The prose form in which Lao literature is recorded is known as Nitsay.¹⁰⁶ Although it is considered prose, it possesses many poetic characteristics, including alliteration, assonance, and a high level of parallelism at all levels.¹⁰⁷ Dr. Amin Sweeney, describing classical Malay prose literature, explains that the 'poetic nature' of the narrative is the result of the fact that it was intended to be heard. It was therefore composed with 'auditory imaginings'.¹⁰⁸ The same explanation holds true for Lao prose.

Nitsay is written in the Tham script, which has traditionally been used solely for religious texts.

¹⁰⁵ A minority of works are also written in Hay verse, a form which generally fills a similar function to the prose literature.

¹⁰⁶ A similar word, 'Nissaya', is used by the Burmese for prose literature that translates Pali into the vernacular. The Pali word 'Nissaya' means 'foundation, reliance on, or support.' People who do not understand the original Pali text can 'rely upon' the translation. *A Guide to Mon Studies* by Christian Bauer p.38. Although the label of 'Nitsay' is widely known within Laos, it is not commonly used among the ethnic Lao of northeastern Thailand.

¹⁰⁷ Lao literary scholars commonly dismiss this form as prose and devote no attention to its characteristics. The one exception that I have found is Dr. A. Peltier's work, *Le Roman Classique Lao*, in which a description of Nitsay is given on p.74.

¹⁰⁸ *Authors and Audiences* p.32 '...the reciting of prose works was no less an art form than the singing of sya'ir (i.e. a type of poetic work), so that in traditional Malay literature there is little distinction between the concepts of "prosaic" and "poetic". On one hand, prose was written with a maximum of auditory imaginings to be presented in a rhythmic, stylized manner; and on the other, society's insistence on conformity militated against personal expression in poetry no less than in prose, resulting in an absence of the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings" which, in the west, has become the hallmark of "poetic" expression. The result is that, with some minor exceptions, well-nigh any topic could be presented in either prose or sy'ir form, ranging from subjects such as an exposition of Sufi belief to "romantic" tales of the Panji type....' *ibid.* pp.32-33

The Origins and Evolution of Lao Nitsay

Lao Nitsay literature, and the script in which it is written, is derived from the Yuan. The script, language and style of Nitsay literature in Lanna and Laos are very similar.

The style of Nitsay literature is generally based upon the Panya:sa Jata:ka, and imitates the style of the Canonical Jata:ka tales. Phrases of Pali are included in the text with varying frequency followed by explanations in Lao, giving the story the appearance of being a translation from the Buddhist scriptures. Frequently the use of Pali is incorrect to the point of being incomprehensible to those familiar with the language.¹⁰⁹ Similar to Yuan works, Lao Nitsay often includes short sections written in the poetic form of Hay. This type of poetry is generally used in scenes of courtship and descriptions of nature.

The practice of composing in Nitsay, although less common than poetic composition, appears to be prevalent throughout all of the major regions inhabited by the ethnic Lao: north, central, and southern Laos, and northeastern Thailand. However, a greater number of Lao stories that exist in Nitsay form have Yuan counterparts (and are thus likely to be of Yuan origin) than tales that are found exclusively in Laos: twenty-six as compared to seventeen.¹¹⁰ Considering the different number of Lao works with or without Yuan counterparts, there are Nitsay versions of approximately forty percent of the titles that occur both in Lanna and Laos whereas there are Nitsay versions of only twenty-three percent of works that occur solely within Laos. When a Lao story, regardless of origin, exists both in Nitsay and Kau:n A:n versions, the latter form is almost always the more popular among the Lao.¹¹¹ At the same time, there are a few works of Lao origin that are composed solely in Nitsay that are quite popular within Laos, for example, *Tha:w Kampha: Pa:dae:k Pa:samau*;¹¹² *Takataen Kham*, and *Sia:ng Nau:y Jorato*.

¹⁰⁹ This is not solely the fault of the original composer. The text is continually transcribed, frequently by those with far from perfect knowledge of Pali. Errors originate or are amplified by such transcription.

¹¹⁰ This figure includes works that exist in both Nitsay prose and Kau:n A:n poetic versions.

¹¹¹ Two notable exceptions are *Tha:w Khatthana:m* and *Tha:w Hua*; both similar in plot to stories from the Panya:sa Jata:ka, where the prose versions are popular and the poetic versions have a very limited circulation.

¹¹² A story with a similar theme as *Tha:w Kampha: Pa:dae:k Pa: Samau*: (but greatly different in detail) exists in Southern Thailand, but what connection there is between the two remains unclear.

In the majority of stories where there is a Nitsay and Kau:n A:n version, the evolution appears to have been from prose into poetry.¹¹³ However, there are exceptions. I have observed, for example, only a single Nitsay text of the stories *Tha:w Kapau:m Kham*, *Phanya: Khankhak*, and *Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kae:w*, which are popular in poetic form. In each case the Nitsay version was located in Luang Prabang. It can be speculated that the Nitsay versions were adapted from the poetic works to facilitate their use as religious sermons. It is not surprising that such a transformation would occur in Luang Prabang, the cultural and religious center of Laos, which has traditionally shared a close cultural relationship with Chiang Mai. An additional work, *Khunlu: Nang Ua*, which is popular in Kau:n A:n form, exists in Luang Prabang in Ha:y, a verse with a similar function to Nitsay.¹¹⁴

There are a few works of Nitsay that deserve special attention because they show greater evolution from the Yuan style than do the other stories. They will be referred to in this thesis as Poetic Nitsay. Although written in Nitsay form, they are heavily influenced by the conventions of Kau:n A:n. The few stories within this category emphasize the telling of the story and minimize its religious message. Their role as entertainment can be seen in their increased use of poetic descriptions of nature, and the detailed descriptions of the romantic exploits of the hero, including courting Phanya: and obscene humor. Their use of parallel pairs and doubled pairs is four to five times greater than ordinary Nitsay.¹¹⁵ The two stories that I have found in this category are *Tha:w Kampha: Pa:daek Pa:samau:* and *Khun Theung*. Both are very popular works and both appear to have been composed in Laos, with no Yuan equivalent.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ The majority of such works have Yuan Nitsay equivalents from which they are likely to have originated.

¹¹⁴ Ha:y is discussed in greater detail on pages 39-41. The Ha:y version of *Khunlu: Nang Ua* is known as *Ua: Khiam*.

¹¹⁵ See pp.167-168 of chapter four.

¹¹⁶ According to the Chronicles of Chiang Mai and Phayao, Khun Theung was a king of the Yuan. However, there appears to be no literary account of the story. The story of *Khun Theung* is commonly found in central and particularly southern Laos and Isan, but rare in northern Laos which has the closest connection to Lanna. Another probable example of a work of Poetic Nitsay is the Lao apocryphal Jataka *Tha:w Khu: Nang Tham*, again without a Yuan equivalent. This story, popular in southern Laos, is filled with Phanya: and obscene humor. I have not yet examined its use of language, such as the prevalence of parallelism, in any detail.

Storage

Nitsay manuscripts are generally stored in Buddhist temples. Temples have traditionally maintained a library where texts are kept. The library is known as ຫ້າໂຕ (Hau: Tai) 'Room of the Buddhist Scriptures', and literary manuscripts are not distinguished from other religious works.

Manuscripts that are kept in temple libraries are usually divided into bundles known as ຜູກ (phu:k), each bundle consisting of roughly 20 to 25 leaves. They are generally wrapped in silk or other cloth donated by laymen as a sign of the respect with which they are held as sacred texts.¹¹⁷ It is a common tradition that a manuscript must be held above one's shoulders when carried, befitting its religious status.

Transcription

Lao Nitsay is transcribed by monks, novices, and laymen who have been educated in the temple.¹¹⁸ An insightful picture of the transcribers is given by the extraneous comments that commonly occur at the end of individual bundles in a manuscript.¹¹⁹ In a version of *Phaxdaeng Nang Ai* from Sakheun Neu'a: village in Suwannakhet province, for example, the transcriber explains that his heart is not in the work:

	ບວດໃຫຍ່ໄຜ້ວ	ບໍ່ໄດ້ຂີດຂຽນຫຼາຍ
ມັນຫາກ	ລະວະລະວາຈິດ	ບໍ່ຢູ່ຄຶງຄາວນ້ອຍ
ໃຈບໍ່	ພຽນຂຽນອ່ານ	

¹¹⁷ Manuscripts are frequently wrapped in cloth that would normally be used for Pha:sin, women's skirts. Although a skirt has very low connotations in Lao culture, the cloth that is donated has never been worn. It seems doubtful that any disrespect was intended in the placement of religious manuscripts in Pha:sin, as opposed to any other kind of cloth. Nonetheless it has given rise to interesting speculation. I have heard various explanations from monks respected for their high religious education, including one who taught literature at Ong Teu College of Buddhist Monks in Vientiane. He stated that the wrapping of a holy text in a woman's skirt was to remind people of the fact that even the Buddha was born out of a woman's womb.

¹¹⁸ Although the copying of manuscripts is almost exclusively the work of males (as described further on pp.46-47), I have seen a nun in rural Suwannakhet transcribing palm leaves with great expertise.

¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, these comments are almost always excluded from printed versions of the literature.

'I have been a monk since I was young but I have not written much. My mind is not with my body (i.e. not interested in what I am doing). I am not diligent in writing or reading'¹²⁰

The majority of extraneous comments describe the monk's (or novice's) longing for women. For example, one of the opening phrases of the Nau:ng Lam Jan version of *Som Thi: Kheut* consists of the following lament:

ສາວຜູ້ດີເຮີຍ ອ້າຍຫຼຽວເຫັນສາວກາຍດ້າຍເລື້ວ

'Wonderful young woman, I watch you pass from the corner of my eye; Alas, watch and nothing more...'

It is also not uncommon for transcribers to express their desire to leave the monkhood. For example, the story *Usa: Nithan* is concluded by the following passage:¹²¹

ອ້າຍຢາກສຶກຮ້າຍ ຂ້ອຍຢາກສຶກຮ້າຍ ໂອໂອໂອນໍ້ນໍລາລາເຮີຍເຮີຍເຮີຍ

ໂອຍຫຼີຫຼີຮືຮືໂອຍໂອຍໂອຍ ອ້າຍຢາກສຶກຮ້າຍ

ສາວເນື້ອຢ່າງດີ ຢາກຮູ້ຈັກໃຈອ້າຍໃຫ້ລອງຊຶມເບິ່ງນໍາແຈ່ວ ຫິ່ນຫ້ອນ

ນໍາແຈ່ວມັນຫາກຫວານຈ້ອຍໆ ໃຈນ້ອຍອ້າຍດັ່ງດຽວ ນັ້ນເລື້ວ

I want desperately to leave the monkhood! I want desperately to leave the monkhood! O: O: O: Nau: Nau: Nau: La: La: La: Heu:y Heu:y Heu:y (The previous syllables are the playful expansion of a common exclamation, 'Oh young woman', in which each of its four syllables is repeated three times.) O:y Heu: Heu: Heu: Heu: Heu: Heu: O:y O:y O:y (exclamatory syllables) I want desperately to leave the monkhood! Young woman of beautiful skin, If you wish to know my heart, come and take a taste of it together with jae:w (Lao pepper sauce). With jae:w, it will be delicious. That is how my heart is.'

The fundamental incentive for the transcription of manuscripts is religious. It is believed that acts involved in the creation of a Buddhist text will bring one great Bun, or merit, which will help to improve one's position in a future life-time. The acts that bring about the greatest amount of merit

¹²⁰ leaf 76 side b (final page of text) The initial two lines of this sequence conform to the conventions of Kau:n A:n verse. Note that the spaces between phrases in this and other quoted passages do not occur within the original texts but are included to show their poetic form.

¹²¹ On the final page of the manuscript in the Lao National Library in Vientiane.

are the transcription of a manuscript and the donation of money to finance such a work. Merit can also be achieved through the donation of material needed for the transcription, such as palm leaves, rubber oil, rice chaff, and the string used in tying the palm leaves together. A text known as *Salau:ng Nangseu:* describes the amount of merit received for the transcription or the financing of the transcription of the Buddhist Tripitaka.¹²² The performer of such an act will benefit in the following manner: He will become an emperor for eighty-four thousand Buddhist eras. He will be a wealthy man, a Lord, and Brahma, each for a period of nine Asongkhai.¹²³ He will also reign for a similar amount of time as the Lord of celestial beings in various levels of heaven. After his stay in heaven is completed, he will be born again as a king on earth and perform many meritorious acts. Although such a fate is specifically stated for those who copy the Buddhist Scriptures, the Lao are ambivalent in their distinction between what is and is not of scriptural origin. The popular story *Tha:w Khatthana:m* illustrates the belief that the transcription of works of Lao literature similarly results in the attainment of great merit. The tale explains in detail the rewards that one will receive for various acts, as shown in the fate of different characters according to their deeds in past life-times:

In a past life, the (emperor) Phanya: Jak had been a merchant who sold palm leaves and (at one time had) donated palm leaves to a novice. When the novice received the palm leaves from the merchant, he inscribed a book of the Buddha's teachings. The Bun that was received from these acts helped the two men to achieve happiness for many life-times. The man who donated the palm leaves to the novice became Phanya: Jak, an emperor, and the novice who created (the book of Buddhist teaching) became the celestial deity Wisukam¹²⁴ Whoever donates palm leaves to one who will write a book of the teachings of the Buddha will gain three kinds of happiness. (He will gain) happiness in the human world, where he will become an emperor of greatest power in Jambudi:pa.¹²⁵ As for happiness in the heavenly world, he will become the Lord Indra who rules over two levels of the sky. (He will achieve) happiness as fitting for (one who possessed) the wisdom to give a palm leaf as charity to monks and novices to write what they wish to.

¹²² *Salau:ng Thia:n Lae Salau:ng Nangseu:*, transcribed by Yubon Thonsilangkau:n and So:pha: Tisau:ymeu'a:ng. *Salau:ng* texts are short works describing the amount of Bun that is received for various religious acts. They are generally read aloud by monks upon the completion of a specific act of merit by laymen. *Salau:ng Thia:n Salau:ng Nangseu:*, introduction, p.1

¹²³ An Asongkhai is the highest of Lao (and Thai) numbers. According to The Nation Thai-English Dictionary, it is the number one followed by one hundred and forty zeros.

¹²⁴ Also known as Wisawakam; a deity skilled in architecture

¹²⁵ In Buddhist cosmology, Jambu:di:pa is the southern continent, where India is located.

The person who donated palm leaves... will gain the power of (his) Bun for nine Buddhist eras..... Whoever through great faith donates soot and rubber oil and rice chaff to clear the text and wipes the text with a cloth in order that it become clean, clear, and beautiful will receive Bun for six Buddhist eras.... Whoever through great faith writes the teachings of the Buddha..... receives the power of his charitable act for one hundred Buddhist eras....¹²⁶

The end of each bundle of a manuscript frequently includes the names of both the family of the layman who commissioned the work and the monk or novice who transcribed the text, followed by exhortations that they will receive Bun as a result of their actions.¹²⁷ Similar to other types of statements that have become a fixed part of the literature, the style of requests for Bun has developed artistically. Whereas many requests ask simply for merit in straight-forward prose, the request in *Nang Auraphim* from Meu'ang Khong is in the form of a witty couplet:¹²⁸

ຂໍໃຫ້ໄດ້ ເມັບພູຮູ້ ຊື່ຜູ້ງາມ ຕື່ນ
(khau: hai dai mia: phu: hu: su: phu: nga:m theu'n)¹²⁹

Please give me an obedient¹³⁰ wife, a beautiful lover

Typically, the original religious intent has evolved into a more romantic one.¹³¹

Customarily, Lao men were required to spend at least one three-month period of Khao Phansa, or Buddhist Lent, as a novice in a temple. Many spent most or all of their teenage years in the temple, where a free education could be obtained. It would require approximately one or two years as a novice to gain proficiency in the transcription of manuscripts.¹³² Novices

¹²⁶ *Tha:w Khatthana:m* transcribed by Amphau:n Namlaio pp.155-156

¹²⁷ Maha: Kae:w, a former monk with extensive experience transcribing manuscripts in rural southern Laos, described to me the fervor in which the diligent novices at his temple in Suwannakhet would transcribe great amounts of text in the hopes of achieving merit. He told me that one particular work, *Wisuthi*, eight leaves in length, promised that whoever copied the text or paid for its copying would be absolved of all previous sins, including the five major sins of Buddhism. (This includes, for example, the killing of one's mother or father, the shedding of a Buddha's blood, etc.) He was deluged with requests to copy this work. According to Maha: Kae:w, *Wisuthi* was composed by a Thai-born monk in Champhasak province who flaunted his disregard of Buddhist precepts. It enjoyed immense popularity in southern Laos until it was eventually banned by Buddhist authorities in Vientiane.

¹²⁸ This request is printed on the final leaf of the manuscript

¹²⁹ Rhyming syllables are underlined in this and future examples.

¹³⁰ 'Obedient' can also be translated as 'knowledgeable'.

¹³¹ The mixture of artistic and religious sentiments is also reflected in the text in which this couplet occurs. Although the story is written in the Tham script and stored in a temple library, it is composed entirely in Kau:n An verse.

¹³² As stated by Maha: Kae:w.

who spent several years in a temple were looked upon poorly if they failed to copy at least one work before completing their term. Along with the prospect of great merit that was to be gained, both the threat of discipline by superiors and retribution in hell if one neglected one's transcribing duties also served as a strong incentive.¹³³ Another less frequently used device to inspire novices to copy manuscripts was to have different groups compete as to whom could complete the greatest numbers of leaves in the shortest amount of time.¹³⁴

While religious belief and temple discipline were strong traditional incentives for the transcription of the literature, one must not under-value the artistic and intellectual motivation. There are many Lao, including monks, novices, and laymen, whose dedication in transcribing Nitsay works is due to their appreciation of the content. This high regard can be seen, for example, in the great care that is taken in whittling beautiful styluses at certain temples,¹³⁵ in the elaborate carvings on the wooden covers of many manuscripts, and the beautiful script filled with artistic flourishes that one often finds painstakingly inscribed upon the palm leaves.

The various types of motivation, as described above, ensured the preservation and expansion of Lao literature from one generation to the next.¹³⁶

Performance

A) Times of Performance:

Lao Nitsay literature is intended to be read by monks on religious occasions. Depending upon the temple, the stories that are read are either

¹³³ The late Phra Ariya:nuwat Khe:mmaja:ri: of Maha Sarakham, a monk with considerable knowledge and expertise in Lao literature, stated that the major inspiration was the fear of hell.

¹³⁴ I was informed of this particular practice at Nau:ng Lam Jan Temple in Suwannakhet province.

¹³⁵ For example, the beautiful stylus whittled from ivory that I saw at Nau:ng Lam Jan Temple.

¹³⁶ An example of this is the following: In the year 1829, the Thai army razed Vientiane and destroyed, with a single exception, all of its temples, reputedly transporting three elephant loads of manuscripts to Thailand and removing its people. Subsequently the city was abandoned and overgrown by forest for many years. As late as 1873 a European traveler found the city abandoned. The Lao, however, were able to replenish the stock of manuscripts that had been taken by the Thai. When the French scholar Louis Finot made an inventory of palm leaves in Lao temples during the years 1900-1917 (less than fifty years after the city had been observed to be abandoned), there were enough manuscripts in Vientiane that he was able to compile a fourteen page list. (This observation was originally stated to me by Mr. Khamphaeng Kettawong.)

chosen by the abbot or monks at the temple, or according to requests made by laymen. In many places, a wide choice of tales is available. If a temple does not have a particular story, it is a common practice for monks to borrow the desired manuscript from other temples in the vicinity.¹³⁷ The literature is read on the following occasions:

1) During the three months of ເຂົ້າພັນສາ (Khao Phansa); Traditionally, one or a number of stories are chosen to be completed within this three month term. Every day during this period a certain time is allotted to read the text, either by a single monk (or novice), or by several reading consecutively. A typical reading lasts between twenty minutes to an hour. Long stories, such as the Nitsay version of *Sang Sinsai*, which consists of approximately five hundred palm leaves, can be finished during this time. At present, this tradition is still commonly followed throughout Laos, particularly in the countryside. In Vientiane, although some temples attract only a meager audience, some are regularly filled. In contemporary northeastern Thailand, reading literature is much less common, especially in the larger towns. The percentage of monks and novices who can read the Tham script is considerably less, and when stories are read, printed versions are often substituted for original manuscripts. It is also frequent that a general Buddhist text is substituted for an apocryphal Jataka tale. For example, Thai printed versions of the last ten Canonical Jataka tales are commonly read.

2) During religious holidays; Traditionally, the Lao have observed a holiday for every month of their lunar calendar. While not required, it is a frequent practice for an entire story to be read during the holiday, which may last as long as three days in length. Several monks and/or novices take part in reading the tale. Other than the holiday of Bun Phawet (as described on page 41), such a tradition is not a common practice in the larger towns, where many of the holidays are minimally observed.

3) ວັນພຸດ (Wan Phra), weekly religious days; Certain temples will also read portions of a story during weekly religious holidays that are based upon the

¹³⁷ In Vientiane, monks occasionally borrow texts from the National Library to use for their sermons.

lunar calendar.

4) In times of drought, there are two ceremonies that may be organized to bring about rain. Although the ceremonies are based upon non-Buddhist beliefs, both involve the reading of apocryphal Jātakas by monks. In one ceremony, monks are invited for three days to read from the work *Phanya: Khankha:k*.¹³⁸ The preparations for the reading are very involved, including the digging of a well in which must be placed figures in the shapes of the various animals that occur in the story. If the preparations are not vigorously followed, it is feared that the reading may bring about ill results.¹³⁹ In another ceremony, similarly three days in length, monks are invited to read a Pali incantation from the story *Pa: Khau:* (rather than the story itself).¹⁴⁰ In this tale, the Bodhisattva is a fish in a pond that has evaporated. To save the inhabitants of the pond, the Bodhisattva wishes for rain, basing his request on the integrity in which he has followed the Buddhist precepts throughout his life.¹⁴¹

B) Aspects of Performance

Monks frequently read Lao literature (or give sermons) to an audience of laymen while sitting in a tall ornamental chair. The reader is thus placed in a position high above the audience, indicating the respect that is given to the performance. Lao literature is not actually read, but rather chanted in a number of different styles which vary with the geographical region. The skill of the monk in performing the text is very important. There is an art to ເລີ່ມສົ່ງ (len si:ng) 'playing with sound' in one's reading. According to Terry Miller in *Traditional Music of the Lao*, the style of performance is 'but one step removed' from the singing that one finds in musical Mau: Lam performances.¹⁴² In recent years, a form of stylized chanting, known as

¹³⁸ The story is briefly described on p.21.

¹³⁹ As explained to me by villagers in Nau:ng Lam Jan village, Suwannakhet Province.

¹⁴⁰ The palm leaf text of the story *Pa: Khau:* is relatively uncommon within Laos and northeastern Thailand, occurring more frequently among the Yuan. (I have seen only a single manuscript of the story, written in the Leu script, at Na: Sai Temple in Vientiane.)

¹⁴¹ Both ceremonies are still practiced during times of drought. In early 1991, for example, I went to a village in Maha Sarakham province in northeastern Thailand where the *Pa: Khau:* ceremony had only recently been performed.

¹⁴² "Kaen" Playing and "Mawlum" Singing in Northeast Thailand by Terry Miller p.108

ເລ (lae:), of probable Thai origin, has become popular among Lao monks.¹⁴³

The desire for religious merit serves not only as an incentive for monks to transcribe manuscripts, but also for laymen to listen to them. The primary reason of many laymen in attending readings is to ດື່ອບຸນ (ao bun) 'receive merit'. The merit is received as a result of taking part in a religious service, of which the reading of the story is an integral, but not sole part. Occasionally the texts of the stories themselves promise rewards of great merit if one pays close attention and alternatively great punishment if one does not.¹⁴⁴ In readings that I have attended within Vientiane and rural Laos, the audience consisted largely of people of middle age or older, with a higher percentage of women than men. During extended readings on important religious occasions, other groups were more evenly represented.

The audience of a reading does not necessarily understand the entire content of the story that is being chanted. At some performances, the monk who reads the tale will pause several times during his reading to explain the narrative in ordinary Lao, followed by questions asked by the audience.¹⁴⁵ The language of Nitsay literature is considerably different from spoken Lao which makes it somewhat difficult to follow.

Although people listen to stories largely for religious reasons, from personal observation, however, there seems no doubt that much of the audience is genuinely interested in the progress of the tale, and anticipates the daily installments. The stories chanted in the temples often find their way into the household, as those who attend services relate the tales to their immediate family in the course of conversation.

Poetic Versions in Ha:y Verse (ສ່າຍ)

Ha:y verse is common to many Tai-speaking groups. Its fundamental rule is that the last syllable of the first poetic line (or phrase) must rhyme

¹⁴³ *ibid.* pp.87-88

¹⁴⁴ For example, the Naung Lam Jan version of the story *Tha:w Ba: Ling* states that 'whoever listens to this tale of myself, the Buddha, will receive merit so great that it cannot be counted and will be successful in all that they wish'. (second side of the last leaf of the fourth bundle.) In contrast, the composer of *Phuan Lom* from Luang Prabang threatens that if one does not pay attention to his story that one's sin will be so great that one may become deaf, blind or ugly. (first leaf, side two.)

¹⁴⁵ I have observed this, for example, at Na: Sai Temple in Vientiane.

with one of the initial three syllables of the second. Hay is a less popular form of literature in Laos than it is in Lanna.¹⁴⁶ In Lanna, Hay was traditionally used almost exclusively for religious works, which were composed either in Nitsay, Hay or a combination of the two.¹⁴⁷ Hay literature that exists within Laos maintains an equally strong religious orientation. Similar to Nitsay, Hay literature is generally recorded in the Tham script and its use appears to be confined to the temple.¹⁴⁸ The primary difference between Nitsay and Hay within Laos is in its length. Stories composed in Hay rarely extend over forty leaves.¹⁴⁹ Another important difference is that works composed in Hay may or may not include the use of Pali, but typically, presumably for the sake of the rhyme, the amount of Pali words is not as great as in Nitsay.

There is an approximate total of eighteen Lao stories written in Hay. Out of these works, nine have Yuan counterparts, five of which are included in the Panya:sa Ja:taka collection. An additional two are renditions of canonical Ja:taka tales, also possibly borrowed from Lanna. Five works, or under thirty percent of the total, appear to have been composed within Laos. It is noteworthy that all of the eighteen works can be found in Luang Prabang and with the exception of one or possibly two, none exist outside of northern Laos.¹⁵⁰ As previously observed, northern Laos, and Luang Prabang in particular, have a closer cultural relationship with Lanna than the rest of the country.

The only wide-spread Hay work of literature within Laos is the canonical *Ve:santara Ja:taka*, known to the Lao as *Pha Wetsandau:n*. This story is an account of the last life of the Bodhisattva before he became the Buddha. There are many different Lao versions of the tale, composed in the

¹⁴⁶ I am referring here specifically to literature in Category A as described on p.4.

¹⁴⁷ According to Yuan custom, Ja:taka tales (canonical or otherwise) that were related by the Buddha to his disciple Sariputta are composed in Hay whereas Ja:taka tales related to the disciple Ananda are composed in prose. *Wannakam Thau:ng Thin Lanna*: by Lamun Janhau:m p.107

¹⁴⁸ There are exceptions. Hay versions of the various sections of the *Ve:santara Ja:taka* are commonly written in the Lao script and stored in private homes. Non-Buddhist religious works such as chants to call the Khwan spirit and even collections of Phanya: may also be recorded in the Lao script and composed largely or exclusively in Hay. The latter works, however, do not fall in Category A of Lao literature and therefore are outside the range of this discussion.

¹⁴⁹ There are notable exceptions, however, including: a) several different Hay versions (among both the Lao and Yuan) of the *Ve:santara Ja:taka*, and b) the Yuan counterpart of *Tha:w Khatthana:m*, known as *Kathana Kumman*, which is partially or entirely composed in Hay. In both cases, the works are several hundred leaves in length.

¹⁵⁰ One is found both in Luang Prabang and the National Library in Vientiane. A manuscript's being stored at the National Library, however, gives no indication of its origin or circulation. Many works in the National Library were specifically collected by the library from northern Laos.

forms of Nitsay, Kau:n A:n, and Hay. The most popular of the Lao monthly holidays, Bun Phawet, celebrates the life of the Bodhisattva depicted in this Ja:taka tale. During the festival, the entire work is customarily read in a single day. Those fortunate enough to have listened to the story from its beginning to end within this time are believed to be rewarded by being given the opportunity to see Phra Maitreya, the future Buddha, in a succeeding life-time.¹⁵¹ It is estimated that to perform the entire Hay version of this tale one would have to start at approximately four in the morning and continue reading until midnight. Therefore, most temples prefer to read versions which include a mixture of both Hay and Nitsay, which is typically more concise.¹⁵² The *Ve:santara Ja:taka* also occupies an important place in the literary tradition of the Yuan, and there appear to be great similarities between versions of the work within the two societies.¹⁵³

Poetic Versions in Kau:n A:n Verse (ກອນອ່ານ)

Poetic versions of Lao literature are generally written in the Lao script, which was traditionally used for non-religious texts, for example, historical chronicles, medicinal treatises, etc.

Sources of Poetic Literature

- a) Approximately fifty-three stories (roughly fifty percent of Lao poetic works) appear to be of Lao origin.
- b) Approximately twenty-eight stories (roughly thirty-one percent of Lao poetic works) are derived from stories originally written in Nitsay, which were likely to have been brought to Laos from Lanna.

¹⁵¹ I have heard from people in Isa:n that in the past, there was a choice of stories that were permitted to be read during this holiday, and that the Lao tale *Singa:lo*, (which is composed in Kau:n A:n), was frequently read in substitution.

¹⁵² Temples often choose to read the most popular sections of the story in their Hay versions, for example, *Matri*, *Nakhau:n*, and most commonly, *Kasat*. (Related in correspondence by Professor Suphon Somjitsripanya: of the Isa:n Cultural Center at the Teacher's College in Maha Sarakham)

¹⁵³ The close relationship between the Lao and Yuan versions of *Ve:santara Ja:taka* was described to me by Kidaeng Phau:nkaseu'nsuk, a literary scholar at the former Committee of Social Sciences in Vientiane who has specialized in the study of comparative versions of this tale.

c) Approximately six stories (roughly six percent of the total) are taken from Thai poetic works.

d) Approximately five stories (roughly five percent of the total) are derived from Canonical Jataka tales.

e) A smaller percent, included in the first two categories, have their origins in Indian Hindu works.

Poetic works are performed both by layman outside of the temple grounds and by monks during religious services. Although the emphasis of the stories as religious instruction is less pronounced than in Nitsay texts, poetic literature still plays an important role in the teaching of Buddhist precepts. There is no reason to believe that the majority of such works were not written by monks. Monks would have the leisure time necessary to complete the stories, not hindered by the rigors of supporting a family. At the same time they would have the necessary equipment for transcribing texts, such as stylus, palm leaves, and rubber oil, that were donated by laymen. Even a layman who composed such a work, however, would necessarily have spent a considerable time studying in the temple to gain his skill.

Lao Poetic Forms

It is not the intention of this thesis to provide a detailed summary of the various poetic forms of the Lao. This information has already been summarized elsewhere.¹⁵⁴ The most prominent Lao verse, in which the great majority of Lao literature is composed, is known as Kau:n A:n, or Kau:n A:n Thammada; which is described in greater detail on pages 95-99 of chapter two. Its basic characteristics are as follows: A poetic line is divided into two sections, respectively of three and four syllables, with possible additions of initial and final phrases which are generally two or three syllables in length. A stanza is made up of two verses, each of which consists of two poetic lines. The number of syllables in a line are not rigidly adhered

¹⁵⁴ As described on page 3.

to, and verse is not typically composed in full stanzas. The most fundamental and consistently followed feature of Kau:n A:n is the assignment of words pronounced with two different tones, low and falling, to designated positions in each line. The use of alliteration and assonance is highly developed, whereas the rhyming of vowels and final consonants in or between lines is relatively rare.

Although Kau:n A:n is similar in many aspects to the early Yuan poetic form of Khlong, it does not appear that this is its derivation.¹⁵⁵ It is more likely that Lao poetry, in particular Kau:n A:n, has its origins in Lao oral poetry, known as Phanya:. As we shall see in chapter two, Phanya: often conform to the rules of Kau:n A:n, including the number of syllables in a line and the placement of words of various tones.

Basic Characteristics of Lao Poetic Literature

The Lao believe that Kau:n An is more pleasing to the ear than Nitsay. Because of its structure, it provides a greater opportunity than prose to creatively manipulate language to create auditory effects.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, there is an important difference in how a story is told in prose and poetic versions. The use of parallel pairs, for example, is considerably higher in poetic than in prose texts.¹⁵⁷ The importance of how a narrative sounds is illustrated, for example, by the popularity of a scene from *Sang Sinsai* known as *Tau:n Som Dong* 'Sinsai Admiring the Forest', which is frequently included in the repertoire of Mau: Lam performers. This passage is commonly used in general performances outside the context of the story in which it was written. The high esteem given to this piece is due to its skillful use of various poetic devices such as alliteration, rather than its story-line.¹⁵⁸ Poetic literature also differs from Nitsay in its content. Its role as a teacher of religious precepts is generally lessened and a greater emphasis is placed on entertainment. This

¹⁵⁵ The two verse forms are similar in a) their use of tonal rhyme based upon low and falling tones, and b) the number of syllables in a poetic line. However, the designated position of words of rising and falling tones is different. The earliest example of Yuan Khlong, *U'sa: Barot*, is also similar to Lao Kau:n A:n in that there is no consistent use of rhyme (as analyzed in the thesis *Mahakap Reu'ang Tha:w Ba: Jau'a:ng*, by Prakhaung Nimmanhemmin p.233).

¹⁵⁶ For a description of the structure of Kau:n A:n and how it influences its content, see pp.174-178 of chapter four.

¹⁵⁷ See pp.166-168 of chapter four and pp.242-246 of chapter six.

¹⁵⁸ See *Naew Thang Seuksa: Wannakam Thauing Thin Praphet Laylak* by Thawat Punno:thok p.42

can be seen, for example, in how the stories are organized. Although Lao poetic works commonly refer to their hero as the Bodhisattva, the trappings of a Jataka tale which are frequently used in Nitsay texts, such as the inclusion of the three different sections, have been abandoned. Words or phrases in Pali are not normally present. Common characteristics of poetic literature that are less developed in Nitsay include:

1) Emphasis on romance and sexual content-- Both prose and poetic works include frequent scenes of romance among the hero and various princesses. In poetic works, however, the romance in the scenes tends to be expanded. This involves the exchange of Phanya: between the characters. The Phanya: often include strong sexual connotations.

2) Poetic descriptions of nature-- Lao composers have frequent occasion to describe journeys of the hero through the forest and along rivers. Poetic accounts tend to go to great lengths to describe the beauty of nature. Often scenes from nature are used as metaphors to describe the hero's separation from his lover.¹⁵⁹

Lao poetic works generally begin with an opening section of invocation known as ນັມມະຖຸປັນ (Nammathu Pan). This section frequently starts with praise of the Triple Gems of Buddhism: the Buddha, the Dharma, and the monkhood. After the initial invocation, the composer invokes various celestial beings, such as Indra and Brahma, with the request that they look after the welfare of the composer and aid him in the composition of his work. If the author and date of composition is to be mentioned, it is in this section, or at the end of the story. In some works, such as *Sang Sinsai*, *Tha:w Te:me*; etc., a fairly fixed format has been established for the invocation, with the use of similar phrases and poetic lines.¹⁶⁰

Comments outside the context of the story are frequently added both in

¹⁵⁹ It is noteworthy that even in Nitsay, courting exchanges between young men and descriptions of nature are precisely the type of scenes that are most developed artistically in a given work. They are often composed in Ha:y poetic style, immediately distinguishing them from other scenes. See, for example, *Tha:w Pa: daek Pa: Samau* and *Khun Theung*.

¹⁶⁰ Khamphaeng Kettawong's unpublished study of Lao literature, *Wa:yakaun Lae Wannakhadi: La:w*, provides several examples of formulaic invocations in works of Lao literature. (In my version, the pages are not consistently numbered.)

the initial section and at the end of the text. The requests frequently describe how a manuscript should be handled. For example, the story *Jampha: Si: Ton* from Tha: Meu'a:ng village in Suwannakhet province includes a long list of warnings and complaints.¹⁶¹ Although the comments are of a purely utilitarian nature, they are consistently composed in Kau:n A:n verse form:

ໄຜຜູ້	ປຶ້ມໄປໄຜ	ໃຫ້ເອົາທຽນເບືອງອ່ານ	ນັ້ນເນີ
ປ່າໄດ້	ເອົາກະໄຕ	ເບືອງໃກ້ຈຸດລົ້ນ	ນັ້ນເນີ
ລາງຄົນ ໃຫ້ຂີ້ກະໄຕ້	ປາດໃສ່ໄວ້	ໄຟໄໝ້ມຸ່ນທະລາຍ	ກໍມີດາຍ
ລາງຄົນ	ນ້ຳໝາກປ້ອຍ	ລົງກົວເສົາໝອງ	
ກໍບໍ່	ກົວເກັ່ງໄຜ	ທຳໄປທຸກຍ່າງ	.....
ລາງເທື່ອ	ຮູຂາດຮ້ອຍ	ລານປິ່ນປ້ອຍຍ່າ	

'Whoever borrows (this manuscript), use a candle (to give yourself) light in which to read. Do not take a Lao torch¹⁶² and light it near (the text). Some people let drippings from the torch fall on it, a fire starts, and it is burnt Some people (let the) juice of the betel-nut drip (on the text) so that it becomes tainted. (They) are truly not afraid or respectful and will do anything. Sometimes there is a tear (spreading from) the hole where (the leaves) are bound; The palm leaves turn and fall down and are stepped upon ...'

Manuscripts also typically describe the conditions under which they can be borrowed, and how the audience should behave during a performance. The great majority of extraneous comments are addressed exclusively to young women. For example, although it would be unlikely for a female to borrow a manuscript, it is not uncommon for the text to warn that if the story is borrowed and not returned within three days, the owner will come and squeeze the breasts of the offender.¹⁶³ Other texts similarly caution young women 'not to be in too great a hurry to borrow the manuscript'¹⁶⁴ and not to

¹⁶¹ On the manuscript's final page.

¹⁶² A traditional Lao torch consists of a rotted stick of wood with rubber oil.

¹⁶³ For example, the final page of *Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kaew* from Nau:ng Lam Jan village. To a lesser extent, older people in the audience are also addressed and teased. This has also been observed within Kha:w Sau: poetry, a comparable form of entertainment performed by the Yuan in northern Thailand. See *Jarit: Niyom Nai Kan Taeng Wannakam Kha:w Sau:* by Dr Udom Rungreun'angsi: p.35

¹⁶⁴ Initial page of *Usa: Nithan*, National Library, Vientiane.

'burn or taint the text during a reading'.¹⁶⁵ It should be noted that the performers of such texts are exclusively male and that the audience is often largely comprised of females.

In some works, for example, *Sang Sinsai*, the story is divided into sections, referred to as ປັນ (pan), each of which is given a title. Although not an uncommon practice, the majority of tales are without such divisions.

The Storage and Use of Poetic Literature

Poetic texts are largely kept in private homes. From personal observation, the amount of private manuscripts varies widely from region to region. In many areas, much has been destroyed through years of warfare.¹⁶⁶

Poetic texts are frequently hung from a wall, or kept upon a shelf that is reserved for objects of religious adoration. Unlike their counterparts in a temple, poetic works inscribed in the Lao script are not generally divided into bundles, but rather consist of one large bundle bound together inside of two wooden covers. Frequently the covers are carefully decorated with carvings. Also, unlike manuscripts that are found inside of temples, palm leaf texts that are privately owned are not normally wrapped in silk or cloth.

Poetic Lao literature, similar to prose literature, is generally exclusively handled, transcribed, read, and performed by males.¹⁶⁷ The education necessary to read, transcribe or perform the works has traditionally been attainable only inside of the temple. The stories, despite their role as entertainment, remain associated with Buddhism and are therefore seen as a specifically male area of active involvement. It is often considered improper for women to handle such texts or play any role other than that of a

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.* final page

¹⁶⁶ Because past and present inventories of manuscripts focus almost entirely on collections stored in temples, the extent and variety of titles kept in private hands has largely gone unrecorded.

¹⁶⁷ There are exceptions. Khamphaeng Kettawong described to me how his mother educated herself in the ancient Lao script and used to read manuscripts in her house to her children.

respectful audience.¹⁶⁸

The extent of manuscripts that are privately owned in a village and their present location is frequently known among the village's older males. When a festival is organized, people are aware of which works of literature are available as entertainment.

Although privately-owned manuscripts may be less religious in content than prose texts written in Tham, they are regarded with high value by their owners.¹⁶⁹ Many Lao works warn that they must be treated with proper respect. Before reading, one should raise the text up to the level of one's head as a sign of its honor.¹⁷⁰ One should also worship the text by placing in front of it an offering bowl with either the following five items: popped rice, a torch, flowers, incense, and candles, or more commonly the latter three.¹⁷¹ This is an offering that is typically given in respect to the Buddha, his teachings, and the monkhood.¹⁷² The manuscript should be placed in a tray during the reading,¹⁷³ and afterwards stored in a place of suitable height befitting its value.¹⁷⁴ If one does not pay proper respect in reading, one will

¹⁶⁸ It is noteworthy that although there are both male and female academics within Thailand and Laos that have made studies of Lao literature, it is almost exclusively the males who read from the original manuscripts. I can not think of a single Thai male scholar on the subject who cannot read the ancient scripts. In contrast, the majority of female academics use as their sources printed transliterations. The idea of ເລັ່ນໃບລານ (len bai lan) 'to collect or make a hobby of manuscripts' for laymen is a male oriented pastime, as is ເລັ່ນພຣະເຄຣື້ອງ (len phra khreu'a:ng) 'to collect religious amulets'.

¹⁶⁹ An example of this is the following: The people of Hat Lao village on the Saeng river in northern Luang Prabang province originally inhabited an area in Sam Neua province several day's walk from their present village. During the war, they were forced out of their previous village by the American sponsored Hmong army. They could only keep what they carried by hand. They brought with them several palm leaf manuscripts including a very bulky five hundred page version of the story *Panthamat*. When they arrived in the area they that currently occupy, for the first few years they could not live inside of the village for fear of being bombed. Although forced to live precariously in the forest, they again brought with them and took care of their palm leaf manuscripts.

¹⁷⁰ For example, *Ka:lake:t*, final page, transcribed by Phra Ariya:nuwat Khe:mmajari; *Tae:ng Hau:m*, Vientiane National Library, last leaf, and *Phanya: Khankhak*, final leaf of third bundle.

¹⁷¹ In the work *Sammathi*, transcribed by Niyom Suphawut (p.5), the narrator asks for all five offerings, whereas on the last page of *Kajake:t*, transcribed by Phra Ariya:nuwat Khe:mmajari, and on p. ໕ of the newly composed version of *Tha:w Khatthanam*, written by Khamphun Philawong (I) the narrators ask specifically for the latter three. In practice, I have observed only the latter three offerings being given.

¹⁷² On other occasions than performances, for example, when one wishes to borrow a manuscript from its owner, an offering of this kind may be presented as a sign of respect.

¹⁷³ Stated in *Phanya: Khankhak* from Sakheun Neu'a; Suwannakhet province, on the final leaf of third bundle, and in *Sammathi*, transcribed by Niyom Suphawut, leaf two, side a.

¹⁷⁴ Lao manuscripts commonly advise the reader that they be stored in a high place, for example, *Sammathi*: (as in the previous footnote) leaf two, side a, and the final leaf of *Tae:ng Hau:m* at the Vientiane National Library.

be committing a grave sin.¹⁷⁵ Lao works frequently state that such respect is deserved due to the religious origins of the literature. At the beginning of the poetic version of the popular story *Sang Sinsai*, for example, the author claims the work to be teachings of the Buddha taken from *Ha: Sip Sat* 'Fifty Lives', the Lao version of the Panya:sa Jataka. However, the tale is not included in *Ha: Sip Sat*, nor, as we have seen, is *Ha: Sip Sat* of scriptural origin.

Outside of religious considerations, the respect given to Lao poetic manuscripts performed outside of the temple is to no small degree due to the following characteristics:

- 1) The stories are considered to be a collection of wisdom and artistic beauty. It is a source of pride that the works are the collective effort of many generations of people within the community.
- 2) The transcription of a manuscript involves a great amount of time and effort. Often the tale was transcribed by its owner or a relation of the owner.
- 3) During important occasions in the village, the stories play a significant role as entertainment.

A skilled performer or one well versed in the manuscripts is similarly highly regarded by his fellow villagers. This no doubt is due at least partially to the fact that one who has such skills is known to possess a considerable religious education. At the same time, many Lao poetic works are not commonly known in their entirety, and thus people familiar with them have privileged access to what the Lao consider important traditional wisdom.

Performance of Poetic Literature

There are many occasions on which poetic works have traditionally been read, including:

¹⁷⁵ For example, the final page of *Kalaket*, transcribed by Phra Ariya:nuwat Khemmajari:

1: ງ້ຽນເຮືອນດີ (Ngan Heu'a:n Di): Lao funerals; Lao funerals last for several days, during which members of the community gather at the house of the deceased. In the evening, after religious services are completed, a customary entertainment is the reading of Lao stories. At present, it is rare to find texts read on this occasion, as this form of entertainment has largely been replaced by taped music or playing cards.¹⁷⁶

2: ຜົ້າກາມ (Khao Kam): After a woman gave birth, traditionally she would spend time recuperating in her home in bed by a fire. With the birth of a first child, this resting period could last up to a month. During this period, people would commonly gather at the woman's home and Lao literature would be read as entertainment. Khao Kam has largely if not entirely disappeared.

3: General Religious Holidays: As previously mentioned, the Lao have traditionally observed holidays for each month of their lunar calendar. One of the monthly festivals, known as ບຸນບັ້ງໄຟ (Bun Bangfai), is commonly observed throughout Laos and northeastern Thailand. On this occasion, sections of Lao stories such as *Pha:daeng Nang Ai* and a type of verse known as ຈຽງ (jiang) are frequently read aloud during a procession. Bun Bangfai is a fertility festival which includes many events filled with sexual connotations. The poetic versions of the literature that are performed accordingly include much sexual humor and are frequently used specifically during this occasion.¹⁷⁷

During the monthly lunar festivals, poetic works of Lao literature have traditionally been read in the evenings as entertainment. Frequently different villages within a certain area would take turns being the sponsor of

¹⁷⁶ The practice, however, still exists. I have attended a funeral reading in Nau:ng Lam Jan in Suwannakhet province. I have also heard of similar readings in northeastern Thailand, for example, in the capital of Mukdahan province and a village in Maha Sarakham.

¹⁷⁷ For a description of works read during this holiday and a list of many examples, see *Khai Pha:sit Boran Isan* by Pichai Phinthaung, pp.486-489. It is noteworthy that Pali words, which are normally used only in a religious context, occur in these passages as rhyming counterparts for Lao obscenities. One work that is popular on this occasion is an obscene version of one of the well-known chapters of the story *Sang Sinsai*.



these events. In organizing the festival, the sponsoring village would search for people who were skilled at performing works of literature. A good reader, besides being enjoyable, would add to the village's reputation as a host. Often such readers would be paid for their services.¹⁷⁸ It was common during festivals for several stories to be read simultaneously by different performers, and groups of people would gather by the readers, depending on personal taste in the story or performer.

4: Informally; It is also not uncommon for Lao stories to be read informally at home by their owners.

It will be observed that whereas prose works in a temple are generally read with the intention of finishing a complete story in a given period of time, poetic texts outside of the temple are commonly read in sections rather than as complete stories. Many of the most frequently performed poetic tales are exceptionally long, averaging about five hundred palm leaves in length, for example, *Sinsai, Tha:w Suriwong, Jampha: Si: Ton, Singa:lo:, and Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kae:w*.¹⁷⁹ Individual scenes, such as battle scenes, love scenes, or accounts of journeys through the forest, have a completeness in themselves and can be enjoyed outside the context of the tale in which they occur. Many people, therefore, are familiar with sections of the stories, but not the stories as a whole.

During a performance, the manuscript is generally placed on a tray in front of the performer. It is not uncommon for the reader to drink some whiskey to facilitate the smoothness of his performance. Similar to prose works of Lao literature, poetic works are not actually read but rather chanted.

¹⁷⁸ The contemporary musical entertainment, Mau: Lam, owes its origins to such performances. The musical form is based upon the performance styles of reading ancient literature. One musical style is still referred to as ອ່ານໜັງສື (A:n Nangseu:) 'reading a book'. An early form of Mau: Lam, known as ລຳພູນ (Lam Pheu:n), consisted of a performer who 'sang' the literature to the accompaniment of a musician who played the kha:n, a Lao wind instrument. In the past half century, the form has evolved considerably. For a description of the musical style 'A:n Nangseu:' and its relationship to the Lao literary tradition, see pp.103-108 (especially p.108) of the thesis "*Kaen" Playing and "Mawlum" Singing in Northeast Thailand*", and pp.25-27 of *The Traditional Music of the Lao*, both works by Terry Miller. For a description of the form of Mau: Lam known as 'Lam Pheu:n', see pp.132-136 of Terry Miller's thesis and pp.40-42 of his book. A general description of Mau: Lam's evolution from Lao literature can be found on pp.77-97 of Terry Miller's thesis.

¹⁷⁹ Although the commonly found version of *Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kae:w* is approximately two hundred leaves in length, the length of the Champhasak version is approximately five hundred leaves.

A performer's skill is especially important in breathing life into the poetic version of a story. As mentioned, poetry (whether Kau:n A:n or Ha:y) allows the composer a greater opportunity to manipulate sound for effect, and its intended effect relies on the interpretation of the reader. During Bun Phawet, the performer's skill at chanting, and specifically alternating high and low sounds, is important in keeping the audience attentive to a performance that lasts the length of a day.¹⁸⁰ The Vesantara Jataka is chanted by many different monks during this festival. Those gifted in their performance have traditionally been presented with offerings, frequently money, by appreciative members of the audience. The money is generally utilized by the temple rather than being the property of individual monks.¹⁸¹ In Luang Prabang, in the past, a monk with a good voice who gave a skilled performance would often receive gifts from the audience, particularly from female admirers. Some monks have been known to leave the temple after receiving a substantial amount of donations, using their gifts to establish a comfortable life outside of the monkhood.¹⁸²

Interchangeability between the Two Types of Literature

The distinction between the two types of literature is flexible. When a text originally written in the Lao script and stored in a private home is recopied in Tham for the purpose of being used at a temple, the transformation is referred to as ບວດໝັງສີ (bua:t nangseu:) 'Ordaining a book'. Alternatively, when a text that is written in Tham script is transcribed in Lao in order to be stored in a private home, the process is known as ສີກໝັງສີ (si:k nangseu:) 'Defrocking a book'.¹⁸³

One frequently finds poetic stories recorded in Tham and preserved in temple libraries side-by-side with Nitsay texts.¹⁸⁴ There are extensive

¹⁸⁰ There are several different styles of chanting especially for this story. (Related in correspondence by Professor Suphon Somjitsripanya.)

¹⁸¹ *Hit Sip Saung Khaung Sip Si:* by Sam Sarathasananan pp.20-21

¹⁸² From conversation with Ajan Thuangkhan at the Provincial Library in Luang Prabang.

¹⁸³ I heard this expression in Nau:ng Lam Jan, Suwannakhet. The extent of its distribution is uncertain.

¹⁸⁴ In such a case, there is no way to be certain that the story was 'ordained' or actually composed in the temple. It is my opinion, as stated earlier, that many poetic stories were originally composed inside of the temple, and therefore in the Tham script.

collections of poetic literature in temple libraries such as Wat Nau:ng Lam Jan in Suwannakhet Province, Wat Na: Sai in Vientiane, etc. There is no restriction that limits monks to chanting Nitsay texts during religious services. The type of works in a temple library depends upon the inclination of the temple's abbot at the time that the manuscripts were being collected. Certain temples, such as Nau:ng Lam Jan, have specifically sought out poetic and literary works to fill their libraries.¹⁸⁵ In a small minority of temples that I have visited, due to the insistence of a particular abbot, an attempt has been made to exclude non-canonical literature. Such a goal, however, is not easily successful due to the difficulty in distinguishing what is actually of canonical origin and what is only posing as such. Apocryphal Jataka tales, particularly in Nitsay form, often manage to avoid detection. It is also not uncommon to find poetic works cleverly disguised, as if to avoid being recognized. For example, some manuscripts inscribed in Tham begin with the typical 'Patjupanna Watthu' section ('The Story of the Present'), written in Nitsay, where the Buddha is asked a question by his disciples. What immediately follows is a poetic rendition of the tale. Once the story is finished, the final leaves of the text revert back to Nitsay in a rendition of the 'Samothana' section ('The Connection') in imitation of the Canonical Jataka tales.¹⁸⁶

Apocryphal Jataka tales that are written in Nitsay are believed to be direction translations from the Tripitaka. They are therefore not transcribed into Lao and kept in private homes, which would be considered sacrilegious. 'Defrocking' a book, therefore, refers either to copying into Lao for private use a) texts from the temple that are not apocryphal Jatakas, for example, astrological works, medicinal treatises, or religious incantations, or b) poetic versions of apocryphal Jatakas. It is also not uncommon to find manuscripts written in the Tham script stored outside of the temple. There is not a generally held taboo against keeping Tham texts in private homes.¹⁸⁷ However, there appear to be reservations at least among some communities. For example, people in the Tai Aet village of Ha:t Lao in northeastern Luang Prabang province explained that it could bring about the appearance of

¹⁸⁵ At the end of the nineteenth century, Nau:ng Lam Jan temple attracted students from southern Laos and many provinces in northeastern Thailand. Its abbot at the time was a monk educated in Bangkok who actively sought literary works to be copied and kept in his temple library.

¹⁸⁶ Examples at the National Library in Vientiane include *Tha:w Ba: Ling* and one version of *Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam*.

¹⁸⁷ Based upon personal observation, and from conversation with Prof. Suphon Somjitsripanya: at the Isa:n Cultural Center at the Teacher's College in Maha Sarakham.

malevolent spirits in the household that could be dangerous to small children.¹⁸⁸ Privately owned works that are recorded in Tham are generally concerned with religion and the supernatural. They include astrological texts, incantations, and spells to call the Khwan spirit.

Evolution of Lao Literature from the Yuan Literary Tradition

The inventory of Lao stories in the appendix helps to answer the question: What, if any, are the Lao contributions to the literary tradition that they inherited from the Yuan? Previous scholarship has by and large given the impression that most if not all of Lao literature was merely borrowed or at best adapted from the Yuan. As shown in this chapter, Lao literature does owe much to Lanna, including one or both of its scripts, a large number of its stories, and many of its major conventions. However, the inventory indicates a more complex evolution of Lao literature than has been suggested in the past. This can be seen by a) the extent to which the Lao have adapted the Yuan literary tradition, and b) the extent of works of Lao origin. Let us examine these two points separately.

a) Extent of Lao adaptation of the Yuan literary tradition

Previous comparisons of Lao and Lanna literatures have tended to emphasize the similarities between the two traditions. There is, however, an important difference between the form that the literature takes in Lanna and Laos that has been neglected in past works. Whereas the Yuan traditionally recorded their stories, with a minimal number of exceptions, purely in prose or the simple poetic form of *Ha:y*, the Lao recorded the majority of their tales in the more complex poetic form of *Kau:n A:n*. Besides composing original stories in *Kau:n A:n*, the Lao appear to have converted into this form the majority of the *Nitsay* and *Ha:y* works that they borrowed from the Yuan. Lao stories which share similar titles with Yuan *Nitsay* and *Ha:y* tales occur in the following forms:

¹⁸⁸ The Tai Aet are a small Tai-speaking group from northeastern Laos that share a similar literary tradition with the Lowland Lao, and are said to have a strong belief in ^၆ (phi) 'Tai spirits', as well as the Buddhist religion

Nitsay Prose:	seventeen works
Ha:y:	eight works
Kau:n A:n Poetry:	seventeen works
Kau:n A:n and Nitsay:	eleven works

The popularity of Kau:n A:n among the Lao can be seen from the fact that not only do twenty-eight of the above works exist in Kau:n A:n versions, but seventeen at present exist in Laos solely in Kau:n A:n form.

An equivalent poetic form also existed among the Yuan. Similar to Kau:n A:n, it was a form of Khlo:ng, a type of poetry based upon the placement of words of minor and falling tones that is popular among Tai-speaking groups. The earliest known Yuan Khlo:ng work, *Usa: Barot*, was written during or before the reign of King Keu'na: (1367-1388) and the form continued to be popular until the Burmese occupation in 1558.¹⁸⁹ In scholarly works on the literature of Lanna, the tradition of composing in Khlo:ng has been given great importance as it believed to be the forerunner of the Thai poetic tradition. However, despite their significance in modern-day scholarship, the actual number of works that were written in this poetic form are few. There is a total of nine or ten Khlo:ng works that are known at present whereas there are approximately two hundred stories written either in Nitsay or in Ha:y.¹⁹⁰

Why did the various forms have differing levels of popularity within Lanna and Lan Xang? This can partially be explained by the difference between the two societies in the nature of the composers of their literature and the circumstances of its performance.

Dr. Udom Rungreu'a:ngsi: in his book *Wannakam La:nna:* suggests that the high level of education needed to compose works in Khlo:ng restricted its practitioners to members of the Lanna elite who were connected to the palace. Lanna Khlo:ng during the peak of Yuan civilization was more complex than the Lao form of Kau:n A:n due to its required rhyme scheme. Early Yuan Khlo:ng, however, was without consistent rhyme, and as such

¹⁸⁹ *Wannakam La:nna:* by Dr. Udom Rungreu'a:ngsi: p.245. The last work composed in Khlo:ng, *Khlo:ng Hong Pha: Kham* however, was written as late as 1853. *ibid.* p.366

¹⁹⁰ There are nine Yuan works composed in Khlo:ng according to Thawat Punno:thok in *Nae:w Thang Seuksa: Wannakam Pheu:n Ba:n Praphe:t Laylak* pp.94-95 (A list of titles is included.) There are at least ten, according to Prakhaung Nimma:nhe:min in her thesis *Maha:ka:p Tha:w Ba: leu'a:ng* p.231

was no more difficult than Kau:n A:n, which did not require a high level of education as a prerequisite to its composition.¹⁹¹ Why the Yuan verse form developed in the way that it did so that it was monopolized by a small elite, and why a more popular written verse form did not develop at the time are questions that are worthy of consideration by those with more knowledge of Yuan culture and history.¹⁹² The Lao form of Khlo:ng Kau:n A:n, as we shall see, possessed a much wider range of composers than did its Yuan equivalent.

The second important difference between Lao and Yuan literature was in the nature of its performance. The great majority of Yuan works, written either in Nitsay, Hay, or both, were intended solely to be chanted by monks. Both the script of the texts (Tua: Meu'a:ng) and the style of the narrative had religious connotations. Nitsay (as in Laos) was used exclusively to compose works of a religious nature. Hay, which is known to the Yuan as Kau:n Tham (poetry of the Dharma), similarly was not commonly used by secular poets because of its association with sacred texts.¹⁹³ The majority of Lao works, in contrast, were written in Kau:n A:n, a form which allowed a greater range of performers and performances. By merely changing its script, an identical text in Kau:n A:n could be performed either as a temple sermon on religious occasions or as village entertainment during secular events. This added flexibility gave the literature a greater role within Lao society than it had in Lanna. This is no doubt an important reason why the Lao literary tradition has remained strong in Lao ethnic areas, and has given birth to the musical tradition of Mau: Lam, which is perhaps the strongest regional cultural entertainment in existence in contemporary Thailand. Yuan literature, on the other hand, has largely died out as an active cultural tradition.

¹⁹¹ According to the Lao scholar Khamphae:ng Kettawong, many skilled composers of Kau:n A:n are illiterate.

¹⁹² There are a variety of oral verse forms known as ສົ້ (sau:) that have traditionally enjoyed popularity among the common people of Lanna. Sau: verses were meant to be sung in accompaniment to a violin-like instrument of a similar name, and were frequently used in courtship. Many of these verses are more complex than Hay, including a more detailed rhyme scheme and a greater intricacy in the rules of placement of words of certain tones in designated positions. However, extended works of Sau: poetry that tell stories (for example, renditions of apocryphal Jataka tales) only began during the reign of King Chulalongkorn in the years 1868-1910. *Rau:y Krau:ng Thau:ng Thin* by Pratheu'a:ng Khlay:suba:n pp.34-56

¹⁹³ *Wannakam Thau:ng Thin Lanna:* by Lamu:n Janhau:m pp.106-111. There is a single known exception, a poem entitled *Kham Jom*, an introspective work written by a poet serving time in prison. *ibid.* p.111

The difference between the social uses of Lao and Yuan literature is further illustrated in the conventions of a type of Yuan poetry known as ຄ້າວຊໍ້ (Kha:w Sau:). Kha:w Sau: originated several centuries after the peak of Lanna culture, in the year 1881. It had simpler rules of composition than the earlier Khlo:ng form and was produced by a wider range of Lanna society. The number of works composed in Kha:w Sau: was approximately thirty, a significantly greater number than the works that had previously been composed in Khlo:ng.¹⁹⁴ In many ways, Kha:w Sau: bears more similarities with Lao Kau:n A:n than does the earlier form of Yuan Khlo:ng.¹⁹⁵ However, outside of the fact that they were initially composed in different historical periods, there are two essential differences between the Yuan form of Kha:w Sau: and Lao Kau:n A:n that help to reveal one of the reasons why poetic adaptations of religious works became more developed in Laos than they did in Lanna. Firstly, Kha:w Sau: was performed exclusively outside of the temple, occupying a role that did not overlap that of the Yuan works composed in either Nitsay or Ha:y.¹⁹⁶ The Yuan, therefore, consistently maintained a greater separation than the Lao between works that were to be performed as religious sermons and works that served as entertainment. Secondly, when setting apocryphal Jatakas into the poetic Kha:w Sau: style to be performed outside of the temple, Yuan composers feared that they might bear guilt for demeaning religious texts. A popular convention of Kha:w Sau: is to ask for forgiveness at the beginning of a story for any possible impropriety.¹⁹⁷ If one studies the similar invocation sections of Lao poetic

¹⁹⁴ *Wannakam Lanna*: by Dr. Udom Rungreu'angsi: includes a list on pp.368-369. The work *Thau:ng Thin Lanna*: by Lamu:n Janhau:m states that there are a total of sixty works, but does not provide their names. p.98

¹⁹⁵ For example, the primary source of Kha:w Sau: (as opposed to the Khlo:ng) consisted of apocryphal Jataka tales (both inside and outside of the Panya:sa collection). Kha:w Sau: poetry was composed to be performed as entertainment with the accompaniment of a musical instrument known as Sau: that is similar to a violin. (Kau:n A:n similarly developed into Mau: Lam, where Lao poetry was performed to the music of the kha:n.) It was also performed on occasions comparable to those in which Kau:n A:n was read, such as funerals, celebrations marking the ordination of a son, etc. The decline in popularity of Kha:w Sau:, similar to Kau:n A:n, coincided with the increased cultural and political influence of the Thai, who annexed Lanna after freeing it from the Burmese.

¹⁹⁶ It should be noted that Kha:w Sau: is distinguished from the category of literature referred to by the Yuan as ທ້າຄ້າວ (Tham Kha:w) 'Kha:w of the Dharma', which is performed in Buddhist temples. 'Kha:w of the Dharma' is the general name given to works that are performed on religious occasions, including compositions of Nitsay and Ha:y. *Kau:y Krau:ng Thau:ng Thin* by Pratheu'a:ng Khla:ysuba:n pp.24-25

¹⁹⁷ *Jari:t Niyom Nai Kan Taeng Wannakam Kha:w Sau:* by Dr. Udom Rungreu'angsi: pp.13-20.

Jat:akas, this tradition of asking forgiveness is absent.¹⁹⁸ I have never similarly heard of a Lao concept that a religious text might be demeaned when it is composed in poetry and performed as entertainment. It is worthy of speculation, therefore, that the reason that the Yuan did not develop a stronger tradition of adapting apocryphal Jat:akas into poetic form more complex than Ha:y is that the Yuan placed stricter limits as to the styles in which religious texts could be composed and under what circumstances they could be utilized. The Lao Kau:n A:n, with its greater flexibility, accordingly developed to an extent that the Yuan poetic forms did not.

b) Percentage of literary works of Lao origin, their types of composer and places of composition

The inventory of Lao literary works in the appendix gives a contrary picture to the generally accepted view that Lao literature is largely if not entirely based upon works of Yuan origin. Out of 142 stories, only 54 have Yuan counterparts and may be of Yuan origin (with the possible addition of ten Canonical Jat:aka tale, the Nitsay versions of which might have been brought to Lan Xang from Chiang Mai).¹⁹⁹ The greatest single grouping of stories consists of works without Yuan, Indian, or Thai counterparts, totalling 71.

The inventory of Lao literature reveals some important insights into the nature of Lao composition. The great majority of works of Lao origin are composed in Kau:n A:n poetic form:

the Khmer, and the scriptural Jat:aka tales were probably originally brought to Lan Xang at this time. See *Phongsawadan La:w* (Chronicles of Laos), arranged by Maha: Sila: Wirawong (L) pp.38-39

Ha:y:	five stories
Kau:n A:n:	forty-five stories
Kau:n A:n and Nitsay or Ha:y:	eight stories ²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Composers (or transcribers) of Lao works typically ask forgiveness for their limited artistic abilities, but not for religious impropriety in their use of Buddhist stories.

Composers (or transcribers) of Lao works typically ask forgiveness for their limited artistic abilities, but not for religious impropriety in their use of Buddhist stories.

¹⁹⁹ It must be remembered, however, that the Lao originally received the Buddhist scriptures from the Khmer, and the scriptural Jat:aka tales were probably originally brought to Lan Xang at this time. See *Phongsawadan La:w* (Chronicles of Laos), arranged by Maha: Sila: Wirawong (L) pp.38-39

²⁰⁰ There are three additional works of which I am uncertain the form.

This shows the emphasis on a more secular, or at least multi-purposed, form of literature than was prevalent in Lanna. Contrary to Yuan Khlong, Lao-composed works, by and large, were not the creations of a highly-educated elite connected to the royal court. It is likely that some of the classic widespread Lao works (and especially Lao adaptations of Yuan works) were originally composed by such an elite, but this is a small minority of the total. The inventory shows that the great majority of Lao tales have a very small range of distribution. Most of the stories, and in particular the tales written in Kham A-n, are distributed exclusively in small rural areas far from major centers of power. Whether created by laymen or monks, the stories were the products of the common people on the village level. It is interesting that the evolution of the poetic literature of Lanna largely came to a halt when the kingdom fell under the political control of the Burmese. Yuan Khlong, whose composition was dependent upon the support of the monarchy, withered when its patron kingdom collapsed. The evolution of Lao literature took a different route. Lao literature appears to have enjoyed royal patronage for a period of at least two hundred years, from the end of the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century. The literature of Lan Xang created during this period provided the groundwork from which future Lao literature was to evolve. At the end of seventeenth century, the Kingdom of Lan Xang split into three separate entities, followed by political turmoil and foreign domination. Lao literature, rather than ceasing to exist, became entirely a product of village culture and in this way survived.²⁰¹ The literature still remains primarily a village phenomenon, and is more vital in rural Laos than in any of the larger towns.

In conclusion, Lao literature evolved from the Yuan in:

a) Its development of a popular Khlong poetic form which was more flexible in its type of composer; This afforded the creation of a greater quantity of works and allowed for the literature's survival with the disintegration of the kingdom that gave it birth.

²⁰¹ It may be speculated that many of the approximately two hundred works of Yuan literature composed in Nitsay (the large majority of which do not have Lao equivalents) were similarly composed after the Kingdom of Lanna lost its independence.

b) Its development of a literary style more flexible in its type of performers and circumstances of performance. Perhaps due to a stricter sense of religious acceptability, the Yuan had more rigid divisions between religious and secular literature. The Lao flexibility gave individual works greater circulation and a wider role within the society.

The Plot of Lao Literature

Lao fiction can be divided according to plot into four basic types. These types are not peculiar to Lao literature but also exist in other literatures of mainland Southeast Asia. They include:

1) The story of a prince who departs from his home, encounters great hardship and acquires supernatural powers, often gained through studies with a hermit in the forest or by his victories with various mostly non-human enemies, such as ghosts, mythical serpents known as Naga or mythical giants known as Yak. The hero is watched over and continuously aided by the god Indra. In the course of his journeys, he meets and courts various princesses. Many works conclude when the hero brings the princesses back to his own kingdom and inherits the throne. Stories of this type are often very long and cover the adventures of two or three generations within the same family. Prominent examples are *Sang Sinsai*, *Kalaket*, *Suriwong*, and *Tha:w Sowat*. Similar Yuan and Kheun tales include *Hong Pha: Kham* and *Wongsawan*.²⁰² This type of story is also popular among the Thai, who refer to it as Jak Jak Wong Wong. Similar Thai stories include *Laksanawong*, *Janthakorop* (of which there is a Lao equivalent), etc.

One variant is the story of a strong man who goes on a journey with his friends and encounters various adventures along the way. Popular tales of this type include *Tha:w Khatthana:m* and *A:y Jet Hay*. *Tha:w Katthana:m* is popular, both in written and oral form, among the Lao and Yuan. *A:y Jet Hay* exists in written form among the Lao but is more commonly found as an oral tale. It also occurs in oral form among the Yuan, and the written

²⁰² Plots of Kheun stories are listed in *Tai Khoeun Literature* by Dr. A. Peltier. Kheun literature is very closely related to Yuan literature and many of the stories have Yuan equivalents. *Tai Khoeun Literature* pp.7-8

work *Bua: Nau:y Kin Kwa:n* describes a similar story. *A:y Jet Ha:y* is also a 'highly appreciated tale' among the Kammu and exists in many different oral variations.²⁰³

2) The story of a man born in a poor family with a grotesque outward appearance.²⁰⁴ Generally he is confined to his ugly outer 'shell' until he has served the proper time to pay for sins that he has committed in previous lives.²⁰⁵ The hero is shunned but at the same time amazes people through his performance of various miraculous acts. When he becomes a young man, he successfully courts the princess and is given her hand in marriage. Frequently his successful courtship is the result of his fulfillment of a seemingly impossible task that is assigned to him by the king. Typically, he must build a bridge of gold and silver from his shack to the royal palace. At some point within the story, he emerges from his ugly outer 'shell' with the body of a beautiful prince. He continues, however, to step back into his shell at will, and eventually the shell is destroyed by the princess who is disgusted and embarrassed by its ugliness. After his marriage, the hero inevitably inherits the throne. Stories of this type include *Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam*, *Tha:w Bae*, *Tha:w Tao Kham* (Kau:n A:n version), and *Tha:w Kapau:m Kham* (Kau:n A:n version). The stories are often humorous. Yuan and Kheun examples of this type include *Tha:w Kha:ng Kham* and *Sumphu: Taeng Khia:w*. Similar stories also exist among the Kammu, for example, *The Story of the Tortoise* and *The Coconut Orphan*, both of which have been translated in the Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies' series of monographs on Kammu folklore.²⁰⁶

There are also many variations to this type of tale. Several stories

²⁰³ *Folk Tales From Kammu II: A Story-Teller's Tales* by Kristina Lindell et al. p.139. A translation of one version is provided under the title *Aay Cet Reey* on pp.84-88. It is interesting that certain elements of the story *Tha:w Khatthana:m*, such as the killing of a giant insect, are interwoven into the Kammu version of this tale.

²⁰⁴ In some stories of this type, such as *Tha:w Bae* and *Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam*, the hero is abandoned by his parents due to his ugliness and set adrift on a raft. He is raised by an old woman who is the royal garden keeper. In a minority of stories, such as the poetic version of *Tha:w Hua:* from *Tha: Khaek* and the Yuan version of *Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam*, he is the abandoned child of royalty. The motive for this appears to be hesitance to give a great destiny to one of such humble origins.

²⁰⁵ There are exceptions. For example, in *Tha:w Hua:* the Bodhisattva decides to be born as a head without a body so that he will be less of a burden for his poverty-stricken mother to feed.

²⁰⁶ Two variations of *The Story of the Tortoise* have been translated, in *Kammu Story-Listener's Tales* p.56 and *Folk Tales From Kammu II: A Story Teller's Tales* pp.103-107. Both works are by Kristina Lindell et al. They are similar in many ways to the Lao story *Tha:w Tao Kham*, 'The Golden Tortoise'. 'The Coconut Orphan' is translated in *Folk Tales From Kammu IV: A Master Teller's Tales*, also by the same authors. pp.122-143

describe in great detail the problems that the hero faces in being accepted by the royalty due to his initially grotesque appearance. In *Tha:w Tup Tau:ng*, *Tha:w Seu'a: Nao*, and *Suwanna Hen Kham*, the youngest princess is ostracized by the king for her association with the hero. In numerous stories, the older siblings (and siblings-in-law) despise or are envious of the youngest princess and her husband. In *Tha:w Bae:* and *Tha:w Hua:* (Kau:n A:n version), the princess's older sisters try to kill either her or her husband. In *Suwanna Hau:y Sang*, *Suwanna Hen Kham* and *Tha:w Piang*, the hero, rejected by his brother-in-laws, proves his ability through a series of competitions set up by the king, and is given the throne. In *Suwanna Hau:y Sang*, *Tha:w Hua:* (Nitsay version), and *Tha:w Seu'a: Nao*, the king is forced to relinquish his throne to the hero in order to save himself from the wrath of Indra or foreign enemies.

Previous scholars of folklore have commented on the wide-spread existence of stories within East and Southeast Asia where the hero is born inside of a hard shell. Stories of this type have been found, for example, in India, Sri Lanka, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, and Japan.²⁰⁷ Based on the evidence of Lao literature, I would like to widen the definition of such stories to that of heroes who are born with an outer layer, hard or soft, from which they eventually emerge. Less than half of the Lao stories of this type describe a hero born within a specifically hard shell. In *Tha:w Tao Kham*, the hero is born within a tortoise shell, and in *Suwanna Hau:y Sang* in a conch.²⁰⁸ In two other stories, the hero's outer-layer might also be interpreted as a hard shell. In *Tha:w Hua:* the hero is born with a head detached from a body (inside of which his real body eventually emerges) and in *Tha:w Seu'a: Nao* he is born with a 'leprous coating' in which a healthy body is disguised.²⁰⁹ In most Lao stories of this type, however, the hero is simply born as an animal. For example, he is born as two different types of lizard, a

²⁰⁷ *Kammu IV: A Master Teller's Tales* by Kristina Lindell et al. pp.24-27 Also, *Sang Thong: A Dance Drama from Thailand* by Fern S. Ingersoll pp.21-23

²⁰⁸ The story *Tha:w Tao Kham*, in which the hero is born as a tortoise, exists in Lao and Kammu versions. *Suwanna Hau:y Sang*, where the hero is born in a conch, is derived from the story *Suwanna Sangkha* in the Panyasa Jataka. This is also the origin of the Thai drama *Sang Thau:ng*, which is mentioned in the discussion on 'hard-shell' stories in *Kammu IV: A Master Teller's Tales* by Kristina Lindell et al. p.25, and translated in *Sang Thong: A Dance Drama from Thailand* by Fern S. Ingersoll.

²⁰⁹ *Tha:w Hua:*, literally 'Sir Head' is based upon the story *Suwanna Sian*, 'The Golden Head', in the Panya:sa Jataka. *Tha:w Seu'a: Nao*, literally 'Sir Rotten Shirt', appears to exist exclusively in the area of Ubon province in northeastern Thailand.

goat, a toad, or with a monkey-like appearance.²¹⁰ Although the outer-coating is not a hard shell, the stories otherwise conform to typical plots attributed to 'hard-shell stories'.

3) The story of a hero born as a poor orphan who receives a beautiful wife through supernatural means, usually with the aid of the god Indra. The orphan suffers various injustices at the hands of an evil king who desires the orphan's wife. The king loses his legitimacy in the eyes of his subjects as they watch him bully the poor orphan. The king is eventually defeated and the orphan is presented the throne. In some stories such as *Tha:w Kampha: Phi: Nau:y*, *Suphom Mekkha* and *Tha:w Kampha: Pa:daek Pasamau:*, the king challenges the orphan to various competitions or assigns him impossible tasks under threat of death. The orphan is usually assisted in his victory by the god Indra, but in some stories, such as *Tha:w Kampha: Pa:daek Pa: Samau:*, he defeats the king through his superior wit. In other stories, such as *Suwanna Sangkha:n* and *Khau:ng Khau: Kun*, the hero, when threatened by the king, escapes to the forest. He eventually returns to defeat the king with the aid of supernatural powers that he has gained during his journey. In *Tha:w Ngua: Thau:ng*, a variation of this type of plot, the king forces a poor boy to complete impossible tasks due to his jealousy at the boy's superior talents. The boy succeeds in each task and eventually defeats the king through the assistance of the spirit of his dead brother. Similar Yuan and Kheun stories include *Sa:ng Sam Nga: Pla: Sam Ngia:ng*. The Yuan and Kheun stories *Sa:ng Jet Hua: Jet Ha:ng* and *Jantha Suriya* describe a similar conflict between a poor boy and an evil king. The conflict is not, however, the result of the king's envy over the boy's wife.

In many stories of this type, the woman who will marry the hero is initially sent to the hero's house inside of a 'shell'. For example, she is placed inside of a pair of elephant tusks, a drum, the skull of the hero's father, or a giant clam that has fallen from the sky.²¹¹

²¹⁰ The hero is a type of lizard in *Tha:w Kapau:m Kham* and *Tha:w Lin*, a goat in *Tha:w Bae*, a toad in *Phanya: Khankha:k*, and a small monkey-like creature in *Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam*. (The first two stories are apparently of Lao origin whereas the latter three also occur among the Yuan.)

²¹¹ The hero's wife is placed inside of a pair of elephant tusks in *Tha:w Kampha: Pa:daek Pasamau:*, inside a drum in *Khau:ng Khau: Kun*, inside the hero's father's skull in *Suphom Mekkha*, and inside a shell in *Suwanna Sangkha:n*. However, unlike the 'hard-shell' heroes, the heroine is not born inside of the shell and can come and go as she pleases. This motif has been commented on in *Folk Tales From Kammu IV* by Kristina Lindell et al p.25. Although it typically occurs in this category of tale, it can also occur in other categories.

In a common variation of this plot, the king is attracted by a fragrant smell that he traces to a hole in the ground. Only the hero, a poor orphan, is able to descend the hole and follow the smell to its source. The fragrant smell belongs to a princess from the underworld, whom the orphan courts and marries, inheriting her father's throne. During the course of the story, the two lovers are separated. The princess finds herself alone in the boy's kingdom and is taken forcibly as the king's wife. However, through the magical assistance of the Lord Indra, the heroine's body becomes excessively hot and the king is not able to touch her. When the orphan eventually returns to his kingdom, aided with supernatural powers that he has attained along his journey, he defeats the king and takes the throne of his own kingdom. Stories of this sub-type include *Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kaew*, *Tha:w Kai Hau:m Hu:* (a variant of the former story), and *Jantha Samut*. Yuan and Kheun equivalents include *Rattana Rangsi:* and *Jantha Samut* (which is considerably different from the Lao version). Variants occur in oral form as historical legends in several places throughout Laos and northeastern Thailand.²¹²

Stories involving a struggle between an orphan and an immoral king are commonly found both in oral and written tales of many Tai speaking groups throughout mainland Southeast Asia. They also occur among several hill-dwelling minorities such as the Sarai in the high plateaus of central Vietnam. It can be speculated that their origins are in regional oral tales.²¹³ Stories of orphans who are given the princess's hand in marriage after a series of competitions can also be found among the folk-tales of the Kammu.²¹⁴

²¹² For example, the history of an old village, Ban Som, on the Sae:ng river in Luang Prabang province, was described in the following manner: There is a cavern (which I was shown) where a princess was lured by the king of Nagas, who sent a crab to steal her sewing spool. Attempting to retrieve it, she fell through a hole in the cavern into the land of the Nagas where she was taken as the king Naga's wife. Later, she was returned to her home through the hole from which she originally descended in the form of a fragrant white chicken at a place now known as 'Fragrant White Chicken Beach'. While the villagers could not explain the significance of why she returned as a chicken, this detail and several others are similar to *Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kaew*, a story which is neither familiar to the villagers nor common to their region. There are several other locations, for example, in Korat on the southern tip of northeastern Thailand (a far distance from Luang Prabang), where there are holes or caverns that are considered by villagers to be the spot where the orphan in the story *Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kaew* descended into the underworld.

²¹³ *Sumangala, Patumamukha* transcribed by Dr. A. Peltier Introduction p.4

²¹⁴ See, for example, 'The fatherless boy works in the field' in *A Kammu Story-Listener's Tales* by Kristina Lindell et al pp.29-31

In several Lao works, the second or third category of plot makes up a single theme within a larger story. After approximately one hundred leaves (and sometimes much less), the hero defeats the king or sheds his ugly 'shell' and the tale continues, frequently for several hundred pages. The remaining story often conforms to the plot described in category number one. Examples include: *Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kaew*, *Tha:w Ngua: Thau:ng*, *Tha:w Bae*, *Tha:w Lin*, *Phanya: Khankha:k*, etc.

4) The tragic story of a love affair that ends in the suicide or death of the two lovers. Such stories include *Khunlu: Nang Ua:* and *Pha:dae:ng Nang Ai*. There are fewer examples of this type of story than there are of the previous types. The story *Khunlu: Nang Ua:* exists among several Tai groups, including the Yuan, Tai Dam, Tai Daeng, Phuthai and Shan.²¹⁵ A Kammu version, with the similar title of *Bua: Nau:y Khunlu*, is 'the most highly esteemed love story of the Kammu'.²¹⁶ The Thai story, *Lilit Phralau*, of Yuan origin, shares basic similarities as does the Yuan story *Alaung Jao Samlau*, and the Kheun story *Nang Hung Hay*.²¹⁷

Lao Literature and the use of Formula and Themes

The Singer of Tales by Milman Parry and Albert Lord provides a model for oral poetry and its composition that can be applied to traditional Lao literature. The authors attempted to solve the problem of how poets of heroic oral epics in Yugoslavia could give quickly paced performances of thousands of lines of narrative without having to consult a text. It was impossible to attribute such a feat either to total memorization or impromptu composition. They concluded that the poet's composition was facilitated by a generation's old tradition that provided formulas and themes that helped the poet compose phrases, poetic lines, and in general facilitated the creation of a story. A formula according to their definition is a group of words that express a particular idea that fit the metrical scheme of a poem. A formula can consist of a phrase, a poetic line, or group of lines. It can be used

²¹⁵ *Le Roman Classique Lao* by Dr A. Peltier pp.328-329

²¹⁶ *Folk Tales From Kammu IV* by Kristina Lindell et al p.160 The story *Bua: Nau:y Khunlu* (which is spelled 'Bua Noi Khunlu') is translated on pp.160-171.

²¹⁷ The Yuan love tragedy *Alaung Jao Samlau*: has been transcribed in the Thai script and published by Dr. A. Peltier.

repeatedly, often with minor variation, whenever it suits the poet's needs. On a higher level than formula are themes, repeated incidents and descriptions that occur regularly both within a single work and between works within a poetic tradition. Such devices are a necessity for a performer who must compose during performance and cannot afford time to think between lines. But the formulas are not merely clichés. A talented performer creatively makes use of formulas, juggling, adapting, and changing them to fit the needs of his particular story and audience. Milman Parry and Albert Lord used their model as evidence that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the result of oral composition. Albert Lord also developed a theory that the composition of a given work, oral or written, could be determined by the percentage of formula that it contained.

More recent writers have shown how themes and formula are also a prominent characteristic of certain types of written literature. Dr. Amin Sweeney in his work *Authors and Audiences* explains how they can be utilized to solve a number of problems presented by works that a) must continually be recopied, and b) are intended for a listening audience.²¹⁸ In the case of Lao literature (which is recorded in a medium that is similar in many aspects to classical Malay literature as studied by Dr. Sweeney), there are many obstacles that hinder an audience's ability to comprehend a text, a performer's ability to perform fluently, and a transcriber's ability to copy a text with accuracy. The consistent use of themes and formulas is helpful in all of these areas.²¹⁹ One important reason for the recurrence of formula and themes within Lao literature is the expectation of the audience that the stories will be told following traditional conventions that are likely to have originated in the telling of oral tales. Each work of Lao literature exists as an integral part of a larger tradition, and it is the audience's familiarity and understanding of the tradition that gives the particular story much of its meaning.

We have already noted that the majority of Lao works are structured according to three or four major plots, which one might view as large themes. There are also many stock scenes that commonly occur in Lao stories, such as courting scenes, scenes of battle, journeys through the forest,

²¹⁸ *Authors And Audiences* pp.17-24, 34-40

²¹⁹ A description of these problems and the various ways in which they are dealt with is given on pp.78-82 of this chapter.

etc. There are conventions in the composition of such scenes, which can be seen by the similar forms that they take throughout the literature. On a smaller level, there are recurring formulaic phrases, lines, and groups of lines that are used both in individual stories and in different stories throughout the tradition.²²⁰

The tendency for writers to make use of formulaic themes in their composition is illustrated, for example, by the difference between the prose and poetic versions of the story *Tha:w Hua:*. Prose and poetic works of an identical story are generally similar in their overall plot, but this story is one of the few exceptions.²²¹ The major distinction between the two versions is simply in which formulaic theme that they follow. In the prose version, the king ill-treats the Bodhisattva but is forced to give him the throne to save himself from the wrath of Indra, in a similar manner to the story *Suwanna Hau:y Sang* (as described on page 61). In the poetic version, however, the princess's older sisters attempt to murder her several times and are thwarted in doing so in a very similar fashion to the story *Tha:w Bae:* (also described on page 61).

The great majority of Lao composers do not include their name in the work that they create. Previous scholars have interpreted this as a sign of humbleness that was appropriate in the presentation of a story as a religious offering.²²² This explanation, however, immediately sounds suspicious. When a Lao manuscript is transcribed within a temple, it is common practice at the end of every bundle to include the name of both the transcriber and the lay benefactor and his family, with the request that great merit will be achieved as a result of their work.²²³ If these people, who play only a secondary role in the creation of the text, are to include their names, why is one to believe that the original composer will be any different? A probable answer is that the one who puts the story into writing, whether in Lao, Yuan, Kheun or Leu society, does not consider himself to be the story's original

²²⁰ Examples of formula that involve the use of parallelism can be found throughout this thesis.

²²¹ The comparison here is between the popular Nitsay version, which can be found in the Lao National Library, and the poetic version from *Tha: Khaek*, of which I have found only a single manuscript, also in the National Library. (There also exists an additional poetic version in the National Library which appears to be of recent origin. It closely follows the plot-line of the Nitsay text.)

²²² For example, in the introduction by Jarubut Reu'angsuwa:n to *Sang Sin Sai*, transcribed by Pricha: Phinthau:ng, pp.7-8, and in *Wannakam I:sa:n* by Thawat Punnothok pp.443-444

²²³ Other types of religious donations in Laos, for example, the building of temples or religious artifacts, also generally include the name of the benefactor.

creator. After all, the tales generally existed in oral form long before they were written down. Oral versions do not disappear simply because the story has been committed to writing, and therefore the origins of the story are not unknown to many that read the text. At the same time, the various formula, themes, parallel pairs, and Phanya: that are used by the composer to embellish the tale cannot be considered the author's exclusive property, but merely conventions that he has adapted more or less successfully from an age-old poetic tradition. Every time that a story is re-copied it is to some extent changed, again using conventions that have existed for ages within Lao society. Lao stories are therefore considered to be the collective effort of many generations, and one would be presumptuous to consider oneself a story's author.²²⁴

Convention and Creativity within Lao Literature

Creativity within the context of Lao literature is very different from the creativity associated with contemporary western literature. In the modern western sense of the word, creativity involves the breaking away from established conventions and the avoidance of the use of clichéd or formulaic expression. However, as long as the conventions of Lao literature remained useful in the recording and consumption of the literature, there was no reason for them to be abandoned in favor of something new. By being original, a Lao composer would risk making his work difficult for a reader to perform, difficult for an audience to comprehend, and difficult for a transcriber to copy. Creativity in Lao literature, therefore, is not in the abandoning of convention, but rather in its skillful adaptation to fit the needs of a particular story's content. Frequently creativity involves the playful manipulation of a particular convention within the literature. If the audience has not been exposed to other works within the tradition, the intent of the author is likely to be misconstrued. The following examples illustrate the relationship between convention and creativity:

- 1) The Manipulation of Theme: In a standard Lao courting scene, the hero

²²⁴ In Naung Lam Jan, for example, I was told by villagers that one individual could not compose a complete piece of literature, but that stories must be the collective work of many generations. According to Dr. Amin Sweeney in *A Full Hearing*, traditional Malay literary manuscripts were also anonymous for a similar reason. p.27

initially meets his lover after a long journey through the forest. He tells her of his great difficulties in travelling and implores her for her love. He insists that he shall die if she is not compassionate. It is the duty of the woman both to ask him about the difficulties of his journey and to deny his requests for love before marriage. She refuses until she is no longer able to do so. In *Thaw Kampha: Kai Kae:w*, the hero reaches the princess, thirsty, after a long journey. He notices that she has a bowl of water in which she is washing sewing spools. He picks up a ladle and approaches her, asking to dip his ladle into her bowl of water. She continually insists upon asking him about his journey even after he has already given her a satisfactory account, as if she is mimicking the role that she is supposed to be playing. At the same time, she continues to ignore his increasingly desperate demands to fill his scooper with water. When she states that her water is unclean and has been used to wash her hands, he insists that even if it were used to wash her feet, he would be willing to drink it. She denies him, however, saying that because of the water's uncleanliness, it would bring great sin upon the two. In such a way, the composer takes the traditional convention that the hero asks the princess for sex, and that she refuses him in fear of sin, and develops it creatively. The effect of such a scene is greatly enhanced by the fact that the audience perceives it in comparison with the countless other similar scenes which it has heard in the past.

