

SHAN LOAN WORDS IN KACHIN  
BILINGUALISM IN ACCULTURATION

by

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## FOREWORD

The material for this paper was largely gathered in the author's capacity as a cultural research officer to the Government of Burma in Kachin State in 1960-62. The data relating to the political organizations, bilingualism, and dialect regions have not been published in any form, and this study is the first systematic analysis attempted.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Objectives	1
1.2 Anthropological Framework	1
1.3 Linguistic Framework	2
1.4 Method	3
1.5 Results	3
2. THE SHAN-KACHIN CONTACT: THE CULTURAL SETTING	5
2.1 Historical	5
2.2 Ecological and Economic	6
2.3 Political and Demographic	9
2.4 Social Organization	10
3. THE NONLINGUISTIC EVIDENCES OF CONTACT AND CHANGE	12
3.1 Economic Life	12
3.2 Settlement Patterns	13
3.3 Social Organization	14
4. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS	16
5. SHAN INFLUENCES ON THE KACHIN: AN ANALYSIS	25
5.1 Control Procedure	25
5.2 The Varying Degrees of Kachin Bilingualism	26

5.21 Types of Political Organizations	26
5.22 <u>Gumchyng Gumsa</u>	27
5.23 <u>Gumlau</u>	28
5.24 <u>Gumrawng Gumsa</u>	29
5.25 Method	30
5.3 Linguistic Evidences	31
5.31 Dialectal Variation in Kachin	31
5.32 Shan Loan Words in Kachin	36
a. Technologico-economic	37
b. Status-social	38
c. Magico-religious	39
5.33 Structural Resistance in the Linguistic Evidence	41
a. Phonic	41
b. Lexical	44
c. Grammatical	49
6. CONCLUSIONS	
APPENDIX I	59
APPENDIX II	61
APPENDIX III	64
LIST OF REFERENCES	67

## ABSTRACT

Acculturation and social change consist of linguistic and nonlinguistic aspects. This study of the Shan-Kachin contact and cultural borrowing investigates the relation between the linguistic and nonlinguistic aspects. It was found that the three types of Kachin political organizations, three varying degrees of bilingualism, and the three general categories of loan words relating to wet rice cultivation, correspond. This suggests causal relation with the influence of the Shan. Since the three Kachin political organizations also represent three Kachin dialects regions, the Shan influence is also a possible causal factor bringing about the dialectal variation. However, the chief feature of this study is Kachin bilingualism; it is the agent of change, and loan words realized from its activity bear correlation (when analyzed structurally) to the non-linguistic accounts of Kachin social change that exist.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Objectives

This thesis is concerned with Kachin culture change in general, and in particular with the presence of Shan loan words in the Kachin lexicon. Its general objective is to survey the situation in which such language borrowing has taken place. Its specific objective is to analyze the effects on language structure of such conditions of change, and the cultural implications that may be inherent in them.

### 1.2 Anthropological Framework

Therefore, the general problem lies within the area of acculturation as stated in the Social Science Research Council Symposium on Acculturation (American Anthropologist 1956:973-995). However, anthropologists have been emphasizing the importance of the linguistic aspect of culture change, and the term "linguistic acculturation," despite its ambiguity (see Dozier 1963:i; Martinet 1954:124; Troike 1956:214-225) has recently come into wider circulation. Dozier writing in 1963 (page 18), observes that two main concerns may be noted in linguistic acculturation studies. The first is the presentation of the effects of one language upon another, which mainly concerns the linguist who is interested in the way one language system influences the structural and semantic aspects of another language in a contact situation.

The second is the "marshalling of linguistic evidence to illustrate the influence of one culture upon the other" (i.e. the process of acculturation) and therefore, chiefly concerns the social anthropologist who applies linguistic evidence to the "non-linguistic areas of the total culture."

### 1.3 Linguistic Framework

Weinreich (1953:1-2) in a broad survey of the problems and findings of languages in contact, restricts himself to "language contact" (defined as the presence of bilingual individuals) and "interference" (defined as any structural changes in one language resulting from the bilingualism). He then elaborates on the differences between language contacts and cultural contacts and their separate treatment by the scholars concerned. His point is that linguistic acculturation must be viewed in as broad a psychological and socio-cultural setting as possible (1953:4). Therefore, it would seem that the non-linguistic aspect of culture change is not only of importance in dealing with language materials, but it is the context within which the nature of linguistic change may be partially determined. The objective, stated by Weinreich (1953:4) is "to show to what extent interference is determined by the structure of two languages as against non-linguistic factors in the socio-cultural context of the language contact."

