

A Mountain Crossing Passport (過山榜) of the Iu Mien People: An Ethno-Textual Analysis¹

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(Received: 31st August 2023; Revised: 9th November 2023; Accepted: 9th November 2023)

Abstract

This inquiry is an **ethno-textual critical analysis** of a scroll *Jiex Sen Borngv*, a Chinese document that narrates the legend of the **Iu Mien people**. The document, also known as the **Imperial Decree of Ping Huang**, has been interpreted as a history, a fake, and an interethnic negotiation. The investigation proposes a fourth interpretation: the document contains an infiltration pejorative message. The study compares the scroll with three other manuscripts, examining their linguistic and cultural aspects. The aim is to make the document understandable to the Iu Mien, particularly the young ones who do not know Chinese. The study also hopes to stimulate a discussion on the Iu Mien's ethnic identity, guided by Joshua A. Fishman's questions: "Who are we?, From where do we come?, What is special about us?".

Key words: Iu Mien, Yao Charter, Jie Sen Borng, textual criticism, ethnic identity

Introduction

This article attempts at a close reading of some key parts of a manuscript called *Jiex Sen Borngv*⁴ /ciəl senl pɔŋγ/ (เจี้ย เซ่น ปอง 過山榜) ‘the Mountain Crossing Passport’ belonging to the Iu Mien people in Thailand. In Chinese, the document is referred to as *Píng Huáng Quàn Dié Guò Shān Bǎng* (評皇券牒過山榜, “Charter of Emperor Ping” or “Yao⁵ Charter” (ter Haar, 1998, Alberts, 2011)) or *Guò Shān Bǎng* (過山榜) for short.⁶ Theraphan Luang

¹ This study, initially a small part of a PhD project on Iu Mien language under a supervision of Dr Stephen Morey, La Trobe University, was expanded into an article with significant contributions from Ms. Chayanin Phansrisuwan. The research was encouraged by Chiang Rai Rajabhat University, especially by the President, Dr Sornchai Munthaisong, and presented at the International Interdisciplinary Conference, held at the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia, Mahidol University, in 2019. Special thanks to the two authors' colleagues in Chiang Rai Rajabhat University, Dr Natthapol Santi, Dr. Sahattaya Sittivised, and Dr Supaporn Tewiya for their encouragement and support. Our sincere thanks to Ajarn Kaeqv Nquenc, the president of the Iu Mien Network in Thailand and Ajarn Thawin Chotichaiphibun, a literacy instructor and founding committee of the Iu Mien Mother-Language Preservation and Development Center (Ceix Iu-Mien Waac Gorn or CMG), for their advice. Deep appreciation to the reviewers and the editorial team of the *Journal of Integrative and Innovative Humanities* for their advice. Any errors are the authors' responsibility.

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⁴ This is a spelling in the Iu Mien orthography, two versions of which will be discussed in §1.

⁵ “Yao” is an exonym for the people of Iu Mien in China and Thailand. They call themselves “Iu Mien” or “Mien” in an autonomy.

⁶ For other different names of the document, see Huang 1991:89-90.

Thongkum (1991) translates its title “Perpetual Redaction of the Imperial Decree of Emperor Ping Huang⁷ for Protection When Travelling in the Hills”.

According to a claim by the document itself (景定元年一十二月十二日 ‘on the twelfth day in the twelfth month in the [first] year [of] Jingdìng’⁸; see the fourth line in Figure 1), the passport or the “Charter” was issued in 1260 CE by the Emperor *Lǐzōng* (理宗) (1205–1264), the fifth Emperor of the Southern Song (*Nánzōng*, 南宋, 1127–1279) (Alberts, 2011: 24), to grant the Iu Mien people a safe passage in the mountain area. Yoshiro Shiratori dates “the Emperor of China” to “the era of Southern Sung dynasty (A.D. 1260)” (Shiratori, 1975: 334). Huang (1991) also estimated the dating likewise. As to this date, there are other opinions too.⁹

The numbers of its copies are said to be more than a hundred in China (Chiao, Lemoine, and Yeung (eds.), 1986: 34) and others estimate that “about 200 copies of it have been located by Chinese scholars within China” (Cushman and Jonsson, 2020: 87). Huang (1991: 93) says, “Today most of the existing Charters are dated from either the Qing or Republican periods. Some are manuscripts of the late Ming period”. The circulation of MSS¹⁰ tends to be concentrated in Hunan, i.e. “close to the Hunan–Guangdong–Guangxi borders” (Alberts, 2011: 32). Beyond the national border, however, some were carried into Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand.

According to Jonsson (Cushman and Jonsson, 2020: 104) three copies of MSS have been found in Thailand, all of which are in a scroll format. Though there are other copies, e.g. in a book form (i.e. codex) from Thammajarik village, Maechan District, Chiang Rai Province or the one which is written on a sheet of cloth from Huay Chomphu Sub-district of Chiang Rai, the following copies are the ones that have undergone some scholarly investigations.

- The manuscript housed in Pangkha village, Pong District, Phayao Province, under a care of Ajarn Kaeqv Nquenc (อาจารย์แคร์น ศรีสมบัติ), originally brought by his ancestor Dangc Zanx-Kuon (Tang Tsan Khwoen)¹¹ “when he arrived in Nan [province] in about 1880” (Cushman and Jonsson, 2020: 104) from Laos. Its translation is recorded in Theraphan L-Thongkham (1991).

⁷ As *Huang* (皇) means “emperor”, it should be translated “Emperor Ping” rather than “Emperor Ping Huang” to avoid redundancy.

⁸ This translation of the scroll from Pangkha village by Theraphan L.-Thongkham (1991: 33) matches the text of the scroll from Pha Dua (Pha’lae) village, Maechan District, Chiang Rai Province. She also mentions in footnote, “In some MSS [manuscripts], the date is the eleventh day rather than the twelfth”. In the last line of our manuscript

from Pa’lae village, however, the date is  , which can be a deviated form of 廿一 ‘the twenty-first’ or can be a misspelling of 十一 ‘the eleventh’. Cushman’s translation of the manuscript from Khun Haeng village, Ngao District, Lampang Province shows “the twenty-first day of the twelfth month of the first year of the *Jingding* reign period [January 14 or 23, 1260]” (Cushman and Jonsson, 2020: 96). Also, “the twenty-first day of the twelfth month of the first year of the *Jingding*” is supported as shown in a photo image on page 90 in *The Yao Nationality* (Nationalities Affairs Commission of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region (ed.). 1990).

⁹ Alberts (2011:24) adds “It might have been issued in the Han dynasty (206BCE – 220CE), the Sui (581 – 618), the Tang (618 – 907), the Southern Song (1127 – 1279), or the beginning of the Ming (1368 – 1644)”.

¹⁰ Ancient or archaic “manuscripts” are abbreviated MSS in textual criticism and in this article.

¹¹ Dangc Zanx-Kuon is Ajarn Kaeqv Nquenc’s ancestor, five generations before him. He was born in Hezhou, Guangxi, in China, migrated to Yunan, further southwestward through Vietnam, *Mbaengx-Siqv laangz* (Redcliff village), Muang Sing, Luang Namtha in Laos, and to Nan in Thailand. (personal communication with Ajarn Kaeqv Nquenc).

- The manuscript from Khun Haeng village, Ngao District, Lampang Province, photographed and studied by Cushman in 1971-72. His handwritten translation was retrieved from the Cornell University Library by Jonsson and published in Cushman and Jonsson (2020: 89-96).
- The manuscript from Rom Yen village, Chiangkhum District, Phayao (then Chiang Rai) Province, photographed by Shiratori (1918-1998) in 1967 and published in 1975 (Shiratori, 1975; Cushman and Jonsson, 2020: 104). Besides Jonsson's report, Theraphan mentions that Shiratori's research team¹² purchased other copy from Mr Bienh Wuonh Fei (ເວັນເີ້ນ ແກ້ວິນ) of Khun Haeng village, Ngao District, Lampang Province, on the 1st of January 1974 (Theraphan L-Tongkhum, 1991: 2).

With this background in mind, we present a fourth copy of the *Jiex Sen Borngv* to the readers. It was found in an Iu Mien granny's sundry shop at Pha Dua village (P^ha'lae in Iu Mien), Maesalong Nai Ward, Mae Faa Luang District, Chiang Rai Province in Thailand in August 2007. It was purchased and is being stored by Arisawa (2011, 2016).¹³ The present study ethnographically and linguistically analyses some key parts of this scroll, naming it as P^ha'lae *Scroll*, in comparison with four other MSS: Theraphan L.-Thongkum's copy (1991), *Thammajarik Codex A*, *Thammajarik Codex B*, and Tan's (1986).

For many years the document has been esteemed by the Iu Mien as it records the origin of their twelve clans, religion, and history in a legendary form. Despite the Iu Mien's respect for and cultural pride in the document, the common people, especially the young Iu Mien, unfortunately do not know its contents, perhaps due to the fact that it is written in Chinese.¹⁴

Building upon a few previous works, i.e. Theraphan L.-Thongkum's Thai and English translations and Jonsson (2006), the present research investigates into the Iu Mien's important ethnic themes, e.g. (a) *ziepc nyeic fingx Iu Mienh* /tsi:pɔ:ŋ neɪʃ fiŋx ʔiuŋ miən/ (ເຊື້ອຍໆ ເນື້ອຍໆ ຜິງ ອົ້ວ-ເມື່ອນ) 'twelve clans of the Iu Mien', and (b) *baaix Bienh Hungh* /pa:iɻ piən/ hunŋ/ (ປ້າຍ ເມື່ອນ ສູງ) 'to worship King Bien', i.e. the dragon-dog-turned progenitor of the Iu Mien people.

Though the historical scrutiny of language and literal texts belongs, in European tradition, to philology and textual criticism (Gabler, 1990, 2004), the present research is innovatively termed an "ethno-textual analysis". This is because the investigation has derived from our descriptive linguistic fieldwork among the Iu Mien community and our careful reading of the text focuses on the fundamental cultural themes of their ethnicity. A proviso, therefore, is that the study does not aim at a reconstruction of the *Jiex Sen Borngv*'s original

¹² All the collection, 1662 artifacts, some 6,350 frames of colour slides, and audio data, of Prof. Shiratori's Research Party of History and Culture in Northwestern Thailand, conducted three occasions between 1969 and 1974, were transferred to the Anthropological Museum of Nanzan University in Nagoya from Sophia University in Tokyo in 2000.

¹³ Though the scroll is preserved in Arisawa's office in Chiang Mai, it should be in the possession of the people of the Iu Mien themselves. He is willing to hand it over to the Iu Mien community whenever a responsible organisation, a group of mindful people, or an institution is ready to store it in good condition.

¹⁴ According to Yoshino (1994: 66-73), readily available opportunities for the Iu Mien to learn Chinese literacy from Yunnanese Chinese (Chin Ho) merchants, hired teachers or *Guómǐndǎng* (国民党) soldiers who lived in northern provinces of Thailand in the past drastically decreased due to the internal war between the Thai army and the communist guerrillas between 1973 and 1977. During that period the Thai government forbade the Iu Mien in the mountainous areas from learning Chinese. Along with the prohibition, Thai-ization or Thaification of the Iu Mien and Chinese Thai citizens through government schools and mass media made the young generation unfamiliar with Chinese literacy.

text by comparing numerous MSS (e.g. Huang 1991)(such a study is called ‘external criticism’) scattered throughout the southern provinces of China, Vietnam, Lao PDR, and Thailand.¹⁵

The purpose of this article is to inform the Iu Mien themselves of the contents of *Jiex Sen Borngv* made available in Iu Mien orthographies (Roman-based and Thai-based systems) with a view to providing a platform for discussion about their ethnicity, i.e. origin, religious practice, and ethnic identity. Provision of such a discussion platform shall be done in relation to Joshua A. Fishman’s (1989: 11) notion of ethnicity in terms of his three questions: “Who are we?, From where do we come?, What is special about us?”.

The text of the *Jiex Sen Borngv* contains significant information regarding the Iu Mien’s ethnic themes including:

- Names referring to the dragon dog (discussed in §3)
- The origin of twelve clans of the Iu Mien (§4)
- Names of the twelve clans (§5)
- Origin of worshipping the dragon dog as their progenitor (§7)
- Designation of residence restricted in mountains (§8)
- Privileges of tax exemption and other benefits given by Emperor Ping (§9)
- Names referring to the Iu Mien (§10)
- Discussion on ethnicity (§11).

These will be discussed in the following sections.

Additionally, in §6, rare information, usually unavailable in these MSS, shall be presented, i.e. the lost thirteenth clan. The invaluable text narrating the lost clan has been fortunately obtained from Zeuz Gueix-Zoih (趙貴財 2013) before his death (2017) through our ethnolinguistic fieldwork. Though this is not a part of the *P'ā lae Scroll*, it is included here because of its rarity and the value for the Iu Mien’s ethnicity.

1. Iu Mien Orthographies

In this study two orthographic systems are used to express Iu Mien pronunciation: a Roman(Latin)-based and a Thai-based scripts (Arisawa, 2016: 191-199).

The former is referred to as the “Unified Script” due to the historical fact that a version developed and popularised from 1983 through Guangxi Minority Nationalities College under the leadership of Prof. Pán Chéngqíán (盘承乾) (Nationalities Affairs Commission of Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region, 1990: 204), Iu Mien linguist, and another version developed in the period 1982-1984 by the Iu Mien community in the USA were amalgamated on the 8th of

¹⁵ An application of textual criticism developed and practiced in Western discipline for more than twenty centuries (e.g. Old Testament Hebrew criticism and New Testament Greek criticism) to Chinese philosophical literature is discussed by Roth (1993).

May 1984 at an orthography conference in Ruyuan County, Guangdong. The result of the conference was, subsequently, ratified among the American Iu Mien on the 21st July in Portland (Purnell 1985: 10-14, 1987, 2002: 301, 2012: xviii-xix).

The Thai-based orthography was developed since 1956 (Purnell, 1985: 7-8) through a collaboration of three parties: (1) Rev. C.W. and Mrs Lois Callaway, missionaries of the American Church of Christ (ACC), (2) Iu Mien community members in Chiang Kham District, Phayao (then Chiang Rai) (Callaway and Callaway 1976:222), and (3) Ajarn Ua Maneerat (อาจารย์อ้วน มานีรัตน์) founder and principal of Chiang Kham High School (รร.ชัยคำวิทยาคม) (Arisawa 2011:229). This orthography was investigated and endorsed with reference to linguistic principles by William Smalley (1976). Furthermore, its high transfer value in terms of tone system between Iu Mien and Standard Thai was recommended for Iu Mien children in learning Thai by Theraphan L.-Thongkham (1988: 5).

Though Thailand's National Language Policy (NLP), approved 29 June 2021, encourages¹⁶ ethnic minority communities to use Thai-based orthographies as a bridge to learn Standard Thai via Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education, MTB-MLE, (UNICEF Bangkok 2022), those minority groups that have been using Romanised writing systems for many years are also advised to incorporate them as one subject besides a Thai-based orthography in MTB-MLE curriculum.

While recognising the NLP's encouragement toward Thai-based minority orthographies, Mr Somchai Rungrochtawanich (นายสมชาย รุ่งโรจน์วัฒน์), the president of the Thailand Iu Mien Foundation (ประธานมูลนิธิอ้วนเมืองไทย), together with the delegates from China, Vietnam, and the USA, declared on the 4th of February 2023 in the city of Nan in Thailand, that the 1984 Unified Script should be their official orthography for international communication and intergenerational transmission of their heritage language.

The correspondences of phonemes across the two orthographies are presented in Appendix 1 (also Arisawa 2016: 197-200).

2. The manuscripts (MSS) of *Jiex Sen Borngv* ‘The Mountain Crossing Passport’

This section presents some MSS of the *Jiex Sen Borngv*, glancing at the appearance of our scroll, reviews previous works on it, summarises its contents by comparing them.

¹⁶ Thailand's National Language Policy Action Plan can be found in pp. 37-41 of *Closing the Learning Gap in Mae Hong Son: The Case for Mother Tongue-Based Multilingual Education* (United Nation's Children's Fund (UNICEF) Bangkok, Thailand. 2022). One of the six objectives of NLP Action Plan 2021 – 2022 (B.E. 2564 – 2565) is to “encourage the use and development of local languages as education tools, as well as to pass on indigenous knowledge to children and youth” (ibid. 2022: 38). For that objective, orthographies for ethnic minorities are a strategically important tool to “[p]reserve and pass down the use of the local languages or mother tongues in everyday life and in education (ibid. 2022:40) (เพื่อส่งเสริมการใช้และพัฒนาภาษาท้องถิ่นให้เป็นครั้งมีในการศึกษาและล่าอาชุด ภูมิปัญญาท้องถิ่นให้แต่เด็กและเยาวชน)”. Other five objectives are (1) to “foster an appreciation for and awareness of the value of language as it expresses life and cultural identities in a variety of ways”, (2) to “safeguard the Thai language in its capacity as the national language in order to ensure its preservation and to foster Thailand's unity”, (3) to “promote and improve Thai language knowledge and abilities for Thais from all walks of life in order to facilitate effective communication and mutual understanding”, (4) to “enhance the translation profession, simultaneous interpreters and sign language interpreters to meet the industry standards”, and (5) to “promote and develop Thai people's ability to use foreign languages and neighboring countries' languages” (ibid. 2022:38).