2) The Manipulation of Parallels: A Lao audience is accustomed to the pairing of parallel statements, a major characteristic of spoken and particularly literary Lao. The Lao work *Phuan Lom* twists this convention by joining together statements of contradictory meaning. For example:

1	ສັບສົມເວົ້າ	ສຽງກ້ອງທົ່ວດົງ
(He)	whispered	the noise resounding throughout the forest
2	ມັນກໍ	ໂພງເວົ້າ
He	spoke loudly	ພໍເອົາຫູສິງ
	heard if one held one's ear up closely	(loud) enough so that (his voice) could be

p.32b

Notice that each hemistich in this couplet matches in meaning the opposing hemistich in the opposite line. The manipulation of parallels in *Phuan Lom* has two major purposes. Firstly, it is used to create humor by playing with the expectations of the audience. Secondly, it is used to separate expressions that are considered to contain important, usually religious wisdom from ordinary discourse. To one unfamiliar with Lao parallelism, however, the text of *Phuan Lom* is easily misunderstood.²²⁵

Formula, as we have seen, is an important aspect in the creation of Lao literature. It is worthy of note that even the 'creative' twisting of pairs in the story *Phuan Lom* is used in formulaic fashion. The majority of the mismatched phrases do not occur a single time but rather are repeated, with minor changes, throughout the course of the story.²²⁶

Creativity, however, is not merely restricted to the story's original composer. An important characteristic of Lao literature is that each time that it is transcribed, it is changed to some degree. Transcribers are encouraged and to no small extent forced by the medium to expand or alter existing text. A well-known proverb refers to Lao literature as ຫຼັກສູດຫຼັກຫາ (nangseu: nangha:) which can be interpreted as 'books of search'. On one level, this refers to the fact that one cannot expect to immediately understand what one reads, but should be prepared to 'search' for meaning. As described in greater detail on pages 78-80, manuscripts include frequent mistakes and difficult to interpret portions of narrative. This can not be avoided due to the

²²⁵ The mismatching of pairs, while not exclusive to *Phuan Lom*, is more developed in this work than in other stories.

²²⁶ Several such phrases occur ten or more times. The following are a few examples of the occurrence of a mismatched pair which contrasts distances of near and far. Notice that the first two examples are similar in their phrasing as well as meaning.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 ດູ່ທີ່
(du: thi:
They looked as if they were right next to one another
the cry 'kuk' travels | ຈົນຈຳຈີ້
jon jam ji:
They looked as if they were right next to one another | ພໍ່ສຽງຊົ່ວກຸກ
phau: sla:ng sua: kuk) p.20 a
(they were) separated by a distance of as far as |
| 2 ດູ່ທີ່
(du: thi:
They looked as if they were right next to one another
the other end of the field | ຈົນຈຳຈີ້
jon jam ji:
They looked as if they were right next to one another | ຄ່ອຍເຫັນສູດທົ່ງ
kha:u y hen sut thong) p.23 b
(the opposing group) could be seen faintly at |
| 3 ດູ່ມື້ນີ້
(du: mau: phon
They looked as if they were exceedingly near
months away (from one another). | ດູ່ມື້ນີ້
du: mau: phon
They looked as if they were exceedingly near
months away (from one another). | ປະມານແທ້ແປດເດືອນ
pama:n thae: paet deu'a:n) p.26 a
(they were) a distance of approximately eight |

impreciseness of the written language, and the nature of the transcribers and their motivation for performing the task. Transcribers, therefore, are continually forced to revise a text simply to maintain its meaning. A standard request found at the beginning or end of manuscripts apologizes for possible errors and reminds the present transcriber (or reader) of his responsibility to make corrections. Such requests have become an integral convention within the literature, and are often expressed artistically. For example, the following phrase from *Pha:dae:ng Na:ng Ai* is composed in the form of a rhyming parallel couplet:²²⁷

ຕົວໄດ້ຕົກໃຫ້ຍົ ຕົວໄດ້ບໍ່ພໍໃຫ້ຫາໃສ່
 (tua: dai tok hai nyau: tua: dai bau: phau: hai ha: sai)
 Whichever letters have fallen (i.e. have not been included), lift (i.e. add) them
 Whichever letters are not sufficient, find and add them

In the following passage from *Nang Ingday* in Luang Prabang, words within the text are compared with rice that is being sifted:²²⁸

ຜົວ ໃນກະດັງ ຕົກຮ່ວງຕົວເຫຼືອ ກໍດີ
 ບໍ່ກວ່າ ບັນຍາດີ ສ່ອງຫວນຄຳນຶງໄຊ້ງ²²⁹

In the tray for winnowing rice paddy, if some (paddy) falls through or some is left over, it is not beyond (one of) good intelligence to consider the matter clearly

Other than errors in the inclusion or exclusion of words, sound is also an important consideration that leads transcribers to make changes throughout a text. Lao literature is composed to be read aloud, and owing to the medium in which it is written, even the transcribers must necessarily pay close attention to the sound of the narrative as they copy it. This is due

²²⁷ On the final page of the version from Sakheun Neu'a, Suwannakhet province.

²²⁸ In the initial invocation of the manuscript from the Luang Prabang provincial library.

²²⁹ In the manuscript, the word ກະດັງ (kadong) 'tray for winnowing rice paddy' is written as ກະດາງ (kadang), but in context the meaning is clearly the same. (The words do not include tone markers.)

to the fact that a proper appreciation of the poetry's sound is not only necessary for its enjoyment, but also for the comprehension of many of its individual words or phrases. I have observed many times that when a Lao is initially puzzled by a word or phrase within a text, his first instinct is to read the passage aloud. One major reason for this is because tone markers are very rarely provided in a Lao text. Therefore, a written word could conceivably have as many as five or six different meanings depending upon its context. One of the most useful clues in helping to understand a word's proper meaning is to hear it pronounced in accordance with the required tone of the position in which it occurs. Lao manuscripts, however, are filled with poetic lines that do not strictly follow the rules of tone, for the poetry is composed by a feeling of what sounds right rather than the rigid adherence to a specific form. Transcribers, therefore, who are necessarily alert to the sound of a piece of text, tend to change individual words or phrases to 'correct' what they consider, consciously or unconsciously, to be an incorrect tone. A good copyist, therefore, must make alterations not merely to maintain the meaning of a manuscript, but also to revise its sound.

On a higher level than mere corrections in sound or meaning, transcribers are asked to improve on a story as far as they have the ability. Frequently composers will offer an apology for their poor literary skills and request that those of greater intelligence add to the tale. For example, the final leaf of *Nang Ingday* includes the following passage:²³⁰

ນັດຖິສຣັງ ສຸດຊະໂກສຸດບອດ ເສີບເລື້ວ
ມຸນຫາກ ໝົດທ່ານີ້ ເປັນທຳສັງເລັບ
ຄັນວ່າ ນັກປາດເຈົ້າ ຕົນອາດເຖິງຖອງ ດັ່ງນັ້ນ
ຍັງຄອບ ຫາຄຳດີ (?) ໄປພາບໝ້າ
ອັນນີ້ ຕາມຜະຫຍານ້ອຍ ບັນຍາບໍ່ສອດຄອງ

The greatest (?) is finished. (I) have only this much information (for the story). It is a brief version of (this) teaching of the Dharma. If you are of great wisdom, (you are invited to) add good words ... (?) for the future. This work

²³⁰ Similar requests can be found, for example, on leaf 319 of *Sinsai Deu'n* (a version of *Sang Sinsai*) from Sakheun Neu'a, Suwannakhet, and the final page of *Taeng Hau:m* at the National Library in Vientiane.

is the result of my poor intelligence, my intelligence is not fitting..."²³¹

The importance of this type of request as a convention within the literature is illustrated by its inclusion in recently composed works that are intended to be published rather than hand-copied. For example, in the published version of *Khunlu: Na:ng Ua:* composed by K. Kingkae:w, the author devotes two final pages to a rhyming passage where he asks a young woman (an unlikely composer of Lao literature) to send a letter, complete with stamp, advising him on possible errors in his composition.²³²

Whereas a transcriber is free to make changes throughout a story, there are specific sections where major changes commonly occur:

- 1) Descriptions of travel through a forest or along a river
- 2) Phanya: in Courting Scenes In Lao society, Phanya: played an important role in the courtship between young men and women. Earlier in this century, Phanya: were also popularly used in the creation of courting letters where the writers would compare themselves to literary heroes. Skilled composers were highly valued and often earned money composing messages for other people. Young men and women have traditionally listened to Lao stories with an ear open for Phanya: that they can integrate into their own conversations. Phanya:, therefore, have become an important means by which a Lao poet can show off his ability. Phanya: within Lao literature are often especially witty and composed to be memorable.²³³
- 3) One type of theme that is commonly found throughout Lao works of literature consists of a humorous description of the awkward acts of Lao villagers when facing something that is beyond their common range of experience. For example, the reactions of Lao villagers are described upon

²³¹ The two question marks in the passage refer to 1) the phrase ສຸດຊັບໂກ (sut sako:), the meaning of which is not clear to me, and 2) a word that I cannot read due to the handwriting. However, the overall meaning of the passage is clear.

²³² *Khunlu: Na:ng Ua:* pp.338-340. (This story is the author's rendition of a popular work of ancient literature.) Another example is the recently composed version of *Tha:w Khatthana:m* by Khamphu:n Phai:lawong (L). At the beginning of the book, the author expresses his great gratitude to those of intelligence who might correct his composition. (p.3)

²³³ See, for example, Pri:cha: Phintha:u:ng's printed versions of *Pha:dae:ng Na:ng Ai*, *Khunlu: Na:ng Ua:* and *Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam*. Many of the Phanya: in these works appear to have been added by Mr. Phintha:u:ng.

seeing the dazzling beauty of a member of the royalty, or hearing the spectacular *khæ:n* playing of the Bodhisattva, or coming across the great horrors of war. This type of theme frequently occurs several times in a given work.

A noticeable characteristic of creativity in Lao literature, whether by the composer or transcriber, is its predominantly formulaic nature. The phrases that transcribers use in adding to or changing the above three sections are frequently not original, but rather stock phrases that one finds throughout the literature.²³⁴ The creativity, therefore, is often not in the invention of a phrase but rather in the knowledge of where it might most profitably be placed. It is interesting that some of the most 'original' and non-formulaic passages are those that are the most sexually explicit.²³⁵

A discussion of creativity in Lao literature is not complete without mention given to the extraneous comments included in the manuscripts. We have seen in this chapter how traditional requests to receive *Bun*, correct a composer's error, or to be careful in the handling of a manuscript can be artistically stated using conventions typical of the literature. Such comments are often composed in the form of *Kau:n A:n* verse or rhyming parallel couplets similar to *Phanya:*. In many instances, the content of the request itself has become less important than its artistic expression. Other than requests, manuscripts often include lengthy *Phanya:*, frequently addressed to young women, that are outside the context of the story. An impressive example of *Phanya:* occurs at the end of *Usa: Nitha:n* where the transcriber in great detail bids farewell to the monkhood, saying lengthy goodbyes to the abbot, fellow monks and novices, his robe and bowl, etc. Typical of such creativity, this passage is successful in its adaptation of a convention for the expression of farewells that is observable in many works of Lao literature.²³⁶

²³⁴ This is particularly noticeable in the third type of section. Although there are a wide variety of phrases that describe the clumsy behavior of commoners, such phrases will become familiar to a reader after encountering several such scenes in the course of a single story. It would likely be less noticeable, however, to a listening audience who heard the story at intervals and had no chance to look back over such scenes and compare them.

²³⁵ This is particularly noticeable, for example, in many passages from the version of the story *Tha:w Kampha: Pa:daek Pa: Samau:*, at the Isaan Cultural Center at the Teacher's College in Maha Sarakham, including a scene of category number three on page 36 of the manuscript that is quite unlike any other.

²³⁶ A similar style is used, for example, to describe *Nang Ua:*'s final farewell before her suicide in *Khunlu: Nang Ua:*, and *Tha:w So:wat*'s first wife's farewell to her home when she leaves with her husband in *Tha:w So:wat*.

The Study of Parallelism

The study of parallelism as a rhetorical device in literature began in the eighteenth century. Professor Lowth of Oxford University observed that a fundamental characteristic of the poetry of the Old Testament was a 'carefully contrived pairing of line, phrase, and verse'.²³⁷ In 1778, in an introduction to a translation of Isaiah, he wrote:

The correspondence of one verse or line with another, I call parallelism. When a proposition is delivered, and a second is subjoined to it, or drawn under it, equivalent, or contrasted with it in sense, or similar to it in the form of grammatical construction, these I call parallel lines; and the words or phrases, answering one to another in the corresponding lines, parallel terms.²³⁸

Parallelism, in contrast to simple repetition, includes both an element of similarity and an element of change. Parallel phrases, lines, or groups of lines are analogous to one another, but they are not identical. Parallels within Lao narrative can be comprised of two (or more) corresponding words, phrases, lines, groups of lines, or sections of narrative. They can be divided into the following general groups: a) pairs of synonymous meaning, b) pairs of opposing meaning, and c) pairs of comparative meaning or grammatical structure. Regardless of type, pairs that are matched together frequently show a correspondence not only in their meaning, but also in their grammatical structure and phrasing.²³⁹

Lowth's study of parallelism in the Old Testament proved useful in the nineteenth century to linguists and literary scholars who discovered that it was a similarly significant characteristic in oral and written narrative traditions throughout the world. According to Roman Jakobson, parallelism may be considered 'canonical' in traditions in which 'certain similarities between successive verbal sequences are compulsory or enjoy a high preference'.²⁴⁰ Canonical parallelism has been observed in narrative traditions within the Austronesian, Polynesian, Mongolian, Dravidian,

²³⁷ *Roman Jakobson and The Comparative Study of Parallelism* by James J. Fox p.60

²³⁸ *ibid.* p. 61 Quoted from *Isaiah* [translation of Isaiah X-XI (1778)] (Boston 1834) p.IX

²³⁹ Although within Lao narrative, parallels most frequently occur in pairs, it is also not uncommon to find three or more consecutive phrases, lines, etc., that are parallel to one another.

²⁴⁰ *Roman Jakobson and The Comparative Study of Parallelism* by James J. Fox p.77

Turkic, Finnic-Ugric, and several Central American Indian languages.²⁴¹ In Southeast Asia, parallelism has been studied in the literature of the Vietnamese and the oral poetic traditions of various ethnic groups throughout Indonesia.²⁴² It has also been the subject of comment in studies of the Garo, Shan, Burmese, and Thai languages.²⁴³

Schirmunski, in a study of Turkic and Finno-Ugric verse, has suggested that parallelism is an important feature of poetry at an early stage of its development. Poetry initially makes use of simple repetition, which later develops into the linking of syntactically matched pairs. Once other elements such as rhyme and meter are sufficiently developed, the significance of parallelism as an organizing feature in poetry tends to decline.²⁴⁴

Many scholars have concluded that repetition and parallelism is a primary characteristic of narrative that is composed orally.²⁴⁵ For example, The Danish folklorist Olrik describes repetition as a primary 'epic (oral) law'. According to Olrik, repetition is used to add emphasis to a character or event in an oral tale. Whereas a written text can add significance to its subject matter through the degree of detail provided in its description, the oral composer, whose use of detail is relatively scarce, is bound to create the effect through the less subtle means of repetition.²⁴⁶ Several scholars have contended that the extensive use of parallelism defines a work as being of oral rather than written composition.²⁴⁷

It can not be doubted that parallelism and repetition are important devices in the creation of orally composed works. Similar to formulas and themes, they help a performer to spontaneously create lengthy narratives without great feats of memorization. At the same time, they facilitate easy comprehension of a work by a listening audience, which unlike a reading audience has no chance to review a section of narrative once that it has been stated.

However, more recent scholars such as Ruth Finnegan, James Fox and

²⁴¹ *ibid.* pp.63-65, 68-69

²⁴² *ibid.* pp. 63-65, 68-69

²⁴³ *ibid.* p.63

²⁴⁴ *ibid.* p.71

²⁴⁵ Including J. Gonda, F. Boas, and B. Gray. *Oral Poetry* by Ruth Finnegan pp.127-128

²⁴⁶ *Epic Laws Of Folk Narrative* by Axel Olrik pp.132-133

²⁴⁷ Including W. Whallon and D. Buchan. *Oral Poetry* by Ruth Finnegan p.128

Amin Sweeney have pointed out that parallelism is not restricted to orally composed narrative or traditions at an early stage of development, but is also a significant feature of sophisticated written literary traditions. James J. Fox describes the important role of parallelism in several written poetic traditions including the Hebrew, Canaanite, Chinese, and Vietnamese.²⁴⁸ He also shows that it is a favored device of several western poets including Blake, Baudelaire, and Poe.²⁴⁹ One important reason for the prevalence of parallelism in written works is the fact that its use is not merely intended to serve a utilitarian purpose in the composition and consumption of a poem. The matching of parallels is valued for its poetic effect and is developed 'for its own impressive elegance.'²⁵⁰ At the same time, parallelism also continues to serve a useful purpose in certain types of written literature. Dr. Amin Sweeney, in his study of Malay classical literature, *Authors and Audiences*, states that what narrative traditions in which parallelism is a fundamental feature tend to share in common is not their method of composition, but rather their method of consumption.²⁵¹ Parallelism is prominent in works that are intended for a listening audience. The extensive use of parallelism in traditional Malay and Lao literature can be explained to no small degree by the problems inherent in the medium, including the nature of audiences and performances, and the method of recording copying, and storing a text. In this context, parallelism (as we shall see) served definite purposes and was therefore unlikely to have been eliminated. Also, whereas the use of writing provides possibilities in the shaping of narrative (such as the eliminating of redundancy) that are unavailable to oral poets, this does not mean that once people within a given society have started to write that they will automatically utilize all of the previously unexploited possibilities. If a composer wrote within a society with a strong tradition of folk narrative, it is unlikely that he would immediately abandon poetic conventions that have successfully turned out stories for countless years before the creation of writing. Fox suggests that a possible distinction between parallelism in oral

²⁴⁸ *Roman Jakobson and The Comparative Study of Parallelism* by James J. Fox pp.70, 62-63

²⁴⁹ *ibid.* pp.66-67

²⁵⁰ *Formula, Character, and Context: Studies in Homeric, Old English, and Old Testament Poetry* W. Whallon p.153 (as quoted in *Oral Poetry* by Ruth Finnegan p.130).

²⁵¹ This idea and the ones that follow in this paragraph, unless otherwise stated, are paraphrased from *Authors And Audiences* by Amin Sweeney pp.35-37

and written traditions may be in its varying levels of complexity.²⁵² My study of parallelism in Lao literature indicates that this is true.

The Role of Parallelism within Lao Literature

To understand the reasons behind the extensive use of parallelism in Lao written narrative, it is necessary to concentrate on a) its aesthetic value, and b) the solutions that it provides to the difficulties that the medium imposes in the presentation and preservation of the literature.

The Aesthetic Value of Parallelism

Parallelism is a stylistic device in the Lao language. The higher the level of the language's style, the greater the amount and complexity of its parallels. There are many different layers of parallelism in Lao spoken expression, including parallel pairs, doubled pairs, and of most complexity, the parallels employed in Phanya; Lao oral poetry.

Parallels are useful in building style for the following reasons. Most basically, parallel pairs are considered pleasant-sounding whereas the use of single monosyllabic words is often considered harsh and abrupt. Secondly, the words or phrases joined together in a parallel pair are related rather than identical, and pairing them adds a depth of meaning that would be lacking if either of the words were used individually. Finally, the matching of parallel pairs serves to enhance the language in that it provides it with a rhythm and sense of symmetry that a single phrase would be lacking. The importance that is given to rhythm in the language can be seen by the fact that when there is not an actual word to serve as a parallel, an invented alliterated word will often be created by the speaker to take its place.²⁵³ Parallelism, in its creation of symmetry, is a particularly effective stylistic device in literary Lao, which is not composed merely to be read aloud, but rather to conform to the rhythm of a chant.²⁵⁴

²⁵² *Roman Jakobson and The Comparative Study of Parallelism* by James J. Fox p.77

²⁵³ The use of invented syllables is described in detail in chapter three.

²⁵⁴ Amin Sweeney, in *Authors and Audiences*, discusses the role of parallelism in the organization of narrative that is intended to be chanted. He states that parallelism insures that 'the length of each utterance is geared to the phrase of the melody or the rhythm of the chant'. pp.16-20

The Utilitarian Value of Parallelism

Outside of artistic considerations, parallelism serves a practical purpose in helping to resolve a number of problems presented by the medium in which the literature is recorded.

1) Problems Faced by Performers and Transcribers of Lao Literature

For the reader and transcriber, Lao manuscripts present many difficulties due to the method in which the literature is recorded, as follows:

1.1) Impreciseness of the Scripts:

The impreciseness of the Tham and Lao scripts that were traditionally used to record Lao literature is largely responsible for the frequency of mistakes and points of incomprehension that one finds in Lao manuscripts.

1.1.1: Words in Lao manuscripts (as in contemporary Lao) are not separated from one another, but rather run together continuously. Typically a Lao manuscript is divided into three or four lines of text. Often words will be continued from the end of one line to the next.

1.1.2: The Lao language is largely composed of monosyllabic words. Words often have a variety of different meanings depending upon their tone. Contemporary Lao makes use of tone markers to indicate the sound of a word. However, in Lao manuscripts the use of tone markers is minimal. When they are used, they are employed inconsistently, sprinkled throughout the text as if their major purpose were ornamentation. The meaning of a word therefore must be interpreted by its context.

1.1.3: There is no consistent spelling system utilized for Lao words written in the ancient scripts. The problems that this presents are compounded by the fact that there are many dialects of Lao and transcribers invariably spell according to how the words sound in their local region. There are many Lao words (or variants of words) of limited geographical

distribution that are often confusing or incomprehensible to Lao not from the immediate area.

1.2) Types of Transcribers and their Motivation in Transcribing:

Manuscripts are copied by monks, teenage novices, and laymen who possess a religious education. One aspect that makes the reading of manuscripts particularly troublesome is the fact that many of the transcribers are Buddhist monks or novices of a young age who copy the texts less out of personal motivation than through fear both of hell and a beating at the hands of senior monks. Transcribing is painstaking work, and the transcribers often face the daunting task of copying hundreds of leaves. The result is that there is frequently a degree of carelessness in the transcription of texts. This carelessness can be seen in the following:

1.2.1: The transcriber's style of inscription is often difficult to read.²⁵⁵ Frequently one must familiarize oneself with the 'handwriting' of a particular copyist to read the text effectively. Unfortunately, manuscripts are commonly the collective work of several different transcribers.

1.2.2: Manuscripts are generally filled with mistakes, including: 1: misspellings (i.e. not accurately rendering a word according to its sound), 2: the omitting of various scenes or parts of scenes which may be the result of the transcriber unknowingly skipping over a leaf or the side of a leaf that he is copying, and 3: The placing of scenes in incorrect order.

The effect of a Lao story largely depends upon its delivery by a performer. However, without an aid in overcoming the difficulties described above, a fluent performance of a text would prove problematic if not impossible. It must be noted that there are several obstacles that a reader faces in performance above and beyond the inconsistencies or impreciseness of a manuscript. Often a performer is an older male, respected both for his seniority in age and his experience with manuscripts. The eye-sight of such a reader is frequently poor. Performances outside of the temple generally occur

²⁵⁵ A typical convention of the literature is for the transcriber to apologize for his poor writing.

at night. Without the aid of electricity, the Lao have traditionally made use of a torch known as ກະບູ້ງ (tabau:ng), which consists of a rotted wooden stick doused with rubber oil. This is a poor source of light that further impedes the reader's ability. It would appear, therefore, that a reading of Lao literature would be a slow and tortured performance, but this is not the case.

With the inevitable mistakes, illegible style of writing, and general lacunae throughout the text, the consistent use of parallel pairs at all levels of the narrative helps a reader to interpret words or phrases that would otherwise be incomprehensible. Parallel statements give context to the text. In performance, such an aid is invaluable. The tale evolves slowly and the reader is thus able to anticipate what is immediately to follow. There is a certain degree to which the performer does not strictly follow the text but improvises. Due to the problems stated above, it would be impossible to entirely follow a manuscript without some improvisation. It is not uncommon for performers to drink Lao whiskey at the beginning of a performance.²⁵⁶ This practice is not likely to help an old man with bad eyesight in poor lighting to accurately render a text. However, it may serve to improve his skills at improvisation.

Parallelism is not merely useful in the reading of a manuscript but also insures that the essential content of a story will be understood by the transcriber, and therefore preserved as it is re-copied from one generation to the next.

2) Problems Faced by Audiences of Lao Literature

Audiences of Lao literature can be divided into two types: Audiences inside and outside of the temple.

2.1) Audiences in the temple face the following obstacles in their comprehension of a text:

2.1.1: The language of Lao written narrative, whether prose or poetry, is quite different from spoken Lao. To some degree it shares a similarity with

²⁵⁶ Based both on personal observation and *Traditional Music of the Lao* by Terry Miller p.25

the language of the Yuan, from which the prose literary tradition owes its origins. The interspersed use of Pali words in Nitsay increases the difficulty of the text.

2.1.2: A primary purpose of many of the members of the audience in attending the performance is to make merit through taking part in a service at the temple. Satisfied with their attendance, the extent to which they are interested in and pay constant attention to the performance may vary.

2.1.3: Although monks generally intend to read an entire story, the attendance of the audience may or may not be regular. They may miss out on important sections of the narrative and, therefore, must be able to understand individual passages taken out of context.

2.2) The difficulties facing audiences outside of the temple in their comprehension of a story are greater than those of audiences within the temple:

2.2.1: Similar to performances in temples, there can be difficulty in understanding the language. Although the use of Pali tends to be absent in stories composed in verse, Lao poetic language is generally more difficult to follow than the style of writing used in Nitsay.

2.2.2: The problem of members of the audience not hearing a narrative in its entirety is more acute outside of the temple. First of all, performances often consist of only a small portion of the entire story. Individual scenes, therefore, must be comprehensible and entertaining when read out of context. Secondly, readings of Lao literature generally occur during large informal gatherings where people are constantly coming and going. Therefore, people must be able to make sense of the portion of the text being read regardless of the point at which they start listening.

2.2.3: There are typically a lot of extraneous noises and distractions that make it difficult for the audience to catch every word of a performance. Often members of an audience intermittently listen to a story and take part

in a personal conversation, or take care of their children.

Parallelism-- or repetition-- serves a useful function in allowing a narrative to unfold slowly, an important device in aiding comprehension.

The Form of Parallelism within Lao Literature

Considering the significance of parallelism in narrative traditions throughout the world, it should not be surprising that it plays a fundamental role within Lao literature. Lao parallelism is unusual, however, in the complexity of the form that it takes. The symmetry of the placement of parallels in Lao poetry does not appear to have an equivalent in previously studied narrative traditions. This thesis traces the evolution of Lao parallelism, beginning with its origins within the spoken language, and then continuing step by step from its smallest to largest manifestations in Lao poetic literature. A description of parallelism in Lao literature and previous related scholarship can be seen from the following outline of this study:

Chapter One: Lao Literature: An Introduction

Chapter Two: The Study of Lao Versification

In traditional Lao society, literature was not a subject to be taught or studied. Its composers have understood its conventions not through a formal training and break-down of its components, but rather through consistent exposure to performances of the art which formed an important part of every-day life. Therefore, it has been the task of modern scholars to analyze the contents of the literature and establish its rules and conventions. A major weakness of contemporary analysis of Lao versification has been its heavily reliance on previous Thai literary scholarship. Such scholarship applies to a very different type of literature than Lao poetry and as such is not an appropriate model. Thai literature was traditionally composed, transcribed, and performed by and for a small circle of nobles in the royal court. In contrast, the majority of Lao literature was intended for all levels of Lao society and was centered around the village temple. As a result, there

are important differences between the two literatures' form and content. A few scholars, such as Jit Phu:misak and Prakha:ung Nimma:nhe:min, have begun to question the standards of Thai literary scholarship that have formed the basis behind the classification of Lao versification. However, up until the present, the perspective from which Lao poetry has been studied has essentially remained the same. Versification rules that were originally written half a century ago are examined and re-examined, while fundamental aspects of the literature remain unexplored.

At present, the major weakness of Lao literary scholarship is not in what has been analyzed, but rather in what has been ignored. It is the aim of this thesis to provide a study parallelism, a major yet over-looked principle in the composition of Lao literature.

Chapter Three: Parallelism in Spoken Lao Expression

Parallelism in Lao literature has its origins in the spoken language. A common characteristic of spoken Lao is the use of parallel pairs, the pairing of two words of analogous meaning. In Lao spoken and written expression, parallel structures, no matter how complicated their form, are generated from the parallel pair. Parallel pairs join together to form the doubled pair, two phrases that are parallel in meaning and equal in length. The majority of doubled pairs consist of two phrases, each of two syllables. The parallel in a simple doubled pair is between the two phrases but not between the words in the individual pairs. In more complex doubled pairs, however, as many as all four of the individual words are parallel. Phanya:, the oral poetry of the Lao, is generally composed in the form of a doubled pair. Phanya: commonly consist of two parallel phrases, generally ranging from two to seven syllables in length. The individual phrases in Phanya: are frequently not only parallel in meaning, but also linked together by rhyme.

Chapter Four: Small Forms of Parallelism in Nitsay and Kau:n A:n Literature

The amount and complexity of parallels steadily increases from spoken Lao to Nitsay prose to Kau:n A:n poetry. It is interesting to note, however,

that upon reading the prose and poetic forms of literature, the prose appears to be the more repetitive. This is due to the fact that poetic style involves both raising the level of parallelism and at the same time making the parallels less noticeable by increasing their subtlety.

Whereas the extensive use of parallelism in Nitsay distinguishes the form from the spoken language, it is particularly in Kau:n A:n that the use of parallels has been developed into an art form. An important characteristic of this type of Lao poetry (in contrast to Nitsay or spoken Lao) is the symmetrical placement of parallels. Consider the structure of Kau:n A:n and the effect that it has on the form of its parallels:²⁵⁷

1. Kau:n A:n is made up of poetic lines which are divided into two hemistichs of respectively three and four syllables.²⁵⁸

OOO OOOO

As analogous words are commonly joined together in a parallel pair, analogous hemistichs are frequently paired in a poetic line.

A1 > A2
OOO OOOO

2. As one line is formed of two hemistichs, one verse is formed of two lines. The two lines \in a verse are frequently statements of parallel meaning:

A1
OOO OOOO
>
A2
OOO OOOO

- 3) As one verse is consists of two lines, one quatrain is formed of two verses of two lines. Frequently quatrains are composed of two parallel verses:

²⁵⁷ It should be noted that the visual structure of Kau:n A:n is only a recent invention. Traditionally, Lao poetry was written with no separation between hemistichs, lines, or verses. However, one must bear in mind that the structure of Lao poetry set forth by modern scholars reflects traditional divisions in the literature whether or not such divisions were visible in writing.

²⁵⁸ There are also optional initial and final phrases which are each generally of two syllables in length, but may be longer.

A1
 000 0000
 000 0000

A2
 000 0000
 000 0000

One could speculate that Kau:n A:n was originally created to enhance parallels, both of sound and meaning, that already existed within the spoken language. However, regardless of origin, the structure of Kau:n A:n gives poets a multitude of opportunities to create symmetrical parallels, and in so doing encourages the use of parallelism as a poetic tool.

Chapters Five through Nine: Large Forms of Parallelism in Lao Literature: The AAB Pattern

Small parallels such as the pairing of words and phrases and the matching of poetic hemistiches, lines, and verses are significant not merely in and of themselves, but in that they form an important part of a larger parallel unit, a pattern that is fundamental in the building of a story's plot. Before describing this pattern, however, there is one point that should be taken into consideration. To appreciate the form that parallelism takes in Lao literature, one must first understand the significance of the number three both in Lao literature and culture in general. The number three is held to be auspicious by the Lao. When asked the reason behind its auspiciousness, most Lao point to the Buddhist religion. In Buddhism, the greatest significance of the number three is that it represents the sacred trinity, the Triple Gems: the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Priesthood. The number three plays a similarly important role in the Hindu religion, another important influence on the Lao. Whether or not these are the reasons behind the number's literary significance, however, is debatable, for the number three is also a common characteristic in folk traditions throughout the world, and is particularly predominant in folk tales. Whatever its origins, it is immediately noticeable in Lao literature that lead characters, events, and beautiful princesses tend to occur in threes or in multiples of three. Similarly, journeys frequently last for three days, three months, or

three years.

The basic building block of Lao literature is a pattern of three which will be referred to as an AAB pattern. Stated in simplest terms, an AAB pattern consists of two parallel statements (A1 and A2), followed by a third statement (B) that is a conclusion or result of the previous statements. This pattern, of no fixed length, has been traditionally used by Lao (and other Tai) poets to narrate a progression of ideas, time, or events. It is represented as follows:

A1)

A2)

B)

There is evidence that the AAB pattern has its origins within oral narrative. The pattern is observable both in Phanya: and oral folk-tales. In written literature, it is a significant characteristic of both Nitsay and Kau:n A:n. This thesis, however, is limited to a study of the AAB pattern as it occurs in Kau:n A:n poetic literature. Due to the structure of Kau:n A:n, the AAB pattern attains levels of complexity and subtlety in this type of literature that is greater than in other Lao forms of narrative.

The Placement of Smaller Parallels within an AAB Pattern

A significant characteristic of AAB patterns is the symmetrical placement of smaller parallels in the individual sections, A1, A2, and B. This occurs as follows:

1) The first type of parallel that occurs with frequency in a pattern is a parallel pair, i.e. the pairing together of two words, phrases, lines, or larger sections of analogous meaning. Parallel pairs have a tendency to be placed in patterns as follows:

1.1: Smaller parallel pairs have a tendency to occur inside of larger pairs. The largest parallel pair in an AAB pattern consists of Sections A1 and A2. One frequently observes that Sections A1 and A2 of a pattern each individually replicate into two smaller parallel halves.

A1) a1
a2

A2) a1
a2

B)

1.2: When a portion of narrative is divided into two sections (parallel or otherwise), smaller pairs are more likely to occur in the second half than in the first. For example, parallel pairs occur with more frequency in Section A2 than in Section A1. When parallel pairs do occur in both sections, the pair in the second section is usually of greater complexity than the pair in the first.

A1)

A2) a1
a2

B)

1.3: Following the same tendency, when the second half of a pair divides into two parallel halves, its second half will frequently further divide into two even smaller parallel halves.

A1)

A2) a1
a2 a1
a2

B)

It is also not uncommon to find further layers of parallel pairs that follow the same general rules of placement as AAB patterns break down into smaller and smaller parallel units.

2) The second type of replication that one commonly finds in a pattern is a smaller pattern. As with parallel pairs, there are strong tendencies

influencing its placement.

2.1: Whereas Sections A1 and A2 (and particularly the latter) tend to replicate into two parallel halves, the third section of the pattern tends to divide into three smaller sections. The three smaller sections share, on a smaller level, the identical structure of the pattern in which they occur.

A1)

A2)

B) a1
 a2

 b Conclusion

The conclusion of the larger pattern generally coincides with the third and final section of the smaller pattern.

2.2: We have previously observed in 1.3 that there are often several layers of parallel pairs placed symmetrically in the second halves of larger parallel pairs. In a similar fashion one frequently finds several layers of AAB patterns, each placed in the third section of the pattern that precedes it, as follows:

A1)

A2)

B) a1
 a2
 b a1
 a2
 b

The Building of Plot through the Layering of Patterns

To understand how plot is structured in Lao literature, one must realize that AAB patterns, rather than occurring singly, tend to be organized in

groups. Three small patterns join together to form larger patterns which in turn join together to form larger patterns, and so on. An example in chapter eight shows the existence of as many as five layers of AAB patterns that occur in a sequence of forty-five lines. There are countless more layers in the text of an entire story, which can stretch for hundreds of pages in length.

Chapter Ten: Replication and the Evolution of Lao Literature

When a transcriber copies a manuscript, there is no restriction on the extent to which he can change and expand upon the existing text. A comparison of six manuscripts of a popular Lao story, *Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam*, shows that in a story's evolution, the expansion of text, rather than depending upon the whims of individual transcribers, conforms to conventions that become clear with an appreciation of the AAB pattern. A story evolves through a) the creation or expansion of patterns, b) the creation or expansion of replications of two, and c) the creation of additional layers of replication that are placed onto already-existing parallels. As a story is continually re-copied, therefore, one can expect to find increasing layers of replication and stronger parallels. This sheds some light on the original formation of such patterns. As we have seen, several writers in the past have suggested that the use of parallelism is a defining style of orally composed poetry. My study, however, offers contradicting information. It would appear that whereas the AAB pattern is used as an organizational device in the composition of Phanya: and Lao oral folk-tales, it is the continual copying and re-copying of the written literature that is responsible for the incredible intricacy of its parallel layers.

The comparative study of manuscripts of *Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam* also shows that the ingrained tendency to compose in layers of parallels is so strong that it is not uncommon to find transcribers who sacrifice clarity or consistency of meaning in a passage purely in order to create a well-placed parallel. As with any art, the smoothness in the placement of parallels depends upon the composer's skill.

Conclusion

Apart from its artistic value, Lao literature is worthy of study both for the important cultural role that it played (and continues to play) within Lao society, and for the insights that it provides into traditional Lao life and thought. It is the intention of this thesis to suggest a new direction in its study.

This work provides a general description of a system of parallelism that is a fundamental convention in the composition of Lao literature. It is hoped that an understanding of this convention will help future scholars to appreciate both the content of Lao literature and the role that the literature plays within Lao society.

Although my study of the AAB pattern is limited to Kau:n A:n, there is evidence that an appreciation of parallelism would also increase the depth of our understanding of other types of Lao narrative, including Nitsay literature, historical chronicles, and religious texts. It can also be speculated that our knowledge of the poetic forms of other Tai-speaking people such as the Yuan, Kheun, and Leu would similarly benefit from a consideration of the role that parallelism plays as an organizational device. A comparative study of parallelism would be likely to shed further light on the relationship between the various literatures within the larger Tai tradition.

Parallelism in Lao literature is also of interest in comparison with similar traditions throughout the world. Although complex systems of parallels exist in the poetry of other cultures, as far as I have seen, the complexity and intricacy of Lao replication has no parallel among previously studied traditions.

Chapter Two: The Study Of Lao Versification

The most commonly used word for poetry in Lao is ນອນ (kau:n). Literally, it means a latch. In traditional Lao society, a Kau:n was a movable bar, usually made of wood, whose ends fitted into place on either side of a door or window to prevent them from being moved. Poetry, by this analogy, consists of words inserted into a fixed framework that locks them together and prevents them from becoming loose.¹ This is, in fact, a good analogy of modern interpretations by writers such as Albert Lord, Eric Havelock, etc. on the role that poetry played in ancient societies. Poetry, they argue, is essentially a structure in which to hold together knowledge that a society wishes to preserve in easily memorable forms to prevent it from becoming lost. Without the possibility of storing information in written form or wide access to such a form, knowledge that was not easily memorable was not possible to be retained.²

In Lao verse what is the framework that brings words together to make a cohesive whole? It is the contention of this thesis that the major 'locking device' within Lao poetry has been overlooked. In order to understand why a pervasive and obvious element of the poetry has become invisible, it is necessary to investigate the question: What exactly is it that makes Lao poetry 'poetry'? Before the second quarter of this century, when Lao people were still actively writing or copying the literature, such a question would have been thought of as inappropriate and unnecessary. In more recent years, when the literature has stopped being actively copied and has begun to be analyzed, the appropriate questions, by and large, have not been asked. The answers that have been given have not merely been unfaithful to their topic but have unintentionally changed it. Rather than adapting the analysis to better conform to the subject, the subject has been restructured to prove its worthiness according to the rules set forth in the analysis. By reconsidering the question of what holds Kau:n together as poetry and showing its relevance, this chapter will also show the current state of knowledge on the subject and the evolution that has led to that knowledge.

¹ It is not at all certain that the word for poetry was originally created with this meaning in mind. However, whether or not the two meanings of Kau:n were originally interconnected, later generations of Lao (and Thai) have observed the relevance of defining poetry as a 'latch'.

² While many Lao males are literate and thus capable of reading Lao texts, the majority of Lao, whether male or female, are familiar with Lao works solely through oral performance.

1) Knowledge of Versification within Traditional Lao Society

During my two years of research in Laos and northeastern Thailand, I have asked many people and searched through many manuscripts, but have never heard of nor found any traditional text teaching the rules for composing Lao poetry. I have asked at many temples and have similarly never heard of the rules of poetry traditionally being taught.³ I have talked to many people who have transcribed and written Lao literature. I have found that often they themselves could not tell me the rules of the poetry that they were engaged in writing.

There is a simple reason why the rules of composing Lao literature were not taught inside of Lao temples. They were not taught because the Lao did not consider that the literature was being written there. The great majority of Lao stories, wherever they were written, were composed in the form of Jataka tales, life-stories of the Bodhisattva. Lao people commonly believe that what modern scholars refer to as Lao literature are merely translations or at best adaptations of such texts. The stories are thus afforded a sacred status that literature in and of itself would not have been given. At the same time the question of art in such stories is viewed as an irrelevant and even sacrilegious one. To whom does one teach poetic rules? The origin of most Lao works is impossible to pin-point. Few of the stories include the name of a composer and most if not all originated beyond the memory of any living Lao. These facts reinforce the commonly-held Lao belief that works of such sacredness could not be traceable to an author of mere flesh and blood. Khamphaeng Kettawong, a French-educated Lao scholar, explained to me the resistance that he faced from Lao monks when he discussed the artistic as opposed to religious merit of individual Lao stories. His analytical approach to the literature was viewed suspiciously as if he were violating sacred texts.

The monks at the temples are not expected to write literature but they are expected to copy it. Classes are taught in the ancient script used to record the stories. The process of transcribing is learned by observing one who is experienced in the skill. It is in the transcribing, where the only preparation deemed necessary is to learn how to write the alphabet and hold the stylus,

³ The Abbot at Nau:ng Lam Jan Temple, for example, insisted that his temple had never taught such rules. This was confirmed by several old men in the village who had spent years studying at the temple and had copied many manuscripts of Lao literature. This temple was a famous center of learning and literature in southern Laos with one of the greatest collections of Lao literature in the country.

that the creative process goes on. My research reveals that the transcribers, in their revision of manuscripts, show an astute awareness and skill at the rules of Lao poetry in which they have neither been formally trained nor express any knowledge. This knowledge is the result not of a classroom education in poetic rules but rather years of informal exposure to the poetry, which was traditionally a part of every-day life. While the conventions of Lao poetry were traditionally, on one level, known to the Lao as evidenced by their composition, such a knowledge was not one that was formally taught nor verbally expressed.

2) Knowledge Of Versification Among Contemporary Scholars Of Lao Literature

The idea of analyzing Lao poetry is a fairly recent one, brought in from outside of Laos. It has been applied to a subject where, as we have seen, such a process was traditionally unknown.

2.1) Maha: Sila: Wi:rawong And The Study Of Lao Versification

2.1.1: Background

The most influential scholar of Lao literature is Maha: Sila: Wi:rawong. Maha: Sila: was an ethnic Lao from northeastern Thailand whose scholarly works have been instrumental in making Lao people aware of the importance of their own historical and cultural heritage. One of his most well-known works is a book on Lao versification, published originally in Thailand in 1942, and revised and published in 1960 by the Ministry of Education in Laos. This study is of importance in how it has shaped the modern concept of Lao poetry. It has been taught in schools throughout Laos. It has also been the source from which most Thai researchers on the topic have taken, first or second-hand, their information on Lao verse forms.

Maha: Sila: Wi:rawong was born in the province of Roi Et, where the people are ethnically Lao and Lao literature is an established tradition. He entered the monkhood at a young age, and received his education at the temple. The title before his name, 'Maha:', indicates a high level of religious

education.⁴ After an interval as a monk in Bangkok, conscious of his roots as an ethnic Lao he made the decision to settle in Vientiane, the capital of Laos. In Laos, he produced scholarly works on a wide range of subjects, from Pali grammar to Lao astrological texts. He is, however, best known for his literary research. His study of Lao versification, entitled *Bae:p Tae:ng Klau:n Thaiy Wia:ngjan Lae Bae:p Tae:ng Ka:p Sa:n Wila:sini*: 'Methods Of Composition Of The Poetry Of The Thai Vientiane'⁵ And *Ka:p Sa:n Wila:sini*: represents the first attempt to make a compilation of the poetic rules of Lao verse. The rules of Lao poetry that Maha: Sila: set forth in his guide to versification were based upon his personal analysis of the structure of Lao poetry. His research, spanning over ten years, was conducted both in Laos and at the Thai National Library, where there is an extensive collection of Lao manuscripts. In the introduction to his first book on Lao versification, Maha: Sila: writes:

I have not put together the various rules of composition included in this book without (relying upon proper) sources. I have arranged the rules based upon observations that I have made from the following books: *Bae:b Ka:p Sa:n Wila:sini*; *Tha:w Hung*, *Sang Sinsai*, *We:tsasantra Sa:dok*, *Nopasu:n*, *Ka:p Pramuni*, *Ka:p Tha:w Saen Meu'a:ng*, and many other works....This is the first time that (such a study) has been written. Its existence is due solely to the interest of the one who has compiled it, without a teacher or one to give advice. I expect, therefore, for it to be filled with errors. I hope to be forgiven and given advice from those who are knowledgeable.⁶

The books from which Maha: Sila: bases his observations, with one exception, are specific works of Lao literature. The exception is the first book

⁴ Maha is a title for one who has passed third level religious studies exams.

⁵ Maha: Sila's first book on versification was printed in the Thai language in Bangkok in the 1940s. Although he was writing about the poetry of the Lao, because of the political climate of the time he was compelled to use the phrase 'Thai Vientiane' rather than 'Lao Vientiane' in his title. According to the Nation Thai-English dictionary printed in Bangkok, the word ไทย (Thaiy) 'Thai' can mean a) any ethnic group that speaks a language within the Tai family, or b) any person regardless of nationality. To call the people of Vientiane Thai rather than Lao is thus not inaccurate (at least not in countries that print Thai dictionaries), but to be compelled to do so is to deny them any status opposed from being Thai. (Note the difference between the above-mentioned word ไทย (Thaiy), which is commonly used

both in the Thai and Lao languages specifically to refer to the Thai people, and ไทย (Thai) which is used (especially among the Lao) to mean people in general, regardless of nationality.)

⁶from the introduction to *Bae:p Tae:ng Klau:n Thaiy Wia:ngjan Lae Bae:p Tae:ng Ka:p Sa:n Wila:sini* 'Methods of Composition of the Poetry of the Thai Vientiane and Ka:p Wila:sini', as quoted in *Maha: Sila: Wirawong-- Si:wit lae Phon Ngan* by Khana Kammaka:n Withaya:sa:t Sangkhom (L) p.128

that he has mentioned, *The Composition Style of Ka:p Sa:n Wila:sini*, which is a study of Pali verse forms.

2.1.2: The Rules Of Kau:n A:n According To Maha: Sila: Wirawong

For the purpose of this chapter, what is of interest in Maha: Sila's work on versification are his rules for Kau:n A:n. Kau:n A:n is the verse form almost exclusively used for story-length Lao literature. An understanding of these fundamental rules is a necessary background to any study of Lao poetry. Similarly, an understanding of Maha: Sila's understanding of Kau:n A:n is a necessary background to any study of the study of Lao poetry. The description of Kau:n A:n which follows is taken from Maha: Sila's second study of Lao poetry, *Santhalaksana* 'Versification', printed by the Lao Ministry of Education.⁷

2.1.2.1: Line And Stanza Length

A poetic line in Kau:n A:n is known as ວັກ (wak). One Wak is made up of seven syllables. It is divided into two hemistichs, or half-lines. The hemistichs consist, respectively, of three and four syllables. They are commonly represented as follows:

OOO OOOO

The length of a poetic line may be increased by the addition of initial and final words or phrases.

1) Initial Phrases, known as ບຸພບົດ (buphabot), are included to clarify the meaning of the lines. They are usually two syllables in length, and can be as many as four. Common examples are:

⁷ pp. 6-8, 12-14, 20-21

a) ແຕ່ນັ້ນ (tae: nan)-- 'Then'

b) ທ້າວກໍ (tha:w kau:)-- 'He...' (referring traditionally to a noble or great man)

c) ຟາງເມື່ອ (pa:ng meu':a)-- 'At the time when...'

2) Final Words or Phrases, known as ຄໍາສ້ອຍ (kham sau:y), are two syllables in length. They are added to give stress to a particular line, and are often made up of meaningless particles such as ແລເຍີ (lae: yeu':) or ແລນາ (lae: na:).

Other phrases are made of actual words, for example: ແທແລ້ວ (thae: lae:w), which means: 'truly' and ຈ້າເຮືບ (jao heu':y), which addresses the listener.

A poetic line thus frequently consists of eleven syllables, as follows:

OO OOO OOOO OO

If the Initial Phrase is made up of four syllables, a poetic line may have as many as thirteen syllables.

A stanza in Kau:n A:n is known as ບົດ (bot). One Bot consists of four Wak, or poetic lines. The lines are named as follows:

First Line: ວັກສັດັບ (wak sadap)	'the listening line'
Second Line: ວັກຮັບ (wak hap)	'the receiving line'
Third Line: ວັກຮອງ (wak hau:ng)	'the supporting line'
Fourth Line: ວັກສົ່ງ (wak song)	'the sending-off line'

2.1.2.2: Placement Of Words Of Different Tones

The rules of Kau:n A:n dictate the placement of words pronounced with falling and rising tones in the various lines.⁸ The low tone, known as

⁸ Note that this indicates the tone in which the words are pronounced, not the inclusion of falling and rising tone markers.

ໄມ້ເອກ (mai e:k), is represented as 0̇. The falling tone, known as ໄມ້ໂທ້ (mai tho:), is represented as 0̃. The following chart illustrates the rules of tone placement:

first line:	(Wak Sadap)	0 0̇ 0̃	0 0̇ 0 0̃
second line:	(Wak Hap)	0 0 0	0̇ 0 0̃ 0̃
third line:	(Wak Hau:ng)	0 0 0̃	0 0 0 0̇
fourth line:	(Wak Song)	0 0̇ 0̃	0 0̃ 0̇ 0

The syllables without tone markers have no requirements in their placement of tones.

2.1.2.3: Types Of Rhyme

There is no obligatory rhyme within Kau:n A:n. A highly crafted poem, however, makes use of a variety of different sound matches. There are two categories of rhyme that one commonly finds within Kau:n A:n, both of which fit into the category that the Lao would call ສັມພັດໃນ (samphat nai), 'internal rhyme within a poetic line'. They are as follows:⁹

A) ສັມພັດສຣະ (samphat sara)-- 'Assonance or Vowel Rhyme'

Maha: Sila: lists two types of assonant rhyme in Lao poetry:

1: ສັມພັດທຸມຄູ (samphat thia:m khu:)-- 'Paired-Word Rhyme'¹⁰

This type of rhyme refers to two words paired together that share the same vowel. For example:

⁹ A more detailed treatment of alliteration and assonance appears in the book *Lak Kan Tae:ng Wannakam Thaiy Isa:n* 'Fundamentals of Composition of Thai Isa:n Literature' by Phra Rachaphrom Jirayakhun.

¹⁰ Translation of the titles of the different types of alliteration and assonance are taken from *Courting Poetry in Laos* by Carol Compton, p.137

ບັນຊັນ (ban san), ກ່ອນຕອນ (kau:n tau:n), etc.

2: ສັມຜັດທຽມແອກ (samphat thia:m aek)-- 'Yoked-Word Rhyme'

This type of rhyme refers to two words that share the same vowel that are separated by another word. For example:

ໄກລືໄກ (kai leu kai), or ສລັງຮຸ່ງຫລັງ (salang hung lang).

B) ສັມຜັດພັນຊະນະ (samphat phanyansana)-- 'Alliteration or Consonant Rhyme'

Maha: Sila: describes two types of alliteration as follows:

1: ສັມຜັດລຽນອັກສອນ (samphat lia:n aksau:n)-- 'Continuous Consonant Rhyme'

This type of rhyme refers to two or more words paired together that share the same initial consonants. For example:

ພຣະ ກໍ	ຫອມ ພົນ ຕ້າຍ	ເວຫາ ຫລາຍ ຫລັ່ນ
(phra kau:	hau:m phon pha:y	we:ha: la:y lan)

2: ສັມຜັດຂັ້ນອັກສອນ (samphat khan aksau:n)-- 'Separated Consonant Rhyme'

This type of rhyme refers either to a) two words that share the same initial consonants and vowels, or b) two words that are identical except for their tones. The paired words are separated by a word that differs either in its initial consonant or its vowel. For example:

ດອກ ຊອນ ແຊນ ຊອນ

(dau:k sau:n saen sau:n)

ຍຸຕ ນາງ ຍຸຕ ນາງ
(ka:n ka:y na:ng ka:y)¹¹

2.1.3) Maha: Sila: Wirawong's Study In Context

Maha: Sila's study on versification was a pioneering work. It provides a basic framework from which to understand the structure of Lao poetry. Traditionally, words within Lao manuscripts were written together without separation. There were no divisions marking different hemistichs, lines, or verse. It was Maha: Sila: who first analyzed the various types of Lao verse, set down their rules, and organized them visually according to those rules. It was Maha: Sila:, for example, who first divided Lao verse on a printed page into two separate hemistichs.¹²

Maha: Sila's work, however, is not without flaw. My major criticism of his study is its lack of consideration of the medium in which Lao literature was recorded and performed, and the effect that this particular medium, with its opportunities and limitations, had on how it was organized.

Maha: Sila's study of Lao poetry is based upon his knowledge of previous scholarship on the structure of Thai and Indian verse forms. When he wrote what are the first written rules of Lao versification, Thai literary scholarship had been in existence for several centuries. According to Prakhau:ng Nimma:nhe:min in her doctoral thesis *Maha:ka:p Reu'a:ng Tha:w Ba: Jeu'a:ng*, Maha: Sila's work bears striking similarities to *Lak Pha:sa: Thaiy* 'Fundamentals Of The Thai Language' by the Thai scholar

¹¹ It will be noticed that this example is a rhyme of three, rather than two words, although Maha: Sila: states in his introduction that only two words are involved in Separated Consonant Rhyme. If one compares Maha: Sila's examples (p.14 in his book) with the examples listed on page 3 of *Lak Ka:n Tae:ng Wannakam Thaiy Isa:n* 'Fundamentals of Composition of Thai Isa:n Literature' by Pra Rachaphrom Jirayakhun, one will find that they are identical. (Within the latter book, however, they are listed as examples of 'Yoked-Word Rhyme,' a form of assonance.) In *Fundamentals of Composition of Thai Isa:n Literature*, Maha: Sila's example of three words has been shortened to two. The author does not consider the first word of the example, ກາ:n (ka:n), to be part of the rhyme and therefore does not place it in bold print.

¹² This thesis deals specifically with Kaun A:n, a relatively simple style of verse. To appreciate the extent of classification work involved in a study of Lao versification, however, one must realize that many of the other forms of Lao poetry are much more complicated.

Phraya Upakitsilapasa:n.¹³

In writing the book that has served as a guideline for Lao versification, Maha: Sila: Wi:rawong has relied on scholarship of Thai verse forms to decide what is and is not worthy of being studied in making up those rules. Though the specifics of certain Lao verse forms in his book necessarily differ from that of the Thai, the types of poetic rules under discussion are always the same. Lao poetry, for example, is examined for tone placement, rhyme within and between poetic lines, alliteration and assonance, etc., all of which one would find similarly in Thai scholarship on Thai poetry. On one level, taking Thai poetic rules as a background from which to study and make comparisons with Lao literature is very natural. Laos and Thailand have related languages, cultures, and literature, and the poetic forms of the two can appropriately be examined for the same type of characteristics. It should, however, be asked whether Thai literary scholarship, as opposed to Thai poetry, is an appropriate model from which to base a study of Lao literature. Traditionally, literary scholarship in Thailand has studied the poetry of the royal court, a type of poetry that had a different method of transcription, a different style and location of performance, and a different intended audience than did Lao literature. If Thai scholarship had concentrated on poetry of the common people, it would have served as a more relevant model from which to compare Lao verse. Jit Phu:misak's study on Lao poetic forms shows a greater insight into the nature of Lao poetry precisely for the reason that it was written in comparison with the oral poetry of Thai villagers.

In the book *O:ngka:n Chaeng Nam* by Jit Phu:misak, the author describes the difference between poetry that was intended to be heard and poetry that was intended to be read:

¹³Similarities include the following: Maha: Sila's book on versification was published as one of four books in a series on Lao grammar, each of which bears an identical title to a section devoted to a similar topic in the book by the Thai scholar. Several explanations in Maha: Sila's work are identically worded to similar sections in the same study. The names of the specific poetic lines, as stated on page 96 of this chapter, were also apparently taken from this study rather than being indigenous to the Lao literary tradition. Most importantly, the division of Lao verse into various complex types such as ວິຊຸມາລີ (Wissuma:li:), ມຫາສິນທຸມາລີ (Maha:sinthuma:li:) and ໂຄລງຫ້າ (Khlo:ng Ha:) (which are not specifically the topic of this thesis), were influenced to no small degree by the division of Thai poetry into similar verse forms in the same book. *Maha:ka:p Reu'a:ng Tha:w Ba: Jeu'a:ng'* by Prakha:ng Nimmanhemmin pp.202-205

Poetry that is strictly composed according to a forced plan, that imposes fixed rules to control the meaning and emotion of an artist's creation, belongs to a later generation of poets.....These poets wanted the poetry seen, wanted a proper and orderly structure that was graceful to the eyes. They were not interested in how (the poetry) sounded, or if they were, they must have only wanted (the sound) to fit into an orderly framework, not to have small sounds popping up to trouble the ears....."¹⁴

Thai literary scholarship focuses on the latter type of poetry whereas Lao literature fits into the former. The difference between the two different types of narrative is largely the difference between two mediums. In contrast to Lao literature, the composers and audiences of Thai court literature were largely restricted to an elite of nobles connected to the palace. Their level of education was higher than that of their Lao counterparts, who came from all levels of Lao society. The transcribers of Thai literature similarly appear to have been connected with the court, and thus mistakes in the copying of texts, although existent, were likely to be less frequent than those made by the copyists of Lao works, who were commonly Buddhist novices of a very young age. At the same time, performances of Thai works within the royal court did not present the same distractions as did the large and often informal gatherings where Lao literature was read. There would therefore be less concern that the audience would not grasp the story's meaning.¹⁵ Owing to the differences in the circumstances involved in the production, preservation, and consumption of Thai and Lao literature, the form and content of the two was quite distinct. Thai court literature had less need for redundancy. It favored more esoteric writing which displayed the education of the composer. This can be seen, for example, in the greater frequency in which Thai poets employed complex poetic forms, their use of erudite Khmer and Pali vocabulary, and their invention of literary words. At the same time, the contents of Thai court literature conformed to very different standards of acceptability than that of Lao literature, which was largely written, transcribed, and performed on the village level. Characteristics of Lao stories such as obscene humor, the degree of playfulness in the depiction of the life of the Buddha, and the allowable mixture of non-Buddhist religious elements, such as belief in Tai spirits or deities, within religious

¹⁴ pp.191-192

¹⁵ Descriptions of the nature of the composers, transcribers, performance, and audience of Thai court literature are taken from personal conversation with Dr. Manas Chitakasem.

tales would all be greatly restricted by the tastes of the Thai court.

As Thai literary works reflected the taste of the monarchy, so did Thai literary scholarship, which was traditionally the exclusive domain of Thai nobles. An example of this can be seen in the importance given in traditional Thai literary scholarship to the study of Pali and Sanskrit verse forms and their relationship to Thai verse. In many cases it is in fact debatable whether such verse forms actually had Indian rather than Tai origins. Similar to labelling Southeast Asian folklore as Indian Jataka tales, attributing Indian origins to Thai or Lao verse forms had the effect of raising their status.¹⁶

Basing his research on Thai scholarship, Maha: Sila: failed to adequately recognize the distinction between the two different types of literature. In his study, he attempted to 'impose' on Lao poetry the 'fixed rules' of a 'proper and orderly structure' that is 'graceful to the eye'. In other words, what he did in effect was to force the characteristics of one type of medium onto poetry that belonged to another.

In the introduction to Maha: Sila:'s first book on Lao versification, he wrote:

I have the utmost belief that in the past a textbook must certainly have existed (that taught) composition rules of our poetry. Later on, however, it was lost, or is still hiding.¹⁷

In consideration of the importance of tone placement within Lao poetry, the existence of such a textbook appears, however, to be an impossibility. Most Lao people have trouble explaining the nature of tones. Similar to the use of grammar rules in English, placing tones on words is automatic rather than the result of conscious thought. Although tone markers have, in fact, existed for several centuries within the Lao language, they have only been used with any degree of consistency since the middle of this century.¹⁸ In traditional Lao literature, they are found infrequently. Even in the works in which they occur, they are included only occasionally, and comparable to the scattering of

¹⁶See *Ongkan Chae:ng Nam* by Jit Phumisak, pp.222-223

¹⁷from the introduction to *Bae:p Tae:ng Klau:n Thaiy Wia:ngjan Lae Bae:p Tae:ng Kap Sa:n Wilasini* 'Methods of Composition of the Poetry of the Thai Vientiane and Kap Wilasini', as quoted in *Maha: Sila: Wirawong-- Siwit lae Phon Ngan* by Khana Kammakan Withaya:sat Sangkhom (L) p. 127

¹⁸ Although a Christian bible written in Lao at the beginning of the century makes consistent use of tone markers, the use of tone markers is erratic in Lao books through the 1930s.

Pali words within Lao Nitsay, are added more for their decorative effect than for any other purpose. If there were no tone markers in common usage within the language, and the use of tones was intuitive rather than based on a concept of tones which at the time had yet to be standardized, how likely is one to have found ancient classes being held or textbooks being written in versification based upon the placement of words of low and falling tones?

In his book on Lao versification published by the Lao Ministry of Education, Maha: Sila: writes further about the rules of Kau:n A:n:

One must compose it correctly according to (the rules governing the number of) lines and verses and the placement of tones. One verse of Kau:n A:n must have four lines and each line must have seven words, excepting initial and additive phrases. Outside of that, one must place (syllables of) low and falling tone according to their correct position.¹⁹

In reality, however, the rules of Kau:n A:n are much more flexible. Previously, we have listed the rules of Kau:n A:n according to Maha: Sila:'s study. Now let us reconsider each rule that he states that the poetry 'must' follow, weighed against the actuality of Lao literature:

1) The Length of the Verse-- There is no fixed number of lines within Kau:n A:n. Although Maha: Sila: states that Lao poetry must consist of complete four-line stanzas, Kau:n A:n is more frequently composed of two-line verses. Verses can also consist of one or three lines. The most frequently occurring verse consists of the third and fourth lines of Maha: Sila:'s verse pattern, which repeats over and over throughout the course of a story.²⁰

2) Number of Syllables Within a Poetic Line-- While the majority of lines within Kau:n A:n consist of seven syllables (excluding initial and additive phrases), it is not uncommon to find a line that adds one, two, or even three extra syllables.²¹

¹⁹ *Santhalaksana* (L) p.20

²⁰ This can be seen from the following works: 1) Jit Phu:misak's study of Kau:n A:n, as discussed on pages 113-114, 2) Khamphaeng Kettawong's unpublished analysis of the text of *Khun Theung* (L) and 3) Carol Compton's work on Mau: Lam, *Courting Poetry In Laos* pp.134-152. My own observations also confirm this.

²¹ See the description of 'Inserted Words' คำแทรก (kham saek) in the section on Jit Phu:misak on pages 114-115.

3) Position of Tones Within a Poetic Line-- While the position of tones frequently conform to the rules that Maha: Sila: states, it is also common to find lines where they do not.²²

In conclusion, the rules of Kau:n A:n that 'must' be adhered to according to Maha: Sila: are not nearly as definite as he would like us to believe. As observations of Lao poetry they serve best as flexible guidelines rather than as rules to be enforced. Maha: Sila:, widely-read in Lao literature, did not fail to observe that his 'rules' were not in fact rules. In the following quote, he introduces an example of Kau:n A:n that serves as an illustration of his concept of Lao versification. It appears in his text shortly after the previously-quoted passage, and shows the strictness of his rules to be a result of wishful-thinking rather than analysis:

Examples of this style of poetry (can be found in) the verse of palm leaf manuscripts. But the majority of the poetry recorded on palm leaf manuscripts are composed not quite correctly according to the form. There is only one story, *Sinsai*, that is correct. Therefore, I will quote from *Sinsai* as my example.²³

When the entire corpus of Lao literature (with the single exception of *Sinsai*) is composed 'not quite correctly' according to Maha: Sila:'s standards, one wonders whether it is a deficiency within the literature or rather within the applicability of the standards themselves. If Maha: Sila: had appreciated the medium of his subject matter, and distinguished it from the subject of Thai literary scholarship, he would have known that it was impossible to have fixed rules in composition. Composers of Kau:n A:n, as we have seen, traditionally did not know, on an analytical level, the rules of the verse in which they were composing. The verse form was learned not by memorizing written rules, which Maha: Sila:, in several decades of research could never find, but rather by consistent life-long exposure to oral performances. Rigid rules of composition, that may appear orderly on a printed page, were not necessarily practical or even effective within poetry recorded on palm leaves intended for a listening audience. In a Lao manuscript, in which there is no

²² This can be seen, for example, in Khamphae:ng Kettawong's unpublished transcription of *Khun Theung* (L) and my own transcription of *Phuan Lom*. In the course of reading many works of Lao literature, I have frequently come across poetic lines that do not exactly follow tone placement 'rules'.

²³ *Santhalaksana* (L) p.20

separation between individual words, there is no way to distinguish visually between the beginnings or ends of lines or verses. At the same time, there is no consistent use of tone markers to make clear the position of syllables of low and falling tones. Following Maha: Sila's rules, therefore, would have no visual effect of neatness on a manuscript. At the same time, it would not be easy to notice whether the text that one was transcribing was correct or incorrect according to such rules. Lao literature must be constantly recopied in order to survive. Each time that it is recopied it is changed in small details throughout the text. When a story is consistently copied and changed in detail, line by line, for hundreds of years, by transcribers who are frequently novices of under sixteen years of age, from manuscripts in which poetic form is not easily discernible, how is it possible for a text to remain consistent in the following of precise poetic rules? At the same time, what would be the benefit in keeping the poetry of the texts precise? Would the subtle difference between flexible and rigid adherence to such rules even be noticeable to a listening audience?

One of Maha: Sila's major achievements was to lay the foundations for analytical studies of the various aspects of Lao culture. These foundations can be seen in his pioneering works on Lao history, literature, grammar, customs, and many other topics. The birth of contemporary Lao scholarship can be attributed both to Maha: Sila's intelligence and the conditions prevailing at the time. Maha: Sila's intellectual curiosity, combined with his literary background and analytical nature, made him fitting for such an undertaking. If he had possessed only traditional Lao knowledge and traditional approaches to that knowledge, he never would have asked the questions that were necessary to attempt such studies. At the same time, the printing of books in Laos paved the way for studies of a more analytical nature than would have been possible in the past when knowledge was storable at best on hand-copied manuscripts scattered in various temples.

It has previously been stated that the major flaw in Maha: Sila's work was his attempt to force the characteristics of one type of medium onto poetry that belonged to another. On another level, however, his treatment of the rules of Lao verse may be seen as an attempt at improvement. Maha: Sila's desire in writing his handbook was not merely that the presentation of poetic rules would be precise, but also that the rules themselves would be. At the

time that Maha: Sila: made his study, the transcribing of manuscripts had grown increasingly infrequent whereas the new generation of Lao poets had their works recorded in printed books for an audience of readers. Although it was never his stated intention, in making Lao verse more systematic than it had been in the past he took a verse form applicable to an out-dated medium and attempted to make it viable in a more relevant one. Contemporary Lao printed verse owes almost as great a debt to Maha: Sila's rules as it does to the tradition itself. Without his scholarship, it is possible that a greater percentage of contemporary Lao poetry would appear in Russian or western poetic forms. One can see the result of his efforts both in the 'correction' of ancient texts and in the composition of new ones. Before the revolution, the Lao National Library published many works of ancient Lao literature. One frequently finds discrepancies in such works due to mistakes that remain uncorrected from the original manuscripts. For example, in many printed works sections appear out of order, making it difficult if not impossible to follow the narrative.²⁴ At first glance one might assume that printed texts with this type of error are faithful transcriptions from the original. However, such texts have often been touched up considerably, if not to make them more meaningful at least to make sure that they meet Maha: Sila's requirements of four lines in every verse.²⁵ Examples of Maha: Sila's influence on modern Lao poetry can be seen in the neat and orderly Kau:n A:n verse written by young Vientiane poets, displayed on the pages of the literary magazine *Wannasin*, with length of hemistichs, lines and verse, and position of tones all clearly marked.

Maha: Sila's work with Lao poetry is comparable to his work with Lao grammar. When he wrote his study *Waiyakau:n La:w* 'Lao Grammar', of which versification forms a part, he organized its rules based upon previous Thai scholarship. He did, however, more than simply organize the rules. He invented several new letters to add to the Lao alphabet. The purpose of these new letters was to make possible the accurate spelling of Pali words and Lao words of Pali origin. Similar to his tightening of Lao versification rules, his

²⁴ See, for example, *Wannapham* pp.21-24 and try to make sense out of it.

²⁵ Printed versions of Lao poetry appear to have a greater tendency to follow rules of tone placement and to consist of complete four line stanzas than do the older versions recorded on palm leaves. This observation is based upon comparisons of several sections of the works *Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam*, *Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kae:w* and other stories. Even the printed versions, however, are far from being consistent in their conformity.

creation of new letters was an attempt to make the Lao language more precise. Maha: Sila's work with Lao poetic rules took place at a time when Lao literature appeared to be a dying art. Similarly, his work with the Lao script was undertaken during a period when many people argued that the Lao script should be abandoned in favor of the Roman alphabet.²⁶ His improvement of Lao, on one level, was to increase its viability as a script in order to prevent it from being replaced. As Maha: Sila: claimed that in the past poetic rules had once existed, he similarly refused to take entire credit for his invention of new letters in the alphabet. He had a greater desire to impress upon people the height of ancient Lao civilization than to show his own analytical skills.²⁷

Whatever the reason for Maha: Sila's belief in the fixed nature of traditional Lao poetry, it has created a misunderstanding of Lao poetry on the part of many contemporary Lao. His book on versification, published by the Lao Ministry of Education and taught in schools throughout Laos, has in effect been given the stamp of approval as the authorized authentic rules of the composition of Lao verse. Few of the people that I talked to in Laos that were interested, or even involved in research in Lao literature, were aware of the fact that Maha: Sila's book of versification consists of his own interpretation of poetic structure rather than traditional rules set down by ancient Lao poets.

Dr. Amin Sweeney in his book *A Full Hearing* discusses the effect that increased literacy had on Malay proverbs. The proverbs were originally a method of storing information orally by preserving it in memorable form. With the increase of literacy and the wide circulation of books, there was no longer a need for preserving information in such a manner. Ironically, however, the same medium that made such proverbs irrelevant also preserved them, as if frozen in their death. With the help of the printing press, Malay proverbs were collected alphabetically in books and taught to Malay schoolchildren throughout the country. They were thus preserved in far more efficient form than they ever could have been before they lost their

²⁶ *In Search Of Southeast Asian History* edited by David Joel Steinberg p.342

²⁷ He had better evidence, however, to claim the past existence of the 'missing' letters within the Lao alphabet than he did 'missing' poetic rules. Although he did create the new letters (or rather adapt them from old ones), he could point to ancient inscriptions as evidence that at one time the Lao did possess a more advanced system of spelling that adequately covered the inclusion of Pali words.

reason for existence.²⁸ On one level, this can also be seen as the case with Kau:n A:n. It is largely the coming of the printing press that has rendered the traditional Lao style of writing obsolete. At the same time, it has greatly increased the efficiency of both its storage and the organization of its rules. Countless editions of traditional Lao literature have been printed within the past half-century throughout Thailand and Laos. However, a poetic tale was never meant to be read silently to oneself and to most of the new generation of Lao it would not be a pleasant task to actually sit down and read one. Lao literature, typical of orally-oriented poetry, has always been flexible and ever-changing as a living tradition. With the coming of printed books, however, the literature, as if fossilized, has gained a rigid standardized form. As we have seen, earlier generations did not study Lao poetry, but rather learned it through informal exposure. The present generation of educated Lao, however, have little or no exposure to the tradition other than being forced to learn its codified rules within the classroom.²⁹ The analogy of modern Kau:n A:n being 'dead' as compared with 'a living tradition' in the past also holds true for its circulation. The readership of contemporary Kau:n A:n is limited to a small educated class, largely in Vientiane. It is interesting to note that despite the advantage of technology, modern Lao poetry has a far smaller audience than did the traditional literature that was transcribed painstakingly by hand onto palm leaves.

2.2) The Study Of Lao Versification By Thai Scholars

Maha: Sila: Wi:rawong intended for his work to be a beginning that would lay the groundwork for future scholars. He once spoke of his efforts in the following manner:

Whatever (I have written) that is incorrect, (it is up to) my children and grandchildren to correct it. Whatever is correct, make use of it.³⁰

²⁸ *A Full Hearing* pp.70-71

²⁹ This also applies to northeastern Thailand. At present 'regional literature' is largely if not solely taught at the college level. For economic reasons, a large percentage of college students are from district and province centers, i.e. towns and cities rather than villages. Therefore, the students most likely to learn about Lao literature in the classroom are those with the least contact with the literary tradition in their daily life.

³⁰ quoted in *Maha: Sila: Wi:rawong-- Si:wit lae Phon Ngan* by Khana Kammakan Withaya:sat Sangkhom (L) p.16

Due to the extensive problems that Laos has faced within the past half-century, subsequent scholarship of Lao literature has largely been the work of the Thai.

2.2.1) The Work Of Phaithu:n Maliwan

Phaithu:n Maliwan is one of the first Thai scholars to make an investigation of Lao poetry. Later Thai writers on the subject owe much to his description of Kau:n A:n (or Khlo:ng Sa:n as he calls it³¹), published in 1968 in the introduction to *Wannakam Thaiy I:san: Khun Theung*, a transcription of an ancient work of Lao poetry.

There is no specific evidence to show that Phaithu:n adapted his study from the work of Maha: Sila:. It is, of course, not unlikely that he would be familiar with Maha: Sila:'s work. Prakhau:ng Nimma:nhe:min writes that whereas Maha: Sila: was the first person to organize Lao verse on a printed page in the shape of a Thai Khlo:ng, Phaithu:n was first to divide Kau:n A:n into two hemistichs of respectively three and four syllables, as it is commonly divided today.³² Phaithu:n is quoted as saying that he made the division according to the rhythm of the verse as it was read. However, if one looks at Maha: Sila:'s work on versification that was published seven years (and quite possibly twenty-six years) before Phaithu:n's study, one will see that the same division was already being made. When Maha: Sila: made charts illustrating rules of tone and rhyme there was no distinction between hemistichs, but when he wrote actual Kau:n A:n verse it was neatly divided by the same hemistichs that Phaithu:n invented several years later.³³ It is, of course, possible that the same division was invented twice, for it is the

³¹ Khlo:ng Sa:n (or Khlo:ng) is a term used by the Thai for a prominent Tai form of poetry in which words of low and falling tones are assigned designated positions within a poetic line. Kau:n A:n fits within this category. Although there is evidence that the term 'Khlo:ng Sa:n' was also used by the Lao. (see Prakhau:ng Nimma:nhe:min's thesis *Maha:kāp Thaw Ba: Jeur'a:ng* p.246) it is unclear whether the term meant a specific type of verse or simply poetry in general.

³² A poetic line in an equivalent Thai Khlo:ng of seven syllables is divided into two sections of respectively five and two syllables in length.

³³ *Santhalaksana* (L) See, for example, pp.20-21,9,13-18, etc.

logical result of observations based upon the verse's sound.³⁴

Whatever its origins, Phaithu:n's description of Kau:n A:n improves upon the original observations of Maha: Sila:. The improvements can be stated as follows:

A) Whereas Maha: Sila: insisted that proper Kau:n A:n must be comprised of four line stanzas, Phaithu:n has divided it into two verses, each consisting of two lines. The verses correspond respectively to the first and second halves of Maha: Sila:'s four-line stanza. The first verse is labelled ບົດເກີດ (Bot Ek) and the second ບົດໂທ້ (Bot Tho:) according to the name of the tone that is initially required according to the tone placement rules. According to Phaithu:n, on some occasions Bot Ek is consistently followed by Bot Tho:. Frequently, however, one type of verse, commonly the second, is repeated.

B) Phaithu:n describes the types of rhyme that occur within and between lines within Kau:n A:n. He prefaces his observations by stating that rhyme is not a rule of composition but, if added, increases the beauty of the poetry.

B1) The rhyme within a poetic line, as described by Phaithu:n, is similar to the 'Separated Consonant Rhyme' in Maha: Sila:'s book of versification.³⁵ The rhyming words must be identical except for their tone. Phaithu:n specifies that the rhyme is between the fifth and seventh syllables within a poetic line. It occurs within two consecutive lines of a verse (either Bot Ek

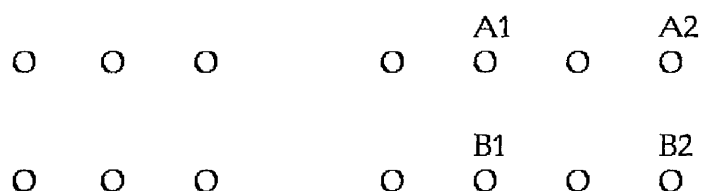
³⁴ In Prakhau:ng's study, Phaithu:n states in an interview that the rules for Kau:n A:n were given to him by an old man in the province of Udon in northeastern Thailand. (*Maha:kā:p Tha:w Ba: Jēu'a:ng* p.247) If this is, in fact, true, it would seem strange that:

a) One of the major rules of Kau:n A:n in his study, the division of poetic lines into hemistichs of three and four syllables, has been described by Phaithu:n in another interview as being the product of his own observation on the verse's sound.

b) A large part of his study on Kau:n A:n is devoted to rhyme between poetic lines. The rhyme scheme that he mentions occurs with frequency in only a few works of Lao literature, of which *Khun Theung*, the story that he has transcribed, is one. (*Maha:kā:p Tha:w Ba: Jēu'a:ng* p.248) Phaithu:n makes use of examples from *Khun Theung* to illustrate his points about rhyme. One wonders whether these rules were provided by an old man in Udon speaking about Kau:n A:n in general, where the phenomenon of rhyme between lines is relatively rare, or whether it is the result of his own observations of an outstanding characteristic of the particular work that he was engaged in transcribing.

³⁵ As noted earlier in footnote 11 on page 99, Maha: Sila:'s explanation of the Separated Consonant Rhyme is unclear for it is not consistent with his use of examples. His definition of this type of rhyme slightly differs from the rhyme stated by Phaithu:n in that it can either be between a) words that are spelled the same (except for their tone marker) or b) words simply sharing the same vowels. However, with the exception of the puzzling first word in the second example (as mentioned in footnote number 11), all of his examples are of the former kind, similar to the rhyme described by Phaithu:n.

or Bot Tho:), as follows:

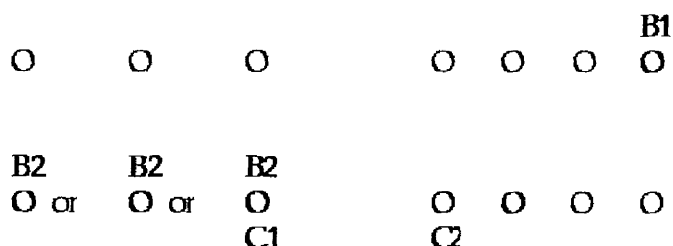


This type of rhyme is referred to as ທຸກໆໂຕໝາຍ (the:pha:wa).

B2) The rhyme between poetic lines is as follows:

a) The last syllable of the first line (B1) rhymes with one of the first three syllables of the second (B2).

b) The last syllable of the first hemistich of the second line (C1) rhymes with the second syllable of the second hemistich of the second (C2).



2.2.2) The Work of Jit Phumisak

The chapter *Laksana Khau:ng Ka:p Klau:n Ha:ng Chon Chat Thaiy La:w* 'Characteristics of the Poetry of the Thai-Lao People', in the book *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* by Jit Phumisak is an insightful account that brings a needed perspective to the study of Lao poetry.³⁶ The book was written in 1962, many years before other Thai scholars became interested in Lao poetry and its relationship to Thai verse forms. It was, however, first published only in 1981 and therefore has had little influence on Thai scholarship on

³⁶ *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* pp.161-209

the subject. In writing his section on the characteristics of Lao poetry, Jit acknowledges Maha: Sila: Wirawong as a major influence on his work.³⁷ He makes several references to a Lao poetic textbook which appears to be one of the works of Maha: Sila:.³⁸

Jit Phumisak was interested in the poetry of the common people. Much of his book is an attack on what he calls the 'narrow scope' of Thai literary scholarship, which focuses on poetic forms of the elite while ignoring and belittling poetry not connected with the palace.³⁹ It is not surprising, in light of his attitude, that his study was written while he was serving time in jail. What is surprising, however, is the extent of the sources that were available to him. In looking at the development of different poetic forms, Jit compares oral poetry of Thai villagers and Tai ethnic groups such as the Leu, Yuan, Lao, etc. It is Jit's comparison of Lao literature with Tai oral poetry, as opposed to Thai royal poetry, that makes his analysis of particular interest. His work consistently stresses the effect that the oral medium has on the poetry's organization.

Whereas other scholars (Thai and Lao) generally describe *Kaun A:n* strictly as a literary form, Jit introduces the poetic form by stating examples of Phanya:, Lao oral poetry. Maha: Sila:, in his book *Santhalaksana*, writes that:

Because Phanya: are words that are spoken spontaneously according to one's wit at a particular moment, Phanya: are without definite rules of composition.⁴⁰

Jit, however, provides a contrasting view:

With the ear of a Central Thai (as opposed to an ethnically Lao Thai), upon a superficial hearing (of Phanya:) one might not understand in what manner it is (considered) poetry.... But if one does a simple analysis it is not hard to find the rules, because, in reality, Phanya: is a type of composition similar to Central Thai ໂຄລໆດັນ (Khlo:ng dan), which is referred to in a Lao textbook as *Klaun A:n Wissuma:li:*.⁴¹

³⁷ Maha: Sila: is mentioned several times and quoted in reference to his transcription of a Lao work of literature, *Tha:w Hung Tha:w Jau'ang*.

³⁸ Jit's book was written shortly after the publication of Maha: Sila's book *Santhalaksana*. I am not sure whether he had access to this book or the earlier version, *Baep Taeng Klaun Thai Wiangjan Lae Baep Taeng Kap San Wilasini*, printed in Thailand in 1942.

³⁹ especially pp.158-160

⁴⁰ *Santhalaksana* (L) pp.34-35

⁴¹ *Ongka:n Chae:ng Nam* p.182

Jit's observation is significant in showing the relationship between oral and written poetry. However, there is, in fact, some truth in the statement of Maha: Sila: While many Phanya: conform to the rules of Kau:n A:n, it is not accurate to say that all Phanya: conform to these rules.⁴² Jit writes further:

The Khlong of the people of Isa:n and Laos was not written to be read quietly, with one's eyes. It was written to be read loudly for a listening audience in various drawn-out styles. It was a custom at various events such as funerals. It was also spoken as proverbs and during courtship between young men and women. Its use was significant within Lam (i.e. a style of Lao singing in accompaniment with the khae:n, a reed instrument).⁴³

Because Jit realizes the importance of the medium on the text, he consistently recognizes its inherent flexibility and the reasons behind that flexibility. He writes:

Good poetry is not poetry that strictly follows enforced rules. (Syllables may) have to be added in front, inside, or at the end of a line, or words may have to be cut in order to....satisfy or push forward the rhythm.... to help build up the imaginative effect and mood for the listener. Therefore, one does not find a framework of narrow enforced rules brought in to control a poet's building up of mood.....⁴⁴

A specific look at Jit's interpretation of the various aspects of Kau:n A:n will help increase our understanding of the nature of Lao verse:

A) Length Of Verse

Maha: Sila: Wi:rawong wrote within his text on versification that:

One verse of Lao poetry consists of four lines. A verse that is not composed of all four lines is lacking and not pleasing to the ear, and goes against the rhythm when (the verse) is (used for) Lam and read...⁴⁵

⁴² Also, it is puzzling why Jit writes that a Lao textbook refers to this type of poetry as Klaun A:n Wissumali: This category of Kau:n A:n is only a minor type, and one that does not apply to Jit's examples of Phanya:, which do not have the proper rhyme. (For a description of Kau:n A:n Wissumali:, see Maha: Sila: Wi:rawong's study *Santhalaksana* p.10.) Later in the text Jit writes specifically that Lao Kau:n A:n Wissumali: is lacking in rhyme, and what is important is the placement of tones. It would be of interest to find out the exact Lao textbook to which Jit refers.

⁴³ *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* p.189

⁴⁴ *ibid.* p.190

⁴⁵ *Santhalaksana* p.4

Jit, on the contrary, writes that:

The people of the region of Isan and the country of Laos do not favor using all four lines of a Khlong because it is not concise. They prefer using only two lines, either the first two (of the complete verse) or the latter two.... Usually they favor the latter two. Even within a lengthy story, they consistently use two lines (within a verse)....⁴⁶

Jit's observation corresponds with Phai:thun Maliwan's description of the length of Lao verse. However Jit goes a step further in showing its flexibility. He gives examples of Lao poetry that consist of every possible length from one to four lines. He continues on to show flexibility even in the order of the lines.⁴⁷

B) Length Of Poetic Lines

Kham Sae:k (คำแซก) 'Inserted Words': The number of syllables within a poetic line can be increased through the addition of what Jit refers to as

Kham Saek (คำแซก) 'Inserted Words' within the left and right hemistichs.⁴⁸

Inserted Words are usually a single syllable in length and therefore do not seriously interfere with the rhythm. They can, however, be longer. The purpose of Inserted Words, according to Jit, is to give a poet license to adapt the verse to fit the desired rhythm, melody and mood that the poet wishes to create. At the same time, they can be used to increase the emphasis of a

⁴⁶ Jit does go on to say that within lengthy Lao narrative and Kau:n Lam (a type of poetry used for Lam), one frequently finds verses that are composed entirely of four lines. He states that ancient literature is almost always composed in complete four-line stanzas. {I am not clear about his distinction between ເລື່ອງ (reu'a:ng) 'long stories or accounts', which according to Jit are consistently

composed of two-line verses, and ວັນນະຄະດີ (wannakhadi:) 'literature', which is almost always comprised of quatrains.) This comment seems consistent with the words of Maha: Sila:, who considers Kau:n A:n only in its literary form. It does not, however, conform to the studies we have mentioned that analyze the contents of ancient Lao literature. Jit's initial comments, which I assume refer to Kau:n A:n in its oral form, do, in fact, apply as accurately to the ancient literary form. *Ongka:n Chaeng Nam* pp.184-185.

⁴⁷ *Ongka:n Chaeng Nam* pp.192-194 There are, for example, variations in line order such as line one followed by lines three and four, line three repeated twice, etc. The examples that Jit uses are from oral Phanya: rather than written literature. There are, however, similar variations within the written literature, as can be seen in Kamphaeng Kettawong's unpublished analysis of the poetic version of *Khun Theung*. My personal observations of several stories also confirm this.