#### 1.4 Method

Following these approaches, the specific method of this paper is to enquire into the type of changes which characterize the Shan-Kachin contact, linguistic as well as socio-cultural. This will include a description of the non-linguistic setting in which historical, ecological, economic, political and demographic aspects are included. The setting thus described will become the basis on which the borrowed words themselves can be examined. The attempt will be to analyze the Shan loan words in the Kachin lexicon, particularly the structural changes that the loan words undergo in the course of acculturation. Since the socio-cultural aspects of the Shan-Kachin situation have been treated, notably by Leach (1954), an examination of the linguistic aspects may reveal correspondence or lack of it as the case may be. Wherever relevant, attempts will be made to note those aspects of the Kachin socio-cultural setting that more recent information has revealed as being generally different from those noticed by Leach.

#### 1.5 Results

All this is expected to reveal the correspondence between the linguistic and the non-linguistic aspects of acculturation in the Shan-Kachin context. An effort will be made to test the hypothesis that language borrowing and the non-linguistic aspects of culture change are

complementary and reflect each other as has been claimed for the American Southwest by Dozier (1956, vol. 32:146-157). Moreover, such a test is expected to suggest how hypotheses of this type may be valid and to what degree their implications may be consistent.

## 2. THE SHAN-KACHIN CONTACT: THE CULTURAL SETTING

### 2.1 Historical

Although the contact is real enough today, how it actually began remains uncertain. Except for agreement that the Shan were the first to arrive, there is wide disparity in views held by students of Kachin ethnology. Until Leach (1954) introduced the structural-functional theory of social anthropology into the scene (which dismisses historical reconstruction as conjectural history--Radcliffe-Brown 1958:5), the predominant theory (Hanson 1913: 16-22) was that the Kachins had been held to the northern fringes of the Brahmaputra and Irrawaddy Rivers and their tributaries by the powerful Shan kingdom extending from Assam to Yunnan. The Kachin were only able to break this barrier (Hanson 1913:16-18) when the Ahom Shan kingdom weakened in the late fourteenth century A. D., "and by making a quick entree overran the Shan in many places." The results of this invasion are today seen as pockets of Shan in the valleys behind the Kachin areas, or in the midst of Kachin hills. Hanson (1913:20-21) also suggests that the elaborate irrigation systems laid in waste by the penetration of the Kachin into the Hukawng Valley in the Chindwin River basin is evidence of such forceful intrusion. For lack of any ethno-historical information such as can be supplied by

archaeology, physical anthropology, and glottochronology, this view cannot be accepted, or rejected. However, that the contact itself has been a continuous process for a formidable length of time becomes very likely in the light of the extent of cultural borrowing that has since taken place.

## 2.2 Ecological and Economic

The area concerned in this paper was officially termed the "Kachin Hills Region" by the British colonial government. Unlike the Shan States, this region is thickly clad with evergreen forest and receives more than eighty inches of rain annually. All the tributaries to the Irrawaddy serve as the watershed system and nature has made this area one of the richest in terms of soil fertility, forest products, and even mineral deposits. The general topography is precipitous mountains interlaced with ribbons of valleys. The mountain ranges form a spur of the Himalayas and extend southward, which has, perhaps, determined the movement of the hill-dwellers. The abundance of the jungle in food and building materials is such that the jungle forest is the life and soul of the people in this region; systems of agriculture and social organization generally developed to suit such needs of life.

Geographically, the Kachin separate themselves from the Shan, occupying the hill regions while the Shan occupy

the valleys. Thus, the contrast between the highlander and the lowlander, in terms of material culture and the general social organization is to some extent determined ecologically. The river valleys are irrigated for rice cultivation, and the streams and rivers are not torrential, and cart tracks are easily constructed. However, the construction of roads or rice terraces on the hills is a "feat of major engineering" (Leach, 1954:18-19). The manual labor which is usual in the Kachin shifting system of agriculture is contrasted to the buffalo, the plough, and water mills in the valleys; items as indispensable to the Shan as the water buffalo are luxuries to the Kachin.

Notable implications of the ecological influences for the Shan and Kachin cultural dissimilarities are to be found in settlement patterns. Leach (1954:21) notes that under normal conditions--that is, in the absence of war and epidemics and similar disasters--the valley people can always produce more rice than is immediately required for the consumption of the actual cultivator, and this "secure economic basis permits the development of trade and small scale urbanization and a moderate degree of general cultural sophistication." The shifting method on the other hand, affords little security, and should the crop fail for some reason, the people are either forced to live off the forest or go to the valleys for help.

In summary, the shifting agricultural system of the Kachin entails a perennial food problem, causes greater movement of the people because a site is always abandoned after the second year, makes it necessary to limit the size of population in each settlement unit, causing the occupation of topographically defensible positions, and so on. The Shan produces food surpluses consistently; their fields are constantly under cultivation; settlement units are fixed in site, larger, fewer, and further apart. The traditional responses of the Kachin to this unequal situation have been looting and plundering, levying taxes or tolls on caravans, demanding feudal rent for protection against predatory bands, reducing the Shan to virtual serfdom, and migration. The dependence of the Kachin, and his constant threat to the Shan may account for the long standing hostile feelings between the two groups, and at the same time for the greater degree of acceptance on the part of the Kachin.\* This aspect of cultural borrowing, another alternative to alleviate the problems of the Kachin remain to be explored.