Though the full title of this document as appears in the first and the second lines of the scroll is *Píng Huáng Quàn Dié Guò Shān Bǎng* (評皇券牒過山榜) (see lines 1 and 2 of Figure 1), it is commonly known (and pronounced), among the Iu Mien, as *Jiex Sen Borngv /ciəl senl pɔŋγ/* (ເຈົ້າ ເຊນ ປື້ອງ) taking only three letters, called *Guò Shān Bǎng* (過山榜) in Chinese.¹⁷

Figure 1 shows the first fourteen lines out of the 146 lines contained in the scroll. Its physical features are thusly: it is hand-written in traditional Chinese; the material is (perhaps) a bamboo paper; and the scroll is 4.6 meter long.¹⁸

¹⁷ Jonsson (2006: 26-32) spells the name of the document “*Kia Shen Pong*”, which is an erroneously mixed pronunciation of Iu Mien (*Kia*) - Chinese (*Shen*) - Iu Mien (*Pong*). Had he strictly followed Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1991), it should have been either *Kia Sen Pong* (ເກົ້າ ເຊນ ປື້ອງ) in Iu Mien or *Guo Shan Bang* in Chinese. To be more precise, Theraphan’s Thai transliteration of the first word should have a rising tone as ເກົ້າ ‘to pass (through)’ in Iu Mien. Her choice of ນ reflects the fact that [c] (substituted by ນ) by the older generation and [tɕ] written in ນ by younger Iu Mien are non-conflicting, i.e. free variations within Iu Mien communities in Thailand. See Mr Zeuz Gueix-Zoïlh’s palatal pronunciation of the word ‘to pass’ in Line 1¹⁵ in the story *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv* ‘the sae-crossing voyage’ in §7.

¹⁸ Arisawa (2011:228) observes “The scroll’s length is 4.6 m, and height 49 cm. Nine sheets of papers (60 cm x 49 cm each) are glued together with an overlap of approximately 10 cm. One character is written in a size of square box of 1.5 cm.”

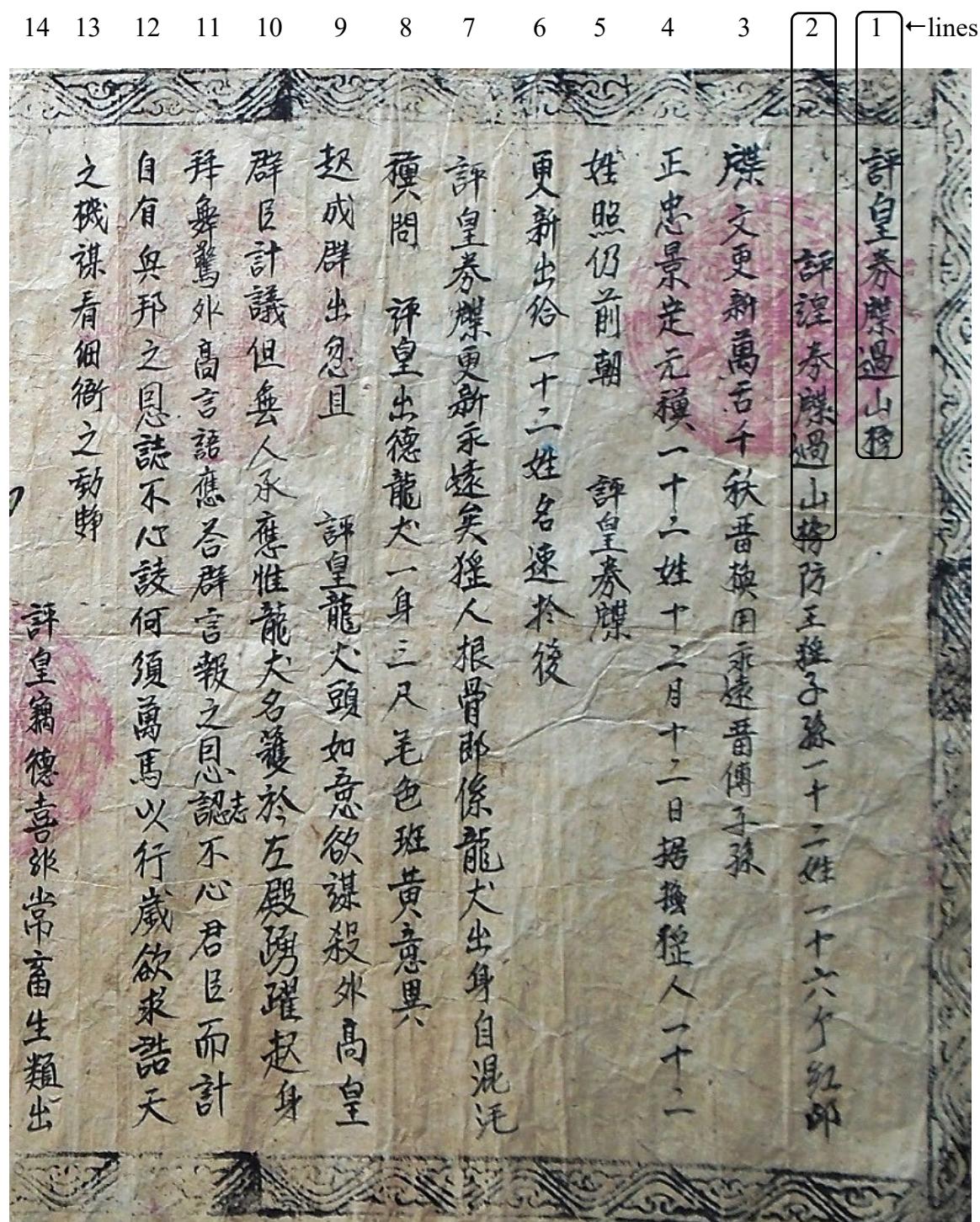


Figure 1. The beginning lines of *Jiex Sen Borngv* obtained from Baan Pha Dua (P^ha'lae village), Chiang Rai Province in 2007.

One of the earliest scholars who shed light on many Yao documents, including *Jiex Sen Borngv*, preserved in Iu Mien villages in Thailand was Shiratori (1975), Japanese anthropologist of Sophia University, Tokyo. Theraphan L.-Thongkum's (1991) research team translated a different scroll obtained from Pangkha village, Phayao Province in Thailand into Thai (by Kosakd Thammajaroenkij, ศาสตราจารย์ ก่อศักดิ์ ธรรมเจริญกิจ) and English (by Richard Goldrick). Using Theraphan L.-Thongkum's work, Jonsson (2006: 26-32) analyses Iu Mien's cultural themes. Given over one hundred manuscripts (MSS) have been found in China and

some in scattered Iu Mien villages in Thailand, Tan (1986b) extracted four common themes from the different MSS he obtained in Thailand as follows:

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

Using them as a launching pad, we go beyond the summary of content to the ethnic and religious significance of this document to the people of Iu Mien by focusing on the *Pʰa'lae Scroll*. Acknowledging that there exist other versions collected by Shiratori (1974) and a translation by Cushman (Cushman and Jonsson, 2020:8 9-96), we will restrict ourselves to the actual scroll tangibly available to us. Admittedly, a more technical form of textual criticism of more than one hundred MSS is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, two other MSS which are book-form (i.e. codices) have also been obtained from the Iu Mien language consultant Mr Zeuz Gueix-Zoih (趙貴財 1939-2017) of Thammajarik village, Maechan District, Chiang Rai Province in 2007 and 2011 respectively, and they will be referred as secondary sources: *Thammajarik Codex A* and the *Thammajarik Codex B*.¹⁹ The second and third were hand-copied in calligraphy, shown in Figure 2 and Figure 3, by Zeuz Gueix-Zoih from an allegedly existing scroll of someone else's possession.

The right page of Figure 2 is the 208th line on page 24 of the *Thammajarik Codex A* showing the name of the hand-copier (i.e. scribe) Zeuz Gueix-Zoih. Its left picture is on the page 25, drawn with water colour by the same scribe, depicting King (i.e. emperor) Ping (middle in upper row) and the descendants (only six²⁰ of the twelve are depicted) of Biehn Huh (ເປື່ອນ ສູ), namely, Pán Hù (盤護),²¹ the progenitor of the Iu Mien.

¹⁹ The two codices are inherited and preserved in Arisawa's office in Chiang Mai after Mr Zeuz Gueix-Zoih's death in January 2017.

²⁰ If the four men, a dog on the right hand side and a chicken on the left of the upper half of the picture are considered the part of the family, that makes twelve.

²¹ Alternative spellings are 槃瓠(Cushman, 1970: 64) and 盤古(Takemura, 1978: 321).

p. 25



p. 24

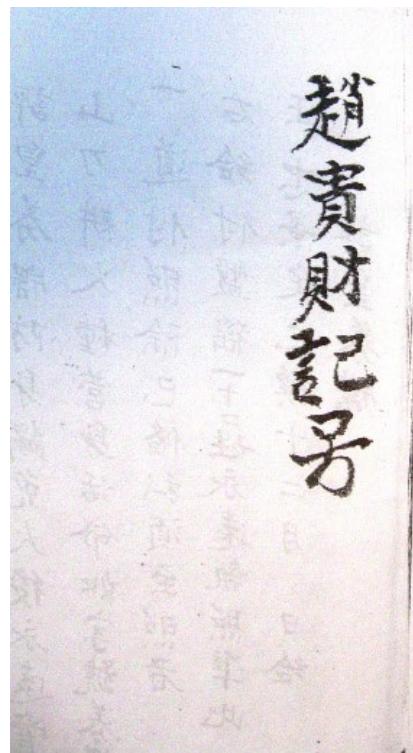


Figure 2. *Jiex Sen Borngv* (Thammajarik Codex A).

Figure 3 shows the front cover (soft paper perhaps made from bamboo) of the *Thammajarik Codex B* on the right and its 10th page on the left. In the last line (the left most line) on page 10 the twelve clans' names can be seen: 盤 (Pán), 沈 (Shěn), 黃 (Huáng), 李 (Lǐ), 鄧 (Dèng), 周 (Zhōu), 趙 (Zhào), 胡 (Hú), 唐 (Táng), 馮 (Féng), 雷 (Léi) and 蔣 (Jiǎng). The twelve names of the five MSS are compared in Table 2a-b in §6.

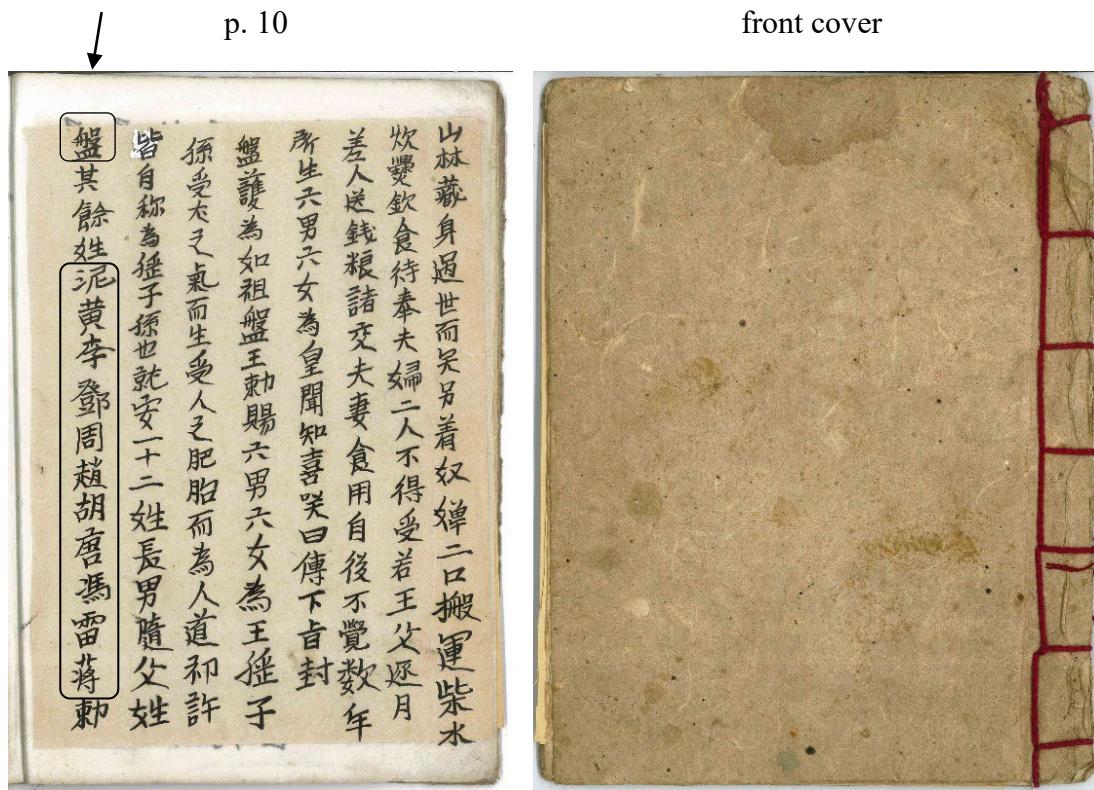


Figure 3. *Jiex Sen Borngv* (Thammajarik Codex B).

3. Names referring to the dragon dog

The L 7 of the *P'ha'lae Scroll* is the first mention of *lóng quǎn* (龍犬) ‘dragon dog’ referring to the ancestor of the Iu Mien in the text. It is more accurate to say that the Iu Mien’s progenitor was a dragon dog than a simple “dog” (Tan, 1986b). Besides L 7, the name *lóng quǎn* appears in Ls 9, 10, 27, 46, 78, and 113 (simply *lóng* (龍) ‘dragon’). In all three MSS there is a water colour picture of a dog (no appearance of “dragon”) on the last page of the codices or the end of the scroll. The dragon dog’s surname is *Pán* (盤) and the given name *Hù* (護) as in Ls 24, 38, 48, and 60. Different co-referential names throughout the text are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Names co-referring to the dragon dog

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

Simply tracing the thread of discourse from the earliest reference in line (L 7) to the latest (L 113), one can readily perceive the progress of the “dragon dog” in a humble state to the stage of becoming the “king” (L 78), then finally confirming him as the “dragon” (L 113).

4. The origin of twelve clans of the Iu Mien

Figure 4 shows Ls 55-56 of the *Pʰa'lae Scroll*. L 55 reads “after some years (of *Pánhù*'s (盤護) marriage with the court maid) six boys and six girls were born between them”. The offspring of *Wáng Yáo* (王猺) ‘King Yao’ (i.e. *Pánhù* 盤護) are twelve, of which the eldest inherited his father's surname *Pán* (盤) (L 55). The twelve names are 盤 (Pán), 沈 (Shěn), 黃 (Huáng), 鄧 (Dèng), 李 (Lǐ), 周 (Zhōu), 趙 (Zhào), 胡 (Hú), 鄭 (Zhèng), 馮 (Féng), 雷 (Léi), and 蔣 (Jiǎng).

Print form	Pin Yin	text	Print form	Pin Yin
		56 55		
沈	Shēn			
黃	Huáng			
鄧	Dèng			
李	Lǐ			
周	Zhōu			
趙	Zhào			
胡	Hú			
鄭	Zhèng			
馮	Féng			
雷	Leī			
蔣	Jiāng			
} twelve clans				
← 盤 Pán				
其餘諸姓皆生六男六女				
王孫子孫也安一十二姓長隨父姓盤				
男女一十二姓嫁外人				

Figure 4. The origin of twelve clans of the Iu Mien (Ls 55-56)

The *Pánhù*'s (盤護) children are called *Wáng Yáo zǐsūn* (王瑤子孫) 'the descendants of King Yáo'. This reference occurs in Ls 2, 56, 85, 91, 93, 102, 106, 107, 110, 138, 144, and 146 in the *Pʰa'lae Scroll*. However, for all these homophonous references to Yáo two different characters are used: i.e. 瑶 *yáo* 'jade' with the radical 王 (meaning 'king') and 猤 *yáo* 'masked palm civet' (Paguma larvata) with the radical 犭 (meaning 'dog' or 'beast'). This issue will be further discussed in §10. Thus, 瑶 *yáo* 'jade' and 猤 *yáo* 'masked palm civet' are homophonous heterographs referring to Yáo.

Iu Mien translation of the parts of lines 55-56 in Figure 4 is as follows:

L55 *ziepc nyieic fìngx maaih*²² [...]

ເຫດີຍບ ເຫງົ່ຍ ພິງ ມ່າຍ

tsiəp *nei* *fìng* *ma:i*

ten two clan have

‘The twelve clans comprise...’