⁴⁸ Outside of Jit's work, the only study that mentions 'Inserted Words' is the thesis of Prakhaung Nimmanhemmin. In writing her thesis, Prakhaung was familiar with Jit's work.

particular word or to clarify its meaning.⁴⁹

C) The Placement Of Tone In Kau:n A:n:

In Jit's chapter on Thai-Lao verse forms, he divides the poetry into two basic types, the first type based on tone, and the second based on rhyme. Kau:n A:n falls into the former category. In order to make his larger point on types of verse, he stresses the importance of the placement of tone within Kau:n A:n. While he emphasizes flexibility in other areas, in the case of tones he makes no mention of deviance from the general rule. In reality, as we have mentioned, it is not uncommon to find poetic lines where the placement of tones does not strictly adhere to the standard. However, Jit's point is not lacking in relevance. It is true that there is a greater license for flexibility in the number of syllables within a line and lines within a verse. Other than Maha: Sila: Wi:rawong and those closely influenced by his works, nobody would likely argue that there was something amiss with a certain degree of variance in length. Lines that are off in their placement of tone, however, do strike the Lao ear as deserving of correction.⁵⁰

2.2.3) The Work Of Prakhau:ng Nimma:nhe:min

The most thorough account to date of Lao versification by a Thai scholar is the unpublished thesis *Maha:ka:p Reu'a:ng Tha:w Ba: Jeu'a:ng* 'The Epic Tha:w Ba: Jeu'a:ng' by Prakhau:ng Nimma:nhe:min. She devotes approximately one hundred pages to versification, much of it a study of verse forms other than Kau:n A:n. Although her thesis concentrates on a specific work of literature, her section on versification looks broadly at the development of the Thai-Lao poetic form of Khlo:ng. In the process she examines a wide variety of Lao verse forms in comparison with similar forms in Lanna and Ayudhaya, the ancient kingdom of central Thailand.⁵¹

In her thesis, Prakhau:ng analyzes the works of the three scholars that have previously been discussed within this thesis. Her analysis of Kau:n A:n

⁴⁹ pp.190-191 Jit compares the Inserted Words in Lao literature with similar occurrences in various types of Thai folk songs such as Klaun Sapha:, Phleng Chau:y, etc. and also in old works of Thai literature such as *Lilit Phralau:*, which is, in fact, of Yuan origin.

⁵⁰ See pp.70-71 of chapter one.

⁵¹ Prakhau:ng's Thesis pp.198-290

seems largely a thoughtful mixture of the works of Phaithu:n Maliwan and Jit Phu:misak. While much of the information within her study has already been quoted within this chapter, a few additional points are also worthy of consideration:

1) The The:pha:wa rhyme, as previously described in Section B1 on pages 110-111, is where the fifth syllable of a line is identical to the seventh except in tone. Maha: Sila: seems to be describing the same type of rhyme in his category of 'Separated Consonant Rhyme', although he does not mention its name or position within a poetic line. Phaithu:n has named it and located its position, stating that it appears consecutively within two lines of a verse. Prakhau:ng further adds that it can appear within any number of lines in a stanza, from one to all four.

2) The same rhythm that is used in reading Kau:n A:n, where three syllables are followed by four, is also favored in other forms of poetry. The examples that Prakhau:ng gives, children's lullabies, songs in children's games, and Ka:p, a type of verse form, are largely examples of oral poetry.⁵²

The Defining Feature of Kau:n A:n: Rhyme Or Tone Placement

Thai scholars, as we have seen, have improved on the work of Maha: Sila: in their increased recognition of the flexibility of Lao verse. However, they have by and large continued to take as their perspective the standards of Thai literature. In our discussion of Maha: Sila:'s work on versification, we described his attempt to fit Lao verse into the mold of Thai court poetry as interpreted by Thai literary scholarship. With a few notable exceptions, Thai scholars have similarly endowed Kau:n A:n with traits that are characteristic of Thai poetry. An example is as follows: Within Thai literary scholarship there has been an on-going debate whether the primary characteristic of Khlo:ng (of which Kau:n A:n is a type) was originally rhyme or the placement of tone. According to Jit Phu:misak, tone placement was traditionally the defining feature of Kau:n A:n and early Khlo:ng in general.⁵³ He states that rhyme was not a fundamental feature of Kau:n A:n either in

⁵² *ibid.* pp.249-251

⁵³ *Ongka:n Chae:ng Nam* pp.230-231

oral or written form. According to Jit, the inclusion of rhyme within the verse is largely a recent development.⁵⁴ Jit believed that early forms of Tai Khlo:ng were similar to Kau:n A:n in their lack of strict organizational rules. In his chapter on Thai-Lao verse he attempts to show how Khlo:ng developed from a flexible poetic form based upon rules of placement of tones to a highly rigid form with strict rules of rhyme and length of line and verse.

Prakhau:ng, in her study of Kau:n A:n, also concludes that rhyme is not a fundamental characteristic.⁵⁵ Rhyme between hemistichs or poetic lines is infrequent, and serves as a significant feature of only a few works of literature.

The majority of Thai scholars, however, have held the opposite opinion from Jit and Prakhau:ng. According to Prakhau:ng's thesis, the sixth king of Thailand, King Mongkut Klao, believed that rhyme was originally fundamental to Khlo:ng whereas tone placement was added later as a 'decoration'.⁵⁶ Prakhau:ng suggests that his ideas were shaped by reading Pali works of scholarship such as *Ka:p Sa:n Wila:sini:* and *Ka:p Kantha*, where types of verse are divided by their rhyme schemes, and no mention is made of tone placement. Such works, important in Thai literary scholarship, deal with literary poetry without consideration of its oral roots. The Thai scholar Thanit Yu:pho: gives a similar judgment of Khlo:ng in the following statement:

Khlo:ng composition in ancient times is not likely to have had fixed placement of low and falling tones, but rather focused on rhyme. However, later on, Thai pronunciation favored the use of tones. In the north, and even in other regions, although in writing there were no low and rising tones (i.e. tone markers), the pronunciation (of the regional languages) were almost as if they had low and rising tones. When the use of tone markers became established, (the position of) low and falling tones (in Khlo:ng) was fixed in the period following.⁵⁷

How can it be, as he states, that the ancient language was pronounced 'almost as if' it had low and falling tones? Did the delineation of tones

⁵⁴ *ibid.* pp.230-231 At present, however, Jit states that the influence of Thai culture and Thai poetry on the people of Isa:n (and, I might add, on the people of Laos) has caused a much more wide-spread adherence to H:a:y rhyme than has ever been attempted in the past. He gives an example of a modern Mau: Lam verse that reveals a rhyme connecting virtually every hemistich.

⁵⁵ Prakhau:ng's Thesis pp.248

⁵⁶ *ibid.* pp.230

⁵⁷ *ibid.* pp.230

within spoken language become fixed and real only after they were written down, or were they, in fact, written down in accordance with the way in which they were spoken? To say that tonal rules were established only after literary symbols for the tones had been created is to say in effect that the placement of tones is primarily a visually-oriented phenomenon and that the effect of its sound is only secondary.

Contemporary Thai studies of Kau:n A:n also commonly emphasize the importance of rhyme. It is worthy of note that the pioneering Thai study of Kau:n A:n by Phaithu:n Maliwan was composed as the forward to *Khun Theung*, a story that is highly unusual for the extent of its Ha:y rhyme. Is it coincidence that Phaithu:n chose this particular story from which to base his study of Kau:n A:n? In Phaithu:n's forward, he states that rhyme is optional. However, subsequent works of Thai scholarship have consistently made use of his examples from this atypical story to illustrate the importance of Ha:y rhyme within Lao verse. Rhyme has been described as having a similar or even greater importance than the placement of tone.⁵⁸

What has caused Thai scholars to stress the significance of rhyme as opposed to the placement of tone? An answer may be found in the nature of Thai poetry. According to Thomas Hudak in his article *Meta-Rhymes In Classical Thai Poetry*, 'In fact, it is the rhyme that signals a poem, for without rhyme, a poem cannot exist in Thai'. He describes an incident where a Thai audience, upon hearing verse without rhyme, had no idea that such verse was poetry.⁵⁹ In contrast, the placement of tone is only of secondary importance. For this reason Jit Phu:misak writes that a Thai, upon a superficial hearing of Kau:n A:n, would not understand in what manner it could be considered verse.⁶⁰ He states that works of Kau:n A:n that include a scattering of Ha:y rhyme are often dismissed by Thai people as merely sloppy attempts at Ha:y. It appears, therefore, that in many cases the perception of Kau:n A:n and Khlo:ng by Thai scholars has been colored by their familiarity with rhyme as the defining characteristic of their own poetry.

⁵⁸ See, for example, the following works of Thawat Punnothok: *Wannakam Isa:n*, pp.67-70 (passage from *Khun Theung* quoted on p.69), *Wannakam Thau:ng Thin*, pp.182-185 (passage from *Khun Theung* quoted on pp.184), and *Nae:w Tha:ng Ka:n Seuksa: Wannakam Pheu:n Ban Fraphe:t Laylak*, pp.41-42, and *Pha:dae:ng Na:ng Ai* by Wajuppa Tossa, p.19 (passage from *Khun Theung* quoted on pp.19-20).

⁵⁹ *Journal Of The Siam Society* Volume 74 (1956) p.41

⁶⁰ *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* pp.202, 182, 197, 198

3) New Directions For Research In Lao Literature

The major weakness in previous Lao literary scholarship is not in what has been analyzed, but rather in what has been ignored. The original work on Lao versification by Maha: Sila: Wi:rawong was heavily influenced by previous Thai literary scholarship. Such scholarship, as we have seen, applies to literature recorded in a very different medium than Lao poetry and as such is not always an appropriate model. Contemporary Thai scholars have in many ways improved upon Maha: Sila's rules. More importantly, a few scholars, such as Jit Phu:misak and Prakhau:ng Nimma:nhe:min, have begun to question the standards of Thai literary scholarship that have formed the basis behind the classification of Lao versification. However, up until the present, the perspective from which Lao poetry has been studied has essentially remained the same. Versification rules that were originally written half a century ago are examined and re-examined while no new avenues of research are explored.⁶¹ It is time to reconsider what exactly it is that should be examined in Lao literature. The study of Lao poetry especially needs to be given a wider perspective in light of findings concerning similar types of narrative traditions throughout the world.

In this thesis, it is argued that the major 'lock' that holds together Lao literature has been entirely overlooked. Previous scholars have concentrated only on examining rhyme of sound. The fundamental rhyme within Lao narrative, however, is not a rhyme of sound but rather a rhyme of meaning. The rhyme or 'lock' referred to is a complex system built upon many layers of overlapping parallels.

Previous mention of parallelism within Lao literature is virtually non-existent. One would not expect to uncover evidence of ancient textbooks describing classifications of Lao parallels any more than one would expect to find similar textbooks categorizing Lao poetry according to the placement of tones. Contemporary Thai and Lao scholars such as Maha: Sila: Wi:rawong, Phaithu:n Maliwan, and Jit Phu:misak make no mention of the topic. There

⁶¹ The same problem can be seen in the study of specific works of Lao poetry. One notices that as time passes by, more and more books, papers, and theses are being written on a very small number of Lao stories that were cited by Maha: Sila: Wi:rawong for their excellence, for example, *Sang Sinsai* and *Tha:w Hung Tha:w leu'ang*. There is no doubt that such works are worthy of interest. At the same time, the great majority of Lao literary works are ignored. Similarly, one finds that a few Lao stories, such as *Sang Sinsai* and *Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam*, are repeatedly transcribed and published. The large majority of stories, however, have yet to be transcribed.

is no question that previous scholars have noticed parallelism, or at least repetition, in Lao literature, but they do not view it as a topic worthy of examination. There are two reasons for this oversight. Firstly, Thai literary scholarship, from which they generally take their model, has no tradition of studying parallelism in literature. Secondly, what strikes a foreign observer as odd at first glance may well seem unremarkable to a native speaker. Parallelism is a basic element of spoken and written Thai and Lao. Its common-place nature makes it a topic easily overlooked. The closest that one finds to observations of parallelism is the rare reference to simple repetition. Prakhau:ng Nima:nhe:min devotes twelve pages of her doctoral thesis to repetition in verse, but she deals only with repetition of sound.⁶² Dr. A. Peltier, in his book *Le Roman Classique Lao*, describes the use of repetition and redundancy in poetic composition but treats it on a very minor scale.⁶³ Carol Compton, in *Courting Poetry in Laos*, describes repetition within the confines of oral courting poetry known as Mau: Lam. Her discussion, however, is concerned with nothing more complicated than the use of repeating stock phrases to fulfill the needs of tone rules within a poetic line.

Parallelism, therefore, is a topic in Lao literature that has been ignored. In making it a subject of investigation, my research is an attempt to uncover one more layer of the many layers that make up Lao poetry.

⁶² Prakhau:ng's thesis pp.256-258, pp.307-317. Also in her book *Maha: Chat Lanna: Ka:n Seuksa: Nai Thana Thi: Pen Wannakhadi: Thau:ng Thin* pp.84-91

⁶³ *Le Roman Classique* pp.86-88

Chapter Three: The Origins of Parallelism In Spoken Lao

To introduce parallelism in the context of Lao literature, consider some observations made in a study of Kammu folk-tales. The Kammu are an ethnic group in Laos who have their own oral tradition of story-telling. There are several similarities at least on a basic level between the forms that parallelism takes within the Lao and Kammu traditions. In the book *Folk Tales From Kammu-- IV* by Kristinal Lindell et al, the authors describe the characteristics of a master story-teller. They write that the audience listened closely to a story-teller because:

they wanted to hear not only *what* he said--all of them were, of course, familiar with the stories--but *how* he said it, for Duang Saeng's mastership to a great extent lies in the wording.¹

The authors explain that the way in which the story-teller shows his great command of words presents problems for a translator of his stories:

When, for instance, he wants to emphasize something, he often does it in a series of synonyms. Usually the synonyms appear in pairs, and these pairs are culled from different Kammu dialects with a pair or two culled from Lao in between.²

In the book *A Kammu Story-Listener's Tales* by the same authors, the difficulty of how to translate repetition is again considered:

.....Repetition may be used as a literary device and ought to be rendered in an appropriate way. Repetition is, however, also indigenous to the Kammu language.....(The repetition forms) a grammatical feature and as such ought not to appear in the translation at all. Yet this particular grammatical feature in the language is used as a stylistic device. This is proved by the fact that especially the more elaborate forms are far more common in story-telling than in ordinary speech. It would be impossible to say precisely where grammar ends and style begins.³

In *Roman Jakobson and The Comparative Study Of Parallelism* by James J. Fox, the author comments on the existence of parallelism in the languages

¹ p.23

² ibid. p.23

³ p.24

and literatures of Southeast Asia:

One of the most intriguing aspects to the study of parallelism concerns the use, in diverse languages of the area, of what are referred to variously as 'binomes', 'doublets', or 'reduplicative formations'. These offer a ready-made lexical resource for the construction of parallel statements. As Emeneau has stressed (in a study on Vietnamese grammar), any attempt at elevation of style, even in the most casual conversation, has as one of its marks a multiplication of pairs of verbs.⁴

This chapter will examine parallelism in every-day Lao speech from its simple to more complex forms, in that grey area where, as has previously been observed in Kammu folk-tales, grammar ends and style begins.⁵

(The various types of pairs and doubled pairs discussed in this chapter are compared in a chart on pages 158-162.)

1) Step One: Pairing Words

1.1) Pairing Monosyllabic Words

1.1. 1) ຄຳຄູ່ (Kham Khu): Analogous Word Pairs

The Lao language is essentially monosyllabic. Words of more than one syllable are generally either compounds of two monosyllabic Lao words or loan-words from other languages, such as Pali and Khmer. One characteristic that is common to many monosyllabic languages is the tendency to form pairs of two words of synonymous or related meaning. In monosyllabic languages of mainland Southeast Asia, such pairs have been observed in Vietnamese, Burmese, and many languages of the Tai family, such as Shan and Kachin.⁶ One explanation of this phenomenon is that individual words within monosyllabic languages tend to have many possible meanings. The

⁴ Roman Jakobson and *The Comparative Study Of Parallelism* p.63

⁵ For accounts of parallelism within Thai spoken expression, see *Laksana Pha:sa: Thaiy* by Banjop Phanthume:tha, pp.81-108 and *Baep Ka:n Seu'm Sau:y Nai Pha:sa: Thaiy Lae Pha:sa: Khamen* by Ka:njana: Naksakun. Both are relevant to this chapter as the forms of parallelism in the spoken Thai and Lao languages are similar. There are, however, important differences. The latter work, in which the author compares parallelism in the spoken Thai and Khmer languages, is of particular interest.

⁶ Roman Jakobson and *The Comparative Study Of Parallelism* p.63 One must note, however, that parallel pairs are also quite frequent in Khmer, which is not a monosyllabic language. Many types of parallel pairs in the Lao and Thai languages appear to originate from Khmer. See *Baep Ka:n Seu'm Sau:y Nai Pha:sa: Thaiy Lae Pha:sa: Khamen* by Kanjana: Naksakun.

Lao word ດາ (da:), for example, has twenty-two different entries listed in the Thai-Isan dictionary of Pritcha Phinthau:ng. By pairing together two words of similar meaning, the specific meaning intended is clarified by placing the word in proper context. A second reason for the pairing of words is that pairs tend to have a greater breadth of meaning than either of the words would have individually. This is due to the fact that the words, while similar in meaning, are often not identical, and the meaning of one tends to complement the other. A third explanation is a poetic one. Paired words are frequently alliterated or assonant, adding to the harmony of the spoken language. For any or all of these reasons, using pairs is considered to make ones' speech more formal and graceful. It is thought to make the language less abrupt sounding than if one uses only single monosyllabic words.⁷ Thao Nhouy Abhay, in an article of Lao versification, sums up the use of parallel pairs by saying: 'The effect produced seems to me a happy one'.⁸

In Lao, a pair of two words of analogous meaning is called 'Kham Khu:', literally, paired words. Examples are frequent both in speech and in literature. The following are but a few of many examples commonly used in every-day speech:

(If the meanings of individual words in the pairs are identical, only the meaning of the pair as a whole will be listed.)

1.1.1.1) Analogous Pairs Where The Meaning Of Individual Words Is Similar To The Meaning Of The Pair As A Whole:

Pairs Without Assonance, Alliteration, Or Rhyme

- 1) ຄັດແນ່ (khak nae:) 'certainly'
- 2) ມວນຊື່ນ (mua:n seu:n) 'happy'

⁷ Ibid. p120 This is a common reason given by Lao and Thai people for the use of pairs.

⁸ *Versification* p.349 fn.2 A few equivalent phrases in English are 'Kith and Kin' and 'House and Home'. It was difficult to think of a pair in English. I happened to hear the first pair, 'Kith and Kin', when I went to a formal story-telling of Gilgamesh told at a local pub. The pair occurred in one of the story's opening sentences. It does not seem coincidental that I would hear such a phrase in formal story telling rather than in ordinary speech.

Pairs With Alliteration

1) ຄຽດແຄ້ນ (khiat kha:n) 'to be resentful, angry'

2) ເກັບກຳ (kep kam) 'to collect'

ເກັບ (kep) 'to collect, to pick or to put away'

ກຳ (kam) 'to clench one's fist or to grasp'

Pairs With Assonance

1) ຈັດຕັ້ງ (jat tang) 'to set up, establish'

2) ຊຳນານ (sa: na:n) 'a long time'

ຊຳ (sa:) 'slow'

ນານ (na:n) 'a long time'

Pairs With Rhyme

1) ແຂງແຮງ (kha:ng hae:ng) 'strong'

2) ອອນວອນ (au:n wau:n) 'to implore, plead'

1.1.1.2) Analogous Pairs That Enlarge On The Meaning Of Individual Words

Frequently the meaning of a pair is quite different from that of the words that form its components. The evolution in meaning is generally traceable back to the individual words.

The word ທິດ (tit), for example, means 'to attach, stick, paste, or glue'.

The word ຕັ້ (tau:) means 'to add, extend, link, or join'. When joined together, the resulting analogous pair, ທິດຕັ້ (tit tau:), takes on the meaning of 'to contact or communicate'.

1.1.1.3) Pairing Analogous Words Of Different Languages

James Fox has suggested that a general feature of parallelism in oral traditions throughout the world is the pairing of analogous words from different dialects.⁹ Analogous pairs in Lao frequently take advantage of words that have their origins within a wide variety of languages. Most of the words have been adapted into the Lao language and are commonly used independently as well as in pairs. The purpose of pairing may be more for stylistic reasons than for reasons of clarification. For example:

Pali-Sanskrit: ຮູບຟານ (hu:p phan) 'form/form'

Pali-Lao: ຮູບຮ່າງ (hu:p hang) 'figure/figure'

Lao-Sanskrit: ຊາກສົບ (sak sop) 'corpse/corpse'¹⁰

Lao-Vietnamese: ວຽກງານ (wi:k ngan) 'to work'

Khmer-Lao: ຈວບພີ້ (jua:b phau:) 'to meet'

Lao-Thai: ເບິ່ງດູ (beu'ng du:) 'to look'¹¹

More research could probably uncover additional pairs that are combinations of words in Lao and other Tai languages, and perhaps within the languages of the Lao Theung and Lao Sung, ethnic groups that inhabit

⁹ *Our Ancestors Spoke in Pairs: Rotinese Views of Language, Dialect, and Code* by James J. Fox p.83

¹⁰ The examples for a) Pali-Sanskrit b) Pali-Lao and c) Lao-Sanskrit taken from *Laksana Phasa: Thaiy* by Banjop Phanthumetha: p.90.

¹¹ It would be more accurate to say that this example is a pairing of Thai and Lao preferences for words because it is impossible to define the borders between Thai and Lao usage. Both words can be used individually in the Lao language. It is simply that the more commonly used Lao word is the initial one. In the following examples, both words can be used individually within either the Thai or Lao languages:

1) ຮັຄອຍ (hau: khau:y) 'to wait'

2) ຮ້ອງໄຫ້ (haung hai) 'to cry'

It is, however, the preference of the Lao to use the latter words within both examples whereas the Thai commonly use the initial word in the first example and either the initial word or the entire pair in the second.

the mountainous regions within Laos.

1.1.1.4) Pairs Of Words Of Contrasting Meaning

One type of analogous pair is created by the placing together of two words of opposing meaning. The pairing of two opposites creates a phrase of broader meaning:

1) ເງິນຄຳ (ngeu'n kham) 'wealth'

ເງິນ (ngeu'n) 'silver'

ຄຳ (kham) 'gold'

1.1.2) Duplicated Word Pairs

In the second type of word pair, a monosyllabic word is repeated twice. Frequently used examples are:

1) ງາມງາມ (ngam ngam) 'very beautiful'

2) ດີດີ (di: di:) 'very good'

Similar to pairs in the first category, this type is also considered a Kham Khu: 'word pair' by the Lao. It does not, however, serve the purpose of clarifying the word's meaning, but rather gives it emphasis. The duplicated word pair is more frequent in the spoken than written language.

1.1.3) Invented Word Pairs

In the third type of word pair, a monosyllabic word is joined with a euphonious syllable that is either of unrelated meaning or has no meaning at all. Because the two syllables share a correspondence in sound rather than meaning, the resulting pair is not generally considered a word pair by the Lao. It can, however, be classified together with other types of pairs as both

its structure and function are similar to those of word pairs in general.

1.1.3.1) Flexible Expressions

In many cases, the invented word pair is simply created by individual speakers who enjoy ເລັ່ນຄຳ (len kham), literally, playing with words. Such creation, however, often follows fixed formulas. Generally, the invented syllable consists of ອອກ (au:k) preceded by the initial consonant of the actual word.

(In the following examples, the actual word is placed in bold print.)

1) ລູກລອກ (lu:k lau:k) 'children'

2) ດອກດີ (dau:k di:) 'good'

The great majority of flexible invented word pairs in Lao are of four, rather than two syllables.¹²

1.1.3.2) Fixed Expressions

There are several fixed expressions in the Lao language that appear to be invented pairs. However, it is impossible to say that a syllable is either meaningless or unrelated in meaning to its pair merely because it appears to be so in present-day language. It is possible that such a word was used in the past or that it was taken from another dialect or language. Whatever their origin, such expressions are similar to invented pairs in that they always include alliteration, assonance, or rhyme.

1) ວັດວາ (wa:t wa:) 'temple'

{ວາ (wa:) is a word of unrelated meaning}

¹² Flexible pairs of two syllables are much more common in the Thai language. There is also a greater variety of vowel matches that are used in the creation of such pairs.

2) ມູມແມ່ມ (mau:m mae:m) 'filthy'

(ແມ່ມ (mae:m) appears to be an invented syllable.)

3) ນົມນາໂນມ (nom na:n) 'a long time ago'

(ນົມ (nom) is a word of unrelated meaning.)

The invented word pair differs from the first two types of monosyllabic word pairs in an important aspect. The analogous word pair and the duplicated word pair, as described, show a) how individual words are matched together to clarify their meaning, and b) how the same word is repeated to provide stress. Alliteration, assonance and rhyme, although common features, are neither the only nor necessarily the most important reason for such pairing. In the invented word pair, however, one of the syllables has been chosen regardless of meaning specifically to form a euphonious match with a second. As parallelism grows increasingly complicated, one comes across greater and greater levels of invention. Pairs are frequently not structured to enhance the meaning of the individual words or phrases, but rather consist of words or phrases that are structured to enhance the qualities of the overall pair.

1.1.4) ໂຕງໂຕຍ (To:ng To:y): Expressive Pairs

General Characteristics

A fourth type of pair consists of two syllables parallel in sound, and only occasionally in meaning. Similar to the invented pair, it is not generally considered a word pair by the Lao.¹³ Usually one or both of the syllables spoken individually would have no meaning. This type of phrase is known to the Lao as 'To:ng To:y', and has been referred to in English as 'Expressive Words'. For the sake of this discussion 'To:ng To:y', which consist of two syllables or phrases, will be referred to as a type of pair rather than a single

¹³ Some examples that fall into this category, however, might be considered as such. See examples of expressive pairs consisting of actual words.

word. A doctoral thesis, *Sound Symbolism And The Expressive Words Of Lao* by Arthur Cristfield, has been devoted to a linguistic study of pairs belonging to this category. Expressive pairs are described by Cristfield as follows:

Superficially, they resemble adverbs or verb qualifiers in other languages. However, they modify several parts of the sentence at once, telling something about the size of the actor, the kind of action and its frequency simultaneously.¹⁴

Expressive words are often considered ມ່ວນ (mua:n), or 'fun' by the Lao. Similar to the flexible type of invented word pairs, their use frequently shows a playfulness with language. They add color and often humor to one's speech both because of their sound and the intimate picture that they bring to their subject matter. The following example is an illustration: ຈີ່ລີ່ (Jau: lau:) describes an object, usually a piece of fruit, stuck in someone's throat that refuses to go down. One could merely say, ຫມັກໄມ້ຄາຄໍ (makmai kha: khau:), which means 'fruit is stuck in my throat,' but by adding the expressive pair, saying ຫມັກໄມ້ຄາຄໍຈີ່ລີ່ (makmai kha: khau: jau: lau:), the expression becomes more vivid. This is partially true because, as is the case with many expressive pairs, the size of the object referred to is indicated by which expressive pair one uses. ຈີ່ລີ່ (Jau: lau:) refers to a small object. If the piece of fruit that is stuck is rather large, one says ໂຈ່ໂລ່ (jo: lo:), and if larger still, ຈຸ່ລູ່ (ju lu). In other examples, a change of vowels could similarly indicate whether the object in question is flat or round. Much of the effect of the expression, however, owes not to its meaning but to its sound. In the example given, not only do each of the syllables of ຈີ່ລີ່ (jau: lau:) rhyme with one another, but they also rhyme with neck, ຄໍ (khau:), the word to which they are attached.

Expressive pairs are structured around parallels of sound. They are

¹⁴ p.41. Cristfield's thesis provides an impressive glossary of almost one thousand expressive pairs (pp.93-136).

almost always examples of either alliteration or of rhyme.

The Relationship Of Expressive Pairs And Other Word Pairs

Expressive pairs are closely related to other types of word pairs. In *Sound Symbolism And The Expressive Words Of Lao*, the author writes that:

The source of the expressive words and the basis of their phonological characteristics are probably to be found largely in the regular vocabulary of Lao.¹⁵

It is therefore not surprising that they are similar to other types of pairs in their structure and the manner in which they replicate themselves. Their structural similarity with other types of pairs is particularly noticeable in examples where one or both of the syllables are made up of words in present-day usage. The pairs are then similar to analogous or invented word pairs.

Expressive pairs can be categorized as follows:

1.1.4.1) Analogous Expressive Pairs

Several of the examples that Cristfield has listed in his glossary could fit into category 1.1.1.2 of analogous pairs where the phrase expands on the meaning of the individual words. For example, the word ຈຸກ (juk) means a bun or topknot in a woman's hair. It can also refer to small stringy objects that are together in bundles, for example, tied bundles of onions, or clumps of grass. The word ຈິກ (jik) also means a bun or topknot, though at present in spoken language it is less commonly used. The words ຈຸກ (juk) and ຈິກ (jik) are frequently joined together in the alliterated pair ຈຸກ>ຈິກ (juk>jik). The meaning of this expressive pair is to be fussy, or overly concerned with little things.

¹⁵ibid. p.57 The major exceptions are expressive pairs that consist of onomatopoeic syllables. Cristfield suggests that some expressive pairs that now seem meaningless 'may be derived from old words not in common use'. (p.58)

1.1.4.1) Invented Expressive Pairs

Similar to the invented word pair, this category consists of pairs where one syllable is invented and dependent on the other syllable, which is an actual word. It differs, however, in that: a) the meaning of the pair, although derived from the actual word which forms its component, is invariably expanded, and b) its vowels frequently can be altered to indicate a change in the dimensions of the object being described. In many pairs of this type, there is a rhyme between syllables.

Two commonly used examples originate from the same word: ဘေး (wau:k) 'monkey'. The first example, ဘေးယေး (wau:k wae:k), is created by taking the word ဘေး (wau:k) 'monkey' and following it with a meaningless syllable that is identical in initial and final consonants. The resulting expressive pair means a person who is unstable or unreliable, i.e. acting like a monkey. The second example, ယေးဘေး (kau:k wau:k), is created by taking the word ဘေး (wau:k) 'monkey' and preceding it with a meaningless rhyming syllable. The meaning of this phrase is a person who has the face and general features of a monkey. The inventiveness of the phrase does not end at this stage. ယေးဘေး (Kau:k wau:k) changes progressively to ယေးယေး (ko:k wo:k) and ယေးယေး (ke:k we:k) if the object in question is large, thus leaving no trace of the original word.

1.1.4.3) Expressive Pairs Where Neither Syllable Is Made Up Of An Actual Word

Expressive pairs often show a more complicated level of creation than do invented word pairs. Frequently both of the syllables that make up the pairs are meaningless and created for the purposes of onomatopoea or other types of repetition of sound. The following are a few of many examples:

Expressive Words Formed From Meaningless Alliterated Syllables

- 1) ກອກແກກ (kau:k kae:k) 'rattling, sniffling'
- 2) ຈຸ່ແຈ່ (ngau: ngae:) 'swaying, staggering'

Expressive Words Formed From Meaningless Rhyming Syllables

- 1) ສົກມົກ (sok mok) 'to be sad, or without a thought in one's head'
- 2) ແອງແປງ (ae:ng pae:ng) 'to fall over backwards'¹⁶

The great majority of two syllable expressive pairs make use of at least one invented syllable. There are no expressive pairs of larger than two syllables, as far as I have observed, that are composed entirely of actual words. Therefore, for the sake of convenience, in the rest of this chapter (which deals exclusively with pairs of four or more syllables), expressive pairs will be treated as a form of invented pair.

1.2) Pairing Dissyllabic Words

Words Of Two Syllables And Their Process Of Pairing

Similar to monosyllabic words, words of two syllables frequently form pairs. First let us look at the processes in which dissyllabic words can be created.

The Creation Of Dissyllabic Words

Dissyllabic words in Lao are often borrowed from other languages. Many, however, have their origins in monosyllabic Lao words. In some cases, it appears that two monosyllabic words originally joined together to form a phrase of two syllables and over the course of time the sound of the

¹⁶ Most of these examples are drawn either from the glossary of *Sound Symbolism And The Expressive Words Of Lao* or one of the Lao dictionaries. They are, however, a commonly used part of the language and easy to recall on one's own.

original words were shortened.¹⁷ Whatever their origin, the structure of such two syllable words is basically the same. An initial syllable that consists of a consonant and the vowel ອ (a) is added to a monosyllabic word. There are a variety of initial consonants that occur in this type of transformation. For example:

ສອກ (hau:k) 'squirrel'

ກອ (ka) + ສອກ (hau:k) = **ກອສອກ (kahau:k)** 'squirrel'
or

ປົນ (pon) 'to mix'

ປອ (pa) + ປົນ (pon) = **ປອປົນ (papon)** 'to mix, mingle'

The great majority of words begin with the initial syllables ກອ (ka) and ປອ (pa). These initial syllables are not the result of a shortening of two monosyllabic words. They seem rather the result of a process of doubling, where a meaningless initial syllable is added to a word to transform its length from one to two syllables.

Sometimes when a monosyllabic word is transformed in this manner its meaning is expanded. For example:

1) ວົນ (won) 'to whirl, go around'

ກອວົນ (kawon) 'to go around, be restless or anxious'

2) ວາຍ (wa:y) 'to beat or strike'

ກອວາຍ (kawa:y) 'to swing, rock or shake'

¹⁷ *Phasa: Thin* by Phinyo: Jittatham pp.2, 12. A typical type of transformation can be seen in the following example. The 'khian' tree, a type of hardwood tree, was originally called ຕົ້ນຄຽນ (ton khian). The initial syllable, ຕົ້ນ (ton) is the classifier for trees in general, and the latter, ຄຽນ (khian) refers to the specific type. The two syllable phrase was shortened to ຕະຄຽນ (takhian). (*Phasa: Thin*, p.12). The initial syllables in names of fruit such as ມະຍົມ (mayom) 'star-gooseberry' and ມະເຟືອງ (mafeu'a:ng), 'carambola', similarly appear to have been shortened from the word ຫມັກ (mak), the classifier for fruit.

Pairs Of Dissyllabic Words

Monosyllabic and dissyllabic words form pairs in a similar fashion. Only one type of monosyllabic pair, the duplicated word pair, does not similarly exist among dissyllabic words.

1.2.1) Analogous Pairs

Similar to monosyllabic words, dissyllabic words frequently form pairs with words of equal length that share a related meaning. For example:

- 1) ສລຸງສລາດ (salia:w sala:t) 'shrewd, clever, intuitive'

ສລຸງ (salia:w) 'shrewd, clever, intuitive'

ສລາດ (sala:t) 'intelligent'

- 2) ກະວົນກະວາຍ (kawon kawa:y) 'to be restless or anxious'

ກະ + ວົນ (ka + won) 'to be restless'

ກະ + ວາຍ (ka + wa:y) 'to shake'

Notice that the second example is made from pairing two words both of which are monosyllabic in origin, as described on the previous page.

Pairs of dissyllabic words show an even greater tendency towards alliteration than their monosyllabic counterparts.

1.2.2) Invented Word Pairs

The amount of invention possible in pairs of four syllables is greater than that in pairs of two, as can be seen from the following sub-categories:

1.2.2.1) Dissyllabic Words Paired With A Meaningless Or Unrelated Euphonious Partner Of Equal Length

Similar to monosyllabic words, dissyllabic words frequently form pairs with counterparts that either have no meaning or no related meaning, but simply form alliterated matches of equal length. In pairs of this type, the

first syllables of the actual word and its counterpart are identical and the second syllables are alliterated.

1.2.2.1.1) Flexible Expressions

Following a similar formula to their monosyllabic counterparts, dissyllabic words can be provided with meaningless partners according to the whim of the speaker, as follows:

(The actual words within the examples are typed in bold print.)

Match With ទ័ក (au:k):

This is the most frequent type of match.

- 1) វិទ្យាសាលា **វិទ្យាសាលា** (hong hau:k **hong hian**) 'school'
- 2) ទាញ **ទាញ** (a:hau:k **a:han**) 'food'
- 3) ប្រេនដាញ **ប្រេនដាញ** (brae:ndau:k **brae:ndi**) 'brandy'

Notice that the last example is taken from an English word.

Other Matches:

- 1) ប៊ិច ប៊ិច (pi:teu': **pi:teu**;) 'Peter'

1.2.2.1.2) Fixed Expressions

- 1) តាត តាត (**tala:t** tali:) 'market'

Although the above phrase is a commonly used 'fixed' expression, it is similar to flexible pairs in that the speaker is aware that one of the words is meaningless and chooses to include it to enhance the sound and rhythm of his speech. More typically, fixed expressions have become such a part of the language that little thought is given to the fact that one of the syllables is either meaningless or unrelated to the meaning of the phrase as a whole.

For example:

- 1) **ປະຈົບ** ປະເຈ໊ງ (pajop pajae:ng) 'to curry favor'
- 2) **ຄລະ ຖ໌ໄລ** (thale: thalai) 'loitering, lingering on one's way'
ຖ໌ໄລ (thalai) 'to go sideways'

The second example, representative of many fixed invented pairs, expands on the meaning of the word from which it has originated.

Fixed Invented Pairs Created From Words That Originate In Monosyllabic Words:

Through a double process of doubling, a single monosyllabic word can be the catalyst for an invented word pair of two matching dissyllabic words. This can be seen, for example, in the construction of the pair **ກະດາງກະເຕື້ອ໊ງ** (kada:ng kadeu'a:ng), 'to be obstinate':

Initial One Syllable Word

ດາງ (dang) 'willful and obstinate'

Step One: *Transformation To Double Syllable Word*

ກະ (ka) + **ດາງ (dang)** 'willful and obstinate'
(used independently)

Step Two: *Transformation To Doubled Pair of Double Syllable Words*

ກະ (ka) + **ດາງ (dang)** + ກະ (ka) + ເຕື້ອ໊ງ (deu'a:ng)
(ກະເຕື້ອ໊ງ (Kadeu'a:ng) is a partner with no related meaning.)

1.2.2.2) The Modification Of Actual Words For The Purpose Of Sound Repetition

Words are frequently transformed when they are joined together in a dissyllabic pair. A word can be modified for the purpose of matching its sound with that of a word related in meaning. The ways in which this

commonly occur are as follows:

1.2.2.2.1) The Addition Of An Initial Syllable To A Monosyllabic Word

In this type of transformation, a monosyllabic word is given a meaningless initial syllable for the purpose of matching its length with that of a dissyllabic word. Independently, the word exists only in monosyllabic form. This type of modification is used to create two types of pair:

1.2.2.2.1.1) The Creation Of An Analogous Dissyllabic Pair

Monosyllabic words are frequently doubled in length to form analogous counterparts to dissyllabic words. The doubling consists of the addition of an initial syllable that it composed of a consonant followed by the short vowel ະ (a).

1) ລະລົ້ມ ລະລາຍ (lalom lala:y)

{Actual Word: ລະລາຍ (lala:y) 'to lose all of one's possessions or to disappear completely'}

{Matching Two Syllable Word That Does Not Occur Independently:

ລະລົ້ມ (lalom)

ລະ (la) + ລົ້ມ (la + lom)

ລົ້ມ (lom) 'to collapse or be destroyed'

2) ກະດຶກ ກະດຶ້ນ (kadik kadin) 'to move slightly, wiggle'

{Actual Word: ກະດຶກ (kadik) 'to move slightly, wiggle'}

{Matching Two Syllable Word That Does Not Occur Independently:

ກະດິນ (kadin)

ກະ (ka) + ດິນ (din)

ດິນ (din) 'to wriggle, squirm'

In the latter example, the actual dissyllabic word, ກະດິກ (kadiḱ) 'to move slightly or wiggle', itself originated from a monosyllabic word: ດິກ (dik) 'to swing or wag'.

1.2.2.2.1.2) Invented Pairs That Provide Commentary On A Dissyllabic Word:

The structure of this type of pair is similar to the last. It is distinguished in that the monosyllabic word that is doubled is used to comment on the meaning of the actual word rather than merely to serve as an analogy. Pairs of this type form one of the simplest kinds of Phanya:. They differ slightly in structure from the previous category in that the vowel in the meaningless initial syllable is not restricted to a short 'a'. Examples are as follows:

1) ນັງສືນັງຫາ (nangseu: nangha:) This pair is an apt description for traditional Lao literature that was recorded on palm leaf manuscripts. The initial word, ນັງສື (nangseu:), means 'book'. Its partner, ນັງຫາ (nangha:), is composed of a) the meaningless syllable ນັງ (nang), which is identical to the first syllable of the actual word, and b) the word ຫາ (ha:), which means 'to search'. Lao manuscripts are considered books of search because, for one among many reasons, they are frequently filled with errors. One must search for words to add that have mistakenly been omitted, and search for meaning when the text is filled with uncertainties.¹⁸

¹⁸ This explanation of the phrase is commonly given. See for example, the introduction to *Wannakhadi Isan Reu'ang Ka: Dam Nauy*, of which the author is unknown. (More detailed explanation of why Lao manuscripts are considered 'books of search' is provided on pages 69-70 of chapter one.) It is possible, of course, that this expression was originally created solely for its sound and such a meaning was given in retrospect.

2) ພາສາພາເສັ້ຍ (pha:sa: pha:sia:) This example is a more modern one. It is taken from the title of a column within the literary magazine *Phai Nam* from pre-Communist Laos. The column was devoted to examining common errors in the usage of Lao. The word ພາສາ (pha:sa:) means 'language' whereas its counterpart, ເສັ້ຍ (sia:) means 'ruined'. The title implies that the language is being ruined by incorrect usage. The initial syllable ພາ (pha:) is merely added to ເສັ້ຍ (sia:) to make the word an alliterated match of equal length to the initial word ພາສາ (pha:sa:).

1.2.2.2.2) The Modification Of Consonants Or Vowels Within A Dissyllabic Word

Occasionally, consonants or vowels in a word are modified for the purpose of making it a match in sound to an analogous counterpart.

Modified Consonant: In the phrase ປະຄັບປະຄອງ (pakhap pakhou:ng) 'to hold carefully or handle with tenderness', the second word, ປະຄອງ (pakhou:ng), is an actual word that means to maintain, support or bring up. It was originally constructed from the monosyllabic word ຄອງ (khau:ng), which means to maintain. The matching word, ປະຄັບ (pakhap), does not have an independent meaning on its own. However, it is likely to have been adapted from the word ປະກັບ (pakap), which means to press something tightly together to hold in place. The original word has been altered to form an alliterated match with the second syllable of its analogous partner.

Modified Vowel: The phrase ປະນີ ປະນອມ (pani: panau:m) means to compromise or conciliate. It consists of the word ປະນອມ (panau:m) 'to compromise or conciliate' joined together with the modified

analogous counterpart ປະນີ (pani:). The counterpart is adapted from the word ປານີ (pa:ni:) 'to conciliate or to show mercy'. The long vowel is changed to a short one {from ະ (a:) to ະ (a)} so that the word becomes an assonant match with the word ປະນາມ (panau:m).

2) Step Two: Pairing Pairs

The word pair, or Kham Khu, is the most basic form of parallelism in Lao. It may be called the mother of all parallelism. In Lao spoken and written expression, parallel structures, no matter how complicated their form, are generated from the parallel pair. To understand the nature of parallelism, one must study this process of generation, the way, step-by-step, in which smaller pairs replicate into larger ones. The first step is where a two syllable pair duplicates into a pair of four syllables.¹⁹ By such replication, the symmetry inherent in the original pair is enhanced. In a single pair of monosyllabic words, there is the simple balance of two syllables facing one another, each parallel in either or both sound and meaning:

O > O

When pairs are doubled, two pairs of similar meaning are joined together, each consisting of an equal number of syllables:

OO > OO

Doubled word pairs are common both in the written and spoken language. They are frequently referred to as ຄຳຍາບ (kham nya:p) or ຄຳຍອຍ (kham nyau:y). It should be noted that even the names for these words form an alliterated doubled pair of two words of parallel meaning. ຍາບ (nya:p) and ຍອຍ (nyau:y) are both types of ornaments. Words that are 'nya:p' or

¹⁹ Doubled Pairs of greater than four syllables in length occur much less frequently in spoken Lao. When they do occur, they tend to be a form of Phanya, in which the individual pairs are usually connected by rhyme.

'nyau:y', therefore, can be translated as ornamental words.²⁰ As an appendix to Pri:cha: Phinthau:ng's I:sa:n-Thai-English dictionary, the author lists approximately two hundred and fifty examples of 'kham nya:p' or 'kham nyau:y'.²¹ His list remains faithful to the Lao literary tradition, for neither does he attempt to categorize the words, nor does he spoil their auditory effect by attempting to provide any definitions. In words reminiscent of untold numbers of Lao literary manuscripts, he introduces his glossary by stating that the meaning of the words is being left up to the reader's careful consideration. All of the examples that he lists would fall into the category of one or another of the type of pairs under discussion. The author states that such words are added to speech in an attempt to make the language what he refers to in Thai as สละสลวย (sala salua:y). The choice of words is a fitting one. 'Sala salua:y', a doubled pair of dissyllabic words,²² translates as: beautiful, orderly, well-arranged, and symmetrical. In Pri:cha:'s list, the great majority of examples are doubled pairs of four syllables in length. Some are somewhat longer, and some are single pairs of dissyllabic words, most of which could be categorized as expressive pairs. None, however, consist of only a single pair of monosyllabic words. This reflects the elevation in style of pairs of four as compared to two syllables, and in particular doubled pairs in comparison with single. The higher regard for four-syllable pairs is largely due to the increased possibilities for creativity afforded by their extra number of syllables. Note that whereas single pairs can be created for practical reasons such as clarifying the meaning of individual words, doubled pairs are created almost solely for the purpose of style.²³ The beginnings of Phanya: can be found at this stage of Lao parallelism. Phanya: can consist of either parallel pairs of dissyllabic words or doubled pairs of monosyllabic

²⁰ The phrase ຄຳຍາບ (kham nya:p) is composed of the word ຄຳ (kham), which means word, and ຍາບ (nya:p), which can mean either a decorative tassel for royal elephants and horses, or golden-colored foil attached to ບັງໂຟ້ (bangfai) rockets. The word ຍອຍ (nyau:y), in the second phrase, similarly means a tassel or a frill.

²¹ pp.1049-1051

²² ສລະສລວຍ (sala salua:y) is a doubled invented pair comprised of ສລະ (sala) 'invented assonant match' + ສລວຍ (salua:y) 'beautiful'.

²³ The important exception being doubled duplicated pairs, which unlike the other major types, occur neither within Pri:cha:'s list nor within written literature. For a description, see Section 2.2 on page 148.

words, more commonly the latter.

The four types of monosyllabic word pairs, analogous pairs, duplicated pairs, invented pairs and expressive pairs, replicate in a similar fashion to form doubled pairs, as follows:²⁴

2.1) Doubled Analogous Word Pairs

One frequently finds that individual words in analogous word pairs break away from one another, form their own two syllable phrases, and then join again as two matching phrases. The doubled pairs that they form can be divided into the following types:

2A 1) Doubled Analogous Pairs With Identical Initial Words

This is the most frequent type of doubled analogous pair that one finds in spoken Lao. It consists of two phrases, each composed of identical initial words followed by words of parallel meaning.

A typical pair is created as follows: In Lao, the words ຍ້າງ (ya:n) and ກົວ (kua:) both have the same meaning, 'to be frightened'. They are commonly joined together in the analogous pair ຍ້າງກົວ (ya:n kua:).²⁵ When, for example, one wishes to say 'I am not frightened', instead of simply stating, 'I am not *Ya:n*', or 'I am not *kua:*', one can add to the rhythm of one's speech by joining the two phrases together, saying, 'I am not *Ya:n*, I am not *Kua:*'. The evolution is as follows:

Original Word Pair

ຍ້າງ (ya:n)	>	ກົວ (kua:)
(frightened)		(frightened)

²⁴ Ka:nchana: Na:ksakun, in her article *Baep Ka:n Seu'm Sauy Nai Pha:sa: Thaiy Lae Pha:sa: Khame:n*, also shows how various types of single word pairs are expanded. Several of her categories, however, are different from the ones in this chapter

²⁵ This pair is frequently found in literary language.

Doubled Word Pair

ບໍ່ (bau:) ຍ້ານ (yan) > ບໍ່ (bau:) ກົວ (kua:)
(I am not) (frightened) > (I am not) (frightened)

2.1.2) Doubled Analogous Pairs Without Identical Initial Words

This type of doubled pair consists of two parallel phrases with no shared words. Its use gives speech a more elevated or literary style than does the previous type. Although not infrequent within spoken expression, it is more common within written literature. Because pairs of this type are more complex than those in the previous category, they serve only as fixed expressions within the language.

2.1.2.1) Levels Of Repetition

In analogous doubled pairs without identical initial words, one or both of the individual phrases frequently consist of analogous word pairs in and of themselves. Therefore, the number of paired parallel words can range from two to all four. The possibilities for repetition are shown by the following examples:

1) Doubled Pairs With No Parallel Words In Individual Pairs:

ບໍ່ເຊົາ ມີຢັ້ງ (bau: sao mi yang) 'not to stop'
ບໍ່ເຊົາ (bau: sao) 'not to stop'
ມີຢັ້ງ (mi yang) 'not to stop'

2) Doubled Pairs With Parallel Words Within One Pair:

ຊົມ>ຊື່ນ ຍິນດີ (som>seu:n nyindi:) 'gratified, overjoyed'
ຊົມ (som) 'to enjoy, rejoice at'
ຊື່ນ (seu:n) 'to rejoice, be cheerful'
ຍິນດີ (nyindi:) 'pleased'

3) Doubled Pairs With Parallel Words In And Between Both Pairs (Four Parallel Words):

ໄສ > ແຈ້ງ ຮຸ່ງ > ເຮືອງ (sai > jae:ng hung > heu'a:ng) 'bright'

All four words share the same meaning.

2.1.2.2) Types Of Rhyme Between Individual Pairs

2.1.2.2.1) Doubled Pairs With No Connecting Rhyme Between Pairs

This is the simplest form of pair. It is generally organized as follows: Pair one is parallel to pair two. Usually the first word of the first pair is analogous to the first of the second. The second word of the first pair is parallel in context to the second of the second.

A1 B1 / A2 B2

An example is: ເນື້ອຊຸ່ມ ຫນັ່ງມັນ (neu'a: sum nang man) 'skin with moisture, skin with fat'. The overall meaning of the phrase is to be healthy. The initial words of the respective pairs, ເນື້ອ (neu'a:) 'skin' and ຫນັ່ງ (nang) 'skin, hide' are often paired together in a single analogous word pair. They are each qualified by a separate adjective, both of which are parallel in context.

In many doubled pairs of this type, there is no alliteration or assonance between the individual pairs. Their effect is primarily in their balance of phrases that are both parallel in meaning and equal in length.

2.1.2.2.2) Doubled Pairs With Hay Rhyme Connecting Individual Pairs

Pairs with this type of rhyme scheme form one of the most basic examples of Phanya, an oral poetic form that is an outgrowth of the system of parallel pairs and doubled pairs. The rhyme scheme is as follows: The second word of the first pair rhymes with the first word of the second.

In rhyming doubled pairs, there is frequently alliteration between words within individual pairs.

Levels Of Parallelism In Doubled Pairs With Ha:y Rhyme

One can see in rhyming pairs how parallelism develops from a simple form where the same idea is merely stated in different words to more complex poetic forms such as metaphor and *simile*.

2.1.2.2.1) Doubled Pairs With Simple Parallels

In the following examples, pairs A and B are parallel. The difference between the two is essentially in their language rather than meaning.

- 1) ຂົງວຄໍ່າຍ່າຄືນ (khia:w kham nyam kheun)

'to hurry in the evening, to hasten one's footsteps at night'

{ຂົງວ (khia:w) 'to hurry'}

{ຍ່າ (nyam) 'to tread, stamp rapidly'}

{ຄໍ່າ (kham) 'evening, night'}

{ຄືນ (kheun) 'night'}

- 2) ລ້ງງມ້ອນ ປ້ອນໂຫມ (liang mau:n pau:n mai)

'to raise silkworms, to feed silk'

(i.e. to raise silkworms to produce silk)

{ລ້ງງ (liang) 'to feed, to raise'}

{ປ້ອນ (pau:n) 'to feed'}

{ມ້ອນ (mau:n) 'silkworm'}

{ໂຫມ (mai) 'silk'}

2.1.2.2.2) Doubled Pairs With Comparative Parallels

Further study deserves to be made of the different levels of parallels between the individual phrases in a doubled pair. The following are a few examples of commonly-found types.

Doubled pairs that broaden the meaning of the individual phrases

In the following examples, through the joining together of two phrases of related but not identical meaning, a broader picture is painted than either of the phrases would have given individually.

- 1) ເວົ້າມີວົ ຫົວມ່ວນ (wao nua: hua: mua:n)
'to speak deliciously, to laugh enjoyably'
(i.e. a person that is fun to be with)
- 2) ຫັກເຊົາ ເບົາສູ້ (nak sao bao su:)
'(if it is) heavy, give up, (if it is) light, fight'
(describing a person's behavior)

Doubled Pairs where the second pair gives an illustration of the idea stated in the first

In this type of doubled pair, the idea stated in the first phrase is made more vivid by a concrete image or example that is provided as an illustration in the second.

- 1) ບ້ານນອກ ຂອກນາ (ba:n nau:k khau:k na:)
'countryside, edge of the field'
- 2) ຈັງໄຮ ໄຟໃໝ່ (janghai fai mai)
'accursed, a fire burning'

Doubled Pairs that give commentary

In the following type of doubled pair, the second pair provides a commentary on the first.

ຄ້າຂາຍ ຫງາຍມື (kha: kha:y nga:y meu:)

'to do business, to turn over the palm of one's hand (i.e. to receive a profit)'

{i.e. business is an easy way of making money}

2.1.2.2.3) Pairs With Other Types Of Rhyme

There are also other less frequent types of rhyme that connect individual phrases in a doubled pair, as follows:

Doubled Pairs Where the Final Syllables Rhyme Between Pairs:

ຄືກ>ຄື້ນ ຊົມ>ຊື້ນ (kheu:k > **kheu:n** som > **seu:n**)

'lively, animated'

{ຄືກ (kheu:k) and ຄື້ນ (kheu:n) can both be translated as cheerful and vivacious.}

{ຊົມ (som) and ຊື້ນ (seu:n) can both be translated as cheerful and rejoicing.}

Doubled Pairs Where The Initial Syllables Rhyme Between Pairs:

ຫນ້າຊື້ນ ຕາບານ (na: seu:n ta: ban)

'cheerful face, joyful eyes'

{ຫນ້າ (na: ta:) 'face'}

ຫນ້າ (na:) 'face'

ຕາ (ta:) 'eyes'

(ဆွဲ) (seu:n) and ဟပ (ba:n) both mean 'cheerful'.)

2.2) Doubled Duplicated Word Pairs

This type of doubled pair follows the same principle as its monosyllabic counterpart. In the duplicated word pair, a single word is repeated twice. In the doubled duplicated word pair, two analogous words are repeated. For example, the words ခ်ာ (khak) and နေ (nae:) both share a similar meaning, 'to be certain'. They are often paired together in the analogous pair ခ်ာ > နေ (khak nae:). If one wishes to stress the pair's meaning, one can say ခ်ာ ခ်ာ > နေ နေ (khak khak > nae: nae:). Notice that not only is the structure of this pair similar to the duplicated word pair, but its purpose also remains the same. It is similarly more common within the spoken than written language.

2.3) Doubled Invented Word Pairs

There are several different types of doubled pairs in this classification. Many can simultaneously be classified as analogous pairs or expressive pairs.²⁶ Several sub-types of doubled analogous pairs take advantage of invention to supplement similar constructions based upon existing words.

2.3.1) Doubled Monosyllabic Invented Pairs

This type of doubled pair owes its structure to the invented word pair. Its process of doubling, as we shall see, is also similar to the way in which analogous pairs are doubled in doubled analogous pairs with identical initial words as described on pages 142-143.

²⁶ In the section on pairs of dissyllabic words, we have already observed, to a lesser extent, invented pairs that are simultaneously analogous or expressive pairs. Among doubled pairs, the duplicated word pair, which is not listed among the 'decorative words' in Pricha: Phinthau:ng's dictionary, is the only type that makes no use of invented words.

2.3.1.1) Flexible Expressions

In a doubled analogous pair with identical initial words, two words of related meaning are prefixed by an identical initial syllable. The pattern is: $X + A1 > X + A2$. This pattern can also be used for words with which there is no matching pair. If there is no known word available to serve as a possible partner, a word is simply created with euphonious sound to fill the same function. For example, if one wishes to turn the sentence 'I will go home' into a doubled pair with identical initial words, one must complete the following equation:

ပဲ (pai)	_____	/	ပဲ (pai)	ဧဝံ (heu'a:n)
Go	<u>Euphonious Syllable</u>	/	Go	home

To balance the pairs, an invented word is added that matches the sound of ဧဝံ (heu'a:n) 'home', as follows:

ပဲ (pai)	ခေက (hau:k)	/	ပဲ (pai)	ဧဝံ (heu'a:n)
Go	<u>Euphonious Syllable</u>	/	Go	home

Notice that the invented word in this type of doubled pair follows the same formula that we have seen in invented word pairs of monosyllabic and dissyllabic words. It generally consists of the initial consonant of the actual word followed by the sound ခေက (au:k).

(The actual words in the examples are in bold print.)

2.3.1.2) Fixed Expressions

1) **ပဲဝံ ပဲဝံ** (pai wat pai wa:) 'to go to the temple'

{Original Invented Pair of Monosyllabic Words:

ဝံဝံ (wat wa:) 'temple'}

2) **ခေကိ ခေကံ** (jao ki: jao ka:n) 'to meddle in others' affairs'

ເຈົ້າ (jao) 'owner'

ກາມ (ka:n) 'work, duty'

The phrase ເຈົ້າກາມ (jao ka:n), literally, 'owner of (one's) business', is given a pair that matches in sound and length. The word ກາມ (ka:n) is matched with the assonant meaningless syllable ກີ (ki:) exclusively in this pairing.

2.3.2) The Modification Of Actual Words For The Purpose Of Sound Repetition

We have previously seen a process in which words of two syllables are created through the addition of an initial syllable to a monosyllabic word. This amounts to a simple doubling of one to two syllables. This doubling is itself frequently doubled. When looking through a Lao (or Thai) dictionary, one cannot help but notice the amount of entries that consist of two matching dissyllabic words, each beginning with an identical initial syllable which is usually either ກະ (ka) or ປະ (pa).²⁷ These initial syllables are also the most frequent in the transformation of one to two syllable words, as described on page 133. The majority of four syllable pairs, however, are not simply the result of matching two dissyllabic words that were originally created by this process, and later joined together. In most cases, either one or both of the matching two syllable words do not exist independently. They are joined with the initial ກະ (ka) or ປະ (pa) specifically for this pairing. In the section on invented pairs of dissyllabic words, 1.2.2.1.1, on pages 137-138, we have seen how a monosyllabic word adopts an added syllable to join a pair:

Actual Two Syllable Word	+	ກະ (ka) + Monosyllabic Word
	or	
Actual Two Syllable Word	+	ປະ (pa) + Monosyllabic Word

²⁷The meaning and effect of such words is largely due to their elaborate construction of matching sounds. This can be seen from the fact that their definitions are usually given by stating several more such pairs.

The same process can also be doubled so that a pair of two monosyllabic words can be transformed into two matching two syllable pairs, as follows:

Original Pair

A1 / A2

Doubled Pair

nɛ (ka) + Monosyllabic Word / nɛ (ka) + Monosyllabic Word
or

ɸɛ (pa) + Monosyllabic Word / ɸɛ (pa) + Monosyllabic Word
or

xɛ (xa) + Monosyllabic Word / xɛ (xa) + Monosyllabic Word

(x: any initial consonant)

The difference between the invented pair of dissyllabic words (1.2.2.2.1.1) and its doubled counterpart is as follows: In the former category, one of the words in the pair occurs independently as a dissyllabic word. In the latter, both exist solely as monosyllabic words outside of the pairing.

Doubled invented pairs within this category can be divided as follows:

2.3.2.1) The Doubling Of A Monosyllabic Analogous Pair

The following is an example. As described on page 124, the words តិព (tit) and ត៉ (tau:) join together to form the analogous pair តិពត៉ (tit tau:). The meaning of the pair is 'to contact or communicate'. A doubled pair is created by preceding each word with the initial syllable ɸɛ (pa). The resulting doubled pair is ɸɛតិព ɸɛត៉ (patit patau:) 'to piece small objects together'. Notice that neither តិព (tit) nor ត៉ (tau:) ever occur preceded by the initial syllable ɸɛ (pa) when spoken individually.

2.3.2.2) The Doubling Of A Monosyllabic Invented Or Expressive Pair

In invented pairs of dissyllabic words, the process of adding an initial syllable of *န* (ka) or *ပ* (pa) is used largely if not entirely to join together words of analogous meaning.²⁸ In contrast, in doubled pairs, the identical process is also used to expand both a) expressive pairs and b) invented pairs of the sub-category where an actual word is joined together with a meaningless or unrelated euphonious partner. In the following examples, the meaning of the original pairs are not significantly altered in the doubling.

1) *ကော့ဝော့/ကော့ဝော့* (kawau:k kawae:k) This doubled pair is created from *ဝော့ဝော့* (wau:k wae:k) 'monkey-like behavior', an expressive pair that has been described on page 131. We have seen that the phrase *ဝော့/ဝော့* (wau:k wae:k) changes to *ဝော့/ဝော့* (wo:k we:k) when the object in question is large. Similarly, the four syllable phrase *ကော့ဝော့/ကော့ဝော့* (kawau:k kawae:k), refers to small actions, and for larger ones the correct term is *ကော့ဝော့/ကော့ဝော့* (kawo:k kawe:k).

2) *ကော့မော့ ကော့မော့* (kamau:m kamae:m) This pair has its origins in *မော့မော့* (mau:m mae:m) 'filthy', an invented pair where the actual word *မော့* (mau:m) 'filthy' is joined with a meaningless euphonious partner, as described on page 128.

2.3.3) The Creation Of Rhyming Doubled Pairs Through The Addition Of Invented Syllables

On pages 144-148, we observed the occurrence of rhyme in doubled analogous pairs without identical initial words. Typically, the last syllable of

²⁸ Note that in the examples of the dissyllabic invented pair category 1.2.2.2.1.2 (where the second word provides a commentary on the first), the initial syllables are neither *န* (ka) nor *ပ* (pa).

the first pair rhymes with the first syllable of the second. One frequently finds that the second half of the initial pair in a doubled pair is a meaningless or unrelated word added solely to form the appropriate rhyme.

1) ວັດວາ ອາຣາມ (wat **wa:** a:ra:m) 'temples'

{Unrelated Rhyming Syllable: ວາ (wa:)}

2) ຊື່ຊາມ ນາມມະກອນ (seu: **sa:m** na:mmakau:n) 'name'

{Invented Rhyming Syllable: ຊາມ (sa:m)}

3) ອີ່ຫລີ່ອີ່ຫລໍ່ ກະດັກະເດັຍ (i:li: i:lau: kadau: **kadia:**) 'truly'

This is a commonly used doubled pair:²⁹ It consists of two invented pairs that are frequently used independently:

a) The word ອີ່ຫລີ່ (i:li:) 'truly' is combined with the meaningless euphonious syllable ອີ່ຫລໍ່ (i:lau:).

b) The word ກະດັ (kadau:) 'excessively' is given the meaningless counterpart ກະເດັຍ (kadia:).

When joined together, the words in each pair are alliterated, and the invented word ອີ່ຫລໍ່ (i:lau:) rhymes with ກະດັ (kadau:).

2.3.4) The Doubling Of Expressive Pairs Through The Addition Of A Pair Of Meaningless Sound-Related Syllables

As a monosyllabic word can be matched with a meaningless syllable to form a pair, expressive pairs are frequently matched with meaningless pairs to form doubled pairs. For example:

²⁹ This phrase is an example of a doubled pair of longer than four syllables that is frequently used in speech.

Initial Word:

ວອນ (wau:k) 'monkey'

Expressive Pair:

ນອນ/ວອນ (kau:k wau:k) 'monkey-like mannerisms'

Doubled Expressive Pair

ນອນ/ວອນ ແກນ/ແວນ (kau:k wau:k kae:k wae:k)

'monkey-like mannerisms'

{ ແກນ/ແວນ (kae:k wae:k) is a phrase of meaningless syllables added to form a match in sound. }

Expressive Pair For Large Size

ໂກນ/ໂວນ (ko:k wo:k)

Doubled Expressive Pair For Large Size

ໂກນ/ໂວນ ແກນ/ແວນ (ko:k wo:k ke:k we:k)

{ ແກນ/ແວນ (ke:k we:k) is a phrase of meaningless syllables added to form a match in sound. }

By doubling expressive pairs, no particular meaning is added, but it makes them more enjoyable to say. The Phanya: provided as example of the usage of the word ນອນ/ວອນ (kau:k wau:k) in Pri:cha: Phinthaung's Isan-Thai-English dictionary illustrates this fact:

(The rhyming syllables are underlined.)

ຜູ້ຂີ້ຟິງ

(phu: khing phing /
(one with a monkey face/

ຫນ້າລືກັງ

na: ling kang /
face of a 'kang' monkey/

ນອນວອນ

kau:k wau:k)
monkey-like
mannerisms)

ໂກກໂວກ ໂກກໂວກ ເກກເວກ

(ko:k wo:k / ko:k wo:k / ke:k we:k/

(forms of Kau:k Wau:k)

ວ້າໂຖເຖ້າພະຄະວ່າ

wamtho: thao phakhawam)

(meaningless syllables)

The meaning of this expression is simply: 'You who have a monkey-like face and monkey-like mannerisms'. The first two phrases rhyme, and the rest, which largely constitute one form or another of ກອກ/ວອກ (kau:k wau:k), are alliterated and here purely for their sound.

3) Phanya:

Phanya, a type of Lao oral poetry, is frequently composed of doubled parallel pairs, each individual pair commonly ranging from two to seven syllables in length. Typically, the two phrases are connected by rhyme. Less frequently, Phanya: consists of three or more phrases, also generally parallel in meaning and equal in length. While previous writers have shown that Phanya: commonly consist of phrases of similar length, often connected by rhyme, they have not commented on the parallel relationship between the individual pairs.

The following are examples:³⁰

3.1) Phanya: consisting of two-syllable pairs:

ຊຸດໄມ້ ໄງ້ຂອນ (khut mai ngai khau:n)

'to dig up a tree , to pry open a log'

3.2) Phanya: consisting of three-syllable pairs:

ຮຽນໃຫ້ສຸດ ຊຸດໃຫ້ເຖິງ (hian hai sut khut hai theu'ng)

'Study until you reach your objective, dig until you reach what you are looking for'

³⁰ Examples are taken from *Khuy Feu'ang Reu'ang Phanya*: by Phau:nchai Sri: Sarakham pp.136-138.

3.3) Phanya: consisting of four-syllable pairs:

ເອີ້ນກິນແລ່ນໃສ່ ເອີ້ນໃຊ້ແລ່ນໜີ (eu'n kin lae:n sai eu'n sai lae:n ni:)

'When called to eat, (you) come running, when called to work, (you) leave, running'

3.4) Phanya: consisting of five-syllable pairs

ເປັນຄົນໃຫ້ເຂົາໃຊ້ ເປັນໄມ້ໃຫ້ເຂົາຝັນ (pen khon hai khao sai pen mai hai khao fan)

'(If you are) a human, let them make use (of you), (If you are) wood, let them cut you'

3.5) Phanya: consisting of six-syllable pairs

ຢ່າເອົາເສົ້ກມາໃສ່ບ້ານ ຢ່າເອົາໜ້າມາໃສ່ສວນ (ya: ao seu'k ma: sai ba:n ya: ao wa:n ma: sai sua:n)

'Do not bring a war into one's house, do not bring 'wa:n' plants into one's garden'³¹

3.6) Phanya: consisting of seven-syllable pairs:

ໄຟໄໝ້ປ່າຈິ່ງເຫັນໜ້າໝູ ນ້ຳຖ້ວມຮູຈິ່ງເຫັນຈີ່ລໍ່ (fai mai pa: jing hen na: nu: nam thua:m hu: jing hen ji:lau:)

'When there is a forest fire, only then does one see the face of the mouse,
When there is a flood in (the 'ji: lau:' cricket's) hole, only then does one see the 'Ji: lau:' cricket'

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen that words form pairs for a variety of reasons. On one level, pairs serve a useful purpose in that they can a) give clarity to the meaning of individual words by providing them with a context, and b) provide words with emphasis. On another level, pairs heighten the

³¹ type of plant often used by Lao sorcerers to cause harm to their enemies.

style of the language both by making the language sound fuller and less abrupt, and by providing repetition of sound, such as alliteration, assonance, and rhyme. The importance of these types of rhyme can be seen in the extent to which syllables are invented to provide sound-matching counterparts to existing words. Invented syllables exist both in fixed form as expressions within the language, particularly as expressive pairs, and in flexible form that can be created according to formulas by individual speakers.

Dissyllabic words form the same types of pairs as do monosyllabic words with the single exception of duplicated word pairs. There is, however, a greater variety of sub-categories in the individual types, particularly in invented pairs, due to the greater number of syllables.

Words, once doubled in pairs, tend to double again to form two matching pairs. Each of the four types of monosyllabic pairs has a doubled counterpart. Doubled pairs, often referred to in Lao as 'kham nya:p', or 'decorative words', are more elaborate than individual pairs, and are correspondingly considered more elevated in style. In many examples, the sound is as or more important than the meaning. The simplest form of Phanya: can be seen in pairs of disyllabic words and more commonly in doubled pairs in which there is a rhyme linking together the individual phrases. In this form of oral poetry, the type of parallel is frequently developed beyond the matching of analogous phrases into metaphor or a form of witty comment. Doubled pairs of greater than two syllables within the Lao spoken language generally consist of Phanya:, in which Kau:n A:n, the major literary poetic form of the Lao, appears to owe its origins.

We can see then that in spoken expression, parallelism can be a stylistic device. The higher the level of style, the more elaborate the parallelism. The style of Lao Literature originates in the expressions of the spoken language. In Lao literature, the parallelism inherent in every-day speech has been developed into an art form.

Comparative Chart Of Monosyllabic Pairs, Dissyllabic Pairs And Doubled Pairs In Spoken Lao

(Each category of pair listed includes an example followed by the pair's classification number in the chapter and the page on which it is described. Invented syllables are underlined and placed in bold print.)

Parallel Pairs (Monosyllabic)

1) Analogous Pairs Pairs

(A1 > A2)

ດີ ງາມ

(di: > nga:m)

'good>beautiful'

{1.1.1 p.122-126}

Parallel Pairs (Dissyllabic)

1) Analogous Pairs

(A1 > A2)

ສລຽວ ສລາດ

(salia:w > sala:t)

'clever>intelligent'

{1.2.1 p.134}

Doubled Pairs

1) Doubled Analogous Pairs

1A) With Identical
Initial Words

(A+B1 > A+B2)

ຂອງດີ ຂອງງາມ

(khou:ng di: > khau:ng
nga:m)

'things good > things
beautiful'

(See also 3A for similar
pair with invention)

{2.1.1 pp.142-143}

1B) Without Identical
Initial Words

(A1+A2 > A3 +A4)

No Parallels Within Pairs:

ບໍ່ເຊົາ ມີຢັງ

(bau: sao > mi yang)

'with no rest > without
stop'

Parallels Within One Pair:

ຊົມຊື່ນ ຍິນດີ

(som>seu:n > nyindi:)

'enjoy>rejoice > be
pleased'

Parallels Within Both
Pairs:

ໃສແຈ້ງ ຮຸ່ງເຮືອງ

(sai>jae:ng > hung>
heu'a:ng)

'bright>bright >
bright>bright

With rhyme:

ເຈົ້າຂຸນ ມຸນນາຍ

(Jao Khun > Munna:y)

'noble>noble > master'

Phanya:

ຄ້າຂາຍ ຫງາຍມື

(kha: kha:y > nga:y meu:)

'to do business > to turn
over one's hand'

(See also 3C for similar
rhyming pair with
invention)

(2.1.2 pp.143-148)

2) Duplicated Pairs

(A + A)

ດີ ດີ

(di: > di:)

'good > good'

{1.1.2 p.126}

2) Doubled Duplicated Pairs

(A1 + A1 > A2 + A2)

ດີ ດີ ງາມ ງາມ

(di:>di: > ngam>ngam)

'good>good > beautiful >
beautiful'

{2.2 p.148}

3) Invented Pairs

3A) With Invented
Syllable

(A + Invented Word)

{1.1.3 pp.126-128}

3A 1) Flexible

ດອກ ດີ

(dau:k > di:)

'match + good'

{1.1.3.1 p.127}

3) Invented Pairs

3A) With Invented
Syllable

(A + Invented Word)

{1.2. 2.1 p.134}

3A 1) Flexible

ອາຫອກ ອາຫານ

(a:hau:k > aha:n)

'match + food'

{1.2.2.1 p.135}

3) Doubled Invented Pairs

3A) With Invented
Syllable

(A1+B1 > A1 + Invented
Word)

(Similar to 1A: Doubled
Analogous Pair With
Identical Initial Words)

{2.3.1 pp.148-150}

3A 1) Flexible

ຂອງດອກ ຂອງດີ

(khaung dau:k > khaung
di:)

'things match > things
good'

{2.3.1.1 p.149}

3A 2) Fixed វត្ត វា (wat > <u>wa:</u>) 'temple + <i>match</i> ' {1.1.3.1 pp.127-128}	3A 2) Fixed ព្រាត ព្រាត (talat > <u>tali:</u>) 'market + <i>match</i> ' {1.2.2.1.2 pp.135-136}	3A 2) Fixed ប្រៃស ប្រៃស (pai wat > pai <u>wa:</u>) 'go (to) temple > go (to) <i>match</i> ' {2.3.1.2 pp.149-150}
	3B) Modification Of Actual Words For Sound Repetition {1.2.2.2 pp.136-140}	3B) Modification of Actual Words For Sound Repetition {2.3.2 pp.150-155}
	3B 1) Adding Initial Syllable To A Single Monosyllabic Word (A1 {dissyllabic} > X+A2 {monosyllabic}) {1.2.2.2.1 pp.137-139}	3B 1) Adding Initial Syllable To Two Monosyllabic Words (X + A1 > X + A2) {2.3.2, 2.3.2.1 pp.150-151}
	3B 1A) For The Purpose Of Creating An Analogous Pair With A Dissyllabic Counterpart ឈាត ឈាត (<u>la</u> lom > lala:y) ' <i>match</i> {la} + to be destroyed (mono-syllabic word) > to lose all (dissyllabic word)' {1.2. 2.2.1.2 pp.137-138}	3B 1A) For The Purpose Of Doubling A Monosyllabic Analogous Pair ប្រៃស ប្រៃស (<u>pa</u> tit > <u>pa</u> tau:) ' <i>match</i> {pa} + attach > <i>match</i> {pa} + link' {2.3.2.1 p.151}
		3B 1B) For The Purpose Of Doubling A Monosyllabic Invented Or Expressive Pair កាមាត កាមាត (<u>ka</u> mau:m > <u>ka</u> mae:m) ' <i>match</i> {ka} + filthy > <i>match</i> {ka} + original <i>match</i> ' {2.3.2.2 p.152}

3B 1C) For The
Purpose Of Creating
A Commentary On
A Dissyllabic Word

သံဂီၤ သံဂီၤ

(nangseu: nangha:)

'book (dissyllabic word >

match {nang} + search

(monosyllabic word)'

{1.2.2.2.1.2 pp.138-139}

3B 2) Modifying
Consonants Or Vowels
Within A Dissyllabic Word
To Create A Sound Match With
An Analogous Dissyllabic Partner

ပၤလၢ်ပၤလၢ်

(pakhap pakha:ng)

'to hold in place (modified)

> to support'

{1.2.2.2.2 pp.139-140}

3C) Adding An Invented
Syllable To A
Monosyllabic Word To
Create A Rhyming
Doubled Analogous Pair
Without Identical Initial
Syllables

ဝၢ်ဂၢ် ဝၢ်ဂၢ်

wat wa: > a:ra:m

'temple + *match* >
temple'

{2.3.3 p.153}

3D) Doubling Expressive
Pairs Through The
Addition Of A
Meaningless Pair That
Matches In Sound And
Length

ခိၣ် ကၢၤခိၣ်

(kha: lau: + khae: lae:)

'stubby + two syllable
match'

{2.3.4 pp.153-155}

4) Expressive Pairs

{Dissyllabic Expressive
Pairs Can Be Found
Throughout 3B}

{Doubled Expressive Pairs
Are Included In 3B 1B
And 3D}

4A) Analogous Expressive Pairs

ຈຸກຈິກ

(juk jik)

'hair bun > bundle'

meaning: 'overly concerned
with little things'

{1.1.4.1 p.130}

4B) Expressive Pairs With One Invented Syllable

ວອກ ພວກ

(wau:k wae:k)

'to act like a monkey'

{1.1.4.2 p.131}

4C) Expressive Pairs Comprised Of Two Invented Syllables

ແອ່ງ ພາ່ງ

(ae:ng pa:ng)

'to fall over backwards'

{1.1.4.3 pp.131-132}

Chapter Four: Small Forms of Parallelism in Lao Literature

The previous chapter discussed parallelism at its most elementary stages, looking specifically at its occurrence in spoken expression. The following chapter traces the evolution of the basic forms of parallelism in Lao speech, the pair and doubled pair, as they occur in written literature. Two written forms will be examined, Nitsay and Kau:n A:n. Lao story-length literature is almost exclusively composed in one or both of these forms.¹

Section A Of Chapter Four: The Use of Parallel Pairs and Doubled Pairs in the Titles of Lao Stories

The prevalence of parallelism in Lao literature can immediately be seen by the fact that even the names of stories are frequently made up of parallel pairs. In the following examples, the titles of various Lao works are organized according to the level of complexity of the parallels:

- 1) ທ້າວປາແດກປາສໝໍ (Tha:w Pa:daek Pa:samau:), 'Prince Fish 'dae:k', Fish 'samau:'.²

ທ້າວ	ປາແດກ	/	ປາສໝໍ
(Tha:w	Pa:-Daek		Pa: Samau:)
Prince	Fish-Fermented	/	Fish Samau:

Within Lao grammar the name follows the object that is being named. The name of the prince is a doubled pair with identical initial words. Notice that because the second type of fish has a name of two syllables, the title is evenly divided into two sections, each three syllables in length.

¹ Examples in this and future chapters that are quoted from the stories ທ້າວຫົວ (Tha:w Hua:), ສຸພົມໂມກຂະ (Suphom Mo:kkha), ທ້າວກຳພ້າໄກ່ແກ້ວ (Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kaew), ທ້າວແຈ້ (Tha:w Bae:), ຊຸນທົງ (Khun Theung), and ທ້າວປາແດກປາສໝໍ (Tha:w Pa: Dae:k Pa: Samau:), unless otherwise noted, are taken from the thirty page samples that are described on pages 166 and 167.

² The hero of the story is an orphan from a poor family. He is referred to as a ທ້າວ (tha:w) 'prince' because he is the Bodhisattva. In modern-day Laos, the word ທ້າວ (tha:w) merely means mister.

2) ພຣະລັກພຣະລາມ (Phra Lak Phra La:m) This story is the Lao version of the Ramayana. As the contents of the story have evolved much from the original, so has the title. Notice that neither the title of the original Indian work nor that of its Thai adaptation, the *Ramakien*, contain any parallel pairs. The Lao name for the Indian hero, Rama, is Phra La:m. The prefix 'Phra' is an honorific title. The name of Phra La:m's brother, Phra Lak, has been added to the title so that it is transformed into a doubled pair with identical initial words. The syllables are alliterated between pairs.

3) ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) This title consists of:

ທ້າວ	ກຳ	ກາ	ດຳ
(Tha:w	Kam	Ka:	Dam)
Prince	Dark	Crow	Black

The title is comprised of two phrases, two syllables each, of parallel meaning. The hero, for whom the story is titled, can be referred to separately as either ທ້າວກຳ (Tha:w Kam), 'Dark Prince', or ກາດຳ (Ka: Dam), 'Black Crow'. The last word of each phrase rhymes as well as being parallel in meaning. The two central words also form an alliterated pair.

4) ຊຸນທຶງ or ຊຸນທຶງຊຸນເທືອງ (Khun Theung, Khun Theung Khun Theu'a:ng)

The story is named after its hero, Khun Theung. The hero's father, whose adventures form a considerable part of the story, is named Khun Theu'a:ng. In writing, the story is oftencalled Khun Theung, but when spoken of, the story is commonly referred to as Khun Theung Khun Theu'a:ng, after both father and son. The name thus becomes two alliterated pairs, each consisting of two syllables. Notice that ເທືອງ (eu'a:ng) is a common ending for words of invented pairs as we have seen, for example, with ກະດ້າງກະເດືອງ (kada:ng kadeu'a:ng) 'willful and obstinate'.

5) ຄັດທະນາມ or ຄັດທະນະກັດທະນາມ (Katthana:m, Katthane:k Katthana:m)

The parallelism in this story's title is similar to the last. The story's name,

Katthana:m, is also the name of its hero. The story of Khatthana:m is lengthier than 'Khun Theung', and the hero has two sons whose adventures are also told. Similar to Khun Theung, the names of the sons, Khatthane:k and Khatthaja:n, are alliterated pairs of equal syllables with the name of their father. While the written title of the story is Katthana:m, often when spoken it is expanded to Khatthane:k Khatthana:m. The fact that Katthana:m's name is paired with Katthane:k is not because of that son's greater importance but rather because all three syllables of his name are alliterated with that of his father's.

6) ທ້າວຫົວ (Tha:w Hua:). The title is named after the hero, 'Sir Head', who is born with a head and not a body. When spoken and sometimes when written, the title is enlarged to become ທ້າວຫົວຂັ້ງ (Tha:w Hua: Khau: Lau:), adding a rhyming expressive pair of two syllables which means short and stubby. Often when spoken, the title develops further to become ທ້າວຫົວຂັ້ງແຂ້ງ (Tha:w Hua: Khau: Lau: Khae: Lae:). The final phrase, ແຂ້ງ (Kae: Lae:), is made up of two meaningless alliterated syllables that serve to double the original expressive pair, transforming it into two pairs of two syllables each. This type of doubling falls into a category of doubled invented pair (2.3.4) common in spoken Lao as described on pages 153-155 of chapter three.

The types of pairs that can be seen in the titles of the above stories are no different than the 'kham nyap', or 'decorative words' that occur frequently in Lao speech. The primary reason behind the doubling of phrases is not to alter their meaning. Rather, its purpose is to create a symmetry and rhythm through the balancing of two alliterated and parallel phrases of equal length.

Section B Of Chapter Four: The Effect That The Type Of The Literature (Kau:n A:n Or Nitsay) Has On The Form And Frequency Of Parallel Pairs And Doubled Pairs

1) The Amount Of Parallel Pairs in The Different Types Of Lao Literature

The following chart compares parallel pairs and doubled pairs in samples of Lao literature written in Nitsay and Kau:n A:n. The samples are each taken from thirty pages (i.e. fifteen leaves) of text, roughly six thousand words in length. Each sample has been collected from two different stories, as follows:

Nitsay:

ທ້າວຫົວ (Tha:w Hua:) {twenty pages: first bundle, leaves 4-13}

ສຸພົມໂມກຂະ (Suphom Mo:kkha) {ten pages: third bundle, leaves 17-20}

Kau:n A:n:

ທ້າວກຳພ້າໂກ່ໄຮ້ວ (Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kaew) {twenty pages: first bundle, leaves 25-34}

ທ້າວໄຮ້ວ (Tha:w Bae:) {ten pages: first bundle, leaves 9b-13b}

The stories from which the samples have been taken are all popular works with a wide distribution.

Parallel Pairs:

	Nitsay	Kau:n A:n
Noun:	20	78
Verb:	23	45
Adjective:	6	37
Adverb:	8	17
Total:	57	177

Doubled Pairs:

	Nitsay				Kau:n A:n			
	<u>T</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>		<u>T</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	
Noun:	5	1	4	{a) 2 b) 2}	31	-	31	{a) 17 b) 14 c) -}
Verb:	7	3	4	{a) 2 b) 2}	21	-	21	{a) 13 b) 7 c) 1}
Adjective:	3	1	2	{a) - b) 2}	4	-	4	{a) 3 b) - c) 1}
Adverb:	1	1	-	{a) - b) -}	6	1	5	{a) 3 b) 2 c) -}
Total:	16	6	6	{a) 10 b) 6}	62	1	61	{a) 36 b) 23 c) 2}

In the preceding chart, doubled pairs are organized as follows:

T = Total

1 = Doubled Pairs With Identical Initial Words

2 = Doubled Pairs Without Identical Initial Words

Inside the brackets ({}), Doubled Pairs Without Identical Initial Words are divided into:

- a) doubled pairs with no parallel word pairs
- b) doubled pairs with one parallel word pair
- c) doubled pairs with two parallel word pairs

A similar sample of two stories written in Poetic Nitsay has also been examined. Poetic Nitsay, as described on page 31 of the first chapter, is a term used to describe a small percentage of Nitsay works in which the style has been heavily influenced by the conventions of Kau:n A:n. The sample consists of twenty pages from ຂຸນທົງ (Khun Theung) (first bundle, leaves 3-12) and ten pages from ທ້າວປາດທກປາສໝໍ (Tha:w Pa: Dae:k Pa: Samau:) (second bundle, leaves 13-18). It has not been included in the above chart because there is not an adequate number of works written in Poetic Nitsay for it to be considered a major category. The results are:

Pairs:	99
Doubled Pairs:	72

There are almost twice as many pairs and almost five times as many doubled pairs as in the usual type of Nitsay. There are, in fact, more doubled pairs within these stories than in the sample of Kau:n A:n.

The progressive increase in poetic style from Nitsay to Kau:n A:n (and ordinary to 'poetic' Nitsay) is reflected in the increase in the number of parallel pairs and doubled pairs. At this level, parallelism can thus be seen to share the similar purpose of elevating style both in spoken and written expression.

One should also consider the effect that the origins of Nitsay and Kau:n A:n have on the number of parallel pairs. As we have seen, stories written in ordinary Nitsay are often relatively unchanged in style from their counterparts in Lanna. The level of parallelism in these stories is the lowest of all of the types. In works of Poetic Nitsay (which are either of Lao origin or largely transformed from their Yuan counterparts) and Kau:n A:n (an exclusively Lao style of poetry), there is a markedly higher number of parallel pairs. Parallelism is an integral characteristic of Lao poetic narrative. This is true not only of the literary Kau:n A:n, but also of oral Phanya; which is likely Kau:n A:n's predecessor. When a story from Lanna is 'translated' into Lao poetic language, the use of parallels is an important tool. However, neither the system of parallelism described in this thesis nor the specific types of parallels in that system are necessarily Lao in origin. Research into the poetic forms of different Tai and Mon-Khmer speaking groups may well show similar traditions of parallelism.

2) The Style Of Parallelism In The Different Types Of Lao Literature

While the amount of parallelism steadily increases from Nitsay to Kau:n A:n, upon reading the texts one is given the opposite impression. Nitsay seems to be the most repetitive, and Kau:n A:n the least. Poetic style involves both increasing the level of parallelism and at the same time making the parallels less noticeable by increasing their subtlety.

There are several 'unsubtle' types of parallels that occur with varying

frequency in the different forms of literature. The major types of 'unsubtle' parallels are as follows: (The list progresses from smaller to larger types.)

2.1) Doubled Pairs With Identical Initial Words

Doubled pairs with identical initial words, frequent within spoken Lao, also occur in the literature. The use of identical words at the beginning of each individual pair makes this type of parallel immediately noticeable as a form of repetition.

2.2) Doubled Pairs With Connecting Rhyme

Rhyme serves to add emphasis to a doubled pair and makes it more memorable to a listening audience.

2.3) Echoing³

In this type of repetition, the contents of a sentence will be repeated within the first half of the sentence that follows. For example:

ໄພທີສັດຈີ້ໄດ້ຍິນຄຳແມ່ກ່າວແກ່ຕົນດັ່ງນັ້ນຈີ້ກໍຊົມຊື່ນຍິນດີມາກນັກເຊິ່ງແມ່ແຫ່ງຕົນຂັ້ນ
ແລ

(pho: thisat jao dai nyin kham mae: kla:w dang nan jao kau: som seu:n nyin
di: mak nak seu'ng mae: ha:ng ton han lae:)

'The Bodhisattva heard the words that his mother told him and was delighted with his mother.'

ໄພທີສັດໂດຍຖາຍາສຸວັນນະໂມທະຕິໄພທີສັດຈີ້ຄັນໄດ້ຍິນຄຳແມ່ແຫ່ງຕົນນັ້ນຈີ້ກໍເຂົ້າໄປສູ່
ສຳນັກແມ່ແຫ່ງຕົນແລ

³ The title of this type of repetition is taken from *A Kammu Story Listener's Tales*, by Kristina Lindell et al. p.24. It states that 'many clauses (within the Kammu language) are introduced by an echo of the preceding one'.