L56⁻¹ *Bienh* *Ziang* *Yangh* *Dangc* *Leiz* *Caauh*

ເນື້ນ ເຕີຍງ ຢົ່ງ ຕົ່ງ ເຕີຍ ຂ່າວ

pən *tsiəŋ* *jaŋ* *taŋ* *lei* *tsʰa:u*

Pán Shěn Huáng Dèng Lǐ Zhōu

盤 沈 黃 鄧 李 周

L56⁻² *Zeuz* *Borngh* *Zaengc* *Bungz* *Luih* *Siauh*

ເຕົວ ປຶອງ ແພດ່ງ ປູ້ງ ລຸ່ຂ ເຊື່ຍາ

tseu *pəŋ* *tsə:ŋ* *pəŋ* *lui* *siau*

Zhào Hú Zhèng Féng Léi Jiǎng

趙 胡 鄭 馮 雷 蒋

5. Names of the twelve clans in different manuscripts

The accessible MSS in Thailand essentially agree in the twelve names of clans with minor differences in the order of appearance. A comparison of the *Pʰa'lae Scroll*, the *Thammajarik Codex A*, the *Thammajarik Codex B*, Theraphan L.-Thongkum's MS (1991), and Tan (1986b) is shown in Table 2a. Note that Ls 113-124 in the *Thammajarik Codex A* list thirteen names, perhaps reflecting the story of the lost thirteenth clan narrated by Zeuz Gueix-Zoih (趙貴財 2013) in §7.

²² The interlinear glossed text (IGT) in this study consists of five lines: (1) the text in the Unified (Roman-based) Iu Mien orthography, (2) Thai-based Iu Mien orthography, (3) IPA, (4) gloss in English, and (5) free translation in English. Symbols and abbreviations of grammatical analyses in (4) are listed in Appendix 2.

Table 2a. Twelve clan names of the Iu Mien

	<i>P'a' lae Scroll</i> (Ls 55–56)		<i>Thammarajik Codex A</i>		<i>Thammarajik Codex B</i> (p. 10)	Theraphan L. – Thongkum (1991:40)	Tan (1986b:57)
	Pin Yin	Iu Mien	(Ls 96–97)	(Ls 113–124)			
1	盤 Pán	<i>Bienh</i> (ບິ່ນ)	盤 (<i>Bienh</i>)	盤 (<i>Bienh</i>)	盤 (<i>Bienh</i>)	盤 (<i>Bienh</i>)	盤 (<i>Bienh</i>)
2	沈 Shěn	<i>Ziang</i> (ເຊີ້ງ)	沈 (<i>Ziang</i>)	沈 (<i>Ziang</i>)	沈 (<i>Ziang</i>)	沈 (<i>Ziang</i>)	沈 (<i>Ziang</i>)
3	黃 Huáng	<i>Yangh</i> (ຍ້າງ)	黃 (<i>Yangh</i>)	黃 (<i>Yangh</i>)	黃 (<i>Yangh</i>)	黃 (<i>Yangh</i>)	黃 (<i>Yangh</i>)
4	鄧 Dèng	<i>Dangc</i> (ຕັ້ງ)	鄧 (<i>Dangc</i>)	鄧 (<i>Dangc</i>)	鄧 (<i>Dangc</i>)	鄧 (<i>Dangc</i>)	鄧 (<i>Dangc</i>)
5	李 Lǐ	<i>Leiz</i> (ເລີ້ມ)	(missing)	李 (<i>Leiz</i>)	李 (<i>Leiz</i>)	李 (<i>Leiz</i>)	李 (<i>Leiz</i>)
6	周 Zhōu	<i>Caauh</i> (ເຈົວ)	周 (<i>Caauh</i>)	周 (<i>Caauh</i>)	周 (<i>Caauh</i>)	周 (<i>Caauh</i>)	周 (<i>Caauh</i>)
7	趙 Zhào	<i>Zeuz</i> (ເຈົວ)	趙 (<i>Zeuz</i>)	趙 (<i>Zeuz</i>)	趙 (<i>Zeuz</i>)	趙 (<i>Zeuz</i>)	趙 (<i>Zeuz</i>)
8	胡 Hú	<i>Borngħ</i> (ບ່ອງ)	胡 (<i>Borngħ</i>)	胡 (<i>Borngħ</i>)	胡 (<i>Borngħ</i>)	胡 (<i>Borngħ</i>)	胡 (<i>Borngħ</i>)
9	鄭 Zhèng	<i>Zaengc</i> (ເມືອງ)	(missing)	鄭 (<i>Zaengc</i>)	(missing)	(missing)	(missing)
10	(missing)		唐 Táng (Dorngħ ທ່ອງ)	(missing)	唐 (<i>Dorngħ</i>)	唐 (<i>Dorngħ</i>)	唐 (<i>Dorngħ</i>)
11	馮 Féng	<i>Bungz</i> (ບັງ)	馮 (<i>Bungz</i>)	馮 (<i>Bungz</i>)	馮 (<i>Bungz</i>)	馮 (<i>Bungz</i>)	馮 (<i>Bungz</i>)
12	雷 Léi	<i>Luih</i> (ລູ້)	雷 (<i>Luih</i>)	雷 (<i>Luih</i>)	雷 (<i>Luih</i>)	雷 (<i>Luih</i>)	雷 (<i>Luih</i>)
13	蔣 Jiǎng	<i>Siauh</i> (ເຈົວ)	蔣 (<i>Siauh</i>)	蔣 (<i>Siauh</i>)	蔣 (<i>Siauh</i>)	蔣 (<i>Siauh</i>)	蔣 (<i>Siauh</i>)
14	(missing)		(missing)	留 (劉) Liú (<i>Liouh</i> ເລື່ອງ in Iu Mien)	(missing)	(missing)	(missing)
	12 clans		11 clans	13 clans	12 clans	12 clans	12 clans

The order of appearance of the names in the *P^ha'lae Scroll* and Ls 96-97 of the *Thammajarik Codex A* are as shown in Table 2a. For the sake of easy comparison, however, the appearance order of the names in Ls 113-124 of the *Thammajarik Codex A*, *Thammajarik Codex B*, Theraphan L.-Thongkum's scroll, and Tan's list have been re-arranged in Table 2a. The original orders of the five MSS are preserved in Table 2b.

<i>P'a' Iae Scroll</i> (Ls 55–56)		<i>Thammarajik Codex A</i>		<i>Thammarajik Codex B</i> (p. 10)	Theraphan L. – Thongkum (1991:40)	Tan (1986b:57)
Pin Yin	In Iu Mien	(Ls 96– 97)	(Ls 113– 124)			
1	盤 Pán <i>Bienh</i> (ປ່ານ)	盤 (Bienh) (ປ່ານ)	盤 (Bienh) (ປ່ານ)	盤 (Bienh) (ປ່ານ)	盤 (Bienh) (ປ່ານ)	盤 (Bienh) (ປ່ານ)
2	沈 Shěn <i>Ziang</i> (ເສີ່ນ)	沈 (Ziang) (ເສີ່ນ)	沈 (Ziang) (ເສີ່ນ)	沈 (Ziang) (ເສີ່ນ)	沈 (Ziang) (ເສີ່ນ)	沈 (Ziang) (ເສີ່ນ)
3	黃 Huáng <i>Yangh</i> (ຫົງ)	黃 (Yangh) (ຫົງ)	鄭 (Zaengc) (ແຫດັງ)	黃 (Yangh) (ຫົງ)	黃 (Yangh) (ຫົງ)	黃 (Yangh) (ຫົງ)
4	鄧 Dèng <i>Dangc</i> (ຕັ້ງ)	鄧 (Dangc) (ຕັ້ງ)	黃 (Yangh) (ຫົງ)	李 (Leiz) (ເລີ້ນ)	李 (Leiz) (ເລີ້ນ)	李 (Leiz) (ເລີ້ນ)
5	李 Lǐ <i>Leiz</i> (ເລີ້ນ)	(missing)	李 (Leiz) (ເລີ້ນ)	鄧 (Dangc) (ຕັ້ງ)	鄧 (Dangc) (ຕັ້ງ)	鄧 (Dangc) (ຕັ້ງ)
6	周 Zhōu <i>Caauh</i> (ຈຳວັງ)	周 (Caauh) (ຈຳວັງ)	鄧 (Dangc) (ຕັ້ງ)	周 (Caauh) (ຈຳວັງ)	周 (Caauh) (ຈຳວັງ)	周 (Caauh) (ຈຳວັງ)
7	趙 Zhào <i>Zeuz</i> (ເຊົ້ວ)	趙 (Zeuz) (ເຊົ້ວ)	周 (Caauh) (ຈຳວັງ)	趙 (Zeuz) (ເຊົ້ວ)	趙 (Zeuz) (ເຊົ້ວ)	趙 (Zeuz) (ເຊົ້ວ)
8	胡 Hú <i>Borngħ</i> (ຟ້ອງ)	胡 (Borngħ) (ຟ້ອງ)	趙 (Zeuz) (ເຊົ້ວ)	胡 (Borngħ) (ຟ້ອງ)	胡 (Borngħ) (ຟ້ອງ)	胡 (Borngħ) (ຟ້ອງ)
9	鄭 Zhèng <i>Zaengc</i> (ແຫດັງ)	唐 Táng <i>(Dorngħ)</i> (ຕັ້ງ)	胡 (Borngħ) (ຟ້ອງ)	唐 (Dorngħ) (ຕັ້ງ)	唐 (Dorngħ) (ຕັ້ງ)	唐 (Dorngħ) (ຕັ້ງ)

10	馮 Féng <i>Bungz</i> (ບົ່ງ)	馮 (Bungz) (ບົ່ງ)	馮 (Bungz) (ບົ່ງ)	馮 (Bungz) (ບົ່ງ)	馮 (Bungz) (ບົ່ງ)	馮 (Bungz) (ບົ່ງ)
11	雷 Léi <i>Luih</i> (ລູ່ວ)	雷 (Luih) (ລູ່ວ)	雷 (Luih) (ລູ່ວ)	雷 (Luih) (ລູ່ວ)	雷 (Luih) (ລູ່ວ)	雷 (Luih) (ລູ່ວ)
12	蒋 Jiǎng <i>Siauh</i> (ສີ່ຈາວ)	蒋 (Siauh) (ສີ່ຈາວ)	蒋 (Siauh) (ສີ່ຈາວ)	蒋 (Siauh) (ສີ່ຈາວ)	蒋 (Siauh) (ສີ່ຈາວ)	蒋 (Siauh) (ສີ່ຈາວ)
13		留 (劉) Liú (Liouh ເລື່ອງ)				
	12 clans	11 clans	13 clans	12 clans	12 clans	12 clans

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

Some points should be noted. The *Thammajarik Codex B*, Theraphan L.-Thongkum's scroll, and Tan's source are identical in the twelve clan names and their order of appearance. These three MSS, therefore, can be considered as one group, possibly derived from a common manuscript. In contrast to this group, the *P'ha'lae Scroll* differs in that it has *Zhèng* (鄭, Zaengc, ແກ້ວງ)(row 9) instead of *Táng* (唐, Dorng, ຕ້ອງ) in others.

In all MSS, there are two occurrences of the twelve names: one is the first introduction of them after mentioning the couple bearing six sons and six daughters (L 56 of the *P'ha'lae Scroll*, Ls 96-97 of the *Thammajarik Codex A*). The other is toward the end of the document (in all five MSS) in the discourse where each clan was appointed to certain official positions in local administration (Ls 114-124 of the *P'ha'lae Scroll* and Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1991:45-6)). In the *Thammajarik Codex A*, the first occurrence of the name list (Ls 96-97) and the second (Ls 113-124), shown in the third and fourth columns of Table 2a-b, are not identical: the first name list contains *Táng* (唐, Dorng, ຕ້ອງ) while it is missing in the second list, and the second list contains *Liú* (留 (劉), Liouh, ເລື່ອງ) while it is missing in the first.

The *Thammajarik Codex A* differs from the group of the three (i.e. *Thammajarik Codex B*, L.-Thongkum, 1991; Tan, 1986) and also from the *P'ha'lae Scroll* in two points. First, the fact that the first occurrence contains *Táng* (唐, Dorng, ຕ້ອງ), which is absent in the *P'ha'lae Scroll*, suggests that the *Thammajarik Codex A* can be associated with the group of the three and that all four might have derived from a putative identical manuscript. Second, the second occurrence in the *Thammajarik Codex A* lists thirteen names (row 14 in Table 2a and row 13 in Table 2b). The thirteenth is *Liú* (留 or 劉, Liouh, ເລື່ອງ) besides the sequence of twelve names that are identical to the *P'ha'lae Scroll*, (which suggests the *Thammajarik Codex A* could be dissociated from the group of the three).

The letter 留 *Liú* used in the *Thammajarik Codex A* (L 124) could be a miscopy of 劉, both being homophonic heterographs.²³ It has been mentioned by Zanh Gueix Fongc that *La'Liouh Mienh* (ລາວ ເລື່ຍໍ ເມື່ອນ 劉) was Chinese-turned Iu Mien: *Janx-Kaeqv benx daaih* (ຈັນ-ແກະ ເມື່ອນ ທ້ອງ) [non.Iu.Mien-Chinese become come] ‘Chinese have become (Iu Mien)’. This has also been recorded in Tan (1986: 48): “According to my informants this clan name has been adopted from the Chinese”. Thus, *La'Liouh Mienh* (ລາວ ເລື່ຍໍ ເມື່ອນ 劉) ‘Liou clan’ are found in Thailand though not as frequently as *Bienh* (ເມື່ອນ 盤), *Zeuz* (ເຊົວ 趙) and *Dangc* (ຕັ້ງ 鄧).

6. The lost thirteenth clan

Though not mentioned in the *Pʰa'lae Scroll*, Zeuz Guei-Zoih (趙貴財 2013) has told a story that the Iu Mien originally had thirteen clans but the *Shēn* (沈) clan (number 2 in Table 2a-b) was lost shortly after setting out to the sea-crossing voyage or *Piu-Yiuh Jiex Koiv* /pʰiu˥ jiu˥ ciə˥ kʰwɔi˥/ (ພິວ-ຢິ້ວ ຄົວຍ) in Iu Mien (漂遙過海 *piāo yáo guò hǎi* in Chinese). The lines (1-¹⁸)²⁴ and (1-²⁰) convey the significant message.

(1 ⁻¹)	<i>Yienh</i>	<i>Maauz</i>	<i>nyeic</i>	<i>nin</i>
GZ	ເມື່ອນ	ມ້າວ	ເຫຼຸ່ຍ	ນິນ
	jen˥	ma:u˥	nei˥	nin˥
	year.of.tiger	year.of.rabbit	two	year

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

(1 ⁻²)	<i>tin</i>	<i>daaic</i>	<i>haanz</i>
GZ	ທິນ	ດ້າຍ	ຫ້ານ
	tʰin˥	ta:i˥	ha:n˥
	heaven	big	drought

‘(those two years) saw a great drought.’

²³ We owe Dr Sahattaya Sittivised for her close reading of the original text in this alternative character. One of our Iu Mien consultants, who possesses good speaking ability in Chinese, reports that both 留 and 劉 are used to refer to the same clan in Thailand. Tan (1986: 48) records 劉 based on his research in Khun Haeng village in Ngao District, Lampang Province, and Pʰa'lae village in Maechan District, Chiang Rai Province.

²⁴ Superscript numbers after the language example number indicate that all these lines comprise a connected discourse.

(1³) “*Yienc Maauz nyeic nin” naaic aeqv,*

GZ ເຢືນ ມ້າ ເຫຼຸ່ມ ນິນ ແນ່າຂ ແອື້ຂ

jen˥ ma:u˧˥ nei˥ nin˥ na:i˥ ε?˥

year.of.Yien year.of.Maau two year TOP PDP

‘Talking about “the years of Yien and Maau”,’

(1⁴) *lungħ haanz buo hnyangx*

GZ ລົງ ສັນ ປຶ້ວ ທະຄູ່ງ

lung˥ ha:n˧˥ puə˧˥ jnaj˧˥

sky drought three year

‘there was a drought for three years.’

(1⁵) *Buo hnyangx mv duih mbiungc*

GZ ປົ້າ ທະຄູ່ງ ມື ຜູ້ປ ບູ້ງ

puə˧˥ jnaj˧˥ m˧˥ tui˥ b:uŋ˥

three year NEG fall rain

‘It did not rain for three years.’

(1⁶) *Normh.ziu ndiangx naaic cuotv douz²⁵*

GZ ນ່ອນ ຕົວ ເດືອງ ກົ່າຍ ສົ່ວດ ໄຕ້ວ

nəm˥ tsiu˥ d:aj˧˥ na:i˥ tsʰwət˥ təu˧˥

banana tree TOP_{DEM} emit fire

‘As to banana trees, they burst into flame (by themselves).’

²⁵ This sentence is repeated in the original recording between 00.00.26-00.00.28 seconds.

(1⁻⁷) *Mv maaih hnaangx nyanc.*

GZ ມ ມ່າຍ ມ່ານາງ ມູ້ນ

ມໍາ ມາ:ິນ ນາ:ິງ ລານຈ

NEG have rice eat

‘There was no food to eat.’

(1⁻⁸) *Wuov ndau mbiauh lamz yaac lamz-daatv²⁶ naaic*

GZ ວ້າ ເດາ ແມ່າ ຄົ້ມ ພ່າ ຄົ້ມ-ຕິດ ພ່າຍ

ເອໄ ດາວ ບ້າວ ລາມ ຈາ: ລາມ ຕາ:ຕ ນາ:ິຈ

DEM land rice granary TOP bamboo.of.granary TOP_{DEM}

‘On the land as there was a granary, and talking about its bamboo,’

(1⁻⁹) *mingh caeqv naaic lamz-daatv daaih*

GZ ມິ່ງ ແກ້ວ ພ່າຍ ຄົ້ມ-ຕິດ ຕ້າຍ

ມິງ ຕໍ່ສ ນາ:ິຈ ລາມ ຕາ:ຕ ຕາ:ິນ

go disassemble DEM bamboo.of.granary COME

‘went ahead to disassemble the bamboos of granaries,’

²⁶ The hyphen (-) both in the Unified Script and in the Thai-based orthography indicates tone sandhi in the first element of a compound word, e.g. *lamz-daatv* or ຄົ້ມ-ຕິດ ‘granary made of bamboo’. In this example the hyphen indicates a change of tone from the original low-rise-falling /lam⁴/ ‘bamboo’ to the falling /lam¹/, hence the compound is pronounced /lam¹ ta:tl/ without changing the spelling to *lamh daatv* or ຄົ້ມ ຕິດ. The same goes with *Iu-Mienh* or ໃ້ວ-ເມື່ອນ ‘the Iu Mien people’ in examples (1⁻¹⁷) and (1⁻³⁷). In these instances the original tone of *Iu* or ໃ້ວ is the high level (i.e. flat) tone /iu¹/. But when it is connected to the second word *Mienh* or ເມື່ອນ ‘person’, the result of tone sandhi in the first element becomes the falling tone /iu¹/, which is expressed by the hyphen in both orthography systems. It is possible to describe the resultant tone of the first element phonetically, e.g. *Iuh Mienh* or ໃ້ວ ເມື່ອນ (both pronounced /iu¹ miən¹/). However, the phonemic transcription of the tone sandhi by hyphenation was preferred by the community in order both to visually preserve the original tone in the orthography and at the same time to show that the hyphenated compound word requires tone sandhi, which is quite predictable for native speakers. Other examples are (1⁻¹⁵) *piu-yiuh* or ພິວ-ຍິ້ວ /p^hiu¹ jiu¹/ (< /p^hiu¹/) ‘float-remote, voyage’, (1⁻²⁸) *koiv-hlen* /k^hoi¹ l^hen¹/ (< /k^hoi¹l^hen¹/) ‘sea-side, shore’, and (1⁻³³) *la'bieiv-zorng* /la bieiv tsɔŋ¹/ (< /la bieiv¹/) ‘rock-mountain.range, boulder’.

(1⁻¹⁰) *wuonh torng hopv*

GZ វាន ទែង សប

u^wənɬ t^hɔŋɬ hopɬ

boil broth drink

‘(and) they boiled (bamboos) to drink its broth,’

(1⁻¹¹) *Mv maaih hnaangx nyanc.*

GZ ម៉ ម៉ោយ អនាគ អូន្ទ័ន

mɬ ma:iɬ nɑ:ŋɬ nənɬ

NEG have rice eat

‘(because) there was no food to eat.’

(1⁻¹²) *Buo hnyangx mv duih mbiungc*

GZ ប៉ា អនូយ៉ាង ម៉ តីម បូយ៉ាង

puəɬ jnɔŋɬ mɬ tuiɬ bɔŋɬ

three year NEG fall rain

‘It did not rain for three years.’

(1⁻¹³) *Zuangx haiv nyungc yaac mv ziangh*

GZ អត៉ែង ឈី អូយ៉ាង ហីា ម៉ តិោយ៉ាង

ts^wanɬ haiɬ puŋɬ ja:ɬ mɬ tsjaŋɬ

plant what kind TOP NEG be.alive

‘No matter what you plant, they didn’t grow.’

(1 ⁻¹⁴)	<i>Yie</i>	<i>mbuo</i>	<i>nyei</i>	<i>gouv</i>	<i>hnangv</i>	<i>maaih</i>	<i>hnangv</i>	<i>nc</i>	<i>nor</i>
GZ	ເຢີ່ຂ	ນ້ຳ	ເນຸຍ	ໄກ້ວ້າ	ອນ້ຳ	ມ່າຍ	ອນ້ຳ	ໜ່າ	ນອ
	ເວັ້ນ	ບຸເວັ້ນ	ເນີ້ນ	ເກົວງໍາ	ນູ້ອງງໍາ	ມາ:ນິນ	ນູ້ອງງໍາ	ນິ້ນ	ນວນ
1	PL	SBCP	story	like	have	like	DEM	as	

‘We have a legend like that.’

(1 ⁻¹⁵)	<i>Giex</i> ²⁷	<i>koiv</i>	<i>piu-yiuh</i>	<i>giex</i>	<i>koiv</i>	<i>nor</i>	<i>aeqv</i> ,
GZ	ເກີ້ນ	ທ້ອຍ	ພິວເຕີ້ວ	ເກີ້ນ	ທ້ອຍ	ນອ	ແອີ້ນ
	ເກີ້ນ	ເກີ້ນ	ພິວເຕີ້ວ	ເກີ້ນ	ເກີ້ນ	ນວນ	ເກີ້ນ
	pass	sea	float-remote	pass	sea	TOP	PDP

‘As to the Voyage Across the Sea,’

(1 ⁻¹⁶)	<i>gapv</i>	<i>domh</i>	<i>nzangv</i>	<i>daaih</i>	<i>aeqv</i> ,
GZ	ກັບ	ຕົມ	ຫັງ	ຕ້າຍ	ແອີ້ນ
	ກັບ	ຕົມ	ຫັງ	ຕ້າຍ	ແອີ້ນ
	assemble	big	boat	COME	PDP

‘they assembled large boats and then,’

(1 ⁻¹⁷)	<i>yie</i>	<i>mbuo</i>	<i>loz-hnoi</i> ,	<i>yie</i>	<i>mbuo</i>	<i>Iu-Mienh</i>	<i>nor</i>	<i>aeqv</i> , ²⁸
GZ	ເຢີ່ຂ	ນ້ຳ	ໄລ່-ຫນອຍ	ເຢີ່ຂ	ນ້ຳ	ອິວ-ເມື່ອນ	ນອ	ແອີ້ນ
	ເວັ້ນ	ບຸເວັ້ນ	ໂລ້ວ ນົວໃນ	ເວັ້ນ	ບຸເວັ້ນ	ິວ ມືອນ	ນວນ	ເກີ້ນ
1	PL	old.day	1	PL		Iu Mien	TOP	PDP

‘As for us Iu Mien of old days,’

²⁷ Variant is the alveo-palatal *jiex* ‘to pass’

²⁸ Despite the underlying high tone (*aeqv*), the speaker pronounces it very low, almost as *aeqc*.

(1⁻¹⁸) *maaih ziepc faam fingx*

GZ ม่าย เทตียบ พาม ฝิง

ma:iɻ tsɻəpɻ fa:mɻ fiŋɻ

have ten three clan

‘we used to have thirteen clans.’

(1⁻¹⁹) *Ziepc faam*

YJ เทตียบ พาม

tsɻəpɻ fa:mɻ

ten three

‘Thirteen?’

(1⁻²⁰) *Aec, ziepc faam fingx aeqv*

GZ ยอด เทตียบ พาม ฝิง แม้อะ

ɛɻ tsɻəpɻ fa:mɻ fiŋɻ εʔɻ

yes ten three clan PDP

‘Yes, there were thirteen clans and then,’

(1⁻²¹) *piu-yiuh biaux jiex koiv nor aeqv*

GZ พิว-ยิว บีอุ๊ว เจี้ย คือ โน แม้อะ

pʰiuɻ jiuɻ p̥iauɻ ciɛɻ kʰɔiɻ nɔɻ εʔɻ

float-remote escape pass sea TOP PDP

‘when the Voyage Across the Sea took place,’

(1⁻²²) *caeqv nc nzangv bun nqoi*
 GZ ແຮະ ໜ່າ ທັ້ງ ປຸນ ມອບ
 ts^hεʔl ɳɿ dzanŋ́y punl gɔi l
 detach DEM boat give separate
 ‘one boat separated itself (from the group).’

(1⁻²³) *yietc, yietc pauc (cm.t)²⁹ yiem nzangv,*
 GZ ແກີບດ ແກີບດ ແກ່າ ເບີມ ທັ້ງ
 jetl jetl p^hau.l jeml dzanŋ́y
 one one tribe be.in boat
 ‘each clan had their own boat to board.’

(1⁻²⁴) *yietc fingx yiem yietc nzangv*
 GZ ແກີບດ ຜົງ ເບີມ ແກີບດ ທັ້ງ
 jetl fiŋl jeml jetl dzanŋ́y
 one clan be.in one boat
 ‘each clan occupied one boat,’

(1⁻²⁵) *yietc fingx yiem yietc nzangv³⁰*
 GZ ແກີບດ ຜົງ ເບີມ ແກີບດ ທັ້ງ
 jetl fiŋl jeml jetl dzanŋ́y
 one clan be.in one boat
 ‘each clan occupied one boat,’

²⁹ This is an instance of code mixing with Thai ແກ່າ ‘tribe’, not a loan word integrated in Iu Mien language. ‘Tribe’ in Iu Mien is *fingx*, which this speaker could have used. Note (1⁻²³) and (1⁻²⁴) are in synonymous parallel lines tied together by the synonymous word-pair *pauc* ‘tribe’ of (1⁻²³) and *fingx* ‘clan’ of (1⁻²⁴). There is still another possibility, that is, since (1⁻²⁴) and (1⁻²⁵) are identical, the repeated (1⁻²⁵) is meant to be a correction of (1⁻²³) hoping to be consistent in Iu Mien without mixing a Thai word *pauc* ແກ່າ.

³⁰ The speaker repeats the same sentence in (1⁻²⁴) and (1⁻²⁵).

(1⁻²⁶) *Fingx Ziang, fingx Ziang wuov pauc (cm.t) aeqv*

GZ წინ თეინ წინ თეინ რა მე და

fin₁ ts^hajŋ₁ fin₁ ts^hajŋ₁ uə^h p^hau₁ εʔ₁

clan Ziang clan Ziang DEM tribe PDP

‘Clan Ziang, as for that clan Ziang,’

(1⁻²⁷) *fin₁ Ziang mv juangc aeqv*

GZ წინ თეინ მა ჯავა და

fin₁ ts^hajŋ₁ m^h c^han₁ εʔ₁

clan Ziang NEG share PDP

‘the clan Ziang did not stay (with the convoy) and then,’

(1⁻²⁸) *taux koiv-hlen aeqv, yiem wuov*

GZ ერა კიბი-ხელი და მეიმ რა

t^hau₁ k^hɔi₁ ɻen₁ εʔ₁ jem₁ uə^h

reach sea-side PDP be.in DEM

‘reached the shore and there,’

(1⁻²⁹) *doc, meih hiuv nyei fai?*

GZ იძ ცეც შა ლეც წე?

to₁ mei₁ hiu^h jnei₁ fai₁

turtle 2SG know ASST Q

‘turtle, do you know a turtle?’

(1⁻³⁰) *yie mbuo gorngv doc aeqv,*

GZ ເມື່ອ ບ້າ ກົ້ອງ ໄດ້ ແອື້ນ

iəl buəl kɔŋ˥ to˥ ε?˥

1 PL say turtle PDP

‘we call it *doc* “turtle”,’

(1⁻³¹) *Janx gorngv dauc (cm.t) nor aeqv,*

GZ ຈົນ ກົ້ອງ ເຕ່າ ນອ ແອື້ນ

can˧ kɔŋ˥ tau˧ nɔ˧ ε?˥

Non-Iu Mien say *dauc* TOP PDP

‘Thai call it *dauc* (ເຕ່າ),’

(1⁻³²) *domh! doc yiem wuov*

GZ ຕົ້ນ ໄດ້ ເມື່ມ ວັ້ງ

tom˧ to˧ jem˧ uə˥

big turtle be.in DEM

‘A gigantic turtle was lying there.’

(1⁻³³) *ninh mbuo laaic benx la'bieiv-zorng.*

GZ ດິນ ບ້າ ທ່າຍ ເມື່ນ ພະເປົ້າ-ຜາວ

nin˧ buəl la:i˧ pen˧ la p̥ie˧ tsɔŋ˧

3 PL assume be rock-mountain.range

‘(but) they (mistakenly) thought it was a boulder.’

(1⁻³⁴) *Mingh buov douz zouv hnaangx nyanc.*

GZ မြို့ ပြာ စိုး စိုး ဟနာ ဟျော်

min^h puə^h təb^h tsəb^h နှာဗျာ ဗျာ

go burn fire cook rice eat

‘(They) went (to the boulder and) burnt fire to cook food to eat (on it).’

(1⁻³⁵) *Buov douz aeqv, buov douz jorm*

GZ ပြာ စိုး ထော် ပြာ စိုး ချမ်း

puə^h təb^h εʔ^h puə^h təb^h ခေမ^h

burn fire PDP burn fire be.hot

‘kindled fire, then burn it hot,’

(1⁻³⁶) *nv doc mbienv sin naaic, ndortv nzengc.*

GZ နဲ့ စဲ့ ပြီးမြန် ခိုး ဟနာယ် တိုင် ဟော့

ŋ^h to^h biən^h sin^h na:i^h dət^h dzeŋ^h

DEM turtle overturn body DEM fall CONSUME

‘This turtle overturned its body there (and) all (people on it) fell (into the sea).’

(1⁻³⁷) *Yie mbuo Iu-Mienh nor aeqv,*

GZ ရှိယ် ပြာ့ ခါ့-မြို့မြန် နစ် ထော်

ie^h buə^h iu^h miən^h nə^h εʔ^h

1 PL Iu Mien TOP PDP

‘As for us Iu Mien,’

(1⁻³⁸) *fingx Ziang nc mv maaih aeqv,*

GZ წინ დეიან უნ მა მაი დაშა

fiŋx tsjan ɻ ɻ mɻ ma:iɻ eɻ

clan Ziang DEM NEG have PDP

‘(the reason why) the clan Ziang do not exist (any longer),’

(1⁻³⁹) *ndortv wuom daic nzengc mi'aqv.*

GZ დიდ ვამ წერ დეუნ მაშ მაშ

dətɻ uəmɻ taiɻ dzeŋɻ miɻ aɻ

fall water die CONSUME TELIC

‘(They) fell into the sea and all died.’

(ium_20130527_01_H1_DA_GueixZoih_12Tribes_Thammajarik;00.00.08-00.01.38)

Lines 1¹⁻² states, in summary, the cause of their sea-crossing voyage, in the seven-syllable poetic style of the Táng (唐) dynasty (618-907). It is in Iu Mien called *nzung nyei waac* /dzuŋɻ neiɻ wa:ɻ/ [song SBCP word] (ழுங் நீய வாக்) ‘song language’, i.e. the High language in Iu Mien’s diglossia (see §11.4).

Ls 1³⁻¹³ unpack the summary statement of Ls 1¹⁻², and L1¹⁴ is an interim summary regarding the cause of abandoning their homeland.

Ls 1¹⁵⁻¹⁸: an account of how they set out to the voyage. L1¹⁹ is the researcher’s response in surprise.

Ls 1²⁰⁻²⁸ report that the clan Ziang separated themselves from the convoy. Ls 1²⁹⁻³¹ are the narrator’s interaction with the researcher about a turtle, the cause of the clan’s fate, to prepare the climax of the discourse.

Ls 1³²⁻³⁹ conclude the story with the sinking of the clan Ziang leaving only twelve clans of the Iu Mien.

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

7. Origin of worshipping the dragon dog as their progenitor

The section showing the *Píng Huáng* (評皇; *Baengc Hungh* i.e. ບັງຄຸ້ງ³¹ in Iu Mien) ‘Emperor Ping’ giving an order that the twelve clans of the Iu Mien must worship *Pánhù* (盤護; *Bienh Huh* i.e. ບີ່ນຫຸ່ງ in Iu Mien) can be seen in Ls 78-84 as shown in Figure 5.

³¹ A Thai spelling expressing the Iu Mien pronunciation used in the IMPECT Association’s textbook is ບັງຄຸ້ງ /pèŋ hûŋ/ (IMPECT Association 2002: 3-7).