(pho:thisat to:y tha:n̄ya: suwanna mo:thati:⁴ pho:thisat jao khan dai nyin
kham mae: hae:ng ton nan jao kau: khao pai su: samnak mae: hae:ng ton
lae)

'When the Bodhisattva heard the words of his mother, he went to his
mother's residence.'

ນາງຈັນທາຣະບະຕິຕິນໄດ້ຮູ້ວ່າເຈົ້າໂພທິສັດເຈົ້າລູກເຂົ້າມາສູ່ສຳນັກເທຣງຕິນດັ່ງນັ້ນກໍເອົາຄຳ
ໃຫ້ເຈົ້າລູກຕິນຫຼັກ

(na:ng jantha:rabati: thon mae: khan wa: hen pho:thisat jao lu:k khao ma: su:
somnak hae:ng ton dang nan kau: ao kham hai kae: lu:k ton han lae)

'When Jantharabati, his mother, saw her son the Bodhisattva coming to her
residence, she gave him gold.'

4.4) Repeating Chunks Of Information

In this type of repetition, 'chunks' of information are repeated virtually
unchanged from line to line. For example, in the story ທາວຫົວ (Tha:w Hua:),
when food is mentioned, it is commonly described in a seven syllable phrase
consisting of three basic parallels:

ເຂົ້ານ້ຳ/ໂພຊະນາ/ອາຫານ
(khao nam/pho:sana:/a:ha:n)
food (rice > water)/ food/food

Another frequently used phrase consists of two parallel words which mean
to prepare:

ຕົກເຕ່ງ/ເປັງ
(tok tae:ng/pae:ng)
to prepare/to adapt

Often two or more such phrases join together to form larger phrases that are
repeated continuously throughout the story. For example, at one point the
hero is described as preparing food for his mother while she is working in

⁴ Lao rendition of Pali language

the fields:

ຕົກເຮັດງ່/ແປງຢັງ
(tok ta:ng/pa:ng yang
to prepare/adapt

ເຂົ້ານ້ຳ/ໂພຊະນາ/ອາຫານ
khao nam/pho:sana:/a:ha:n)
food (rice > water)/food/food

Meaning: (He) prepares food

In the following line, his mother returns and she is described as seeing:

ເຂົ້ານ້ຳ/ໂພຊະນາ/ອາຫານ
(khao nam/pho:sana:/a:ha:n
food (rice>water)/food/food,

ທັງຫຼາຍຝູງນັ້ນ
thangla:y fu:ng nan
that group of

Meaning: The food (that he prepared)

Notice that the identical phrase for food is repeated, followed by an additional three words, which include ທັງຫຼາຍ (thangla:y), indicating that the preceding noun is plural, and ຝູງນັ້ນ (fu:ng nan) 'that group of'. As the sentence continues, his mother is described as thinking, "Who came to...

ຕົກເຮັດງ່/ແປງຢັງ
(tok ta:ng/pa:ng yang
prepare/adapt

ເຂົ້ານ້ຳ/ໂພຊະນາ/ອາຫານ
khao nam/pho:sana:/a:ha:n)
food (rice > water)/food/food

Meaning: Prepare food

In the following line, she is described as eating:

ເຂົ້ານ້ຳ/ໂພຊະນາ/ອາຫານ
(khao nam/pho:sana:/a:ha:n
food (rice > water)/food/food,

ທັງຫຼາຍຝູງນັ້ນ
thangla:y fu:ng nan)
that group of

Meaning: Food (that he made)

This phrase is identical to its counterpart within the preceding line. The smaller phrase ທັງຫຼາຍຝູງນັ້ນ (thangla:y fu:ng nan), which means 'that group of', was tagged onto the larger phrase in the preceding line. Now it has

become an established part of the larger 'chunk' that will be included each time that the phrase occurs. In the following line, the hero's mother asks her son in similar wording who it was that prepared the food. The story proceeds in this manner. Notice that the large 'chunks' in this type of parallelism are formed from smaller groupings of parallel words.

The following chart shows the frequency of the various types of 'unsubtle repetition' in the different forms of literature:

	Nitsay	Poetic Nitsay	Kau:n A:n
1) Doubled Pairs With Identical Initial Words	Common	Common	Rare
2) Rhyming Doubled Pairs	Common	Less than Nitsay	Even Less
3) Echoing	Common	Common	Much Less
4) Repeating Chunks	Common	Less than Nitsay Smaller chunks	Much Less

Nitsay

In ordinary Nitsay, all four of the above-mentioned types of parallels are common characteristics.

In Poetic Nitsay, the amount of parallels is greater, but at the same time the parallels appear less blatant due to the difference in type. The most important difference is that in Poetic Nitsay the fourth kind of repetition, 'Repeating Chunks', occurs less frequently. The 'chunks', when repeated, are usually smaller in size, and repeat less often. The number of rhyming doubled pairs in the sample collected, although higher in Poetic than in Ordinary Nitsay (twenty pairs as compared to nine), percentage-wise is also smaller, totalling only about half the amount.

Kau:n A:n

It is the subtlety of the parallels that is the major difference between this and other forms. Because of the nature of the verse, neither repeating sizeable chunks of information in this manner nor extensive echoing is possible.⁵ Doubled pairs with identical initial words, prevalent in Nitsay (both ordinary and poetic), are almost non-existent in Kau:n A:n. The great number of doubled pairs in Poetic Nitsay are largely made up of this type of pair, and this is an immediately noticeable difference between the latter type of Nitsay and Kau:n A:n. Similarly, the use of rhyming doubled pairs is considerably less frequent.⁶

An important point that distinguishes Kau:n A:n is that the language used is more poetic, or removed from every-day speech, than the language used in other forms. This can be seen *not only* in the greater amount of pairs and doubled pairs in Kau:n A:n but specifically in the higher percentage of doubled pairs without identical initial words and virtual absence of the simpler doubled pair with identical initial words. The former category of doubled pair allows for a greater degree of creativity (and internal layering of parallels) due to the extra word included in its composition. Poetic language offers a wide range of expression with which to structure parallels. On one level, this makes the parallels seem less obtrusive in the telling of the story. On another, it increases the depth of the story, for often each of the parallel words or phrases provides subtle differences, and placing both together adds

⁵ Small 'chunks' consisting of a few lines are occasionally repeated, especially in the formulaic description of events that inevitably occur throughout a story, for example, a description of the hero going to sleep, washing, etc. However, such 'chunks', in comparison to Nitsay, are few and far between.

⁶ To compare the percentage of rhyming doubled pairs between Nitsay and Kau:n A:n one must first consider the difference between doubled pairs in the two forms in general. Kau:n A:n has four times as many doubled pairs as does Nitsay. The doubled pairs in Kau:n A:n are almost exclusively doubled pairs without identical initial words, as opposed to Nitsay, which favors doubled pairs with identical initial words. Rhyming pairs entirely fall in the former category of doubled pair, the type that is particularly common to Kau:n A:n. Percentage-wise, therefore, one could expect an increase in rhyming pairs from Nitsay to Kau:n A:n, but on the contrary, the amount found in Kau:n A:n in the sample was slightly less than in Ordinary Nitsay.

further shades to their meaning. The increased complexity and subtlety of parallelism in Kau:n A:n, however, depends not merely upon the language of the parallels, but also the symmetry of their placement, as will be explained in the following part of this chapter.

3) The Structure Of Nitsay And Kau:n A:n And Its Relationship To The Form Of Parallel Pairs

3.1) Nitsay

Nitsay lacks strict rules in organization. Its lines are of indefinite length and number. The use of parallel pairs and doubled pairs, with the included alliteration, assonance, and rhyme, distinguishes it from strict prose. It is specifically for the reason of elevating the language and making Nitsay more poetic that parallel pairs are a common feature. The frequent use of one type of doubled pair, the doubled pair with identical initial words, gives the style a strong sense of rhythm and balance.

3.2) Kau:n A:n

3.2.1) *Poetic Structure And Parallels*

An important characteristic of Lao poetry (in contrast to prose or spoken Lao) is the symmetrical placement of parallels. Using the word 'symmetrical' to describe a literature that was meant to be heard rather than read may be seen as a mixing of metaphors. There is, however, no denying the role of symmetry in the placement of parallels in Kau:n A:n.⁷ Consider the structure of Kau:n A:n and the effect that it has on the form of its parallels:

a. Kau:n A:n is made up of poetic lines which are divided into two hemistichs of respectively three and four syllables.⁸

OOO OOOO

⁷ The symmetrical nature of Kau:n A:n is discussed further on page 201 of this chapter

⁸ There are also optional initial and final phrases which are each generally of two syllables in length, but may be longer.

As analogous words are commonly joined together within a parallel pair, analogous hemistichs are frequently paired within a poetic line.

$$\begin{array}{ccc} A1 & > & A2 \\ \text{OOO} & & \text{OOOC} \end{array}$$

We have observed that in the most complex type of doubled pair, each individual pair is composed of two parallel words. Similarly, in the most symmetrical type of poetic line composed of two parallel hemistichs, each of the individual hemistichs is further divided into two parallel words or phrases.

$$\begin{array}{ccccccc} A1 & & & & A2 & & \\ a1 & > & a2 & > & a3 & > & a4 \\ \text{O} & \text{O} & \text{O} & & \text{O} & \text{O} & \text{O O} \end{array}$$

b. As one line is formed of two hemistichs, one verse is formed of two lines. The two lines in a verse are frequently statements of parallel meaning:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} A1 & & \\ \text{OOO} & \text{OOOO} & \\ & > & \\ A2 & & \\ \text{OOO} & \text{OOOO} & \end{array}$$

In the most complex type of doubled pair and poetic line composed of parallel hemistichs, a larger pair replicates into two smaller parallels. Similarly, in the most symmetrical type of verse, not only are the individual lines parallel to one another, but each hemistich is also parallel.

c. As one verse consists of two lines, one quatrain is formed of two verses of two lines. Frequently, quatrains are composed of two parallel verses:

A1
 000 0000
 000 0000

>

A2
 000 0000
 000 0000

Similar to the smaller parallels preceding it, the most symmetrical type of quatrain consists of a doubling of doubles. Not only is the quatrain composed of two parallel verses, but each of the verses is comprised of two parallel lines.

Compare the pairing of words with the pairing of poetic lines. A word pair is comprised of two words of similar meaning, as one verse consists of two lines of equal length. While doubled pairs in speech are not infrequent, they are not as common as single word pairs. Similarly, Lao poetry is most frequently composed of two-line verses whereas full quatrains consisting of two alternate types of verses are much less common. In speech, a frequently used method to elevate the style of one's language is to expand pairs into doubled pairs. Doubling verses into quatrains similarly elevates the style of the poetry. Maha: Sila: Wirawong, for example, insists in his book *Santhalaksana* that poetry must be composed in complete quatrains, because only in this way is it pleasing to the ear.⁹ One of the major reasons that *Sang Sinsai* is considered the most eloquent work of Lao literature is because the two-lined verses are consistently doubled. A characteristic of Lao poetry is that large forms of parallelism tend to reflect parallelism at its most basic levels.

3.2 2) Lao Poetic Rules And The Use Of Parallel Pairs

Parallel pairs can be used as tools that help a poet in his composition of Kau:n A:n. Pairs and doubled pairs can be useful in the following ways:

⁹ *Santhalaksana* p.4

3.2.2.1) Parallel pairs frequently provide alliteration and assonance, an important aspect of poetry that is meant to be heard.

3.2.2.2) In composing verse where there is an established number of syllables, the availability of parallel pairs and doubled pairs help a poet to find expressions that conform to the conventions of length. If, for example, one wishes to expand the length of the pronoun ນາງ (na:ng) 'her', there is no shortage of possibilities. If one needs to fill two syllables of space, one could use a pair consisting of the parallel words ນາງ (na:ng) and ນາດ (na:t). If one wishes to fill three syllables, one could write ນາງນາດນົງ (nang: na:t nong). One could also cover four syllables by using the doubled pair ນາງນາດນົງນ້ອຍ (nang: na:t nong nau:y). Longer combinations are also possible.

3.2.2.3) Pairs and doubled pairs can be used as ready-made phrases that fit conventions in the placement of tones as well as number of syllables. For example, the phrase ບາ>ບ່າວ>ທ້າວ (ba:>ba:w>tha:w) is frequently used to refer to the hero of a tale. It is made up of three parallel words, as follows:

ບາ (ba:) 'a third person pronoun that is used for a young man'

ບ່າວ (ba:w) 'young man'

ທ້າວ (tha:w) 'a prince or man of nobility'

The phrase ບາ>ບ່າວ>ທ້າວ (ba:>ba:w>tha:w) comprises the length of the first hemistich of a poetic line. The position of tones in the phrase is as follows:

000̃
(X = low tone X̃ = falling tone)

In Kau:n A:n, the tone rules for the first hemistich of both the first line of the

first verse Bot E:k and the second line of the second verse Bot Tho: follow a similar pattern:

000 0000

The second line of the first verse has no requirements for the placement of tone within its initial hemistich. The first line of the second verse only specifies the tone of the third syllable:

000 0000

The phrase *ບາ>ບາວ>ທ້າວ* (ba:>ba:w>tha:w) is therefore applicable to every line in *Kau:n A:n*. It is thus a readily made formula for composing the initial hemistich of a poetic line whenever one wishes to begin a phrase about the story's hero. There are several such phrases conveying the same idea so that the verse does not become too repetitive.¹⁰

Summary of Section B of Chapter Four:

This section has shown the evolution of parallel pairs and doubled pairs in the different forms of Lao literature. We have seen that the more poetic the level of expression, the greater the number of parallel pairs and doubled pairs. At the same time, due to increased subtlety, the more poetic the expression, the more invisible the parallels. The structure of *Kaun An*, which is composed of lines of two hemistichs, verses of two lines, and quatrains of two verses, facilitates the use of doubling. The positioning of parallel pairs in the verse is important in providing a symmetrical structure to the poetry.

In the following two sections of this chapter, we will look more closely at parallel pairs and doubled pairs and their occurrence in the specific types of the literature.

¹⁰ Dr A. Peltier, in *Le Roman Classique Lao*, similarly explains how repetition is used as an aid in the creation of poetic phrases that follow the requirements of tone placement and number of syllables. pp.86-88

Section C Of Chapter Four: Small Forms of Parallelism in Nitsay

The following section investigates the evolution of parallels in Nitsay from the two-syllable parallel pair to parallel constructions, several lines in length, built by a symmetrical stringing of pairs and doubled pairs.

1) Parallel Pairs In Context

One can only appreciate the extent to which parallel pairs are used, and their significance in the feeling that they bring to the text, if one observes the pairs in the context of the passages in which they occur. The following examples have been translated specifically to show the occurrence of parallel pairs (and to a lesser extent, parallels of three) in Nitsay. When reading the following passages one must bear in mind, however, that parallelism serves a purpose in the context of the original language, prose form, and performance style. The reason behind the parallels does not carry over in an English version of the text. The parallels, therefore, tend to appear stilted and strange. For this reason, ordinarily, such repetition would be left out of a translation.

(Parallel words and phrases are indicated by bold print. The parallel words or phrases are separated either by the symbol '/' or simply by writing 'and' or 'or' between them. In many instances, parallel pairs of two monosyllabic words take on broader meanings than either of their components. In such cases, the meaning of the expression as a whole appears followed in parentheses by the meaning of the individual words. For example: country (village/country).

(Parallel phrases that are especially long are placed in italics. The parallel halves are divided by the symbol '/'. Smaller parallels in the larger one are underlined and divided by the symbol '>'. For example: the great house > the large home / the stately residence'.

(Each time that a word or phrase is paralleled, the original Lao is included in a footnote.)

1)“I have never seen such beauty, as if a celestial being / a divinity.¹
*More like a woman of the sky who has fallen from the sky / than a
 woman of the earth (place of origin/earth) > who lives in the human
world.² I am obsessed, and desire her greatly. I remain restless, missing her,
 rolling about collapsing / rolling about dying.”³*

When they heard the three speak in that manner, people (gave)
 news/spoke (and) told statements⁴ all over the world/all over the realm⁵
 with the words: “The wife of the orphan who lives in a shack/hut⁶ in the
 midst of the forest/jungle⁷ is one of great attractiveness/one of great beauty.⁸
 We want to invite her to warm our chests/warm our hearts⁹

From ທ້າວປາເດກປາສໝໍ (Tha:w Pa:dae:k Pa: Samau:)

2)“It is likely that my father, the King, is angry and infuriated¹⁰ and will
 kill me or drive me out” of my dynasty and country (village/country).¹² Or
 will he still look after one who is thin, / and take care of one who is

¹ ເທວະບຸດ ເທວະດາ (the:wabut/the:wada:)

² ເໝືອນດັ່ງສາວຟາກຟ້າ ລອດລົງມາເຕັ້ຟ້າ / ຍັງຍິ່ງກວ່າສາວແຫ່ງມຫ້າ > ອັນຢູ່
 ໃນເມືອງຄົນ (meu'a:n dang sa:w fa:k fa: long ma: tae: fa: / yang nying kwa: sa:w lae:ng > la: > an
 yu: nai meu'a:ng khon)

³ ເກືອກລົມ ເກືອກຕາຍ (keu'a:k lom/keu'a:k tay)

⁴ ຂ່າວເວົ້າ ວາຈາຕ້ານ (khao > whao / waja: ta:n)

⁵ ທົ່ວທິບ ທົ່ວເດນ (thua: thi:p / thua: da:n)

⁶ ຕູບ ຜາມ (tu:p/pha:m)

⁷ ປາ ດົງ (pa: / dong)

⁸ ຜູ້ດີ ຜູ້ງາມ (phu: di:/phu: nga:m)

⁹ ອຸ່ນອົກ ອຸ່ນໃຈ (un ok/un jai)

¹⁰ ໂກດ ກ້າ (ko:t/ka:)

¹¹ ຈັກຂ້າ ເລ ໃສ່ປຸກດຊະນີຍາຄຳຂັບໝີ (jak kha: / lae: sai paphatsaniya kham khap ni:)

¹² ຮາດຊະການ ບ້ານເມືອງ (ratsakan / ba:n > meu:a'ng)

*destitute?*¹³ Will he not **beat and kill**¹⁴ me, taking away my **life and senses?**¹⁵

Then the servant girls, upon hearing her words, prostrated themselves and 'wai'ed¹⁶ before her, saying: "When we went to prostrate ourselves and wai before your royal father, upon speaking to him, he did not have a heart that was **angry and infuriated**,¹⁷ that would (wish) to **kill/slash/stab**¹⁸ you. He did not say he would drive you from **your dynasty and country (village/country) and palace/royal palace**.¹⁹ He **rejoiced/ (was) gladdened and delighted**²⁰ and has ordered us to bring the two of you to live together (to mix with/to go live together)²¹ in your palace."

They spoke **truth / truly > truly**²² in this manner. She thus **smiled/smiled**²³ at him with a smile that did not **fade or diminish**²⁴

From ຊຸນທຶງ (Khun Theung)

3) "From **what village and what country**²⁵ do you come from to **encounter/meet/come across**²⁶ the young woman (i.e. our daughter) Ae:k Khai in the pavillion?"

¹³ ຢັ່ງຄ່ອຍ ລ້ຽງຄົນຜອມ ຖນອມຄົນໄຮ້ (nyang khu:y lia:ng khon phau:m / thanau:m khon hai)

¹⁴ ຕີຂ້າ (ti:/kha:)

¹⁵ ຊີວິດ ອິນສີ (si:wit/insi:)

¹⁶ To 'wai' is to place one's hands together and raise them as a sign of respect.

¹⁷ ໂກດ ກ້າ (ko:t/ka:)

¹⁸ ຂ້າຟັນແທງ (kha:/fan/thae:ng)

¹⁹ ຮາດຊະການ ບ້ານເມືອງ ແລ ຜາສາດ ຮາດຊະມຸນທຸນ (ratsakan / ba:n > meu'a:ng lae pha:sat > ratsamunthia:n)

²⁰ ຊົມຊື່ນ ບິນດີ (som > seu:n / nyindi:)

²¹ ສົມສູ້ (som/su:)

²² ສັດຈະ (sadjā / thiang > thae:)

²³ ບຸ້ມ ແບ້ມ (nyum/nyaem)

²⁴ ຈິດ ຈາງ (jeu:t/ja:ng)

²⁵ ບ້ານໃດ ເມືອງໃດ (ba:n dai/meu'a:ng dai)

²⁶ ປະສົບພົບ (pasop/pop/pau:)

Then Khun Theu'a:ng, who was of royal lineage in the land of Phara:nasi, answered: "I come from the far-away land of Phara:nasi, and came on an **excursion/stroll**²⁷ with business **of one kind or another**²⁸ and thus came to **meet/encounter**²⁹ Miss Ae:t Khai in the pavillion. I **wish/desire/want**³¹ to be the son of your Royal Highness **greatly/very much**³¹ so came together with the young woman to volunteer to undertake work **for/in place of**³² the king **according to the time/according to the occasion**³³ May the 'Bun' of Your Majesty **shield my head/cover my head.**"³⁴

After Khun Theu'a:ng had spoken, the King of the Nagas called to the Queen, Butsika:, telling her: "When our daughter, Ae:t Khai, went for a visit to the **gardens/park**³⁵ she brought back a husband. Come and **look/view/gaze**³⁶ at our son in law. **Do not be slow/Do not be long.**"³⁷

When the King of the Nagas called, Butsika:, the Queen, came in a hurry to Khun Theu'a:ng in the palace, and said: "My beloved son, you are of **the race of men/a member of humanity.**³⁸ Why is it, then, that you **came to take a serpent > a snake as your wife, / and put your head against that of an**

²⁷ ທຽວຫຼິ້ນ (thia:w/lin)

²⁸ ອັນໃດ ອັນນຶ່ງ (an dai/an neung)

²⁹ ຈວບພົບ (juap/phop)

³⁰ ມັກໂຄ່ຍາກ (mak/khai/nya:k)

³¹ ມາກນັກ (ma:k/nak)

³² ເພື່ອຕ່າງ (pheu'a:/ta:ng)

³³ ຕາມບາມ ຕາມຄາວ (ta:m nya:m/ta:m kha:w)

³⁴ ປົກເກົ້າ ງຳຫົວ (pok kao/ngam hua:)

³⁵ ສວນອຸທະຍານ (sua:n / utthanya:n)

³⁶ ລຳຫຼິງດູ (lam/ling/du:)

³⁷ ຢ່າຊ້າ ຢ່ານານ (ya: sa:/ya: na:n)

³⁸ ມະນຸດສະຊາດ ເຊົາຄົນ (manutsasa:t/sao khon)

animal?"³⁹

Then Khun Theu'a:ng answered: "Even if this young woman is a serpent/*is a snake*⁴⁰ I am not regretful. I will stay *with/together with*⁴¹ her, according to the time/*according to the occasion*,⁴² *as long as it takes for an elephant to flap its ears, / (and) a snake to stick out its tongue.*"⁴³

From ຊຸນທຶງ (Khun Theung)

2) *Parallels Of Two In Nitsay:*

Pairs and doubled pairs are a major component of Nitsay literature. With the exception of the duplicated pair and duplicated doubled pair, the types of pairs common to spoken Lao as described in chapter three are also characteristic to this form of literature.

A prominent feature of Nitsay that distinguishes it from spoken Lao is the frequency of doubled pairs that are greater in length than four syllables. As doubled pairs become longer in length, we can see the following tendencies:

a) Though the length is increased, the symmetry is maintained by keeping each of the doubled pairs of similar or equal length. As discussed in chapter two, it is hard to find hard and fast rules that *must* be followed within Kau:n A:n. Therefore, although many lines are of equal length, there are also many that are 'almost' equal.

b) The longer the doubled pair, the more frequent the use of rhyme to connect individual pairs. The standard rhyme is Ha:y in which the last syllable of the first pair rhymes with one of the first three syllables of the second. A similar rhyme scheme, as we have seen, also occurs in doubled

³⁹ ເອົາເຈົ້າອາເຈົ້າເປັນເມັຍ ເລຂະ ເອົາຫົວທຽມສັດເດັຍຮະສານ (ao ngeu'a:k > ao ngu: pen mia:/lae ao hua: thia:m sat dia:ra:sa:n)

⁴⁰ ເປັນເຈົ້າອາ ເປັນງ (pen ngeu'a:k/pen ngu:),

⁴¹ ກັບ ດອມ (kap/daum)

⁴² ຕາມຍາມ ຕາມຄາວ (ta:m nya:m/ta:m kha:w)

⁴³ ຊົ່ວ ຊ້າງພັບຫູ ງເລຟຟື້ນ (sua: sang phap hu:/ngu: laep lin)

two syllable pairs. It is, however, less frequent.

c) Doubled pairs of long length tend to be Phanya: rather than ordinary narration.

(In the following examples, rhyming syllables are underlined.)

2.1) Doubled Three-Syllable Parallel Pairs

ເປັນໄຟລຸກ	ເປັນແປວຂຶ້ນ
(pen fai luk	pen pae:w kheun)
'a fire rises,	a flame flares up'

{ທ້າວຄັດທະນາມ (Tha:w Katthana:m) bundle 9, p.8b; book: p.136}

2.2) Doubled Four-Syllable Parallel Pairs

ຂົວຕະພານເຫຼັກ	ຂົວຕະພານທອງ
(khua: tapha:n lek	khua: tapha:n thau:ng)
'bridge>bridge (of) iron,	bridge> bridge (of) gold'

{ທ້າວຄັດທະນາມ (Tha:w Katthana:m) bundle 10, p.9a; book: p.150}

2.3) Doubled Five-Syllable Parallel Pairs

1) ເຫັນອັນຮ້າຍແລະຫຼີ	ເຫັນອັນດີແລະຢູ່
(hen an' ha:y lae <u>ni:</u>	hen an <u>di:</u> lae yu:)
'See the bad (side) and flee	See the good (side) and stay'

{ຊຸນທົງ (Khun Theung)}

2.4) Doubled Twelve-Syllable Parallel Pairs

ຜູ້ຂ້ານີ້	ບາມເມື່ອໄດ້ກິນຂອງຈົບ	ກໍສົມກິນລົງຄວັກຄວັກ
	ບາມເມື່ອຂອງກິນບໍ່ແມ່ນປາກ	ກໍຊົມກິນບາກກິນຊ້າ

(phu: kha: ni: nya:m meu'a: dai kin khau:ng jop
 kau: som keu:n long khwak khwak
 nyam meu'a: khau:ng kin bau: mae:n pa:k
 kau: som keu:n nya:k keu:n sa:)

First Pair:

'As for me, When (I) eat something good,
 it is fitting to swallow it 'Khwak Khwak.'

Second Pair:

When (I) eat something that is not right for my mouth,
 it is fitting that (I) swallow it with difficulty, swallow it
 slowly'.

{ຊຸນທົງ (Khun Theung)}

This couplet is interesting in that each line itself is divided into two corresponding halves of six syllables each. The division can be seen in the transliteration of the original Lao. The one exception is the first half of the second line which consists of seven, rather than six syllables. The extra syllable is a typical example of an inserted word, as described on pages 114-115 of chapter two. Typical of Phanya, the two major phrases in this example are connected by Həy rhyme. The last syllable of the first line rhymes with the last syllable of the first half of the second.⁴⁴

3) Stringing Pairs: Doubling And Tripling Doubled Pairs Within A Line Of Nitsay

Doubled pairs serve as building blocks to create larger forms of parallels in Nitsay. A characteristic of such pairs is that rather than occurring by themselves, they often occur in doubles or triples in the same or consecutive lines. This is particularly true of doubled pairs with identical initial words.

(In the following examples, the order of the line goes from 1) a) b), 2) a) b), etc.)

⁴⁴ Rhyme between short and long vowels, as within this example, (X̌(a) and X̌l(a:)), is commonly found in Phanya and among Tai folk poetry. See *Ongkan Chaeng Nam* by Jit Phumisak, pp.161-205

3.1) Doubling Doubled Pairs With Identical Initial Words Within A Line

In the following phrase, a princess describes the home from which she has been separated.⁴⁵

- | | | |
|----------------------|-----|--------------------|
| a) ຣາດຊະການ | ຜລ | a) ຜາສາດ |
| b) ບ້ານເມືອງ | | b) ຣາດຊະນຸນທຽນ |
| a) ra:tsaka:n | lae | a) pha:sa:t |
| b) ba:n > meu'ang | | b) ra:tsamunthia:n |
| a) kingly reign | and | a) palace |
| b) village / country | | b) royal palace |

{ຊຸນທົງ (Khun Theung)}

3.2) Two Doubled Pairs With Identical Initial Words And One Single Pair In A Line

- | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------|--------------------------------|------|----------------------|
| ທ່ຽວ > ຫຼິ້ນ | ໃນ | 1) a) ປາ/ດົງ | ຜລ | 2) a) ບ້ານນ້ອຍ |
| | | b) ພົງ/ໄພ | | b) ເມືອງໃຫຍ່ |
| thia:w > lin | nai | 1) a) pa: ⁴⁶ > dong | lae: | 2) a) ba:n nau:y |
| | | b) phong > phai | | b) meu'ang nyai |
| (to) travel > play | in the | 1) a) forest > forest | and | 2) a) small villages |
| | | b) forest > forest | | b) large towns |

{ຊຸນທົງ (Khun Theung) bundle 1, p.2a}

⁴⁵ To appreciate this phrase in context, see the English translation on pages 180-181 of this chapter.

⁴⁶ spelled in manuscript as ປຣ (pra) with identical meaning.

The first doubled pair, which consists of four parallel words for forest, is a commonly used phrase within Lao literature. The initial words of the second doubled pair, ບ້ານເມືອງ (ba:n meu'a:ng) 'village > country' i.e. country, form a frequently used pair in the spoken and written language.⁴⁷ They are qualified by the opposing adjectives 'small' and 'large'. Notice that the two doubled pairs rhyme with one another as do the individual pairs in the initial doubled pair:

It is likely that as the story is continually transcribed, the single pair ທົ່ວ > ສູ້ນ (thia:w > lin) 'to take an excursion > play' in this line will give birth to a third doubled pair:

3.3) Tripling Doubled Pairs With Identical Initial Words Within A Line

1) ກໍ່ເທົ່າຕີ	1) a) ຫຼົບໄປ	2) a) ຂ້າງຊ້າຍ	3) a) ກຳໜ້າ
	b) ຫຼົບມາ	b) ຂ້າງຂວາ	b) ກຳໜ້າ

kau: thao ti:	1) a) lop pai	2) a) kha:ng sa:y	3) a) kam na:
	b) lop ma:	b) kha:ng khwa:	b) kam lang

They fought	1) a) moving back	2) a) (to the) left side	3) a) (in the) area in front
	b) moving forth	b) (to the) right side	b) (in the) area in back

{ທ້າວຄັດທະນາມ (Tha:w Katthana:m) bundle 8, p.2b; book: p.116}

Placement of multiple pairs in a line is a common characteristic of Nitsay. Its effect is to give a strong sense of rhythm and balance to the literature. More complicated patterns of parallels can also be built by the doubling or tripling of pairs in consecutive lines.

⁴⁷ for a further description of the parallel relationship between the two words, see fn.49 on p.189.

3.4) Doubling and Tripling Pairs Within Consecutive Lines

1)

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------|---------------|------------|--------------|
| 1) ໄປ | 1) | a) ກິນບ້ານ | 2) | a) ປົກຂ້ອຍ |
| | | b) ກິນເມືອງ | | b) ຫອມໄມ້ |
| 2) | 1) ຢ່າເຮັດ | a) ໃຈຮ້າຍ | 2) ຢ່າເຮັດ | a) ໃຈສິ້ນ |
| | | b) ໃຈຄຽດ | | b) ໃຈຫຼອນ |
| 3) | 1) ຢ່າ | a) ມັກຕຶ | 2) ຢ່າ | a) ມັກຂ້າ |
| | | b) ມັກຕຽນທ່ານ | | b) ມັກຟັນກັນ |
| | | ກະທຳຕາມໃຈ | | |

- | | | | | |
|--------|------------|--------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 1) pai | 1) | a) kin ban | 2) | a) pok khau:y |
| | | b) kin meu'a:ng | | b) hau:m phai |
| 2) | 1) ya: het | a) jai hay | 2) ya: het | a) jai san |
| | | b) jai khiat | | b) jai lau:n |
| 3) | 1) ya: | a) mak ti | 2) ya: | a) mak kha: |
| | | b) mak tia:n than | | b) mak fankan |
| | | katham ta:m jai | | |

- | | | | | |
|------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| 1) Go | 1) | a) eat the village | 2) | a) rule the slaves |
| | | b) eat the country | | b) lead the |
| | | | | commoners |
| 2) 1) Do not act | a) (with an) angry heart | 2) Do not act | a) (with a) terse | |
| | | | heart | |
| | b) (with an) indignant heart | | b) (with a) tricking | |
| | | | heart | |
| 3) 1) Do not | a) like to beat | 2) Do not | a) like to kill | |
| | b) like to blame | | b) like to slash | |
| | doing as you wish ⁴⁸ | | | |

⁴⁸ This passage is quoted from the printed rather than the manuscript version. The sections placed in bold print are not included in the manuscript of *Khun Bau:rom* that I have photographed. In the manuscript version, the third section simply reads: ຢ່າມັກກະທຳຕາມໃຈ (ya: mak katham tam jai) 'Do not do as you wish'.

{ຂຸນບໍຣົມ (Khun Bau:rom bundle 1, p.15a; book: p.28)}⁴⁹

This passage illustrates the symmetrical nature of such parallelism in Nitsay. The phrase is divided into three separate parts, each part consisting of two doubled pairs that fall into the category of doubled analogous pairs with identical initial words. In each part, both of the doubled pairs are parallel to one another. All four pairs in any given part are also parallel. In the first part, the expression 'to eat a country', as stated in the first two pairs, has the same meaning as 'to govern its commoners', stated in the second. In the second part, all the pairs describe negative feelings, either angry or deceitful hearts, and in the third part, all the pairs are words for negative actions, either blaming or imposing punishment. Parts two and three are particularly symmetrical. The two doubled pairs in a given part are prefaced by identical words or phrases ('Do Not Act' in part two and 'Do Not' in part three). Furthermore, the four pairs in a given part all begin with identical words ('Heart' in part two and 'Like' in part three).

⁴⁹ A comment needs to be made about the translation. Parallel pairs are fixed expressions in the Lao language. The meaning of the expression often varies considerably from the meaning of its individual components. When one makes a literal translation of the individual words in a pair, one is, in a sense, taking the words out of context. This especially proves a problem in the translation of doubled pairs with identical initial words. Consider the following example: ກິນບ້ານ ກິນເມືອງ (kin ba:n kin meu'ang) '(to) eat the village/eat the country.' (The verb 'to eat' in this context means 'to rule'.) It is constructed from the frequently used analogous pair ບ້ານເມືອງ (ba:n meu'ang) literally, 'village / country'. ບ້ານເມືອງ (Ba:n Meu'ang) has become a standard Lao expression for 'country'. When a Lao speaks or hears such a phrase, he thinks of the meaning of the expression as a whole and seldom considers its individual components. When the phrase ກິນບ້ານ ກິນເມືອງ (kin ba:n kin meu'ang) was created by doubling the analogous pair, the meaning of the individual words was superseded by the meaning of the analogous pair as a whole. Therefore, although the phrase has been translated literally as '(to) eat the village, eat the country', in context, one must view the individual meanings of the words ບ້ານ (ba:n) and ເມືອງ (meu'ang) as less important than the fact that they serve as part of a process of halving and then doubling the expression 'country'.

Additional examples of this type of 'Halving and Doubling' in the passage include:

- 1) The first doubled pair within the third section, ມັກຕີ ມັກຕຽນ (mak ti mak tia:n), has been translated as '(to) like to beat/like to blame.' It has been created by doubling a frequently used analogous pair ຕີຕຽນ (ti tia:n), literally, 'to beat/to blame'. ຕີຕຽນ (ti tia:n) is an expression in the Lao language meaning specifically 'to blame or criticize.' When viewed in context, therefore, the pair is simply a doubling of the phrase: 'to like to criticize'.
- 2) The second doubled pair in the third section, ມັກຂ້າ ມັກຟັນ (mak kha: mak fan), is translated as '(to) like to kill/like to slash.' It is created from doubling the analogous pair ຂ້າຟັນ (kha: fan), literally 'kill/slash,' which is an expression meaning 'to kill'.

2)

- 1) ອັນນີ້ງ 1a) a) ໄຟໃນເຮືອນ b) ຢ່າເອົາໄຟນອກເຮືອນ
1b) a) ໄຟນອກເຮືອນ b) ຢ່າເອົາມາໃນເຮືອນ

- 2) 2a) ຄືວ່າ 2a1) ຜູ້ໃດມາວ່າຮ້າຍ
2a2) ຜູ້ໃດ a) ມາສີ່ ກໍດີ
b) ມາສິນ

- 2b) ໃຫ້ຄ່ອຍ a) ພິຈາຣະນາ 2b1) ຄວນ a) ບອກ ຕໍ່ຜົວກໍ a) ຈິ່ງບອກ
b) ດູກ່ອນ b) ເລົ່າ b) ຈິ່ງເລົ່າ

- 2b2) ບໍ່ a) ຄວນບອກ ກໍ 1) a) ຢ່າບອກ
b) ຄວນເລົ່າ b) ຢ່າເລົ່າ

2) ຄວນໃຫ້ແລ້ວ
ແກ່ຕົນແລ

- 1) an neung 1a) a) fai nai heu'a:n b) ya: ao pai nau:k heu'a:n
1b) a) fai nau:k heu'a:n b) ya: ao ma: nai heu'a:n

- 2) 2a) kheu: wa 2a1) phu:dai ma: wa: ha:y
2a2) phu:dai a) ma: sau: kau: di:
b) ma: son

- 2b) hai khau:y a) phija:rana:
b) du: kau:n
2b1) khua:n a) bau:k tau: phua: kau: a) jing bau:k
b) lao b) jing lao

- 2b2) bau: a) khua:n bau:k kau: 1) a) ya: bau:k
b) khua:n lao b) ya: lao

2) khua:n hai lae:w
kae: ton lae

1) One point

1a) a) a fire in (one's) house b) do not take it outside (one's) house

1b) a) a fire outside (one's) house b) do not bring it inside (one's) house

2) 2a) That is, 1) whoever comes and speaks badly

2) whoever a) comes and speaks ill of
b) comes and becomes embroiled in

2b) a) consider carefully
b) reflect first

2b1) (if you) should a) speak your husband a) then speak
b) tell b) then tell

2b2) (if it is) not a) fitting to speak then 1) a) do not speak
b) fitting to tell b) do not tell

2) (you) should keep
it to yourself

{နုပုဉ်း (Khun Bau:rom) bundle 1, p.16a; book: p.30}

In the above passage, observe the following:

1) The first part of this passage is made up of two parallel Phanya: of eight syllables in length (1a and 1b). Notice that the left halves of each Phanya: are reversely parallel to the right halves (inside one's house > outside one's house). Similarly, the left halves of each Phanya: are also reversely parallel with one another (fire inside the house > fire outside the house) as are the right halves (fire outside the house > fire inside the house).

2) The second half of the passage is parallel to the first in that it is merely an explanation of the meaning of the original Phanya:. It is divided into two major sections, 2a and 2b. Both join together to form one complete statement. Each section is made up of one major parallel of two. In section 2a, it consists of the statements 'Whoever comes to speak bad words' and 'Whoever comes to speak ill of'. In section 2b, it is comprised of 'If you should tell your husband, tell him' and 'If you should not tell your husband,

do not tell him'. There are smaller replications in the larger parallel pairs in Sections 2a and 2b. The internal parallels in Section 2b are particularly elaborate. Both halves of the doubled pair consist of two smaller parallel pairs ('speak > tell' and 'then speak > then tell' in the first half, and 'fitting to speak > fitting to tell' and 'do not speak > do not tell' in the second). Finally, the second pair in the second half of Section 2b ('do not speak > do not tell') is itself paralleled in the final phrase, 'you should keep it to yourself'.

3) In the following example, words placed in parentheses are included in the printed but not manuscript version.

- 1) ສູ່ເຈົ້າທັງຫຼາຍ ໄປ a) ກິນບ້ານ ຈົງຕາງຄວາມກຸ່ມ
b) ກິນເມືອງ
- 2) ບຸນໃຜມີຫາກຈັກໄດ້ a) ທີ່ກວ້າງ ຫີນເລ
b) (ທີ່) ຂວາງ
- 3) ຢ່າ a) ຂີ້ຊ້າງຕົກນາ
b) ພາແຜນຕົກທົງກັນ
- 4) a) ເມືອງອ້າຍໄວ້ແກ່ອ້າຍ
b) ເມືອງນ້ອງໄວ້ແກ່ນ້ອງ
- 5) a) ລູກສົບລູກ
b) ຫຼານສົບຫຼານ
c) ເຫຼນສົບເຫຼນກັນ a) ໝັນ ເນີ
b) ໄຊ
- 6) a) ຖາມຂ່າວ
b) (ກລ່າວ) ເຊິ່ງກັນ
- 7) ຜູ້ໃດໄດ້ 1) a) ເຄື່ອງ/ຫຼາກ 2) a) ໃນບ້ານ ໃຫ້ 3) a) ມາສົງ ແກ່ກັນ
b) ຂອງ/ຕ່າງ b) ໃນເມືອງ ຈົງ b) ມາຖວາຍ
- 8) ຜູ້ໃດຝັງຄຳກູ່ມດັ່ງນີ້ ທັງ 1) a) ລູກ ອັນໄດ້ 2) a) ຮ້ອຍຊົ່ວ 3) a) ໃຫ້ໝັນ
b) ຫຼານ b) ພັນຊົ່ວ b) ໃຫ້ບືນ
c) ເຫຼນ c) ແສນຊົ່ວ
- ເຖິງ
- 9) ຜູ້ໃດບໍ່ຝັງຄຳກູ່ມ ຊົ່ວ a) ຢ່າຮີ
b) ຢື່ປາກວ້າງ
- 10) ຜູ້ໃດຝັງຄຳກູ່ມ a) ໃຫ້ໝັນ ເຖິງ
b) ໃຫ້ບືນ

- 1) su: jao thanglay pai a) kin **ba:n** jong ta:m khwa:m ku: phau:
b) kin **meu'a:ng**
- 2) bun phai mi: ha:k jak dai a) thi: **kwa:ng** han lae:
b) (thi:) **khwa:ng**
- 3) ya: a) khi: sa:ng tok **na:** neu':
b) pha: phaen tok **thong**
- 4) a) meu'a:ng **ai:** wai kae: **ai:**
b) meu'a:ng **nau:ng** wai kae: **nau:ng**
- 5) a) **lu:k** seu:p **lu:k**
b) **la:n** seu:p **la:n**
c) **le:n** seu:p **le:n** kan a) man neu':
b) sai
- 6) a) tha:m kha:w
b) (kla:w) seu'ngkan
- 7) phu:dai dai 1) a) **kheu'a:ng** /la:k 2) a) nai **ba:n** hai 3) a) ma: song
kae:kan
b) **khau:ng** /tang b) nai **meu'a:ng** jong b) ma thway
- 8) phu:dai fang kham ku: phau: dang ni: thang 1) a) **lu:k**
b) **la:n**
c) **le:n**
- an dai 2) a) hau:y sua:
b) pan sua:
c) sae:n sua:
- 3) a) hai **man** theu':n
b) hai **nyeu:n**
- 9) phu:dai bau: fang kham ku: phau: a) sua: ya: ri:
b) pi: pa: kwa:ng
- 10) phu:dai fang kham ku: phau: a) hai **man** theu':n
b) hai **nyeu:n**

- 1) All of you Go a) eat the **village** following the words of your father
b) eat the **country**
- 2) Whoever has 'bun' will get a) a **vast** area (to rule)
b) (a) **great** area (to rule)
- 3) Do not a) drive your elephants to fall off the **field**
b) lead your troops to fall off the **plain**
- 4) a) The country of your **older brother** leave for your **older brother**
b) The country of your **younger brother** leave for your **younger brother**
- 5) 1) a) **children** (should be) succeeded by (their) children
b) **grandchildren** (should be) succeeded by (their) grandchildren
c) **great-grandchildren** (should be) succeeded by (their) **great-grandchildren**
2) a) long-lasting
b) victorious
- 6) a) Ask news (of)
b) (Speak to) one another
- 7) Whoever receives 1 a) **extraordinary objects** 2) a) in the **village**
b) **unusual articles** b) in the **country**
3) a) come send (them) to one another
b) come present (them)
- 8) Whoever listens to (their) father's words in this manner
 - 1) a) **children** 2) a) in one hundred ages
b) **grandchildren** b) in one thousand ages
c) **great-grandchildren** c) in one hundred thousand ages
 - 3) a) may (you) be **long-lasting**
b) may (you) **have a long life**
- 9) Whoever does not listen to (their) father's words
for the duration of 1) ປາຣີ (ya: ri)
2) ປີປາກວ້າງ (pi: pa: kwang)⁵⁰
- 10) Whoever listens to (their) father's words
a) may (you) be **long-lasting**
b) may (you) **have a long life**

⁵⁰ The meaning of these two phrases is uncertain.

(ຂຸນບໍຣົມ (Khun Bau:rom) first bundle, p.15b-16a; book: p.29)⁵¹

In this passage, observe the following:

1) The first two lines are related in meaning, the second line clarifying the first. Notice that their relationship is structural as well. The doubled pairs are placed in the sixth and seventh syllable of each pair.

2) Lines three and four are identical in length. Both lines consist of ten syllables, divided into two equal halves of five syllables each. Each half in a line is a parallel Phanya: The Phanya: in line three, ຂີ້ຊ້າງຕົກນາ (khi: sa:ng tok na:) and ພາດພນຕົກທົງ (pha: pha:n tok thong) are actually four syllables each, and the opening syllables ຢາ (ya:) 'do not' and final ກັນ (kan) 'an indicator of plural' apply to both.

3) The fifth line is divided into three parallel pairs of three syllables each.

4) Lines seven through ten begin with the identical word, ຜູ້ໃດ (phu:dai) 'whoever'. The last three lines all begin with a parallel phrase, 'Whoever listens (or does not listen) to the words of their father...'. Notice that lines seven and eight are both divided into three pairs of parallel words or phrases. Lines nine and ten are divided into two pairs.

5) Lines six and nine consist of rhyming phrases, as follows:

6) ຖາມຂ່າວ ກລ່າວເຊິ່ງກັນ (tha:m kha:w kla:w seu'ng kan)

9) ຊົ່ວຢ່າຣີ ຢືປາກວ້າງ (sua: ya: ri: pi: pa: kwa:ng)

⁵¹ Words that commonly form analogous pairs are placed in bold print. There are also many analogous word pairs that have not been placed in bold print simply because they do not frequently occur outside of this particular passage. In most cases, the meaning of the pairs are no different than the meaning of either of the individual words. Note that the analogous words ນາ (na:) and ທົງ (thong) in part three, which have been translated as 'plain' and 'field', commonly join together as ທົງນາ (thong na:), which means 'field'.

4) *Parallels Of Three*

Phrases are often composed of three parallel words. The frequency of such phrases, however, is much less than that of parallels of two. While it is not uncommon for such phrases to be examples of alliteration or assonance, many include no repetition of sound between individual words. Usually the same words that join together in parallel phrases of three also join together within parallel pairs and doubled pairs.

Pairs Without Repetition Of Sound

- 1) ມັກໄຄ່ຢາກ (mak khai yak) 'want/want/want' (Tha:w Hua: bundle 2, p.21a)
- 2) ຊອມເບິ່ງລຳ (sau:m beu'ng lam) 'watch/watch/look' (Khun Theung)
- 3) ຫນີປະວາງ (ni: pa wang) 'leave/leave behind/abandon' (Khun Theung)

Pairs With Repetition Of Sound

- 1) ຜວດລ້ອມອ້ອມ (wae:t lau:m au:m) 'surround/surround/surround' (Tha:w Hua: bundle 2, p.19a)
- 2) ນົກຍ່າງນ້ຳ (nyok nyang nya:y) 'to move/walk/move' (Khun Theung)
- 3) ຫັດທົງຢ່ອງ (that thong yaung)
'to wear in one's ear/to wear (royal)/to adorn' (Khun Theung)

5) 'Itchy Fingers' For Replication

As we have observed in the initial section of this chapter, parallelism is often easier to detect in Nitsay than Kau:n A:n because of the relative simplicity of the language and the heavy-handed style of the parallels. As we have seen, a phenomenon that is frequent both in spoken and written expression is the doubling of doubles. Once an original pair exists, there is the tendency to replicate it. In Nitsay more than Kau:n A:n, one feels that one observes this process in action. One good place to study this process of replication is in the 'chunks' or set phrases that stories written in Nitsay often carry from line to line. When a lengthy phrase is repeated

continuously, what tends to happen is that small bits inside the phrase are replicated after two or three retellings, in this way reducing the monotony of the phrase without significantly altering its meaning.

1) In the story *ທ້າວຫົວ* (Tha:w Hua:), the hero is born with a head but without a body. He is frequently described by the following phrase:

ມີ	ແຕ່	ຫົວ	ຫາ	ຕົນ	<u>ຕົວ</u>	ບໍ່	ໄດ້
(mi:	tae:	<u>h</u> ua:	ha:	ton	<u>tua:</u>	bau:	dai)
has	only	head	find	body	>body	not	able

Meaning: (He) has only a head, without a body to be found

There is a single parallel pair in the phrase, *ຕົນ* *ຕົວ* (ton>tua:), which is marked in bold print. Both words in the pair mean 'body'. Notice also that the last syllable of the first half of the phrase rhymes with the third syllable of the second.

The second time that the phrase is repeated, it expands as follows:

ມີ	ແຕ່	ຫົວ	ຫາ	ຕົນ	<u>ຕົວ</u>	ຕົນ	ມື
mi:	tae:	<u>h</u> ua:	ha:	ton	<u>tua:</u>	ti:n	meu:
(has	only	head	find	body>	body/	feet	> hands

ບໍ່	ໄດ້
bau:	dai)
not	able

Meaning: (He) has only a head, without a body, hands or feet to be found

The parallel pair in the phrase has doubled. The new matching pair is made up the two words *ຕົນ* (ti:n) 'feet' and *ມື* (meu:) 'hand'. Both words are parallel to one another in context, for neither are included for their individual attributes, but rather merely as an extension of the preceding pair, 'body > body'. With the doubling of the pair, the meaning of the larger phrase has not been significantly altered.

2) In a passage from the story *ທ້າວປາດເກບປາສໝໍ* (Tha:w Pa:dae:k Pa: Samau:), the composer initially states that people are searching for volunteers who are not afraid to die. The statement includes a doubled pair with identical initial words, as follows:

ບໍ່	ຢ້ານ	ບໍ່	ກົວ	ຄໍ່າ	ຕາຍ
bau:	ya:n	bau:	kua:	kham	tay
(not	afraid)	(not	afraid)		(death)

Meaning: Not afraid of death

A few lines later the same statement is made again, but this time the phrase has been expanded through the replication of the one part that has not previously been replicated:

ບໍ່	ຢ້ານ	ບໍ່	ກົວ	ຄໍ່າ	ຝັນ	ຄໍ່າ	ຕາຍ
bau:	ya:n	bau:	kua:	kham	pen	kham	tay
(not	afraid)	(not	afraid)	(life)		(death)	

Meaning: Not afraid of life or death

The two syllable phrase, *ຄໍ່າຝັນ* (kham pen) 'life', has been doubled so that it now forms one half of a newly-created doubled pair with identical initial words. The effect of this creation is that the larger phrase has doubled from one doubled pair with identical initial words into two matching doubled pairs with identical initial words:

Original Phrase:

A1 (a1 + b1) A2 (a2 + b2) / B1 (c1 + d1)

New Phrase:

A1 (a1 + b1) A2 (a2 + b2) / B1 (c1 + d1) B2 (c2 + d2)

Summary of Section C of Chapter Four:

We have examined in this section the evolution of parallelism in Nitsay from the basic word pair to more elaborate structures. Maha: Sila: Wirawong and most contemporary scholars have devoted little attention to the style of Nitsay because it is considered to be a form of prose rather than poetry. However, it is clear that the prevalence and complexity of parallel forms and use of alliteration, assonance, and rhyme distinguishes it from ordinary prose in the Lao language. Parallelism serves to provide rhythm to Nitsay as can be seen by a) the frequency of pairs and doubled pairs, b) the particular frequency of doubled parallel pairs with identical initial words, and c) the convention of stringing pairs and doubled pairs symmetrically in one or more lines of narrative. None of this can be found in the Lao prose that one would read, for example, in a modern novel, a newspaper, or a letter. Similarly, the complexity of the parallel forms, such as a) the frequent use of parallel pairs of greater than four syllables in length, and b) the doubling of doubled pairs, are not likely to be found in simpler types of 'prose'.

Section D Of Chapter Four: Small Forms Of Parallelism in Kau:n A:n

The elevation in style from Nitsay to Kau:n A:n is reflected in the greater variety and complexity of parallels that occur in the poetic form. This section will trace parallelism in a quatrain of Kau:n A:n from the smallest unit, the basic word pair, to the largest unit, parallel verses. A quatrain, as described on pages 95-97 and 110 (Section A) of chapter two, is composed of two verses, each verse consisting of two lines in length.

It is noteworthy that the symmetry of parallel pairs in Kau:n A:n is the result not merely of the structure of the pairs themselves but also the position in which they are placed in the verse. As mentioned earlier, the word 'symmetrical' may appear to be an inappropriate term to describe poetry that was intended to be heard rather than seen. Have we not observed, after all, that the visual structure of Kau:n A:n is, in fact, only a recent invention? It has only been in the past fifty years, for example, that a poetic line has been divided visually into two hemistichs of respectively three and four syllables. One must bear in mind, however, that such a division was not created arbitrarily but rather reflects the traditional rhythm of reading where there is, in fact, a pause between hemistichs.¹ Similarly, the division of poetry into verses and quatrains, whether or not traditionally labelled as such, is a characteristic easily observable in traditional Lao works of literature. A careful study of Kau:n A:n shows that in these divisions of line, verse, and quatrain there is a pervasive symmetry in the placement of parallels. Consider, for example, the following: Within a poetic line, a doubled pair theoretically could appear in any of the following positions:

- 1) ooo oooo
- 2) ooo ooo
- 3) ooo oooo
- 4) ooo oooo

In actuality, however, doubled pairs occur only balanced between hemistichs (number two), or between the left and right halves of the right hemistich (number four). In the other possible positions (numbers one and three),

¹ Note that such a rhythm is also used in Lao oral poetry such as verse in children's games, as described on page 116 of chapter two.

which are noticeably less symmetrical, doubled pairs do not occur. Larger forms of parallel pairs, as this section will show, display a similar tendency towards symmetry in their arrangement within a Lao poetic line or stanza.

The different types of parallel pairs that have been classified in this section are not arbitrary divisions randomly chosen. Each type of pair exists regularly in Lao literature, regardless the specific work.² At the same time, there do not appear to be other types of commonly-used parallel pairs, although many types of pairs are theoretically possible in the divisions of a line, verse, or quatrain. The frequency and regularity of the parallel pairs that have been listed in this section show that stated or unstated, they are a convention in the composition of Lao verse.

The following is a list of the various types of parallel pairs in a quatrain of Kau:n A:n, including their occurrence in the thirty-page samples that have been described on pages 166 and 167. To appreciate the relative frequency of the different pairs one must take into account their varying length. The following list includes a) the number of pairs found in the sample, b) the possible number of such pairs within a given poetic line, and c) the calculated number of each type of pair if all were of equal length, with the possibility of occurring once in a poetic line.

- 1) **Parallel Pairs = a) 169 b) 3 c) 58**
Centrally-Placed Pairs Of Three Syllables = a) 25 b) 1 c) 25
- 2) **Doubled Pairs = a) 62 b) 2 c) 31**
Centrally-Placed Doubled Pairs = a) 21 b) 1 c) 1
- 3) **Three/Two Parallels = a) 22 b) 1 c) 22**
- 4) **Five/Two Parallels = a) 11 b) 1 c) 11**
- 5) **Parallel hemistichs = a) 30 b) 1 c) 30**
- 6) **Parallel Lines Within A Couplet = a) 35 b) 1/2 c) 70**
- 7) **Parallel Couplets Within A Quatrain = a) 23 b) 1/4 c) 92**

Descriptions of the various types of parallels will be given in this section.

²I have noticed such pairs in over twenty-five individual stories. Such pairs appear to be conventions in the organization of poetic stanzas that occur in all of the individual stories within the same tradition.

1) Parallel Pairs

Parallel pairs and doubled pairs in Kau:n A:n largely differ from their counterparts in Nitsay in their symmetrical placement in the narrative. They will therefore be classified in terms of their position. Lao poets frequently balance parallel phrases (of larger than two syllables in length) between hemistichs. As rhyme often links individual pairs in a doubled pair, connecting parallels similarly link together hemistichs in a poetic line.

According to the thirty-page samples, monosyllabic word pairs of two syllables do not frequently occur in a central position in a poetic line. However, there are a considerable number of centrally-placed word pairs that consist of three syllables. In this type of pair, the last syllable of the first hemistich is parallel with the first two syllables of the second. The two syllables in the second hemistich may either be two monosyllabic words or a single word of two syllables.

OCO OOCC

1) ເມື່ອນັ້ນ	ນາງກໍ	ຍໍເອົາຜ້າ	ກາສາໃຫ້ຖ່າຍ
(meu'a: nan	na:ng kau:	nyau: ao <u>pha:</u>	<u>ka:sa:</u> hai tha:y)
'then she		lifted up <u>cloth</u>	<u>fabric</u> (for him) to change'
{ໂກ່ແກ້ວ (Kai Kae:w)}			

2) ຂ້ອຍກໍ	ຄິດຮອດນ້ອງ	ນາງຫລ້າຢູ່ພອຍ
(khou:y kau:	kheut hau:t <u>nau:ng</u>	<u>na:ng la:</u> yu: phau:y)
'I	miss <u>younger sister</u>	<u>youngest woman</u> , all
alone'		

'Younger sister' in this context is used to mean the speaker's beloved. The phrase 'youngest woman' is a term of endearment for his lover, the youngest princess.

{From ທ້າວແບ້ (Tha:w Bae:) Meu'a:ng Kho:ng Version, bundle 1, 11b}

2) Doubled Pairs

Doubled pairs occur in two positions in a poetic line, as follows:

2 A) Doubled Pairs In The Right Hemistich

OOO OO>OC

1) ຫລາຍວັນໄດ້ **ບໍ່ເຊົາ/ມີຍັງ** (la:y wan dai bau: sao / mi yang)

'many days (they went on) without stop / without break'

{From ທ້າວແບ້ (Tha:w Bae:) Nau:ng Lam Jan Version, bundle 1, p.5a}

2) ເຖິງແຫ່ງທ້ອງ **ສະເພົາໃຫຍ່/ເຜຕາ**
(theu'ng hae:ng hau:ng saphao nyai/phe:ta:)

'arriving (at the) location / area (of the) great sampan / Chinese junk'

{From ທ້າວແບ້ (Tha:w Bae:) Meu'ang Kho:ng Version, bundle 1, p.10b}

2 B) Centrally-Placed Doubled Pairs

Doubled pairs are more elaborate than single pairs (of two or three syllables) and possess more inherent possibilities for the creation of symmetrical layers within layers. Therefore, when balanced between hemistichs they give a greater sense of proportion to the poetic line as a whole.

COC > OOOC

(Rhyming words between pairs are underlined.)

Doubled Pairs In Which There Are No Parallel Words In Individual Pairs

- 1) ຍັງຊິ ເອົາບາມໜ້ອຍ ຊາຍໜ້ອຍທຽມ/ແທບ ບໍ່ເດ
 (yang si ao ba: nau:y sa:y phau:y thiam>thae:p bau: de:)
 ' Will (you) still take the young man (the) solitary man (to) be next to
 (you)> by your side?'
 {ໄທແກວ (Kai Kae:w)}

Doubled Pairs In Which There Are Parallel Words In One Pair

- 2) ແຕ່ນັ້ນ ຍ່ານີ້ຊ້າ ເຮວ/ຮີບໄປແປງ
 (tae: nan nya: bau: sa: he:w/hip pai pa:ng)
 ' Then the old woman, without (being) slow, hurriedly/quickly
 went to prepare'
 {From ທາວແບ້ (Tha:w Bae:), Meu'a:ng Kho:ng Version, bundle 1, p.9a}

Doubled Pairs In Which Each Pair Consists Of Two Parallel Words

- 3) ແຕ່ນັ້ນ ຍ່າກລາວ/ຕາມ ຂານ/ຕອບນາຍສະເພົາ
 (tae: nan nya: kla:w/tan khan/taup nay saphao)
 ' Then the old woman spoke/spoke answered/answered the ship
 captain'
 {From ທາວແບ້ (Tha:w Bae:) Nau:ng Lam Jan Version, p.7b-8a}

Notice that in the first and third examples, the individual phrases in the doubled pairs are connected by rhyme.

It is worthy of note that a large percentage of centrally-placed pairs and doubled pairs consist of pronouns. Pronouns comprise 52% (13 out of 25) of the three syllable pairs and just under 35% (7 out of 21) of the doubled pairs collected in the thirty page samples of Kau:n A:n.

The Effect Of Position On The Internal Structure Of Doubled Pairs

An examination of the thirty-page samples of *Kau:n A:n* reveals that there is a considerable difference in the internal structure of doubled pairs that occur in the two different positions within a poetic line. Doubled pairs placed between hemistichs of a line are more likely to include internal parallels in individual pairs than those placed entirely in the right hemistich. 64% of doubled pairs that are positioned between hemistichs are comprised of at least one internal parallel pair. 27% of the doubled pairs in the right hemistich have parallel pairs inside.

The structure of the poetic lines in which the two different types of doubled pairs occur also differs. Doubled pairs placed between hemistichs are more likely to occur within poetic lines that include larger forms of parallels (Three/Two Pairs or Parallel hemistichs) than are pairs placed within the right hemistich. 44% of doubled pairs that are positioned between hemistichs are components of larger parallels within a poetic line. (Two of the examples occur within a Three/Two Pair, and nine occur within Parallel hemistichs.) In comparison, only 16% of the doubled pairs positioned within the right hemistich occur inside of larger parallels within a poetic line. This can partially be explained by the fact that centrally placed doubled pairs are frequently used in the creation of larger parallels.

A larger sampling would provide more conclusive results. However, the differences described do not appear to be coincidental. A basic characteristic of *Kau:n A:n* is the building of style through the placement of complex patterns in symmetrical positions in a stanza. In this manner the artistry of the doubled pairs is highlighted whereas if they were placed in peripheral positions their potential effectiveness could be diminished. Reflecting its balanced position in a line, the centrally-placed doubled pair shows a higher stage of complexity than does its counterpart in the right hemistich which is a less prominent position symmetrically in the poetic line. As we study larger and larger levels of parallelism, the more we will become aware of the importance of a pair's position in determining its internal structure.

3) Three/Two Pairs

The next level of parallelism in a poetic line is where the first hemistich is parallel to two syllables in the second. The remaining two syllables clarify the idea that has been paralleled. There are two types, as follows:

3 A) Poetic Lines Where The First Hemistich Is Parallel With The First Half Of The Second

This type is the most frequent. It occurs as follows:

A1 A2
OC OC/OC

3A1) Three/Two Pairs Without Parallel Pairs Inside Of Individual Hemistichs

ກັບ/ທັງ	ທຳມະໂຮງແກ້ວ	ແຫວນດີຫລາຍລູກ
(kap/thang	thammarong kae:w	waen di: la:y lu:k)
With	Precious royal rings	good rings, many (rings)
{ໂກ້ແກ້ວ (Kai Kae:w)}		

3A2) Three/Two Pairs With Parallel Pairs In Both Individual Hemistichs

ເຂົ້າກໍ່	ແຊວ/ແຊວຮຸ່ງ	ມີ/ນັ້ນທັງຄາຍ
(khao kau:	saew/saew siang	mi:/nan thang khay)
They	made great commotion	noisy/deafening all over
{ທ້າວແບ້ (Tha:w Bae:) Meu'ang Kho:ng Version, bundle 1, p.9a)		

3 B) Poetic Lines Where The First Hemistich Is Parallel With The Second Half Of The Second

A1 A2
OOO OO/ OC

- 1) **ບໍ່ເດືອດ/ຮ້ອນ** **ລົງລຸມເຢັນໆ**
 (bau: deu'at/ hau:n long lum yen jai)
 (He was) not boiling/hot (i.e. upset) (he) went down cool-hearted (i.e. not upset)
 {ໄກ່ແກ້ວ (Kai Kae:w)}

- 2) ຍ່າກໍ **ມະເນມະນາຟ້າວ** **ຫາຫລານເຮວ/ຮີບ**
 (nya: kau: mane: mana: fa:w ha: lan he:w/hi:p)
 The old woman in a great hurry searched for her grandson
 fast/quickly.
 {ທ້າວແນ້ (Tha:w Bae:) Nau:ng Lam Jan Version, bundle 1, p.7a}

4) Five/Two Pairs

Although the percentage of this type of pair in the sampling is small, it is in fact a type of parallel that occurs consistently in many works of Lao literature. It is structured as follows:

A1 A2
OOO OO>OC

The information in the line occurs in the first five syllables. The sixth and seventh syllables are a shortened parallel of the preceding lines, repeating the verb. In the majority of examples, the initial verb occurs in the first hemistich and the first two syllables of the second hemistich consist of a noun. It therefore appears similar to the second category of the previous type of parallel, Three/Two Pairs, where the first hemistich is parallel to the

second half of the second. The difference is that the information in the second half of the second hemistich parallels information in the first five syllables, not specifically within the first hemistich. Examples are as follows:

- | | | |
|----------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| 1) ຕັ້ງຫາກ | ໄດ້ເກີດກໍ່ | ເມືອງຟ້າສູ່ຮະວັນ |
| , (tang ha:k | dai keu't kam | meu'a:ng fa: su: sawan) |
| '(You will be) | born (in) | the land of the sky > enter |
| heaven' | | |

{ທ້າວກໍ່ທາດໍາ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.16a; book: p.61}

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| 2) ກໍ່ບໍ່ | ມີໃຜຫາ | ສູ່ກິນມາລ້ຽງ |
| (kau: bau: | mi: phai ha: | su: kin ma: lia:ng) |
| 'There was not | any one to find (food) | to bring (her) to eat > to |
| come and feed (her)' | | |

{From ໂກ່ແກ້ວ (Kai Kae:w)}

5) Parallel Lines: Lines Composed Of Two Parallel Hemistichs

The largest parallel in a poetic line is the parallel between individual hemistichs. It is the most frequent type of parallel in an individual line that is larger than the doubled pair. Pairs and doubled pairs, both centrally placed and otherwise, commonly occur in this type of parallel. The only smaller unit of parallel not to occur in parallel hemistichs is, for self-inherent reasons, the Three/Two Pair.

Parallel hemistichs With No Internal Parallels

- | | | |
|------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1) ຈິ່ງໃຫ້ | ມີລາບໄດ້ | ໃຈເຈົ້າບ່ອນປະສົງ |
| (jong hai | mi: lap dai | jai jao bau:n pasong) |
| 'May you | have good fortune | (May) your heart (be in) the place it |
| desires' | | |

{ໂກ່ແກ້ວ (Kai Kae:w)}

Parallel hemistichs With A Single Parallel Word Pair:

- 2) ອັນວ່າ ດຶງຫລວງ/ກວ້າງ ທິມມະພານຍາວໂຍດ
(an wa: dong lua:ng>kwa:ng himmapha:n nya:w nyo:t)
 'the jungle great>wide the forest of long 'nyo:t'

One ໂຍດ (nyo:t) is a distance of approximately sixteen kilometers. 'Long 'nyo:t' is therefore a distance 'great' and 'wide.'

{ທ້າວອິນປິງ (Tha:w Inpong) bundle 2, p.6a}

Parallel hemistichs Where Each Hemistich Consists Of Two Parallel Pairs

This is the most symmetrical type of poetic line. As with most forms of parallelism, its symmetry reflects that of the smaller parallels that form its components. Its origins can be found in the doubled pair. The symmetry of a doubled pair can be increased by:

- 1) It's position; Doubled pairs can be balanced evenly between hemistichs.

COC OOO

- 2) Its internal structure; Doubled pairs can consist of one or two parallel pairs. In the most symmetrical type, every word in the doubled pair is parallel.

A1> A2 > B1> B2
O / O > O / O

- 3) Both of the above; We have seen in example three on page 205 a centrally-placed doubled pair in which each of the individual pairs consists of two parallel words.

$$\begin{array}{ccc} A1 > A2 & > & B1 > B2 \\ O & \underline{O} / \underline{O} & \underline{O} / \underline{O} \quad O \quad O \end{array}$$

A higher level of parallelism can be created by composing similarly symmetrical 'doubled pairs' of seven syllables, the length of a poetic line. This type of doubled pair consists of two parallel pairs (i.e. hemistichs), each pair consisting of two parallel words or phrases. The first hemistich is comprised of a monosyllabic word paired with a parallel disyllabic word or phrase whereas the second hemistich consists of a doubled pair.

$$\begin{array}{ccc} A1 / A2 & > & B1 / B2 \\ O / OO & > & OO / OO \end{array}$$

The result is that:

- a) The position of the parallel is symmetrical, consisting of two hemistichs that face one another in a poetic line.
- b) Both of the parallel hemistichs consist of two parallel phrases.
- c) All of the individual phrases are parallel to one another.

ອັນນີ້ໆ ຜິດ/ບໍ່ຊອບແທ້ ຫລົງຄວາມ/ບໍ່ຄອໆ ກໍ່ດີ
 (an neung phit/ bau: sau:p thae: long khwa:m/bau: khau:ng kau:
 di:)
 (If I am) wrong/not correct astray/ not fitting
 (ທ້າວກ້າທາດ້າ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.7a; book: p.49)

6) *Parallel Couplets: Couplets Composed Of Two Parallel Lines*

A verse in Kaur consists of two poetic lines. As a single poetic line can be comprised of two parallel hemistichs, a verse frequently consists of two parallel lines. Its larger size makes it more complicated and full of variation than previous parallel pairs. At the same time, its roots can be

traced to the most basic of parallels, the parallel pair:

6 A) Types Of Parallels In Parallel Couplets

Parallel couplets not only bring a sense of symmetry to Lao poetry, they give it a sense of depth. The depth is created by repeating the same basic idea with words that both are matching (but not identical) in sound and parallel (but not identical) in meaning. Similar to doubled pairs, there are many different kinds of parallels between the individual phrases. Some of the major types are as follows:

6 A1) Parallels In Meaning Between Lines In A Couplet

6 A1 A) Couplets That Consist Of Two Lines Of Identical Meaning

In the following pair a young woman speaks to her father. The word 'father' is used as a respectful substitute for 'you'.

ແມ່ນວ່າ ພໍ່ທາກໃຫ້ເອົາຫມານັ້ນ ມີຂີ້ນຫນີຫລີກ ໄດ້ແລ້ວ
(ma:n wa: phau: ha:k hai ao ma: nan mi: khi:n ni: li:k dai lae:w)
Even if father has (me) marry a dog I could not object

ແມ່ນວ່າ ພໍ່ໃຫ້ຂ້ອຍ ເອົາຫມາຊ້ອນ ຕາມເຈົ້າບໍ່ຂີ້ນ ພໍ່ເຮືຍ
(ma:n wa: phau: hai khau:y ao ma: sau:n tam jao bau: khi:n phau: heu'y)
Even if father has me marry a dog I will follow you and not object, father
(ທ້າວກໍ່ກາດ້າ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, p.1a-b; book: p.66)

6 A1 B) Couplets Where The Same Concept Is Expressed In Two Different Ways

ອັນໃຫ້ ສົມມຶງແທ້ ຊາວດົງລິງຄ້າງ
(an hai som meung tae: sa:w dong li:ng khang)
What would be truly fitting for you (would be) a denizen of the jungle,
a monkey, a langur.

ໆໄຫ້ມືໆໄປ ກິນຫມາກໄມ້ ສົມແທ້ຮູບມືໆ ນັ້ນແລ້ວ

(hai meung pai kin ma:k mai som tae: hu:p meung nan lae:w)

Go eat fruit; (that would be) truly fitting for (one of) your figure.

{ທ້າວກໍ່ທາດໍາ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 2, p.17a; book: p.35}

6 A1 C) Couplets With Comparative Parallels

ອັນວ່າ ຂົນເຫລືອງເຫລື້ອມ ສເມີຍອໆຖີ້ວນຸ່ນ

(an wa: khon leu'a:ng leu'a:m sameu': nyau:ng ngi:w nun)

(His) fur was yellow and shiny as if kapok fluff

ເນື້ອອ່ອນກຽງ ສເມີຝ້າຍຕິດຜົງ

(neu'a: au:n kia:ng sameu': fa:y tit phong)

(His) skin was soft and smooth as if dusty cotton

{ທ້າວແນ້ (Tha:w Bae:) Nau:ng Lam Jan Version, bundle 1, p.3a}

6 A1 D) Couplets With Lines Of Opposing Meaning

ຄັນວ່າ ຕາມເອົາໄດ້ ແວນເຮັວມາງ່າຍ ແມ່ເຮີຍ

(khan wa: ta:m ao dai waen he:w ma: nga:y mae: heu'y)

If I fetch it quickly, I will come back soon, mother

ຄັນວ່າ ຕາມບໍ່ໄດ້ ເມົາຊ້າຂວນປີ ແມ່ເຮີຍ

(khan wa: ta:m bau: dai nao sa: khuap pi: mae: heu'y)

If I cannot fetch it I will stay for a long time, for a year, mother

{ໄກ່ແກ້ວ (Kai Kaew)}

6 A2) Parallels In Sound Between Lines In A Couplet

There are many ways that a composer can use repetition in sound as well as meaning to link together two lines as a couplet. A few of the commonly used techniques are as follows:

(Parallels in sound between lines are underlined.)

6 A2 A) Expressive Pairs

The following example describes the hero, who is small and black.

<u>ບາກໍ</u>	<u>ຫົດອ້ອມປ້ອມ</u>	<u>ນັ່ງກລາງເຂົາ</u>
(ba: kau:	hot au:m pau:m	nang kla:ng khao)
He	curled up into a ball,	sitting in the midst of them
<u>ບາກໍ</u>	<u>ດຳຄຶມມຶມ</u>	<u>ຢູ່ກລາງເຂົາແທ້</u>
(ba: kau:	dam khim mim	yu: kla:ng khao thae:)
He was	black as pitch,	in the midst of them

(ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle , p.13a; book: p.57)

The two expressive pairs, ຫົດອ້ອມປ້ອມ (hot au:m pau:m) and ດຳຄຶມມຶມ (dam khim mim), are surrounded on either side by phrases that are similar or identical in both lines. At first glance, the two pairs, or at least their English translations, 'to curl up into a ball' and 'black as pitch', may not appear to be particularly parallel. They are, however, parallel in the following aspects:

- 1) Expressive pairs are a form of invented pair created specifically for sound. ອ້ອມປ້ອມ (Au:m pau:m) is composed of the word ອ້ອມ (au:m), 'to encircle,' coupled with a meaningless but rhyming syllable. ຄຶມມຶມ (Khim mim) is similarly made up of two rhyming syllables, both of them meaningless.

Furthermore, all of the syllables within and between pairs end with a similar consonant. If placed together side-by-side as ອ້ອມປ້ອມ ຄື່ມມື່ມ (au:m pau:m khim mim) they would form a sound match reminiscent of a type of doubled invented pair common in spoken Lao (as described in Section 2.3.4 on pages 153-155 of chapter three) where an expressive word pair is given a counterpart of equal length composed of two meaningless syllables.

2) Expressive pairs tend to have very specific and colorful meanings. ອ້ອມປ້ອມ (Au:m pau:m), according to Pri:cha: Phinthau:ng's Isa:n-Thai dictionary, 'describes something wrapped and tied into a ball shape'. ຄື່ມມື່ມ (Khim mim) means 'black as the soot on the bottom of a steam cooker for sticky rice'.

Due to their distinctions both in sound and meaning, expressive pairs are easily distinguished from other words and pairs in the couplet.

6 A2 B) Onomatopoeic Pairs³

Onomatopoeia is commonly used in the composition of Lao verse. Similar to examples in the previous category, pairs of this nature are not subtle in their repetition. It is precisely the fact that they call attention to themselves that makes them ideal tools in creating a parallel effect between lines.

ຄື່ນຄື່ນກ້ອງ	ສຽງສະນັ້ນພາຍບົນ
(kheu:n kheu:n kau:ng	sia:ng sanan phay bon)
'Kheun Kheun' the resounding noise	the great noise reverberating
up above	
ເຄັ່ງເຄັ່ງສຽງ	ທົ່ວບົນພາຍຟ້າ
(khe:ng khe:ng sia:ng	thua: bon pha:y fa:)
'Kheng Kheng' the great noise	up above in the sky

³ Many but not all of onomatopoeic pairs fall into the category of expressive pairs.

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, p.6b; book: p.73}

6 A2 C) *The Use Of Identical Initial Words And Phrases*

Poetic lines frequently make use of identical initial phrases. This gives a sense of unity to the lines when they are recited or chanted.⁴ Often the two lines in a Lao couplet are identical not only in their initial phrases but also in the following two or three syllables in their left hemistich.

ເຂົ້າກໍ	ປົບແລ່ນຟ້າວ	ທົງກວ້າງມືດມົວ
(khao kau:	pop laen fa:w	thong kwa:ng meu:t mua:)
They	ran in great hurry,	entering the field which was
darkened (by the great size of the crowd)		

ເຂົ້າກໍ	ປົບແລ່ນເຂົ້າ	ຍິງຊາຍສົມບ່າວ	ກໍມີ
(khao kau:	pop laen khao	nying sa:y som ba:w	kau: mi:)
They	ran in great hurry,	entering,	women and men, together
with young men. ⁵			

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, p.12b-13a; book: p.80}

In the above example, the initial four syllables of the first and second lines are identical whereas the fifth syllables of each line, ຟ້າວ (fa:w) and ເຂົ້າ (khao), form a rhyming pair.

⁴ A similar convention can be observed within traditional poetry of the Thai court. For examples, see *Maha:kap Tha:w Ba: Jeur'a:ng* by Prakhaung Nimma:nhemin pp.256-257

⁵ The second hemistich, ຍິງຊາຍສົມບ່າວ (nying sa:y som ba:w), 'women, men, together with young men', is awkward-sounding. If one were to put the word ສາວ (sao), or 'young woman' in the place of ຊາຍ (sa:y), or 'men', the resulting phrase would be: ຍິງສາວສົມບ່າວ (nying saw som ba:w), which has the more fitting meaning: 'young women together with young men'. ຊາຍ (Sa:y) and ສາວ (sao) both share the initial sound, 'S' (ຊ and ສ), followed by the identical vowel: 'A' (×1). The tone of either word could appropriately fit the position of the word in the line. I suspect, therefore, that the word ຊາຍ (sa:y), meaning 'men', is an error, and should be ສາວ (sao), which means 'young women'.

6 B) Composing Couplets: Parallel Pairs And Doubled Pairs As Building Blocks

To appreciate couplets in context one must look not merely at the type of parallels that bind the two lines together but also their form. Couplets are generally composed by taking words from an analogous pair or doubled pair, and placing half in one poetic line, and half in the next. Their level of complexity can be divided by the amount of pairs, or doubled pairs, that are shared between lines.

(In the following examples, the parallel pairs between lines are in bold print. The words that are identical are underlined.)

6 B1) Couplet Constructed With A Doubled Pair With Identical Initial Words Between Lines

- a) ລາງພອງ / ລົ້ມ ກົ້ນຂີ້ຖຸ່ງ / ທາງ ກໍ່ມີ
 (la:ng pau:ng / lom kon khi: thang / thang kau: mi:)
 Some groups / fell over, their asses striking against /the path

- b) ເລີຍເລົ່າ / ລົ້ມ ຫລ່າງຫງ່າງ / ກາງບ້ານແຕ່ໂຕ
 (leu'y lao / lom la:ng nga:ng / kang ban tae: to:)
 and then / fell over backwards, / in the middle of the village,
 naked

(ທ້າວກໍ່ກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, p.11a-b; book: p.78-79)

The two phrases, ລົ້ມກົ້ນຂີ້ຖຸ່ງ (lom kon khi: thang) and ລົ້ມຫລ່າງຫງ່າງ (lom la:ng nga:ng) have parallel meanings, respectively, to fall on one's ass, and to fall over backwards. They share the verb, ລົ້ມ (lom), to fall over. In the latter pair, the verb is clarified by an expressive pair, ຫລ່າງຫງ່າງ (la:ng nga:ng), and is the more humorous of the two, largely because of its sound. Therefore,

the second line not only gives emphasis to the idea in its repetition, but, without changing the action, adds humor to it.

6 B2) Couplets Constructed With Three Parallel Pairs Between Lines

/ A1	/	/ B1	/ C1
a) ນາງກໍ່ /ອະທິຖາມໄຫວ້ / /ອິນ>ມົນ /ທຸກທິບ			
(na:ng kau: /athitha:n wai / /in>phom /thuk thi:p)			
She /made a wish, wai-ing / /Indra>Brahma / (in) every			
continent			
/ A2	/	/ B2	/ C2
{a1 > a2 }			
b) /ນົບ > ນອບນົ້ວ / /ພຣະອິນທາວ /ທົ່ວແດນ			
(/ nop > naup ni:w / /phra in tha:w /thua: dae:n)			
(She) /wai-ed>placed hands ⁶ in a wai (to)/ /the God Indra /all over the			
land/			

{ທາວແບ້ (Tha:w Bae:) Nau:ng Lam Jan Version, bundle 1, p.2a}

These lines have been translated very literally to show the style of parallelism.

1) First Parallel Pair Between Lines: ອະທິຖາມໄຫວ້ (athitha:n wai) and ມົນ>ນອບນົ້ວ (nop>naup ni:w); These phrases form the first hemistichs of the first and second lines. The first phrase is made up of the word ອະທິຖາມ (athitha:n) 'to wish' or 'vow', and ໄຫວ້ (wai), 'to wai', i.e. to put the palm of one's hands together raise them as a sign of respect. In the second line, the first hemistich has evolved into a parallel pair made up of three alliterated words. The first word, ມົນ (nop), 'to pay respect', or to 'wai', is paralleled by

⁶literally, 'fingers'

ນອນນີ້ວ (nau:p ni:w), 'to place one's fingers together in a 'wai'.

2) Second Parallel Pair Between Lines: ອິນ>ພົມ (in>phom) and ພຣະອິນທ້າວ (phra in tha:w); These phrases form the first half of the second hemistichs. The first phrase literally means: 'Indra/ Brahma', and the second, 'The Lord Indra'. In context, the phrases mean: 'Celestial Beings'. The two words in the first phrase are both parallel.

3) Third Parallel Pair Between Lines: ທຸກທົນ (thuk thi:p) and ທົ່ວແດນ (thua: da:n); These phrases occupy the second half of the second hemistich of each line. Their meaning is respectively 'every continent' and 'all over the land'. They are similar to a doubled pair with identical initial words that is common to the spoken language: ທົ່ວທົນທົ່ວແດນ (thua: thi:p > thua: da:n) 'all over the continent > all over the land'. By changing ທົ່ວ (thua:) 'all over' to the alliterated word ທຸກ (thuk) 'every' in the first pair, the phrase has become more literary through the elimination of strict repetition.

6 B3) Couplets Where Each Line Is Composed Of Parallel hemistichs

The most symmetrical type of couplet is composed of two parallel lines that each consist of two parallel hemistichs, as follows:

A1	>	A2
ooo		oooo
	>	
A1	>	A2
ooo		oooo

This type of couplet can be seen as a logical progression from smaller forms of parallels. We have noted that the most symmetrical type of parallel

hemistich is traceable, in essence, to the doubled pair. Similar to the most symmetrical type of doubled pair, all four components are parallel:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} A1 > A2 & B1 > B2 \\ O O O & O O O O \end{array}$$

In similar manner, in this type of couplet all four hemistichs are of parallel meaning.

In the following example, the hero inspects a cleared area of the forest where he intends to have a palace built:

/ A1 / / B1 / > / C1 / D1 /
a) / ບາກູ້ / / ແນະກໃຈໄວ້ / > / ຫລົງກະບວນ / ທຸກທີ່ /
/ ba: kau: / / nae kau: jai wai / > / ling kabua:n / thuk thi: /
/ He / / surveyed / > / looked (over its) appearance /
/ every place /

/ A2 / / B2 / > / C2 / D2 /
{ a1 > a2 } { b1 > b2 }
b) / ທ້າວກູ້ / / ຫລຽວ ພຸ້ນ > ພີ້ / > / ຫລຽວ / ໃກ້ > ຊົ່ວໄກ /
/ tha:w kau: / / lia:w phun > phi: / > / lia:w / kai > sua: kai /
/ He / / looked there > here / > / looked / near > far /

(ທ້າວກູ້ ທາດ້າ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.9b; book: p.52)

This couplet can be examined for the following:

A) *Parallel Pairs Between Lines*

Although the contents of both lines are parallel virtually word for word, there is only one syllable, the particle ກູ້ (kau:), that is shared between the

two. This is indicative of the artistry of the couplet, in which the composer creates his parallels without being overly repetitive. The paired words or phrases between lines are as follows:

1) First Parallel Pair Between Lines: The initial words of both lines, ^၁ (ba:) and ^၂ (tha:w), are parallel pronouns that refer to the hero of the story. In each line they are joined together with the identical particle ^၃ (kau:) to form initial phrases that are parallel between the two lines.

2) Second Parallel Pair Between Lines: The first hemistich of each line, 'to survey', and to 'look there/here', are parallel in meaning. The first phrase makes use of a literary term and the second, a more commonly spoken one.

3) Third Parallel Pair Between Lines: The first half of the second hemistich within the first line is ^၄ (ling kabua:n), 'to look at the appearance of something'. In the second line, ^၅ (lia:w), a parallel and alliterated word for 'look' is used in its place.

4) The second half of the second hemistich in the first line is ^၆ (thuk thi:), which means 'every place'. It is parallel with the final three syllables of the second line, ^၇ (kai sua: kai), which mean 'near and far'.

B) The Relationship Between Hemistichs Within And Between Poetic Lines

All four hemistichs in this couplet are parallel in meaning. In the first line, the first hemistich, 'to survey', has the same meaning as the second, '(to) look over the appearance in every direction'. In the second line, to 'look here and there' has the same meaning as to 'look near and far'. The hemistichs in the second line are parallel to one another in structure as well as in meaning. They can be viewed as a particularly symmetrical form of a

doubled pair with identical initial words. Both hemistichs begin with the identical word, လာလှူ (lia:w) 'to look'. In ordinary doubled word pairs of this type, an identical initial word is followed by a word that is parallel in both pairs:

$$X + A1 > X + A2$$

In this example, however, the identical initial word in each pair is followed not by a parallel word, but rather an analogous pair of two monosyllabic words.

$$X + A1\{a1 + a2\} > X + A2\{b1 + b2\}$$

The analogous pairs are, respectively, ဖုန် (phun) and ဖိ (phi:), 'there' and 'here', and ကဲ (kai) and ကါ (kai), 'near' and 'far'. Notice that not only are the analogous pairs in each hemistich parallel to one another, but all four of the words in the pairs are either synonymous or opposing in meaning. Adding to the overall symmetry of the second line is the fact that both of the analogous pairs are parallel not only in their meaning but also their structure. Each consists of two alliterated words of opposing meaning.

C) *Use Of Rhyme*

The two lines in this couplet are linked together by Ha:y rhyme. The last syllable of the second hemistich of the first line rhymes with the third or final syllable of the first hemistich of the second.

$$\begin{array}{cc} \text{OOO} & \text{OOO}\underline{\text{O}} \\ \text{OO}\underline{\text{O}} & \text{OOOC} \end{array}$$

The rhyming words are ဖိ (thi:) and ဖိ (phi:). The rhyme is especially emphasized because the initial rhyming word is part of the alliterated pair ဖုန်ဖိ (thuk thi:), and the second rhyming word is part of the alliterated pair

ພູນຟີ (phun phi:). The first words of each pair themselves form an assonant match. We have noted in the previous two chapters that Hay rhyme is common in doubled pairs of larger than two syllables in length and particularly frequent within Phanya: The comparison between this couplet and Phanya: in fact, goes beyond the rhyme scheme. Similar to this couplet, the majority of Phanya: consist of two lines that are equal in length and parallel in meaning.

The purpose of couplets can be seen in the evolution that takes place between the first and second lines of this example. Each of the hemistichs in the first line, when paralleled within the second, is not only repeated in meaning but also gives birth to an analogous pair. At the same time, the parallel between hemistichs in a poetic line has grown from a simple parallel of meaning to a highly symmetrical type of doubled pair with identical initial words. The use of alliteration is also greater in the second line, with two alliterated pairs. The final pair, ໄກ່ສູ່ໄກ (kai sua: kai) 'near > far', conforms to the rules of the highly-regarded Thepha:wa style of rhyme where the fifth and seventh syllables are identical except for their tone.⁷ By making use of all of these methods, the artistry of the expression is expanded in its retelling.