Print form	Pin Yin	gloss	text lines	Print form	Pin Yin	gloss
			84 83 82 81 80 79 78			
[5]	如有不尊者作怪	ruí yǒu bù zūn zhě zuò guài	in case have not revere anyone become monster	不得輕怒		
[4]	歌鼓樂	gē gǔ lè	song percussion merry	如若有不尊者作怪生氣自受陰中檢		
[1]	勅會	chì lìng	(令)	勅會龍大名護烏始祖盤王生前是姓之人死後有鬼神之	德許會男女敬奉陰魂描成人貌之像榮益出鬼神之像廣	imperial decree
[2]	死後有鬼神之	sǐ hòu yǒu guǐ shén zhī		受子孫之敬祭祀永守勅之高名自許會後一十二年一慶	案殺成牲累集男女生靈做依散盤動長鼓吹坐致歌舞務	death after have ghost god of
[3]	德許會男女敬奉	dé xǔ huì nán nǚ jìng fèng		使人吹鬼樂物進集與		merit license gather men women respect venerate

Figure 5. The origin of worshiping the Dragon Dog as Iu Mien's progenitor (Ls 78-84)

L 78 begins with [1] *chìlìng* (勅会[*sic*][令]³²) ‘imperial edict’. Then the *Píng Huáng* (評皇) ‘Emperor Ping’ declares that *lóng quǎn míng Hù* (龍犬名護) ‘the dragon dog named *Hu*’ is made to be *shǐzǔ Pán Wáng* (始祖盤王) ‘King Pan the Ancestor’. The sequence [2] reads that *Pán Wáng* is considered that *sǐ hòu yǒu guǐ shén zhī dé* (死後有鬼神之德) ‘he has merit of (being) a ghost god after his death’ (Ls 78-79). That merit (德) leads to [3] *xǔ huì nán nǚ jìng fèng* (許会男女敬奉) ‘license to summon men and women to worship (him)’ (L79).

³² *Chiling* ‘imperial decree (edict)’ should be written as 勅令. The second letter (令) *ling* ‘to command’ of the phrase might have been miscopied as 会 *huì* ‘meeting’ as found in L 78 of the text. Also L 77 (not provided in this article) shows further evidence of a scribal error: 會 *huì* (<会) as appears in “勅會 [sic]”.

It is the twelve clans' duty, as [4] reads, that they should do so with *gē gǔ lè* (歌鼓樂) 'songs, drums, and joy' (L 81). The sequence [5] is a warning: *rú yǒu bù zūn zhě zuò guài* (如有不尊者作怪) 'in case there is anyone who does not observe (this duty) he shall become a monster/demon' (L 83).³³

A synopsis of Ls 78 [1] and [2], 79 [3], 81 [4], and 83 [5] in Figure 5 are translated into Iu Mien in the following interlinear glossed texts (IGT). The part *chiling* (勅会[sic][令]) can be translated as:

L78[1]: *chiling* (勅会[sic][令])

L78	<i>[Hungh diex Baengc Hungh nyei]</i>	<i>lingc hatc</i>
[1]	[ຫູ່ງ ເຕື່ຍ ແບ່ງ ຫູ່ງ ເນູຍ]	ໜໍ້າ ໄດ້
	hunŋ˥ tiaŋ˥ pəŋŋ˥ hunŋ˥ neiŋ˥ linŋ˥ hatŋ˥	
	emperor.father <i>Píng Huáng</i> SBCP decree command	

'[This is the Emperor Ping's] imperial decree'

The bottom part of L78 (sequence [2]), continuing to the upper part of L79 (sequence [3]), referring to the dog whose given name is *Hù*, i.e. *sǐ hòu yǒu guǐ shén zhī dé* (死後有鬼神之德), can be translated as follow:

L78[2]: *sǐ hòu yǒu guǐ shén zhī dé* (死後有鬼神之德)

L78	<i>daic liuz maaih mienv nyei daqv</i> ³⁴
[2]	[ໄຕ ລູ້ ມ່າ ເມື່ຍນ ເນູຍ] ຕິະ
	taiŋ˥ liuŋ˥ ma:iŋ˥ miənŋ˥ neiŋ˥ taŋ˥

die finish have ghost SBCP merit

'After (the dragon dog *Hù*) died, he has got ghost god's merit'

The sequence [3] *xǔ huì nán nǚ jìng fèng* (許会男女敬奉) (placing 德 *daqv* (ດີ) 'merit' in L78 in IGT above)³⁵ can be translated as follows:

³³ Theraphan L.-Thongkum (1991: 42) translates her mss: "Anyone who departs from these customs, who is not faithful, or who creates dissention will have sinned. The spirit (of the ancestor) will ever be watchful; he who is guilty will not be pardoned".

³⁴ In the original scroll, the word 德 *daqv* (ດີ) 'merit' is written at the top of L79, but it is dislocated thence, for the readability sake, to L78 of IGT to keep a semantic chunk.

³⁵ For the readability sake, 德 *daqv* (ດີ) 'merit', originally written at the beginning of L79 in the scroll, is subtracted from L79⁻¹ of the IGT so that the remaining sequence should be a semantic chunk.

L79[3]: *xǔ huì nán nǚ* (許會男女)

L79⁻¹ *heuc m'jangc m'sieqv daaih zunv*
 [3] អេវ ម៉ែង មីឈី តាម ពុំន
 heu] m caŋ] m siə?] ta:i] tsun]
 call men women come gather
 ‘(god’s) merit of license to summon men and women’

L79[3]: *jìng fèng* (敬奉)

L79⁻² *taaih yaac baaix ninh*
 [3] ពាយ ឃោា បាយ ឯុំន
 tʰa:i] ja:] pa:i] nin]
 respect and worship 3SG
 ‘to pay respect and worship him [the dragon dog named *Hu*].’

L81[4]: *gē gǔ lè* (歌鼓樂)

L81 *longc nzung caux nzoz njien-yous nyei zoux*
 [4] អេង ឃុង ហេខា ឯុំខេះ នីយេន-ីយោ ឈុយ ិអុខោ
 loŋ] dzun] tsʰau] dzo] Jen] jou] nei] tsəu]
 use song be.with percussion merry ADVZ do
 ‘with songs and drums (you must) do so happily’

L83[5]: *rú yǒu bù zūn zhě* (如有不尊者)

L83⁻¹ *Six.gorngv maaih haaix dauh maiv taaih nor*
 [5] សិ.កេង មោយ ហាយ តេះ ឬី ពោយ នោ
 si] kəŋ] ma:i] ha:i] tau] mai] tʰa:i] no]
 if have whoever NEG revere if.so
 ‘in case there is anyone who does not observe (this duty)’

L83[5]: zuò guài (作怪)

L83 ⁻²	wuov	dauh	ziouc	oix.zuqc	goiv	benx	hieh	ga'naaiv
[5]	វ៉ា	ត៉ោ	ទោទៅ	ទៅយុ.ទទួល	កីឡូយ	ពេះន	មេយីយ	ករណីយ
	սօԴ	tauՆ	tsjօԾ	օիկ tsu?Ն	կօմ	penՆ	hiօՆ	ka na:իՆ
	DEM	CLF	then	must	change	be	wild	thing

‘that person shall become a monster/demon.’

It is extremely important to recognise that *Píng Huáng* (評皇; *Baengc Hungh*, ໔ັງ ສູງ in Iu Mien) ordered the twelve clans of the Iu Mien to worship *Pánhù* (盤護; *Bienh Huh*, ເບីន ສູງ in Iu Mien), their progenitor dragon dog (but not that *Píng Huáng* ‘the Emperor Ping’ is to be worshiped). In the context of Thaification of the young Iu Mien, whose ability of reading Chinese is not so fluent as their grandfathers’, *Bienh Hungh* (盤皇 ເບីន ສູງ) and *Baengc Hungh* (評皇 ໔ັງ ສູງ) must be clearly distinguished. The Ls 78-84 in the text of the *Pʰa'lae Scroll* state that it is the progenitor dragon dog *Pánhù* (盤護, i.e. *Bienh Huh*, ເບីន ສູງ) that the Iu Mien were originally ordered to worship by *Píng Huáng* (*Baengc Hungh*, ໔ັງ ສູງ).

Then how does *Bienh Huh* (盤護, ເບីន ສູງ) differ from *Bienh Hungh* (盤皇, ເບីន ສູງ)? They, in fact, refer to the same referent. After L 66, three references to the dog *Pánhù* (*Bienh Huh*) start having a title *wáng* (王) ‘king’, which is translated into Iu Mien *hungh* (ສູງ) (i.e. the designations over a picture above Ls 66-75 and L78 in Table 1).

In Iu Mien both ‘emperor’ (皇) and ‘king’ (王) in Chinese are expressed by *hungh* (ສູງ). Here the personal name of the dragon dog *Hù* (護, ສູງ) in Chinese should not be confused with the Iu Mien *hungh* (ສູງ), nor the dog’s surname *Bienh* (盤 *Pán*) should be meddled with *baengc* (評, ໔ັງ) of *Baengc Hungh* (評皇, *Píng Huáng*, ໔ັງ ສູງ).

8. Designation of residence restricted in mountains

Immediately after the Emperor Ping’s warning, L 85 starts listing various benefits and privileges that the twelve clans should be granted. L 85 is the first mention of the privilege of duty exemption or *juān miǎn* (蠲免[sic][免]). In Ls 85-90 of the scroll it can be observed that the areas the twelve clans’ residence are designated in those mountains specified as in Figure 6.

³⁶ This is a conventionally abbreviated form (due to its high frequency) of the discourse sequential marker ទោទៅ (ziouc) ‘then’ in the Thai-based Iu-Mien orthography.

Print form	Pin Yin	gloss	text	Print form	Pin Yin	gloss
			90 89 88 87 86 85			
[2]						
評	Píng	Ping				
皇	Huáng	emperor				
券	quàn	ticket				
牒	dié	{ document / certificate				
過	guò	pass				
山	shān	mountain				
榜	páng	side				
防	fáng	protect				
身	shēn	body				
[1]						
一	yī					
十二	shí					
姓	èr					
王	xìng					
瑤	wáng	clan				
子	yáo	king				
孫	zǐ	Yao				
		{ descendant				
[3]						
天	tiān	heaven				
下	xià	under				
一	yī					
十三	shí					
省	sān	{ thirteen				
		shěng	province			

Figure 6. The names of mountains assigned for the Iu Mien for residence

The sequence [1], *yī shí èr xìng wáng zǐ sūn* (一十二姓王瑤子孫) ‘the twelve clans of the descendants of the King Yao’ (L 85), echoes the familiar phrase *yie mubo ziepc nyeic fìngx Iu Mienh* [1 PL ten two clan Iu.Mien] ‘we twelve clans of the Iu Mien’. They were given the official order in the form of [2] *Píng Huáng quàn dié guò shān bǎng* (評皇券牒過山榜) ‘the Emperor Huang’s official document authorising of passage along mountain sides’ (L 86) that is effective in [3] *tiān xià yī shí sān shěng* (天下一十三省) ‘the thirteen provinces under the heaven’ (L 86).

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

The Iu Mien translation of [1] in L85, [2] and [3] in Ls 86 in Figure 6 is as follows:

L85[1]: *yī shí èr xìng wáng Yáo zǐ sūn* (一十二姓王瑤子孫)

L85 Hungh Yaov nyei zeiv-fun maaih ziepc nyieic fingx.

[1] ჰუნგ ეავ ნეი ჟეივ-ფუნ მაი ჰეიპ ნეეი წინ

huŋ˥ jau˥ ne˥ tseɪv fun˥ ma:i˥ tsʰəp˥ nei˥ fiŋ˥

king Yao POSS descendant have ten two clan

‘the twelve clans of the descendants of the King Yao’

L86[2]: *Píng Huáng quàn dié guò shān bǎng* (評皇券牒過山榜)

L86 Ping Huang nyei sou-piux Jiex Sen Borngv beu jienv sin

[2] წინ ჰავ ნეი ჟიუ-ჟია ჟეი ჟენ ჟიონg [ჰეუ ჟენ] ჟინ]

pʰin˥ ჰაv˥ ne˥ səʊv pʰiu˥ ciəl sen˥ ჰოŋ˥ peu˥ cʰen˥ sin˥

Emperor Ping POSS ceritificate Mountain -ticke Crossing Passport

‘the Emperor Huang’s official document authorising of passage along mountain sides’

L86 [3]: *tiān xià yī shí sān shěng* (天下一十三省)

L86 [yiem] lungh ndiev nyei ziepc faam saengv.

[3] [ეინ] ჰუნგ დეი ნეი ჰეიპ ფამ ჟანგ.

jem˥ lunŋ˥ diəv˥ ne˥ tsʰəp˥ fa:m˥ sen˥

be.at heaven lower.side POSS ten three province

‘the thirteen provinces under the heaven’

9. Privileges of tax exemption and benefits given by Píng Huáng

Closely related to the designated residence regions in the section Ls 85-90, L91 stipulates that the tax exemption be given to the Iu Mien shown in Figure 7.

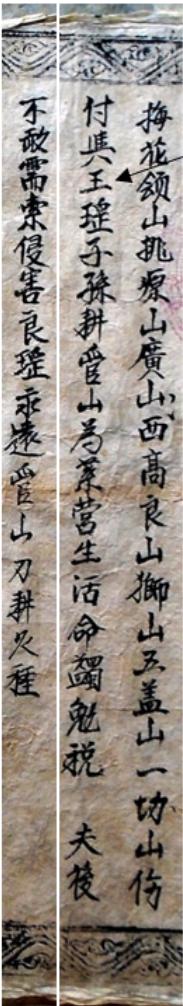
text	Print form	Pin Yin	gloss
92	91	90	
			
不 敢 需 索 侵 害 良 瑶 永 遺 崑 山 刀 耕 火 種	王 wáng 瑶 yáo 子 zǐ 孫 sūn	king Yao descendant	
付 兮 王 瑶 子 孫 耕 管 山 廣 山 西 高 良 山 獅 山 五 盖 山 一 功 山 伤	耕 gēng 管 guǎn 山 shān 為 wéi 管 guǎn 山 shān 為 wéi 山 shān 為 wéi 業 yè 營 yíng 生 shēng 活 huó 營 yíng 生 shēng 活 huó 生 shēng 活 huó 命 mìng 獻 juān 勉 miǎn 命 mìng 獻 juān 勉 miǎn 命 mìng 獻 juān 勉 miǎn 稅 shuì	cultivate manage mountain for business earn life living life remit, cancel (免) exempt tax	

Figure 7. Exemption of Tax

L 91 states that the twelve descendants of King Yao (i.e. formerly 盤護, *Bienh Huh*, บีญหุ ฯ) are to *gēng guǎn shān* (耕管山) ‘cultivate and watch over mountains’ in order that they *yè yíng shēng huó mìng* (業營生活命) ‘make a living’ there.

Attention should be drawn to the phrase *juān miǎn shuì* (蠲勉稅). The character *miǎn* 勉 actually means ‘to strive’ and could be a mistaken copy of the homophonous *miǎn* 免 ‘to exempt’. It should be amended in conformity to a normal word *juān miǎn* (蠲免) ‘to exempt, cancel’. A similar expression is found in L 97: *juān miǎn guó shuì* (蠲勉[*sic*]國稅) ‘exempt from national tax’. The first occurrence of *juān miǎn* (蠲勉[*sic*][免]) is L 85 (Figure 6).

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

L 91 indicated in Figure 7 is translated into Iu Mien as follows:

L91: *Wáng Yáo zǐsūn gēng* (王瑤子孫耕)

L91¹ *Iu-Mienh hungh nyei zeiv-fun zoux ndeic yaac*
 ໃວ-ມື່ນ ສູງ ເມູນ ເຊີ-ຫຼຸນ ໄທດວ ເດຍ ມໍາ
 iuŋ miənŋ hujŋ neiŋ tseiŋ funŋ tsəuŋ deiŋ jaŋ
 Iu Mien king SBCP descendants make field also

‘The descendants of the King Iu Mien (should) cultivate and’

guǎn shān wéi yè yíng shēng huó mìng (管山為業營生活命)

L91² *goux mbong weic nyanc hopv yungz maengc*
 ແກ້ວ ມງ ເວຍ ທຸ່ນ ສນ ຢູ້ ແມ່ງ
 kəuŋ bɔŋŋ weiŋ nəŋŋ hopŋ juŋŋ meŋŋ
 care.for mountain for eat drink sustain life

‘watch over mountains in order that they make a living’

juān miǎn shuì (蠲免 [sic] [免]税)

L91³ *yaac maiv zuqc cuotv nzou-zinh.*
 ມໍາ ໄມ ແມ ຊົດ ໄທວ-ຜິນ.
 jaŋ maiŋ tsuŋ tsʰwətŋ dzəuŋ tsinŋ
 also NEG need pay tax

‘and also they don’t have to pay tax’

More privileges are given to the twelve clans as in Figure 8:

Figure 8. No need to kneel down before officials

While traveling, the twelve descendants of King Yao can use the privilege that (L95)[1] *guò duó*³⁷ *bù yòng qián* (過度[*sic*] [渡]不用钱) ‘do not have to pay money for crossing (river by ferry)’. Of the trails, if they (L96)[2] *jiàn guān* (見官) ‘meet government officials’, they do not have to kneel before them: *bù guì* (不跪).³⁸ Though they stay or live in the mountain []³⁹ *shān* ([]山), they *bù nà shuì* (不納稅) ‘do not have to pay tax’.

L95 [1] and L96 [2] in Figure 8 are colloquially translated into Iu Mien as follows:

³⁷ If this form means ‘to cross (river, stream)’, dù (渡) should be the case rather than duó (度). *Thammajarik Codex A* rightly has dù (渡) (p.17) for this line.

³⁸ *Thammajarik Codex A* reads *bù xià guì* (不下跪) ‘not kneel down’.

³⁹ There must be a verb between *guì* (跪) ‘to kneel’ and *shān* (山) ‘mountain’, e.g. *zhù* (住) ‘to dwell’ or *sù* (宿) ‘to lodge overnight’ or something else. *Thammajarik Codex A* has *gēng* (耕) ‘to cultivate’.

L95[1]: *guò dù* (過度 [sic] [度])

L95⁻¹ *jiex ndaaih wuov.zanc*

[1] តែខ្ល តាម វ៉ាវ អត់នៅ

ciek da:iN uəV tsanJ

pass rivers that.time

‘(When) crossing rivers (by ferry)’

L95[1]: *bù yòng qián* (不用钱)

L95⁻² *yaac maiv zuqc longc nyaanh*

[1] ហេតា ឬម ហម អត់ ស្ថាន

ja:J maiV tsu?J loŋJ ja:nV

also NEG need use money

‘(the Iu Mien) don’t have to pay money’

L96[2]: *jiàn guān bù guì* (見官不跪)

L96⁻¹ *buangh zuqc jien yaac maiv zuqc gueic njiec*

[2] បង ហម តិះន ហេតា ឬម ហម កោវយ នេវីឃ

p^wanjV tsu?J c^{ien}V ja:J maiV tsu?J kuejV jieJ

encounter TOUCH official also NEG need kneel descend

‘When they meet officials (on the way), they don’t have to kneel before them’

L96[2]: *gēng⁴⁰ shān bù nà shuì* (耕山不納稅)

L96⁻² *yiem mbong zoux ndeic yaac maiv zuqc cuotv nzou-zinh.*

[2] ឃិះន បង ឪអតោ តេខ ហេតា ឬម ហម នឹវត ឪការ-តិះន.

jemV bonjV tsəʊlV deiJ ja:J maiV tsu?J ts^{hw}ətlV dzəʊlV tsinV

be.at mountain make field also NEG need pay tax

⁴⁰ The *Thammajarik Codex A* has *gēng* (耕) ‘to cultivate’ for the *P̄ha’lae Scroll*’s gap [] in L96 [2].

‘When cultivating fields in the mountain, they don’t have to pay tax’

In relation to the privilege of tax exemption, Zeuz Gueix-Zoih describes, in the story of the Sea Crossing Odyssey, a living condition of the ancestors of the Iu Mien similar to what is described in *Jiex Sen Borngv* of the *P^ha’lae Scroll* as in (2⁻¹⁻⁶):

(2⁻¹) *Yiem Naamh Ging koiv- ngaanc naaic*

ເມື່ອມ ນໍາມ.ກິຈ ກ້ອຍ- ຜ່ານ ນໍາຍ

jem¹ na:m¹ kin¹ k^hoiv¹ ^ŋa:n¹ na:i¹

be.in Nanjing sea shore TOP

‘As for living on Nanjing sea shore,’

(2⁻²) *se de’bung longx haic.*⁴¹

ເຊ ເຕ’ປຸງ ພດ ໄກ.

se¹ te puŋ¹ long¹ hai¹

TOP country be.good very

‘the country was very fertile.’

(2⁻³) *maaih dorngx zoux liangx-ndeic camv/*

ມ່າຍ ຕ້ອງ ໄທດວ ແລືຍ-ເດີບ ສິນ/

ma:i¹ t^hoŋ¹ tsəu¹ liang¹ dei¹ ts^ham¹

have place make farming.field many

‘There were many fields for farming.’

⁴¹ A contraction form of *deic-bung* [earth side] ‘country’. In this context it does not refer to the nation of China but the first region where the ancestor of the Iu Mien used to live.

(2⁻⁴) *yaac nquenh*⁴² *youth*

ຫຍ່າ ຂວິ່ນ ໄຍ່າ

ja:¹ g^wen¹ jəʊ¹

also be.happy

‘and (Iu Mien people) were happy.’

(2⁻⁵) *mv zuqc zaangc mienv mv zuqc zoux haiv.nyungc*

ນ້ຳ ທຸກ ທັກ້າງ ເມື່ອນ ນ້ຳ ທຸກ ໄທຕວ ໄສ້າ.ຫຼູ່ງ

ₘ¹ tsu?¹ tsa:¹ŋ¹ miən¹ₘ¹ tsu?¹ tsəʊ¹ hai¹ŋ¹

no.need worship spirit no.need do anything

‘They didn’t have to worship spirits, nor had to do anything (related to spirit worship).’

(2⁻⁶) *mv zuqc cuotv laangh zinh laangh cov*⁴³

ນ້ຳ ທຸກ ຊົວ ດ່າງ ຄົ່ນ ດ່າງ ໄກ

ₘ¹ tsu?¹ ts^{hw}ət¹ la:¹ŋ¹ tsin¹ la:¹ŋ¹ ts^ho¹

no.need pay crop coin crop tax

‘they did not have to pay tax for crop.’

(ium_1998_01_TDK_DA_GueixZoih_MigHist; 00.01.04-14)

Contrary to the similarity between *Jiex Sen Borngv*’s tax exemption and L (2⁻⁶) of Zeuz Gueix-Zoih’s story, L (2⁻¹) and L (2⁻⁵) contain problematic discrepancies. That is, according to Zeuz Gueix-Zoih, the ancestors of Iu Mien lived in the plains near *Nanjing* (L (2⁻¹)), not in the mountains, and they did not have to worship spirits of any sorts (L (2⁻⁵)). These two points are also attested in other storytellers (e.g. Leiz Fux-Dorng (2013), Bungz Cun-Fouv (ium_20140403_03_SonyHDR-MV1_DA_Bungz CunFouv_JiexKoiv.MP4)).

Returning to the *P^ha lae Scroll*, we shall see the concluding part of the document. Here again the privileges are reiterated. However, the summary of what has been said in the whole document seems to assert a certain condition as in Figure 9.

⁴² The speaker in his 90s pronounce this *nquenh* [g^wen¹] ‘to have joy’ while a common dictionary form is *njiennh* [ʃ ~ dʒ ~ dʒiən¹]. These days there are not very many people younger than 50 years old who pronounce the labialised voiced back dorsal velar stop [g^w].

⁴³ None of dictionaries by Lombard (1968), Panh (1995, 2002), Purnell (2012) have this word *cov*. Similarity with Mandarin *shuì* (税) ‘tax’ and Cantonese *seoi*³ is apparent. In modern Iu Mien, ‘tax’ is *nzou-zinh* /dzəʊ¹ tsin¹/.

text	Print form	Pin Yin	gloss
141			

	評	Píng	Ping
	皇	Huáng	emperor
	券	quàn	certificate
	牒	dié	official document
	过 ⁴⁴	guò	pass
	山	shān	mountain
	榜	páng	side
	防	fáng	defend
	身	shēn	yourself
	蠲	juān	remit
	勉 (sic)	miǎn, [□]	exempt
	夫	fū	
	後 (sic)	hòu (sic), [□, yi]	} conscripted labour
	永	yǒng	
	遠	yuǎn	} forever
	管	guǎn	manage
	山	shān	mountain

Figure 9. Concluding part of *Jiex Sen Borngv*

⁴⁴ Note that here the simplified character 过 is used instead of its full form 過 that occurs earlier in the document (Ls 1, 2, 86, and 100). The simplified form 过 occurs two more places: L 144 and L 146, the very last line of the whole document. Is this due to scribe's fatigue?

While the certificate *Píng Huáng quàn dié guò shān pang* or *Jiex Sen Borngv* protects you (*fáng shēn* 防身) and exempts one from conscripted labour (*juān miǎn fū yì*⁴⁵ 罷免夫役), the implication is that one must *yǒng yuǎn guǎn shān* (永遠管山) ‘watch over mountains forever’ by doing farming.

The Iu Mien translation of L 141 in Figure 9 is given below:

Píng Huáng quàn dié guò shān pang (評皇券牒过山榜)

L141 ¹	<i>Baengc Hungh</i>	<i>cuotv</i>	<i>daaih</i>	<i>nyei</i>	<i>sou</i>	<i>Jiex</i>	<i>Sen</i>	<i>Borngv</i>
	ແປ່ງ	ຫູ້ງ	ຫົວດ	ຕ້າຍ	ເລູຍ	ໄຈວ	ເຈິ້ຍ	ເຈນ
	pɛŋ˥ hʊŋ˥	tsʰwət˥	ta:˥	nei˥	səo˥	ciəl	sen˥	pɔŋ˥
	Emperor <i>Píng</i>	issue	COME	SBCP	document	pass	mountain	side
‘The Mountain Crossing Passport that the Emperor Ping issued’								

guò shān pang (过山榜)

L141 ²	<i>bun</i>	<i>leiz</i>	<i>jiex</i>	<i>mbong</i>	<i>nyei</i>	<i>ga'hlen</i>
	ຸນ	ເລື້ຍ	ເຈິ້ຍ	ນັງ	ເລູຍ	ກະເສດນ
	pun˥	lei˥	ciəl	bon˥	nei˥	ka ʃen˥
	grant	rights	pass	mountain	SBCP	side
‘authorises (the Iu Mien) to cross the sides/feet of the mountains’						

fáng shēn (防身)

L141 ³	<i>yaac</i>	<i>beu</i>	<i>jienv</i>	<i>ninh</i>	<i>mbuo</i>	<i>nyei</i>	<i>sin</i>
	ໜ່າ	ເປົວ	ເຈິ້ນ	ນິ້ນ	ນ້າ	ເລູຍ	ຈິນ
	ja:˥	peu˥	cien˥	nin˥	buəl	nei˥	sin˥
	also	protect	CONT	3	PL	SBCP	body
‘and protects their bodies’							

⁴⁵ *Hòu* (後) ‘back, rear’ is a scribal error for *yì* (役) ‘labour’. The context requires the meaning *fū yì* (夫役) ‘conscripted labour’.

juān miǎn fū yì (蠲免夫役)

L141³ *maiv zuqc aapv dorh mingh zoux gong*
 မိမ့် မူမှု အီပု တိစ္ဆ မိုံး ဇူမာ က်
 mai˥˥ tsu?˨˩ a:p˥ tɔ˥ mɪŋ˥ tsəu˥ kɔŋ˥
 NEG TOUCH force carry go do work(n)
 ‘(that they) need not to be forced to labour’

yǒng yuǎn guǎn shān (永遠管山)

L141⁴ *yaac ninh mbuo yietc liuz goux jienv mbong*
 ထံ၊ နံ၊ မား၊ ထော်လိုက် လှံ၊ ဂိုး၊ ဂျိုး၊ မြှောင်
 ja:˨˩ nin˥ buə˥ jet˨ liu˨ kəu˥ cien˥ bɔŋ˥
 also 3 PL forever Manage CONT mountain
 ‘and they shall protect the mountains forever.’

10. Names referring to the Iu Mien and the problem of dittography⁴⁶

10.1 Names referring to the Iu Mien as an ethnic group

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

⁴⁶ A technical term used in textual criticism, referring to a letter or word erroneously written twice by a scribe/copier in the process of duplicating MSS from the original text.

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

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

10.2 The problem of homophones and dittography

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

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

We think in that line, the alleged dittography of homophonous different characters found in (v) (王猺瑤子孫) (L 98) and (vi) (猺王瑤子孫) (L 144) in Table 3 begin to suggest two kinds of suspicion rather than a simple assumption that they are scribal errors. One is that Iu Mien scribes who hand-copied the scrolls over the history might have had superficial knowledge of Chinese, especially as to etymology. Or, secondly, could it be possible that

Chinese scribes hired by Iu Mien to produce copies of the document secretly inserted a message of debasement: “Don’t you forget that you are actually children of the beast, even the dragon dog”? If the latter is the case, the reading in L141⁴ “and they shall protect the mountains forever” may also sound differently: “The Iu Mien should not come down to the plain to bother us Chinese; you stay there up in the mountain forever”. Jaundiced an interpretation it may be, it should not necessarily be unwarranted.

Indeed, Cushman, in his PhD thesis (1970), compares two perspectives concerning *Jiex Sen Borngv*. First, “the myth [i.e. *Jiex Sen Borngv*] is patently a statement about the relations of the Yao [Iu Mien] to the Chinese” and, from the Iu Mien’s viewpoint, it “constitutes a Yao explanation for the existence of two, different social orders, the Yao and the Chinese” (Cushman 1970:71). Second, he contrasts the first viewpoint with the Chinese perception of the Iu Mien:

The most important aspect of the text [of *Jiex Sen Borngv*], in Chinese terms, would have been the fact that one of the partners making up the ancestral pair was a dog. There is nothing at all sacred or special about the dog in Chinese view of the world in which “barbarians” mediate between the world of man (i.e. Chinese) and animals (Cushman, 1970:71).

Thus the Chinese concept of the Iu Mien reflected in the *Jiex Sen Borngv*, according to Cushman, is that the Chinese simply don’t see the significance of the dog, as opposed to “barbarians” who may see it special. If a debasement message was made to creep into it, as we suspect from the frequent alternation of the 犬 ‘dog’ and the 王 ‘king’ radical letters and the dittographies found in the *Pʰa’lae Scroll*, then, the questions would be raised “Who did that? For what?” In fact, there can be seen three times of 犠 with the ‘dog’ radical in the partial photo image of the Pangkha scroll on page 15 of Theraphan’s (1991) research paper, eighteen occurrences of it (and zero 瑶) in the entirety of the *Thammajarik Codex A*, and seventeen occurrences (and zero 瑶) in the *Thammajarik Codex B*. All these observations, including Cushman’s, seem to suggest how the Iu Mien (if they fabricated it) and some Chinese (if they intended to infiltrate a debasement message) perceive the Iu Mien, i.e. the Iu Mien’s ethnic identity, which will be discussed in the next section.

11. Discussion on ethnicity: based on a history or a myth?

11.1 Core elements of Iu Mien ethnicity

Joshua A. Fishman, a Jewish American psychologist-cum-linguist who specialises in bilingual education, Yiddish, sociology of language etc., has a lot to say about ethnicity. It stands to reason that citing Fishman (1989) for the discussion of ethnicity is appropriate since the present study was originally stemmed from our linguistic investigation of the Iu Mien community in view of language preservation. He expounds:

Therefore, ethnicity has to do with “both the sense and the expression of ‘collective, intergenerational cultural continuity,’ i.e. the sensing and expressing of links to ‘one’s own kind (one’s own people),’ to collectivities that not only purportedly have historical depth but, more crucially, share putative ancestral origins and, therefore, the gifts and

responsibilities, rights and obligations deriving therefrom" (Fishman, 1989:10).

This account lays out a basic notion on what ethnicity consists of, namely, (1) "collective, intergenerational cultural continuity" and (2) "putative ancestral origins". For the Iu Mien, regarding (1), the names of twelve clans, as we have investigated in the *P'ha'lae Scroll of Jieks Sen Borngv*, provides a continuity of distinct ethnicity. Pertaining to (2) the *Scroll* teaches about worship of 盤護 (*Bienh Huh*), the dragon dog, as the ancestral origin. These two are the *raison d'être* for the Iu Mien, i.e. justification of their existence according to the *Jieks Sen Borngv*.

Besides these two factors, two more Iu Mien terms should be considered in order to recognise an elaborate nature of Iu Mien ethnicity: *leiz-nyeic* (ເລື້ອ-ໜ່າຍືບ, roughly 'ritual') and *leiz-fingx* (ເລື້ອ-ຝຶງ, roughly 'cultural rules'), drawing on Cushman (1970), Kandre (1967), and Purnell (2012). First, *leiz-nyeic* is expressed as a "core of ritual" by Cushman (1970:146). His cognizance of the *Bienh Hungh*'s (盤皇) (<盤護 *Bienh Huh*) overarching binding power over the Iu Mien as a whole is one of the profoundest kinds among many *janx* (i.e. non-Iu Mien) scholars:

Their solution [i.e. to necessity of adaptation to local social and intercultural situations] has been the development of a core of ritual, legitimizing their clan system and linking them into a vast chain of deceased and living Yao [i.e. Iu Mien], all of whom trace their descent to *P'an hu* [盤護 *Bienh Huh*]. Yao clan ritual has become, in other words, the repeated assertion of the individual's ethnic identity, and each offering made to the ancestors at the hundreds of thousands of current family shrines is a renewed pledge of the individual's allegiance to his society (Cushman, 1970: 146).

Included here are "a vast chain of deceased and living Yao [i.e. Iu Mien]" (i.e. "collective, intergenerational cultural continuity") and "their descent" (i.e. "putative ancestral origins"), in line with the above-mentioned Fishman's two terms. Therefore, the *Bienh Hungh*'s intergenerational rule through the ritual, in the Iu Mien's worldview, defines the "ethnic identity", viz. the ontology of the Iu Mien.

The "core of ritual", highlighted by Cushman, is characterised in the local term *leiz-nyeic* (*lej njej*) by Kandre (1967:599) as "the techniques of communication with the spirits, the office of 'ritual expert' and an educational and examination system for recruitment of specialists, in which the teacher-pupil relationship is essential". Purnell (2012) further explains it as "the formal or ceremonial behaviors which regulate how the world of living relates to the world of the spirits". Hence, Sumeth Prasertsud (2017: 716), a native speaker lexicographer, translates *leiz-nyeic* into Thai: ຈරຍາ, ມາຮຍາທ, ຄວາມປະປຸດຕີ, ຮະເນີຍບແບບແຜນ ມັກຈະໃຊ້ໃນເວລາທຳພິຊີກຣມໃນທາງຄາສານາ.