Another significant aspect of parallelism can also be seen from this example. We have observed in the thirty page samples of Kaur: A:n that the internal structure of doubled pairs is influenced by a) its position in a poetic line and b) whether or not it occurs inside of a larger parallel. In the above example, similarly, the structure of the individual hemistichs is greatly influenced by the fact that they occur inside the most symmetrical type of parallel couplet. In couplets where all four hemistichs are parallel one commonly finds that:

- a) The amount of parallel word pairs in individual hemistichs is greater than in most ordinary couplets.
- b) The amount of rhyme is greater than in ordinary couplets.

⁷ See pp. 110-111 (Section B1) and p.116 of the second chapter

One should bare in mind that neither of these characteristics can be explained as necessary tools in the creation of parallel hemistichs. All of the hemistichs in the above example would remain parallel if there was no use of rhyme or analogous pairs in individual hemistichs. The use of these devices, parallels in sound (rhyme) and parallels in meaning (analogous pairs), merely enhances a parallel that already exists.

7) Parallel Quatrains: Quatrains Composed Of Two Parallel Couplets

As couplets frequently consist of two parallel lines, it is also common to find quatrains that are composed of two parallel couplets.⁸ Although the number of parallel quatrains in the sample is slightly smaller than parallel couplets (twenty four as opposed to thirty) the percentage is larger due to the fact that the space occupied by the former is twice as great as that of the latter. The definition of a quatrain in this context is two consecutive couplets regardless whether they are the alternating Bot E:k and Bot Tho: verses as described in Section A on page 110 of chapter two or simply two identical verses.⁹

Parallel quatrains are the largest form of parallel that will be dealt with in this section. Even at this level, however, parallels are best appreciated in the context of their role in an AAB pattern, which will be described in the following chapter. Therefore, the description here will specifically concentrate on the manner in which parallel quatrains evolve from smaller parallel forms.

9A) *Parallel Quatrain With No Parallel Lines Within Individual Couplets*

In the following quatrain the major activity described in each couplet is identical. Both conclude in the second line with the heroine going to sleep.

⁸ There also exist parallels that comprise of three poetic lines including a) one line followed by two lines which are parallel to and expand on the first, and b) less commonly, two lines, followed by a third line that is parallel to the preceding two. These types of parallels have not been included within this survey due to their low frequency. They appear to be more commonly found in some works than others.

⁹ Whether a quatrain is composed of two identical or alternate verses does not appear to make a difference in the nature of the parallels between individual couplets. However, quatrains that are composed of two alternating types of verses are less common than quatrains composed of two identical verses.

A1) First Couplet:

1) ບັດນີ້ ຈັກກລ່າວເຖິງ ສີດານ້ອຍ ນາງງາມລູກນາກ ກ່ອນເລື້ວ
(bat ni: jak kla:w theu'ng si:da: nau:y nang nga:m luk na:k kau:n
lae:w)

'Now I will tell of Sida, the beautiful young daughter of the Naga'

2) ນາງກໍ ເຂົ້າສູ່ຫ້ອງ ຕຽງເຮື້າລານອນ
(na:ng kau: khao su: hau:ng tia:ng kae:w lao nau:n)

'She went to her bed and slept'

A2) Second Couplet:

1) ແຂນພາດເທົ້າ ໝອນອາດລາຍທອງ
(khae:n pha:t thao mau:n a:t la:y thau:ng)

'Her arm rested against the beautiful pillow with golden design'

ກອງແພງພຽງ ຍິບນອນຄ່າວນ້ອຍ
(kau:ng phaeng phiang nyip nau:n kha:w nau:y)
'The beloved woman lay down and dozed for a little while'

{ໄກ່ເຮື້າ (Kai Kae:w)}

9B) *Parallel Quatrain With One Couplet Consisting Of Two Parallel Lines*

In the quatrain that follows the hero is described as eating once in the first couplet and twice in the second.

A1) First Couplet:

1) ທ້າວກໍ ກິນໝາກໄມ້ ຕ່າງເຂົ້າທຽວໄປ
(tha:w kau: kin mak mai tang khao thia:w pai)

'He ate fruit in place of rice and travelled onwards'

'In the spacious park in the land of the Naga'

Crow's call.

A1) First Couplet (Consisting Of Two Parallel Lines):

a1) ຄືນໆກ້ອງ ສຽງສະນັ້ນພາບບົນ ພຸ້ນເຍີ
(kheu:n kheu:n kau:ng si:ng sanan pha:y bon phun nyeu')
'Kheu:n Kheu:n' resounding noise up above--- over in the distance

a2) ເຄງໆສຽງ ທົ່ວບົນພາບຟ້າ
(khe:ng khe:ng sia:ng thua: bon pha:y fa:)
'Khe:ng Khe:ng' noise everywhere up above in the sky

Second Couplet (Consisting Of Two Parallel Lines):

a1) ຄືນໆກ້ອງ ພົນມາກພຣະຍາເຖນ ພຸ້ນເຍີ
(kheu:n kheu:n kau:ng phon mak phranya: thae:n phun nyeu')
'Kheu:n Kheu:n' resounding noise of the great troops of King Thae:n-- over in the distance

a2) ເຄງໆສຽງ ມືນັນຄູງຟ້າ
(Khe:ng khe:ng sia:ng mi: nan khung fa:)
'Khe:ng Khe:ng' noise clamorous up to the sky

{ຫ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, p.6b; book: p.73}

The structure of the quatrain can be described simply as follows:

A1)

a1) 'Kheu:n Kheu:n' resounding noise great noise up in the sky
over in the distance

a2) 'Khe:ng Khe:ng' noise up above in the sky

A2)

a1) 'Kheu:n Kheu:n' resounding noise of the troops of King
over in the distance Thae:n

a2) 'Khe:ng Khe:ng' noise great noise up to the sky

The Overall Relationship Between The Two Couplets

Couplets A1 and A2 are parallel in meaning. Both describe the great noise of the Thae:n troops.

The Relationship Between Lines Within A Couplet

Each couplet consists of two lines that are parallel both in their meaning and structure. The left hemistichs of both lines in an individual couplet describe a great noise. Structurally they each begin with a pair of onomatopoeic syllables that are alliterated between lines.

The right hemistichs of both lines in the first couplet are also parallel in meaning. Each states that great noise is coming from above.

The Relationship Between Lines Between Couplets

Each line is not only parallel to its counterpart in its own couplet but also to its counterpart in the opposing couplet. The parallels are as follows:

A)

1. The left hemistich of the first line of the first couplet is identical to the left hemistich of the first line of the second.

ຄືນໆກ້ອງ (kheu:n kheu:n kau:ng) 'Kheu:n Kheu:n' the resounding noise'

2.The left hemistich of the second line of the first couplet is similarly identical to the left hemistich of the second line of the second.

ເຄງໆສົງ (khe:ng khe:ng si:ng) "Khe:ng Khe:ng' the noise'

B)

1. The initial lines of both couplets end with the identical final phrase ພູ່ນເບີ (phun nyeu'): 'over in the distance'.

2. The second lines both lack a final particle. The right hemistichs of each line describes the sound as occurring in (or reaching up to) the sky.

The parallels can be shown as follows:

A1) a1) X1 — 'in the distance'

a2) X2 —

A2) a1) X1 — 'in the distance'

a2) X2 —

10) Higher Levels Of Parallel Pairs

Parallel pairs do not end at the level of a quatrain. If one were to investigate, one would find considerable examples of larger parallels of two, for example, passages of six lines divided into parallel three line sections, passages of eight lines divided into parallel four line sections, etc. Pairs of this length should appropriately be considered in the context of the AAB pattern of which they form an integral component.

Summary of Section D of Chapter Four: The Symmetrical Placement Of Parallels In Kau:n A:n

We have observed that one of the major characteristics that distinguishes Kau:n A:n from Nitsay is the symmetrical structure in which it is organized. The structure is largely built around doubling, whether hemistichs in a line, lines within a verse, or verses within a quatrain.

	<u>Verse 1</u>	
	1	2
1)	OOO	OOOC
2)	OOO	OOOC

	<u>Verse 2</u>	
	1	2
1)	OOO	OOOC
2)	OOO	OOOO

This type of structure makes possible many types of pairs that do not exist in Nitsay or in ordinary prose. What distinguishes these parallels is that they are symmetrical in their position as well as parallel in their meaning, for example: centrally-placed pairs and doubled pairs between hemistichs, parallel hemistichs in lines, parallel lines in verses, parallel verses in quatrains, etc. One could speculate that the structure of Kau:n A:n (and oral poetry in general) was originally created to enhance parallels, both of sound and meaning, that already existed within the spoken language. However, regardless of origin, the structure of Kau:n A:n gives poets a multitude of opportunities to create symmetrical parallels, and in so doing encourages the use of parallelism as a poetic tool. The great amount of parallel couplets in Kau:n A:n, for example, has no equivalent in Nitsay because the varying number of syllables between the often lengthy lines discourages holding up one line as a reflection of another.

We have also begun to notice in this chapter a further point concerning the relationship between structure and parallels. Not only does the structure of Kau:n A:n encourage the use of parallelism but the parallel's specific

position within that structure can influence the internal make-up of the parallel itself. We have thus far observed this in a few individual cases. On page 206, for example, we noted that in the thirty-page samples, centrally-placed doubled pairs are over twice as likely to contain internal parallels as doubled pairs that are peripherally located within the right hemistich. On pages 223-224 we similarly observed that there is a greater amount of rhyme and analogous pairs in parallel couplets in which all four hemistichs are parallel than in couplets where the parallel is only between the first and second lines. These two examples are illustrations of the fact that parallels that are either a) symmetrically placed within a line, verse, or stanza, or b) placed inside of larger symmetrical parallels are likely to have a more intricate 'artistic' structure than are similar parallels that are placed in positions that are less significant in the make-up of the poem. These observations will take on more importance as we look at larger units of Lao poetry. As we study larger and larger levels of parallelism the more we will become aware of the importance of position in influencing the structure of poetic units, including pairs, hemistichs, lines, verses, quatrains, etc.

Chapter Five: The AAB Pattern: An Introduction

"Many years ago, I was a monk travelling alone in the forests of northern Vientiane province. I heard rumors of an ancient temple on the summit of a large mountain. I wished to climb the mountain and make my meditation at the temple upon its peak. The first time that I attempted to climb, the weather was miserable. There was a lot of rain and mud, and I could not make it to the top. Two or three days later, I climbed the mountain for a second time. Again, the weather was poor and I was forced to quit before I reached the top. Two or three years later, I climbed up again. I climbed and climbed until I was tired, and then I fell asleep upon a small plateau. The second day I climbed until nightfall. Tired, I slept upon a small plateau. It was on the third day that I arrived at the top, a beautiful place where the air was full of the fragrance of angels. Thirty years must have passed since I made my journey up the sacred mountain."

Story told by the abbot of a temple in Vientiane

The number three is considered auspicious in Lao culture. When asked the reason behind its auspiciousness, most Lao point to the Buddhist religion. In Buddhism, the greatest significance of the number three is that it represents the sacred trinity, the Triple Gems: the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Priesthood.¹ Buddhist prayers are generally repeated three times, three prostrations are made in front of a Buddha image, and one circles three times around a Buddhist temple on religious holidays in respect to the sacred trinity. The number three also plays an important role within the Hindu religion, another important influence on Lao culture.² Whether or not these are the reasons behind the number's significance, however, is debatable, for the number three is also a common characteristic of folk traditions throughout the world, and is particularly predominant within folk tales.³

However its origins, there is no question of the importance of the number three in Lao culture. The number is ever-present in Lao literature. It is immediately noticeable, for example, that events, lead characters, journeys, supernatural powers, etc. all tend to occur in multiples of three.

¹ There are many other divisions of three in Buddhism, for example, the three realms of being: heaven, earth, and hell, the three sections in the Buddhist scriptures, known as the Triple Baskets, etc.

² For example, there is a trinity of major Gods, Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. The sacred scriptures are divided into three sections, etc.

³ Several scholars, such as Alan Dundes, Emory B. Lease, etc. have written of the number's significance within western culture. 'When a folklorist comes upon a three,' writes Axel Olrik in *Epic Laws Of Folk Narrative*, 'he thinks, as does the Swiss who catches sight of his Alps again, "Now I am home."' (p.133)

Journeys frequently last for three days, three months, or three years.⁴

As the word pair is the basic unit of parallelism on a small scale, on a large scale the elemental unit of parallelism is a pattern of three which will be referred to as the AAB pattern. Stated in simplest terms, the AAB pattern consists of two parallel statements (A1 and A2), followed by a third statement (B) that is a conclusion or result of the previous statements. It is a pattern which is used to narrate a progression of ideas, time, or events, for example, the passage of time from night until dawn, or a sequence of actions that transform a character from a despised beggar to the world's most powerful monarch. The English expression 'Ready, Set, Go', is a good example of this pattern:

A1) Ready

A2) Set

B) Go

The first two words are parallel in meaning, which result in the action, 'to go'. Typically, a pattern concludes with an idea or action that furthers the plot, as in this example the third word starts the race.

It is important to emphasize that while events do often occur in threes in Lao literature, (and specifically in AAB patterns), there is no specific number of events in a pattern. An event or idea can occur once, twice, or three times, but what makes a sequence an AAB pattern is the technique of narration which divides it into two parallel parts followed by a third conclusion.

⁴ Another frequently occurring number is seven, which is also auspicious in Lao culture, the Buddhist religion, and folk traditions throughout the world.

General Characteristics of The AAB Pattern: A Summary

The following is a summary of the major characteristics of an AAB pattern. It also serves as an index for the conventions of Lao parallelism as described in chapters six through nine.⁵ A brief description of each characteristic is provided together with the page numbers in which the specific characteristic will be explained at length.

A) General Characteristics of the AAB Pattern {242-264}

A1: AAB Patterns in different types of Lao Literature {p.242}

AAB patterns are a fundamental characteristic of both Nitsay and Kauri A:n literature. This thesis deals exclusively with AAB patterns in the latter.

A2: The AAB Pattern as a Convention in Lao Poetic Narrative {p.242}

The structure of Kauri A:n poetry is flexible, owing to the nature of the medium in which it was traditionally recorded and performed. Therefore, the type of parallelism described in this thesis should not to be considered a code of rules, but rather a set of conventions that were commonly followed in the composition of Lao literature.

A3: The Origins of the AAB Pattern {pp.242-246}

There is evidence that the AAB pattern has its origins in oral narrative. The pattern is observable both in Lao oral poetry and Lao folk-tales. Its structure grows more complex as it moves from oral to written compositions. Many of the intricacies of the literary pattern as described in this thesis are the result of its continual recopying. Lao transcribers, in their copying of a text, continually add further layers of replication onto already-existing patterns.

⁵ Note that the initial categories described in chapters six through nine are consecutively A1, C1, C2, and D1, following the labels stated in this summary. No conclusions are given to the individual chapters as each is summarized in this section.

A4: The Length of AAB patterns {pp.246-248}

There is no fixed length of an AAB pattern. The smallest patterns can occur in the length of a single poetic line. The largest patterns can comprise the entire plot of a Lao story, often hundreds of pages in length.

A5: Types of AAB patterns {pp.248-260}

The AAB pattern is a device that Lao composers have traditionally used to organize plot in Lao narrative. Patterns can be divided into different categories according to the way in which they progress a sequence towards its conclusion. The major categories are as follows:

A5.1: The progression of a character's wish to its fulfillment (or ultimate failure) through a sequence of actions {pp.249-254}

A5.2: The progression of actions or events to the completion of their role within the narrative {pp.255-256}

A5.3: The progression of an idea (stated either by the narrator or a character within the story) to its conclusion or fullest expression {p.256-258}

A5.4: The progression of time {pp.258-260}

A6: Mimic Patterns {pp.260-265}

There are two types of what can be referred to as mimic patterns. These patterns lack an essential attribute that is necessary to AAB patterns, as follows:

A6.1: In the first type of mimic pattern, there is no progression from a beginning to an end. This type of pattern includes lists of parallel activities of three groups of people, parallel characteristics of three types of objects, etc. {pp.260-263}

A6.2: In the second type of mimic pattern, the first two sections are not parallel to one another. {pp.263-265}

Mimic patterns conform to all of the conventions of AAB patterns other than the attribute in which they are lacking. Furthermore, they tend to be phrased in such a way that they partially fulfill the requirements of the missing attribute, thus camouflaging the fact that they are not actual patterns.

B) Characteristics of Sections A1 and A2 {pp.265-274}

B1: Sections A1 and A2 form a parallel pair. They are frequently linked together through the use of 'tags', i.e. phrase or lines that are both parallel in meaning and similar or identical in phrasing. 'Tags' are placed at the beginning or end of each section. {pp.265-266}

B2: Sections A1 and A2 are progressive parallels. Section A2 serves, in a variety of ways, to bring the information initially stated in Section A1 closer to its conclusion. {pp.266-273}

B3: The similarities in structure and meaning that make Sections A1 and A2 a parallel pair also serve to distinguish them from the third part of the pattern. {pp.273-274}

C) Parallels within Parallels {pp.275-336}

Two types of replication frequently occur in the individual sections of an AAB pattern: parallel pairs and smaller patterns.

C1: The Placement of Parallel Pairs: Parallel pairs within a pattern tend to occur as follows: {pp.275-306}

C1.1: The Placement of Pairs Within Pairs; Smaller pairs have a tendency to occur inside of larger pairs. The largest parallel pair in a pattern consists of Sections A1 and A2. One frequently observes that Sections A1 and A2 each individually divide into two smaller parallel halves: {pp.275-278}

A1) a1)
a2)

A2) a1)
a2)

C1.2: The placement of Pairs within the Second Halves of Pairs; When a portion of narrative is divided into two halves (parallel or otherwise), there is a greater tendency for smaller pairs to occur in the second half than in the first: {pp.278-299}⁶

C1.2.2.1: If a pair occurs in an individual section of a pattern (whether in Section A1, A2, or B), smaller pairs will occur with greater frequency in the second half of the pair than in the first. Similarly, if Sections A1 and A2 are both divided into pairs, smaller pairs are most likely to occur in the second half of the pairs of which the individual sections are comprised. {pp.284-291}

When smaller pairs occur in both halves of a larger pair (for example, in Sections A1 and A2), the pairs in the second half are usually of greater complexity.⁷

C1.2.2.2: Parallel pairs occur with more frequency in Section A2 than in Section A1: {pp.291-299}

A1)

A2) a1)
a2

C1.3: The Placement of Pairs within the Second Halves of the Second Halves of Pairs; When the second half of a pair divides into two parallel halves, its second half will frequently further divide into two even smaller parallel halves, as follows: {pp.299-306}

⁶ This tendency is observed outside the context of an AAB pattern in Section C1.2.1 on pages 278-283 and in the content of a pattern in Section C1.2.2 on pages 283-299.

⁷ Examples in chapter seven: Outside of patterns: 1) b on pp.280-281, 2) fn.3 on p.281, 3) C1.2.1.2.4 on pp.282-283, and 4) fn.6 on p.283. Within patterns: 1) C1.2.2.1 on pp.284-291, 2) C1.3, example one on pp.299-303, and 3) C1.3 example two on pp.303-306.

A1)

A2) a1)

a2) a1)

a2)

Further layers of replication can occur in a similar fashion.

C2: The Placement of Smaller AAB Patterns: Smaller patterns tend to occur in a larger pattern as follows: {pp.307-322}

C2.1: The Placement of Smaller Patterns within Part B, the Third Section of the Larger Pattern; Part B is the most important section in a pattern. Reflecting on its significance, its structure is often of greater complexity than either of the preceding sections. Replications in Part B tend to mirror the structure of the larger pattern in which they occur: {pp.307-310}

A1)

A2)

B) a1)

a2)

b) Conclusion

C2.2: The Placement of Smaller Patterns leading up to Part B of the Larger Pattern; The first two sections of the smaller pattern frequently occur immediately preceding Part B of the larger pattern. Two common variations are as follows: {pp.310-311}

1)

A1)

A2) a1) (in A2)

a2) (in A2)

B) b) Conclusion

2)

A1)

A2)

a1) (after A2)

a2) (after A2)

B) b) Conclusion

The smaller pattern in (or leading up to) Part B helps to progress the sequence of events in the larger pattern towards its final conclusion. The conclusion of the larger pattern is typically found inside the third and final section of the smaller pattern.

C2.3: The Placement of Patterns within the Third Section of the Smaller Pattern that occurs within (or leading up to) the Third Section of the Larger Pattern; When the third section of a pattern divides into a smaller pattern, its third section will frequently further divide into an even smaller pattern, as follows: {pp.311-322}

A1)

A2)

B) A1)

A2)

B) A1)

A2)

B)

Further layers of patterns can occur in a similar fashion.

C3: Replications of twos and threes form complex relationships in a pattern and complement one another in a variety of way {323-332}

D) Complex Patterns

D1: The Layering of Patterns: To understand how plot is structured in Lao literature, one must realize that AAB patterns, rather than occurring singly, tend to be organized in groups. Small patterns join together to form larger patterns which in turn join together to form even larger patterns, and so on. There are countless layers of patterns within a Lao story. Different types of layers can be categorized by the way in which the smaller patterns join together to form the larger one: {pp.337-338}

D1.1: In the first type of layer, a group of three AAB patterns join together to form the three sections of a larger pattern. {p.337}

A1)

a1)

a2)

b)

A2)

a1)

a2)

b)

B)

a1)

a2)

b)

D1.2: In the second type of layer, Part B of an initial pattern serves as the beginning of a second pattern. Part B of the second pattern in turn serves as the beginning of the third. Each of the three patterns forms a section in the larger pattern. {p.338}

Section A1

A1)

A2)

Section A2

B)

A1)

A2)

Section B

B)

A1)

A2)

B)

D1.3: There are also many additional layers created in a manner too individual to be categorized. Such patterns, similar to the previous two categories, tend to show great symmetry in their organization and reflect the tendencies for internal replication as stated in Section C of this summary. {p.338}

D2: Characteristics of Complex AAB Patterns: Complex Patterns are patterns in which each section consists of a smaller pattern. Their fundamental characteristics are as follows: {p.339}

D2.1: Complex Patterns in general lead, step by step, from a problem to its resolution. They almost exclusively consist of the first type of progression, the progression of a character's wish to its fulfillment (or ultimate failure) through a sequence of actions. {p.339}

D2.2: Important scenes in a story tend to be preceded by Complex Patterns of great intricacy. The climax of the scene occurs in the third and concluding part of the pattern. AAB patterns of this type serve to highlight the significance of important scenes throughout a story. {p.339}

D2.3: Complex Patterns are often hierarchical. The prominence of a) the characters and b) the actions undertaken can frequently be determined by the order in which they occur in the passage. {p.339}

Chapter Six: AAB Patterns: General Characteristics

A: General Characteristics of the AAB Pattern

A1: AAB Patterns in different types of Lao Literature

AAB patterns are a fundamental feature of both Nitsay and Kau:n A:n, prose and poetic literature.¹ Their characteristics in the two are generally similar with a difference in detail caused by the varying possibilities afforded by the different styles. This thesis deals exclusively with patterns within Kau:n A:n. Due to the structure of Lao poetry, the pattern attains levels of complexity and subtlety that is greater than in other forms of Lao narrative.

A2: The AAB Pattern as a Convention in Lao Poetic Narrative

The AAB pattern is a basic yet overlooked convention in the composition of Kau:n A:n. Traditionally, literary knowledge within Lao society was not learned through formal classroom training in versification, but rather through years of informal exposure to literary performances that were an integral part of every-day life. Therefore, the various characteristics of the AAB pattern described in this thesis should not be considered as a strict code of rules but rather as tendencies that exert a strong influence on Lao composition.²

A3: The Origins of the AAB Pattern

There is evidence that the AAB pattern has its origins in oral narrative. The pattern is observable in many examples of Lao oral poetry known as Phanya:. As described in chapter three, the majority of Lao proverbs are composed as doubled parallel pairs, each pair generally ranging from two to seven syllables in length. In the collection of Lao proverbs listed in *Khai Phas:it Bo:ran Isan* by Picha: Phinthau:ng, slightly over ten percent

¹ Further research is needed to determine the role of AAB patterns in other forms of Lao poetry, such as Hay and Ka:p. Kau:n A:n, the topic of this study, is the poetic form in which the great majority of Lao stories are composed.

² Other aspects of versification in Kau:n A:n that have been cited by previous scholars, such as the placement of words of low and falling tones in specific positions in a verse, and the designated length of lines, verse and quatrains, are similarly best understood as fairly flexible guide-lines rather than rigidly adhered to standards of composition.

consist of three lines or phrases.³ Using these examples, it is interesting to see how Lao narrative begins to adapt the form of an AAB pattern. The sixty proverbs can be divided as follows:

1) Examples that are not AAB patterns	14
2) Examples that are mimic patterns	15
3) Examples that are AAB patterns	31

1: Examples that are not AAB patterns:

The majority of the examples in the first category are merely three phrases of parallel meaning. An example is as follows:

- 1) ຕົກໝູ່ຊຸນ ຊ່ອຍຊຸນເກືອມ້າ⁴
 (tok mu: khun sau:y khun: kei: ma:)
 If you wind up with a group of nobles, help the nobles feed their horses
- 2) ຕົກໝູ່ຂ້າ ຊ່ອຍຂ້າຝາຍໂຊນ
 (tok mu: kha: sau:y kha: pha:y so:n)
 If you wind up with a group of slaves, help the slaves carry their sacks
- 3) ຕົກໝູ່ໂຈນ ຊ່ອຍໂຈນຫາມໂຫເຫຼົ້າ
 (tok mu: jo:n sau:y jo:n ham hai lao)
 If you wind up with a group of thieves, help the thieves carry their jugs of whiskey

2: Examples that are Mimic Patterns:

Mimic patterns, as described on pages 260-265, are passages that are identical to AAB patterns with the exception of one major attribute. The large majority of examples in this category cannot be classified as actual AAB patterns because there is no progression of narrative from the initial to final line. They are, however, distinguished from the previous type in that they include other characteristics that one typically finds in patterns, as follows:

2.1: A fundamental characteristic of AAB patterns is that while the initial two sections mirror one another in their phrasing and meaning, at the same

³ The sample is taken from the initial five hundred proverbs in the section *Khai Pha:sit Bo:ran I:sa:n*, pages 2-198. Sixty of the five hundred proverbs are made up of three lines or phrases.

⁴ Syllables that rhyme between lines are underlined.

time they differ from the third and final section.⁵ This trait is shared by most of the Phanya: that fall into the category of mimic pattern. An example traditionally used in courtship is as follows:

A1) ນ້ຳຕ້ອງຕາດ ຄືນ້ອງຊີໝວ່ງຫາ
(nam tau:ng ta:t kheu: nau:ng si kwa:ng la:)
Water touching the layered stone (floor of a waterfall) is similar to the young woman spinning cotton

A2) ນ້ຳຕ້ອງຟາ ຄືນ້ອງຊີໝວ່ງອົວ
(nam tau:ng pha: kheu: nang si kwa:ng iw)
Water touching the precipice is similar to the young woman spinning on the cotton loom

B) ຟ້າຍົກຄືວ ຄືນ້ອງຊີໝວ່ງຂວນ
(fa: nyik kiw kheu: nau:ng si kwa:ng khæ:n)
The sky moving its eye-brows is similar to the young woman swinging her arms

In the above example, the initial two lines are not only parallel in meaning, but each hemistich is parallel to its counterpart hemistich in the opposing line. In contrast, neither of the hemistichs in the third line are parallel to their equivalents in the preceding lines, except within the overall context of the Phanya: as a whole.⁶

⁵ This characteristic of patterns is described in Section B3.1 on page 273-274 of the present chapter.

⁶ In the initial two lines, the first two syllables in the left hemistichs are identical (ນ້ຳຕ້ອງ (nam: tau:ng) 'water touching'), followed by parallel third syllables (respectively ຕາດ (ta:t) 'layered rock' and ຟາ (pha:) 'cliff, rock, mountain or ledge'). At the same time, the left hemistichs of the initial two lines share no identical or parallel syllables with the equivalent hemistich in the third line. The right hemistichs of the first two lines consist of two identical syllables (and inserted syllables), alternating with two syllables that are parallel. The identical syllables are: ຄື ຊີໝວ່ງ (kheu: ... si kwa:ng) 'similar to spinning'. The parallel syllables consist of alliterated words for young woman, respectively ນ້ອງ (nau:ng) and ນາງ (nang), and words for machines involved in the production of textiles, ຫາ (la:) and ອົວ (iw). In contrast, the right hemistich of the third line, although sharing some similarities with its equivalent in the previous two lines, is considerably different. It is parallel in its initial three syllables (and inserted syllable). However, although it shares the identical verb, ຜົມວ່ງ (kwa:ng) 'to spin, swing, or shake', in context, the verb takes on a different meaning, 'to shake' instead of 'to spin'. Finally, the fourth syllable in the right hemistich, ຂວນ (khæ:n) 'arm', is also not parallel to its counterparts in the previous two lines.

2.2: A second characteristic common to AAB patterns (as will be observed in chapter seven) is that the initial two sections are typically composed of smaller parallel pairs. The following Phanya: mimics this trait.

A1) ຜູ້ຈົບຈົງນ້ອງ ຜູ້ງາມຈົງນ້ອງ ປຶ້ມເພດຜູ້ໃດມາ
(phu: jop jang nau:ng > phu: nga:m jang nau:ng yeu:m phet phu: dai ma:)
One as pretty as you > One as beautiful as you has borrowed whose appearance to come?

A2) ຜູ້ຈົບຈົງນ້ອງ ຜູ້ງາມຈົງນ້ອງ ປຶ້ມຂາຜູ້ໃດຍ່າງ ມານໍ
(phu: jop jang nau:ng > phu: nga:m jang nau:ng yeu:m kha: phu: dai nya:ng ma: nau:)
One as pretty as you > One as beautiful as you has borrowed whose legs to walk?

B) ຫຼືເຮົາເປັນ ເທບພະໄທ້ລວງ ລີ້ໃຫ້ພີ່ຕາຍ ພີ່ນໍ
(leu: mae:n the:phathai luang lau: hai phi: ta:y bau: nau:)
Or are you a celestial being deceiving me so that I will die?

This passage is similar to an AAB pattern not only in its inclusion of parallel pairs in the first two lines, but also in the sharp distinction in phrasing and meaning between the first two lines and the third. However, line B is not a conclusion, and therefore the passage does not qualify as an actual AAB pattern.

3: Examples that are AAB Patterns:

Among the examples of Phanya: consisting of three phrases, the largest single group, constituting approximately half of the total, is comprised of actual AAB patterns.

A1) ລົມພັດຕ້ອງ ໃບໄຜ່ໂວກວີໂວ
(lom phat tau:ng bai phai wo:k wi wo:)
The wind blows, touching the leaves of the bamboo 'wok wi wo'

A2) ລົມພັດຕ້ອງ ໃບໄຜ່ໂວກວີເວກ
(lom phat tau:ng bai pho: wo:k wi we:k)
The wind blows, touching the leaves of the banyan 'wok wi wek'

B) ພິກໍ ຄິດຮອດນ້ອງ ໂທນໄຫ້ໂຖກຖີໂຖຍ
 (phi: kau: kheut haut nau:ng tho:n tho: tho:k thi tho:y)
 I am lonesome, missing you 'thok thi thoy'

The initial two lines of this Phanya: form a parallel pair. Their first three syllables are identical. Their final three syllables, which are alliterated between lines, imitate the sound of the blowing wind. The blowing of the wind through the trees causes the poet to think of his beloved, as stated in the pattern's conclusion in the following line.⁷

With the exception of the example in Category 2.2, the Phanya: that have been cited all share structural similarities with the poetic form of Kau:n A:n.⁸ They differ from Kau:n A:n, however, in their inconsistent placement of words of low and falling tones. The individual lines in most of the examples are also connected by Ha:y rhyme.

In comparison with Lao proverbs, Lao oral folk tales make greater use of the AAB pattern.⁹

The structure of the AAB pattern is more complex in written than oral narrative. Many of the intricacies of the pattern as described in this thesis (particularly in chapters seven through nine) are the result of its continual recopying. Lao transcribers, in their copying of a text, continually add further layers of replication onto already existing parallels.¹⁰

A4: The Length of AAB Patterns

There is no fixed length of an AAB pattern. A pattern can be as short as a single line or as long as an entire story:

⁷ The final three syllables of Section B, 'tho:k thi tho:y', which are not alliterated with their counterparts in the preceding lines, are without meaning and added for their sound value.

⁸ The lines in the examples in categories 2.1 and 3 consist of eight syllables due to the inclusion of 'inserted syllables'.

⁹ The AAB pattern can be observed in many of the stories in various collections of oral tales, for example: *Nithan Pheun Meu'a:ng La:w* vol. 1, 2, edited by Kidaeng Phau:nkaseu'msuk (L) and *Ho:m Nithan Pheun Meu'a:ng* by the Sathaban Khon Khwa: Silapawannakhadi: Hae:ng Sa:t (L). It is noteworthy that the abbot's oral account of an incident in his life as quoted on page 232 of chapter five is organized in the form of a complex pattern, as follows:

A1) I climbed the mountain the first time but failed because of the weather
 A2) Two or three days later I climbed the mountain a second time but failed because of the weather.
 B) Two or three years later I climbed the mountain a third time, as follows:
 B. A1) I climbed the first day and slept at night on a plateau.
 B. A2) I climbed the second day and slept at night on a plateau.
 B. B) On the morning of the third day, I arrived at the top of the sacred mountain.

¹⁰ The evolution of parallels in the transcription of Lao manuscripts is the topic of chapter ten of this thesis

A4.1: Patterns of a Single Line in Length

The following pattern is a description of a covered bridge that the hero miraculously builds from his shack to the palace of the king. The bridge is part of the bridal price that he must pay to marry the king's daughter. Symbolically, it shows his evolution from a poor beggar to the king of his country.

ຫ້ອງຕໍ່ຫ້ອງ ພອງເທົ່າຮອດໂຮງ
(hau:ng tau: hau:ng phau:ng thao hau:t ho:ng)
Room after room, reaching to the palace

{ຫ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, p.10a; book: p.77}

This pattern describes movement, as follows:

A1) Room
after

A2) Room

B) Reaching to the palace

Sections A1 and A2 refer to rooms that are built upon the bridge. The rooms stretch from the hero's shack up until the royal palace, their final destination. Notice that the final destination, the palace, is separated from Sections A1 and A2 by three parallel words for 'to reach', ພອງ (phau:ng), ເທົ່າ (thao), and ຮອດ (hau:t).

A4.2: Patterns of Two Lines in Length

The following pattern describes the passage of time:

1 ອັນວ່າ ເດືອນຈຽງເໝີດເລັ້ວ ເດືອນບິເລີຍດັບ
(an wa: deu'a:n jia:ng meu't lae:w deu'a:n nyi: leu'y dap)
The first month is over; then the second month is extinguished

2 ເດືອນສາມເລີຍ ອອກມາເຈໜໄວ້
(deu'a:n sam leu'y auk ma: tha:n wai)
The third month comes out in their place

{ຫ້າວກະປອມຄຳ (Tha:w Kapau:m Kham) p.18b}

Sections A1 and A2 both occur in the initial line:

A1) The first month is over

A2) The second month is extinguished

They are followed by the concluding statement:

B) The third month comes out in their place

As three is an auspicious number, it is the coming of the third month, the direct result of Sections A1 and A2, that sets the stage for the events that immediately follow.¹¹

A4.3: Patterns the Length of an Entire Story

The story ທ້າວເສື້ອເນົາ (Tha:w Seu'a Nao) is composed of the following pattern consisting of three journeys:

A1) The prince leaves his homeland and travels to X, Y, and finally, Z, where he becomes the king.

A2) After the prince's father dies, the ministers leave their homeland and retrace the prince's footsteps, travelling to X, Y, and finally Z, where they find the prince and invite him to return to his homeland to rule.

B) The king of Z, together with his ministers, returns to his homeland where he is crowned as king.

A5: Types of Progression in an AAB Pattern

The AAB pattern is a device that Lao (and other Tai) composers have traditionally used to organize plot in Lao literature. It is a format in which to organize a progression of events, ideas or time. We can distinguish between different types of patterns according to the kind of progression that is involved:

(For the sake of relative simplicity, the categories of progressions will not include the prefix A5.)

¹¹ This pattern occurs inside of a larger pattern which concludes with the coming of the third day of the waning moon in the third month.

1: Progression from a character's wish to its fulfillment (or failure) through a series of actions

This is the most prevalent type of pattern. It begins with the statement of a problem which is generally expressed as the wish of a character in the story. It ends with the problem's resolution (or ultimate lack of resolution). Although the problem is usually that of one specific character, the actions that carry it through to its resolution frequently involve two or three different groups of people. It is useful to further divide this classification into sub-categories as follows:

1.1: A wish that reaches (or does not reach) its fulfillment through the activities of one person or one group of people

This category is used to describe a wide variety of actions. Descriptions of travel, for example, are frequently organized in this fashion. A journey involves a character's wish to travel from point A to point B that is fulfilled when the character reaches his destination. The narrative of a journey typically involves two parallel statements describing the character's movement followed by a third concluding statement that describes the arrival of the character at his or her desired destination.

In the following example, an old woman travels home from the palace.

A1) ໃນກາລເມື່ອນັ້ນ ນາຍກໍ ໂດຍຄຳເຈົ້າ ລາລົງເຮວຮີບ
(nai ka:la meu'a: nan nay kau: do:y kham jao la: long he:w hi:p)
At that time the old woman, following the king's command, left in great hurry

A2) ນາຍກໍ ລົງຈາກ (ຫ້ອງ) ໂຮງກ້ວາງຕ່າວຄືນ
(na:y kau: long ja:k (hau:ng¹²) ho:ng kwang ta:w kheu:n)
The old woman left the great palace and returned

B) ນາຍກໍ ເມື່ອເຖິງຫ້ອງ ເຮືອນຕົນເມືານັ້ນ
(na:y kau: meu'a: theu'ng hau:ng heu'an ton nao nang)
The old woman returned to her house and stayed there

(ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, pp.18b-19a; book: p.64)

¹² only in the printed version

In the above pattern, each line begins with the identical initial phrase: ນາຍກໍ (na:y kau:) 'She'. In the first two lines, the woman is described as travelling from the palace. Both lines make use of the identical verb ລົງ (long) 'to descend, get off', i.e. leave from the palace. In the concluding third line, the old woman reaches her destination.

1.2: A wish that reaches (or does not reach) its fulfillment through the carrying out of one order or request of the principal character

In the following pattern, the king's servants bring the hero, Little Crow, before the king.

A1)

1 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ພາຫຼວງເຈົ້າ ມີຄໍາໂອວາດ
(tae: nan phanya: lua:ng jao mi: kham o:wat)
Then the king spoke words of command

2 ສູ້ ຮີບທັນມາ ສູ້ໂຮງກູດທັ
(su: hip than ma: su: ho:ng ku: thae:)
"Hurry and bring Little Crow to my palace"

A2)

3 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ໄຫວດັກນ້ອຍ ໄປຮີບເຮວພຸ້ນ
(tae: nan thai dek nau:y pai hip he:w phlan)
Then the young ones went in great hurry

4 ກໍຈິງ ເຖິງ ທ້າວກຳນ້ອຍ ຈາຕ້ານບອກບາ
(kau: jing theu'ng tha:w kam nau:y ja: ta:n bau:k ba:)
And thus came to the Little Dark One and spoke to him:

5 ອັນວ່າ ຣາຊາເຈົ້າ ທັນມາເຮວຮີບ ຈິງດາຍ
(an wa: ra:sa: jao than ma: he:w hip jing da:y)
"The king (orders you) brought before him in a hurry"

B)

6 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ເອົາກໍ ພາຊາມເຈົ້າ ບາທ້າວສູ້ໂຮງ
(tae: nan khao kau: pha: jaem jao ba: tha:w su: ho:ng)
Then they brought him to the palace

7 ເຂົາກໍ ອວນບາຂັນ ຫໍ່ຫຼວງເນົານັ່ງ
(khao kau: uan ba: kheun hau: luang nao nang)
They led him up to the royal palace (where he) sat

8 ເຂົາກໍ ກົມຂາບໄຫວ້ ທູນເຈົ້າສຸຄົນ
(khao kau: kom kha:p wai thun jao su: khon)
Everyone prostrated themselves and paid respect before the king

(ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.13a-b; book: p.56-57)

In Section A1 of this passage, the king orders his servants to go and bring Little Crow before him. In Section A2, the king's servants travel to Little Crow and tell him in parallel terms that the king wishes to have Little Crow brought before him. Finally, in Section B, the conclusion, Little Crow is brought before the king.

Patterns of this type are also frequently organized as follows:

- A1) Principal character orders a second character (or group of characters) to X
- A2) The second character (or group of characters) X
- B) The second character (or group of characters) inform the principal character: "We have X-ed"

1.3: A wish that is fulfilled through the carrying out of three orders or requests of the principal character

There are two types of patterns in this category: a) three orders of a single character that are carried out by a single group of people, and b) three orders of a single character that are carried out by three separate groups of people. In some patterns of the former type, each section begins with the principal character's order, followed by the attempt of a second character (or group of characters) to carry it out. In other patterns, the three orders are stated consecutively.

In the following passage, the hero explains to the king and his concubines how they can change their appearance through the use of magic. In his speech he gives a set of three instructions.

A1)

1: ຄັນວ່າ ໄດ້ຍິນສຽງຄ້ອງ ເຮົາຕີບາດນຶ່ງ
 (khan wa: dai nyin si:ng khau:ng hao ti: ba:t neung)
 When you hear the sound of the cymbal that I strike for the first time

2: ໃຫ້ຮີບ ບອນໃສ່ປາກ ອົມໄວ້ຢ່າກິນ
 (hai hip bau:n sai pak om wai ya: kin)
 Quickly stuff (the medicine) in your mouth, suck on it but do not eat it

A2)

1: ຄັນວ່າ ໄດ້ຍິນສຽງຄ້ອງ ເຮົາ (ຕີ) ສອງບາດ
 (khan wa: dai nyin si:ng khau:ng hao (ti)¹³ sau:ng ba:t)
 When you hear the sound of the cymbal that I strike for the second time,

2: ໃຫ້ຮີບ ຄ້ຽວອອມໄວ້ ຢ່າກິນແຈ້ເນີ
 (hai hip khia:w au:m wai ya: kin thae: neu')
 Quickly chew on it, but do not eat it

B)

1: ຄັນວ່າ ໄດ້ຍິນສຽງຄ້ອງ ເຮົາຕີສາມບາດ
 (khan wa: dai nyin si:ng khau:ng hao ti: sa:m ba:t)
 When you hear the sound of the cymbal that I strike for the third time

2: ໃຫ້ຮີບກິນບາ ພ້ອມກັນແຈ້ ຈິ່ງຖ່າຍໂສມເຈົ້າ
 (hai hip kin nya: phau:m kan thae: ji: tha:y so:m jao)
 Quickly eat the medicine together and you will change your figure

((ທ້າວແບ້ Tha:w Bae:) pp.31b-32a)

In Sections A1 and A2, the instructions are identical: to keep the medicine in one's mouth but not to eat it. In Part B, however, the goal is to be achieved. When the medicine is swallowed the miraculous transformation will take place.

1.4: A wish that reaches (or does not reach) its fulfillment through the conveying of information from (or about) an initial person through a second person to a third

This category is a common type of progression of which there are many

¹³ The word ຕີ (ti:) 'to strike' is missing from the manuscript version but is needed both for meaning and to make the right hemistich the customary four syllables in length.

variations:

1.4.1: In the first type of variation, information is presented to three different people (or groups of people) in order to reach its intended goal.

This type of pattern is often used to describe the arrival of the hero in a foreign country. It is frequently organized:

- A1) The hero announces his presence to a first character
- A2) The first character reports the presence of the hero to a second
- B) The second character reports the presence of the hero to a third, the information's intended goal

In the following pattern, the prince of the land of X has travelled to rule over the land of Y. When the prince's father dies, his ministers travel to the land of Y to invite their prince to return and rule in his homeland. The pattern, twenty four lines in length, is summarized:

- A1) The troops of Khun Som of the land of X arrive in the land of Y. The border guard asks why they have come. Khun Som informs him that they have come to ask for news of the prince of the land of X.
- A2) The border guard brings Khun Som into the capital of Y where he meets a noble, Khun Khae:k. Khun Khae:k asks him why he has come. Khun Som explains that he has come to find the prince of the land of X.
- B) The noble, Khun Khae:k, travels to the palace to inform the king (i.e. the prince of the land of X) that troops of Khun Som have arrived to invite him to return to rule over his own land.

{(ຫ້າວເສື້ອເນົ້າ (Tha:w Seu'a: Nao) bundle 3, final leaf through bundle 4, leaf 1a}

Typical of such patterns, the information in this passage travels from characters of lower to higher status, i.e. border guard, noble, king.

1.4.2: The second type of variation is organized:

A1) The first person gives information to a second person.

A2) The second person gives information to a third person.

B) The third person is the information's intended goal. The conclusion of the pattern is the character's reaction to the information that he has received.¹⁴

1.4.3: In the third type of variation, information about the activities of the first character is a) initially narrated by the author, b) repeated in a speech by a second character to a third, resulting in c) a reaction by the third character.¹⁵

1.4.4: In the fourth type of variation, a character's request or order is fulfilled through the conveying of information from a first person through a second to a third. Patterns are frequently organized:

A1) The first character orders the second character: "Go to the third character and have him X"

A2) The second character goes to the third character and tells him:
"The first character had us come to you so that you will X"

B) The third character X's

This type of progression also fits in category 1.2, where a character's wish is fulfilled with the carrying out of a single order.¹⁶

¹⁴ An example can be seen in a larger pattern that is described on pp.312-322 of chapter eight, which can be summarized:

- a1) A group of young men travel to the town and inform the people there that they are accompanying Little Crow to the royal grounds to play the khaen before the king
- a2) The people of the town travel to the king and inform him of what the young men have told them
- b) The king orders Little Crow brought before him to play the khaen

¹⁵ An example can be seen in the story *ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ* (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam), bundle 3, pp.4b-5a (book: p.46) as follows:

- a1) Little Crow is described by the narrator as sitting outside of the palace where he is watched by the princess's servants
- a2) The princess's servants travel to inform the princess that they have seen Little Crow sitting outside of the palace
- b) The princess, upon hearing her servants, orders the servants to bring a present to Little Crow

¹⁶ The example of Category 1.2, on pp.250-251, is organized in this manner.

2: Progression of events or actions towards the completion of their role in the narrative

This type of progression differs from the previous category in that the events or actions are not directed towards an intended goal. Their completion, however, has a role in furthering the plot in a story.

In the following pattern, the hero returns home from work to find a delicious-looking meal spread out on his dinner table. Initially he is suspicious and afraid to eat it. However he eventually succumbs to his curiosity and hunger and overcomes his reservations.

A1)

1 ບາກໍ່ ບາຍເອົາເຂົ້າ ມາກິນຄໍານຶ່ງ
(ba: kau: bay ao khao ma: kin kham neu:ng)
He took the food and ate one mouthful

2 ພໍ້າມໄວ້ ໃຈເຈົ້າຢູ່ຄັ່ງ
(phau: ham wai jai jao yu: khang)
He held himself back; his heart was upset

3 ດູ່ອ່ອນໆ ຫອມທົ່ວທັງຄະໝອງ
(du: au:n au:n hau:m thua: thang kanau:ng)
(The food) looked soft; It was fragrant all over

A2)

4 ບາຄານເລີຍ ຕື່ມສອງຄໍາເຂົ້າ
(ba:khan: leu'y: teu:m sau:ng kham khao)
He thus ate an additional second mouthful of food

5 ດູ່ເຊບເຊບ ໄຫຼລົງບໍ່ຮູ້ເນື້ອ
(du: sae:p thae: lai long bau: hu: meu'a:)
It was truly delicious and went down without a thought

B)

6 ບາຕື່ມຊໍ້າ ຄໍາເຂົ້າຮອດສາມ
(ba: teu:m sam kham khao hau:t sa:m)
He ate in addition another mouthful of food, his third

7 ເລີຍຢ່າບໍ່ໄດ້ ເກັບໃສ່ຫຼາຍຄໍາ
(leu'y: ya: bau: dai kep sai la:y kham)
Then he could not stop himself, taking many mouthfuls

8 ມ້າງກິນ ອູ້ອັນບໍ່ມຸ້ງ
 (mam mam kin su: an nyau: mia:n)
 Eating greedily without stop, he put away every bit

((ທ້າວກຳພ້າຟີນ້ອຍ (Tha:w Kampha: Phi: Nau:y) bundle 2, p.1a)

The conclusion of this sequence is the hero's decision to eat all of the food on the table. This leads to the following scene where he meets the woman who is secretly providing him with food and takes her as his wife. (This is a standard sequence in the plot of one type of Lao story.)

3: The progression of an idea (stated either by the narrator or a character in the story) to its conclusion or fullest expression

The progression of ideas is commonly organized:

a: Two parallel statements followed by a third and final statement which expresses the same idea in greater detail

b: Two parallel statements followed by a conclusion

c: Two parallel statements followed by a third statement which is a question or a call for action based upon the previous statements

In one sense, of course, every AAB pattern is a progression of an idea to its conclusion. In this category, however, it is specifically ideas rather than events that are portrayed.

3.1: Ideas as expressed by characters in the story:

In the following example, the hero, with the outward appearance of a small and ugly child, courts the village women. One of the women reprimands him, telling him that he is too young to court them:

A1) ອັນວ່າ ດັກນ້ອຍໆ ມາຈາກເກ່ເຫຼືອໂຕ ແທ້ແລ້ວ
 (an wa: dek nau:y nau:y ma: ja: kae: leu'a: to: thae: lae:w)
 "A small small child speaking older than his age

A2) ຫົວບໍ່ ພຽງກົກຂາ ວ່າຊີເອົາເນີບຊ້ອນ

(hua: bau: phia:ng kok kha: wa: si ao mia: sau:n)

Your head does not reach up to my leg and you say that you will take a wife to love

B) ມຶງບໍ່ຫຼິງ ດູກະບວນໜ້າ ພໍ (ຫວນ) ສົມຮູບ ມຶງນັ້ນ

(meung bau: ling du: kabua:n na: phau: (hua:n¹⁷) som hu:p meung nan)

You do not look at your own face to see what is fitting for one of your shape"

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.2 a-b; book: p.43}

The first two statements, expressed in Sections A1 and A2, are parallel observations. The reference to the hero as 'A small small child' in the left hemistich of Section A1 is echoed in the left half of Section A2 in the statement 'Your head does not reach up to my leg'. The statement that he speaks older than his age in the second hemistich of Section A1 is similarly parallel to the statement in its counterpart hemistich in Section A2 that he (i.e. one whose head does not reach up to the woman's waist) says that he will take a wife to love. The two observations lead to the conclusion, a general statement admonishing the hero for his behavior.

3.2: Ideas expressed by the narrator:

In the following pattern, the narrator describes how the king and his people have a peaceful night of rest.

A1) ພຍາກໍ ເນົາຫໍປາງ ຢູ່ເປັນມືຮ້ອນ

(phanya: kau: nao hau: pang yu: yen mi: hau:n)

The ruler stayed in his palace, cool and not hot

A2) ຝູງໝູ່ ໄທເມືອງພ້ອມ ສັງຄເປັນທຸກເມື່ອ

(fu:ng mu: thai meu'ang phau:m sangat yen thuk meu'a:)

The townspeople were peaceful and cool at all times

B) ເຂົາກໍ ນອນພ້າພ້ອມ ເປັນຈ້ອຍສູ່ຄົນ

(khao kau: nau:n pham phau:m yen jau:y su: khon)

They all slept, absolutely cool, every person

¹⁷ Not in the manuscript version but included in the book to meet the customary four syllable length for the right hemistich.

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, pp.1b-2a; book: p.67 }

The state of the characters is described with the identical adjective in all three sections of this pattern: ເຢັນ (yen) 'cool'. Whereas in Sections A1 and A2 the narrator describes the activities of a specific character or group of characters, in Part B he provides a general summarizing statement. Notice that the 'coolness' described in the initial two sections is expanded to ເຢັນຈັອບ (yen jau:y) 'absolutely cool' in the third.

4: Progression of Time

There are two types of progression in this category:

4.1: *The Progression Of Time From One Interval To Another*

The following example describes the passage of time from night until morning.

A1)

1 ພໍເມື່ອ ດາຣາແຈ້ງ ພຣະຈັນໂທດຜວໂລກ ພຸ້ນເຍີ
(pau: meu'a: da:ra: jae:ng phrajantho: phae:w lo:k phun nyeu:)
When the stars were bright, the moon visible from the earth

2 ເດີກຊັກໄຊ ຄົນພ້ອມພ່ານອນ
(deu'k sak sai khon phau:m pham nau:n)
Late into the night, the people all slept

3 ວາໂຍຕ້ອງ ສາຂາພ້າວໝາກ
(wa:nyo: tau:ng sa:kha: pa:w ma:k)
The wind touched the branches of the coconut and betel trees

4 ໝອກຍາດຍ້ອຍ ຕ້ານພ້າວຜາງແຊງ
(mau:k nyat nyau:y ta:n pha:w pha:ng sae:ng)
The dew dropped on the clusters of coconuts and sugar palms

A2)

5 ພໍເມື່ອ ເດືອນດ່ວນຜາຍ ໃກ້ຮຸ່ງມາຍໆ ພຸ້ນເຍີ
(phau: meu'a: deua'n dua:n pha:y kai hung may may phun nyeu:)
When the moon hurriedly traveled, its path unfolding near the dawn

6 ກຸດໂຕຂັນ ທົ່ວເມືອງເຟືອນຟືນ
(kutto: khan thua: meua':ng feu'a:n feu:n)
The roosters crowed, making a great fuss throughout the city

7 ຕາມັນ ໂປ່ງງຽງ ໄທຟາດຕີຍາມ
(tae: nan yo:ng yong khau:ng thai fat ti: nya:m)
Then people struck gongs to tell the time: 'Yong Yong'.

B)

8 ພໍເມື່ອ ສຸຣິໂຍໃສ ສ່ອງມາເລີຍແຈ້ງ
(phau: meu'a surinyo: sai sau:ng ma: leu'y jae:ng)
When the radiant sun shined, and it was bright

9 ເຂົາກໍ ເມື່ອໂຮມເກົາ ໃນສນາມຫາບໂສກ
(khao kau: meu'a ho:m tao nai sanam ha:y so:k)
They went to gather together in the field, their sorrow gone

10 ຖືກເວລາດີ ຍາມແລ້ວໂຊກໄຊ
(theu:k mae:n mae:ng nya:m lae:w so:k sai)
It was the right moment, the time of victory

{{ທ້າວເສື້ອເນົ່າ (Tha:w Seu'a: Nao) bundle 4, p.10a-b}

Each section in the above pattern begins with the identical initial phrase ພໍເມື່ອ (pau: meu'a:) denoting a change in time. Sections A1 and A2 describe night-time and early morning before dusk. The third section concludes with the coming of dawn, the strong rays of sunlight, and the end of people's sorrow at the 'time of victory.'

4.2: The Progression Of Time That Leads Up To An Event

In the following example, the concluding event in Part B is the result of the passage of time as described in the previous two sections.

A1) ຫຼາຍວັນໄດ້ ຫຼາຍເດືອນແຖມຖ່າຍ ມາແລ້ວ
(lay wan dai lay deua'n thaem tha:y ma: lae:w)
Many days and many months passed by

A2) ຫຼາຍຂວນນີ້ ຮຸ້ນໄດ້ຂວນປີ
 (la:y khua:p meu: radu: dai khua:p pi:)
 Many days, seasons, and years

B) ນາງກໍ ທົງຄັບນ້ອຍ ບຸດຕາຣາດກຸມມານ
 (na:ng kau: thong khap nau:y butta:rat kumma:n)
 She became pregnant with the king's son

(ທ້າວແບ້ (Tha:w Bae:) Naung Lam Jan Version, p.2b)

A6: Mimic Patterns

Mimic patterns are patterns that lack one fundamental attribute of AAB patterns. They mimic actual patterns in that:

a: Outside of the attribute in which they are lacking, their structure is identical to AAB patterns in all aspects.

b: Frequently the patterns are phrased to mimic the attribute that they are missing. They do so by partially fulfilling the requirements needed for its presence. The attribute, therefore, at a superficial glance may appear to be included.

There are two basic types of mimic patterns:

A6.1: *Mimic Patterns In Which There Is No Progression Of Events*

In this type of mimic pattern, there is no progression from a beginning to an end. There is no conclusion. Frequently patterns in this category consist of lists, for example, a description of the activities of three different groups of people, or the qualities of three different types of objects.

1. The following example describes the journey of three separate characters.

1) ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ອິນກໍ ແບງເມື່ອກໍ ດາວດົງສາເທວະໂລກ
 (meu'a: nan i:n kau: nyae:ng meu'a: kam da:wadeungsa: the:wa lo:k)
 Then Indra headed for Dawadeungsa, the celestial world

2 ເຂົາສູ່ທ້ອງ ວິໄຊຍົນແກ້ວທີສະຫຼ່ຽມ
 (khao su: hau:ng wi:sainyon kae:w thi: sathia:n)
 He entered his precious eternal Wisayon palace

2)
 3 ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ທ້າວໂຊກຊາ ພົບເມືອງຟ້າຄືນ
 (meu'a: nan thaen lua:ng jao phanya: meu'a:ng fa: kheun)
 Then the Thaen ruler, Fa Kheun

4 ສະເດັດສູ່ຫ້ອງ ວິໄຊຍົມເຈກ້ວເຂງຕົນ
(sadet su: hau:ng wi:sainyon kae:w haeng ton)
Returned to his precious Wisayon palace

3)

5 ອັນວ່າ ນາໂຄເຈົ້າ ພຍາຫຼວງນາກໃຫຍ່
(an wa: na:kho: jao phanya: luang nak nyai)
As for the great ruler of the Nagas

6 ກໍເລົ່າ ເນື້ອສູ່ນ້ຳ ວັງກວ້າງແຫ່ງຕົນ
(kau: lao meü'a: su: nam wang kwa:ng hae:ng ton)
He returned into the water to his great palace

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, pp.10b-11a; book p.78}

This example describes the journey of three different characters in parallel terms. The third section is not a conclusion but merely one among three journeys depicted in the passage. Although not an actual pattern, this sequence mimics a fundamental characteristic of patterns that will be described on pages 273-274: Part B is distinguished in detail from Sections A1 and A2. The third character, for example, descends into the water in contrast to the previous two, who ascend to their palaces in the sky. The third section is further differentiated in its use of minor phrasing.

2. The distinction between mimic and actual patterns is not always immediately recognizable. The following example shows the thin boundary between what may be considered a progression that leads to a conclusion and three static events. In this pattern, people reflect upon their past ill-treatment of the hero, realizing for the first time that he is to become their king.

A1)

1 ລາງພອງ ຈາຄວາມເວົ້າ ໄຍຄວາມເຊຕ່ກ່ອນ
(la:ng phau:ng ja: khwa:m wao nyai khwa:m tae: kau:n)
Some groups spoke teasingly of times gone by

2 ບາມເມື່ອ ທ້າວຫາກທ່ຽວເລີ້ນ ຄາວນັ້ນໄລ່ຕີ ເຊທ່ດາຍ
(nya:m meu'a: tha:w hak thia:w len kha:w nan lai ti: thae: da:y)
"When he came to visit that time we drove him away"

3 ເວົ້າກັນເລື້ອ ຫົວໄປເຕີເຕີນ
(wao kan lae:w hua: pai teu': teu'n)
After they spoke, they laughed uproariously

A2)

4 ລາງພອງ ເວົ້າກັນເລື້ອ ເລື້ອເລົາເລີຍຫົວ ກໍມີ
(la:ng phau:ng waokan lae:w lae:w lao leu'y hua: kau: mi:)
Some groups spoke, and after they spoke, laughed

B)

5 ບາງພອງ ເລ່ນໄຫ້ ທັງມືລຸບທວງ ເລີຍທ້ວງ
(ba:ng phau:ng lae:n hai thang meu: lup thua:ng leu'y thua:ng)
Some groups ran crying, their hands rubbing their chests, exclaiming

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, pp.11b-12a; book: p.79}

This pattern is organized as follows:

A1) Some groups spoke teasingly of past times. After they spoke, they laughed.

A2) Some groups spoke and then laughed.

B) Some groups were upset and cried.

At first one might wonder why the above sequence could be considered anything more than a simple list of the actions of three different groups of people. To answer this question one must consider why the first two groups of people laugh while the third group cries. The narrator is, in effect, showing that the townspeople at first find humorous their previous ill-treatment of their future king. But after they have laughed their fill and come to realize the gravity of what they have done, they live to regret their

actions. If this were a simple list of three separate groups why would the second group be necessary? If one looks at the phrasing of the second section (line four), one finds that it states in suspiciously similar words the identical action that occurred in the previous line, belonging to the preceding section. Once these two parallel actions of speaking and laughing have been completed the narrator in typical fashion can express what is ultimately to happen, that people, instead of laughing, weep. If this passage is to be considered an actual pattern it fits into category 3.2, the completion of an idea as expressed by the narrator.

A6.2: Mimic Patterns In Which The First Section Is Not Parallel With The Second

In the story ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) the hero, Little Crow, is born with a hideous outer 'shell'. In the following example, Little Crow takes off his ugly shell and secretly enters the princess's palace. Inside the palace, he sits unnoticed beside the princess and listens to her speak about him with her servant girls.

1)

a1) ສະຕ້ນັ້ນ ບາບ່າວຜູ້ ກາດຳນ້ອຍຖອດກະໂຈມ
(tae: nan ba: tha:w phu: ka: dam nau:y thau:t kajo:m)
Then Little Black Crow took off his outer layer

a2) ທ້າວກໍ ຖອດຄາບໄວ້ ດາດີມັຽນເຈບ
(tha:w kau: thau:t kha:p wai da: di: mia:n jae:p)
He took off his costume, put it away well > stored it carefully

2)

a1) ສີເຈມເຈົ້າ ບາທ້າວເຂົ້າໄປ
(si: jae:m jao ba: tha:w khao pai)
He entered (the palace)

a2) ທ້າວກໍ ຫັບເຂົ້າໃກ້ ລືຢູ່ມືຕິງ
(tha:w kau: nyap khao kai li: yu: mi ting)
He entered closer (i.e. moved close to the princess), hiding motionless

3)

1 ບາກໍ ຟັງສຽງນາງ ຊັບສິງກັນຄຳເລັ່ນ
(ba: kau: fang sia:ng nang sap sing kan kham len)
He listened to the sound of the servants whispering playful words

(ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.5a; book: pp.46-47)

The first two sections of this passage are both composed of parallel pairs (a1 and a2). However, whereas the lines are parallel in their individual sections they are not parallel between them.

The two lines in the first section describe Little Crow taking off his ugly outer 'shell'. The verb in both lines is identical: ຖອດ (thau:t) 'to take off'.

The parallel between lines in the second section is best seen in the original Lao phrasing. Both include the identical verb ເຂົ້າ (khao) 'to enter'. The parallel verbs are phrased so that they rhyme between lines:

ເຂົ້າໄປ (khao pai) 'enter' and ເຂົ້າໃກ້ (khao kai) 'enter near'

Section Three is the conclusion of the first two sections. Little Crow has succeeded in entering the palace where he can observe unnoticed the activities of the servant girls and the princess.

The pattern can be described in the following chart:

- 1) a1)
a2)
- 2) a1)
a2)
- 3) Conclusion

This pattern imitates an actual pattern in that it partially includes the attribute that is missing. The first two sections, if not parallel in meaning, are certainly parallel in their structure, for each is composed of two parallel statements. This type of parallel, however, is not enough to label the sections

as A1 and A2.

B: Characteristics of Sections A1 and A2

B1: Parallel Pairs and the use of Tagging

Sections in a pattern are frequently linked together by a device that will be referred to as 'tagging'. This involves the use of tag phrases or lines that are both parallel in meaning and similar or identical in phrasing. Tags are placed at the beginning or end of a) the two parallel sections, A1 and A2, or b) less frequently, all three sections in a pattern. Although the individual sections may be distinct in their detail, they are bonded together by their parallel tags.

The following pattern consists of a speech where the hero is asked about his intentions in journeying to another kingdom.

A1)

1 ມື້ນີ້ ເດີນຖ່າງດັນ ມາພີ່ເຮັດໃດ
(meung ni: deu'n dung dan ma: phi: het dai)
"You have traveled here for what reason?"

A2)

2 ອັນວ່າ ດົງຫຼວງກວ້າງ ຫົມມະພານຍາວໂຍດ
(an wa: dong luang kwang hi:mmapha:n nyaw nyot)
The jungle is of great width, the forest is of long 'Yot'¹⁸

3 ພອຍເລົ່າ ເດີນຖ່າງດັນ ມາພີ່ເຮັດໃດ ນີ້ເດ
(phau:y lao deu'n dung dan ma: phi: het dai ni: de:)
And still you have traveled here, for what reason?

B)

4 ອັນວ່າ ທົວຣະພີເນື້ອ ຫົມເໝືອຍເສືອໂຄງ
(an wa: thua:rapi: neu'a: mi: meu'a:y seu'a: kho:ng)
The wild buffalo, bears>bears, wild tigers

¹⁸ A measurement of distance equal to approximately sixteen kilometers

5 ອັນອະນຸກລົນ ພໍລ້ານໂກດກີ
(anan ane:k lon phau: lan ko:t keu:)
A great and overflowing number, one million/ten million/one hundred million

7 ຍັງຢາກໄດ້ ສິ່ງທີ່ຈິ່ງມາ ນີ້
(nyang ya:k dai sang thae: jing ma: ni: de:)
What do you truly want so that you have come?"

Each section in this pattern ends with a final tag line of parallel meaning. In Sections A1 and A2 the tag line is identical except for the addition of initial and final phrases that do not alter its meaning. In Part B the phrasing of the tag line has been reversed.²⁰

As the sequence develops in a pattern, the role of Section A2 is not merely to repeat the information stated in Section A1 but at the same time to progress it towards its conclusion in Part B. One can divide the types of progression between Sections A1 and A2 as follows:

B2.1.1: *Progression Of An Action Or Event:* In this type of progression, in Section A2 the action or event originally stated in Section A1 is moved closer towards its conclusion.

²⁰ Tag lines can be observed in many patterns throughout chapters six through ten.

In the following example, the hero asks his grandmother to try on a ring that he has brought her as a gift.

A1)

1 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ບາຄານກໍ ຖືແລງເອົັນ ສາຍໃຈຕົນຍ່າ
(tae: nan ba: kha:n kau: thalae:ng eu'n sa:y jai ton nya:)
Then he called to his beloved grandmother

2 ເຈົ້າກໍ ເອົາແຫວນ ສຸບໃສ່ກ້ອຍ ແລ້ວເອົາເບິ່ງ ຍ່າເຮືບ
(jao kau: ao wa:n su:p sai kau:y lae:w e: beu'ng du: nya: heu'y)
"Try putting the rings on your little finger to dress up for a look."

A2)

3 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ນາຍກໍ ບາຍເອົາແກ້ວ ແຫວນດີລູກປະເສີດ
(tae: nan na:y kau: bay ao kae:w wae:n di: lu:k paseu't)
Then she took the precious jeweled rings

4 ນາຍກໍ ສຸບໃສ່ກ້ອຍ ເຄື່ອງຍ້ອງງາມລ້ວນເກີ່ງກັນ ແທ້ນໍ
(na:y kau: su:p sai kau:y kheu'a:ng nyaung nga:m²¹ luan keu'ng kan thae: nau:)
And put them on her small finger; The ornaments were all of equal beauty

B)

5 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ຍາຍຍ່າເຖົ້າ ຈາຣະຈາຖາມຖີ່
(tae: nan nya:y nya: thao ja:raja: tha:m thi:)
Then the old woman questioned him thoroughly

6 ອັນວ່າຂອງໝູ່ນີ້ ໄຜໃຫ້ແຕ່ມືງ ນີ້ເດ
(an wa: khau:ng mu: ni: phai hai tae: meung ni: de:)
"These goods-- Who gave them to you?"

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.16a; book: pp.60-61}

In the above passage, the action is suggested in the first section whereas it is accomplished in the second. The result of the action is the old woman's reaction, as described in Part B.

²¹ In the manuscript version, the word ມາ (ma) 'to come' is written in place of ງາມ (nga:m) 'beautiful'. It makes no sense in context and is obviously an error. The word ງາມ (nga:m) 'beautiful' is used in both the printed version and the other manuscripts that I have examined.

B2.1.2: Progression In Narrative: In this type of progression, Section A1 introduces the subject and / or action that will be paralleled. Section A2, freed of the space-consuming burden of introduction, provides additional detail about the action and / or object of the action that it parallels. Unlike the previous category, the evolution from Section A1 to Section A2 is not in the event itself, but rather the audience's knowledge of the event. It is only with the information provided in Section A2 that the audience is able to appreciate the conclusion of that will follow in Part B.

In the following example, the princess yearns for the prince:

A1) ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ນາງລຸນເຈົ້າ ຄະນິງໃຈດຸມາກ
(tae: nan nang lun jao khaning jai du: mak)
Then the young princess longed greatly in her heart

A2) ເຈົ້າກໍ ຈິຕຫວ່າຫົວ ດອມເຈົ້າພຣະບອດອິນ
(jao kau: jit wa: hi:w dau:m jao phranyaut in)
Her heart was lonesome and hungry for the Greatest of Lords, Indra

B) ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ນາງລຸນນ້ອຍ ໄດ້ແສງໄຟເຣື້ອງເຣື້ອ
(tae: nan nang lun nau:y dai sae:ng fai heu'a:ng heu'a:)
Then the young princess lit a fire, bright and radiant (which caused to her to see that her lover was standing at her side)

(ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.6a; book: pp.47-48)

The subject in this example is introduced with a three syllable pronoun in the initial line. In the second line the introduction is no longer necessary. The pronoun is relegated to a single syllable in the initial phrase. Space is thus freed both to expand on how the princess feels (hungry and lonesome) and the object of her longing.

B2.2: Types Of Progression In Style

We have seen thus far types of progression that serve to advance the plot, or the audience's understanding of plot, in a pattern. There are, in addition, types of progression that develop the narrative solely through the use of style. The following examples illustrate a few of the frequently-used

types:

B2.2.1: *Progression In Perspective:* One common device in building a progressive parallel is to initially state an idea as narrative in the third person and then to state the same idea in the first person in the form of a speech of one of the characters. The effect is that the information appears closer both to the story's audience, and to the character to whom the information is directed in the story itself.

In the following pattern, the hero is instructed by the Lord Indra in his responsibilities as a monarch.

A1) ອິນກໍ ສອນສິ່ງໃຫ້ ຄອງທ້າວສູ່ອັນ
(in kau: sau:n sang hai khau:ng tha:w su: an)
Indra instructed him in all of the customary ways of nobles

A2) ບັດນີ້ ພໍ່ຈັກ ສອນສິ່ງໃຫ້ ໃນຮີດຄອງເມືອງ
(bat ni: phau: jak sau:n sang hai nai hit khau:ng meu'a:ng)
"Now I will instruct you in the customary ways of the land

B) ອັນວ່າ ໃນທຳເຮົາ ຮີດຄອງຈຳໄວ້
(an wa: nai tham hao hit khau:ng jam wai)
Our Dharma, the customary ways, remember them"

(ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, p.10b Book: pp.77-78)

B2.2.2: *Progression In Sound:*

The following passage is a description of music played in the procession of the hero into the capital.

A1) ສວນໄລຕົບ ຕ່ອຍຕືນນຳຄ້ອງ
(suan lai top tau:y ti: nam khau:ng)
The flute was played together with the cymbal

A2) ເຂົາກໍ ຕົບຕ່ອຍຕ້ອງ ຕ້ອງຕ່ອຍຕີສາຍ
(khao kau: top tau:y tau:ng tau:ng tau:y ti: say)
They struck, beat and plucked (the instruments)

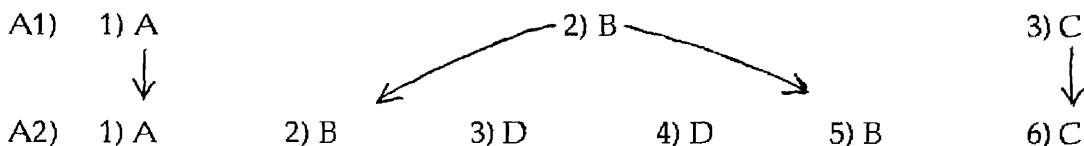
B) ເດີນຕາມຕົບ ຜສວງນຳຈີ້ຈ້ອຍ
 (deu'n ta:m top sawae:ng nam ji: jau:y)
 They traveled behind, beating (the instruments), playing them with great spirit

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, p.14a; book: p.82}

The progression in this pattern falls into category 3.2, the completion of an idea as stated by the narrator. The parallels between the individual sections have more to do with sound than they do with meaning. The three lines build their poetic effect through the use of alliteration. In Section A1, there are three alliterated words: 1) ຕົບ (top), 2) ຕ້ອຍ (tau:y), and 3) ຕື້ (ti:). In Section A2, the number of alliterated words has increased from three to six: 1) ຕົບ (top) 2) ຕ້ອຍ (tau:y) 3) ຕ້ອງ (tau:ng) 4) ຕ້ອງ (tau:ng) 5) ຕ້ອຍ (tau:y) 6) ຕື້ (ti:). In Section B, there are once again three: 1) ເດີນ (deu'n) 2) ຕາມ (ta:m) 3) ຕົບ (top). The progression from Section A1 to A2 is in the building up of sound. The alliterated words do not simply increase arbitrarily, but rather do so with great symmetry. The following words occur in both Sections A1 and A2:

- A) ຕົບ (top)
- B) ຕ້ອຍ (tau:y)
- C) ຕື້ (ti:)
- D) ຕ້ອງ (tau:ng)

They are arranged as follows:



The sequence of A B C in the first line is essentially still intact in the second.

The beginning A and final C still occupy their identical positions. Section A2, despite its three extra syllables, adds only a single new syllable, D, which is doubled and occupies the two middle positions in the line. If one compares the two sections, it appears in the latter section as if the two Ds have landed in the middle of the original sequence of A B C, splitting its center, B, into two equal halves.

B2.2.3: *The Use Of Parallels To Increase Emphasis:*

Frequently the length of the second section of a pattern is greater than that of the first. The length is often increased not through the inclusion of a greater amount of information, but rather through the phrasing of information in sets of parallels.

In the following example, the Lord Indra instructs the hero in his duties as king:

A1)

1 ອັນນຶ່ງ ຢ່າໄດ້ທຳບາບ ລູກໄພນ້ອຍ ຝູງໝູ່ທາສາ
(an neung ya: dai tham ba:p kae: phai nau:y fu:ng mu: tha:sa:)
One point-- Do not commit sins with the commoners/slaves

2 ທັງນາງງາມ ຄ່ອຍເອົາໃຈນ້ອມ
(thang na:ng nga:m khau:y ao jai nau:m)
And the beautiful young women, look after them and be respectful ²²

A2)

3 ອັນນຶ່ງ ຝູງເຜົ່າເຊື້ອ ນ້ອຍນາດນົງນາງ
(an neu:ng fu:ng phao seu'a: nau:y na:t nong na:ng)
One point-- the beautiful young women

4 ທຣູມບາຄານ ປູ່ເຜືອໂຜງຂ້າງ
(thia:m ba: khan yu: feu'a: fa:ng kha:ng)
That are at your side

²² The final word of this line, ນ້ອມ (nau:m) 'to be respectful', has been replaced in the printed text by a word of similar sound: ນ້ອຍ (nau:y) 'small' which means, in context, 'women'. This changes the overall meaning of the line to: 'And the beautiful young women, look after them'. It is likely that the word in the manuscript is an error of the transcriber for it is unlikely that Indra would tell a king to pay respect to one of lowlier status.

5 ປ່າ ໄດ້ມີເວນ ວາງເສີຍປະເປລ່າ ນັ້ນເນີ
 (ya: dai mi: we:n wa:ng sia: pa plao nan neu:)
 Do not be sinful and neglect or abandon them

6 ຄວນທີ່ ບາໂຜດໃຫ້ ເຂົານັ້ນສູ່ນາງ
 (khua:n thi: ba: pho:t hai khao nan su: na:ng)
 You should be compassionate to all of the women

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, p.10b; book: pp.77-78}

In the initial section of this passage, the hero is advised on how to act with commoners. In the following section he is advised in parallel terms on how to act with people inside of the palace. The second section progresses from the first in the following manner:

a: Indra's speech progresses as the subject matter becomes closer to the one who is being instructed.

b: Whereas the advice given in Section A2 is parallel to the previous section, its length has doubled from two to four lines. The length has been increased by the organization of information into sets of parallels:

b1: The right hemistich of the first line of Section A2 is composed of a doubled pair without identical initial words that consists of four parallel pronouns. Each refers to the young women who will attend Little Crow in his palace:

ນ້ອຍນາດ ນົງນາງ (nau:y na:t nong nang)

b2: The second line of Section A2 is composed of two parallel hemistichs:

ທຽມບາຄານ	ຢູ່ເພື່ອເພງຂ້າງ
(thia:m bakhan	yu: feu'a: fae:ng kha:ng)
At his side	by his side

b3: The right hemistich of the third line of Section A2 consists of a doubled

pair without identical initial words where each of the words is parallel.²³

ວາງເສີຍ	ປະເປຣາ
(wa:ng sia:	pa plao)
abandon>lose	leave empty

The effect of doubling the length of the admonition in Section A2 is to stress its importance. It is fitting in context that a king would give increased importance to those inside the royal grounds as opposed to commoners who live on the outside.

B3: The Difference Between Sections A1/A2 And Section B

A basic characteristic of AAB patterns is that whereas Sections A1 and A2 are linked together in structure, style, and meaning, at the same time they differ from the third part of the pattern. There are many ways in which Section B is distinguished from the preceding two sections, as follows:

B3.1: Patterns where the conclusion in Section B is an action that is the opposite of the actions that occur in Sections A1 and A2

This type of distinction is very frequent, as illustrated by the following examples:

1. In the pattern stated in Section A4.1 on pages 247-248, Sections A1 and A2 each describe the end of a month whereas Section B describes the beginning.
2. In travel patterns, such as the example stated in Section 1.2 on pages 249-250, Sections A1 and A2 typically describe the character in movement whereas Section B describes the character coming to rest.

²³ In the printed version, the parallels are expanded so that the line consists of two parallel hemistichs, each comprised of three parallel words for neglect or abandon, as follows:

ຢາໄດ້ ໄລລາວັນ ວາງເສີຍປະເປຣາ ນັ້ນເນີ (ya: dai lai la: we:n wang sia: pa plao nan neu:)

The parallel words are as follows: 1) ໄລ (lai) 2) ລາ (la:) 3) ວັນ (wen) 4) ວາງ (wang) 5) ເສີຍ (sia:) 6) ປະເປຣາ (pa plao)

3. In the pattern stated as example number two on pages 261-263, Sections A1 and A2 describe a group of characters laughing whereas Section B describes a group crying.

Other common distinctions between Section B and the preceding sections include:

B3.2: Patterns where Sections A1 and A2 describe the actions of one character whereas Section B describes the actions of another

B3.3: Patterns where if Sections A1 and A2 are questions, Section B will be a statement, or the reverse

B3.4: Patterns where Section B is distinguished from the preceding sections in the number of lines

B3.5: Patterns where Section B is distinguished from the preceding sections in minor phrasing

Section B is generally distinguished from Sections A1 and A2 in its use of language, even in minor details. When tag phrases occur in all three sections of a pattern, for example, the third and final tag commonly differs slightly from the preceding two, as we have seen in Section B1 on pages 265-266. Although such phrasing may appear insignificant and does little to alter the meaning of the section, it consistently emphasizes Section B's uniqueness in the pattern as a whole.

Chapter Seven: The AAB Pattern: Parallels Within Parallels, Part One

We have observed in chapters three and four that once a parallel pair exists (whether in spoken or written Lao) there is a tendency for it to replicate further into smaller and smaller parallels. We have seen, for example, doubled pairs in which each individual pair consists of two parallel words, parallel hemistichs where each individual hemistich consists of two parallel words or phrases, etc. This phenomenon of reduplication occurs with great symmetry inside of AAB patterns and forms one of their most interesting aspects. There are two major categories of replication that occur in patterns, parallel pairs and smaller patterns. Each tends to occur in specific sections of a pattern, as follows:

C1: The Placement Of Parallel Pairs Within A Pattern

The first type of parallel that occurs with frequency in a pattern is a parallel pair, i.e. the pairing together of words, phrases, lines, or larger sections of analogous meaning. Pairs have a strong tendency to occur in what will be referred to as 'second positions' of a larger pattern, as follows:

C1.1: The Placement of Pairs Within Larger Pairs

Smaller parallel pairs have a tendency to occur inside of larger pairs. The largest parallel pair in a pattern consists of Sections A1 and A2. One frequently observes that Sections A1 and A2 of a pattern each individually replicate into two smaller parallel halves:

A1) a1)

a2)

A2) a1)

a2)

1. The following example, from ພາສາດົງນາງໄອ (Pha:dae:ng Na:ng Ai), is the speech of the heroine when she first meets her lover. In her speech, she questions whether or not the hero is being truthful when he tells her that he is single.

A1) ຣາດ ບໍ່ຫ່ວນຂາດເບັບ ເບັບຂ້າວຊີ່ຂາດໝູ ໄດ້ບໍ່
 (ra:t bau: hau:n kha:t bia: nya: kha:w si: kha:t nu: dai bau:)
 A kingdom has never lacked for wealth, can a granary of rice lack mice?

A2) ປູປາ ບໍ່ເຄີຍໝີນ້ຳ ນາທິຫຼວງຊີ່ເຂີນຂາດ ເປັນຮີ
 (pu: pa: bau: kheu'y ni: nam na:thi: luang si: kheu'n kha:t pen reu)
 Crabs and fish have never fled from water, can a great river run dry?

B) ຊາດທີ່ ເຊື້ອໝໍ້ຝ້າ ທາງຊ້ອນກໍຫາກຍັງ
 (sa:t thi: seu'a: nau: fa: tha:ng sau:n kau: ha:k nyang)
 The lineage of kings have ones to love

(ພາຣດງນາງໄອ (Pha:dae:ng Nang Ai) bundle 1, p.10a)

In Sections A1 and A2, the speaker gives examples of impossible events. These comparisons lead to the final line, where the speaker makes her point, that it is impossible for the hero to be unattached as he claims to be.

Sections A1 and A2 each consist of two parallel hemistichs, as follows:

Line A1:

- a1) A kingdom has never lacked for wealth
- a2) Can a granary of rice lack mice?

Both hemistichs describe a relationship that is impossible, X without Y. Both share the identical verb.

Line A2:

- a1) Crabs and fish have never fled from water
- a2) Can a great river run dry?

Similar to their counterparts in the previous line, the two hemistichs describe an impossible situation. Both are concerned with water.

Each of the four hemistichs in Sections A1 and A2 are parallel in meaning. Furthermore, the structure of the left hemistichs (a1) of both lines is identical, and the structure of the right hemistichs (a2) is similarly identical:

A1)

a1) A has never B

a2) Can an X Y?

A2)

a1) A has never B

a2) Can an X Y?

2. In the following example, the hero arrives in a foreign kingdom.

A1)

a1) ຄວນກູເຂົ້າ ໄປໃນຫຼັງລຳ ດູທ້ອນ
(khua:n ku: khao pai nai ling lam du: thau:n)
"I should enter and have a look > look

a2) ຕ່າງໃຫ້ຮູ້ ເມື່ອໜ້າລຳດູ
(ta:ng hai hu: meu'a: na: lam du:)
In order to know in the future, (I should) look > look"

A2)

a1) ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ບາຄານທ້າວ ທົງຕົນຫຼັງລຳ
(meu'a: nan ba:kha:n tha:w thong ton ling lam)
Then he looked > looked

a2) ລັກລອບລີ້ ຄານເຂົ້າເບິ່ງດູ
(lak lau:p li: kha:n khao beu'ng du:)
He furtively crept in and looked > looked

B)

1) ກໍຈິ່ງ ເຫັນຫໍໂຄກ້ວ ນາງງາມດູປະເສີດ ຈິງເລື້ວ
(kau: jing hen hau: kae:w na:ng nga:m du: paseu't jing lae:w)
Thus he saw the extraordinary palace of the beautiful woman

2) ເຮືອງເຮື້ອເຈ້ງ ເຫຼືອງເຫຼື້ອມເຕ່ຄຳ ເຈົ້າເຮືຍ
(heu'a:ng heu'a: jae:ng leu'a:ng leu'a:m tae: kham jao heu'y)
Shiny and bright, completely of gold

{ທ້າວອິນປົງ (Tha:w Inpong) bundle 1, p.14a}

The parallels in this passage are particularly obvious. Section A1 consists of two statements of the hero that he should take a look, followed by

Section A2, which is similarly comprised of two statements by the hero that he should take a look. The result of the hero's actions is described in Section B, where he becomes aware of the palace of the woman who is to become his lover. Not only are the four lines in Section A1 and A2 parallel to one another, but each line concludes with a parallel word pair for 'look at' in the second half of its second hemistich. The word pairs in the first lines of each section are identical: ຫຼິ້ງລຳ (ling lam) 'look at > look at'. The word pairs in the second lines, respectively ລຳດູ (ling du:) 'look at > look at' and ເບິ່ງດູ (beu'ng du:) 'look at > look at', share similar second words.¹

A1) a1) O O O O O O a1>a2
 a2) O O O O O O a1>a2

A2) a1) O O O O O O a1>a2
 a2) O O O O O O a1>a2

B) 1) O O O O O O O O
 2) O O O O O O O O

C1.2: The Placement of Pairs within the Second Halves of Larger Pairs

The second major tendency in the placement of pairs is that when a portion of narrative is divided into two sections (parallel or otherwise), smaller pairs are more likely to occur in the second half than in the first. When pairs do occur in both sections, the pair (or pairs) in the second section are usually of greater complexity.

C1.2.1: Within Small Forms of Parallels:

The tendency for pairs to occur in the second half of larger pairs is traceable back to the small forms of parallels that we have previously observed both in oral narrative and written (Nitsay and Kaun A:n) literature. Prominent examples are as follows:

¹ An additional example of a pattern in which Sections A1 and A2 each consist of a smaller parallel pair can be seen in Section 9C on pages 226-229 of chapter four. It was initially used to illustrate how parallel verses in a quatrain can each be composed of a pair of parallel lines. The two verses are actually Sections A1 and A2 of a larger pattern.

C1.2.1.1: Within Nitsay:

a: Doubled Five-Syllable Parallel Pair:

ພວກນ້ອຍໃນພາສາດ (phuak nau:y nai pha:sa:t ພວກນ້ອຍໃນພາສາດ e. servants) in the palace	ຫັດຖະບາດຕີນມື hatthabat tin meu:) hands>feet / hands>feet'
--	--

{ຊຸນທຶງ (Khun Theung)}

The structure of this phrase can be expressed as follows:

A1	>	A2
(servants)	>	{a1 a2 }
	>	(hands>feet > hands>feet)

The parallels include:

- 1) The major doubled pair is A1 > A2. The phrase 'hands > feet' in the second half means: people who do work in place of the hands and feet of the king.
- 2) The second half of the doubled pair is composed of a smaller pair. The initial phrase ຫັດຖະບາດ (hatthabat) consists of the Pali words ຫັດຖະ (hadtha) 'hands' and ບາດ (ba:t) 'feet', followed by the phrase ຕີນມື (tin meu:) which consists of the equivalent Lao words ຕີນ (tin) 'feet' and ມື (meu:) 'hands'.
- 3) The doubled pair in the second half of the larger pair consists of two smaller pairs, as follows:

- a1) Hands > Feet
- a2) Hands > Feet

Hands and feet are parallel to one another in context. Neither are included for their individual characteristics but rather those that they share in common, i.e. both are parts of the body with which physical labor is done.

b: Doubled Twelve-Syllable Parallel Pair:

The following example was previously described in Section 2.4 on pages 184-185 of chapter four. Each twelve-syllable pair is divided into two sections of six syllables each.

First Pair:

First Half: 'As for me, When I eat something good
Second Half: it is fitting to swallow it 'Khwak Khwak'

Second Pair:

First Half: When I eat something that is not right for my
mouth
Second Half: it is fitting to **swallow it with difficulty,**
swallow it slowly'

{ຊຸນທົງ (Khun Theung)}

The second halves of both pairs include smaller pairs.² The pair in the second half of the first pair consists of two onomatopoeic monosyllabic words, ຄວັກ>ຄວັກ (khwak khwak), which describe the sound that is made during swallowing. Typically, the pair that occurs in the second half of the second pair is of greater complexity, double the length of the former. It fits into the category of doubled pair with identical initial words: ກິນບາກ > ກິນຊ້າ

² Whereas in the previous example the entire second half of the doubled pair was composed of a smaller pair, in this passage the smaller pairs do not occupy the entire second halves of either the first or second pair. If one looks at the remaining syllables of the second halves of both pairs (i.e. their initial syllables), one will observe that they are identical. These syllables serve to strengthen the parallel bond between the two major pairs in this passage.

(keu:n nya:k keu:n sa:) 'Swallow difficult, Swallow slow'.³

C1.2.1.2: Within Kau:n A:n:

C1.2.1.2.1: Within Hemistichs of a Poetic Line:

We have observed that the most frequent position for doubled pairs in Kau:n An is the second hemistich of a poetic line: 000 00 > 00

³ The following more complex passage was originally quoted on pp.190-192 of chapter four as an example of the stringing together of parallel pairs.

Part One:

One point	1.A1) a1) a fire in (one's) house	a1) do not take it outside (one's) house
Two points	1.A2) a2) a fire outside (one's) house	a2) do not bring it inside (one's) house

Part Two:

2.A1) That is,	a1) whoever comes and speaks badly		
	a2) whoever	a1) comes and speaks ill of	
		a2) comes and becomes embroiled in	
2.A2)	a1) consider carefully		
	a2) reflect first		
2.A2	a1) (if you) should	a1) speak your husband	a1) then speak
		a2) tell	a2) then tell
2.A2	a2) (if it is) not	a1) fitting to speak then	a1) a1) do not speak
		a2) fitting to tell	a2) do not tell
			a2) (you) should keep it to yourself

(ខ្នងបំណី (Khun Bau:rom) bundle 1, p.16a; book: p.30)

Although both parts of this passage include smaller replication, the parallels in the second are the most complex. Part Two is divided into two non-parallel halves (2.A1 and 2.A2), each of which consists of two major parallel pairs. Note that in the first half, 2.A1, the second parallel pair splits into a smaller doubled pair ('comes and speaks ill of > comes and becomes embroiled in'). The second half of Part Two, 2.A2, is the site of most intricate layers of pairs in the passage. Each of the two major parallel phrases in 2.A2 ('If you should tell your husband then tell him' and 'If it is not fitting to tell your husband then do not tell him') is divided into two smaller pairs ('speak > tell' and 'then speak > then tell' in the first phrase and 'fitting to speak > fitting to tell' and 'then speak > then tell' in the second). The pairs in the second parallel phrase (2.A2 a2) are the most symmetrical, evenly dividing the line into two sections of equal length, each of which consists of one smaller parallel pair ('not fitting to speak/ fitting to tell' is equal in length to 'then do not speak > do not tell'). Finally, the second parallel pair in the second parallel phrase, 'do not speak > do not tell' (which is simultaneously in the second section (2.A2) of the second part of the passage as a whole) is in and of itself one half of a doubled pair together with the counterpart phrase 'keep it to yourself'.

The following chart shows the position of parallel pairs in Part Two of the passage:

A1)

A2)

1)	a1)				
	a2)	a1)			
		a2)			
2)	a1)	1) a1)		2)	a1)
		a2)			a2)
	a2)	2) a1)		2)	a1) a1)
		a2)			a2)

C1.2.1.2.2: Within Three/Two Pairs where the first hemistich is parallel with the second half of the second:

A1 A2
○○○ ○○/ ○○

One frequently finds that in this type of parallel, the second parallel pair (i.e. the second half of the second hemistich) consists of two smaller parallels. For example:

ຍ່າກໍ	ມະເນມະມາຟ້າວ	ຫາຫຼານ ເຮວ>ຮີບ
(nya: kau:	mane: mana: fa:w	ha: la:n he:w>hi:p)
The old woman	in a great hurry	searched for her grandson fast >
quickly.		

{ທ້າວແບ້ (Tha:w Bae:), Meu'a:ng Kho:ng Version, bundle 1, 9a}

C1.2.1.2.3: Within Parallel Hemistichs

When poetic lines are composed of two parallel hemistichs, the second hemistich often replicates into two parallel halves.⁴ In the following example, the second parallel hemistich consists of a doubled pair in which each individual pair consists of two parallel words:

ຝັນວ່າໄດ້	ຟາຍເອົນ້າ	ປັດ>ສີ /ລ້າງ>ສ່ວຍ
(fan wa: dai	fa:y ao nam	pat>si: /la:ng>suay)
'(She) dreamed that	(she) took water to wipe	brush > polish /
wash > wash'		

(Example from ໂກ່ແກ້ວ (Kai Kae:w))

C1.2.1.2.4: Within Parallel Verses:

Frequently the second line of a parallel couplet not only parallels the meaning of the first, but also doubles existing pairs. In the following example, the narrator describes ships at rest.

⁴ following the tendency cited in C1.2.1.2.1

- 1) ຄອມວ່າເລີ້ວ
(khau:m wa: lae:w
When (they) were finished,

ພາກັນພັກ>ຈອດ
pha: kan **phak**/jau:t
(they) **rested** > **stopped**

- 2) ທັງຫ້າຮ້ອຍສິບຫ້າເຫຼມ
(thang ha: hau:y sip ha: le:m
Five hundred fifteen ships
further

ເຊົາ > ຢັ້ງ > ບໍ່ກາຍ
sao > yang > bau: ka:y)
rested > **stopped** > **did not go**

(ທ້າວເບ້ (Tha:w Bae:) Meu'a:ng Khong, bundle 1, p.9b)

There is a single parallel pair in the first line, in the second half of its second hemistich: ພັກຈອດ (phak jau:t) 'rest > stop'. In the second line, the replication is doubled. The parallel pair ເຊົາຢັ້ງ (sao yang) 'rest > stop' forms a parallel counterpart to the pair in the initial line. It occurs as one half of the larger doubled pair without identical words ເຊົາຢັ້ງ > ບໍ່ກາຍ (sao yang bau: kai) 'rest>stop > do not go further', which occupies the entire second hemistich.⁵

C1.2.2: Within the Context of an AAB Pattern

Within an AAB pattern, the tendency for smaller pairs to occur in the second half of larger pairs can be seen in the following:

⁵ In this additional example, originally quoted on pp.220-224 of chapter four; all four hemistichs are parallel:

- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------------|---|--|
| 1) ບາກໍ | ຜນະກໍໃຈໄວ້ | > | ຫຼິ້ງກະບວນທຸກທີ່ |
| He surveyed | | | looked over its appearance every place |
| 2) ທ້າວກໍ | ຫຼຽວພຸ້ນພີ | > | ຫຼຽວໃກ້ຊິວໄກ |
| He | looked there>here | | looked near>far |

(ທ້າວກໍາກາດໍາ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.9b; book: p.52)

In the initial line, each hemistich is parallel, but there are no parallels in individual hemistichs. In the second line, however, not only are the hemistichs parallel to one another, but each individual hemistich further replicates into a smaller parallel pair.

C1.2.2.1: The Placement of Pairs within the Second Halves of Sections A1 and A2

If Sections A1 and A2 are both divided into two halves (parallel or otherwise), smaller pairs will frequently occur in the second halves of each section. The parallels in the second section, however, generally display greatly complexity than their counterparts in the first.

In the following example, Sections A1 and A2 each consist of two parts. The parts in a given section are not parallel to one another and therefore are represented in the following chart as 1 and 2 rather than a1 and a2. Parallel pairs occur in the second part of each section.

A1:

- 1)
- 2) a1)
- a2)

A2:

- 1)
- 2) a1)
- a2)

There are three layers of replication in this example: a) the parallel couplet of Sections A1 and A2, b) the division of Sections A1 and A2 into two non-parallel halves, and c) the division of the second halves of Sections A1 and A2 into smaller parallel couplets.

In the following passage from the story ໄກ້ເກ໋ວ (Kai Kae:w), the hero has travelled to the land of a giant who has a beautiful human daughter. While the giant is hunting in the forest, the hero and the giant's daughter become lovers. When the giant returns home, he becomes suspicious that a human is hiding with his daughter. The giant's questions and his daughter's answers are presented in the following manner:⁶

⁶ Words or phrases taken from the printed version of the text are placed in double parentheses.

A1)

A1.1

1 ເຖ່ນັ້ນ ພຣະພໍ່ຈ້າ ເໝັນສາບຄາວຄົນ
(tae: nan phra phau: jao men sa:p kha:w khon)
Then (her) father smelled the unpleasant smell of humans

2 ປີຕາຖາມ ພຣະຍອດນາງນົງນ້ອຍ
(pita: tha:m phra nyau:t nang nong nau:y)
(Her) father asked her:

3 ນາງເຮື້ຍ ກູກໍ ເໝັນສາບເຮັດ ຄືກິ່ນຄາວຄົນ ຢູ່ເຮື້ຍ
(na:ng heu'y ku: kau: men sa:p thae: keu: kin kha:w khon yu: lae:w)
"Daughter, I smell a truly unpleasant smell as if the stench of humans

4 ເຖ່ນຈັກ ມີຄົນມາ ຢູ່ນຳນາງນ້ອຍ
(hen jak mi: khon ma: yu: nam na:ng nau:y)
I think that a human has come to live with my young daughter"

A1.2

1 ເຖ່ນັ້ນ ນາງຄານ (ນ້ອຍ) ພາທິຂານຕອບ
(tae: nan na:ng kha:n ((nau:y)) phathi: kha:n tau:p)
Then the beautiful ((young)) woman answered:

a1)

2 ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ ມີທ່ອນຮູ້ ຄົນດຸ່ງເດີນມາ ນີ້ເດ
(kha:y bau: mi: hau:n hu: khon dung deu'n ma: ni: de:)
" I have never known a human to travel here

a2)

3 ອັນເຖ່ນ ຊາວເມືອງຄົນ ບໍ່ທ່ອນມີເພີມາໄດ້
(an tae: sa:w meu'ang khon bau: hau:n mi: phai ma: dai)
There has never been anyone from the land of humans who has been able to travel here"

A2)

A2.1

1 ເຖ່ນັ້ນ ກັນດານທ້າວ ປີຕາຍັງກ່າວ
(tae: nan kanda:n tha:w pita: nyang ka:w)
Then (her) father, the giant, repeatedly said:

2 ມັນຫາກ ເໝັນກິ່ນຮ້ອນ ຄືລືຢູ່ໃນ ນີ້ເຮື້ຍ
(man ha:k men kin hau:n keu: li: yu: nai ni: lae:w)
"There is a hot unpleasant smell as if (a human) is hiding inside

3 ຄັນວ່າ ຈອມນາງນ້ອຍ ເຫັນຄົນນາງບອກພໍ່ ເສັຍຫ້ອນ
(khan wa: jau:m na:ng nau:y hen khon na:ng bau:k phau: sia: thau:n)
If my young daughter has seen a human, please tell me

4 ພໍ່ກໍ ອົດບາກເຮັດ ກິນຊ້າງບໍ່ພໍ ລູກເຮື້ຍ
(phau: kau: eut nya:k thae: kin sa:ng bau: phau: lu:k heu'y)
I am truly starving; I have not eaten enough elephants, my child"

A2.2

1 ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ນາງຄານນ້ອຍ ພາທີຂານຍັງກ່າວ
(meu'a: nan na:ng kha:n nau:y pha:thi: kha:n nyang ka:w)
Then the beautiful young woman repeatedly answered:

a1)

2 ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ ເຫັນທຸ່ງເຮັດ ສັງຊິເວົ້າຊົກຊົນ ((ລຳໄລ))
(khau:y bau: hen thia:ng thae: sang si: wao sok son ((lam lai)))
"I have truly not seen (anyone); Why do you ask me again and again?"

3 ເຈົ້າກໍ ເດີນໄປຂ້ວາມ ຮອບພານໃນປ່າ
(jao kau: deu'n pai khwa:m hau:y pha:n nai pa:)
You have travelled past tracks of hunters in the forest

4 ມັນຫາກ ເໝັນກິນຮ້ອນ ໃນເຈົ້າອອກມາ ເຮັດເຮັດ
(man hak men kin hau:n nai jao auk ma: thae: lae:w)
Truly it is the hot and unpleasant smell inside of you that is coming out

a2)

1 ເຮັດກ່ອນນັ້ນ ຂ້ອຍຢູ່ປາງທອງ
(tae: kau:n nan khau:y yu: pang thau:ng)
Before, I stayed in the golden palace

2 ກໍບໍ່ ມີເໝັນສັງ ກິນຄົນມາໃກ້
(kau: bau: mi: men sang kin khon ma: kai)
And there was no unpleasant smell of humans that came near

⁷I cannot find the meaning of the word ຊົກຊົນ (sok son). In the printed version, it is replaced by ລຳໄລ (lam lai) 'repeatedly', which I have placed in double parentheses. My guess is that both words share a similar meaning, and that the word in the manuscript is used regionally.

3 ມັນຫາກ ຕິດນຳເຈົ້າ ຄານຄົນເດີນປ່າ ((ຟານດົງນຳປ່າ))
(man hak tit nam jao kha:n khon deu'n pa: ((pha:n dong nam pa:))

It has come with you humans who travel in the forest⁸

4 ຕັງຫາກ ເໝັນກິ່ນຮ້ອນ ນຳເຈົ້າອອກມາ ແຕ່ຮ້ອນ
(tang hak men kin hau:n nam jao au:k ma: thae: lae:w)
Truly it is the hot and unpleasant smell inside of you that is coming out"

B)

1 ເຖ່ນັ້ນ ປີຕາໄທ້ ຟັງຄຳນາງກ່າວ
(Tae: nan pita: thai fang kham na:ng ka:w)
Then (her) father listened to the words that she spoke

2 ຕາມສ່ຽງທ້ອນ ກູ (ທ້າວ) ຢາກນອນ
(tam sang thau:n ku: (tha:w) ya:k nau:n)
"Never mind; I wish to sleep

3 ພໍ່ກໍ ອົດເມື່ອຍແທ້ ຊົ່ນອນເສຍສັກສນ່ອຍ
(phau: kau: it meu'a:y thae: si: nau:n sia: sak sanau:y)
I am truly exhausted; I will sleep for a little bit

4 ພໍ່ກໍ ເດີນພົງໄພ ເມື່ອຍແຄ້ນວັນນີ້
(phau: kau: deu'n phong phai meu'a:y kha:n wan ni:)
I have travelled through the forest; I am exhausted today"

(ໄກ່ແກ້ວ (Kai Kae:w) bundle 3, p.5a-b; book: pp.105-106)

The structure of the pattern

The information in this passage can be presented in a simplified manner as follows:

A1)

1) Giant: "I smell a stench; I suspect that a human has come to live with you."

2) Daughter: "There has never been a human that has travelled here."

⁸ I am uncertain of the word ຄານ (kha:n) in context. The line is changed in the printed text to: ມັນຫາກ ຕິດນຳເຈົ້າ ຟານດົງນຳປ່າ (man hak tit nam jao pha:n dong nam pa:) 'It has come with you, a hunter, from the forest'.

A2)

- 1) Giant: "I smell a stench of a human; If you have seen him please tell me because I am very hungry."
- 2) Daughter: "Why ask me again? I have not seen a human. You have travelled past tracks of human hunters in the forest and the smell has entered the house with you."

Part B:

Giant: "Never mind; I am tired and will sleep."

The Parallel Relationship Between Sections A1 And A2

Sections A1 and A2 are parallel:

a: in structure; Both consist of two sections, 1) the question of the giant, and 2) the answer of his daughter. (Part B consists entirely of the giant's speech.)

b: in meaning;

b1: In both sections, the giant states: 1) that he smells a human, and 2) that he wants his daughter to give him information about the human.

b2: In both sections, the daughter lies to her father, stating that she has not encountered a human in the palace.

In the conclusion in Part B, the father accepts his daughter's lies (whether or not he believes them), agreeing to go to sleep without arguing the matter further. The progression in this pattern fits into category 1.1., a problem resolved through a series of actions carried out by the principal character. The giant's daughter does not wish her lover to be eaten by her father. In Sections A1 and A2 she lies, and as a result in Part B her wish is fulfilled: her lover is left unharmed by the giant.

Replications of two in Sections A1 and A2

The second parts of Sections A1 and A2 (i.e. the daughter's answer) replicate further into two parallel halves.

Replications in the Second Part of Section A1

The daughter's answer in Section A1 is made up of two parallel statements, a1 and a2. In both statements, the daughter declares that a human has never come to where they live. The parallel phrasing between lines is more evident in the original Lao than in translation.

Line a1: ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ ມີຫ່ວງຮູ້ ຄົນດຸ່ງເດີນມາ ນີ້ເດ
(kha:y bau: mi: hau:n hu: khon dung deu:n ma: ni: de:)
"I have never known a human to come"

Line a2: ອັນຜູ້ ຊາວເມືອງຄົນ ບໍ່ຫ່ວງມີໄພມາໄດ້
(an tae: saw meua'ng khon bau: hau:n mi: phai ma: dai)
There has never been anyone from the land of humans able to travel here"

The two statements of the giant's daughter are progressive parallels. Whereas in statement a1 the giant's daughter merely comments that she has never known a human to come to her palace, in statement a2 she adds the information that it is beyond human ability.

Replications in the Second Part of Section A2

The speech of the giant's daughter in Section A2 is similarly divided into two parallel halves, as follows:

a1)

- 1) I have not seen (any humans). Why ask me?
- 2) You have travelled past hunter's tracks in the forest
- 3) Truly it is the hot and unpleasant smell inside of you that is coming out

a2)

- 1) Before I stayed in the golden palace
- 2) And there was no unpleasant smell of humans that came near
- 3) It has come with you.... humans who travel in the forest⁹
- 4) Truly it is the hot and unpleasant smell inside of you that is coming out

⁹ A portion of this line is unclear, as explained in fn.8 on p.287.

Both sections, a1 and a2, consist of two parallel statements:

- a: The daughter's denial of having seen a human
- b: The daughter's claim that the giant has brought the smell with him as a result of passing humans (or human tracks) in the forest

In addition, both sections are linked together by a tag. Their final lines are identical except for the first word of the initial phrases, as follows:

..... ຫາກ ເໝັນກິນຮ້ອນ ນຳເຈົ້າອອກມາ ເຜົ້າເຜົ້າ
(..... ha:k men kin hau:n nam jao auk ma: thae: lae:w)
'Truly it is the hot and unpleasant smell inside of you that is coming out'¹⁰

The relationship between the replications in Sections A1 and A2

All of the replications in the second parts of Sections A1 and A2 are parallel to one another. Each is an expression of the daughter's denial that a human has come to live with her.

Replications in the context of the pattern as a whole

The replications in this pattern can be described in the following chart:

A1)

1)

- 1) Then the father smelled the unpleasant smell of humans
- 2) He asked the young woman:
- 3) "Daughter, I smell a truly unpleasant smell as if the stench of humans

2)

- 1) Then the beautiful woman answered:
 - a1) "I have never known a human to travel here
 - a2) There has never been anyone from the land of humans to be able to travel here"

¹⁰ The first words of the initial phrases in the final lines of Sections a1 and a2 are respectively ມຸ້ (man) and ຕັງ (tang). Their meanings are identical in the context of the line.

A2)

1)

- 1) Then her father; the giant, repeatedly said:
- 2) "There is a hot unpleasant smell as if (a human) is hiding
- 3) If my young daughter has seen a human, please tell me
- 4) I am truly starving; I have not eaten enough elephants, my child"

2)

- 1) Then the beautiful young woman repeatedly answered:

- a1)**
- 1) "I have truly not seen; Why do you ask me again and again?
 - 2) You have travelled past tracks of hunters in the forest
 - 3) Truly it is the hot unpleasant smell inside you coming out

- a2)**
- 1) Before, I stayed in the golden palace
 - 2) And there was no unpleasant smell of humans that came near
 - 3) It has come with you.... humans that travel in the forest
 - 4) Truly it is the hot unpleasant smell inside you coming out"

B)

- 1) Then her father listened to the words that she spoke
- 2) "Never mind; I wish to sleep
- 3) I am truly exhausted; I will sleep for a little bit
- 4) I have travelled through the forest; I am exhausted today"

C1.222: The Placement of Pairs solely in Section A2

Section A2 is the second half of the largest parallel pair in a pattern i.e. Sections A1 and A2. Following the tendency for pairs to be placed in the second halves of larger pairs, when replication occurs solely in one section of a pattern, there is a greater tendency for it to occur in Section A2 than Section A1.

A1)

A2) A1)

A2)

B)

1. The following example is a travel pattern describing the princess's journey from her place of residence to the palace of her father. It occurs immediately after she has been informed that the king requests for her to pay a visit.

A1)

1 ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ສົມສະເລີານໂອບ ນາງລຸນເຮວຮີບ
(meu'a: nan som salao nau:y nang lun he:w hi:p)
Then the beautiful-figured youngest princess hurried

2 ນາງກໍ ເອົາໂອດບ້ອງ ຖືມ້າວເຊີດຄຳ
(na:ng kau: e: o:t nyau:ng theu: ma:w seu't kham)
She adorned herself, wearing a bracelet and golden crown

3 ບໍ່ຮະບວນເລີ້ວ ລົງຫໍຜາສາດ
(bau:rabua:n lae:w long hau: pha:sa:t)
After she was finished, she left from the palace

A2)

A1. a1)

4 ນາງກໍ ຍົວຮະຍາດຍ້າຍ ສາວໃຊ້ເຮືອນນຳ
(na:ng kau: nyua:ranya:t nya:y sa:w sai hae: nam)
She travelled, the servant girls moved in procession behind her

5 ບາບງູເຫຼື້ອມ ງາມເກິ່ງສາວສວັນ
(nya:p nya:p leu'a:m nga:m keu'ng sa:w sawan)
Shining radiantly, as beautiful as a woman from heaven

A1. a2)

6 ຝູງໝູ່ ນາງທັງຫົກ ພໍ້ເລນຳກິນ
(fu:ng mu: na:ng thang hok phau: lae: nam kon)
The group of six women (i.e. her older sisters) watched her from behind

7 ບາບໆເຫຼືອມ ສາວຫຼັງນຳຫຼັງ
(nya:p nya:p leu'a:m sa:w lang nam lang)
Shining radiantly, the (servant) woman travelled behind her

B)

8 ເຖິງໂຮງຫຼວງ ພໍ່ພາອົງລຳ
(theu'ng ho:ng lua:ng phau: phanya: ong lam)
Arriving at the palace of her father, the great ruler

(ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, p.17a-b; book: p.85)

In the above pattern, the movement of the princess is described in the first two sections and her arrival at her destination is described in the third.¹¹

The second section in this pattern has been carefully constructed to form a pair of two parallel halves, each of two lines in length:

¹¹One might argue that this example is a mimic rather than actual AAB pattern. The first two sections are similar in that each describes the princess travelling on her way to see the king (i.e. she leaves from her palace in Section A1 and continues to travel in Section A2.) However, their phrasing is not similar. One should be aware, however, that Section A1 of this pattern is largely formulaic, and used in other instances in the creation of a pattern. Shortly after this passage, the princess's beauty is described in a seven-line pattern (bundle 5, p.1a; book: p.91). Its initial section is as follows:

(Phrases that are identical to Section A1 of the example are underlined.)

1 ບັດນີ້ ຈັກກລາວເຖິງ ນາງລຸນນ້ອຍ ຄະນິງບາຈົງມາກ
(bat ni: jak kla:w theu'ng na:ng lun nau:y kha:ning ba: jong ma:k)

Now I will tell of the youngest princess longing greatly for the hero

2 ນາງກໍ ເອົາໂອດຍ້ອງ ຖືຕ້າງເຂັດຄຳ
(na:ng kau: e: o:t nyaung theu: ta:ng seu't kham)

She adorned herself, wearing earrings and a golden crown

3 ຄອມວ່າ ບໍ່ຮະບວນຜູ້ລ້ວ ດູງາມທຸກສິ່ງ
(khau:m wa: bau:rabua:n lae:w du: ngam thuk sing)
After she was finished, she looked beautiful in every aspect

The second hemistich of the third line (ດູງາມ (du: ngam) 'to look beautiful') is a tag that is paralleled in the third and final line of Section A2, as follows:

3 ດູງາມສຸດ ບອດນາງລຸນນ້ອຍ
(du: ngam sut nyau:t na:ng lun nau:y)
She looked of the greatest beauty, the exalted youngest princess

The conclusion in Part B consists of a single line that states that the heroine is as beautiful as kinnari, a mythical figure renowned for its great beauty.

In both this passage and the above-mentioned travel pattern, the majority of Section A1 is formulaic and not paralleled in Section A2. In each, the concluding hemistich, i.e. the second hemistich of the third line of Section A1 (ລົງຫໍ່ຝາສາດ (long hau: pha:sat) 'leave from the palace') is the tag that links them together in meaning with the second section.

- a1) 1. The woman travelled the servant girls travelled in procession behind
2. Shining radiantly she wore a bracelet and golden crown
- a2) 1. The six women watched behind her
2. Shining radiantly the (servant) women travelled behind

Both halves of the second section are parallel in meaning in that they describe the procession of the youngest princess and her servant girls. They are also parallel in phrasing, for their second lines serve as a tag. The first hemistichs of the second lines of Pairs a1 and a2 each consist of the identical phrase: ဟဟၵူဝံ (nya:p nya:p leu'a:m). Phrases that include pairs of onomatopoeic words, as in this example, are typically used by Lao composers to bind sections together as halves of a parallel pair. The second hemistichs of the first line of Pair a1 and the second line of Pair a2 are similarly parallel. Finally, the subjects of each pair, (the youngest sister in a1 and her older sisters in a2), are described in the first hemistichs of the first lines with the identical noun ဟာၵ (na:ng) 'woman'.¹²

2. In the following example, the composer makes use of a parallel pair in Section A2 to enhance the symmetry of the placement of its tag. The tag in Section A2 (i.e. information initially stated in Section A1 that is repeated for a second time) occurs in the second half of the second section's smaller parallel pair. The pattern is as follows: In the story *ທ້າວເສືອເນົ້າ* (Tha:w Seu'a: Nao), the hero leaves home at a young age and travels to a foreign land where he becomes king. Many years later, when his father dies, nobles from his home land travel to his kingdom to invite him to return to rule. A lengthy and complex AAB pattern leads from the nobles' arrival in the foreign land to the king's acceptance of their invitation.

¹² A comparative look at this pattern in two different manuscripts (on pp.359-361 of chapter ten) illustrates how its second section (a1 and a2) has evolved from two pairs, each of a single line in length, to two pairs of two lines.

The structure of the pattern

(A complete translation of the pattern is not included because of its length.)

The pattern is organized as follows:

A1) The three nobles arrive in a foreign land. They announce their invitation for the king to return to rule over their kingdom. Information of their announcement travels to the king, narrated in the form of a pattern of category 1.4.1:¹³

- a1)** The three nobles announce the purpose of their arrival to the border guard
- a2)** The border guard brings the three nobles into the capital where they announce the purpose of their arrival to a higher official
- b)** The higher official travels to the king and informs him of the purpose of the nobles' arrival

A2) The foreign visitors have an audience with the king where they invite him to return to rule over their kingdom, as follows:

- a1)** The three nobles have an audience with the king
- a2)** A Brahman has an audience with the king and invites him to return to rule

B) The king, together with the Brahman, travel to his father-in-law (i.e. the former king). After receiving permission, the king agrees to return

(ข้าวเสือน้ำ (Tha:w Seu'a: Nao) bundle 3, last leaf - bundle 4, p.2b)

An outline of Section A2 of the pattern

As can be seen from the above chart, Section A2 of the pattern is divided into two parallel halves. The relationship between the two halves can be observed from the following detailed description of Section A2:

¹³ This pattern has previously been described on page 253 of chapter six (Section 1.4.1).

Section a1) Audience of the three nobles with the king

1.1) 1) The foreign guests travel to the king:

A1) The king orders his servants to bring his visitors to him (four lines)

A2) The king's servants travel to the three nobles and tell them that the king wants them brought before him (four lines)

B) The three nobles travel to the king (three lines)

1.2) The three nobles pay their respects and bring offerings (three lines)

1.3) The three nobles cry and cannot speak. The king sees them and is upset, missing his father. When his mood brightens, he asks a question. (five lines)

2.1) The king's speech: (five-line speech)

1) "Are my parents well?

2) Do the ministers and commoners still take care of the seven kings?

3) Do foreigners still bring tribute every year?"

2.2) The Nobles' speech: (two lines) The content of the speech is not quoted

3) The king orders his servants to prepare guest-houses and food for the troops:

A1) The king orders his servants to prepare guest houses and food for the troops (two lines)

A2) The servants prepare the guest houses (four lines)

B) The troops are brought into the guest houses (two lines)

Section a2) Audience of the Brahman with the king

1) The Brahman travels to the king and pays his respect (four lines)

1.1) The king's first speech: (three line speech)

1) "Did you have a good journey?

2) From what kingdom did you travel?

3) How long did it take you to get here?"

1.2.1) The Brahman's first reply: (two line speech)

"I travelled three months to reach you"

1.2.2) The Brahman cried, seeing the king depressed and crying. The king thought of his parents and could not speak. When his mood brightened, he spoke. (five lines)

2.1) The king's second speech: (one line speech)

"I travelled here to practice Barami (the ten virtues)"

2.2) The Brahman's second speech: (thirteen line speech)

A1) "We invite you to come back and rule. The king has died and our kingdom is sad.

A2) Our ministers have ordered us to come to bring you back to rule. Our kingdom is sad.

B) a1) We are afraid our kingdom will be taken over by others

a2) (Our kingdom) is as if a small bee separated from its mother and its hive

b) It will be destroyed. Please consider carefully."

3) The king's third speech: (three line speech)

"I agree to return, but first I must ask my father-in-law to see if he agrees for me to take his daughter."

Replication in Section A2 of the Larger Pattern

To appreciate the parallel pair in Section A2, one must view it in context of the pattern as a whole. Neither Section A1 nor Section B mentions two different groups of people arriving from the king's homeland. In Section A1, the only foreign visitors described are the three nobles and their troops. When the king hears that visitors have arrived, he orders them brought to his palace. The king's servants invite specifically the three nobles, and no one else. Why then are there two different groups of characters, the three nobles and the Brahman, and two separate audiences with the king in Section A2?

In the first audience, three polite questions are asked by the king to the three nobles concerning the state of their kingdom. The fact that the answers are inconsequential to the progress of the story can be seen by the fact that although it is narrated that the nobles answered, their answer is not given.

The second audience is parallel to the first in many ways. Both scenes, for example, share a five-line sequence with similar phrasing where the visitor cries. The king in response becomes upset, thinking about his father, and only speaks when his mood has brightened. An important difference, however, between the first and second audiences is in their number of speeches. In the second, there are two speeches of the Brahman as compared to the single unquoted speech of the nobles who preceded him. In the king's first speech to the Brahman, he asks three polite questions concerning the Brahman's journey. This parallels the speech of the king to the three nobles where he asked about the welfare of their kingdom. The second speech of the Brahman, which has no parallel in the first audience, is where the important information in the section is contained. In the speech, the king is invited to return to rule his own kingdom. This information is significant in that:

- a) It completes Section A2. Once that the king is officially invited to return, he can make preparations for the journey.
- b) The invitation is a repetition of the information that travelled to the king in three stages in Section A1. It is therefore the tag that makes Section A2 the second half of a parallel pair.

Although the initial audience of the three nobles with the king does not progress the plot in the story, it does enhance its symmetry. The tag that makes Section A2 the second half of a parallel pair occurs in the second speech of the Brahman in the second half of a parallel pair of audience scenes:

A1)

a1)

a2)

b) Concluding speech to the king: **"You are invited to return to rule over your own land" (First Tag)**

A2)

a1) The three nobles' audience with the king (one speech)

a2) The Brahman's audience with the king (two speeches)

1) First Speech

2) Second Speech: **"You are invited to rule over your own land" (Second Tag)**

B) The king agrees to return to rule over his land

This type of replication is frequently found in patterns.¹⁴ It allows the second of the two tags that bind together Sections A1 and A2 to occur in the second half of a smaller parallel pair in the second half of the larger one.

A1) Tag #1

A2) a1)

a2) Tag #2

C1.3: The Placement of Pairs In the Second Halves of the Second Halves of Larger Pairs

We have begun to see the complexity of replications that occur in 'second positions' in a pattern. The 'itchy fingers' of a composer to replicate existing pairs rarely stop at a single layer. Following the same tendency as described in the previous section (C1.2), when the second half of a pair divides into two parallel halves, its second half will frequently further divide into two even smaller parallel halves:

¹⁴ Similar examples are described in Section C4 on pp.332-336 of chapter eight and Section 2 on pp.362-368 of chapter ten.

A1)

A2) a1

a2 a1

a2

B)

1. The following passage is a description of people running out in great confusion and uproar to see the hero as he is led in a procession to become king.

A1)

a1) ລາງພອງ ເຖົ້າຫົວຂາວ ສວຍຫຼອນກໍໄປ

(la:ng phau:ng thao hua: kha:w khae:w lau:n kau: pai)

Some groups (of) old (people) with white hair and fallen-out teeth went

a2) ລາງພອງ ຂາຫັກຫ່ານ ສັກໄມ້ເທົ້າເດົາເດດເດົາລົມ ກໍໄປ

(la:ng phau:ng kha: hak ha:n sak mai thao dao daet dao lom kau: pai)

Some groups (of people) with broken legs, limping and clutching on canes, braved sun and braved wind, and went

A2)

a1) ລາງພອງ ພ້າວເອົາ ສິ້ນຂາວເມັຍ ພາດບ່າແລ່ນໄປ ນຳກົນ

(la:ng phau:ng fa:w ao sin kha:w mia: phat ba: laen pai nam kon)

Some people in great hurry took their wife's white scarf¹⁵, placed it over their shoulders, and ran behind the others

a2) a1) ລາງຄົນເອີ້ນ ພົວໂຕວ່ານ້າບ່າວ

(la:ng khon eu'n phua: to: wa: na: ba:w)

Some people called their husbands their mother's younger brother

a2) ພົວຊ້າພັດເອີ້ນ ເມັຍນັ້ນວ່າອ້ອາ ກໍມີ

(phua: sam phat eu'n mia: nan wa: i: a: kau: mi:)

Husbands in turn called their wives their father's younger sister

(ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, pp.11b-12a, book: p.79)

¹⁵ a white cloth worn on formal occasions

The Structure of the Pattern

This pattern is organized:

A1)

a1) Some groups of old people went

a2) Some groups of sick people, braving sun and wind, went

A2)

a1) Some people in great hurry put on their wife's scarf and ran out

a2) a1) Some people called their husbands their mother's younger brother

a2) Husbands in turn called their wives their father's younger sister

The Parallel Relationship between Sections A1 and A2

Sections A1 and A2 are parallel in that they are both humorous accounts of people who act contrary to their normal behavior due to their excitement to catch a glimpse of Little Crow.

Replication in Section A1

In Section A1, the two lines are parallel in that they both describe people who despite their disabilities go out to see Little Crow. Both end in the two syllable phrase ກໍໄປ (kau: pai) 'to go'.

A smaller pair occurs inside of the parallel pair which comprises Section A1, in the second half of its second parallel line. It consists of a doubled pair with identical initial words. This type of pair, with its unsubtle form of repetition, is not commonly present in Lao poetry. It is comprised of two phrases, each of two syllables, as follows: ເດົາແດດ ເດົາລົມ (dao daet / dao lom), 'to brave the sun / to brave the wind.'¹⁶ It is interesting that an expression of four syllables was chosen for this position. While it is suitable for its replication, it completely destroys the poetic rhythm of the line,

¹⁶ The meaning of the word ເດົາ (dao) in this phrase is uncertain. In context, it has been translated it as 'to brave'.

turning what should be a line of seven syllables into a line of ten.¹⁷

Replication in Section A2

The second section, A2, is divided into two parallel sections, lines one, and lines two and three. The sections are parallel to one another in that: a) each describe actions of husbands and/or wives in relationship to one another, and b) Each describe silly actions that characters commit by mistake, not aware of what they are doing because of their excitement

The second parallel half of Section A2 further replicates into two yet smaller parallels:

A2)

a2)

a1) Some people (i.e. wives) call husbands	mother's younger brother
a2) Husbands call wives	father's younger sister

These lines are parallels of one another in reverse. They are made up of the following three pairs of opposites:

A1 = Wives	B1 = Mothers	C1 = Younger Brother
A2 = Husbands	B2 = Fathers	C2 = Younger Sister

The parallels in this couplet can be described:

1) A1 calls A2	B1 C1
2) A2 calls A1	B2 C2

It is no coincidence that this replication of two, the most complex and symmetrical in the entire pattern, falls in its most significant second position, i.e. the second half of a parallel pair which occurs in the second half of the larger parallel pair of Sections A1 and A2.

Replication within the pattern as a whole

The position of the replications in the pattern can be summarized:

¹⁷ It is not surprising that the offending doubled pair has been removed from the printed version of the story.

A1) a1)

a2) 1) 2) a1 > a2

A2) a1)

a2) a1) a1 a2 b1 c1

a2) a2 a1 b2 c2

2. The following pattern presents a sequence of time. The Bodhisattva prays to the God Indra, asking for his help. After time passes, the prayer reaches its destination and, as is customary, Indra's throne becomes hot. Indra thus becomes aware that there is a problem on earth which requires his assistance.

A1) ຫຼາຍວັນໄດ້ ຫຼາຍຄືນທັດທ່ຽງ
(lay wan dai lay khu:n that thia:ng)
Many days Many nights

A2) ຫຼາຍຂວບຂຶ້ນ ຮະດູໄດ້ຂວບປີ ສະໄໝ
(lay khua:p khao radu: dai khua:p pi: thae: lae:w)
Many years seasons, years

B) ກໍຈຶ່ງ ຮ້ອນຮອດໄທ້ ທີ່ນັ່ງອິນຕາ
(kau: jing hau:n hau:t thai thi: nang inta:)
The throne of the Lord Indra became hot
{ ທ້າວແບ້ (Tha:w Bae:) Meu'a:ng Kho:ng Version, p.6b }

The Parallel Relationship between Sections A1 and A2

The initial two lines in this pattern are parallel in that a) both are concerned exclusively with the passage of time, and b) both begin with the identical syllable. They are each divided into two smaller parallel halves:

Replication within Section A1

The first line (Section A1) consists of two parallel hemistichs.¹⁸ Each hemistich begins with an identical word.

¹⁸ The two syllables at the end of the second hemistich (ທັດທ່ຽງ (that thia:ng) 'equal to') do not alter the parallel relationship between the two hemistichs.

Replication in Section A2

The second line (Section A2) similarly consists of two parallel hemistichs. If examined closely, however, the replication goes far beyond this simple parallel. The extent of the reduplication can be seen in a word-for-word translation:

Left Hemistich:

ຫຼາຍ	ຂວບ	໔໒
la:y	khua:p	khao
Many	years	years

Right Hemistich:

ຮຸດ	ໄດ້	ຂວບ	ປີ
radu:	dai	khua:p	pi:
seasons completed		years	years

Both hemistichs are parallel in that they mention periods of time, specifically, years. In both hemistichs, the parallel concept of 'year' is expressed in the form of a parallel pair of two monosyllabic words. In the first hemistich, the pair is as follows:

ຂວບ		໔໒
(khua:p	>	khao)
year	>	year

The words in the pair are not only parallel but also alliterated. In the second hemistich the pair is:

ຂວບ		ປີ
(khua:p	>	pi:)
year	>	year

Both parallel word pairs begin with the same initial word.

The parallel pairs for 'year' occur in a similar position, the final two syllables of each hemistich.

— A1 / A2

— — A1 / A2

We are observing, therefore, that Section A2 is not only divided into two parallel hemistichs, but that each of the parallel hemistichs replicate further into two smaller parallel pairs. The words in each pair are not only parallel to themselves but also to their counterparts in the opposing parallel hemistich. The following chart describes the different layers of replication:

A1)	a1)		a2)	
A2)	a1)	a1>a2	a2)	a1>a2

All four of the hemistichs in Sections A1 and A2 are parallel to one another in that each is a measurement of time.

There is one further replication in this pattern. The second parallel half (i.e. the second hemistich) of the second line is divided into a doubled pair without identical initial words, as follows:

seasons	completed	>	years	>	years
radu:	dai	>	khua:p	>	pi:
seasons	completed	>	years	>	years

The two halves of this hemistich are parallel in that each refers to a unit of time. The latter half of the pair falls in the significant position of :

- a) the second half of a parallel doubled pair which is
- b) inside of the second half of a pair of parallel hemistichs, which is
- c) inside of the second half of a pair of two parallel poetic lines (i.e. Sections A1 and A2).

Is it coincidental, then, that the latter half of the pair replicates further into a parallel pair of two monosyllabic words? The layers of replication in this pattern can be illustrated as follows:

A1) a1) Many days

a2) Many nights

A2) a1) Many a1) Years

a2) Years

a2) a1) Seasons

a2) a1) Years

a2) Years

Or simply:

A1) a1)

a2)

A2) a1) a1)

a2)

a2) a1)

a2) a1)

a2)

There are four layers of parallel pairs in the above example. It also not uncommon to find further layers of pairs that follow the same general rules of placement as AAB patterns break down into smaller and smaller parallel units.

Chapter Eight: The AAB Pattern: Parallels Within Parallels, Part Two

C2: The Placement of Smaller Patterns within a Pattern

The second type of replication that one commonly finds in an AAB pattern is a smaller pattern. The placement of smaller patterns is:

C2.1: The Placement of Smaller Patterns in the Third Section of the Larger Pattern

As replications of two tend to occur in second positions in a pattern, replications of three tend to occur in Section B. Section B frequently divides into three sections which share, on a smaller level, the identical structure of the pattern in which they occur. Generally, the smaller pattern in Section B serves to progress the events in the larger sequence towards their conclusion. The conclusion of the larger AAB pattern coincides with the third and final section of the smaller pattern.

A1)

A2)

B) a1)

a2)

b) Conclusion

1. In Section 1.2 of chapter six on pages 250-251, we described a pattern from the story ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) that can be summarized as follows:

Section A1: The king orders his servants to go and bring Little Crow before him.

Section A2: The king's servants go to little Crow and inform him in parallel terms that the king wishes to have Little Crow brought before him.

Section B: Little Crow is brought before the king.

Section B of the pattern is comprised of the following smaller pattern:

Section B:

a1) ຜົາກໍ ພາຜົມເຈົ້າ ບາທ້າວສູ່ໂຮງ

(tae: nan khao kau: pha: jae:m jao ba: tha:w su: ho:ng)

Then they brought him to the palace

a2) ຜົາກໍ ອວນບາຂັນ ຫໍຫຼວງເນົານັ່ງ

(khao kau: ua:n ba: kheun hau: lua:ng nao nang)

They led him up to the royal palace (where he) sat

b) ຜົາກໍ ກົມຂາບໄຫວ້ ທູນເຈົ້າສູຄົນ

(khao kau: kom kha:p wai thun jao su: khon)

Everyone prostrated and paid respect to the king

This three-line passage is a typical type of travel pattern in which the movement of the hero is described in the first two sections and his arrival at his destination is described in the third. Each line in the pattern begins with the identical initial phrase ຜົາກໍ (khao kau:) 'He'. The verbs in the first two lines, ພາ (pha:) and ອວນ (ua:n), which have been translated respectively as 'to bring' and 'to lead', are interchangeable. The second word is a more literary term and thus serves as a stylistic progression that helps to make Sections a1 and a2 progressive parallels. Notice that the conclusion of the small pattern, the arrival of the hero before the king, is also the conclusion of the larger pattern as a whole. This pattern is a good example of the skillful way in which smaller replications are placed inside of larger ones so smoothly that they are hardly noticeable.

2. On pages 284-291 of chapter seven (Section C1.2.2.1), we described a pattern from the story ໄກ່ເຮັກວ (Kai Kae:w) in which a giant wishes to eat his daughter's lover. It was used to illustrate the presence of parallel pairs in the

second halves of Sections A1 and A2. This pattern can be summarized:

A1) The giant tells his daughter that he suspects that a human is hiding in their house. His daughter denies it.

A2) The giant tells his daughter for a second time that he suspects that a human is hiding in their house. His daughter for a second time denies it.

B) The giant, not wishing to argue the point further, states that he will go to sleep.

Part B is comprised of a smaller pattern:

A1)

1) ດຳນັນ ປີຕາໄທ້ ພັງຄຳນາງກ່າວ

(Tae: nan pita: thai fang kham na:ng ka:w)

Then (her) father listened to the words that she spoke

2) ຕາມຊ່າງທ້ອນ ກູ (ທ້າວ) ຢາກນອນ

(ta:m sang thau:n ku: (tha:w) ya:k nau:n)

"Never mind; I wish to sleep

A2)

1) ພໍ່ກໍ ອົດເມື່ອຍເຈັບ ຊື່ນອນເສັຍສັກສນ່ອຍ

(phau: kau: it meu'a:y thae: si: nau:n sia: sak sana:y)

I am truly exhausted; I will sleep for a little bit

B)

1) ພໍ່ກໍ ເດີນພົງໄພ ເມື່ອຍເຈັບວັນນີ້

(phau: kau: deu'n phong phai meu'a:y khae:n wan ni:)

I have traveled through the forest; I am exhausted today"

The pattern in Section B can be stated simply as:

- a1) 1: Then her father listened to the words that she spoke
- 2: "Never mind; I wish to sleep
- a2) 3: I am truly exhausted; I will sleep for a little bit
- b) 4: I have traveled through the forest; I am exhausted today"

The progression in this pattern falls into category 4.1, where an idea expressed by a character reaches its conclusion in three stages. Sections a1 and a2 are progressively parallel. In Section a1 the giant expresses his desire to sleep whereas in Section a2 he states that he will sleep. In Section b he summarizes his condition, not only stating that he is exhausted but also explaining the reason why.

C2.2: The Placement of Smaller Patterns leading up to the Third Section of the Larger Pattern

There are also variations in the placement of AAB patterns in a larger pattern:

C2.2.1: Patterns where the first two sections of the smaller pattern occur in Section A2 of the larger pattern:

A1)

A2) a1)

a2)

B) b)

(A variant of this type of placement can be seen in the Complex Pattern described on pages 339-355 of chapter nine.¹)

C2.2.2: Patterns in which the first two sections of the smaller pattern occur immediately after Section A2 and preceding Section B of the larger pattern:

¹ See especially pp.350-351. Sections A1 and A2 of a smaller pattern occur in the second half of Section A2 of a larger pattern. (The larger pattern itself occurs inside of Section B of a larger pattern.)

A1)

A2)

a1)

a2)

B) b)

(An example can be seen in the pattern described on pages 312-322 of this chapter. The placement is specifically discussed on pages 317-318.)

In both types of variation, the third section of the smaller pattern coincides with the third section of the larger pattern.

To appreciate, in context, the role of smaller patterns that occur inside of or leading up to Section B, one must bear in mind the section's importance in the pattern as a whole. Section B is the most important section of an AAB pattern. It is where a wish meets its fulfillment, an idea reaches its fullest expression, etc. The importance of the idea or event is high-lighted by the fact that it occurs in the third and final position of a pattern of three. The fact that the ultimate conclusion not only serves as the third and final part of the larger pattern, but also as the third and final part of a smaller internal pattern, distinguishes it as being on a higher and more significant level than all that has preceded it.

C2.3: The Placement of Smaller Patterns in the Third Section of the Third Section of the Larger Pattern:

We have previously observed in Section C1.3 that there are often several layers of parallel pairs placed symmetrically in the second halves of larger parallel pairs. In a similar fashion, one frequently finds several layers of AAB patterns in a larger pattern, each placed in the third section of the pattern that precedes it:

A1)

A2)

B) A1)

A2)

B) A1)

A2)

B)

Additional layers of patterns can be created in similar fashion.

The following example illustrates the complexity of replications that can occur in a relatively small piece of narrative. There are as many as five different layers of patterns in a passage of forty-five lines.

The overall pattern describes the first time that the hero, Little Crow travels to the palace, where he has been asked to play the *khaen*, a Lao wind-instrument, before the king. To place the translation in context, the structure of the overall pattern will be presented first. The progression in this pattern belongs to category 1.1, where a character's wish is fulfilled through a sequence of actions.

A1) A group of young men invite Little Crow to travel to the palace and play the *khaen* before the king. Little Crow agrees.

A2) Little Crow travels to the palace together with the group of young men to play the *khaen* before the king.

B) The king, upon hearing of Little Crow's arrival, invites him into the palace where he plays the *khaen*.

The translation begins after the end of Section A2, at the beginning of the first of the smaller AAB patterns that occur inside of the larger one.²

²The earlier part of the passage has not been translated because of excessive length.

1 Second-Layer Pattern: Information of Little Crow travels to the king

A1)

1 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ໄຫວ້ນເຂົາ ຮີບເຮວມາຕ້ອນ

(tae: nan thai ban khao hip he:w ma: thau:n)

Then the townspeople rushed out to greet them (i.e. Little Crow and the young men who have led him to the palace)

2 ຕາມໃນກາລະເມື່ອນັ້ນ ໄຫວ້ນເຈົ້າ ຖາມຂ່າວຝູງບ່າວ

(tatha: nai ka:la meu'a: nan thai ban jao tham kha:w fu:ng ba:w)

At that time the leader of the townspeople asked the group of young men:

3 ສູ່ກໍ ພາກັນມາ ເຫດໃດຈິງເຈັ້ ນີ້ເດ

(su: kau: pha: kan ma: het dai jing thae: ni: de:)

"For what reason have you come?"

1 ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ຊາບໂຄງຂານ ຕ້ານຄໍາເຮວຮີບ

(meu'a: nan say tho:ng kha:n ta:n kham he:w hip)

Then the young men answered them in a hurry:

2 ຕູກໍ ຜູ້ໜຶ່ງເຈົ້າ ບາທ້າວກໍາກາ ນີ້ເລ້ວ

(tu: kau: hae:n hae: jao ba:tha:w kam ka: ni: lae:w)

"We are leading Dark Crow in procession"

A2)

1 ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ຝູງໄຫວ້ນ ເມື່ອທູນບັງກະໝ່ອມ

(meu'a: nan fu:ng thai ba:n meu'a: thu:n nyang kramau:m)

Then the townspeople left to inform Their Majesty

2 ບັດນີ້ ເຂົາກໍ ພາບັກກໍານ້ອຍ ມາຢັງຢູ່ສາມ ເຈົ້າເຮືບ

(bat ni: khao kau: pha:bak kam nau:y ma yang yu: sana:m jao heu'y)

"At this moment they have brought Little Dark One to the (royal) field

3 ອັນວ່າ ທ້າວກໍານ້ອຍ ຜູ້ເປົ່າເຄາະດີ ເຈົ້າເຮືບ

(an wa: tha:w kam nau:y phu: pao khae:n di: jao heu'y)

Little Dark One, who is skilled at playing the khae:n

4 ຝູງໝູ່ ຊາບໂຖງເຂົ້າ ສະໜ່ວງເຖິງຫົນ
(fu:ng mu: say tho:ng khao hae: ma: theu'ng han)
A group of young men have led him there in procession"

Section B)

2 Third-Layer Pattern: The king's commands

A1) (of the third-layer pattern)

A1 (of the first fourth-layer pattern)

1 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ພາຫຼວງເຈົ້າ ມີຄໍາໂອວາດ
(tae: nan phanya: lua:ng jao mi: kham o:wa:t)
Then the king had an order

2 ສູ້ຮີບ ທັນມັນມາ ສູ້ໂຮງກູດທ້າຍ
(su: hi:p than man ma: su: ho:ng ku: thae:)
"Hurry and bring him to my palace"

A2) (of the first fourth-layer pattern)

1 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ໄທເດັກນ້ອຍ ໄປຮີບເຮັດພະລັນ
(tae: nan thai dek nau:y pai hi:p hew phalan)
Then the young ones went in a great hurry

2 ກໍຈິ່ງເຖິງ ທ້າວກໍານ້ອຍ ຈາຕ້ານບອກບາ
(kau: jing theu'ng tha:w kam nau:y ja: tan bau:k ba:)
And thus reached Little Dark One and spoke, telling him:

3 ອັນວ່າ ຮາຊາເຈົ້າ ທັນມາເຮັດຮີບ ຈິ່ງດາຍ
(an wa: ra:sa: jao than ma: hew hi:p jing da:y)
"The king (has ordered us to) bring you before him in a hurry"

B) (of the first fourth-layer pattern)

a1) ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ເຂົ້າກໍ ພາຜາມເຈົ້າ ບາທ້າວສູ້ໂຮງ
(tae: nan khao kau: pha: jaem jao ba: tha:w su: ho:ng)
Then they brought the prince to the palace

a2) ເຂົ້າກໍ ອວນບາຂັນ ທໍ່ຫຼວງເນົານັ້ງ
(khao kau: ua:n ba: kheun hau: lau:ng nao nang)
They led him up to the palace to sit

b) ເຂົາກໍ ກົມຂາບໄຫວ້ ທູນເຈົ້າສູ່ຄົນ
(khao kau: kom kha:p wai thu:n jao su: khon)
They all prostrated and wai-ed before the king

A2) (of the third-layer pattern)

A1 (of the second fourth-layer pattern)

X1)

1 ອຕຖາຕຖາ ໃນກາລະເມື່ອນັ້ນ ພຍາຫຼວງເຈົ້າ ມີຄຳຖາມຖີ່
(atatha:tatha: nai ka:la meu'a: nan phanya: lua:ng jao mi: kham tha:m thi:)
At that time the king asked many times:

2 ອັນວ່າ ບັກກຳນ້ອຍ ມັນນັ້ນຢູ່ທີ່ໃດ ນັ້ນເດ
(an wa: bak kam nau:y man nan yu: thi: dai nan de:)
“Where is Little Dark One?”

Y1)

a1) ບາກໍ ຫົດອ້ອມປ້ອມ ນັ່ງຢູ່ກລາງເຂົາ
(ba: kau: hot au:m pau:m nang yu: kla:ng khao)
He (i.e. Little Crow) rolled his body into the shape of a ball, sitting in the midst of everyone

a2) ບາກໍ ດຳຄຶມມຶມ ຢູ່ກລາງເຂົາແທ້
(ba: kau: dam khim mim yu: kla:ng khao thae:)
He was as black as pitch, sitting in the midst of everyone

A2) (of the second fourth-layer pattern)

X2)

1 ເຮົາບໍ່ຊ້າ ເລີຍບອກບາຄານ
(tae: nan khao bau: sa: leu'y bau:k bakha:n)
Then, without hesitation, they told him (what the king had asked)

Y2)

2 ບາກໍ ໄຂຄຳງາມ ຕໍ່ພຍາຈີ້ຈ້ອຍ
(ba: kau: khai kham nga:m thau: phanya: ji: jau:y)
He spoke elegant words to the king, full of animation

a1) ທານໂທດຖ້ອນ ຂໍເພິ່ງຊີວິດ
(tha:n tho:t thau:n khau: pheu'ng si:wit)
“Forgive me, May I place my life under your protection

a2) ຂໍທານສຸກ ເພິ່ງບຸນຈອມເຈົ້າ

(khau: tha:n suk pheu'ng bun jau:m jao)
 May you grant me happiness under the bun of Your Greatest Majesty"

B) (of the second fourth-layer pattern)

1 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ພຍາຫຼວງເຈົ້າ ບໍ່ທຽນແບງເບິ່ງ
 (tae: nan phanya: lua:ng jao nyau: tia:n nyae:ng beu'ng)
 Then the king lifted his candle, aiming it in search (of Little Crow)

2 ພຣະກໍ ເຫັນເຈົ້າມາເຈົ້າ ຄອມມອມແທ້ຢູ່ກລາງ
 (phra kau: hen jae:m jao khau:m mau:m thae: yu: kla:ng)
 The king saw him, a small point in the distance, in the midst of everyone

3 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ພຍາຫຼວງເຈົ້າ ຖອນຄືນສຸກຖືຢູ່
 (tae: nan phanya: lua:ng jao thau:n kheu:n sathit yu:)
 Then the king returned and sat down

B) (of the third-layer pattern)

A1) (of the the third fourth-layer pattern)

1 ພຣະກໍຊ້າບອກໃຫ້ເຈົ້າ ສອນແທ້ສົງບາ ແທ້ແມ
 (phra kau: sam bau:k hai ao khae:n thae: song ba: thae: mae:)
 The king then told (his servants) to take the khae:n and give it to Little Crow

A2) (of the third fourth-layer pattern)

2 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ຊາຍໂຖງພ້ອມ ເຈົ້າສອນບໍ່ສົງ
 (tae: nan sa:y tho:ng phau:m ao khae:n nyau: song)
 Then the young men together took the khae:n, lifting it up and passing it (to Little Crow)

B) (of the third fourth-layer pattern)

3 ບາບ້າວຜູ້ ກາດຳນ້ອຍຮັບເຈົ້າ
 (ba: ba:w phu: ka: dam nau:y hap ao)
 Little Crow took (the khae:n)

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, pp.12b-13b; book: pp.56-57}

The smaller patterns that occur inside of the larger pattern are:

The Second-Layer AAB Pattern (the first pattern inside of the larger pattern)

The translated passage begins with this pattern. Its first two sections occur immediately preceding Section B of the larger pattern. Its progression falls into category 1.4.2. News of Little Crow's arrival at the royal grounds travels to the king in three stages:

- A1) The townspeople ask Little Crow and the young men that accompany him their purpose in travelling to the royal grounds. The young men answer that they have led Little Crow in procession to play the *khae:n* before the king.
- A2) The townspeople travel to the king, informing him that the young men have led Little Crow in procession to play the *khae:n* before the king.
- B) The king's reaction is to invite Little Crow into the palace to play the *khae:n*.

Section B of the larger pattern coincides with Section B of this smaller pattern, as follows:

- A1) A group of young men invite Little Crow to the palace to play the *khae:n* before the king
- A2) The young men together with Little Crow travel to the royal grounds
 - a1) The young men inform the townspeople that they are bringing Little Crow to play the *khae:n* before the king
 - a2) The townspeople inform the king that the young men are bringing Little Crow to play the *khae:n* before the king
- B) b) The king, upon hearing the information, invites Little Crow inside the palace to play the *khae:n*

This type of placement of smaller patterns in larger ones fits into category C2.2.2, as described on pages 310-311 of this chapter.

The first two sections of the second-layer pattern not only share a link with Section B of the larger pattern, but also with Section A2. If joined with Section A2 instead of Section B, they would form a different type of second-

layer pattern. The progression of this alternate pattern would be a variation of category 1.4.3, where information about a character is a) initially stated by the narrator, b) repeated in a speech by a second character to a third, causing c) a reaction on the part of the third character.

- a1) Narration of the young men leading Little Crow to the royal grounds to play the *khae:n*; (Section A2 of the larger pattern)
- a2) The young men tell the townspeople: "We are leading Little Crow to the royal grounds to play the *khae:n*." (Section a1 of the second-layer pattern leading up to Section B of the larger one.)
- b) The townspeople tell the king: "The young men are leading Little Crow to the royal grounds to play the *khae:n*." (Section a2 of the second-layer pattern leading up to Section B of the larger one.)

Whereas Sections a1 and a2 of the second-layer pattern share links both with Sections A2 and Section B of the larger pattern, at the same time they are not in either section:

A1)

Alternate Second-Layer Pattern:

A2)

a1)

a1) a2) The young men inform the townspeople

a2) b) The townspeople inform the king

B) b)

The Third-Layer AAB pattern

The third-layer pattern occurs in Section B of the overall pattern, which coincides with the third part of the second-layer pattern. Its progression falls into category 1.3, in which a wish is fulfilled through the carrying out of three orders. The king issues three commands based upon the information that he has received of Little Crow's presence. His third and final order

achieves his goal: Little Crow plays the *khæ:n*. The pattern is organized as follows, in the context of the larger pattern:

- A1) A group of young men invite Little Crow to the palace to play the *khæ:n* before the king
- A2) The young men together with Little Crow travel to the royal grounds.
 - a1) The young men inform the townspeople that they are bringing Little Crow to play the *khæ:n* before the king
 - a2) The townspeople inform the king that the young men are bringing Little Crow to play the *khæ:n* before the king
- B)
 - b) a1) The king's First Order, to bring Little Crow into the palace
 - a2) The king's Second Order, to identify Little Crow
 - b) The king's Third Order, to give Little Crow a *khæ:n* to play

The Fourth Layer of AAB patterns

An additional layer of AAB patterns occurs in Section B of the larger pattern. Each of the king's commands is composed of a smaller AAB pattern, as follows:

- A1) The king's First Order, to bring Little Crow into the palace
 - a1)
 - a2)
 - b)
- A2) The king's Second Order, to identify Little Crow
 - a1)
 - a2)
 - b)
- B) The king's Third Order, to give Little Crow a *khæ:n* to play
 - a1)
 - a2)
 - b)

(A detailed chart of the individual fourth-layer patterns is presented on page 322.)

The pattern that comprises Section A1, the king's initial order, has been described on pages 250-251 of chapter six, and pages 307-308 of the present chapter). It has been used to illustrate the occurrence of smaller AAB patterns inside of Section B of a larger pattern. The three-line pattern in Section B of this smaller pattern is actually a fifth-layer pattern in the context of the larger pattern as a whole.

The pattern that comprises Section A2, the king's second order, is distinguished for the replications of two that occur in its 'second positions' (i.e. the second parts of Sections a1 and a2).³

The king's final order consists of a three-line pattern of category 1.2, where the wish of the principal character is fulfilled with the carrying out of a single order:

- a1) The king orders the servants to give Little Crow a *khæ:n*
- a2) The servants give Little Crow a *khæ:n*
- b) Little Crow receives the *khæ:n*

The Conclusion of the Different Layers of Patterns

The three major patterns in this passage are as follows:

- a) The first-layer pattern where Little Crow is brought to the palace to play the *khæ:n* before the king, and
- b) The second-layer pattern where information of Little Crow's arrival results in the king's invitation for Little Crow to play the *khæ:n*, and
- c) The third-layer pattern where the king's wish to hear Little Crow play the *khæ:n* is realized with the issuing of three orders.

It is significant that the conclusion to all three layers of patterns occur in the third part of the third and final fourth-layer pattern:

³ The parallel pair in Section A1 of this pattern has been described in Section 6A2 on pp.214-215 of chapter four as an example of how expressive pairs can be used in the creation of parallel couplets.

A1)
 A2)
 a1)
 a2)
 B) b) a1) a1)
 a2)
 b)
 a2) a1)
 a2)
 b)
 b) a1)
 a2)
 b) Conclusion

The Position of Replications In the Pattern

The replication in the pattern can be illustrated in a simplified fashion as follows:

A1)		Beginning of the 1st-layer pattern
A2)		
	a1)	Beginning of the 2nd-layer pattern
	a2)	
B) b)	a1) a1) a2) b) a1) a2) b)	Beginning of the 3rd-layer pattern and the first of the 4th-layer pattern Beginning of the 5th-layer pattern
	a2) a1) 1) 2) a1) a2) a2) 1) 2) a1) a2) b)	Beginning of the second 4th-layer pattern
	B) a1) a2) b) Conclusion	Beginning of the third 4th-layer pattern

The following chart shows the position of replication in greater detail:

A1) A group of young men invite Little Crow to the palace to play the khae:n before the king

A2) The young men together with Little Crow travel to the royal grounds.

a1) The young men inform the townspeople that they are bringing Little Crow to play the khae:n before the king

a2) The townspeople inform the king that the young men are bringing Little Crow to play the khae:n before the king

B) b) A1) The king's First Order, to bring Little Crow into the palace

a1) The king orders his servants to bring Little Crow to the palace

a2) The servants travel to Little Crow and tell him the king's order

b) a1) They lead him to the palace

a2) They lead him up the palace

b) Little Crow pays respect before the king

A2) The king's Second Order, to identify Little Crow

a1) 1) The king asks: "Where is Little Crow?"

2) a1) Little Crow, huddled in the shape of a ball, sits among them

a2) Little Crow, black as pitch, sits among them

a2) 1) The king's question is repeated by his servants to Little Crow

2) Little Crow answers the question:

a1) "Forgive me, grant me protection under your bun

a2) Grant me happiness under the power of Your Majesty"

b) The king lights a candle, identifies Little Crow, and returns to his throne

B) The king's Third Order, to give Little Crow a khae:n to play

a1) The king orders his servants to give Little Crow a khae:n

a2) The king's servants give Little Crow a khae:n

b) Little Crow takes the khae:n

C3: Intermingling of Twos and Threes

Replications of twos and threes may initially appear to be locked in their second and third positions, separate and independent from one another. However, frequently the two types of replication work together and compliment each other in the same sequence. The relationship between twos and threes can often be quite complex. The relationship is illustrated in the following examples:

C3.1: Second-layer patterns are frequently arranged inside of a larger pattern as follows:

A1)

A2) a1)

a2)

B) b)

This arrangement, as originally described in Section C2.2.1, on page 310, serves a variety of purposes. The first two sections of the second-layer pattern fit in Section A2. This divides Section A2, the most significant second position in the larger pattern, into two parallel halves. The third part of the second-layer pattern coincides with Section B. The significance of the third part of the larger pattern is therefore accentuated by the smaller pattern that leads up to it.

C3.2: In larger passages, a single sequence of information can frequently fit simultaneously into two different types of patterns. The following example can be organized into two alternate patterns depending on whether one emphasizes replications of twos or threes. In both of the patterns, the placement of internal replications (whether parallel pairs or smaller patterns) conforms to the conventions that have been described in chapters seven and eight of this thesis.

In the following pattern, the king orders his subjects to descend a hole in the earth to chase after a miraculous chicken.

A1)

1 ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ພຣະກໍ ທັນເອົາທ້າວ ເສນາທຸກໝູ່
(meu'a: nan phra kau: than ao tha:w se:na: thuk mu:)
Then the king called for all of his servants, each group

2 ມາພໍ່ພ້ອມ ໂຮມສ້ຽງສູ່ພຍາ
(ma: pham phau:m ho:m sia:ng su: phanya:)
They all came, gathering together, every noble

3 ດຽວນີ້ ໄຟຜູ້ ຂັນລົງໄດ້ ຮູ້ຫຼວງເອົາໂກ່
(dia:w ni: phai phu: khan long dai hu: lua:ng ao kai)
"Now who will volunteer to descend the great hole after the chicken?"

4 ເຮົາຈັກ ທານທອດໄຫ້ ຂອງຮ້ອຍຊັ້ນອຍຄຳ ເຈົ້າເຮືບ
(hao jak tha:n thau:t hai khau:ng hau:y sanau:y kham jao heu'y)
I will give a hundred things, a bit of gold"

5 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ເສນາທ້າວ ບໍ່ມີທູນບາດ
(tae: nan se:na: tha:w nyau: meu: thun bat)
Then the ministers raised their hands (in respect), informing the king:

6 ຂ້າພະ ຂໍໂທດທ້ອນ ອະໄພໃຫ້ໂຜດຜາຍຜູດ ຜູ້ທ້ອນ
(kha: phra khau: tho:t thau:n aphai hai pho:t pha:y dae: thae: thau:n)
"We, your servants, ask forgiveness, please show your compassion"

7 ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ເສນາພ້ອມ ພໍ່າດຽວທູນບາດ
(meu'a: nan se:na: phau:m pham dia:w thun bat)
Then, together, all of the ministers informed the king

8 ເອົາກໍ ຂັນບໍ່ໄດ້ ຂໍສ້ຽງສູ່ພຍາ ຫັນແລ້ວ
(khao kau: khan bau: dai khau: sia:ng su: phanya: han lae:w)
They could not volunteer, Each of the nobles asked (for forgiveness)

A2)

9 ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ພບາກໍ ເຕີນໄພ້ບ້ານ ທຸກແຫ່ງມາໂຮມ
(meu'a: nan phanya: kau: teu'n phai ba:n thuk hae:ng ma: ho:m)
Then the king had the commoners from every location come to assemble together

10 ເຂົາກໍ ໄຫຼກັນມາ ອຸ່ຄົນມວນພ້ອມ
(khao kau: laikan ma: su: khon mua:n phau:m)
They flowed in, everyone together

11 ເຂົາກໍ ພາກັນເຂົ້າ ສນາມຫຼວງຄັບຄັງ
(khao kau: pha:kan khao sana:m lua:ng khap khang)
They entered together, crowding the royal field

12 ພູເບດເຈົ້າ ຫຼິງຢ້ຽມພໍ່ຄອຍ
(phu:be:t jao ling yia:m phau: khau:y)
The king watched

13 ພຣະກໍ ກອບກ່າວຕ້ານ ຖາມໝູ່ພົນຫຼວງ
(phra kau: kau:y ka:w ta:n tham mu: phon lua:ng)
The king spoke, asking his subjects:

14 ໃຜຜູ້ ມີອາຄົມ ລ່ວງຫົນຫ່ອນໄດ້
(phai phu: mi: akhom lua:ng hon hau:n dai)
"Who has magical powers and is able to disappear?"⁴

15 ໃຜຈັກ ຕາມເອົາໄດ້ ດວງຫອມຫາງໄກ່
(phai jak tam ao dai duang hau:m hang kai)
Who is able to follow after the fragrant chicken's tail?⁵

16 ກູຊີ ທານທອດໃຫ້ ເງິນເບ້ຍບໍ່ແຈໝັ່ງ ແຕ້ແລວ
(ku: si: tha:n thau:t hai ngeu'n bia: bau: nae:ng thae: lae:w)
I will give money without regret"

⁴ The word ຫ້າວ (hau:n) 'ever' in the second hemistich is replaced in the printed text with-ໄຫຼ (hau) 'to fly'. The resulting line is: 'Who has magical powers, can disappear and fly?' The left and right hemistichs are parallel.

⁵ The last two syllables, ພິເພີກ (phi:pheu'k), seem to be a regional pronunciation of the phrase ພິພາກ-(phi:pha:k) 'to speak'. They are replaced by the latter phrase in another manuscript that I have examined of the same story.

17 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ຊາວເມືອງພ້ອມ ຄຳດຽວພີເພິກ
(tae: nan sa:w meu'a:ng phau:m kham dia:w phi: pheu'k)
Then, together, the people spoke the same words:

18 ຝູງຂ້າ ໂດຍບໍ່ໄດ້ ຂໍເຈົ້າໂພດຊີວັງ ພຣະເຮືບ
(fu:ng kha: do:y bau: dai khau: jao phot si:wang phra heu'y)
"We, your servants, cannot follow your command, please spare our lives"

19 ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ຣາຊາເຈົ້າ ຂັ້ງຫວັງຄົມຄຽດ
(meu'a: nan ra:sa: jao khanang thua:ng khom khiat)
Then the king felt his chest tighten; he was furious

20 ຄັນວ່າ ບໍ່ ໄດ້ໄກ່ໄຮ້ກ້ວ ຕົວນີ້ບໍ່ຍອມ ງ່າຍເລື້ວ
(khan wa: bau: dai kai kae:w thua: ni: bau: nyau:m nga:y lae:w)
'I will not give up easily (until) I get this precious chicken'

B)

21 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ພຣະກໍ ທັນສຳທ້າວ ຝູງໝູ່ເມືອງໄກ່
(tae: nan phra kau: than sam tha:w fu:ng mu: meu'a:ng kai)
Then the king called for the nobles of the far-off lands

22 ເຂົາກໍ ໄຫຼ່ກັນມາ ອູ່ເມືອງມວນພ້ອມ
(khao kau: laikan ma: su: meu'a:ng mua:n phau:m)
They flowed in from every land, together

A1) (of the second-layer pattern)

23 ພູທອນທ້າວ ຕັດຖາມທຸກໝູ່
(phu: thau:n tha:w tat tham thuk mu:)
The king asked every group

24 ເຂົາກໍ ຂັ້ນບໍ່ໄດ້ ບອມເຈົ້າອູ່ພຍາ ເຮັດເລື້ວ
(khao kau: khan bau: dai nyau:m jao su: phanya: thae: lae:w)
They could not volunteer; they admitted to the king, every noble

A2) (of the second-layer pattern)

25 ນັບຜູ້ທີ່ໄວ້ເມືອງ ພັນເມືອງມາສ່ວຍ
(nap tae: hua: meu'a:ng phan meu'a:ng ma: sua:y)
Out of a thousand lands that paid tribute

26 ເຂົາກໍ ຂັນບໍ່ໄດ້ ໝົດສ້ຽງຊ່ວຍບາ ແທ້ແລ້ວ
 (khao kau: khan bau: dai mot sia:ng su: phanya: thae: lae:w)
 No one could volunteer; not a single noble

B) (of the second-layer pattern)

a1) (of the third-layer pattern)

27 ກໍ່ຫາກ ດູໝົດສ້ຽງ ຊາວເມືອງທັງໄພ່
 (kau: ha:k du: mot sia:ng sa:w meu'a:ng thang phai)
 It appeared as if (out of) everyone, all of the commoners, and people of the country

a2) (of the third-layer pattern)

28 ເມືອງສ່ວຍເຈົ້າ ມາສ້ຽງຊ່ວຍບາ
 (meu'a:ng suay jao ma: sia:ng su: phanya)
 (And) all of the nobles who came from all of the tribute-paying countries

B) (of the third-layer pattern)

29 ກໍບໍ່ ມີໃຜຜູ້ ຂັນລົງໂດຍພບາ
 (kau: bau: mi: phai phu: khan long do:y phanya:)
 That there was no one to volunteer to descend, in accordance with the king's request

{ໄກ່ແກ້ວ (Kai Kae:w) bundle 1, pp.18a-19a; book: pp.43-44}

The arrangement of the pattern according to replications of three

On one level, this passage can be viewed as a symmetrical arrangement of patterns of three. There are three layers of patterns, each layer occurring in the third part of the preceding layer, as follows:

- A1)
- A2)
- B) A1)
- A2)
- B) A1)
- A2)
- B)

The First-Layer Pattern (i.e. the overall pattern)

The first-layer pattern is organized as follows:

- A1) The king called together all of his royal servants, asking them to go after a chicken in a hole. They all refused.
- A2) The king called together all of his commoners, asking them to go after a chicken in a hole. They all refused.
- B) The king called together all of the nobles from far-off tribute-paying lands but none could volunteer. Of all the people that the king called, none could meet his command.

Each section describes in parallel terms the king's order and its failure to be carried out. Section B differs from the preceding two sections. Rather than merely describing the failure of one group to meet the king's command, it summarizes the dilemma.

The Second-Layer Pattern

The third part of the larger pattern forms a smaller pattern, as follows:

Section B:

- 1) Then the king called together the nobles from the far-off lands
- 2) They flowed in from every land, together
- A1) 1) The king asked every group
- 2) They could not volunteer, they admitted to the king, not a single noble
- A2) 1) Out of a thousand cities (that the king asked)
- 2) They could not volunteer, not a single noble

- B) 1) In their entirety, all of the country's people
 2) and all of the nobles from tribute-paying lands, in their entirety
 3) None could volunteer

The second-layer pattern begins with the third line of the third section of the larger pattern. The initial two lines of Section B are tag lines that bind the sections together with Sections A1 and A2. The initial two lines are not only parallel in meaning to their counterparts in Sections A1 and A2, but also very similar in phrasing.⁶

The progression of the second-layer pattern fits into category 3.2, where an idea of the narrator is expressed and summarized. If one looks carefully at the text, one will realize that in both Sections A1 and A2, the king is addressing the same group of people, i.e. the nobles from far-off lands that were invited by the king.

The second lines of Sections A1 and A2 of this smaller pattern form a tag. With the exception of the initial two syllables in their right hemistichs, they are identical. (Notice that they include identical initial and final phrases.)

ເຂົາກໍ	ອັນບໍ່ໄດ້	..... ຊຸ່ພບາ	ແທ້ແລ້ວ
(khao kau:	khan bau: dai	..... su: phanya:	thae: lae:w)
They	could not volunteer;	..... every noble	

The Third-Layer Pattern

The third-layer pattern occurs inside the third part of the second-layer pattern. Similar to the second-layer pattern, its progression belongs to category 3.2, the expression of an idea by the narrator.

- B) A1) in their entirety, the country's people
 A2) from foreign lands, in their entirety, every noble
 B) there was none who could volunteer

Sections A1 and A2 each mention a distinct group of people, commoners and

⁶Notice, for example, that the first line of Section B is almost identical to the first line of Section A1. The second line is almost identical to the second line of Section A2.

foreign nobles, in their entirety. The identical word for 'entirety', ^{ᠰᠡᠳᠡᠨᠢ} (sia:ng), is shared in both lines. These two sections lead up to the summarizing phrase, that there was no one who was able to volunteer.

Every section in the larger first-layer pattern describes the summoning of a different group of people. With each section the group summoned is more and more distant from the king: royal servants (inside the palace), commoners (outside the palace), and nobles from foreign lands. Without the third and smallest AAB pattern, there would be no conclusion. If it simply stated, as in the second-layer pattern, that the foreign nobles could not volunteer, Section B would merely form a parallel to the preceding two parts and nothing more. Not only does the third-layer pattern, in its third part, summarize the fact that the king's command could not be met, but in its first two sections it summarizes the different groups that could not meet the command:

- A1) In all their entirety, the country's people (i.e. servants and commoners)
- A2) From foreign lands, in their entirety, every noble
- B) None could volunteer

The significance in summarizing the groups can best be seen in context of the pattern as a whole:

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| A1) king asks Group One to X; they cannot | <i>First Layer</i> |
| A2) king asks Group Two to X; they cannot | |
| | |
| A1) king asks Group Three to X; they cannot | <i>Second Layer</i> |
| A2) king asks Group Three to X; they cannot | |
| | |
| A1) Groups One and Two | <i>Third Layer</i> |
| A2) Group Three | |
| B) They cannot X | |

Section A1 of the third-layer pattern repeats the groups mentioned in Sections A1 and A2 of the overall first-layer pattern. Section A2 of the third-layer pattern repeats the group mentioned in Sections A1 and A2 of the second-layer pattern.

The arrangement of the pattern according to replications of two

The passage can also be organized according to the arrangement of the parallel pairs that fit inside of the larger AAB patterns, as follows:

Section A1:

- a1) king asks Group One to X; they cannot
- a2) king asks Group Two to X; they cannot

Section A2:

- a1) king asks Group Three to X; they cannot
- a2) king asks Group Three to X; they cannot

Section B:

- a1) All of Groups One and Two
- a2) All of Group Three
- b) They cannot

Whereas in the previous arrangement AAB patterns fit neatly into third positions, in this arrangement parallel pairs fit symmetrically into second positions. Sections A1 and A2 are both parallel in meaning in that they each describe specific instances where the king gives an order to a group and is thwarted in his wish. They are also parallel in structure. Sections A1 and A2, the important second positions in a pattern, are both composed of two parallel halves, i.e. the king's issuing of an identical order that meets with failure. All four of the parallel halves of both sections are parallel to one another, although they are especially similar in structure to their counterpart in their own section. It is significant that Section A2, the most important second position, is not only divided into two parallel halves, but the two groups referred to are one and the same. Finally, Section B of the pattern typically replicates into a smaller pattern.

The two different arrangements of this passage are not independent of one another. When organizing the pattern based upon parallels of twos, the AAB patterns that made up the previous arrangement do not disappear. The two parallel halves (a1 and a2) of Sections A1 and Section A2 in the second arrangement each form part of an AAB pattern whose third part occurs in the section immediately following. This can be seen from the following

chart:

Section A1:

- a1) The king called together all of his royal servants. He asked them to go after a chicken in a hole. They all refused. (eight lines)
- a2) The king called together all of his commoners. He asked them to go after a chicken in a hole. They all refused. (twelve lines)

Section A2:

- b) The king called together all of the nobles from far-off tribute-paying lands. (two lines)
 - a1) The king asked everyone, but none could volunteer, not a single noble. (two lines)
 - a2) From a thousand lands, none could volunteer, not a single noble. (two lines)

Section B:

- b)
 - a1) Out of everyone, all of the country's people
 - a2) and all of the nobles from tribute-paying lands
- b) None could volunteer

C4: Skillful and Unskillful Placement of Parallels

It is a sign of a narrator's skill to create replications that flow naturally in a story. Ideally, replication is so integrated into the fabric of a text that the audience is unaware of its presence. Occasionally, however, one finds examples of replication that, while adding to the story's symmetry, distract from the plot and add unnecessary confusion.

In the following example, the princess, upon hearing that Little Crow is sitting outside of her palace, instructs her servants to invite him inside for a visit. The servants travel outside of the palace, discover that Little Crow is missing, and return to inform the princess.

(Lines or phrases that appear exclusively in the printed version are placed in double parentheses.)⁷

A1)

1 ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ນາງສາວ (ໃຊ້) ໄປໄວເຮວຮີບ
(meu'a: nan nang sa:w ((sai)) pai wai he:w hi:p)
Then the young ((servant)) women travelled in a hurry

2 ໄປຮອດລ້ວ ບໍ່ເຫັນທ້າວທີ່ໃດ
(pai hau:t lae:w bau: hen tha:w thi: dai)
When they arrived, they did not see him (i.e. Little Crow) anywhere

A2)

a1)

3 ສີໄວສ້ອຍ ທາສາມົງຖ່າວ
(si: wai sau:y tha:sa: nong tha:w)
The beautiful young servant women

4 ຕ້ານກລ່າວຖ້ອຍ (ຫຼອນແທ້) ເຮັດໄກ
(tan kla:w tha:y ((lau:n thae:)) tae: kai)
Spoke words ((to startle one another)) from a distance

a2)

5 ທາສາເວົ້າ ເປັນຄວາມຖາມຂ່າວ
(tha:sa: khao pen kwa:m tha:m kha:w)
The servants entered, and spoke words asking news

Printed Version: (ທາສາເວົ້າ ເປັນຄວາມໄຂຂ່າວ)
(tha:sa: wao pen khwam khai kha:w)
((The servants spoke, revealing the news))

6 ທ້າວ ((ຢູ່ນີ້)) ຫນີແຈ້ບໍ່ເຫັນ ເຈົ້າເຮືບ
(tha:w ((yu: ni:)) ni: thae: bau: hen jao heu'y)
"He ((was here, but)) has left; we did not see him"

⁷ This example of the unskillful use of replication is taken from the manuscript of ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Thaw Kam Ka: Dam) from Ban Nau:ng Um, Maha Sarakham province, Thailand. Similar replication is not included in the other five manuscripts of the story that I have examined. I therefore make use of the printed version for comparison when there is an uncertainty in the original text.

B)

7 ຄອມວ່າ ເຂົາຄລ່າວໄລ້ວ ລາເຈົ້າລວດນອນ
(khau:m wa: khao kla:w lae:w la: jao luat nau:n)
After they had spoken, they left the princess and slept

8 ຄອມວ່າ ທາສາເຂົ້າ ໄປນອນໝົດໝູ່
(khau:m wa: tha:sa: khao pai nau:n mot mu:)
After the servants went to sleep, every group

9 ຜູ້ທີ່ເຫງົ້າ ນາງແກ້ວຮຳເພີງ
(phu: thi: ngao na:ng kae:w ham pheu'ng)
The precious beloved princess reflected

{ ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.5b; book: p.47 }

The progression in this pattern fits into category 1.4.3, where information is
a) initially narrated in the first section, b) repeated in the second, resulting in
c) a conclusion in the third. It is organized as follows:

A1) The servant girls travel outside the palace but do not find Little Crow

A2) The servant girls tell the princess: "We did not find Little Crow"

B) The princess reflects

There is confusion in the text due to the transcriber's attempt to place a replication of two in the second section. The following chart shows the replication that occurs in Section A2 in context of the larger pattern:

A1)

- 1) Then the servant girls go in a hurry
- 2) They do not see Little Crow anywhere

A2)

- a1)** 1) The beautiful young servant women
- 2) speak ((to startle one another)) from a distance

- a2)** 1) The servants enter the palace, asking the news:
((The servants speak, revealing the news:))
- 2) "He has left; We did not see him"

The two speeches of the servant girls in Section A2 can be described in this manner:

Speech Number One: There is a bit of confusion regarding the nature of the servant girls' initial speech. In the manuscript version, the servant girls are only stated as entering the palace in the third line of Section A2, after they have spoken. In both versions they are described as speaking from afar (i.e. far from the palace or perhaps from one another). As to the topic of their speech, it is left to the listener's imagination. It is only in the printed version that the second line of a1 includes the phrase လှုပ်တော့ (lau:n tae:) 'to startle'. The purpose of this phrase appears not so much to clarify the servant girl's speech as to make it fit the required length of a poetic line. With the inclusion of the phrase, the length of the right hemistich is increased to the proper four syllables as opposed to two in the original text.

Speech Number Two: This speech forms the tag in which the information originally stated in Section A1 is repeated in the form of a speech by the servant girls to the princess.⁸

What is the purpose of the first speech of the servant girls? The explanation in the printed version that the servants speak to 'startle' one another is not entirely satisfactory. In what context do the servant girls 'startle one another from afar'? The original manuscript gives no reason at all behind the speech, stating neither what they say nor to whom they say it. While the speech adds confusion to the story-line, it does, however, add symmetry to the structure of the second section of the pattern. The doubling in Section A2 (as a result of the inclusion of the servant girl's initial speech) can be described:

a: The second section, A2, is double the length of the first.

b: Section A2 consists of two parallel halves, a1 and a2, each two lines in length. The two halves are parallel in that they describe two consecutive speeches of the servant girls.

⁸ The description of the second speech is also confusing with the manuscript version. In the first line of a2, the servants are described as entering the palace to ask news. Their purpose in visiting the princess, however, is to inform her of Little Crow's disappearance, i.e. to give news rather than to receive it. The line that immediately follows is accordingly the information that the servant girls present to the princess. This discrepancy is corrected in the printed version, where the servants are described as 'revealing' news.

c: The replications a1 and a2 form progressive parallels. It is only in the second line of a2 that the content of the servant's speech is revealed. Therefore, the information in Section A1 (i.e. that Little Crow has disappeared) is paralleled in Section A2 only in the second line of its second parallel. This is similar to the type of replication that we have previously observed in Section C1.2.2.2 of chapter seven on pages 294-299.

A1) **First Tag:** The servant girls do not find Little Crow

A2)

a1) 1)

2)

a2) 1)

2) **Second Tag:** "Little Crow has left; We did not find him"

The content of the initial speech of the servant girls is unimportant in the development of the plot. The speech is only included to add to the symmetry of the parallels in the pattern. This is one example out of many where replication occurs at the expense of a story's clarity.

Chapter Nine: The Layering of Patterns to Create Plot in Kaun An

To understand how plot is structured in Lao literature, one must realize that AAB patterns, rather than occurring singly, tend to be organized in groups. Small patterns join together to form larger patterns which in turn join together to form larger patterns, etc. We have begun to observe this phenomenon in the relatively simple patterns described in the previous chapter. In the largest example yet discussed, we witnessed five layers of repetition in a pattern of forty-five lines. There are countless more layers in the text of an entire story, which can stretch for hundreds of pages in length.

D1: Types of Layering:

A Complex Pattern can be defined as a pattern which is composed of a series of smaller interlocking patterns. Complex Patterns can be categorized by the way in which the smaller patterns join together to form the larger one:

D1.1: In the first type of Complex Pattern, a group of three AAB patterns join together to form the three sections of the larger pattern.

A1) a1)
a2)
b)

A2) a1)
a2)
b)

B) a1)
a2)
b)

(An example is provided as part of a larger pattern described on pages 312-322 of chapter eight.¹)

¹ It occurs inside of Section B of the larger pattern. See the chart on page 322.

Complex Patterns of this type frequently joins together with two other Complex Patterns to form a larger layer of replication. Layer upon layer of patterns can be created in this manner.

D1.2: In the second type of Complex Pattern, Section B of an initial pattern serves as the beginning of a second pattern. Section B of the second pattern in turn serves as the beginning of a third, etc. Each of the three patterns forms a section of the larger pattern.

Section A1

A1)

A2)

Section A2

B) A1)

A2)

Section B

B) A1)

A2)

B)

{An example is provided in Section C3.2 on pages 323-332 of chapter eight.}

D1.3: There are also many additional Complex Patterns created in a manner too individual to be categorized. Such patterns, similar to the previous two categories, tend to show great symmetry in their organization and reflect the tendencies for internal replication as stated in chapters seven and eight.

D2: Characteristics of Complex Patterns

D2.1: Complex Patterns lead, step by step, from a problem to its resolution. Their progression almost exclusively falls into the first category, where a character's wish meets its fulfillment (or ultimate failure) through a series of actions.

D2.2: Major scenes in a story tend to be preceded by Complex Patterns of great intricacy. The significance of the scenes is highlighted by the fact that they occur at the third and concluding section of the pattern.

D2.3: Large patterns are often hierarchical. The prominence of a) the characters or b) the actions undertaken can frequently be determined by the order in which they occur in the passage.

D3: ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Thaw Kam Ka: Dam): An Example of a Complex Pattern

A study of Complex Patterns is useful in that:

a) it clarifies the role that smaller patterns play in the larger passage in which they occur, and

b) it serves as a testing-ground to observe the applicability of the conventions that we have described in chapters five through eight in large as well as small portions of narrative.

The following example shows the intricate fashion in which patterns of varying sizes are joined together to form the overall plot of a Lao tale. We have observed in this thesis many examples of AAB patterns from the story *Thaw Kam Ka: Dam*. The patterns that have been quoted from this work, although independent units in and of themselves, are at the same time components of a lengthy Complex Pattern which occupies 60% of the approximately 120 page story.² Typical of Complex Patterns in general, its

² The Complex Pattern covers pages 27 through 92 of the printed version and bundle 2, p.10a through bundle 5, p.1b of the manuscript from Nau:ng Um temple from which this study has been based.

type of progression falls into the first category, where the problem of a character is carried through to its resolution.