Second, "[*lej fing* [*leiz-fingx*]] is a general principle for adaptive behavior and is an essential element in the Iu Mien theory of action, as indicated by their use of the term *lej* [*leiz*] ("tradition")" (Kandre 1967:600). Kandre quotes such a vernacular illustration of *leiz-fingx* as "When you live in Thailand, you have to follow the *lej fing* [*leiz-fingx*] of Thailand. If you live in Laos, you follow the *lej fing* [*leiz-fingx*] of Laos, and in Burma, you follow the *lej fing* [*leiz-fingx*] of Burma...." (Kandre 1967: 600). Purnell's (2012: 370) dictionary elucidates it as "the rules and regulations having to do with Iu Mien culture which govern relationships among

individuals, clans or surename groups, and those outside of the culture; the way things are done”.

Furthermore, Kandre (1967) sets forth the gravity of *Bienh Hungh* as an all-encompassing uniting benefactor, practically a deity, in detail:

It is significant that Pien Hung [盤皇 *Bienh Hungh*] is not explicitly referred to as the biological progenitor of the Iu Mien, but as a benefactor who remains an outsider. The ultimate unity of the Iu Mien population is thus defined in terms of common ritual obligations [i.e. *leiz-nyeic*] contracted by the ancestors with regard to an outsider. These obligations refer both to the living and to the dead generations, who continue to honor Pien Hung after they have passed to the spirit level of existence (Kandre, 1967: 592).⁴⁷

In other words, if one does not honour *Bienh Hungh* through the *leiz-nyeic*, he/she is not Iu Mien; he/she is exiled from the unity of the Iu Mien population, living or dead. The Iu Mien-ness defined as such distinguishes the *leiz-fingx* of the Iu Mien from the *leiz-fingx* of other people groups or nationalities.

The argument hitherto can be schematised in a conceptual triangle or the tricomponent of the Iu Mien ethnicity in Figure 10:

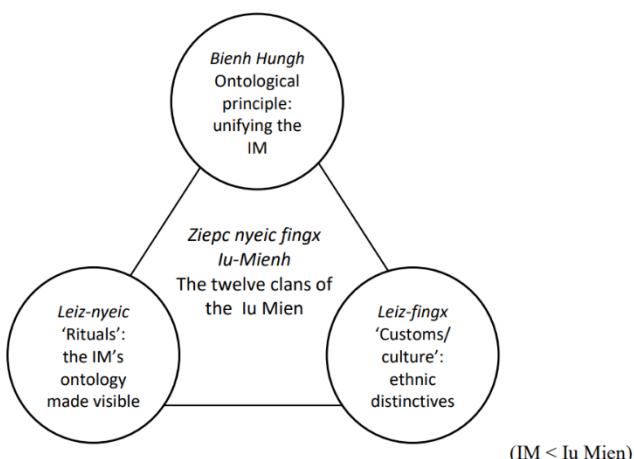


Figure 10. Tricomponent of the Iu Mien ethnicity

⁴⁷ Earlier in this section §11.1, Cushman's (1970: 146) study was cited, *vis-à-vis*, *leiz-nyeic* as the “core of ritual”, which aligns with the analysis by Kandre (1967: 592) quoted here. Both scholars discern the centrality of *Bienh Hungh* in the Iu Mien's belief system. Cushman perceives the existence of other belief in the context of *Bienh Hungh*'s dominance: “In this context, a study of the settlement at Naun Waen [now Thammajarik village (ท่านาวน), Maechan District] in Chiangrai Province, Thailand, would be of the utmost value, for the Yao there have been converted to Christianity and have, in the process of conversion, renounced the beliefs and activities constituting the ritual core” (Cushman 1970: 146). More than half a century later, no such serious research has yet appeared as far as known to the present authors. The only brief note on this issue is by Lemoine (1983). He observes: “I do not know the exact number of recent Yao [i.e. Iu Mien] converts to Christianity, but it seems exceedingly small when compared with the number of missionaries and the effort they have devoted to their task. This indifferent success appears all the more striking when compared with the impact missionaries have had on fellow highlanders, for example, the Meo [i.e. the Hmong], among whom conversion to Christianity is relatively common” (Lemoine 1983: 207).

By paraphrasing this tricomponent schematisation, Fishman's (1989: 11) three questions that characterise the Iu Mien's ethnicity, incorporating the information found in the *Jiex Sen Borngv*, can be answered in the following ways:

- “Who are we?”—“We are the twelve clans of Iu Mien, embracing our own *leiz-fingx*.”
- “From where do we come?” — “We came from *Bienh Hungh*, that is, *Bienh Huh*, the dragon dog, and from the mountainous areas of Hunan, Guangdong, Guangxi, and perhaps Nanking.
- “What is special about us?” — “We are bound to *Bienh Hungh* by the *Jiex Sen Borngv* through administering the *leiz-nyeic*.

Thus, in this section, the premise on the core elements of the Iu Mien's ethnic identity in accordance with the *Jiex Sen Borngv*, has been laid out.

11.2 Three views on interpreting the *Jiex Sen Borngv* and the fourth one

Three views on how the *Jiex Sen Borngv* should be interpreted are presented in this section. They comprise positions taking it as (1) an actual history, (2) a fake, and (3) a negotiating deal between the highlanders and the lowlanders. After surveying them, a fourth view will be suggested in §11.3.

The first position is that the *Jiex Sen Borngv*'s contents are historical facts. This stance is upheld by the IMPECT Association in Thailand. The Association's textbook presents a Thai translation of the scroll (i.e. Theraphan L-Thongkum 1991) in a summarising way (with some additions): “ประวัติความเป็นมาของเมี่ยน” (“history/background of the Mien”) (IMPECT Association, 2002: 3-7). A prominent advocate of this position is Ajarn Kaeqv Nquenc (อาจารย์แคร์เว่น ศรีสมบัติ), president of the Iu Mien Network in Thailand (ประธานเครือข่ายอีวีเมี่ยนแห่งประเทศไทย). Whenever big gatherings or public meetings of the Iu Mien occur, he proudly begins his speech with a phrase, “*Yie mbuo Bienh Hungh nyei dorn*” (“We, the sons of *Bienh Hungh*”), often displaying the Pangkha scroll of the *Jiex Sen Borngv*, which his ancestor Dangc Zanx-Kuon brought to Nan Province in Thailand from China in 1880. The “core elements of Iu Mien ethnicity” laid out in §12.1 seems to have been induced from this view of interpretation.

The second standpoint is that the *Jiex Sen Borngv* is a fake document. Barend J. ter Haar (1998), a social and cultural historian, assesses its quality of Chinese language as a non-genuine imperial writing. To him,

...it seems much more likely that these documents were composed by the Yao [i.e. Iu Mien] themselves on the basis of orally transmitted mythology in order to create a positive identity *vis-à-vis* the Han Chinese. This is indicated by the clumsy classical language, the narrative contents of large sections (quite unlike any other imperial documents known to me, with one exception, which will be noted), and a range of internal inconsistencies (ter Haar, 1998: 3).

According to ter Haar, the purpose of the Iu Mien's composing *Jiex Sen Borngv* was to convince the Han Chinese of their right to existence in the region. He concludes his

argument, saying, “This supralocal Yao [i.e. Iu Mien] identity was useful in their dealing with respect to local Han groups and magistrates, as well as with other non-Han cultures” (ter Haar 1998:13).

Furthermore, a very similar conclusion has been drawn by Eli Noah Alberts (2011). He analysed the texts of the *Jiex Sen Borngv* using literary, historiographic, and anthropological methodologies and arrived at a view that it was “their [i.e. Iu Mien] own simulacra of documents” (2011: 26). His theory is that it is:

...an indigenous production, one originally created by local Yao leaders who were familiar with imperial textualizing practices, who manipulated them to serve their own ends and the needs of their people and family members (Alberts, 2011: 19).

In summary, therefore, both ter Haar and Alberts, based on their expertise in Chinese religious history, conclude that the *Jiex Sen Borngv* is a fabrication by the Iu Mien themselves for their benefits, not by Emperor Ping.

The third theory, by Hjorleifur R. Jonsson, an anthropologist, has appeared recently. He (Cushman and Jonsson⁴⁸ 2020) conducted areal comparative research on the Iu Mien and the other ethnic groups of the region, i.e. the Lawa (from Chiang Mai), the Mlabri (from Nan), and the Phunoy (from Phongsali and Luang Prabang Provinces, Laos). His method is to examine the function of the *Jiex Sen Borngv* in comparison with similar documents of the other ethnic groups. Namely, to a Lawa chief, Phaya Ratana Wang Na, inscribed silver-plate grants were given in 1852; and to Phunoy leaders, the *kongdin* documents, i.e. “books of the land”, were given by the king of Luang Prabang.

A broader sight of areal comparisons than narrow examinations of the texts themselves yielded Jonsson’s persuasiveness. For example, paying attention to a milieu where cross-ethnic interactions through trade and local politics between the highlanders and the lowlanders are common state of affairs, Jonsson states:

The Emperor Ping’s Charter [i.e. *Jiex Sen Borngv*] belongs in the same discursive universe as contracts to Lawa and Phunoy and relations with Sakai, Mlabri, Mien and many others across this region that often were made without leaving a written trace (Cushman and Jonsson, 2020:103).

Further, Jonsson’s scope extends to China, saying:

The family resemblance among these documents indicates a regional custom of civil pluralism across Southeast Asia, where hierarchy does not imply dominion but instead difference that can enable alliances for reciprocal benefit. On this front, there is no fundamental difference in the political strategies behind multiethnic networks in Guangxi, Guangdong, Yunnan, and across Mainland Southeast Asia. At the local level, southern China and Mainland Southeast Asia have significant historical commonalities that are quite distinct from the better-known

⁴⁸ Though the paper is co-authored, Cushman and Jonsson never met. The view quoted here is solely Jonsson’s. Cushman’s hand-written translation of the *Jiex Sen Borngv* from Khun Haeng village, Ngao District, Lampang Province, was posthumously analysed and published by Jonsson.

imperial agendas of Nanjing, Beijin, and other high-level Chinese courts (Cushman and Jonsson, 2020:111).

As a result, contrary to the contentious atmosphere of traditional Southeast Asian scholarship in which the basic assumption is that the highlanders are exploited and marginalised by the lowlanders, Jonsson's study adopts a more affable tone: "the primary aim or meaning of the document [i.e. *Jiex Sen Borngv*] was to chart the field of interethnic relations in terms of cordiality and mutual respect" (Cushman and Jonsson, 2020: 89).

Having surveyed three interpretations of the *Jiex Sen Borngv*, it is worth noticing that ordinary people of the Iu Mien population in Thailand, heretofore, have scarcely been informed of its actual contents, let alone possible different readings of the texts. From among them, namely, (1) a history, (2) a forgery, and (3) an interethnic cordial negotiation/contract between the highlanders and the lowlanders, we now ask ourselves which one to agree with.

11.3 The fourth interpretation

Inclined toward the third view, and yet as far as the *P^ha'læe Scroll* of the *Jiex Sen Borngv* is concerned, our close reading of its key parts, further suggests that the scribe/copier of this particular text might have infiltrated a pejorative message into it. Our inclination toward the view of the interethnic deal is due to Jonsson's realistic understanding of the Iu Mien's everyday life (Jonsson 2006), which is also substantiated by the parallel evidence found in the similar documents in the societies of the Lawa and the Phunoy. However, Jonsson, in fact, does not explicitly say that the *Jiex Sen Borngv* is a fake, nor does he claim that it is an authentic imperial document, except that he argues that Lawa's inscribed silver-plate grants and Phunoy's land grants were historically true. Without committing himself to either position, he pays special attention to the milieu of "the civil pluralism that is manifest in the various cases of multiethnic networks" of Mainland Southeast Asia (Cushman and Jonsson 2020: 109). It is this vast context that gives credibility to his explorations of interpreting the function of the *Jiex Sen Borngv*.

Given the areal, social, historical, pluralistic, and literary contexts, we might be able to hypothesise three possibilities of what might have happened, at least, as far as the *P^ha'læe Scroll* is concerned. What if...?:

- (1) Ping Huang issued the *Jiex Sen Borngv*. Both the Iu Mien and the Han Chinese enjoyed cordial interethnic trade activities. But some Chinese, out of jealousy or mischievously, infiltrated an insulting message, taking advantage of their role in producing copies of the document as fluent writers of Chinese.
- (2) The Iu Mien themselves composed it. In disapproval but avoiding conflict, Chinese scribes secretly inserted a debasing message in it, either by alternating 猛 with the 犬 'dog' and 瑶 with the 王 'king' radical letters or by the zero use of the latter, with an assumption that the majority of the Iu Mien don't have opportunity to read it carefully.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Apart from a possible Chinese scribes' involvement, it is also probable that the fluctuation in the use of 瑶 and 猛 is because Iu Mien copiers in recent decades might have lost accuracy or confidence in Chinese literacy unlike the Iu Mien of the previous generations. See §10.2 and Kandre (1967:599) quoted in §11.4.

(3) Even if either of the “authenticity” theory or the “fake” theory holds, given that the worship of *Bienh Hungh* (< *Bienh Huh*) is ordered by the Han Chinese Ping Huang, the Iu Mien’s ethnic and religious identity is, after all, externally imposed, is it not?

To reiterate, the character 瑤 with the 王 ‘king’ radical letter is completely absent in both the *Thammajarik Codex A* and the *Thammajarik Codex B* as examined in §10.2.

If the historicity of the *Jiex Sen Borngv* is not scientifically verified, and if the document is a fabrication by the Iu Mien themselves or the message was manipulated by the Chinese, how then would the present-day Iu Mien respond to such possibilities? If its contents are about nothing more than a *Bienh-Hungh*-centred philosophy elevated from the myth of the dragon dog *Bienh Huh* (盤護), how then would the young Iu Mien in the rapidly changing societies which are now spread around the world navigate themselves into the future?

11.4 Triglottalism in Iu Mien, attitudes toward language, and language as an ethnic emblem

According to Purnell (1991: 373; 2012: 611, 613, 778), Iu Mien in Thailand (and elsewhere) have a vernacular language (*Mienh waac*, i.e. an everyday language), a literary language (*nzung-waac*, i.e. a song language), and a ritual language (*ziev-waac*, i.e. a liturgical language). These three integral varieties “make up the Iu Mien language system” (Purnell 2012:613). The system can be termed triglottalism. Most Iu Mien in Thailand are bilingual in Iu Mien and Thai with varying degrees of fluency. Within their mother tongue Iu Mien, its core system is the triglottalism. Regarding the register and proficiency within the Iu Mien triglottalism, when they function apart from Thai, the sociolinguistic characteristic exhibits diglossia, where *Mienh waac* is the Low variety; *nzung-waac*, the High variety; and additionally, *ziev-waac*, the Highest. That is to say, in the diglossia consisting of *Mienh waac* (L) and *nzung-waac* (H), the H is further subdivided into *nzung-waac* and *ziev-waac*. Note that the “core of ritual” is *leiz-nyeic*, discussed in §11.1 (Figure 10), and *leiz-nyeic* must be officiated in *ziev-waac*, in which only the Iu Mien spirit priests are literate.

The liturgical language *ziev-waac* is called “an archaic form of literary Chinese” in Kandre’s (1967) description, in which different linguistic attitudes can be seen:

Techniques of communication with spirits are strictly regulated by *lej njej* [*leiz-nyeic*] prescriptions, largely in written manuals (*saj zung səu* [*sai-nzung sou*] or *tsəu mien səu* [*zoux mienv sou*]). The texts are written in Chinese or use Chinese characters, often copied from Chinese originals. An archaic form of literary Chinese (sometimes called “Cantonese,” sometimes “Nanking” dialect) is prescribed because the spirits have difficulty understanding other languages. Usually the ritual experts have a very imperfect knowledge of this form of Chinese, and the spirit of the teacher of the expert is always called upon to lead his pupil (Kandre, 1967: 599).

That is to say, the spirits are monolingual in *ziev-waac*; and while *Mienh waac* and *nzung-waac* are difficult for them, perhaps other languages in general of the world are unintelligible to them. This reveals the Iu Mien’s high regard for *ziev-waac* and a mystical attitude of “ritual experts” (i.e. *sai mienh* ‘priest’) toward language as if linguistic intelligibility belonged to a spiritual realm. At the same time, Kandre’s report implies that these spirits are native to Guangdong and Guangxi or Nanking. In addition, he observes the realistic situation that “the ritual experts have

a very imperfect knowledge of this form of Chinese". Such a fact, incidentally, gives us a glimpse of a possible cause of the confusion between 猶 and 瑶 in the texts of the *Jiex Sen Borngv* as discussed in §10.2. In summary, in the triglottalism of the Iu Mien language varieties, *Mienh waac* is most widely spread as an everyday language, *nzung-waac* is still active in special occasions (e.g., weddings, funerals, birthdays, Lunar New Year celebration, Christian church service etc.), and *ziev-waac* is an object of concern among the spirit priests due to decreasing number of knowledgeable users.