At the beginning of the story *Tha:w Ka:m Ka: Dam*, Little Crow is abandoned by his parents because of his abnormal appearance at birth. He is placed on a raft and sent down a river. When he arrives at a new kingdom, he is taken in and raised by the royal garden keeper, an old woman without a child of her own. The major pattern in this story describes Little Crow's progression from being a despised stranger whose hideous appearance makes dogs howl to his marriage with the princess and ultimate inheritance of the throne.

The Complex Pattern consists of a series of interwoven patterns:

Pattern X:

In this major pattern, Little Crow makes three requests of the old woman who raises him, culminating in his marriage to the princess. The initial two requests, Sections A1 and A2, are:

A1) Little Crow requests that the old woman take flowers that he has garlanded and present them as an offering to the youngest princess. The old woman travels to the princess's palace and does as requested.

A2) Little Crow requests that the old woman invite the youngest princess to the royal gardens so that he can have a look at her. The old woman travels to the princess's palace and does as requested.

The two sections are progressively parallel. Whereas Little Crow's first request causes the princess to become aware of his existence, his second request causes her to see him for the first time, in the window of his shack on the way to the royal gardens. The result of the first section is that the princess is described as being filled with desire. She wishes to meet the maker of the flower garland, whom she concludes has come from a foreign land to court her.³ The result of the second section is that she grows

³ After she makes this conclusion, the princess has a strange dream which upon relating to her servants is interpreted as a sign that a prince has arrived to court her from a foreign land. The dream scene, although lacking an equivalent in Section B, is an expansion of the idea that she desires Little Crow and that their relationship has begun. Note that the dream is one of three portentous dreams, respectively of the old woman, the princess, and the king, that precede Little Crow's attainment of the throne. The dreams are arranged hierarchically from the person of the lowest to highest status.

increasingly desirous to meet him.

Little Crow's third request, Section B, is for the old woman to ask the king for the princess's hand in marriage. Typical of AAB patterns, Little Crow's third request is differentiated from the previous two sections:

- 1) in placement; Whereas Sections A1 and A2 immediately follow one another, Section B appears later in the story.
- 2) in content; Whereas in Section A1 and A2 Little Crow requests for the old woman to meet the princess, in Section B he requests for her to meet the king.
- 3) in structure; Section B, unlike the previous two sections, consists of a smaller AAB pattern.

The AAB pattern which comprises Little Crow's third request is organized as follows: (Its first two sections are described in detail to show their structural similarities.)

A1) In accordance with Little Crow's request, the old woman asks the king for the princess's hand in marriage for the first time:

1. Little Crow requests that the old woman travel to the palace and ask the king for his daughter's hand in marriage.
2. The old woman travels to the palace.
3. The old woman informs the king of Little Crow's request. The king tells the old woman to return on the following day after he has asked his daughters.
4. The old woman travels home where she relates to Little Crow what has happened.
5. The king asks each of his seven daughters whether they will marry Little Crow. Only the youngest daughter agrees.

A2) In accordance with Little Crow's request, the old woman asks the king for the princess's hand in marriage for the second time

1. Little Crow requests that the old woman travel to the palace for a second time and again ask the king for his daughter's hand in marriage.
2. The old woman travels to the palace.
3. The king tells the old woman that he is willing for Little Crow to marry his youngest daughter if Little Crow is able to build a bridge of silver and gold from the old woman's shack to the king's palace and give him an offering of a vast amount of wealth.
4. The old woman travels home.
6. The old woman relates to Little Crow what has happened.
7. Little Crow, with the aid of supernatural deities, fulfills the king's demands.

B) Little Crow travels to the palace where he presents his offerings and is given the princess's hand in marriage.

To understand the great similarity between Sections A1 and A2, one must realize the formulaic nature in which individual scenes in the sections are composed. Scenes of a certain type, for example descriptions of the old woman travelling to and from the palace, the old woman talking to Little Crow, and the old woman talking to the king, follow traditional literary conventions. In Sections A1 and A2, the language and phrasing of such scenes is similar and at times identical.

Sections A1 and A2 are progressively parallel. In each, the king agrees to Little Crow's request based upon certain stipulations which grow increasingly difficult from the first to second section.

The initial two sections of this smaller pattern can be further divided into two sub-sections:

- 1) The actions of the old woman; In Sections A1 and A2, in accordance with Little Crow's request, the old woman asks the king for his daughter's hand in marriage, which he agrees to if a certain condition is fulfilled. The old woman reports the condition to Little Crow.
- 2) The fulfillment of the condition for marriage by another character or group of characters; In Section A1, the king consults his daughters, causing the first condition to be fulfilled. In Section A2, Little Crow consults supernatural deities, causing the second condition to be similarly fulfilled.

The structure of Pattern X (and the smaller pattern in its third section) can be described:

- A1) Little Crow's first request for the old woman to interact with the princess on his behalf which leads to the princess's awareness of Little Crow and desire to meet him
- A1) Little Crow's second request for the old woman to interact with the princess on his behalf which leads to the princess's first glimpse of Little Crow and an increasing desire to meet him
- B) Little Crow's third request for the old woman to interact with the princess on his behalf which leads to the marriage between Little Crow and the princess
 - a1) The old woman asks the king for the princess's hand in marriage for the first time. He agrees if stipulation A is met.

Stipulation A is met.
 - a2) The old woman asks the king for the princess's hand in marriage for the second time. He agrees if stipulation B is met.

Stipulation B is met.
 - b) Little Crow travels to the palace where he is married to the princess.

Notice that the conclusion of the smaller pattern in Section B is simultaneously the conclusion of the larger pattern as a whole.

Pattern Y:

The second major pattern describes Little Crow's journeys into the town and royal palace. He travels to the town three times, and it is the third time in which he is triumphant, and is given the princess's hand in marriage. Little Crow's first two journeys into town, Sections A1 and A2, can be described:

A1) Little Crow's first journey into town:

1. Little Crow tells his grandmother that he is going to the town. Despite her resistance, he leaves.
2. Little Crow travels to the town.
3. Upon courting the village women, Little Crow is insulted for his ugliness.
4. Little Crow plays the *khaen* with the men in the town. The miraculous sound of his playing reaches the ears of the king, who orders his servants to find its source. When the king's servants ask the men in the town, Little Crow has already left.
5. Little Crow travels to the front of the princess's palace, where he is seen by the princess's servants. The servants report his presence to the princess, who orders her servants to invite him inside. Little Crow removes his ugly outer 'shell', enters the palace, courts the princess, sleeps with her, and makes his farewell.
6. Little Crow puts on his 'shell' and travels home.
7. The old woman is angry that Little Crow is late. Little Crow teases her.

(Short sequence between Sections A1 and A2)

1. The king has an unusual dream that is interpreted as foreboding the arrival of a foreigner with tribute (the third of three dreams in the story.)
2. Little Crow travels to the forest.
3. The princess wishes to know whether Little Crow is as beautiful during the day as he is at night. She orders her servants to bring a present to the old woman, and in the process catch a glimpse of Little Crow at the old woman's house. The princess's attempt is unsuccessful owing to the fact that Little Crow is in the forest when the servants pay their visit.
4. Little Crow returns home from the forest.

A2) Little Crow's second journey into town:

1. Little Crow tells his grandmother that he is going to the town. His statement is met with less resistance than in the previous section.
2. Little Crow travels to the town.
3. The village men, upon seeing Little Crow, lead him to the palace where he plays the *khæ:n* and is given an award by the king. The miraculous sound of Little Crow's *khæ:n* playing reaches the ears of the entire city.
4. Little Crow travels to the front of the princess's palace, removes his ugly 'shell', enters the palace, courts the princess, sleeps with her, and makes his farewell.
5. Little Crow puts on his ugly 'shell' and travels home.
6. When Little Crow presents the old woman with a gift from the princess, the old woman becomes angry with him, thinking that he has stolen it.⁴ He

⁴ Notice that the old woman is given gifts on three occasions during the story, which can be described as follows:

- A1) The princess gives a minor gift to the old woman through her servants.
- A2) The princess gives a minor gift to the old woman through Little Crow.
- B) Little Crow (as king) gives a major gift to the old woman (i.e. he transforms her into a young woman and presents her with a palace).

teases her.

Sections A1 and A2 are similarly organized. All of the scenes in the first section with a single exception have a counterpart in the second. The sections are progressively parallel, illustrating Little Crow's rise in status. Whereas in the first section Little Crow plays the *khæ:n* among the townsmen, in the second he performs in the palace and is given a reward by the king. In the first section there are many signs that Little Crow is held in contempt, for example, the old woman's reluctance for Little Crow to leave her house due to fear that he will be attacked for his hideousness, the town women's scorn, the servant women's contempt when they speak of Little Crow to the princess, etc. Similar scenes of contempt for Little Crow are absent from the second section. As with Sections A1 and A2 of Pattern X, many of the scenes in the initial two sections of Pattern Y are similarly worded, for example, the description of Little Crow's journeys to and from the town, his *khæ:n* playing, etc.

Section B of Pattern Y corresponds to Section B of the previous pattern, where Little Crow travels to the town and palace, and takes the princess's hand in marriage. Notice that Section B is distinguished from the previous two sections as follows:

- 1) Whereas Sections A1 and A2 are close together in the text, Section B occurs considerably later in the story.
- 2) In Sections A1 and A2, Little Crow travels alone to the town and palace. In Section B, heralded as a hero, he is escorted in procession on a bridge of silver and gold as the townspeople look on.
- 3) In Sections A1 and A2, Little Crow plays the *khæ:n*, progressively in the town and the king's palace. *Khæ:n* playing is absent from Section B.
- 4) In Section A1, Little Crow travels firstly to the town and secondly to the princess's palace. In Section A2, he travels to the same two locations in identical order, and also travels to the king's palace. In Section B, he travels exclusively to the king's palace.

The following chart shows how the two major patterns are interwoven:

(Sections of Pattern Y are underlined.)

A1) In accordance with Little Crow's initial request, the old woman travels to the princess's palace and presents the princess with a garland of flowers. The princess initially becomes aware of and desires Little Crow.

A2) In accordance with Little Crow's second request, the old woman travels to the princess's palace and invites the princess to the garden. The princess sees Little Crow for the first time, increasing her desire.

A1) Little Crow travels to town, plays the khaen, sleeps with the princess, and returns home for the first time.

A2) Little Crow travels to town, plays the khaen, sleeps with the princess, and returns home for the second time.

B) a1) Little Crow requests that the old woman ask for the princess's hand in marriage. The old woman travels to the king's palace and asks the king for the first time. The king agrees if one of his daughters is willing.

Upon asking, the king's youngest daughter is willing.

a1) Little Crow requests that the old woman ask for the princess's hand in marriage. The old woman travels to the king's palace and asks the king for the second time. The king agrees if Little Crow can give him the offering that he desires.

Little Crow obtains the offerings.

B) b) Little Crow, travelling to town for the third time, arrives at the palace with the king's offerings, and is given the princess's hand in marriage.

The Overall Pattern

From the above chart, a third pattern emerges, a larger pattern that encompasses both of the smaller patterns:

Section A1:

A1) In accordance with Little Crow's initial request, the old woman travels to the princess's palace and presents the princess with a garland of flowers. The princess initially becomes aware of and desires Little Crow.

A2) In accordance with Little Crow's second request, the old woman travels to the princess's palace and invites the princess to the garden. The princess sees Little Crow for the first time, increasing her desire.

Section A2:

A1) Little Crow travels to town, plays the *khæ:n*, sleeps with the princess, and returns home for the first time.

A2) Little Crow travels to town, plays the *khæ:n*, sleeps with the princess, and returns home for the second time.

Section B:

B) a1) Little Crow requests that the old woman ask for the princess's hand in marriage. The old woman travels to the king's palace and asks the king for the first time. The king agrees if one of his daughters is willing.

Upon asking, the king's youngest daughter is willing.

a1) Little Crow requests that the old woman ask for the princess's hand in marriage. The old woman travels to the king's palace and asks the king the second time. The king agrees if Little Crow can give him the offering that he desires.

Little Crow obtains the offerings.

- B) b) Little Crow, travelling to town for the third time, arrives at the palace with the king's offerings, and is given the princess's hand in marriage.

When one examines Section A1 (Little Crow's initial two requests) and Section A2 (Little Crow's initial two journeys into the town), one realizes that there are a number of outstanding parallels between the two. At the beginning of each section, Little Crow tells the old woman of an activity that he wishes to undertake (or have undertaken) that will lead to an interaction with the youngest princess. In each, the old woman is hesitant for the action to occur, but ultimately agrees. In Section A1, the old woman travels to the palace to meet the princess on behalf of Little Crow in order to perform an action that will bring the two closer together. The result is that the princess grows desirous of Little Crow. Section A2 progresses from the previous section in that Little Crow, rather than relying upon the old woman, travels himself to the palace where the princess and Little Crow become lovers.

In a manner typical of AAB patterns, Sections A1 and A2 of this larger pattern are themselves divided into two parallel halves (i.e. Sections A1 and A2 of Patterns X and Y). Whereas all four of the sub-divisions in Sections A1 and A2 share parallels with one another, the parallels are especially strong between the two halves in a particular section (i.e. Sections A1 and A2 of Pattern X and Sections A1 and A2 of Pattern Y). Also, typically, the two halves of Section A2 have tighter parallel bonds to one another than do their counterparts in the first section. The account of Little Crow's initial two visits to the town and ultimately the princess's palace are closer in structure to one another than are the corresponding two accounts of the old woman acting out Little Crow's requests.

The conclusion of the pattern is Little Crow's triumphant procession to the palace where he is given the princess's hand in marriage as a result of the smaller AAB pattern in Section B of the larger pattern.

An additional Layer of Pattern in Section B of the Overall Pattern

In order for Little Crow to fulfill the king's requirements and attain the princess, he needs the help of supernatural deities. The help of the deities is described in a the following smaller pattern:

- A1) a1) Three supernatural deities create a city for Little Crow and vast quantities of wealth as tribute to the king. (First Description)
- a2) The king's servants inform the king that three supernatural deities have created a palace for Little Crow and vast quantities of wealth as tribute.
- A2) a1) Three supernatural deities create a city for Little Crow and vast quantities of wealth as tribute to the king. (Second Description)
- a2) Little Crow's servants inform the king that Little Crow has vast quantities of wealth as tribute, and tell the king to prepare to receive Little Crow at the palace.
- B) Little Crow travels to the king's palace, and is received by the king. He presents his tribute and is given the princess's hand in marriage.

This pattern fits in Section B of the overall pattern:

- A1) a1)
- a2)
- A2) a1)
- a2)
- B) a1) The old woman travels to the king's palace for the first time where the king tells her that Little Crow can marry his daughter if stipulation A is met (i.e. one of his daughters agrees). The old woman returns home to inform Little Crow.

Stipulation A is fulfilled. (The king's youngest daughter agrees.)

- a2) The old woman travels to the king's palace for the second time where the king tells her that Little Crow can marry his daughter if stipulation B is met (i.e. Little Crow can provide him with sufficient tribute). The old woman returns home to inform Little Crow.

Requirement B is fulfilled. (Little Crow gathers sufficient tribute.)

- a1) a1) Three supernatural deities aid Little Crow.

- a2) The king's servants report to the king that Little Crow is being aided by supernatural deities.

- a1) a1) Three supernatural deities aid Little Crow.

- a2) Little Crow's servants report to the king that Little Crow is being aided by supernatural deities, and has the required tribute. They tell the king to prepare to receive Little Crow at his palace.

- B) b) Little Crow travels to the palace where he presents his tribute and is given the princess's hand in marriage.

Additional Minor Patterns

There is also a noteworthy string of minor patterns that occurs inside of the larger one. The two parallel halves of Sections A1 and A2 of the overall pattern (i.e. Sections A1 and A2 of Pattern X) progressively describe the princess's increasing desire for Little Crow as a result of the actions that the old woman performs on Little Crow's behalf. These two sections are immediately followed by the first parallel half of Section A2 (i.e. Section A1 of Pattern Y) where Little Crow and the princess sleep together for the first

time. If one views the passage from the perspective of Little Crow's relationship with the princess, these three consecutive sections form an AAB pattern which can be described as:

A1) The princess initially becomes aware of and desires Little Crow.

A2) The princess initially sees Little Crow, increasing her desire.

B) The princess and Little Crow become lovers.

Similarly, if one views the two parallel halves of Section A2 (i.e. Sections A1 and A2 of Pattern Y) from the same perspective, another interesting pattern emerges:

A1) Little Crow travels to the princess's palace and sleeps with the princess for the first time. He removes his ugly 'shell' before he enters the palace and puts it back on before he returns home to the old woman.

A2) Little Crow travels to the princess's palace and sleeps with the princess for the second time. He again takes off his ugly 'shell' before he enters the palace and puts it back on before he returns home to the old woman.

As a culmination of this pattern, when Little Crow and the princess sleep together for a third time (at the conclusion of the larger Complex Pattern after Little Crow has paid tribute to the king), Little Crow destroys his 'shell'. Rather than returning to the old woman, he stays with the princess as her married husband. It is interesting to observe how the balance of power has shifted once that the marriage has occurred. Whereas in the first two sections Little Crow must travel to the princess, in the third she travels to him.

The two minor patterns can be described as:

A1) As a result of the first action of the old woman on Little Crow's behalf, the princess desires Little Crow.

A2) As a result of the second action of the old woman on Little Crow's behalf, the princess increasingly desires Little Crow.

- B) a1) Little Crow and the princess sleep together for the first time. Little Crow takes off his 'shell' before entering the princess's palace and puts it on before returning home to the old woman.
- a2) Little Crow and the princess sleep together for the second time. Little Crow takes off his 'shell' before entering the princess's palace and puts it on before returning home to the old woman.
- b) Little Crow and the princess sleep together for the third time. Little Crow destroys his 'shell' and stays with princess as her married husband.

Summary of the Complex Pattern and the smaller patterns that occur inside

The following chart summarizes a) the structure of the Complex Pattern, and b) the position in the Complex Pattern of the smaller patterns that have been used as examples throughout this thesis. The patterns are each assigned a letter. Following the chart, a brief description of each pattern is given along with the page number on which it can be found.

{Patterns that are placed inside of parentheses occur inside of the pattern that is immediately preceding the parentheses. For example: C (H)}

Section A1:

- A1) Little Crow requests that the old woman take flowers that he has garlanded and present them to the princess as an offering. The old woman travels to the princess's palace and does as is requested, which causes the princess to initially become aware of and desire Little Crow. The princess has a strange dream that is interpreted that a foreign prince has come to court her.
- A2) Little Crow requests that the old woman invite the princess to the garden. The old woman travels to the princess's palace and invites the princess to the garden, which causes her to see Little Crow for the first time and increases her desire for him.

Section A2:

A1) Little Crow travels to town for the first time, where he plays the khae:n. The king, upon hearing the sound of his khae:n playing, tries without success to find its source. Little Crow travels to the princess's palace and sleeps with the princess for the first time. Little Crow returns home to the old woman and teases her. D W (H R J)

1. Little Crow travels to the forest.
2. The princess orders her servants to bring a gift to the old woman in an unsuccessful attempt to catch a glimpse of Little Crow during the day.
3. Little Crow returns home.

A2) Little Crow travels to town for the second time. He is brought to the palace, where he plays the khae:n and is rewarded by the king. Little Crow travels to the princess's palace and sleeps with the princess for the second time. He returns home to the old woman and teases her. Q (C) V I

Section B:

B) a1) Little Crow requests that the old woman ask the king for the princess's hand in marriage. The old woman travels to the king's palace and asks the king for the first time. He agrees under the condition that one of his daughters is willing. B

Upon being asked, the king's youngest daughter is willing. E

a1) Little Crow requests that the old woman ask the king for the princess's hand in marriage. The old woman travels to the king's palace and asks the king for the second time. He agrees under the condition that Little Crow can give him the offering he desires. T

- a1. a1: Three supernatural deities create a city for Little Crow and vast quantities of wealth as tribute to the king. (First Description)
- a2: The king's servants inform the king that three supernatural deities have created a palace for Little Crow and vast quantities of wealth as tribute.
- a2. a1: Three supernatural deities create a city for Little Crow and vast quantities of wealth as tribute to the king (Second Description) **A K M F G**
- a2: Little Crow's servants inform the king that Little Crow has vast quantities of wealth as tribute, and tell the king that he should prepare to receive Little Crow at the palace. **P I**
- B) b) b) Little Crow, travelling to town for the third time, arrives at the palace with the king's offerings, and is given the king's daughter's hand in marriage. **U N O (S)**

The AAB patterns described in this thesis that occur inside of this Complex Pattern are:

Chapter Six:

- A: Pattern of a single line in length; p.247
- B: Pattern in which the old woman travels home from the palace; pp.249-250
- C: Pattern in which the king orders Little Crow brought before him to play the *khæ:n*; pp.250-251
- D: Pattern in which the village women ridicule Little Crow; pp.256-257
- E: Pattern in which the king and the townspeople sleep peacefully; pp.257-258

- F: Mimic Pattern in which three supernatural deities return to their palaces;
pp.260-261
- G: Pattern in which townspeople regret their previous ill-treatment of Little
Crow; pp.261-263
- H: Mimic Pattern in which Little Crow removes his 'shell' and travels into
the princess's palace; pp.263-265
- I: Pattern in which Little Crow tells the old woman to try on some rings;
p.266
- J: Pattern in which the princess, longing for Little Crow, lights a candle;
p.268
- K: Pattern in which Indra tells Little Crow that he must follow the
customary ways; p.269
- L: Pattern which describes the sound of instruments played during the
procession for Little Crow; pp.269-271
- M: Pattern in which Indra instructs Little Crow in the duties that he must
perform as king; pp.271-273

Chapter Seven:

- N: Pattern in which the princess travels to the king's palace to be married
to Little Crow; pp.292-294
- O: Pattern describing the beauty of the princess; fn.11, p.293
- P: Parallel Couplet describing the old and crippled people who travel to see
the procession of Little Crow; pp.300-303

Chapter Eight:

- Q: Pattern in which Little Crow is led to the palace to play the kha:n before
the king; pp.312-322
- R: Pattern in which the princess's servants search in vain for Little Crow;
pp.332-336

Chapter Ten:

- S: Pattern in which the princess travels to the palace to marry Little Crow;
pp.359-361

- T: Pattern in which Little Crow assures the old woman that he will be able to pay the king's excessive bridal price; pp.362-368
- U: Pattern in which the narrator states that Little Crow, for all his fancy dress, remained ugly; pp.377-379
- V: Pattern in which Little Crow takes the princess's gift, puts on his ugly 'shell', and returns home; pp.379-381
- W: A Complex Pattern in which Little Crow becomes the princess's lover, is not described in this thesis.

Chapter Ten: Replication and the Evolution of Lao Literature

There is no fixed text of a Lao story. Every time that a piece of literature is transcribed from an older version, there are changes that are invariably made. Although the story-line remains essentially the same, there are alterations both in the phrasing of individual lines and the lengthening or shortening of individual scenes. In the past, there has been no attempt to compare different transcriptions of a single version of a story. The significance of such a study has perhaps been over-looked due to the relatively minor nature of the changes. It is arguable, however, that to understand the process of evolution in Lao literature, it is necessary to understand how and why transcribers make minor changes in copying manuscripts. After years of being copied, minor changes can become major.

When one understands the nature of replication in Lao literature, one realizes that the changes made in copying manuscripts are not merely based on the whims of individual transcribers. On the contrary, they follow the conventions of parallelism that have been described in this dissertation. By examining different transcriptions of the same text, one can see clearly how transcribers consistently use the AAB pattern to organize their creative thoughts.

In this chapter we will observe how transcribers add to existing texts through a) the creation or expansion of AAB patterns, b) the creation or expansion of replications of two, and c) the creation of additional layers of replication that are placed onto already existing parallels. We will also see how the convention of expanding text through the creation or strengthening of an AAB pattern can occur at the expense of a passage's meaning. Finally we will examine how a text can be shortened by the deletion of layers of replication that are unnecessary to the building of plot.¹

The following chapter is based on a comparison of six versions of the story ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Thaw Kam Ka: Dam). Except when otherwise noted, the manuscripts used for the study are:

¹ Note that it is often impossible to tell whether a particular text has been expanded or shortened. Therefore, some of the examples used to illustrate text expansion in this chapter may in fact be illustrations of the reverse process, as explained on p.382.

A) ວັດບ້ານເຊ ບ້ານເຊ ເຂວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ (Se: Village Temple, Suwannakhet Province, Laos)

B) ວັດບ້ານສົງແຍ້ ຕຳບົນຄຳເຕີບ ຈັງຫວັດບໂສທອນ (Songnyae: Village Temple, Khamteuy Sub-District, Leu'a:ng Nok Tha: District, Yasothon Province, Thailand)

C) ສາຄົນ ນາຄອນ ບ້ານຂອງນາຍປະພັນ ປະຕິຕັ້ງ ບ້ານເຄຣືອຊຸດ ນາດູນ ຈັງຫວັດມຫາສາຣຄາມ (privately owned by Praphan Patitang, Khreu'asut Village, Na: Du:n District, Maha Sarakham Province, Thailand)

D) ວັດອິຕຸມ ສົມເດັດ ຈັງຫວັດກາລະສິນ (Itum temple, Somdet district, Kalasin Province, Thailand)

E) ວັດບ້ານໝອງເມືອງ ມວງສາມສິບ ຈັງຫວັດອຸບົນ (Nau:ng Meu'a:ng Village Temple, Muang Sa:m Sip District, Ubon Province, Thailand)

F) ວັດໝອງອຸ່ມ ນາສິນວນ ກັນທຣວີຊັຍ ຈັງຫວັດມຫາສາຣຄາມ (Nau:ng Um Temple, Na:si:nua:n, Kantharawichai District, Maha Sarakham Province, Thailand)

1: The expansion of text through the creation or enlargement of an AAB pattern

When a transcriber adds to an existing passage, the expansion is frequently accomplished through two related methods: a) If the original passage is not in the form of an AAB pattern, it is transformed into one, and b) If the passage is already in the form of a pattern, its format is retained throughout the expansion. The first two sections, A1 and A2, remain equal in length and the parallel that links them together is usually tightened.

1. In the following example, a transcriber expands upon an existing pattern.² In Version A, the princess is described as travelling to her father's palace:

² For an example of a passage that is expanded through the creation of a pattern, see the first example of Section 4 on pages 377-379 of this chapter.

A1) ນາງກໍ ບົວຣະບາດຍ້າຍ ສາວໃຊ້ເຜີ້ນນໍ້າ
(na:ng kau: nyua:anya:t nya:y sa:w sai hae: nam)
She travelled, the servant girls moved in procession behind her

A2) ບາບໆເຫຼື້ອມ ໄຫຼ້ງຕາມຫຼັງ
(nya:p nya:p leu'a:m lai lang tam lang)
Shining radiantly, (the servant woman) travelled behind her

B) ເຖິງໂຮງຫຼວງ ພໍ່ພາອົງສໍາ
(theu'ng ho:ng lua:ng phau: phranya: ong lam)
Arriving at the palace of her father, the great leader

(ທ້າວກໍາກາດໍາ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, p.1a; book: p.85)

In version F, the pattern is expanded to five lines:

A1)

1 ນາງກໍ ບົວຣະບາດຍ້າຍ ສາວໃຊ້ເຜີ້ນນໍ້າ
(na:ng kau: nyua:anya:t nya:y sa:w sai hae: nam)
She travelled, the servant girls moved in procession behind her

2 ບາບໆເຫຼື້ອມ ງາມເກິ່ງສາວສວັນ
(nya:p nya:p leu'a:m ngam keu'ng sa:w sawan)
Shining radiantly, as beautiful as a woman from heaven

A2)

3 ຝູງໝູ່ ນາງທັງຫົກ ພິເສດນໍ້າກິນ
(fu:ng mu: na:ng thang hok phau: lae: nam kon)
The group of six women (i.e. her older sisters) watched her from behind

4 ບາບໆເຫຼື້ອມ ສາວຫຼັງນໍ້າຫຼັງ
(nya:p nya:p leu'a:m sa:w lang nam lang)
Shining radiantly, the (servant) woman travelled behind her

B)

5 ເຖິງໂຮງຫຼວງ ພໍ່ພາອົງສໍາ
(theu'ng ho:ng lua:ng phau: phanya: ong lam)
Arriving at the palace of her father, the great ruler
(ທ້າວກໍາກາດໍາ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, p.17a-b; book: p.85)

The following chart shows the expansion of the passage:

<p>A1:</p> <p>1) The princess travels, servants parade behind</p>	<p>A1:</p> <p>1) The princess travels, servants parade behind</p> <p>2) Shining, as if a woman from heaven</p>
<p>A2:</p> <p>2) Shining, (servants) parade behind</p>	<p>A2:</p> <p>3) Her six sisters watch her</p> <p>4) Shining, servants parade behind</p>
<p>B:</p> <p>3) She reaches her father's palace</p>	<p>B:</p> <p>5) She reaches her father's palace</p>

In the expanded version, the second line of the initial sequence is given a parallel counterpart. The second line of Section A1 in the expanded version has been created to serve as its tag. By this method, the first two sections are bonded together as parallel sections A1 and A2. Notice that without this tag, the two sections in the expanded version would not form a parallel pair. The second line is the most ideal line in the initial sequence from which to form a tag. It is distinguished from the other lines in the passage in that it includes an onomatopoeic phrase, *nyap nyap* (nya:p nya:p) in its left hemistich. This phrase, repetitive in sound, is distinctive and likely to make a strong impression on a listening audience. When the line is given a counterpart in the expanded version, it is the onomatopoeic phrase that is identical between the two. Typical of expansions of this type, the first and final lines remain identical in both versions. Notice that the only entirely original line in the expanded version is the first line of Section A2, which merely serves the purpose of making the second section equal in length to the first.³

³ The expanded version of this passage was previously quoted in Section C1.2.2.2, on pages 291-294 of chapter seven as an example of the placement of pairs in Section A2 of a pattern. The pattern that we have observed in the expanded version is actually a second-layer pattern which occurs inside of a larger pattern. Its initial two sections occur in Section A2 of the larger pattern and its conclusion in Section B, as follows:

A1)
A2) a1)
a2)
B) b)

2: The expansion of text through replications of two

The expansion of text is frequently accomplished through the creation of parallel pairs. There is a tendency for the replication to be placed symmetrically in second positions of the larger passage in which they occur.

1. In the following passage, a text is expanded through the replication of existing information. It consists of a speech of Little Black Crow to his grandmother, telling her not to worry about an excessive bridal price that the king has demanded before he will give his daughter's hand in marriage.

Version F:

Section 1:

- 1) Grandmother
- 2) Do not be upset;

- 3) ---

- 4) ---

Section 2:

- 5) ---

- 6) ---

- 7) Even if it's a great price
- 8) I will get it

Version A:

Section 1:

a1)

- 1) "Grandmother
- 2) Do not be upset;

a2)

- 3) I won't have you
upset over these goods
- 4) ---

Section 2:

a1)

- 5) Even if it's a heavy
price
- 6) I will get it

a2)

- 7) Even if it's a great price
- 8) I will get it

Version D:

Section A1:

a1)

- 1) "Grandmother
- 2) Do not be upset;

a2)

- a1: I won't have you
upset over these goods
- a2: Do not be upset; I'll
get them

Section A2:

a1)

- 5) Even if it's a heavy
price
- 6) I will get it

a2)

- 7) Even if it's a great price
- 8) I will get it

In the sequence in Version F, there are two statements with no repetition. In Version A, the two statements in the previous version have been enlarged into two sections, each consisting of a parallel pair. In Version A's initial section, Little Crow's statement to his grandmother that she should not be upset in Version F has expanded into two parallel statements. The two statements are parallel in meaning, but not in phrasing. A more substantial parallel occurs in Version A's second section, where Little Crow's statement that he will get the bridal price no matter how great the cost has been expanded into two phrases of two lines each, parallel both in phrasing and meaning. Although the two sections in Version A each consist of a parallel pair, the individual sections are not parallel to one another. The overall symmetry of the pattern has also noticeably deteriorated. Whereas in Version F there are two phrases of two lines each, in Version A the second half has become top-heavy, four lines as opposed to three lines in the previous section. Version D removes this imbalance. The transcriber has added a tag line (line four). Through the addition of this line, not only have the two parallel statements in the first section, a1 and a2, become equal in length, but they have also been made parallel in phrasing. The initial phrases and left hemistichs of the second lines of both pairs in the passage's first section are identical. Furthermore, the second pair in Section A1 has developed from its counterpart in Version A in that both of its lines are parallel. Most significantly, by stating in the added tag line that the speaker will bring goods for the bridal price, the first section is made equal in length and parallel in meaning to the second. The two sections thus become A1 and A2.

The evolution of the passage can be illustrated as follows:

Version F:	Version A:	Version D:
	1:	A1:
1) 1		a1) 1
2) 2	a1	2 Tag
3) --	a2	a2) a1
4) --		a2 Tag + " <u>I'll</u> <u>bring it</u> "
	2:	A2:
5) --	a1) 1	a1) 1 "Even if it's..."
6) --	2	2 <u>I'll bring it</u> "
7) 3	a2) 1	a2) 1 "Even if it's..."
8) 4	2	2 <u>I'll bring it</u> "

The expansion of this text illustrates the tendency for replications of two to occur in second positions. Smaller pairs a) tend to be placed inside of larger pairs, and b) occur with greater prevalence and complexity in their second halves. In Version A, both of the non-parallel sections consist of parallel pairs. The pair in the second section, however, is more substantial. In contrast to its counterpart in the first section, it is composed of two equal halves, both of which are similar in their use of language as well as in overall meaning. In Version D, the replication in Section A1 has become more complex. Its second pair is divided into two parallel halves. However, the two pairs in Section A2 still possess the strongest parallel bonds. Whereas in Section A1 of Version D the pairs are bound together by a single

The placement of tags in Version D is also significant. In Section A1, the tag occurs as the second parallel line in the second parallel half. In Section A2, the tag is repeated twice, as the second line of both of its parallel halves:⁴

```

a1)
a2)  a1)
      a2) First Tag

```

a1) 1)
2) Second Tag #1

a2) 1)
2) Second Tag #2

Version E:

3 ພວມວ່າ ຄາດຄ່າລົ້ນ ຂສນໜຶ່ງເງິນຄຳ ກໍດີ
(mae:n wa: khat kha: lon sae:n meu:n ngeu'n kham kau: di:)
Even if he sets an excessive price, a hundred million (weights of) silver and gold

365

4 ຂ້ອຍຈັກ ນຳເອົາມາ ຂາບຖວາຍພຍາເຈົ້າ
(kha:y jak nam ao ma: kha:p thwa:y phanya: jao)
I will bring it to present to the ruler"

(ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, p.5a; book: p.71)

Version A:

Section 1)

a1)

1 ສາຍໃຈເຈົ້າ ບ່ານາຍເຮືຍ
(sa:y jai jao nya: na:y heu'y)
"My beloved grandmother,

2 ເຈົ້າຢ່າ ຄິດບາກຮ້ອນ ສັງເຂັ້ມທໍ່ໃບ ຫົນທ້ອມ
(jao ya: kheut nya:k hau:n sang thae: thau: nyai han thau:n)
Do not get upset over anything, even as much as a small fiber⁵

a2)

3 ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ໃຫ້ ເຄື່ອງຫົວໃຈນາຍ ແຕ່ຂອງຝູງນີ້
(kha:y bau: hai kheu'ang hua: jai na:y tae: khau:ng fu:ng ni:)
I will not have you upset by a matter as simple as these goods

Section 2)

a1)

5 ແມ່ນວ່າ ຄາດທໍ່ຟ້າ ໜັກເກັ່ງທໍ່ຮະນີ ກໍດີທ້ອນ
(ma:n wa: kha:t tau: fa: nak keu'ng thau:rani: kau: di: thau:n)
Even if he sets a price as high as the sky, as heavy as the earth

6 ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ ກົວເກງສັງ ຫາກຊື້ເອົາມາຕັ້ງ
(kha:y bau: kua: ke:ng sang ha:k si: ao ma: tang)
I am not afraid of anything; I will bring it

a2)

7 ແມ່ນວ່າ ຄາດຄ່າລ້ານ ແສນໂກດເງິນຄຳ ກໍດີທ້ອນ
(ma:n wa: kha:t kha: la:n sae:n ko:t ngeu'n kham kau: di: thau:n)
Even if he sets a price of a million, (or) ten hundred thousand
million (weights of) silver and gold

⁵ i.e. do not be upset in the slightest

8 ຂ້ອຍຈັກ ນຳນອງມາ ຂາບຖວາຍພຍາເຈົ້າ
(khau:y jak nam nau:ng ma: kha:p thway phanya: jao)
I will bring it to present to the ruler"

(ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.11b; book: p.71)

Version D:

Section A1)

a1)

1 ສາຍໃຈເຈົ້າ ຍ່ານາຍເຮືບ
(sa:y jai jao nya: na:y heu'y)
"My beloved grandmother;

2 ເຈົ້າຢ່າ ຄິດບາກຮ້ອນ ສັງເຂັ້ມໃຍ ທັນທ້ອມ
(jao ya: kheut nyak hau:n sang thae: thau: nyai han thau:n)
Do not get upset over anything, even as much as a small fiber

a2)

a2 a1)

3 ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ໃຫ້ ເຄື່ອງຫົວໃຈນາຍ ແຕ່ຂອງຝຸງນີ້
(khau:y bau: hai kheu'ang hua: jai na:y tae: khau:ng fung ni:)
I will not have you upset by a matter as simple as these goods

a2 a2)

4 ເຈົ້າຢ່າ ຄິດບາກຮ້ອນ ນຳຂ້ອຍຫາກຊື່ຫາ ແມ່ເຮືບ
(jao ya: kheut nyak hau:n nam khau:y hak si: ha: mae: heu'y)
Do not get upset over me, I will find them, mother

Section A2)

a1)

5 ແມ່ນວ່າ ຄາດທໍ່ຟ້າ ຫັກເກີງທໍຣະນີ ກໍດີທ້ອນ
(ma:n wa: khat tau: fa: nak keu'ng thau:rani: kau: di: thau:n)
Even if he sets a price as high as the sky, as heavy as the earth

6 ຂ້ອຍບໍ່ ກົວເກງສັງ ຫາກຊື່ເອົາມາຕັ້ງ
(khau:y bau: kua: ke:ng sang hak si: ao ma: tang)
I am not afraid of anything; I will bring it

a2)

7 ຜົມນ່ວ່າ ຄາດຄ່າລ້ານ ຜສນໂກດເງິນຄຳ ກໍດີຫ້ອນ
(maen wa: kha:t kha: la:n saen ko:t ngeu'n kham kau: di: thau:n)
Even if he sets a price of a million, (or) ten hundred thousand million
(weights of) silver and gold

8 ຂ້ອຍຈັກ ນຳນອງມາ ຂາບຖວາຍພຍາຈີ້
(kha:y jak nam nau:ng ma: kha:p thwa:y phanya: jao)
I will bring it to present to the ruler"

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) pp.73b-74a; book: p.71}

3: The expansion of a passage through the placement of smaller layers of pattern in larger patterns

1. We have previously described a pattern on pages 266-267 of chapter six (Section B2.1.1) where Little Crow brings a ring as a present for his grandmother. The overall sequence is as follows:

A1)

- 1) Then he called his grandmother:
- 2) "Try putting these rings on your finger for a look"

A2)

- 1) Then his grandmother took the rings
- 2) and put them on her finger

B)

- 1) Then his grandmother questioned him thoroughly:
- 2) "Who gave you these goods?"

The same overall pattern, with minor differences in phrasing, occurs in all of the six manuscripts that I have examined. However, in all of the versions other than F (i.e. the version described above), there is a description of Little Crow's reaction to his grandmother after she had tried on the rings. The description of Little Crow's reaction in Version A, as follows, is similar to its counterpart in Versions B, C, and E:

A1)

1) ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ທ້າວກາດຳນ້ອຍ ຫົວຂວັນນາຍບ່າ
 (tae: nan tha:w ka: dam nau:y hua: khwan na:y nya:)
 Then Little Black Crow laughed at the old woman

2) ເຈົ້າຖືເຄື່ອງແລ້ວ ກໍຍັງລ້າວກວ່າສາວ ບ່າເຮືຍ
 (jao theu: khu'a:ng lae:w kau: nyang la:w kwa: sa:w nya: heu'y)
 "When you dress up, you are more impressive than a young woman, grandmother"

A2)

3) ທ້າວກລ່າວແລ້ວ ຫົວອີກແອກ
 (tha:w kla:w lae:w hua: i:k ae:k)
 After he spoke, he chuckled loudly

4) ເຈົ້າກໍ ທັງເຄື່ອງຍ້ອງ ງາມລ້ວນກວ່າສາວ ບ່າເຮືຍ
 (jao kau: thong khu'a:ng nyau:ng ngam luan kua: sa:w nya: heu'y)
 "When you dress up, you are more beautiful than a young woman, grandmother"

(ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.5a; book: pp.60-61)

The pattern is organized into the following parallel pair:

A1)

- 1) Then Little Crow laughed at the old woman
- 2) "When you dress up, you are more impressive than a young woman, grandmother"

A2)

- 1) After he spoke, he chuckled loudly
- 2) "When you dress up, you are more beautiful than a young woman, grandmother"

Notice that not only are both of the pairs parallel to one another, but each individual line is parallel to its counterpart in the opposing pair.

In Version D, an additional layer of replication has been added, as follows:

A1)

1) ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ທ້າວກາດຳນ້ອຍ ຫົວຂວັນນາຍບ່າ
(tae: nan tha:w ka: dam nau:y hua: khwan na:y nya:)
Then Little Black Crow laughed at the old woman

2) ເຈົ້າກໍ ຖືເຄື່ອງແລ້ວ ກໍຍັງລ້າວດັ່ງສາວ ບ່າເຮື້ຍ
(jao kau: theu: khu'a:ng lae:w kau: nyang la:w dang sa:w nya: heu'a:y)
"When you dress up, you are as impressive as a young woman, grandmother"

A2)

3) ທ້າວກລ່າວແລ້ວ ເລີຍຫົວຫົກແຂກ
(tha:w kla:w lae:w leu'y hua: hi:k hae:k)
After he spoke, he chuckled loudly

4) ເຈົ້າກໍ ທັງເຄື່ອງຍ້ອງ ງາມລ້ວນເກິ່ງຜູ້ສາວ ບ່າເຮື້ຍ
(jao kau: thong khu:a:ng nyau:ng ngam luam keu'ng phu: sa:w nya: heu'y)
"When you dress up, you are as beautiful as a young woman, grandmother"

5) ເຈົ້າຫາກ ຖືກເພດຂຶ້ນ ບ່າວຫົວລ້ານຊື່ແລ່ນນຳ ບໍ່ຢາແລ້ວ
(jao ha:k thok phet kheun ba:w hua: lan si: lae:n nam bau: ya: lae:w)
"You change your appearance; Without a doubt bald-headed young men will chase after you"⁶

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) pp.32b-33a; book pp.60-61}

In this version of the passage, the second parallel speech of Little Crow has further replicated into two parallel halves, as follows:⁷

⁶ Little Crow frequently teases the old woman about finding her a bald-headed toothless man as a husband.

⁷ The phrasing of the first lines of Little Crow's speeches in Version D are slightly changed from their counterparts in Version A. Instead of saying that his grandmother is 'more beautiful' than a young woman, he states that she is 'as beautiful'. It is note-worthy that the changed phrasing occurs in both of his speeches to retain the parallel between sections.

A1)

1) Then Little Crow laughed at the old woman

2) **First Speech:**

"When you dress up, you are as impressive as
a young woman, grandmother"

A2)

1) After he spoke, he chuckled loudly

2) **Second Speech:**

a1) "When you dress up, you are as beautiful as a
young woman, grandmother"

a2) You change your appearance; Without a doubt
young bald-headed men will chase after you"

The parallel pairs that have been described in Versions A and D fit in the overall pattern as follows: (The added replication in Version D is placed in parentheses.)

A1)

1) Then he called his grandmother:

2) "Try putting these rings on your finger for a look"

A2)

1) Then his grandmother took the rings

2) and put them on her finger

B) a1)

1)

2) Little Crow's first speech: "You are as beautiful as a
young woman, grandmother"

a2)

1)

2) Little Crow's second speech:

a1) "You are as beautiful as a young woman grandmother"

(a2) "You change your appearance; Young bald-headed men
will run after you")

b)

1) Then his grandmother questioned him thoroughly:

2) "Who gave you these goods?"

The parallel pairs which comprise Little Crow's speech to the old woman form the initial two sections of a smaller second-layer pattern that occurs in Section B of the larger pattern. In the context of the overall pattern, the concluding suspicious comment of the old woman is the result of her having received an expensive ring from Little Crow. At the same time, in the smaller second-layer pattern, the comment can be seen as her irritated response to his sarcastic remarks.

2. In the following example, from the story ທ້າວຂົນເປັດ (Tha:w Khon Pet), a transcriber adds a humorous comment that is extraneous to the tale in which it occurs. If the transcriber's comment is removed from the story in its subject matter, however, it is not removed in form. Similar to the previous example, the comment is added to the tale as a smaller layer of pattern in the larger one. The passage consists of a speech of the princess's older sisters when they discover that she wishes to marry an orphan of great ugliness.

A1)

1) ບາໂທເດ ຜົນງາງາມຍິ່ງ ເຮົາເຮືບ
(ba:tho: de: phua: nang nga:m nying hao heu'y)
Oh Ho! Her husband is of the utmost beauty

2) ສັງວ່າ ເປັນສິ່ງຮ້າຍ ຕົນຂີ້ເຮື້ອນກາກໂພງ ນີ້ເດ
(sang wa: pen sing ha:y ton khi: heu'a:n kak pho:ng ni: de:)
Why is he so hideous, leprous, with blisters and rashes?

3) ແມ່ນເຮົາ ໄດ້ຮູບນີ້ ແໝງສູ່ສວັນຕາຍ ໝູ່ເຮືບ
(mae:n hao dai hu:p ni: nae:ng su: sawan tay mu: heu'y)
If we were to get (one of) this figure, we would rather die and go to heaven

A2)

4) ແມ່ນບໍ່ ເອົາຜົວຊ້າ ທຽມສອງເປັນຄູ່ ສັງນາ
(mae:n bau: ao phua: sam thia:m saung pen khu: sang na:)
(We would rather) not even take a husband to be at our side as a mate

5) ທ້າວນີ້ ບໍ່ໄດ້ ງາມຖ້ອງສ້ຽວ ປານໄຟຊາວເມືອງ
(tha:w ni: bau: dai: nga:m thau:ng sia:w pan phai sa:w meu'a:ng)
This man is not even a fraction of the beauty of the commoners

6) ມັນບໍ່ງາມ ປານຊຽງໂສ ຜູ້ທ່ຽວໄປເວົ້າ ເຮົານັ້ນ
 (man bau: nga:m pa:n si:ang so: phu: thia:w pai wao hao nau:)
 He is not as beautiful as former novice So⁸, the one who goes to talk to us

7) ບໍ່ ງາມສຳເຂົາ ຊຽງນ້ອຍຊຽງລີ ລູກປ້າມຶງ ດອກນາ
 (bau: ngam sam khao si:ang nau:y si:ang li: lu:k pa: meung⁹ dau:k na:)
 He is not as beautiful as former novice Nau:y nor former novice Li, your
 aunt's son

B)

8) ທ້າວນີ້ ຄົນເໝັນ ປານເຮັງເຖົ້າ ພຣະນາງເຈົ້າຫາກປະສົງ ຜູ້ທັນ
 (tha:w ni: khon men pa:n hae:ng thao phrana:ng jao ha:k pasong thae:
 nau:)
 This man smells as foul as an old vulture; (and yet) the princess desires him

{ທ້າວຂົນເປັດ (Tha:w Khon Pet) bundle 3, p.6a-6b}

The first-layer pattern that comprises the speech summarizes the princesses' opinion of the man that their younger sister is to marry. It is organized as follows:

A1)

- 1) Her husband is of utmost beauty
- 2) Why is he so hideous, leprous, with blisters and sores?
- 3) If we were to get one of such a figure, we would rather die.

A2)

- 1) We would rather not take a husband at all.

B)

- 1) This man is as foul smelling as an old vulture, and yet he is what she desires.

Section A1 of the pattern is comprised of a three-line passage that is on the border between a mimic and actual pattern. Whether or not the passage

⁸ Several names are given in this passage preceded by the word ຊຽງ (si:ang), which is a title of respect given to lay people who have previously served as novices in the Buddhist religion.

⁹ The spelling of this word in the manuscript is ມຶງ (ming). It appears in context that the transcriber intends to write ມຶງ (meung), a word for 'you' that is used among familiars.

can be considered a pattern depends upon the relationship between its initial two lines. At first glance, the two lines do not appear to be parallel. They are not similar in their phrasing. However, although the lines are written as if they were opposites in meaning, they are both in fact statements expressing the hero's great ugliness. Although the first line is a statement and the second a question, the question in the second line is merely a rhetorical one. The two lines, whether viewed as parallel or merely as progressing from one another, lead to the conclusion in the passage's third line that the princesses would never marry one of such ugliness.

The concluding line of Section A1 is parallel with the single line that comprises Section A2. The two lines are parallel in their structure, as follows:

A1) If we had (one of) that figure, we would rather X

A2) (We would rather) Y

Both lines begin with the identical word: mae:n .¹⁰ In Section B, the final line of the princesses' speech, the princesses' opinion is given its fullest expression. Not only is the hero's hideousness described in superlative terms, but it is added that he is desired by the youngest princess.

Lines five through eight of the princesses' speech appear to have been added to the original pattern by a later transcriber.¹¹ They make no sense in terms of the speech or the larger story. The six princesses are only superficially described in the tale and there is no previous mention of them having former novices as acquaintances. It certainly is not relevant for them to bring up the names of these individuals as examples in their speech. In a story intended for a general audience, it makes no sense for a character to be

¹⁰ One might also view the initial two lines that have been included in Section A1 as extraneous to the pattern and alternatively arrange the princesses' speech as follows:

- 1
- 2
- 3 A1) (one line)
- A2) (one line)
- B) (one line)

This arrangement would make sense in that it is really only the third line in the first section that is parallel to the second. However, the reason that I have included all three lines in Section A1 is that whether or not they comprise an actual pattern, they do in fact serve to lead up to the concluding third line which forms the parallel with the second section.

¹¹ The first of the four lines (i.e. the speech's fifth line) might be part of the original pattern, fitting in Section B.

addressed, as is done in the final line of this sequence, as ລູກປ່າມືງ (lu:k pa: meung) 'your aunt's son'.¹² The story *Tha:w Khon Pet* is written in the Tham script and stored in a temple. The tale's transcriber is almost certainly either a novice, monk, or layman who was previously educated in the temple. It appears, therefore, that the transcriber is using the description of the hero's ugliness to poke fun at former novices who are his personal friends.

The four added lines consist of a parallel pair, as follows:
{The lines are divided to show the separation between left and right hemistichs (1 and 2).}

A1) 1) He is not even a fraction 2) as beautiful as the commoners

A2)

a1) 1) He is not as beautiful as former novice So; 2) who goes to talk to us

a2) 1) Not as beautiful as 2) former novice Nau:y, former novice Li, your aunt's son (final phrase)

The first two lines (ie. Pair A1 and the first line of Pair A2) are parallel in that each states that the hero is less beautiful than someone else. They both include three identical words: ບໍ່...ງາມ...ປານ (bau: ... nga:m ...pa:n) 'not ... beautiful ... as'. The second pair, A2, is comprised of a smaller pair consisting of two parallel lines. Whereas both of the lines in Section A2 are parallel to the line in Section A1, they have stronger parallel bonds to one another. Both lines make use of the identical phrase ບໍ່ງາມ (bau: nga:m) 'not beautiful' to describe the hero unfavorably to another character.¹³ In both lines, the character or characters to whom the hero is being compared consist of former novices. Notice that in the opening lines of Pairs A1 and A2, a new statement is begun through the use of an initial phrase which includes a

¹² The word for 'you' in this phrase appears to be ມືງ (meung), which is rude except when used among familiars. (See footnote 9 on page 373 of this chapter.) It is not likely to be used to address an audience of Lao literature.

¹³ The two words do not appear consecutively in Pair a1.

pronoun for the hero. The second line of Pair A2, in contrast, includes neither an initial phrase nor mention of the subject to which the line refers. This is an indication that the line is merely a continuation of the thought begun in the previous line, rather than a new statement in and of itself. There is one further parallel in this sequence, in the two parallel lines that comprise Section A2. Is it coincidental that the narrator lists one former novice in the second hemistich of the second pair's first parallel line, and two in the second hemistich of its second? In this fashion, a doubled pair with identical initial words is placed in the most significant second position in the overall passage:

A1)

A2) a1)

a2) 1) First Hemistich

2) Second Hemistich: သွယ်ဝပ်သွယ်ဝပ် (siang nau:y siang li:)

Former Novice Nau:y / Former Novice Li:

There are no other occurrences of doubled pairs in Pairs a1 and a2.

Pairs a1 and a2 fit in the overall context of the pattern as follows:

A1)

- 1) Her husband is of utmost beauty
- 2) Why is he so hideous, leprous, with blisters and sores?
- 3) If we were to get one of such a figure, we would rather die

A2)

- 1) We would rather not take a husband at all

B) a1) He is not even a fraction as beautiful as the commoners

a2) a1) He is not as beautiful as former novice So:, who goes to talk to us

a2) Not as beautiful as a1) former novice Nau:y, a2) former novice Li, your aunt's son

b) This man is as foul smelling as an old vulture, and yet he is what she desires.

Although the comparisons of the hero to former novices may be out of context to the overall story, the statements of his ugliness clearly fit into the larger pattern, and conclude with the overall statement in Section b, which is the conclusion of the pattern as a whole.

4: Replications that result in the deterioration of a passage's meaning

One interesting aspect of the transcription of manuscripts that is revealed by a comparative study is that the ingrained tendency to compose in layers of parallels is so strong that it is not uncommon to find transcribers who sacrifice clarity or consistency of meaning in a passage purely in order to create a well-placed parallel.

1. In the following example from Version A, a passage has been expanded through what might be considered an unskillful usage of replication. The sequence describes the hero dressing up to take part in a procession into the capital where he is to be coronated as king. It concludes that for all his dressing, the hero is still ugly and monkey-like in appearance:

1 ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ໂສມສເລົາທ້າວ ກາດຳນ້ອຍໝູ່ມ
(meu'a: nan so:m salao tha:w ka: dam nau:y num)
Then the beautiful-figured youth, Black Crow

2 ທ້າວກໍ ເອ້ໂອດຍ້ອງ ຖືມ້າວເຊີດຄຳ
(tha:w kau: e: o:t nyaung theu: ma:w seu't kham)
He adorned himself, wearing an ornamental golden bracelet

3 ອັນວ່າ ໂສມຮູບຮ້າຍ ບາທ້າວກໍຫາກຍັງ
(an wa: so:m hu:p ha:y ba:tha:w kau: ha:k nyang)
As for his figure, it still remained ugly¹⁴

{ທ້າວກໍາກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.16a; book: p.81}

In manuscript F, the same passage has been expanded to create the following pattern:

¹⁴It may appear contradictory that the hero is described in an epithet as 'beautifully-figured' in the first line of this passage. However the story's Lao audience would understand that the hero, as the Bodhisattva, is the most beautiful of beings and that his ugly outward appearance is only a 'shell' that will inevitably be shed in the course of the story.

A1)

1 ເມື່ອນັ້ນ ໂສມສເລົາທ້າວ ກາດຳນ້ອຍໝູ່ມ
 (meu'a: nan so:m salao tha:w ka: dam nau:y num)
 Then the beautiful-figured youth, Black Crow

2 ທ້າວກໍ ເອົາໂອດຍ້ອງ ຖືມ້າວເຊີດຄຳ ຜັດຜັດ
 (tha:w kau: e: o:t nyaung: theu: ma:w seu't kham thae: lae:w)
 He adorned himself, wearing an ornamental golden bracelet

A2)

3 ຍັງງເຫຼືອມ ກະໂມຄຳສຸບສອດ
 (nyang nyang leu'a:m kajo:m kham sup saut)
 He put on a radiant golden crown

4 ສຸບສອດຜັດ ຖືມ້າວເຊີດຄຳ
 (sup saut lae:w theu: ma:w seu't kham)
 After he put it on, he wore an ornamental golden bracelet

B)

5 ຜົນວ່າ ຄຳຕີລ້ວນ ທັງໂຕເອົາໂອບ ກໍດາບຜັດ
 (mae:n wa: kham ti: lua:n thang to: ao o:p kau: day lae:w)
 Even if his body were encircled with pure beaten gold

6 ອັນວ່າ ໂສມຮູບຮ້າຍ ບາທ້າວກໍຫາກຍັງ ດອກນາ
 (an wa: so:m hup hay ba:tha:w kau: ha:k nyang dau:k na:)
 As for his figure, it would still remain ugly
 {ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 4, pp.13b-14a; book: p.81}

The chart that follows illustrates how the text has been expanded:

A1:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| 1) Beautiful Black Crow | 1) Beautiful Black Crow |
| 2) Dressed up; He wore a bracelet | 2) Dressed up; He wore a bracelet |

A2:

- 3) He put on a radiant golden crown
 4) After it was on, **he wore a bracelet**

B:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 3) His figure remained ugly | 5) Even if covered in gold |
| | 6) His figure remained ugly |

The expansion has only been accomplished at the expense of the passage's meaning. It does not make sense for the hero to put on an ornamental bracelet, put on a crown, and then put on the bracelet for a second time. It does, however, make perfect structural sense for the composer to create a parallel counterpart to the second line of the original passage. In the expanded version, the phrase 'he wore a bracelet', identically worded, is placed as a tag in the second hemistichs of the second lines of the initial two sections, A1 and A2. This binds them together, making them a parallel pair, a necessary condition for the creation of an AAB pattern. We have previously observed the same process in the example in Section 1, on page 361 of this chapter. The confusion in the story-line is caused precisely by the attempt to make the two sections parallel. As with any art, the smoothness in the placement of parallels depends upon the skill of the composer.

2. The following example does not show the expansion of a text, but rather the changes brought about in an existing pattern as the result of its recopying. As in the previous example, the drive to create or strengthen existing parallels leads to the deterioration of meaning in a passage.

The following pattern is taken from Version F. Versions C, B, and D are similar with a slight change in phrasing. Little Crow, after receiving gifts from his lover, leaves her palace and travels home:

A1)

1 ດຳນັ້ນ ອິນກະສັດເຈົ້າ ຮັບເອົາດອມອ່ອນ
(tae: nan in kasat jao hap ao tau:m au:n)
Then he took (the gift) from the young woman

2 ບາກໍ ສຸບໃສ່ກ້ອຍ ລານ້ອງພາກເມື່ອ
(ba: kau: sup sai kau:y la: nau:ng pha:k meu'a:)
He put (the ring) on his small finger, bade farewell of the young woman, and left

A2)

3 ເຖິງສູ່ຖ້ານໝັ້ວ ຊານມົນເຊົາຈອດ
(theu'ng sathan kae:w sa:n mon sao jau:t)
Reaching the open space in front of the palace, he rested

4 ທ້າວກໍ ສຸບຄາບຜູ້ລ້ວ ທຍານລຳຜ່ວນຜບອງ
(tha:w kau: sup kha:p lae:w thanya:n lam phe:n phanyau:ng)
He put on his outer 'shell', jumped up, and flew away

B)

5 ທ້າວກໍ ລັດລ່ວງເຂົ້າ ເຖິງເຮືອນຕົນຍ່າ
(tha:w kau: lat lua:ng khao theu'ng heu'a:n ton nya:)
He travelled to the house of the older woman

6 ບາຄານເລີຍ ຈອດເຮືອນນ້ອຍ
(ba:kha:n leu'y jau:t sao heu'a:n nau:y)
He rested at (his) small house

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, pp.15b-16a; book: p.60}

In Version A, the identical pattern appears as follows:

A1)

1 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ອິນກະສັດເຈົ້າ ຮັບເອົາດອມອ່ອນ
(tae: nan in kasat jao hap ao tau:m aun)
Then he took (the gift) from the young woman

2 ບາກໍສຸບສອດຜູ້ລ້ວ ລານ້ອງພາກໄປ
(ba: kau: sup saut lae:w la: nau:ng pha:k pai)
He put (the ring) on, bade farewell of the young woman, and left

A2)

3 ເຖິງສູ່ຖານຜູ້ກ້ວ ຊານມົນເຮົາຈອດ
(theu'ng satha:n kae:w sa:n mon sao jau:t)
Reaching the open space in front of the palace, he rested

4 ທ້າວກໍ ສຸບສອດຜູ້ລ້ວ ທຍານລຳຜ່ວນຜບອງອາກາດ
(tha:w kau: sup saut lae:w thanya:n lam phe:n phanyau:ng a:ka:t)
He put it on, jumped up, and flew away into the sky

B)

5 ຜູ້ນັ້ນ ທ້າວກໍ ລີລາຍ້າຍ ເຖິງທີ່ເຮືອນຕົນ
(tha:w kau: li:la: nyay theu'ng thi: heu'a:n ton)
Then he travelled to his house

6 ບາຄານເລີຍ ຈອດເຊົາຄາວນ້ອຍ
 (ba:kha:n leu:y jau:t sao kha:w heu'a:n nau:y)
 He rested for a short time

{ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ (Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam) bundle 3, p.4b; book: p.60}

Pattern One: (Versions B, C, D)

A1:

- 1) He took the ring from the woman
- 2) He put it on his finger, and left

A2:

- 3) He travelled outside, and rested
rested
- 4) He put on his 'shell' and flew away

3:

- 5) He travelled to the old woman's house
- 6) He rested at the little house

Pattern Two: (Versions A, E)

A1:

- 1) He took the ring from the woman
- 2) He put it on, and left

A2:

- 3) He travelled outside, and
- 4) He put it on, and flew away

3:

- 5) He travelled to his house
- 6) He rested for a short time

This example is a typical travel pattern. The first two sections describe the hero in movement. His movement is narrated in the second hemistichs of the second lines of Sections A1 and A2. In pattern number one, besides the description of the hero's travel, there is also a minor parallel between the first two sections. The first hemistichs of the second lines of each section describe an activity sharing the identical verb: ສູບ (sup) 'to put on.' In Section A1, the hero puts on the princess's ring, whereas in Section A2, he puts on his 'shell'. In the second version of the pattern, this inherent parallel has been expanded on to the point that the distinction between the two activities is lost and only the parallel remains. In both sections the original description is replaced in favor of the general phrase ສູບສອດເຮັດວັດ (sup saut laew) 'He put it on, and then...'. The second lines of Sections A1 and A1 therefore become a tag, strengthening the parallel bond that already exists between the two sections. While this transformation adds to the symmetry of the pattern, it deteriorates its meaning. In the first section, the

detail that the hero puts the ring on his smallest finger is eliminated in favor of an all-purpose parallel. More importantly, by eliminating the detail of what the hero is putting on in the second section, the passage has become incomplete in meaning.

5: The shortening of text

The evolution of a Lao story occurs through the shortening of text as well as its expansion. The copying of a manuscript is a tedious and time-consuming process. It is often a compulsory task rather than performed out of any personal interest. Because Lao stories are built upon layer after layer of replication, through a judicious cutting of parallel statements, a text can be shortened, and one's work reduced, without any serious alteration of meaning.

When comparing different manuscripts of a text (which are frequently un-dated), it is often impossible to determine which version has evolved from which. The examples throughout this chapter have been explained as instances of the expansion of text. However, some may well have evolved in the other direction.

6: Conclusion

Until the present, questions regarding the evolution of Lao literature have been given superficial treatment. A detailed study deserves to be made to increase our knowledge of how and why the literature takes the forms that it does. My comparison of six versions of *Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam* demonstrates that an understanding of the AAB pattern is an essential foundation for such a study.

My comparison also sheds light on the nature of parallelism in Lao literature. An AAB pattern, when originally composed, is not necessarily filled with layer upon layer of smaller replications. Judging from the six manuscripts that have been studied, many of the layers are added afterwards by transcribers who consistently build upon earlier texts through the use of parallel statements.

Conclusion

This thesis has two major purposes:

1) An overall description of traditional Lao literature

The introductory section of this thesis provides the first comprehensive description of Lao literature in the English language. English accounts of the literature at present are exceedingly short, filled with error, and with a few exceptions written by authors without first-hand knowledge of the subject. It is not the intent of this thesis, however, merely to echo what has already been written about Lao literature in other languages. This work adds to previous studies in many aspects, the most important of which can be summarized:

1) The inventory of Lao literature in the appendix is the most comprehensive to date. It includes the most thorough list of titles of Lao stories, the literary forms in which they are written, their length, distribution, published equivalents (i.e. transcription, poetic adaptation, prose retelling, translation, and plot summary), and possible relationship with works in other societies.

2) A comparison is made between the literary traditions of the Lao and the Yuan, showing considerable difference between the two. Previous studies have tended to overly emphasize the similarities between the two traditions, giving the reader the impression that the whole of Lao literature is merely an extension of its Yuan counterpart with minor distinctions. The differences between the two literatures, however, (whether inherent or the result of the evolution of the Lao from the Yuan) are in fact more complex than they have been stated to be in the past. They are:

2.1: Differences in Specific Works of Literature: Based upon a comparison of titles of works within the two societies, the majority of Lao stories do not appear to have a Yuan counterpart.

2.2: Differences in Literary Forms: There was a significant difference in the popularity of various literary forms within the two societies. Whereas the great majority of Yuan literary works were written in Nitsay prose or Ha:y, the Lao favored composing tales in the more complex poetic form of Khlo:ng. This can be explained by:

2.2.1: The few known works of Yuan literature that were written in the poetic form of Khlo:ng appear to have been composed exclusively by poets connected to the royal court. During the height of Lanna civilization before the Burmese occupation, there does not appear to have been a popular wide-rooted Yuan literary tradition of composing stories in a poetic form more complex than Ha:y. In contrast, the composers of Lao Khlo:ng, with simpler rules of versification than its Yuan counterpart, came from a much wider range of Lao society.

2.2.2: The Yuan maintained a rigid distinction between literature in which the purpose was primarily religious and literature which although maintaining religious themes served an added role as entertainment outside of the temple. Yuan religious tales, referred to as ຄຳວທຳ (Kha:w Tham) 'Poetry of the Dharma,'¹ were written in Nitsay and Ha:y and performed exclusively as sermons. Stories that placed greater emphasis on entertainment were composed in more complex literary forms and appear to have been performed exclusively by laymen outside of the temple.

In contrast, the Lao allowed individual works to have a greater flexibility in the nature of their performers and circumstances of performance, therefore providing them a greater role within Lao society. With a simple change of script that was referred to as the 'ordaining' or 'disfrocking' of a text, an identical story written in Kau:n A:n (the Lao form of Khlo:ng) could be performed as entertainment by laymen or as a religious sermon by members of the Buddhist clergy.

3) The corpus of Lao literature is believed to have been composed during the time of the Kingdom of Lan Xang. However, based upon the survey of Lao

¹ literally ຄຳວ (Kha:w) is a type of Yuan poetry

literature provided in the appendix, the composition of many of the Lao poetic works are seen to have been at a later date. When the Kingdom of Lanna was occupied by the Burmese, the Yuan tradition of composing in Khlo:ng virtually came to an end with the loss of its royal patron. In contrast, Lao literature, rather than ceasing to exist with the disintegration of the Kingdom that gave it birth, became a product of village culture and thus survived. The tradition of composing, performing, and preserving literature continued to flourish after the Lao came under the political control of the Thai and the French. A large percentage of Lao poetic works were composed after the decline of the Kingdom of Lan Xang as can be seen by the great number of stories which have an extremely limited geographical distribution (often in areas which include important religious centers) far from the traditional cultural centers of Lan Xang. Many of these areas became prominent after Lan Xang's demise.

The Lao literary tradition has persisted until the present in certain Lao ethnic areas, and has given birth to the musical tradition of Mau: Lam, which is perhaps the strongest regional cultural entertainment in existence in contemporary Thailand. Its survival is explained by its wide range of composers, the flexibility of the role that it has played within society, and its adaptation from a court literature into a popular village tradition largely resilient to changing political conditions.

4) An examination is made of the role and significance of creativity, both in the composition of Lao stories and in their continual recopying. The nature of Lao creativity is a previously unaddressed topic that is essential to an understanding of the literature and why it takes the form that it does.

Creativity in Lao composition does not involve the breaking away from conventions which have proved useful in the composition, performance, and preservation of the literature. Rather, an author's creativity has traditionally been in his skillful adaptation of existing conventions to fit the needs of a particular story. Often conventions are manipulated in a way that is intended to play with an audience's expectations both for the purposes of humor and the coding of statements of traditional wisdom.

Creativity is observable not only in the composition of a story but also

in its evolution. Transcribers are encouraged and even forced to alter an existing tale for the purpose of correcting mistakes and portions that are incomprehensible, and improving on its sound in accordance with conventions of tone placement and number of syllables in a hemistich and line. Transcribers, necessarily alert to the sound of Lao poetry as an aid in comprehension, tend to make corrections when a work strays from the norm.

The alteration of a text during transcription, however, goes beyond the correction of simple error. A convention of Lao literature is to ask that the content of a work be improved upon by those who have the ability. Changes made by copyists frequently include the addition, deletion, expansion or reduction of individual scenes within a given story. Less frequently, one will find that a story is entirely retold, or expanded by hundreds of leaves.

2) A Description of Parallelism in Lao Literature

The second major purpose of this thesis is to describe a fundamental yet overlooked organizational technique in the composition of Lao literature. This thesis provides:

- 1) An examination of parallelism as a device in the creation of style in the Lao language, tracing its development in complexity and subtlety from the spoken language, prose, to poetic literature;
- 2) A description of parallelism in literature composed in the poetic form of Kau:n A:n, showing the significant role that it plays in the building of plot;
- 3) A comparative study of several manuscripts of an identical tale which shows that the nature of the changes made when a text is transcribed is strongly influenced by the conventions of parallelism described in this thesis; Several writers in the past have suggested that the use of parallelism is a defining style of orally composed poetry. My findings, however, are of a contradictory nature. Whereas the AAB pattern is an important organizational device in the composition of Lao oral folk-tales, it is the continual recopying of the written literature that is responsible for the

incredible intricacy of its parallel layers.

Suggested Areas For Further Study

1) Parallelism:

1.1: Research should be conducted along the lines of this thesis:

1.1.1: Further examination of the conventions of parallelism in *Kau:n A:n* (as described in chapters five through nine) would help to refine our knowledge of the subject. Whereas this thesis provides the groundwork for future studies, further improvements could be made through the examination of a greater amount of text.

1.1.2: Further comparisons should be made between different manuscripts of an identical story to increase our understanding of how conventions of parallelism influence the way in which narrative is expanded. Studies of this nature will help us to understand how and why Lao parallelism takes the shapes that it does.

1.2: Although this thesis has largely been limited to a treatment of *Kau:n A:n*, a similar style of parallelism is clearly observable in *Nitsay*, with variations due to differences in form. A study is needed to provide a clearer picture of parallelism (and particularly the AAB pattern) in *Nitsay*. Parallelism should be similarly examined in *Ha:y*, and other forms of Lao poetry.

1.3: A study of the role that parallelism plays in the composition of other types of Lao literary works, including historical chronicles, religious writings, and didactic texts, etc. would help to broaden our understanding of their content.²

1.4: Parallelism in Lao literature appears to have developed from oral poetry

² A better understanding of Lao literary conventions (such as the use of various motifs, themes, and formula, and the nature of creativity by composers and transcribers, etc.) would also prove useful in interpreting these works.

and story telling. What are the forms that parallelism takes in different types of oral narrative? What religious or aesthetic role does it play? Further research is needed to better understand the relationship between oral and written works, both in regard to their use of parallelism and other conventions.

1.5: An examination should be made of specific stories which are likely to have entered Laos from other societies, for example, a) stories taken from Thai sources, b) Jataka tales, canonical and apocryphal, c) Nitsay works of probable Yuan origin with Nitsay counterparts in Laos, and d) Nitsay works of probable Yuan origin that occur in Laos in Kham Muang form. Are conventions of parallelism, as described in this thesis, used as a tool with which a non-Lao story is translated into the 'literary language' of the Lao?

1.6: In a similar manner to 1.5, comparisons should be made between Lao Nitsay and Kham Muang versions of identical stories. Are conventions of parallelism used as a tool in which Nitsay stories are reshaped in poetic form? A comparison between works of Nitsay and Poetic Nitsay (as described on p.31 of chapter one) would also be useful in showing in what manner parallelism can be used as a technique to increase the artistic or entertainment value of stories in the same literary form.

1.7: It can be speculated that our knowledge of the oral narrative and literature of other Tai-speaking people such as the Yuan, Kham, and Leu would benefit from a consideration of the role that parallelism plays as an organizational device. Consideration should be given to the way in which the forms of Nitsay, Hany, Kham, Khlong, etc. influence the style of parallelism. From initial observation, the structure of Nitsay does not appear to differ significantly in the different societies. As Khlong developed in Lanna to include increasingly complex rules of versification, what effect did this have on its use of parallels? A comparative study of parallelism among the Lao, Yuan, Kham and Leu would be likely to shed further light on the relationship between the various literatures within the larger Tai tradition.

1.8: Parallelism should be studied comparatively in the traditional literatures of the Lao and Khmer. Parallelism is significant in the building of style in spoken Khmer (with considerable similarities to parallelism in spoken Lao³) and in Khmer poetic literature.⁴ At present, Khmer literature has only been examined for parallels of very short length.

2) Creativity:

2.1: Although Lao, Yuan, Kheun and Leu stories of the same type (or sub-type) often share identical plots, there are many devices used by composers and transcribers that serve to differentiate individual works. A comparative study would help show the nature of creativity in the transformation of a skeletal formulaic plot into the flesh and blood of an actual story.

2.2: An examination should be made of different composers' treatment of motifs, themes, stock scenes and formulaic passages that reoccur throughout the literature. There are many ways in which these motifs, etc. are manipulated both to play with audiences' expectations and suit the needs of individual stories. In what way could examples of creativity in this and the previous suggested research topic be considered successful or not successful in accomplishing the purposes that they serve in the literature?

2.3: A study should be made of Poetic Nitsay to determine how artistic conventions of Kauri A:n poetry aside from parallelism have influenced the composition of prose literature.

2.4: Whereas a transcriber can make changes throughout a text, there are certain types of passages such as courting scenes, descriptions of nature and humorous accounts of the clumsiness of commoners (as described on pages 72-73 of chapter one) in which one most frequently observes the greatest variance between individual manuscripts. A comparative study of the changes made in these types of passages a) as they repeatedly occur in the

³ See the article *Baep Kan Seu'm Sauy Nai Phasa: Thay Lae Phasa: Khamen* by Kanjana: Na:ksa:kun.

⁴ See Judith Jacob's article *Observation On The Uses Of Reduplication As A Poetic Device In Khmer*.

course of a story, b) in different manuscripts of an identical work, and c) throughout the literature would be productive in revealing the nature of creativity both in the process of composition and transcription. How much of the creativity involves the adaptation of formulaic phrases that occur repeatedly in similar passages throughout the literature and/or in oral poetry, and how much is exclusive to the specific composition? An appreciation of these type of passages and the kind of creativity involved would also further our knowledge of the role of creativity in Lao literature. The role of Phanya: in Lao literature should be examined for similar purposes.

2.5: Creativity in composition can be observed through comparative studies of different poetic versions of certain Lao works, in which although the overall plot remains similar, the story is completely retold.⁵ Comparisons should also be made of different manuscripts of the same version of certain Lao stories, such as *Sang Sinsai* and *Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kae:w*, which vary greatly in length throughout Isan and Laos.

2.6: During the past half-century, poetic adaptations of many Lao stories were published by small presses in Isan.⁶ The extent of how much the printed story has been changed from the palm leaf version varies greatly between individual works. A study should be made examining in what fashion textual changes are made and for what purposes. How does the fact that the story is intended to be published in book form (presumably for both a reading and listening audience) influence the changes in text? Certain monks such as the late Phra Ariya:nuwat are noted for the creative alterations that they made in transcriptions of Lao stories that they published. What type of changes did they choose to make and not to make?⁷ In contrast, one occasionally comes across a manuscript that states that it has been transcribed from a published work. In this case, how has the text been transformed to make it suitable to be utilized as a palm leaf manuscript as opposed to a

⁵ A list of Lao stories which occur in two or more Kaur: A:n versions is given in fn.14 on p.396 of the introduction to the inventory in the appendix

⁶ The titles of Lao stories of which adaptations have been made are listed in the inventory. Further information is given on pages 398-399 of the inventory's introduction.

⁷ Phra Ariya:nuwat's published works would be convenient to study as the manuscripts that he transcribed should be readily accessible at the cultural center at his temple in Maha Sarakham.

printed work? Many stories have also been transformed into Mau: Lam musical performances of which commercial tapes are easily available.⁸ How are the stories transformed and for what purposes?

3) Survey of Lao literature: All of the topics dealt with in the inventory of Lao literature in the appendix would benefit from further research. Those that have the greatest need for further study are:

3.1: The geographic distribution of Lao stories;⁹

3.2: The relationship between Lao and Yuan stories that share a similar title;¹⁰

3.3: The relationship between the stories in the Lao version of the Panya:sa Ja:taka with tales in other Panya:sa collections and other works of Lao literature;¹¹

3.4: The plot types of individual stories;

3.5: A list of stories that exist in alternate Kau:n A:n versions;¹²

⁸ Ra:chabut Stereo in Ubon, Thailand has recorded approximately thirty Lao stories in sets of tapes. Tapes are available throughout Bangkok.

⁹ For further information, see Section 2.3, pp.397-398 of the introduction to the inventory.

¹⁰ For further information, see fn. 1, p.393 of the introduction to the inventory.

¹¹ For further information, see pp.395-396 of the introduction to the inventory.

¹² For further information of what is needed, see fn.14, p.396 of the introduction to the inventory.

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Inventory of Lao Literature: Introduction

1) The inventory has been divided in the following manner:

1.1: According to the relationship of Lao stories to literary works outside of Laos;

1.1.1: A comparison between Lao and Yuan works;¹

1.1.1.1: The comparison with Yuan works of literature outside of the Panya:sa Jataka is based upon:

a: An examination of the extensive collection of Yuan manuscripts at the Institute of Social Science in Chiang Mai and Chiang Mai University;

b: Various books on Yuan literature such as *Wannakam La:nna:* by Dr. Udom Rungreu'a:ngsi:, *Prawat Lae: Wannakhadi: La:nna:* by Mani: Phayau:myong, and *Wannakam Thau:ng Thin La:nna:* by Lamu:n Janhau:m. There are two major lists of Yuan apocryphal Jataka outside of the Panya:sa collection that I have consulted, including 1) a list of 100 works in *Wannakam La:nna:* by Dr. Udom Rungreu'a:ngsi: (pp.141-143) taken from Dr. Harold Hundius's article *Ka:n Seuksa: Cha:dok La:nna: Nai Ngae: Sangkhom Withaya:*, and 2) a list of 212 works in *Khwa:m Samphan Rawa:ng Wannakam La:nna: Kap Wannakam Prajam Cha:t* by E:mau:n Chittaso:phon, (pp.24-26) originally collected by the Institute of Social Science in Chiang Mai.

1.1.1.2: The comparison with tales in the Panya:sa Jataka is taken from the following works: the Thai transcription of the Yuan Panya:sa text, *Panya:sa*

¹ Note that it is impossible to conclude the nature of the relationship between a given Lao and Yuan work simply based upon a comparison of titles. One must be aware that:

a) Works that share a similar title can be different in their content. At the same time, works with different titles can be the same story.

b) There is historical evidence that the Lao borrowed religious and literary works from the Yuan during the time that Chiang Mai was at its cultural peak. However, works may have been borrowed from the Lao by the Yuan, particularly after the fall of Chiang Mai to the Burmese.

Cha:dok Chabap Hau: Samut Ha:eng Chat, vol. 1-2, by Krom Silapakau:n i.e. the Thai Department of Fine Arts, *An Historical and Structural Study of the Panna:sa Ja:taka* by Dorothy H. Fickle, and *Panya:sa Cha:dok: Prawat lae Khwa:m Samkhan thi: mi: tau: Wannakam Rau:y Krau:ng khau:ng Thaiy* and *Ka:n Seuksa: Panya:sa Cha:dok*, the latter two studies by Niyada: Sa:rikaphu:thi.

1.1.2: The comparison with canonical Jataka tales is taken from *The Jataka or Stories Of The Buddha's Former Births* Vol. VI, edited by E. B. Cowell.

1.1.3: The comparison with Thai works is taken from *Le Roman Classique Lao* by Dr. A. Peltier, and personal observation. According to Dr. Peltier, an examination of the language of three of the stories indicates that the Lao versions are borrowed from the Thai.²

1.1.4: The comparison with Hindu works is taken from the following studies: *The Krsna Saga In Laos (A Study In The Brahmutd Brahpan)* and *The Ramayana In Laos (A Study In The Gvay Dvorahbi)* by Sahai Sachchidanand, and *Phongsa:wada:n La:w* (Chronicles of Laos) by Maha: Sila: Wirawong .

1.2: According to the literary form;

Works of literature have not been listed as occurring in a certain form unless I have personally seen an example.³ There are a total of four stories in which the form is uncertain, three of which are either Nitsay or Ha:y. The great majority of tales that are listed under the category of Kau:n A:n or Kau:n are composed in a form known as Kau:n A:n Thammada: which is described on Section 2.1.2 on pp.95-99 of chapter two. Some stories, however, are written in other forms of Kau:n. Further research is needed to determine

² see Section 2.3 on p.28 of the initial chapter. All of the stories in this category are likely to have been borrowed from the Thai.

³ The few exceptions are based on information related to me by Prof. Suphon Somjitsripanya: at the Isa:n Cultural Center in Maha Sarakham. These include a) the Kau:n A:n version of ສົ້ນພາກໂກກະດັນ (Naphak Kai Kadon), b) the Nitsay version of ອຸສາບາຣົດ (Usa: Barot), and c) ສົ້ນພຸດທະເສນ (Tha:w Phutthase:n) and ພຳນາອຸທະນ (Phanya: Uthe:n), which occur exclusively in Nitsay.

the poetic style of individual tales.

2) The inventory includes the following information about each given work:

2.1: Titles: The inventory includes works of literature that tell a story, as listed under Category A on page 4 of the first chapter.⁴ I have personally seen the text of each work that is listed in this inventory.⁵ I have not included titles that are listed in previous surveys that I have not seen because of these problems with the surveys: a) the lack of standardization of titles, which causes individual stories to be listed repeatedly under alternate names, b) misspellings or other misunderstandings that lead to inaccurate renderings of titles,⁶ and c) sheer inventiveness.⁷

When a story is commonly known by more than one title, alternate titles are indicated by footnote.

Works that occur exclusively in the Lao Panya:sa Jataka collection known as *Ha: Sip Sa:t* are not included in this list because the rarity of the collection has made it impossible to examine most of the stories first-hand.⁸ Of particular interest in this work are twenty-four out of the total of fifty stories which according to Dorothy H. Fickle in her thesis *An Historical and Structural Study of the Panna:sa Ja:taka* have no counterparts in other collections.⁹ A number of individual stories in the Lao version of the Panya:sa Ja:taka commonly occur independently, and these have works have

⁴ Further research is likely to uncover a certain number of titles not included in this survey which have a very limited geographical distribution.

⁵ In the great majority of cases, I have seen the palm leaf manuscript. In instances where I have only seen a printed version, the word 'published' is listed under the category of the story's distribution.

⁶ For example, in the inventory of manuscripts at Nau:ng Lam Jan on p.172 of *Sammana: Bai La:n Thua: Phatthe: Khang Thi: Neung* edited by Khamphae:ng Ke:ttawong (L), a work is listed under the title of ທ້າວພູມີ (Tha:w Phu:mi). The text from which the title was taken reads: ທ້າວຄູ່ມີສີພູກ (Tha:w Khu: mi: si: phu:k) '(The manuscript) Tha:w Khu: has four bundles'. The alteration of the original title is the result of the fact that a) the letter ຄ (Kh) in the Tham script was read as ພ (Ph), and b) the word ມີ (mi:) 'to have' was mistaken for the title's final syllable. Thus are statistics made.

⁷ For an explanation of sheer inventiveness, see p.6 of chapter one, fn.15, describing my search for manuscripts in Ubon province following information provided within a previous survey.

⁸ Previous writers on the Panya:sa Jataka, such as Niyada: Sa:rikaphu:thi and Dorothy H. Fickle, have similarly not located a copy of the Lao version and have relied in their studies on a) a list of stories within the collection rather than the actual works themselves, and b) the published work *Pha Jao Ha: Sip Sa:t* by Phra Khru: Thammakho:saja:n et al., in which the initial few stories from the collection are included. There are incomplete portions of the Panya:sa Jataka in the National Library in Vientiane.

⁹ pp.20-23 Eleven of these stories are similar in title to canonical Jataka tales and may be related. (ibid. p.55) Other stories may be similar to tales in other Panya:sa collections except in their title.

been included in the inventory. They include: *Sudhanu* (no. 2),¹⁰ *Subhamitta* (no. 5), *Suwanna Sangkha* (no. 6), *Jantakha:taka* (no. 7), *Suwanna Kurunga* (no. 9),¹¹ *Sabbasiddhi* (no. 19), *Surasena* (i.e. *Phutthase:n*), *Kusara:ja* (no. 29), and possibly *Ratana Pajota* (no. 14).¹² and *Arindama* (also referred to as *Arinduma* {no. 41}).¹³

Further research is needed to determine the number of Lao stories that exist in alternate versions.¹⁴

2.2: Length; The length of Lao works is flexible. Different manuscripts of the same story can vary in size due to additions or reductions on the part of an individual transcriber.¹⁵ Also, the length of a work can vary due to a) the size of the transcriber's writing, b) the number of lines that are written upon the leaves, and c) the size of the leaves themselves. In certain examples, I have provided the exact number of leaves of one or two manuscripts of the story to which I have access. When a single number is given, it is the length of the largest version that I have found. However, due to the variations described above, the number of leaves within a given manuscript is only of

¹⁰ The numbers are taken from the story's arrangement within the collection. See *An Historical and Structural Study of the Pannasa Ja:taka* by Dorothy H. Fickle p.18. To facilitate a comparison with her work, the stories listed here are transliterated respectively as follows within her thesis: *Sudhanu*, *Subhamitta*, *Suvannasankha*, *Candaghataka*, *Suvannakurunga*, *Sabbasiddhi*, *Surasena*, *Kusaraja*, *Ratanapajota*, and *Arindama*.

¹¹ This story is also listed as Kwa:ng Kham (of which there is a Lao story of equivalent title that occurs independently). *ibid.* See note 'cc' pp.23, 25.

¹² which is possibly the equivalent of *Jantha Pasot*

¹³ which is likely to be the equivalent of *Arinathum*

¹⁴ Certain works of Lao literature exist in two or more poetic versions in which the story is entirely retold. (The difference in plot between versions varies.) My information on the number of tales in which this is the case is too limited at present to include in the survey. The following is an incomplete list which includes the number of different versions known to me at present.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1) ສັງສິນໄຊ (Sang Sinsai) | two poetic versions |
| 2) ຂຸນລູນາງອົວ (Khunlu: Nang Ua:) | two poetic versions |
| 3) ພຣະເວດສັນດອນ (Phra Wetsandau:n) | several poetic versions |
| 5) ພາຣດງຸນາງໄອ (Pha:dae:ng Na:ng Ai) | three poetic versions |
| 6) ທ້າວກຳພຳໄກ່ແກ້ວ (Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kaew) | two poetic versions |
| 7) ທ້າວຄັດທະນາມ (Tha:w Katthana:m) | three poetic versions |
| 8) ທ້າວຫົວ (Tha:w Hua:) | two poetic versions |

Note that although different manuscripts of an identical Lao tale may vary greatly in length, this does not necessarily mean that the story exists in more than one version. Variance in length is frequently the result of the expansion or reduction of a single version of a story rather than a complete retelling.

¹⁵ Two different manuscripts of the work *Panthama:t* for example, vary by 150 pages. The variance between most works, however, is much less.

limited use for comparative purposes. In a few examples, where I have no access to a manuscript version, I have listed the number of pages in the published version with indication that I am doing so. However, due to the many variables in how Lao works are presented in written form, the figures are of little use in comparison with either manuscripts or other printed versions.¹⁶

2.3: Distribution; The information regarding a story's distribution is taken largely from personal observation during my two years of research in northeast Thailand and Laos. These observations are supplemented by Khamphae:ng Kettawong's analysis of the distribution of Lao stories, based upon previous surveys, on pp.453-483 of *Sammana: Bai Lan Thua: Phathet Khang Thi: Neung*, edited by Khamphae:ng Kettawong. Stories in the inventory that are listed in a particular section (for example, Nitsay stories of Lao origin) are organized according to their distribution. Tales with a general distribution are listed first, followed by works that occur in northern Laos, central Laos, southern Laos, northeast Thailand, solely in the Lao National Library, and finally, works of which I have only located a published version.