Nearly sixty years after Kandre's research in the Nikom area, Maechan District, Chiang Rai Province, a decline in fluency in *ziev-waac* seems to have been spreading. While Mr Somchai Rungrochtawanich's concluding speech of the seminar session on the second day of the 5th International Iu Mien Cultural Festival and Conference, on the 4th of February 2023, in Nan District, Nan Province, Thailand, contained a reasonable and courageous resolution in the adoption of the 1984 version of the Roman-based Iu Mien orthography, his tone was poignant and almost confessional, particularly *vis-à-vis* the *ziev-waac* fluency. The gist of his speech is as follows:

"By adopting the Iu Mien Unified Script [i.e. the 1984 version of the Roman-based orthography], we should teach it to the young generations of the Iu Mien. As we gather here today, we have our Iu Mien brothers and sisters as delegates from China, Vietnam, the USA, and many provinces of Thailand. For the unity of all of us scattered around the world, this orthography should be our common tool for communication and transmitting our language and cultural heritage to the future. Regretfully, I must admit that I myself can't read and write Chinese [i.e. *ziev-waac*] as I grew up and have lived in an Iu Mien society, which is increasingly assimilating to Thai in every aspect of life. It is no longer realistic that our young people to begin learning Chinese [i.e. *ziev-waac*], but we should teach them *Mien waac* in the agreed orthography." (Somchai Rungrochtawanich 2023, a part of the speech. The whole speech was given in Thai except a greeting and a few introductory remarks).

In the panel discussion, prior to his concluding remarks, hearing a report from the delegate from Vietnam that the Iu Mien Unified Script had been approved by the government,⁵⁰ and from the delegate from China that the number of users of this orthography was approximately 30,000, must have been a tremendous encouragement to Mr Somchai.

To summarise, the overall language attitude among the Iu Mien of the changing world, especially when it comes to the needs of international communication across the diaspora Iu Mien populations, they esteem *Mienh waac* and *nzung-waac*, with some efforts of transcribing ritual texts written in *ziev-waac* in Chinese characters into the Unified Script. In other words, the relationship between *Mienh waac* and *ziev-waac* in this context is equivalent to the

⁵⁰ Concerning Romanisation of script, Fishman (1989: 316) writes, "Although a modicum of romanization is practiced in conjunction with highly technical and advanced scientific work conducted in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, e.g. the proposals to introduce romanization of script on a wider front – as an aid to literacy, modernization, or interregional communication – has been resisted as vigorously in those countries as it has been in China, Japan, or Israel outside of the area under consideration. The mass ideologization of this resistance is consistently in terms of indigenous authenticity vs. foreign artificiality". However, the romanised Vietnamese is an exception to Fishman's description, which also favourably affected the recognition of the Iu Mien Roman-based orthography.

relationship between English and Greek/Latin in the English-speaking countries of the Anglo-Saxon world.

Lastly in this section, a deep view of mother tongue is considered by appealing to the voice of some Iu Mien who are concerned about potential language death. This is further emphasised by appealing to the notion that language is an emblem of ethnic identity, a concept conceptualised by R. M. W. Dixon and by Joshua A. Fishman, respectively, from their plethora of experiences in linguistic typological description and sociolinguistics. On the first day of the 5th International Iu Mien Cultural Festival and Conference, the 3rd of February 2023, a symposium on Iu Mien language and culture preservation was held. There was a statement from the participants whose opinion resonated with many in the audience.⁵¹ In essence the opinion in Iu Mien was expressed in the sentences (3⁻¹) – (3⁻⁴):

(3⁻¹) *Zorng-zuqv nyei jauv mv benx haaix nyung*
 ດອອງ-ຊູ ເລຸຍ ເຈົ້າ ມີ ເປັນ ທາຍ ຂູ່ງ
tsɔŋ˥ tsu?˥ nei˥ cau˥ m˥ pen˥ ha:i˥ nuŋ˥
 decorate.wear SBCP way NEG be which.kind
 ‘(preservation of Iu Mien) dressing does not matter so much.’

(3⁻²) *mv.baac Mienh waac zutc nor*
 ມີ ບ້າ ເມື່ຍນ ພວ່າ ທັກ ນອ
m˥ pa:˥ miən˥ wa:˥ tsut˥ no˥
 but Mien language extinct if.so
 ‘but if Iu Mien language disappears,’

(3⁻³) *Iu-Mieh fingx yaac zutc aqv*
 ອູ-ເມື່ຍນ ຝຶກ ພ່າ ທັກ ອື່ຂ
iu˥ miən˥ fiŋ˥ ja:˥ tsut˥ a?˥
 Iu Mien nationality also extinct NSIT
 ‘the Iu Mien ethnic group also disappears.’

⁵¹ This voice came out of a hum of agreement among the audience with the general topic of language preservation that was discussed. Unfortunately, however, neither Arisawa nor Ajarn Thawin Chotichaiphibun (อาจารย์วิล ใจดีซัย พິມູຄຍໍ, Bienh Wuonh Zou) (personal communication), one of the presenters representing the Iu Mien Mother-Language Preservation and Development Center or CMG (ສູນຫຼວມຊຸກຍົ່ວແລະພັດນາການາຊົ້າມື່ຍນ), can recall exactly who made this statement.

(3 ⁴)	<i>Iu-Mienh</i>	<i>nyei</i>	<i>nziaamv-fei</i>	<i>yiem</i>	<i>Mienh</i>	<i>waac</i>
	ីុ-មីេង	លោយ	ទម្ងន់-ខោយ	ីិែម	មីេង	វោះ
	iu: mienh	nei:1	dzia:mv fei:1	jem:1	miən:1	wa:1
	Iu Mien	SBCP	bloodline	be.in	Mien	language
	‘(because) the bloodline of the Iu Mien is in Iu Mien language.’					

A translation of these sentences with some insertions of background information would be:

“We shouldn’t worry too much about the preservation of traditional dress and attires (because it is already common that we dress like the Thai, and Thai or other ethnic peoples can also wear the Iu Mien clothes). But if the Iu Mien lose Iu Mien language, that’s the time when the Iu Mien people will become extinct, (because) the bloodline/ancestor of the Iu Mien is in *Mienh waac* [i.e. an everyday language].”

This voice cries out that the Iu Mien’s everyday language determines who they are. Indeed, the last sentence, “the bloodline of the Iu Mien is in *Mienh waac*”, powerfully asserts that their ethnic identity is in the language by declaring an intrinsic unity between *Mienh waac* and the existence of its speakers. What is insightful is the contrast between the “dress and attires” (which are visible) and *Mienh waac* (which is invisible). This reminds us of Dixon’s term “emblem” (which is visible) as he stated, “A language is the emblem of its speakers” (Dixon 1997:135). Dixon, as a linguist who underscores the critical importance of researching, analysing, describing, preserving, and revitalising hundreds of endangered languages of the world, calls language an “emblem”. Both the metaphor LANGUAGE IS AN EMBLEM and the metaphor LANGUAGE IS BLOOD coincide with the conceptualisation of the terms such as “mother tongue”, “language death”, “language revitalisation”, and the people’s existence, i.e. ethnic identity. A crucial role of language for the intergenerational continuity of the people as a distinct ethnic group is easily understood when consulting Purnell’s translations of the word *nziaamv-fei*, namely, ‘one’s bloodline, descendant, flesh and blood, kinship continuity’ (Purnell 2012:597).

In the same spirit, Fishman considers “language as an aspect of presumed ethnic authenticity” (Fishman 1989:11). He argues that language is the “essence” of ethnicity:

[...] language is naturally a cooccurring part of the essential blood, bones, or tears. [...] It is a view related to a cosmology in which language-and-ethnicity collectivities are seen as the basic building blocks of all human society. [...] [E]thnicity and ethnogenesis (i.e. the coming into being of ethnicities and of language-and-ethnicity linkage) is a natural and necessary fact of human social life [...] (Fishman, 1989: 11).

Here again, the LANGUAGE IS BLOOD metaphor is compelling.

From the above argument in §11.4, it stands to reason that language, especially the mother tongue, *Mienh waac*, is an intrinsic essence (i.e. blood, bones, and tears) of ethnic identity. All of the arguments converge on the thesis that states, “a language is the emblem of its speakers”. This concept of mother tongue-based ethnicity is fundamentally different from a notion of externally imposed ethnic identity. It should be noted, on the other hand, that the worship of Bienh Hungh (< Bienh Huh, i.e. *Pánhù*) was ordered by *Píng Huáng* according to Ls 78-84 in the *Pʰa'lae Scroll* (§8). That is to say, namely, the core elements of the Iu Mien's ethnic identity by *Píng Huáng* is externally imposed (§11.1).

Our voyage through the *Pʰa'lae Scroll* of the *Jiex Sen Borngv* has led us to a point of choice: (1) Should the Iu Mien in Thailand choose an imposed ethnicity from the external (i.e. the anonymous scribe(s) of the *Scroll* possibly inserting a pejorative message) or (2) Do they have a right to choose an auto-ethnicity (i.e. self-defined ethnicity) in response to the velocity of globalisation? The emblem or the blood of the latter case could be *Mienh waac*, more intrinsic to their existence than *ziev-waac* in the present generation and into the future.

12. Conclusion

The close reading of the document *Pʰa'lae Scroll* of the *Jiex Sen Borngv* tells a mythological tale in which the progenitor of the Iu Mien was a dragon dog, married to a female human, begetting twelve children who turned into the twelve clans. It records the origin of their religious practice in worshiping deceased Bien Hu, their father, ordered by Emperor Ping. The reason why the present-day Iu Mien so deeply cherish this document seems to be that it declares the Emperor's recognition, the promises of assigning residence regions, protection during travels, and privileges and benefits, including exemption of tax and forced labour. Coupled with these privileges is the restriction on them that they should stay in the mountains as farmers forever, implying that they should not descend from where they are to mix with people on the plains. This ambivalence is also hidden in the interchangeable use of homophonous Chinese characters 猪 *yáo* ‘civet’ and 瑶 *yáo* ‘jade’. These can be summarily termed as an externally imposed ethnic identity.

Three possible interpretations of the *Jiex Sen Borngv* were surveyed: a history, a fake, and an interethnic deal. Then the fourth one, as far as the *Pʰa'lae Scroll* may suggest, was set forth. That is, a pejorative message might have been infiltrated in it.

An alternative to the externally imposed “identity”, which might have come from one of the three readings, auto-ethnicity is also possible for future generations. Now that the Thailand's National Language Policy encourages the use of ethnic minority languages as a means of education besides Standard Thai, and now that the Iu Mien communities scattered around the world have come to an agreement that the Unified Script is an important uniting tool for their ethnic identity for posterity, they are in a position to create their own linguistically defined *raison d'être* by the emblem and blood of *Mienh waac*. As the voice is echoing, *Iu-Mienh nyei nziaamv-fei yiem Iu-Mienh waac* (The essence of being the Iu Mien, that is, our bloodline, is in the Iu Mien everyday language).

Appendices

Appendix 1: Correspondence between the Unified Script and the Thai-based orthography

Consonants

			Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	Voiceless	Unaspirated	b, ㅂ /p/		d, ດ /t/	j, ຈ /c/ ~ [tɕ]	g, ກ /k/	[], ດ /ʔ/
		Aspirated	p, ㅍ, ㅃ /pʰ/		t, ຕ, ဋ /tʰ/	q, ߞ, ߜ /cʰ/ ~ [tɕʰ]	k	//
	Voiceless	Voiced		mb, ມ /b/	nd, ນ /d/	nj, ຢ /ɟ/	nq, ຢ /g/	
Affricates	Voiceless	Unaspirated			z, ဇ /ts/			
		Aspirated			c, ဋ /tsʰ/			
	Voiceless	Voiced			nz, ນ /dʒ/			
Voiceless Fricatives			hu, ᡥ /h/	f, ວ, ວ /f/	s, ສ, ສ /s/	hi, ᡥ /ç/		h, հ, Ւ /h/
Nasals	Voiced	m, ມ /m/		n, ນ /n/	ny, ຢ /ɲ/	ng, ງ /ŋ/		
	Voiceless	hm, ඩ /m̥/		hn, ඩ /n̥/	hny, ඩ /ɲ̥/	hng, ඩ /ŋ̥/		
Laterals	Voiced			l, ລ /l/				

	Voiceless ss			hl, ဆဲ /l/		
Approximants		w, ဒ /w/		y, ဗ /j/		

Vowels

Vowels in the Unified Script				Diphthongs in the Unified Script		
	Front	Central	Back	Fronting	Centering	Backing
Close	i, ឃ /i/		u, ឃ /u/	ei, ឃ-ឃ /eɪ/	ie, ឃឃឃ /iə/	iu, ឃឃ /iu/
Close-mid	e, ឃ- /e/	er, ឃឃ /ə/	o, ឃ-ឃ, CC /o/	ai, ឃ- /ai/	uo, ឃឃ /uə/	eu, ឃ-ឃ /eu/
Open-mid	ae, ឃ- /ɛ/		or, ឃ /ɔ/	oi, ឃឃ /oɪ/		au, ឃ-ឃ /au/
Open		a, ឃ-ឃ, ឃ /a/ aa, ឃ- /a:/		ui, ឃឃ /ui/		ou, ឃ-ឃ /ou/~/əʊ/

Tones

	Unified Script	with Thai low class consonants	with Thai mid class consonants	with Thai high class consonants
1 High-mid level tone / ˥ /	no tone letter	no mark, e.g. ມາ ‘mother’	no mark, e.g. ກາມ ‘sweet’	n.a.
2 Mid-falling / ˧ /	-h	ጀ, e.g. ມ່າຍ ‘to have’	ጀ, e.g. ດ້າຍ ‘river’	n.a.
3 High rising-falling / ˥˧ /	-v	ጀ, e.g. ໄນ້ ‘no, not’	ጀ, e.g. ກົ້າ ‘to borrow’	n.a.
4 Low rising-falling / ˧˥ /	-z	ጀ, e.g. ມ້າຍ ‘to buy’	ጀ, e.g. ຜູ້ ‘pig’	n.a.
5 Mid-low rising / ˧˩ /	-x	ໜ-, e.g. ຜລາຍ ‘due to’	ጀ, e.g. ຈ້າຍ ‘expensive’	no mark, e.g. ຜົາ ‘to ascend’
6 Low level / ˩ /	-c	ໜጀ, e.g. ຜ່າຍ ‘to sell’	ጀ, e.g. ແຟ້າ ‘sickness’	ጀ, e.g. ສີ ‘an issue’
7 High in closed syllable / ˥ /	-v	ጀ, e.g. ແມ້ວ ‘to peal’	ጀ, e.g. ປິ້ດ ‘pen’	n.a.
8 Low in closed syllable / ˩ /	-c	ໜጀ, e.g. ແກ່ວ ‘corn’	no mark, e.g. ພັດ ‘to fish’	no mark, e.g. ພັດ ‘to clear something from the throat’

Appendix 2: List of Symbols and Abbreviations

Symbols	Conventions
1	first person
2	second person
2SG	second person singular pronoun
3	third person
3SG	third person singular pronoun
‘ ’	gloss for foreign words or free translations in interlinear glossed texts
“ ”	quotation of authors, works, or sources
ASST	assertive aspect particle
ADVZ	adverbializer
CLF	classifier
(cm.t)	code mixing with Thai.
COME	grammaticalized aspectual marker originally from a lexical verb ‘come’
CONSUME	consumptive aspect
CONT	continuous aspect
DEM	demonstrative
IGT	interlinear glossed text
MSS	manuscripts
NEG	negative particle
NSIT	new situation aspect
PDP	pending particle, making the clause ending with this particle a subordinate clause to the clause that comes after it.
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
Q	question particle

Symbols	Conventions
SBCP	subordinate-cum-possessive particle (Court 1986:107)
TELIC	telic aspect
TOP	topic marker or topic particle
TOP _{DEM}	demonstrative pronoun used as a topic marker
TOUCH	A word <i>zuqc</i> /tsu?l/ ‘touch, contact, affected’ grammaticalised to indicate unvolitional contact, whether it may be accidental, unintentional, malfactive, obligation, or adversative. It may be translated in “passive” sense in English.
?	The upside down question mark, adapted from Bloomfield (1933: 92, 114-5, 171), indicates a question with falling intonation contour. In Iu Mien this intonation occurs in a polar interrogative, a question with the final particle /sa:ʔl/ (<i>saah/saagh</i>) and a certain tag-question with the final particle /ɔʔl/ (<i>orqc</i>) expecting a positive answer. Note, however, that in the ‘Unified (Roman-based) Script’ of Iu Mien, the regular question mark /?/ is used for both questions with rising and falling pitches.
word-word	A hyphen between Iu Mien words shows tone sandhi of the first member of compound in the Roman-based Iu Mien orthography and the Thai-based Iu Mien orthography.
word.word	A dot between words may have different numbers of English words in glossing, more or less than two, e.g. <i>koiv.hlen</i> [sea side] ‘shore’. In this case two Iu Mien words correspond one English gloss.

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