This category is the most incomplete. In cases where I am not sure about the extent of the story, the space is either left blank or a few known locations are followed by three dots, indicating that the tale's existence within other areas has not been investigated.¹⁷ My research on the distribution of works within northern Laos is less extensive than in other areas. Works that are listed as being found in Luang Prabang may also exist in other northern provinces, although this has not been confirmed.

The primary importance of this category is in showing the great number of stories that have an extremely limited distribution, especially in areas outside of the traditional cultural centers of the Kingdom of Lan Xang. Notice that a work being listed as located in the Lao National Library gives no indication of its distribution as the library has collected stories from throughout the country. However, if a tale is listed solely in the National

¹⁶When poetic stories are printed they are generally (but not always) divided according to hemistichs and lines and thus take up greater space than Nitsay works, which are written as ordinary prose. Other considerations such as page and print size make comparisons generally impossible.

¹⁷Note that even among works in which the geographical distribution has been investigated, further research might help to provide a more thorough picture. The information in this category is most accurate in describing stories that exist exclusively within a small area.

Library, it indicates its relative rarity. Works in which only a published version has been located are similarly rare. Stories that are particularly rare are indicated with an asterisk after their name.

2.5: Published Versions; Unless otherwise noted, the published works of Lao literature that are listed in this category can be found in the bibliography under the story's title in the sections on Thai and Lao language sources. Comments are made on the relationship between the original story and the printed versions owing to the fact that the latter can be quite deceiving. For example, some works have merely been summarized and some have been entirely rewritten with no indication that they are not transcribed directly from manuscripts.

Published works can be divided into these categories:

a) transcriptions of ancient stories into modern Lao or Thai script; Transcriptions follow original works with varying degrees of faithfulness. Some, as indicated, are entirely rewritten or based upon modern adaptations rather than palm leaf manuscripts.

b) adaptations of the stories that retain the original poetic form; Adaptations of Lao stories were generally composed in the 1950s and early 1960s. They were printed by small publishing houses in northeast Thailand. Printed works were commonly used for sermons by monks lacking knowledge in the ancient scripts. They also served as a form of entertainment, and many were specifically intended for Mau: Lam musical performances. The composers of these works appear to have generally been ethnic Lao from northeast Thailand with a religious background. A comparison of portions of certain texts, for example ທ້າວກຳພຳຟີນ້ອຍ (Tha:w Kampha: Phi: Nau:y) and ທ້າວສັງຄະທັດ (Tha:w Sangkathat), reveal no great differences from the manuscript versions. In these cases, the people who published the works simply followed the popular tradition of making minor changes as part of the process of transcription. However, other works, such as ຊຸນລູນາງອົວ (Khunlu: Na:ng Ua:), are completely retold. I am not certain whether the

printed works of Lao stories that are taken from Thai sources are adapted from the Lao versions of the tales or simply derived from the Thai texts themselves.¹⁸

The Thai adaptations were published by Khlang Na:na: Tham and Khlang Na:na: Withaya: Presses, both located in Khon Kaen, Thailand.¹⁹

c) retelling of the stories in prose;

d) summaries of the stories' plot; Summaries of Lao works are taken from five different sources, as indicated by the chart. The least thorough source is *Pheun Isa:n* by Kau:ng Bo:ra:nakhadi: Krom Silapakau:n i.e. the archeological division of the Thai Department of Fine Arts (summary 1). Summaries within the following sources are increasingly detailed: *Wannakam Isa:n* (summary 2), *Wannakam Thau:ng Thin* (summary 3), and *Nae:w Tha:ng Seuksa: Wannakam Pheun Ba:n Praphe:t La:y lak* (summary 4). All are by the same author, Thawa:t Punno:thok, and include much repetition. The most informative summaries are provided in the French work *Le Roman Classique Lao* by Dr. A. Peltier.

The books in which the summaries are included can be found in the bibliography.

e) translation of the stories into English or French; The translations can be found under the name of the translator (as indicated in the inventory) in the bibliography of western language sources.

f) theses or studies; Thai studies of individual stories are listed under the title of the work that they describe in the bibliography of Thai language sources. Studies in western languages are listed under the author's name.

Note that when a story exists in many literary forms, printed versions are listed solely under the form relevant to the published work.

¹⁸ There are some titles of famous Thai works, such as *Khun Chang Khun Phaen*, which as far as I know do not exist in Lao manuscript version.

¹⁹ The two publishing houses jointly distributed the books. Stories that are still in print are available at Khlang Na:na: Tham store in Khon Kaen. A number of the out-of-print titles have been collected by Prof. Keyes and are presently at the University of Washington library in Seattle. The publishing dates largely range from the late 1950s through the early 1960s. (No further information is provided in the Thai bibliography.)

3) An index is provided at the end of the inventory for convenience in finding specific titles. Note that many of the stories are listed under the initial word ທ້າວ (tha:w).

This inventory is intended as a starting-point for further research and does not pretend to be complete. It is hoped that it will serve a useful purpose for future students of Lao literature.

Key to the Inventory of Lao Literature and Index of Titles

General:

* (at the end of a title)	=	very rare
(inc.)	=	incomplete
(H.S.S.)	=	included in <i>Ha: Sip Sat</i> , the Lao version of the Panya:sa Jataka.

(When a particular work occurs in two or more literary forms, the most popular version, if known, will be underlined.)

(Footnotes that provide general background to a story are included solely under the initial literary form in which the work is listed.)

Length:

S (short)	=	1-39 leaves
S+	=	40-79 leaves
A (average)	=	80-149 leaves
A+	=	150-200 leaves
L (long)	=	200-349 leaves
L+	=	350 leaves or longer
pub.	=	indicates that the length given is of a published version

(Lengths are given of several versions of a story or the longest known version)

Extent:

W.S.	=	Widespread, i.e. all of the regions
N.L.	=	Lao National Library
L.P.	=	Luang Prabang
N	=	Northern Laos
N.E.	=	Northeast Laos
C	=	Central Laos
V	=	Vientiane

S	=	Southern Laos
T.K.	=	Tha: Khae:k
N.L.J.	=	Nau:ng Lam Jan Village, Suwannakhet Province
I	=	I:sa:n, i.e. Northeast Thailand
T.N.L.	=	Thai National Library
B.M.O.C.	=	British Museum Oriental Collection, London
pub.	=	Published; i.e. the only version located was in published form. If the manuscript's location is indicated, it will be mentioned in a footnote.
...	=	Existence of the work has not been investigated. (If the symbol occurs after the name of a location, the story's existence in other areas has not been investigated.)

(Ubon, Sakhon Nakhon, and Buriram are provinces in northeast Thailand.
Nakhon Pathom is a province in central Thailand.)

Published Sources:

Lao	=	Lao transcription
Thai	=	Thai transcription
T.A.	=	Thai adaptation in poetic form published by Khlang Na:na: Tham / Khlang Na:na: Withaya:
L.R.	=	Lao retelling in prose
T.R.	=	Thai retelling in prose
T.S.	=	Thai plot summary
T.S.1	=	from <i>Pheu:n I:sa:n</i> by Kau:ng Bora:nakhadi:, Krom Silaphakau:n
T.S.2	=	from <i>Wannakam I:sa:n</i> by Thawat Punno:thok

T.S.3	=	from <i>Wannakam Thau:ng Thin</i> by Thawa:t Punno:thok
T.S.4	=	from <i>Naew Thang Seuksa: Wannakam Pheu:n Ban Praphe:t Laylak</i> by Thawa:t Punno:thok
T.S.5		from <i>Le Roman Classique Lao</i> by Dr. A. Peltier
E. Tr.	=	English translation
E. Tr. (P.J.)	=	English translation of related story in the Panya:sa Ja:taka is taken from <i>Apocryphal Birth Stories: Panna:sa Ja:taka</i> Vol. I, II, translated by I. B. Horner and P. S. Jaini
E. Tr. (C.J.)	=	English translation of the story in the Canonical Ja:taka tales is taken from <i>The Ja:taka or Stories Of The Buddha's Former Births</i> , edited by E. B. Cowell
Fr. Tr.	=	French translation
E.	=	English article or study
Fr.	=	French article or study
th.	=	thesis

Index of Titles:

The titles are followed by: a) the number of the page on which they are located, b) the number of the section in which they occur, and c) the number in which they are listed in their particular section. For example, if a story is listed as 404; 1.2.2-3, it is the third story in Section 1.2.2 on page 404.

If a story exists in prose and poetic versions, each location is listed separately:

N = Nitsay

H = Ha:y

K = Kaun poetry

Inventory of Lao Literature

Title and Form	Length	Extent	Published
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1) Lao Literature Without Yuan, Thai or Indian Equivalents

1.1: Nitsay (ນິດສັຍ)

1) Siang Nau:y Jorato: (ຂຽງນ້ອຍໂຈຣະໂຕ)	A	C/S/I	L.R.
2) Tha:w Takatae:n Kham (ທ້າວຕັກເຕນຄຳ)	A 96	C/S/I	-
3) Phau: Kha: Mia:ng* (ພໍ່ຄ້າໝັງ)	S	L.P./N.L.	-
4) Ninya:y Wia:ng Kaew (ນິຍາຍວຽງແກ້ວ)	S 18	L.P.	-
5) Tha:w Kampha: Pa: Daek Pa: Samau: ² (ທ້າວກຳພ້າປາເດກປາສໝໍ)	A	S/I/N.L.	L.R. ¹ T.S. 1,2,3
6) Tha:w Kampha: Tu:p Tau:ng (ທ້າວກຳພ້າຕູບຕອງ)	S+/A	S/N.L.	-
7) Tha:w Khu: Nang Tham (ທ້າວຄູນາງທຳ)	A	S/N.L.	-
8) Suwanna Sing Kham* (ສຸວັນນະສິງຄຳ)	A 126	N.L. ³	-
9) Kampha: Khi: Tua* (ກຳພ້າຂີ່ຕົວະ)	A 100+	N.L.	-

¹ The two volume printed version, while appearing to be a transcription, is actually a lengthy retelling that greatly differs from the manuscript version.

² also known as ທ້າວບຸດສະບາ (Tha:w Butsaba)

³ possibly also found at one time at Nau:ng Lam Jan Temple (according to the survey on p.174 (No.53) of *Sammāna: Bai Lan Thua: Phatthet Khang Thi: Neung*, edited by Khamphaeng Kettawong (L)), but the manuscript was not in the temple library when I visited in 1990.

Title and Form:	Length:	Extent:	Published:
10) Ninya:y Phra A:thit* (ນິຍາຍພຣະອາທິດ)	S 10	N.L.	-
1.2: Hay (ຮ່າບ)			
1) Ninya:y Kwang Kham (ນິຍາຍກວາງຄຳ) (H.S.S.? ⁴)	S	L.P./ N.L.	Lao
2) Ninya:y Latsi: Sing (ນິຍາຍລັດສີສິງ)	S 21	L.P./ N.L.	Lao, L.R.
3) Phomtathat Thaut Jit (ພົມມະທັດຖອດຈິດ)	S	L.P.	Lao
4) Ninya:y Nok Khi: Thai (ນິຍາຍນົກຂີ້ໄຖ)	S	L.P.	Lao
5) Ninya:y Hau:y Hai ⁵ (ນິຍາຍຫອຍໄຫ້)	S	L.P.	Lao

1.2A: Unsure of Form-- Nitsay or Hay

1) Nok Khao* (ນົກເຄົ້າ)	S	-	-
2) Phau: Kha: Saphao* (ພໍ່ຄ້າສະເພົາ)	S	N.L.	-
3) Saphao Long Kau* (ສະເພົາຫຼົງເກາະ)	S	N.L.	-

⁴ The story *Suwanna Kurunga* (no. 9) of the Lao version of the Panya:sa Ja:taka is also listed as Kwang Kham and is likely to be the same story. See fn.11 on p.396 of the introduction to the inventory.

⁵ A Kheun version also exists under the title of ນາງຫ້ອຍໄຫ້ (Nang Hau:y Hai). (See *Tai Khœun Literature* by Dr. A. Peltier, No.134, p.125.)

Title and Form:	Length:	Extent:	Published:
1.3: Kau:n A:n (ກອນອ່ານ)			
1) Tha:w Bae: ⁶ (ທ້າວແບ້)	A	W.S.	-
2) Tha:w Suriwong ⁷ (ທ້າວສຸຣິວົງ)	L	W.S.	Lao inc. T.S.1,2, T.A. ⁸
3) Kampha: Ka:p Lang (ກຳພ້າກາບລາງ)	A 128	L.P.	Lao (inc.) ⁹
4) Tha:w Sa:y Kham (ທ້າວຊາຍຄຳ)	A 123	L.P.	-
5) Tha:w Sa:y Peu'a:y* (ທ້າວຊາຍເປືອຍ)	A 86	L.P.	-
6) Na:ng Ingday* ¹⁰ (ນາງອິງດາຍ)	A	L.P.	-
7) Phuan: Lom* ¹¹ (ພວນລົມ)	S+ 45	L.P. prov.	E. Tr. ¹²
8) Phantama:t* (ພັນທະມາດ)	L+	N.E.	-
9) Tha:w Singa:lo: ¹³ (ທ້າວສິງກາໂລ)	L 350	C/S/I	T.S. 1,2 ¹⁴ T.A.

⁶ A Kheun version also exists under the title of ແພະຄຳ (Phae Kham). (See *Tai Khoeun Literature* by Dr. A. Peltier, No.2, pp.12-13.)

⁷ also known as ທ້າວສຸຣິຍະວົງ (Tha:w Surinyawong).

⁸ under the title listed in the previous footnote.

⁹ lacks the beginning

¹⁰ similarities in plot to ຊຸນລຸນາມອົວ (Khunlu: Na:ng Ua:).

¹¹ also known as ພູລົມ (Phulom).

¹² passages translated in *Lao Literature* by Peter Koret. Entire work translated by the same author, as yet unpublished.

¹³ also known as ທ້າວສິງກາໂລກະຕ້າຍຄຳ (Tha:w Singka:lo: Kata:y Kham)

¹⁴ listed under the name quoted in the previous footnote.

Title and Form:	Length:	Extent:	Published:
10) Tha:w Lao Kham (ທ້າວເຫຼົ້າຄຳ)	A	C/S/I	Lao
11) Pha:dae:ng Nang Ai ¹⁵ (ຜາເດງນາງໄອ)	A 120	S/I/N.L	Thai, E. Tr. ¹⁶ T.S.1, T.A.
12) Tha:w Kampha: Ten Daun ¹⁷ (ທ້າວກຳພ້າເຕັນດ່ອນ)	A	S/I	Lao
13) Tha:w Ka:lake:t (ທ້າວກາລະເກດ)	L+	S/L...	Lao, Thai T.S.1,2,3 T.A.
14) Siang Mia:ng ¹⁸ (ຊຶ່ງໝັ້ງ)	(pub. 198)	S/I	Lao, Fr. Tr. ¹⁹ T.S.1, ²⁰ T.A.
15) Tha:w Khamfau:ng (ທ້າວຄຳຟອງ)	S 49,37	S/I	Thai
16) Tha:w Kampha: Phi: Nau:y (ທ້າວກຳພ້າຟີນ້ອຍ)	A	S/I	Lao, E. Tr. ²¹ T.S.1, T.A.
17) Tha:w Lin (ທ້າວລິນ)	L 250+	S/I	-
18) Tha:w Ma: Nyuy ²² (ທ້າວໝາຫຍຸຍ)	L	S/I	Thai inc. T.S.1, T.A., T.R.

¹⁵ also exists in a poetic version known as ກະຮອກດ່ອນ (Kahau:k Daun) in which the ending is not a tragedy. The latter, which was printed in Laos, is taken from the Thai National Library. Note that *Pha:dae:ng Na:ng Ai* shares many similarities in theme with the Lanna chronicle ຕຳນານສຸວັນນະໂຄມຄຳ (Tamnan Suwanna Khom Kham) and other historical works. (See further detail in *Ra:y Nga:n Kan Sammana: Tha:ng Wicha:ka:n: Wannakam La:nna:*, edited by Songsak Pangwatana:kun, Vol. 1, pp.310-311.) Oral tales that similarly describe a city that is destroyed when its people eat a white animal (an eel as opposed to a squirrel) can also be found in Lanna.

¹⁶ by Dr. Wajuppa Tossa

¹⁷ also known as ນົກເຕັນດ່ອນ (Nok Ten Daun)

¹⁸ Equivalent Thai series of tales are known as *Sri: Thanon Chay*. A Khmer version also exists.

¹⁹ by J. Lichtenstein

²⁰ under the title of the Thai equivalent, *Sri: Thanon Chay*.

²¹ under way by Dr. Wajuppa Tossa

²² A Kheun version also exists. (See *Tai Khoeun Literature* by Dr. A. Peltier, No.154, pp.140-141.)

Title and Form:	Length:	Extent:	Published:
19) Tha:w Hen Om (ທ້າວເຫັນອົມ)	A	S/N.L.	T.S.1, T.A. T.R.
20) Tha:w Ba: Ling (ທ້າວບາລິງ)	S+ 56	S/N.L.	-
21) Tha:w Jinda: Jampha: Thau:ng A (ທ້າວຈິນດາຈຳພາທອງ)		S	Lao T.A.
22) Tha:w Daw Reu'a:ng (ທ້າວດາວເຮືອງ)	S+/A	S	Lao T.A.
23) Tha:w Nokkaba: Pheu'a:k (ທ້າວນົກກະບາເຜືອກ)	S+	S	Lao, Fr. Tr. ²³ T.A.
24) Tha:w Pha:kha:ng ²⁴ (ທ້າວຟາຄາງ)	S+/A	S, Thai N.L.	-
25) Tha:w Nyi: * ²⁵ (ທ້າວຍີ່)	S 33	I/N.L.	-
26) Tha:w Kai Hau:m Hu:* ²⁶ (ທ້າວໄກ່ຫອມຮູ)	A	I	T.A. ²⁷
27) Tha:w Khon Pet* (ທ້າວຂົນເປັດ)	A 128	N.L.J.	-
28) Tha:w Inpong* (ທ້າວອິນປົງ)	A 98	N.L.J.	-

²³ by Dr. A. Peltier

²⁴ also known as ທ້າວຄຳຄ່າງ (Tha:w Kham Kha:ng) or ທ້າວຟາຄາງຄຳຄ່າງ (Tha:w Pha:kha:ng Khamkha:ng).

²⁵ also known as ທ້າວຍີ່ຄວາຍເງິນ (Tha:w Nyi: Khway Ngeu'n). Not to be with confused with ທ້າວຍີ່ບາເຈືອງ (Tha:w Nyi: Ba: Jeu'a:ng).

²⁶ This story is similar to ທ້າວກຳພ້າໄກ່ເຮັດວ (Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kae:w) with a difference in detail.

²⁷ under the title of ນິທານຫອມຮູ (Nitha:n Hau:m Hu:).

Title and Form:	Length:	Extent:	Published:
29) Umphu:m Khau: Ka:n* (ອຸມພູມຄໍກ່ານ)	S+ 40	N.L.J.	-
30) Tha:w Khot Tha:w Seu:* (ທ້າວຄົດທ້າວຊື້)	A 80	Ubon	-
31) Tha:w Seu'a: Nao* (ທ້າວເສືອເນົາ)	A	Ubon	-
32) Sammathi:* (ສັມມະທິ)	S+ 64	Sakon Nakhon	Thai
33) King Jeur'a:ng Ha:n* ²⁸ (ກົງເຈືອງຫານ)	A	N.L.	L.R. Thai study ²⁹
34) Tae:ng Hau:m* (ເຕງຫອມ)	S+ 48	N.L.	-
35) Tha:w Jaksin Phomrin* ³⁰ (ທ້າວຈັກສິນພົມຣິນ)	S 31	N.L.	T.S.1,2, T.A.
36) Tha:w Thukkata* ³¹ (ທ້າວທຸກກະຕະ)	A+ 152+	N.L. (inc.)	T.R.?, T.A.? ³²

²⁸ Account of Tha:w Jeur'a:ng. A version exists among the Leu of Sip Sau:ng Panna: in southern China. See *Maha:ka:p Reu'a:ng Tha:w Ba: Jeur'a:ng* by Prakhau:ng Nimmanhem in pp.118-120.

²⁹ A comparative study of different works related to *Tha:w Jeur'a:ng*. See previous footnote for specific reference.

³⁰ This tale was traditionally used in a spiritual healing ceremony in northeast Thailand (*Wannakam Isa:n* by Thawat Punno:thok, pp.538-539). The author does not specify whether the story in the ceremony is in oral or written form. The only manuscript that I have seen of this work was written in the past thirty years. I suspect that the manuscript at the National Library (and the printed version from Khlang Nana: Tham) may be recent adaptations of an oral tale.

³¹ A story with the similar title *Thukkata Kumman* (ທຸກກະຕະກຸມມານ) appears in the list of Yuan works of literature in *Wannakam Lanna:* by Dr. Udom Rungreu'a:ngsi p.142 (no.9). However, the Yuan story consists of only a single bundle, i.e. approximately 25-30 leaves, in contrast to the lengthier Lao story of similar name. It is possible that the Yuan manuscript referred to is of the type that is commonly stored in private homes which consists of a single bundle, regardless of length.

³² The titles of the Thai retelling and adaptation are identical but I am not certain if the content is similar.

Title and Form:	Length:	Extent:	Published:
37) Tha:w La: Mau:n Pae:* ³³ (ທ້າວຫຼ້າໝອນແປ)	S+ 64	N.L.	T.A.
38) Phet Samau:* ³⁴ (ເພັດສະໝໍ)	A+ 162	N.L.	-
39) Khau:ng Khau: Kun* (ຂ້ອງຄໍກຸ້ນ)	A 116	Nakhon Pathom	Thai th. ³⁵
40) Sa:y Plia:ng Kampha: Phu: Mi: Bun* (ຊາຍປລຽງກຳພ້າຜູ້ມີບຸນ)	S+/A	Thai N.L.	-
41) Khon Thuk Pen Sia:wkan* (ຄົນທຸກເປັນສຽວກັນ)	(pub. 97)	pub. ³⁶	Lao
42) Kampha: Na: Sae:ng* (ກຳພ້ານາແຊງ)	(pub. 64)	pub.	Lao
43) Tha:w Ka:latha:* (ທ້າວກາລະຖາ)	(pub. 480)	pub.	Lao
44) Tha:w Jet Hai* ³⁷ (ທ້າວເຈັດໄຫ)	(pub. 118)	pub. ³⁸	Lao, T.S.1 ³⁹

³³ Similar to ທ້າວຈັກສິນພົມຣິນ (Tha:w Jaksin Phomrin), I have found only one manuscript of the story, copied by the identical transcriber (as described in fn.22). The tale is also published by Kiang Nana: Tham. I suspect that both works have recently been adapted from oral tales.

³⁴ A work which describes the exploits of *Thaw Jau'ang*

³⁵ includes a complete Thai transcription.

³⁶ The published version states that manuscript transcribed is at the Thai National Library.

³⁷ common oral tale with many variants found among the Yuan, Kammu, and Lao throughout Laos, Isan, and northern Thailand. The oral versions are also known as ເຈັດຄະນົນ (Jet Khanon) and ເຈັດຫວດເຈັດໄຫ (Jet Hua:t Jet Hai). The story is rare in written form. The Yuan literary work ບົວນ້ອຍກິນຂວານ (Bua: Nau:y Kin Khwa:n) has strong similarities. Often episodes from the story ທ້າວຄັດທະນາມ (Tha:w Khatthanam) are mixed into oral versions of the tale.

³⁸ The manuscript transcribed in the published version is stated to be from the Luang Prabang Provincial Library. It is not there at present.

³⁹ listed under the title of ເຈັດຄະນົນ (Jet Khanon). The description varies greatly from the written work

Title and Form:	Length:	Extent:	Published:
45) Nitha:n Ma: Mae:w* (ນິທານໝາດມວ)	(pub. ⁴⁰)	pub. ⁴¹	Lao R.T.

1.4: Stories with Versions in 1) Nitsay or Hay, and 2) Kau:n A:n

1.4.1.1: Nitsay (ນິດສັຍ) Version:

1) Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kae:w* (ທ້າວກຳພ້າໄກ່ແກ້ວ)	S 40	L.P. ⁴²	-
2) Tha:w Ba: Jeu'a:ng ⁴³ (ທ້າວບາເຈືອງ)	L 288	C? ⁴⁴	Thai
3) Na:pha:k Kai Kadon (ໝ້າຟາກໄກກະດັນ)	L	C/S/L	-
4) Khun Theung ⁴⁵ (ຊຸນທິງ)	A	C?/S/I N.L. ⁴⁶	-
5) Tha:w Kapau:m Kham* ⁴⁷ (ທ້າວກະປອມຄຳ)	...	L.P.	-
6) Tha:w Tao Kham (ທ້າວເຕົາຄຳ)	S+ 60	N.L. ...	-
7) Tha:w Hung Tha:w Jeu'a:ng* (ທ້າວຮຸ່ງທ້າວເຈືອງ)	L	N.L.	-

⁴⁰ The printed version is a retelling of 48 pages that is expanded in size from the original work.

⁴¹ Manuscript transcribed for the printed version (published in 1971) is stated to be at the National Library, where it was taken from the Luang Prabang Provincial Library. At present it is at neither place.

⁴² from the palace library in Luang Prabang. At present in the National Library in Vientiane.

⁴³ Nitsay version referred to as ວັງສາມາລິນີບາເຈືອງ (Wangsamalini: Ba: Jeu'a:ng).

⁴⁴ Note that the Thai printed version is from Na: Wiang Temple in Yasothon, Isa:n, where the manuscript is believed to have been taken from Vientiane during the 19th century. I am uncertain whether copies exist at present in central Laos outside of the National Library.

⁴⁵ prose and poetic versions also known as ຊຸນທິງຊຸນເທືອງ (Khun Theung Khun Theu'a:ng).

⁴⁶ I have seen fragments of a manuscript within northeastern Luang Prabang province, but the story is rare within the north.

⁴⁷ The prose and poetic versions share little similarity in plot.

Title and Form:	Length:	Extent:	Published:
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1.4.1.2: Ha:y (ຮ້າຍ) Version:

1) Khunlu: Na:ng Ua: ⁴⁸ (ຂຸນລູນາງອຸ້ວ)	S 30	L.P./N.L.	Lao
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1.4.2: Kau:n A:n (ກອນອ່ານ) Version:

1) <u>Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kae:w</u> (ທ້າວກຳພ້າໄກ່ແກ້ວ)	L 200, 377, 98 ⁵⁰	C/S/I	Lao, ⁴⁹ T.A.
2) Tha:w Ba: JEu'a:ng ⁵¹ (ທ້າວບາເຈືອງ)	-	Thai N.L. N.L.	Thai th. ⁵²
3) Na:pha:k Kai Kadon (ໝ້າພາກໄກກະດິນ)	L	.....	T.A.
4) Khun Theung (ຂຸນທິງ)	A 128	I ...	Thai T.S.1,2,3, T.A.
5) Tha:w Kapau:m Kham (ທ້າວກະປອມຄຳ)	A	I/N.L.	Thai
6) Tha:w Tao Kham (ທ້າວເຕົາຄຳ)	S+ 60	N.L. ...	Lao, T.A.
7) Tha:w Hung Tha:w JEu'a:ng (ທ້າວຮຸ່ງທ້າວເຈືອງ)	L 300+	Thai N.L.	Lao, Thai T.S.1,2

⁴⁸ commonly titled ອຸ້ວຄຽ່ມ (Ua: Khiam)

⁴⁹ The printed text is incomplete, ending only a little more than half-way through the commonly found version of the story. Note also that the printed transcription is taken from a manuscript (held at present in the National Library) where the copyist states that he has changed portions of the text to make the story easier for a contemporary audience to understand. This statement, however, is not included in the printed version.

⁵⁰ The commonly found version is approximately 200 pages in length. The 343 page version is an expansion of the same version. The 98 page version (which appears to exist only within Naung Lam Jan) is an entirely different version of the same story.

⁵¹ poetic version also known as ທ້າວນິບາເຈືອງ (Tha:w Nyi: Ba: JEu'a:ng).

⁵² includes complete Thai transcription.

Title and Form:	Length:	Extent:	Published:
8) <u>Khunlu: Nang Ua:</u> ⁵³ (ຊຸນລູນາງອົວ)	A	I/S/N.L. C?/N	Lao, ⁵⁴ Thai T.S.1,4 T.A.

2) Lao Literature with Lanna Equivalents

2.1: Outside the Panya:sa Jataka

2.1.1: Nitsay (ນິດສັຍ)

1) Sia:w Sawa:t (ສົງວສວາດ)	(pub. 224)	W.S./N.L.	Lao, Fr. Tr. ⁵⁵ T.S.1, T.A.
2) Hong Kham ⁵⁶ (ຫົງຄຳ)	A	L.P./S/I ...	Thai Yuan version, T.A. ⁵⁷
3) Hua: La:n Beu'a: Het* (ຫົວລ້ານເບື້ອເຫັດ)	S 31	L.P./N.L.	-
4) Suwanna Sangkha:n* ⁵⁸ (ສຸວັນນະສັງຂານ) {Expanded version of a section in ສົງວສວາດ (Sia:w Sawa:t)}	S+	L.P.	Lao
5) Nu: Kham (ໝູຄຳ)	S 27	L.P.	-
6) Phanya: Uthe:n (ພຍາອຸເທນ)		C/S/I	-

⁵³ oral versions of this tale exist among the Yuan, Thai Dam, Kammu, and other groups. See Section 4 on p.64 of chapter one.

⁵⁴ Note that the version of ຊຸນລູນາງອົວ (Khunlu: Nang Ua:) published by the Lao National Library is taken from the modern composition of the story by the Isan writer K. Kingkaew rather than a traditional manuscript version. However, no mention of the version's modern origin is included, and the tale's concluding passage, in which the composer poetically states his emotions upon hearing the train outside of his home in Khon Kaen, northeast Thailand has been deleted.

⁵⁵ by Dr. A. R. Peltier

⁵⁶ also known as ຫົງຟາຄຳ (Hong Pha: Kham) and ຫົງຫິນ (Hong Hin).

⁵⁷ under the title of ຫົງທອງ (Hong Thau:ng).

⁵⁸ also known as ຫົວຍັງຄຳ (Hau:y Pangkham).

Title and Form:	Length:	Extent:	Published:
7) Suphom Mo:kkha ⁵⁹ (ສຸພົມໂມກຂະ)	L 243	N? ⁶⁰ /S/I N.L. ...	T.S.1,2, T.A. ⁶¹
8) Su:bunna:nak (ສຸບຸນນານາກ)	S 33	N.L.J./I	Thai, T.S.1
9) Phainyara:t (ໄພຍະຣາດ)	A+/L	N.L.J./N.L.	-
10) Kha:m Mani:jan* (ຄາມມະນີຈັນ)	S 45	N.L.	-
11) Na:ng Tantai (ນາງຕັນໄຕ)	(pub. 314)	pub.	Lao, TS1, T.A.

2.1.2: Ha:y (ຮ່າຍ)

1) Ngua: Nau:y (ງົວນ້ອຍ)	S	L.P.	Lao
2) Kai Nau:y ⁶² (ໄກນ້ອຍ)	S	L.P.	Lao
3) Samat Kinnari: (ສມາດກິນນະຣີ)	S	L.P.	Lao
4) Suwanna Nyen Kham (ສຸວັນນະເຫຍັນຄຳ)	S 20	L.P.	Lao
5) Tha:w Te:so: Tha:w Nya:mo:* (ທ້າວຕາໂຂທ້າວບາໂມ)	S+	L.P.	Thai Yuan oral version

⁵⁹ also commonly known as ໝາເກົ້າຫາງ (Ma: Kao Ha:ng).

⁶⁰ A northern version in Leu script exists at the National Library, but I am not aware if a northern Lao version similarly exists.

⁶¹ under the alternate title ໝາເກົ້າຫາງ (Ma: Kao Ha:ng).

⁶² similar to the popular Thai oral tale ດາວລຸກໄກ່ (Da:w Luk Kai).

Title and Form:	Length:	Extent:	Published:
2.1.3: Kau:n A:n (ກອນອ່ານ)			
1) Jampha: Si: Ton (ຈຳປາສີຕົນ)	L+	W.S.	Lao, T.S.1,2 T.A.
2) Tha:w So:wat (ທ້າວໂສວັດ)	L	W.S.	Lao, T.S.1 T.A.
3) Na:ng Phom Hau:m (ນາງຟົມຫອມ)	A	N/S/I N.L.	Thai T.S.1,2,4 T.A.
4) Na:ng Tae:ng Au:n (ນາງແຕງອ່ອນ)	L	L.P/S/I	Lao, T.S.1,2 T.A., Fr. ⁶³
5) Su:mphu:ra:t Tae:ng Khia:w* ⁶⁴ (ອຸມພູຣາດແຕງຂຽວ)	A	L.P. ⁶⁵	-
6) Tha:w Nyai Bua:* (ທ້າວໄຍບົວ)	A 81	L.P.	-
7) Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam (ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ)	A	C/S/I	Lao, Thai T.S.1,2,3, T.A.
8) Tha:w Lin Thau:ng (ທ້າວລິນທອງ)	A	C/S/I	T.S.1, T.A.
9) Tha:w Un Ngua: Thau:ng ⁶⁶ (ທ້າວອຸ່ນງົວທອງ)	L	S/I	T.S.1, ⁶⁷ T.A.

⁶³ article describing an illustrated manuscript of this work by P. Bitard.

⁶⁴ a Leu prose version can be found in the Lao National Library.

⁶⁵ This work is popular among the Yuan, but I have located only a single Lao copy.

⁶⁶ also commonly known as ທ້າວງົວທອງ (Tha:w Ngua: Thau:ng). A Leu prose version of this story can be found in the Lao National Library.

⁶⁷ under the title ທ້າວງົວທອງ (Tha:w Ngua: Thau:ng).

Title and Form	Length	Extent	Published
10) Jan Samut* ⁶⁸ (ຈັນສມຸດ)	A	N.L.J./I	L.S. T.S.1 ⁶⁹
11) Wannapha:m* (ວັນນະພາມ)	A	N.L. ...	Lao, T.S.1
12) Tha:w Surinyawong Hong A:ma:t (ທ້າວສຸຣິຍະວົງຫົງອາມາດ)	--	N.L. ...	-
13) Tha:w Sangkhathat* (ທ້າວສັງຄະທັຕ)	A 113	N.L.	T.S.1, T.A.
14) Phanya: Kusara:t* (ພຍາກຸສຣາດ)	(pub. 56)	pub. N.L.?	Lao
15) Tha:w Khamsau:n (ທ້າວຄຳສອນ)	(pub. 50)	....	Lao, T.A. ⁷⁰

2.1.4: Stories with Nitsay and Kau:n A:n Versions

2.1.4.1: Nitsay (ນິດສັຍ) Version:

1) Sang Sinsai (ສັງສິນໄຊ)	L+ 400	W.S.	-
2) Tha:w Feu'a:ng Mau: Tae:k* (ທ້າວເຟືອງໝໍແຕກ) (Expanded version of a section in ສົງວສວາດ (Sia:w Sawat) ⁷¹)	S 38	L.P.	-

⁶⁸ also known as ຈັນທະສມຸດ (Jantha Samut). A manuscript of the story at Nau:ng Lam Jan, Suwannakhet province is entitled ທ້າວລຳນາງຫອມ (Tha:w Lau: Nang Hau:m). The content of the Lao story varies widely from its Yuan equivalent of similar name. A Leu prose version can be found at the Lao National library.

⁶⁹ The summary is included mistakenly under the title of *Kai Kaew Hau:m Hu;* a story which shares some similarities in plot.

⁷⁰ under the title of ທ້າວກຳພຳຄຳສອນ (Tha:w Kampha: Khamsau:n).

⁷¹ also exists as an independent apocryphal Jataka tale in Lanna entitled ເສດຖີເຟືອງໝໍ (Setthi: Feu'a:ng Mau:).

Title and Form:	Length:	Extent:	Published:
3) Phanya: Khankha:k* (ພຍາຄັນຄາກ)	S+	L.P	-
4) Bua: Hau:ng Bua: Hia:w* (ບົວຮອງບົວຮຽວ)	A	N.L.	-
5) Usa: Ba:rot (ອຸສາບາຣົດ)	...	N.L.?...	Thai Yuan version

2.1.4.2: Kau:n A:n (ກອນອ່ານ) Version:

1) <u>Sang Sinsai</u> (ສັງສິນໄຊ)	L+ 500+	I/S/N.L. ...	Lao, Thai, T.A. E. Tr. ⁷² Fr. Tr. ⁷³ Lao RT. T.S.1,2,3, T.A.
2) Tha:w Feu'a:ng Mau: Tae:k* (ທ້າວເຟືອງໝໍເຕກ) {Expanded version of a section in ສົງວສວາດ (Sia:w Sawat:t)}	A	L.P	-
3) <u>Phanya: Khankhak</u> (ພຍາຄັນຄາກ)	A	L.P/N.L. S/I ...	Lao, Thai E. Tr. ⁷⁴ T.S.1,2,3
4) <u>Bua: Hau:ng Bua: Hia:w</u> (ບົວຮອງບົວຮຽວ)	A	I/N.L. ...	Lao T.S.1,2, T.A. ⁷⁵
5) Usa: Ba:rot ⁷⁶ (ອຸສາບາຣົດ)	A 89	I/N.L.	-

2.1.4A) Unsure of Form:

1) Kampha: Lek Nai* (ກຳພ້າເຊັກໂນ)	-	N/C ...	-
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⁷² An English translation of a French translation of certain sections by Thao Nhouy Abhay.

⁷³ translation of certain sections of by Thao Nhouy Abhay and P.S. Nginn.

⁷⁴ under way by Dr. Wajuppa Tossa

⁷⁵ under the title of ບົວໂຮມບົວຮອມ (Bua: Ho:m Bua: Hau:ng).

⁷⁶ also known as ອຸດສານິທານ (Utsa: Nitha:n). Exact relationship with Nitsay version uncertain.

Title and Form	Length	Extent	Published
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2.2: Within the Panya:sa Ja:taka ⁷⁷

2.2.1: Nitsay (ນິດສັຍ):

1) Tha:w Phutthase:n ⁷⁸ (ທ້າວພຸດທະເສນ) (H.S.S.)		L.P/S/I N.L. ...	T.S.1, T.A. ⁷⁹ E. Tr. (P.J.) ⁸⁰
	Based On: Rathase:na Ja:taka (No. 47)		
2) Tha:w Tao Aung Nau:y ⁸¹ (ທ້າວຕົ້າອອງນ້ອຍ)	S	C/N.L....	E. Tr. (P.J.)
	Based On: Suwanna Katchapa Ja:taka II (No. 55)		
3) Suwanna Hau:y Sang (ສຸວັນນະຫອຍສັງ) (H.S.S.)	A 113	S/I ...	T.A., ⁸² E.Tr. ⁸³ E. Tr. (P.J.)
	Based On: Suwanna Sangkha Ja:taka (No. 53)		
4) Phanya: Si: Sao* (ພຍາສີເສົາ)	S+ 52	N.L.J.	E. Tr. (P.J.)
	Based On: Sisora Ja:taka ⁸⁴ (No. 44)		
5) Tha:w Arinathum* (ທ້າວອຣິນະທຸມ) (H.S.S.?)	S 33	N.L.	E. Tr. (P.J.)?
	Based On: Arindama Ja:taka (?) (No. 46)		
6) Suwanna Kumman (ສຸວັນນະກຸມມານ)	-	...	E. Tr. (P.J.)
	Based On: Suwanna Kumara Ja:taka (No. 15)		

⁷⁷ The tales in the Panya:sa Ja:taka have been translated into English in *Apocryphal Birth Stories: Pannasa Ja:taka* Vol. I, II, by I. B. Horner and P. S. Jaini.

⁷⁸ also commonly known as ນາງສິບສອງ (Nang Sip Saung)

⁷⁹ The Thai summary and adaptation are both listed under the title quoted in the previous footnote.

⁸⁰ An English retelling of a Shan version of this story can be found on pp.230-237 of *Folklore* by Rev. Wilbur Willis Cochrane under the title of 'The Story of the Twelve Sisters'.

⁸¹ Also known as ອຸທິຣາ (Uthara).

⁸² published under the title of *Sang Thauing Ngau La:w*, based on the title of the similar Thai work.

⁸³ Outside of the translation of *Suwanna Sangkha* within the Panya:sa collection, there is also a translation of a popular Thai drama known as *Sang Thong* that is an adaptation of this work, by Fern Ingersoll.

⁸⁴ *Panya:sa Cha:dok: Prawat Lae Khwam Samkhan Thi: Mi: Tau: Wannakam Rauy Kra:ng Khaung Thaiy* by Niyada: Sarikaphuti: p.155

Title and Form	Length	Extent	Published
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2.2.2: Ha:y (ຮ່າຍ)

1) Phanya: Somphamit ⁸⁵ (ພະຍາສົມພະມິດ)	S/S+	L.P	Lao T.S.1, T.A. E. Tr. (P.J.)
	Based On: Suphamitta Jataka (No. 9)		
2) Pathumma Kumma:n (ປະທຸມມະກຸມມານ)	S/S+	L.P	Lao, T.A. E. Tr. (P.J.)
	Based On: Patuma Jataka (No. 27)		
3) Janthapasot (ຈັນທະປະໂຊດ) (H.S.S.?)	S/S+	L.P	Lao E. Tr. (P.J.)
	Based On: Ratana Pajota (?) (No. 4)		

2.2.3: Kau:n A:n (ກອນອ່ານ)

1) Tha:w Janthakha:t ⁸⁶ (ທ້າວຈັນທະຄາດ) (H.S.S.)	A	W.S.	Lao, T.S.1 Fr. Tr. ⁸⁷ E. Tr. (P.J.)
	Based On: Jantakha:t Jataka (No. 61)		
2) Sutthanu (ສຸດທະນຸ) (H.S.S.)	(pub.)	....	Lao, T.S.1,2 E. Tr. (P.J.)
	Based On: Suthanu Jataka		

2.2.4: Stories with Versions in 1) Nitsay Prose or Hay and 2) Poetic Kau:n

2.2.4.1: Nitsay Prose or Hay Versions:

2.2.4.1.1: Nitsay (ນິດສັຍ) Prose Versions:

1) <u>Tha:w Khatthana:m</u> ⁸⁸ (ທ້າວຄັດທະນາມ)	L	W.S.	Thai, E. Tr. (P.J.)
	Based On: Si:hanata Jataka (No. 52)		

⁸⁵ also known as ສຸພະມິດ (Suphamit).

⁸⁶ also known as ສຸຣິຍະຄາດຈັນທະຄາດ (Surinyakha:t Janthakha:t)

⁸⁷ brief translation of the story by P.S. Nginn.

⁸⁸ also known as ຄັດທະນາມກັດທະນາມ (Khatthane:k Khatthana:m).

Title and Form	Length	Extent	Published
2) <u>Tha:w Hua:</u> ⁸⁹ (ທ້າວຫົວ)	A Based On: Suwanna Sirasa: Jataka (No. 48)	C/S/I	T.R., T.A. E. Tr. (P.J.) ⁹⁰
3) <u>Nang Auraphim</u> ⁹¹ (ນາງອໍຣຳພິມ)	S+ Based On: Pajitta Kuma:ra Jataka (No. 39)	I...	E. Tr. (P.J.)
4) <u>Kapu: Kham*</u> (ກະປູຄຳ)	S+ Based On: sub-story in Surappha Ja:taka (No. 54)? ⁹²	N.L.	E. Tr. (P.J.)?

2.2.4.1.2: Hay (ຮ້າຍ) Versions:

1) <u>Nok Kajau:k</u> ⁹³ (ນົກກະຈາຍ)	S Based On: Sa:pasitthi Ja:taka (No. 40)	L.P	La E. Tr. (P.J.)
2) <u>Tha:w Sithon</u> ⁹⁴ (ທ້າວສີທົນ)	S Based On: Sutana Ja:taka (No. 2)	L.P	Lao E. Tr. (P.J.)

⁸⁹ Prose and poetic versions of this story are also commonly known as ທ້າວຫົວຂີ້ (Tha:w Hua: Khau: Lau:) or ທ້າວຫົວຂີ້ແຂ້ວ (Tha:w Hua: Khau: Lau: Khae: Lae:). Prose version is also known as ສຸວັນນະຕຳມຄຳ (Suwanna Taum Kham) or ທ້າວຕຳມຄຳ (Tha:w Tau:n Kham). Note that the commonly found prose version and the poetic version from Tha: Khaek in the National Library share little similarity in plot.

⁹⁰ An English retelling of a Shan version of this story entitled 'Ai Kawk Ho' can be found on pp.254-257 of *Folklore* by Rev. Wilbur Willis Cochrane.

⁹¹ prose and poetic versions are also known as ທ້າວປາຈິຕນາງອໍຣຳພິມ (Tha:w Pajit Nang Au:raphim)

⁹² Kapu: Kham is a story about a golden crab that asks riddles of the dharma. It appears to be similar to the final sub-story of Surappha Ja:taka which tells of a golden crab that asks riddles that only the Bodhisattva can answer. (See the brief plot summary of Surappha Ja:taka on p.299 of *An Historical and Structural Study of the Panyasa Jataka* by Dorothy H. Fickle.) It also occurs in Lanna as an independent apocryphal Ja:taka tale entitled ປັນຫາປູຄຳ (Panha: Pu: Kham).

⁹³ Hay and Nitsay versions also known as ນົກກະຈາຍ (Nok Kaja:p), ນົກຈອກ (Nok Jau:k), ນົກຈອກຟ້າ (Nok Jau:k Fa:), and ທ້າວວໍຣາຈິຕ (Tha:w Wau:rajit).

⁹⁴ Hay and Kau:n An versions also known as ທ້າວສຸທົນ (Tha:w Suthon) and ທ້າວສຸທົນນາງມະໂນຣາ (Tha:w Suthon Nang Mano:ra).

Title and Form:	Length:	Extent:	Published:
3) Na:ng Auraphim (ນາງອຸຣພິມ)	S+ 51 Based On: Pa:jitta Kumara Ja:taka (No. 39)	Buriram, I. Thai	

2.2.4.2: Kaun A:n (ກອນອ່ານ) Versions

1) Tha:w Khatthana:m (ທ້າວຄັດທະນາມ)	L+ 500+ Based On: Si:hanata Ja:taka (No. 52)	L.P./N.L. Thai N.L. B.M.O.C. ⁹⁶	Lao, Lao new ⁹⁵ T.S.1, T.A.
2) Tha:w Hua:* (ທ້າວຫົວ)	A 100+ Based On: Suwanna Sirasa: Ja:taka (No. 48)	N.L./T.K. ⁹⁷	-
3) Na:ng Auraphim (ນາງອຸຣພິມ)	A Based On: Pa:jitta Kumara Ja:taka (No. 39)	S/N.L. ...	Lao, T.A.
4) Kapu: Kham* (ກະປຸຣຳ)	S+ Based On: sub-story in Surappha Ja:taka (No. 54)?	N.L.	-
5) <u>Nok Kajau:k</u> (ນົກກະຈອກ)	A Based On: Sa:phasitthi Ja:taka (No. 40)	W.S.	Lao, T.S.1,2 T.A.
6) <u>Tha:w Si:thon</u> (ທ້າວສີທົນ)	A Based On: Sutana Ja:taka (No. 2)	W.S.	Lao, T.S.1,2 T.A.

⁹⁵ poetic retelling

⁹⁶ There are three different versions of the story within Luang Prabang, the Lao National Library, and the Thai National Library. The version in the Lao National Library shares the closest similarity to the manuscript at the British museum. The latter is an incomplete version, recorded in a book of mulberry paper.

⁹⁷ The version from Tha: Khaek is presently at the National Library.

Title and Form	Length	Extent	Published
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3) Lao Literature Taken From The Canonical Jataka Tales ⁹⁸

3.1) Nitsay (ນິດສັຍ) Versions: ⁹⁹

1) Phra Te:me: (ພຣະເຕເມ)	-	I ...	E. Tr. (C.J.)
	From: Mu:ga Pakkha Jataka (No. 538)		
2) Phra Maha: Sa:nok (ພຣະມະຫາຊານົກ)	-	C/S/I...	E. Tr. (C.J.)
	From: Mahajanaka Jataka (No. 539)		
3) Phra Suwanna Sam ¹⁰⁰ (ພຣະສຸວັນນະສາມ)	-	S/I ...	E. Tr. (C.J.)
	From: Sama Jataka (No. 540)		
4) Phra Ne:mi:rat (ພຣະເນມິຣາດ)	-	-	E. Tr. (C.J.)
	From: Nimi Jataka (No. 541)		
5) Phra Jantha Kuman (ພຣະຈັນທະກຸມານ)	-	S/I ...	E. Tr. (C.J.)
	From: The Khandahala Jataka (No. 542)		
6) Phra Phurithat (ພຣະພູຣິທັຕ)	-	I ...	E. Tr. (C.J.)
	From: Bhuridatta Jataka (No. 543)		
7) Phra Withun Banthit (ພຣະວິທຸນບັນທິຕ)	-	I ...	E. Tr. (C.J.)
	From: Vidhurapandita Jataka (No. 545)		

⁹⁸The Canonical Jataka tales are translated in *The Jataka or Stories Of The Buddha's Births*, edited by E. B. Cowell. Note that one of the last ten lives of the Bodhisattva, *Mahanaradakassapa Jataka* (No. 544), either does not exist among the Lao or else is relatively rare.

⁹⁹ Maha: Sila: Wirawong composed Kau:n An versions of the following stories in this category:

ພຣະເຕເມ (Phra Te:me), ພຣະມະຫາຊານົກ (Phra Maha: Sanok), and ພຣະສຸວັນນະສາມ (Phra Suwanna Sam) (*Maha: Sila: Wirawong: Si:wit Lae Phon Ngan*, edited by Uthin Bunya:wong (L) pp.242-243). These tales, however, do not appear to have Kau:n An versions that are in manuscript rather than printed form.

¹⁰⁰ also known as ສຸວັນນະສາມ (Suwanna Sayam)

Title and Form	Length	Extent	Published
32) Versions that exist in Nitsay, Ha:y, and/or Kau:n A:n:			
1) Phra Maho:sot (Nitsay/Kau:n A:n) (ພຣະມໂຫສົດ)		C/S/L. From: Maha: Ummagga Ja:taka (No. 546)	E. Tr. (C.J.)
2) Phra We:tsandau:n ¹⁰¹ (ພຣະເວດສັນດອນ)	(Nitsay/Ha:y/Kau:n A:n) L ¹⁰²	W.S. From: Vessantara Ja:taka (No. 547)	Lao, Thai T.S.2,3, T.A. E. Tr. (C.J.)

4) Lao Literature adapted from Thai Sources

Kau:n A:n (ກອນອ່ານ):

1) Phra Aphaymani:* (ພຣະອພັຍມະນີ)	L	L.P	T.A.
2) Pa: Pu: Thau:ng (ປາປູທອງ)	(pub. 130)	S/I ¹⁰³	Lao, T.A.
3) Tha:w Kai Thau:ng (ທ້າວໄກທອງ)	(pub. 104)	N.L.	Lao, T.A.
4) Kae:w Na: Ma: (ແກ້ວໝ້າໝາ)	(pub. 81)	N.L.	Lao, T.S.1 T.A.
5) Janthako:rop (ຈັນທະໂຄຣບ)	(pub. 61)	pub. ¹⁰⁴	Lao, T.A.
6) Innao (ອິນເໝົາ)	(pub. 161)	pub.	Lao, T.A.

¹⁰¹ commonly known as ພຣະເວດ (Phra Wet) or ພະເວດ (Pha Wet)

¹⁰² There are many versions of varying length.

¹⁰³ published version taken from the Department of Fine Arts in Vientiane.

¹⁰⁴ published version taken from the Department of Fine Arts in Vientiane.

Title and Form	Length	Extent	Published
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5) Versions Adapted From Hindu Works ¹⁰⁵

Both stories have Nitsay and Kau:n A:n Versions:

5.1) Nitsay (ນິດສັຍ) Version:

1) Phrakeut Phrapha:n (ພຣະກັດພຣະພານ)	A	V/N.L? ...	E. Tr. ¹⁰⁶
2) Phralak Phrala:m (ພຣະລັກພຣະລາມ)	L+	N.L?/I ...	Lao ¹⁰⁷

5.2) Kau:n A:n (ກອນອ່ານ) Version:

1) <u>Phrakeut Phrapha:n</u> ¹⁰⁸ (ພຣະກັດພຣະພານ)	A+ 159,	N.L? ...	Lao
2) Phralak Phrala:m (ພຣະລັກພຣະລາມ)	A	I/N.L? ...	Lao, T.S.2,3,4 T.A.

¹⁰⁵ This category includes only works that do not have close Yuan equivalents. The stories ອຸສາບາຣົດ (Usa: Barot) and ນາງຕັນໄຕ (Na:ng Tantai) are also based on Hindu works but appear to have been influenced by the Yuan.

¹⁰⁶ by Sachchidanand Sahai. Includes a Lao transcription.

¹⁰⁷ published in India by Sachchidanand Sahai. Listed under titles of stories within the Lao bibliography.

¹⁰⁸ A manuscript which I have seen solely at the National Library, entitled ກຳບັງ (Kambang), is apparently a poetic version of this story (or closely related). However, the Kau:n A:n version of *Phrakeut Phrapha:n* that has been published is not based on this text. Note also that the prose and poetic versions of *Phrakeut Phrapha:n* share similarities with the prose and poetic versions of ອຸສາບາຣົດ (Usa: Barot). Both describe the exploits of Phra Keut.

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Tha:w Kapau:m Kham	(ທ້າວກະປອມຄຳ)	N 411; 1.4.1.1-5 K 412; 1.4.2-5
Tha:w Khamfau:ng	(ທ້າວຄຳຟອງ)	407; 1.3-15
Tha:w Khamkha:ng (See: Tha:w Pha:kha:ng)	(ທ້າວຄຳຄ່າງ)	
Tha:w Khamsau:n	(ທ້າວຄຳສອນ)	416; 2.1.3-15
Tha:w Khatthana:m	(ທ້າວຄັດທະນາມ)	N 419; 2.2.4.1.1-1 K 421; 2.2.4.2-1
Tha:w Khon Pet	(ທ້າວຂົນປັດ)	408; 1.3-27
Tha:w Khot Tha:w Seu:	(ທ້າວຄົດທ້າວຊື່)	409; 1.3-30
Tha:w Khu: Na:ng Tham	(ທ້າວຄູນາງທຳ)	404; 1.1-7
Tha:w La: Mau:n Pae:	(ທ້າວຫຼ້າໝອນແປ)	410; 1.3-37
Tha:w Lau: Na:ng Hau:m (See: Jan Samut)	(ທ້າວລຳນາງຫອມ)	
Tha:w Lao Kham	(ທ້າວເຫຼົ້າຄຳ)	407; 1.3-10
Tha:w Lin	(ທ້າວລິນ)	407; 1.3-17
Tha:w Lin Thau:ng	(ທ້າວລິນທອງ)	415; 2.1.3-8
Tha:w Ma: Nyuy	(ທ້າວໝາຫຍຸຍ)	407; 1.3-18
Tha:w Ngua: Thau:ng (See: Tha:w Un Ngua: Thau:ng)	(ທ້າວງົວທອງ)	
Tha:w Nokkaba: Pheu'a:k	(ທ້າວນົກກະບາເຜືອກ)	408; 1.3-23
Tha:w Nyai Bua:	(ທ້າວໃບບົວ)	415; 2.1.3-6
Tha:w Nyi:	(ທ້າວຍີ່)	408; 1.3-25

Tha:w Nyi: Ba: Jεu'a:ng (See: Tha:w Ba: Jεu'a:ng)	(ທ້າວຍີ່ບາເຈືອງ)	
Tha:w Nyi: Khwa:y Ngeu'n (See: Tha:w Nyi:)	(ທ້າວຍີ່ຄວາຍເງິນ)	
Tha:w Pajit Na:ng Au:raphim (See: Na:ng Au:raphim)	(ທ້າວປາຈິຕນາງອໍຣະພິມ)	
Tha:w Pha:kha:ng	(ທ້າວຝາຄາງ)	408; 1.3-24
Tha:w Phuttthase:n	(ທ້າວພຸດທະເສມ)	418; 2.2.1-1
Tha:w Sangkathat	(ທ້າວສັງຄະທັຕ)	416; 2.1.3-13
Tha:w Say Kham	(ທ້າວຊາຍຄຳ)	406; 1.3-4
Tha:w Say Peu'ay	(ທ້າວຊາຍເປືອຍ)	406; 1.3-5
Tha:w Seu'a: Nao	(ທ້າວເສືອເນົ່າ)	407; 1.3-31
Tha:w Singa:lo:	(ທ້າວສິງກາໂລ)	
Tha:w Singalo: Kata:y Kham (See: Tha:w Singa:lo:)	(ທ້າວສິງກາໂລກະຕ້າຍຄຳ)	
Tha:w Sing Kham (See: Suwanna Sing Kham)	(ທ້າວສິງຄຳ)	
Tha:w Si:thon	(ທ້າວສີທົນ)	H 420; 2.2.4.1.2-2 K 2.2.4.2-6
Tha:w So:wat	(ທ້າວໂສວັດ)	415; 2.1.3-2
Tha:w Suriwong	(ທ້າວສຸຣິວົງ)	406; 1.3-2
Tha:w Surinyawong Hong Amat	(ທ້າວສຸຣິຍະວົງທົງອາມາດ)	416; 2.1.3-12
Tha:w Su:thon (See: Tha:w Si:thon)	(ທ້າວສຸທົນ)	

Tha:w Takatae:n Kham	(ທ້າວຕັກຕານຄຳ)	404; 1.1-2
Tha:w Tao Aung Nau:y	(ທ້າວເຕົ້າອອງນ້ອຍ)	418; 2.2.1-2
Tha:w Tao Kham	(ທ້າວເຕົ້າຄຳ)	N 411; 1.4.1.1-6 K 412; 1.4.2-6
Tha:w Tau:m Kham (See: Tha:w Hua:)	(ທ້າວຕ່ອມຄຳ)	
Tha:w Te:so: Tha:w Nyam:mo:	(ທ້າວເຕໂຊທ້າວຍາໂມ)	414; 2.1.2-5
Tha:w Thukkata	(ທ້າວທຸກກະຕະ)	409; 1.3-36
Tha:w Un Ngua: Thau:ng	(ທ້າວອຸ່ນງົວທອງ)	415; 2.1.3-9
Tha:w Waurajit (See: Nok Kajau:k)	(ທ້າວວຣຈິຕ)	
Tha:w Nyen Kham (See: Suwanna Nyen Kham)	(ທ້າວເຫຍັນຄຳ)	
Ua: Khia:m (See: Khunlu: Nang Ua: Hay version)	(ອຸ້ວຄຸ່ມ)	
U:mphu:m Khau: Ka:n	(ອຸມພູມຄຳກ່ານ)	409; 1.3-29
Usa: Barot	(ອຸສາບາຣົດ)	N 417; 2.1.4.1-5 K 417; 2.1.4.2-5
Uthara: (See: Tha:w Tao Kham)	(ອຸທຣາ)	
Utsa: Nitha:n (See: Usa: Barot)	(ອຸດສານິທານ)	
Wangsamalini: Ba: Jeu'a:ng (See: Tha:w Ba: Jeu'a:ng)	(ວັງສະມາລິນິບາເຈືອງ)	

Wannapha:m	(ວັນນະພາມ)	416; 2.1.3-11
We:tsandaun (See: Phra We:tsandaun)	(ເວດສັນດອນ)	
Wia:ng Kaew	(ວຽງແກ້ວ)	404; 1.1-4
Withun Banthit (See: Phra Withun Banthit)	(ວິທຸນບັນທິຕ)	

Map of Laos and its neighboring countries



Map of Laos and Northeastern Thailand showing the location of the manuscripts used in this thesis



Lao Transliteration

1) Consonant Symbols:

first row: consonant symbol

second row: transcription in initial position of syllable

third row: transcription in final position of syllable

1	2	3
ກ	K	K
ຂ	Kh	K
ຄ	Kh	K
ງ	Ng	Ng
ຈ	J	T
ສ	S	T
ຊ	S	T
ຢ	Ny	Y
ດ	D	T
ຕ	T	T
ຖ	Th	T
ທ	Th	T
ນ	N	N
ບ	B	P
ປ	P	P
ຟ	Ph	P
ຜ	F	-
ພ	Ph	P
ຝ	F	-
ມ	M	M
ຢ	Y	Y
ຣ	R	N
ລ	L	N
ວ	W	W
ຫ	H	-

1	2	3
၁၅	Ng	-
၁၆	Ny	-
၁၇	N	-
၁၈	M	-
၁၉	L	-
၂၀	W	-
၂၁	-	Au:
S	H	-

2) Vowel Symbols

2.1: Vowels in Open Syllables

Lao vowel	Romanization
ᨗ	a
ᨗᨑ	a:
ᨗᨑᨑ	i
ᨗᨑᨑᨑ	i:
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑ	eu
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	eu:
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	u
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	u:
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	e
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	e:
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	ae
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	ae:
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	o
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	o:
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	au
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	au:
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	eu'
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	eu':
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	ia
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	ia:
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	eu'a
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	eu'a:
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	ua
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	ua:
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	ai
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	ai
ᨗᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑᨑ	ao

ᵂᵂ	am
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2.2: Vowels in Closed Syllables

Lao vowel Romanization

ᵂᵂ	a
ᵂᵂᵂ	a:
ᵂᵂ	i
ᵂᵂ	i:
ᵂᵂ	eu
ᵂᵂ	eu:
ᵂᵂ	u
ᵂᵂ	u:
ᵂᵂᵂ	e
ᵂᵂᵂ	e:
ᵂᵂᵂ	ae:
ᵂᵂᵂ	o:
ᵂᵂ	o
ᵂᵂᵂ	au:
ᵂᵂᵂ	eu'
ᵂᵂᵂ	eu':
ᵂᵂᵂ	ia:
ᵂᵂᵂᵂ	eu'a:
ᵂᵂᵂ	ua:

Thai Transliteration

1) Consonant Symbols:

row one: consonant symbol

row two: transcription in initial position of syllable

row three: transcription in final position of syllable

1	2	3
ก	K	K
ข	Kh	K
ค	Kh	K
ฅ	Kh	K
ง	Ng	Ng
จ	J	T
ฉ	Ch	T
ช	Ch	T
ซ	S	-
ฌ	Ch	-
ญ	Y	N
ฎ	D	T
ฏ	D	T
ฐ	Th	T
ฑ	Th	T
ฒ	Th	T
ณ	N	N
ด	D	T
ต	T	T
ถ	Th	T
ท	Th	T
ธ	Th	T
น	N	N
บ	B	P
ป	P	P

1	2	3
พ	Ph	-
พ	F	-
พ	Ph	P
พ	F	-
ภ	Ph	P
ม	M	M
ย	Y	Y
ร	R	N
ล	L	N
ว	W	W
ศ	S	T
ช	S	T
ฉ	S	T
ห	H	-
ฬ	L	N
อ	Au:	Au:
อ	H	-

2) Vowel Symbols

Thai vowel Romanization

- ำ -	a (or 'unra')
- ๑ -	ua:
- ๑๒ -	ua:y
- ๑๓ -	au:y
- ๑๔	ay
- ๑๕	a
- ๑๖	a
- ๑๗	a:
- ๑๘	a:y
- ๑๙	a:w
- ๑๐	am
- ๑๑	i
- ๑๒	iw
- ๑๓	i:
- ๑๔	eu
- ๑๕	eu:
- ๑๖	u
- ๑๗	u:
- ๑๘	e:
- ๑๙	e:y
- ๑๐	ew
- ๑๑	e:w
- ๑๒	eu
- ๑๓	e
- ๑๔	e
- ๑๕	ao
- ๑๖	au

Thai vowel Romanization

เ-	eu'
เ-ย	ia:
เ-ยว	ia:w
เ-อ	eu'a
เ-อัย	eu'ay
แ-	ae:
แ-ะ	ae
แ-ว	ae:w
โ-	o:
โ-ะ	o
ไ-	ai
ไ-	ai

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Titles of Published Versions of Lao Works of Literature in the Lao Language

ອິນເໜົາ

ອິນເໜົາ	ຫໍສມຸດທະທັງຊາດ	ວຽງຈັນ 1970
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ກະຣອກດ່ອນ

ກະຣອກດ່ອນ	ສູນການຄົ້ນຄ້ວາ ວັດໂພນພຣະເນົາ	ວຽງຈັນ
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ໄກ່ນ້ອຍ

ໄກ່ນ້ອຍ	ຢູ່ <u>ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ</u> ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ	1984
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ກຳພ້າກາບລາງ

ກຳພ້າກາບລາງ	ຫໍສມຸດທະທັງຊາດ	ວຽງຈັນ 1970
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ກຳພ້ານາດຊຸງ

ກຳພ້ານາດຊຸງ	ຫໍສມຸດທະທັງຊາດ	ວຽງຈັນ 1969
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ກິ່ງເຈືອງຫານ

ກິ່ງເຈືອງຫານ	ຫໍສມຸດທະທັງຊາດ	ວຽງຈັນ 1969
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ກວາງຄຳ

ກວາງຄຳ	ຢູ່ <u>ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ</u> ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ	1984
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ເຖົ້າໜ້າ

ເຖົ້າໜ້າ

ຫ້ອງສູດທ່າງຊາດ

ວຽງຈັນ 1972

ຂຸນບໍຣົມ

a) ສຳນວນນິດສັຍ:

ນິທານຂຸນບໍຣົມຮາຊາທິຣາດ
(ສະບັບທີ 1)

ມະຫາສິລາວິຣະວົງສ໌,
ນວນອິທານສັກດາ ຜູ້ຮວບຮວມ

ເຊສຽປັນຍາກາຣເພີມ

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(Page numbers that are quoted in this thesis are taken from this transcription.)

b) ສຳນວນກອນອ່ານ:

ໜັງສືຂຸນບໍຣົມຮາຊາທິຣາດ

ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ

ວຽງຈັນ 1967

ຂຸນລຸນາງອົວ

a) ສຳນວນຮ່າຍ:

ທ້າວຂຸນລຸນາງອົວຄຳຮຸ່ມ

ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ

ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາເຖົ້າປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

b) ສຳນວນກອນອ່ານ:

ຂຸນລຸນາງອົວ

ຫ້ອງສູດທ່າງຊາດ

ວຽງຈັນ 1970

ຄົນທຸກເປັນສ່ຽວກັນ

ໜັງສືຄົນທຸກເປັນສ່ຽວກັນ

ສູນການຄົ້ນຄ້ວາ

ວັດໂພນພຣະເນົາ

ວຽງຈັນ 1969

ງົວນ້ອຍ

ງົວນ້ອຍ

ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ

ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

ຈຳພາສີຕົ້ນ

ຈຳພາສີຕົ້ນ

ຫໍສມຸດທະທັງຊາດ

ວຽງຈັນ 1969 2໔໙໓

ຈັນສມຸດ

ຈັນສມຸດ

ຫໍສມຸດທະທັງຊາດ

ວຽງຈັນ 1969

ຈັນທະໂຄຣົບ

ຈັນທະໂຄຣົບ

ຫໍສມຸດທະທັງຊາດ

ວຽງຈັນ 1970

ຈັນທະປະໂຊດ

ຈັນທະປະໂຊດ

ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ

ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

ສມາດກິນນະຣີ

ກິນນະຣີ

ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ

ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

ສຸວັນນະສັງຂານ

ສຸວັນນະສັງຂານ

ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ

ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

ສຸວັນນະເທບັນຄຳ

ສຸວັນນະເທບັນຄຳ

ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ

ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

ສັງສິນໄຊ

ໜັງສືສັງສິນໄຊ

ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ

ວຽງຈັນ 1966

ສັງຂີສິລປ໌ຊັບ

ມະຫາສິລາວິຣະວົງສ໌ ຜູ້ກວດຫານ

ວຽງຈັນ 1971

ສິນໄຊ

ອຸທິນບຸນຍາວົງ ຂຽນໃໝ່

ວາລະສານວັນນະສິນ

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ສຽງໝັ້ງ

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ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ

ວຽງຈັນ 1956 2 ເຫຼັ້ມ

ໜັງສືສຽງໝັ້ງ

ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ

ວຽງຈັນ 1968

ທ້າວສີທະນິນໄຊ

ຄຳພຸນພິລາວົງສ໌

ວຽງຈັນ 1973

(ຫຼືທ້າວສຽງໝັ້ງ)

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ສຽວສວາດທັມມິກະບັນດິດ

ມະຫາສິລາວິຣະວົງສ໌

ໂຮງພິມເສສສິລປ໌

ບາງກອກ 1963

ໜັງສືສຽວສວາດ

ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ

ວຽງຈັນ 1968

ເດກັບັນຫາສຽວສວາດ

ຄຳພຸນພິລາວົງສ໌

ວຽງຈັນ 1974

ຂຽງນ້ອຍໂຈຣະໂຕ

ຂຽງນ້ອຍໂຈຣະໂຕ

ຫໍສມຸດເທທັງຊາດ

ວຽງຈັນ 1969

ທ້າວກາລະເກດ

ນິທານທ້າວກາລະເກດ ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ ວຽງຈັນ 1967 2໔໓໓

ທ້າວກາລາຖາ

ທ້າວກາລາຖາ ຫໍສະໝຸດເທບຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ 1969 2໔໓໓

ທ້າວໂກທອງ

ທ້າວໂກທອງ ຫໍສະໝຸດເທບຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ 1973

ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ

ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ ຫໍສະໝຸດເທບຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ 1970

ທ້າວກຳພ້າໂກ່ເກ້ວ

ທ້າວກຳພ້າໂກ່ເກ້ວ ຫໍສະໝຸດເທບຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ 1973

(Page numbers that are quoted in this thesis are taken from this transcription.)

ທ້າວກຳພ້າເຕັນດ່ອນ

ທ້າວກຳພ້າເຕັນດ່ອນ ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ ວຽງຈັນ (ບໍ່ຂຽນປີພິມ)

ທ້າວກຳພ້າປາເດກປາສມີ

ທ້າວກຳພ້າປາເດກປາສມີ ຄຳພຸນພິລາວົງສ໌ ຂຽນໃໝ່ ວຽງຈັນ 1971 2໔໓໓

ທ້າວກຳພ້າຜີນ້ອຍ

ທ້າວກຳພ້າຜີນ້ອຍ ຫໍສະໝຸດເທບຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ 1973

ທ້າວຄຳສອນ

ໜັງສືນິທານທ້າວຄຳສອນ ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ ວຽງຈັນ 1966

ທ້າວຄັດທະນາມ

ທ້າວຄັດທະນາມ ຫໍສະໝຸດທ່າງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ 1970

ທ້າວຄັດທະນາມ ຄຳພຸນພິລາວົງສີ ແຕ່ງໃໝ່ ວຽງຈັນ 1968

ທ້າວເຈັດໄຫ

ພື້ນທ້າວເຈັດໄຫ ຫໍສະໝຸດທ່າງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ 1971

ທ້າວຈັນທະຄາດ

ນິທານທ້າວຈັນທະຄາດ ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ ວຽງຈັນ 1965 2໔໙

ທ້າວຈິນດາຈຳພາທອງ

ທ້າວຈິນດາຈຳພາທອງ ຫໍສະໝຸດທ່າງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ 1972

ທ້າວສີທົນ

a) ສຳນວນຮ່າຍ:

ສີສຸທົນນາງມະໂນຣາ ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ
ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວຍັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

b) ສຳນວນກອນອ່ານ:

ນິທານທ້າວສີທົນ ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ ວຽງຈັນ 1967

ທ້າວສຸຣິວົງ

ໜັງສືທ້າວສຸຣິວົງ ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ ວຽງຈັນ 1968

ທ້າວໂສວັດ

ທ້າວໂສວັດ	ຫໍສມຸດເທບຊາດ	ວຽງຈັນ 1970
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ທ້າວດາວເຮືອງ

ທ້າວດາວເຮືອງ	ຫໍສມຸດເທບຊາດ	ວຽງຈັນ 1968
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ທ້າວເຕົາຄຳ

a) ສຳນວນກອນອ່ານ:

ທ້າວເຕົາຄຳ	ຫໍສມຸດເທບຊາດ	ວຽງຈັນ 1968
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b) ເຮືອງຍໍ:

ທ້າວເຕົາ	ຫໍສມຸດເທບຊາດ	ວຽງຈັນ
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ທ້າວນົກກະບາເຜືອກ

ທ້າວນົກກະບາເຜືອກ	ຫໍສມຸດເທບຊາດ	ວຽງຈັນ 1972
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ທ້າວລິນທອງ

ໝັງສືນິທານທ້າວລິນທອງ	ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ	ວຽງຈັນ 1966
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ເຮືອງທ້າວລິນທອງ	ຫໍສມຸດເທບຊາດ	ວຽງຈັນ 1974
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ທ້າວເຫຼົ້າຄຳ

ຜົ້ນທ້າວເຫຼົ້າຄຳ	ຫໍສມຸດເທບຊາດ	ວຽງຈັນ 1969
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ທ້າວຮຸ່ງທ້າວເຈືອງ

ທ້າວຮຸ່ງທ້າວເຈືອງ	ສະຖາບັນຄົ້ນຄວ້າສິລະປະວັນນະຄະດີ ຄະນະກຳມະການວິທະຍາສາດສັງຄົມ ເທບຊາດ	ວຽງຈັນ 1988
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ນິຍາຍນິກຂີໄຕ

ນິກຂີໄຕ

ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ

ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

ນິຍາຍລັດສີສິງ

a) ສຳນວນຮ່າຍ:

ລັດສີສິງ

ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ

ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

b) ເຮືອງຍໍ:

ລັດສີສິງ

ຫໍສມຸດເຫງຊາດ

ວຽງຈັນ

ນິທານຫອບໄຫ້

ຫອບໄຫ້

ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ

ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

ນິທານໝາດມວ

ນິທານໝາດມວ

ຫໍສມຸດເຫງຊາດ

ວຽງຈັນ 1970

ນິກກະຈອກ

a) ສຳນວນຮ່າຍ (Ha:y Version):

ນິກກະຈອກນ້ອຍ

ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ

ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

b) ສຳນວນກອນອ່ານ:

ນິທານນິກກະຈອກ

ຮາຊບັນດິດສະພາລາວ

ວຽງຈັນ 1970

ນາງອໍຣະພິມ

ນາງອໍຣະພິມ ຫໍສະໝຸດທ່າງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ 1970

ນາງເຕງອ່ອນ

ນິທານນາງເຕງອ່ອນ ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ ວຽງຈັນ 1967 2໔໙໓

ນາງຕັນໄຕ

ນິທານນາງຕັນໄຕ ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ ວຽງຈັນ 1966 4໔໙໓

ບົວຮອງບົວຮຽວ

ບົວຮອງບົວຮຽວ ຫໍສະໝຸດທ່າງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ 1970

ປະທຸມມະກຸມມານ

ປະທຸມມະກຸມມານ ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ
ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

ປາປູທອງ

ປາປູທອງ ຫໍສະໝຸດທ່າງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ 1973

ພບາກຸສຣາດ

ພບາກຸສຣາດ ຫໍສະໝຸດທ່າງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ 1969

ພບາຄັນຄາກ

ພບາຄັນຄາກ ຫໍສະໝຸດທ່າງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ 1970

ພາສົມພະມິດ

ສົມພະມິດ

ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ

ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

ພຣະກິດພຣະພານ

ພຣະກິດພຣະພານ

ຮາຊບັນດິດສະພາ

ວຽງຈັນ 1972

ພຣະລັກພຣະລາມ

a) ສຳນວນນິດສັບ:

ພຣະລັກພຣະລາມ

ດຣ. ສັຈຈິດານັນດະ ສະຫາຍ

(ຫລືພຣະລາມຊາດິກ)

(Dr. Sachchidanand, Sahai)

The Indian Council for Cultural
Relations

New Delhi

1973 2 ເຫຼັ້ມ

b) ສຳນວນກອນອ່ານ:

ພຣະລັກພຣະລາມ

ຫໍສະໝຸດທ່າຊາດ

ວຽງຈັນ 1971

ພຣະເວດສັນດອນ

ເວດສັນດອນຊາດິກ

ກົມວັນນະຄະດີລາວ

ວຽງຈັນ 1962

ພົມມະທັດຖອດຈິດ

ພົມມະທັດຖອດຈິດ

ຢູ່ ລວມນິຍາຍຕ່າງໆ 24 ກັນ

ໂດຍພຣະມະຫາອ່ອນຕາດກ້ວປັນຍາ ຫຼວງພະບາງ 1984

ວັນນະພາມ

ວັນນະພາມ

ຫໍສະໝຸດທະຫົງຊາດ

ວຽງຈັນ 1970

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กรุงเทพฯ: สถาบันวิจัยศิลปและวัฒนธรรมอีสาน มหาวิทยาลัยศรีนครินทรวิโรฒ มหา
สารคาม. เสนอต่อสมาคมสังคมศาสตร์แห่งประเทศไทย (ไม่ปรากฏปีที่พิมพ์)

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ตำราสังคมศาสตร์และมนุษยศาสตร์. 2530.

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หน้า 551-576.

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เหนือ วิทยาลัยครูสกลนคร. 2532

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2513.

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2515.

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{ຫໍສະໝຸດເຜິ້ງ ຫຼວງພະບາງ}

Jampha: Si: Ton (ຈຳປາສີຕົນ) Kau:n A:n

Tha: Meu'ang Village, Suwannakhet Province, Laos

{ບ້ານທ່າເມືອງ ເຜິ້ງສຸວັນນະເຂດ}

Jan Samut (ຈັນສະມຸດ) Kau:n A:n

Isan Cultural Center, Khon Kaen University, Khon Kaen, Thailand

{ສູນວັດທະນະທຳອີສານ ມະຫາວິທະຍາລັຍຂອນແກ່ນ}

Khun Bau:rom (ຂຸນບໍຣົມ) Nitsay

Provincial Library, Luang Prabang, Laos

{ຫໍສະໝຸດເຜິ້ງ ຫຼວງພະບາງ}

Khunlu: Nang Ua: (ຂຸນລູນາງອຸ້ວ) Kau:n A:n

Nau:ng Lam Jan Village Temple, Suwannakhet Province, Laos

{ວັດບ້ານໝອງລຳຈັນ ເຜິ້ງສຸວັນນະເຂດ}

Khun Theung (ຂຸນທຶງ) Nitsay

Isan Cultural Center, Maha Sarakham Teacher's College, Maha Sarakham Province, Thailand

{ສູນວັດທະນະທຳອີສານ ວິທະຍາລັຍຄູມະຫາສາຣະຄາມ}

¹ When more than one manuscript is listed, passages quoted in this thesis are taken from the initial manuscript unless otherwise noted.

Nang Auraphim (ນາງອຸຣຟິມ) Kau:n A:n

Jok Village Temple, Loppa:kdi: Island, Champhasak Province, Laos

{ວັດບ້ານຈິກ ດອນລົບປາກດີ ທະວງຈຳປາສັກ}

Nang Ingday (ນາງອິງດາຍ) Kau:n A:n

Provincial Library, Luang Prabang, Laos

{ຫໍສມຸດທະວງ ຫຼວງພຣະບາງ}

Pha:dae:ng Na:ng Ai (ຟາເຊດງນາງໄອ) Kau:n A:n

Nau:ng Lam Jan Village Temple, Suwannakhet Province, Laos

{ວັດບ້ານໝອງລຳຈັນ ທະວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ}

Phua:n Lom (ຟວນລົມ) Kau:n A:n

Provincial Library, Luang Prabang, Laos (from Pak Sae:ng Village, Luang Prabang)

{ຫໍສມຸດທະວງ ຫຼວງພຣະບາງ ມາຈາກບ້ານປາກເຊງ ທະວງຫຼວງພຣະບາງ}

Sang Sinsai, Sinsai Deu'n Version (ສັງສິນໄຊສຳນວນສິນໄຊເດີນ) Kau:n A:n

Sakheun Neu'a: Village, Suwannakhet Province, Laos

{ບ້ານສະຄິນເໝືອ ທະວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ}

Som Thi: Kheut (ສົມທິຄິດ) Kau:n A:n

Nau:ng Lam Jan Village, Suwannakhet Province, Laos

{ບ້ານບ້ານໝອງລຳຈັນ ທະວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ}

Suphom Mo:kkha (ສຸພິມໂມກຂະ) Nitsay

Lao National Library, Vientiane

{ຫໍສຸມຸດເຫຼັງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ}

Suwanna Sangkha:n (ສຸວັນນະສັງຂານ) Nitsay

Provincial Library, Luang Prabang, Laos

{ຫໍສຸມຸດເຂວງ ຫຼວງພຣະບາງ}

Taeng Hau:m (ເຕງຫອມ) Kau:n A:n

Lao National Library, Vientiane

{ຫໍສຸມຸດເຫຼັງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ}

Takathae:n Kham (ຕັກເຕຫນຄຳ) Nitsay

Lao National Library, Vientiane

{ຫໍສຸມຸດເຫຼັງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ}

Tha:w Bae: (ທ້າວແບ້) Kau:n A:n

A) Nau:ng Lam Jan Village Temple, Suwannakhet Province, Laos

{ວັດບ້ານໝອງລຳຈັນ ເຂວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ}

B) Provincial Library, Luang Prabang, Laos

{ຫໍສຸມຸດເຂວງ ຫຼວງພຣະບາງ}

C) Phu:kha:o Kae:w Temple, Kho:ng Island, Champhasak Province, Laos

{ວັດພູເຂົາແກ້ວ ດອນໂຂງ ເຂວງຈຳປາສັກ}

Tha:w Ba Li:ng (ທ້າວບາລຶງ) Kau:n A:n

A) Nau:ng Lam Jan Village Temple, Suwannakhet Province, Laos

(ວັດບ້ານໝອງລຳຈັນ ສວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ)

B) Lao National Library, Vientiane

(ຫໍສມຸດເທັງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ)

Tha:w Hua: (ທ້າວຫົວ)

A) Nitsay Version: Lao National Library, Vientiane

(ຫໍສມຸດເທັງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ),

B) Kau:n A:n Version: Lao National Library, Vientiane (originally from Tha: Khae:k)

(ຫໍສມຸດເທັງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ ມາຈາກເມືອງທ່າແຂກ)

Tha:w Inpong (ທ້າວອິນປົງ) Kau:n A:n

Nau:ng Lam Jan Village Temple, Suwannakhet Province, Laos

(ວັດບ້ານໝອງລຳຈັນ ສວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ)

Tha:w Kam Ka: Dam (ທ້າວກຳກາດຳ) Kau:n A:n

A) Se: Village Temple, Suwannakhet Province, Laos

(ວັດບ້ານເຊ ສວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ)

B) Songnyae: Village Temple, Khamteu:y Sub-District, Leu'a:ng Nok Tha: District, Yasothon Province, Thailand; At present, the manuscript is in the library of Sri: Nakharin Wirot University, Maha Sarakham, Thailand.

(ວັດບ້ານສົງເຊີຍ ຄຳເຕີຍ ປະໄສທອນ)

ປັດຈຸບັນບູຮານສມຸດມະຫາວິທຍາລັຍ ສຣິນະຄະຣິນວິໄຮດມະຫາສາຣຄາມ)

C) Privately owned by Praphan Patitang, Khreu'asut Village, Na: Du:n District, Maha Sarakham Province, Thailand; At present, the manuscript is at the Isa:n Cultural Center at the teachers' college in Maha Sarakham, Thailand.

(ບ້ານຂອງນາຍປະພັນ ປະຕິຕັງ ບ້ານເຄຣືອອູດ ນາດູນ ມະຫາສາຣາຄາມ)

(ປັດຈຸບັນຢູ່ສູນວັດທະນະທຳອີສານ ວິທຍາລັບຄູມະຫາສາຣາຄາມ)

D) Itum temple, Somdet district, Kalasin Province, Thailand; At present, the manuscript is in the library of Kla:ng temple in Kalasin.

(ວັດອີຕຸມ ສົມເດັດ ກາລະສິນ ປັດຈຸບັນຢູ່ວັດກລາງ ກາລະສິນ)

E) Nau:ng Meu'a:ng Village Temple, Mua:ng Sa:m Sip District, Ubon Province, Thailand

(ວັດບ້ານໝອງເມືອງ ມວງສາມສິບ ອຸບົນ)

F) Nau:ng Um Temple, Na:si:nua:n, Kantharawichai District, Maha Sarakham Province, Thailand

(ວັດໝອງອຸ່ມ ນາສິນວນ ກັນທຣວີຊັຍ ມະຫາສາຣາຄາມ)

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Tha:w Kampha: Kai Kae:w (ທ້າວກຳພ້າໄກ່ໄຮກ້ວ) Kau:n An

A) Nau:ng Pheu: Village Temple, Khe:mmara:t District, Ubon Province, Thailand

(ວັດບ້ານໝອງພື ເຂມມະຣາດ ອຸບົນ)

B) Tha:tu:m Village Temple, Tu:m Tai Village, Sub-District Tha:thu:m, Meu'a:ng District, Maha: Sarakham Province, Thailand; At present, the manuscript is at the Isa:n Cultural Center at the Teacher's College in Maha Sarakham, Thailand.

(ວັດບ້ານທ່າຕູມ ບ້ານຕູມໃຕ້ ທ່າຕູມ ອຳເພີເມືອງ ມະຫາສາສາຄາມ

ປັດຈຸບັນບູສູນວັດທະນະທຳອີສານ ວິທຍາລັບຄູມະຫາສາສາຄາມ)

C) Privately Owned by Phau: Jan Liam, Hua:y Kau:k Village, Champhasak Province, Laos

(ບ້ານຂອງພໍ່ຈານລຽມ ບ້ານຫວຍກອກ ເຂວງຈຳປາສັກ)

D) Nau:ng Lam Jan Village, Suwannakhet Province, Laos

(ບ້ານໜອງລຳຈັນ ເຂວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ)

Tha:w Kampha: Pa: Daek Pa: Samau: (ທ້າວກຳພ້າປາເດກປາສໝໍ) Nitsay

A) I:sa:n Cultural Center, Maha Sarakham Teacher's College, Maha Sarakham Province, Thailand

(ສູນວັດທະນະທຳອີສານ ວິທຍາລັບຄູມະຫາສາສາຄາມ)

B) Lao National Library, Vientiane

(ຫໍສມຸດເທິງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ)

Tha:w Kampha: Phi: Nau:y (ທ້າວກຳພ້າຟີນ້ອຍ) Kau:n An

Nau:ng Lam Jan Village Temple, Suwannakhet Province, Laos

(ວັດບ້ານໜອງລຳຈັນ ເຂວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ)

Tha:w Kapau:m Kham (ທ້າວກະປອມຄຳ)

A) Nitsay Version: Provincial Library, Luang Prabang, Laos

(ຫໍສມຸດເຂວງ ຫຼວງພຣະບາງ)

B) Kau:n An Version: Lao National Library, Vientiane

(ຫໍສມຸດເທິງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ)

Tha:w Katthana:m (ທ້າວຄັດທະນາມ) Nitsay

Lao National Library, Vientiane

(ຫໍສມຸດແຫ່ງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ)

Tha:w Khon Pet (ທ້າວຂົນປັດ) Kau:n A:n

Dong Meu'a:ng Village Temple, Suwannakhet province, Laos

(ວັດບ້ານດົງເມືອງ ສວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ)

Tha:w Khu: Na:ng Tham (ທ້າວຄູນາງທຳ) Nitsay

Lao National Library, Vientiane

(ຫໍສມຸດແຫ່ງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ)

Tha:w Lin (ທ້າວລິນ) Kau:n A:n

Nau:ng Lam Jan Village Temple, Suwannakhet Province, Laos

(ວັດບ້ານໝອງລຳຈັນ ສວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ)

Tha:w Seu'a: Nao (ທ້າວເສືອເນົາ) Kau:n A:n

Nau:ng Pheu: Village Temple, Khemmarat District, Ubon Province,
Thailand

(ວັດບ້ານໝອງຟີ ເຂມມະຣາດ ອຸບົນ)

Tha:w Un Ngua: Thu:ng (ທ້າວອຸ່ນງົວທອງ) Kau:n A:n

Privately owned by Phau: Thao Jan Tha:w, Sakheun Tai Village,
Suwannakhet Province, Laos; At present, kept by Pho: Si: Kae:w at Kho:sana:
Ophom Khwa:ng, Suwannakhet Province

(ບ້ານຂອງພໍ່ເຖົ້າຈານເຖົ້າ ບ້ານສະຄິນໃຕ້ ສວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ

ປັດຈຸບັນຢູ່ກັບທ້າວໄພສີເກົ້ວ ໂຄສະນາອົບຮົມສວງສຸວັນນະເຂດ)

Utsa: Nithan (ອຸດສານິທານ) Kaun An

Lao National Library, Vientiane

{ທໍສມຸດທະທັງຊາດ ວຽງຈັນ}