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\*See Appendix C for further information on animosity between the Shan and the Kachin as reflected in the language.

### 2.3 Political and Demographic

In population (1961), the Kachin outnumbers the Shan two to one. Shan settlements are larger, Buddhist in religion, with wet rice cultivation (Leach 1954:21). The social organization is "a semiliterate peasant type society" (Leach 1954:21). The Shan is thus tied to his land and the social system is not based on kinship, but on man's relation to his field; in other words, the Shan is a localized residential group. Each residential unit becomes a social unit. Over a number of these units is the prince or saopha, the feudal chief. The Kachin, on the other hand, is a shifting cultivator; he lives in small and mobile villages, and has an animistic religion. When Leach (1954:39-40) uses the terms "Shan type" and "Kachin type" he means distinctions of this type. However, his terminology is rather imprecise because his record of the Kachin systems includes only two political structures; there are actually three. These are: the gumchyng gumsa, or traditional aristocratic structure; the gumlau, or democratic republican structure which grew out of the first type; and the gumrawng gumsa, an aristocratic structure based on terrace cultivation and somewhat different from either of the others. It is the last which was overlooked by Leach. The regional distribution of these societies is as follows: the gumchyng gumsa lies to the north, and remote from the Shan occupied valleys. This region is regarded as the cradle of Kachin social systems by the Kachins. The gumlau society is

found in an area which was the stronghold of the Shan formerly, but today, the only traces of direct Shan occupation are the wasted irrigation systems and mud walling of the settlements; though Shan settlements are not far away. The gumrawng gumsa society is mostly found in an area which is today recognized as Shan region.

#### 2.4 Social Organization

The Kachin social structure is patrilineal, exogamous, with clans, and nonlocalized groups. Marriage is preferred with the maternal cross-cousin, and an elaborate bride price system is involved in the transaction. Clan hierarchy is the central criterion of identity in all cases; the status structure involves five aristocratic clans, nearly three hundred common sub-clans, and slaves. The ascribed status always goes to the youngest son, and chieftainship is strictly hereditary. Because cultivation is shifting, usufruct is the chief right of property ownership. The Kachin religion is either animistic (in gumchyng gumsa and gumlau) or Christian (among the gumrawng gumsa). In contrast to this, the Shan is a Buddhist. With a peasant type society, the Shan has no clan system, no bride price payment, and marriage is only restricted between sibling brothers and sisters. Close cousins may marry, and the Shan's loyalty is not to his clan but to his permanent piece of land around which his life revolves. Villages are bigger than the Kachin, and they are permanent social units. When the proportion between

population and arable land comes under pressure, a new village site is selected in close proximity to good land, and the old name is given to the village, making it an extension culturally and economically. The feudal prince represents very little social or cultural reality to the average villager whose life is devoted primarily to his land.

### 3. THE NON-LINGUISTIC EVIDENCES OF CONTACT AND CHANGE

The purpose of this section is to record any socio-cultural effects of the contacts between the Shan and the Kachin, and to correlate them with the linguistic evidence of change. The method involves taking the three types of Kachin political organizations named earlier and examining any differences that might be apparent in the areas of economic life, settlement patterns and social organization among them.

#### 3.1 Economic Life

The first two groups, the gumchyng gumsa and the gumlau are not very different from the ideal Kachin pattern; they have not taken up wet rice cultivation to any great extent. The gumchyng gumsa remain almost the pure Kachin type, while the gumlau has developed opium cultivation as an important sideline. The gumrawng gumsa have solved the perennial food problem which exists in the hills by adopting wet rice cultivation.

In the Kachin system of property ownership, only a chief may own land; the others own the usufruct. This has greatly amplified the economic position of the gumrawng gumsa chiefs. In a group that is markedly better off in food production, the gumrawng gumsa chiefs have emerged as the richest

of all Kachin leaders, and are chosen partly on the basis of their wealth. Moreover, better means of transportation and communication has made it possible for them to consolidate their resources. The political instability that Leach (1954:6) observes, he attributes to the general lack of balance in capacity to produce food. If stability is associated with better food production, at least one group of the Kachins has acquired it through adopting the Shan system of cultivation without losing their non-material culture. As agents of change, this group is right in the center. In summary, the new economic prosperity of the gumrawng gumsa is probably a direct result of borrowing Shan technology; however, the question as to the cause of change in the status of the chief from one of dependence on tradition to a partly economic one offers stimulating possibilities. On the basis of the new economic organization, is it acquired internally as an inevitable effect of technological progress and thus independently, or is it, too, copied from the Shan as Leach claims (1954:221)? Both are theoretically possible, but an answer to this lies beyond the scope of this paper.

### 3.2 Settlement Patterns

The general picture of the Shan and Kachin settlement patterns has already been mentioned earlier. The central factor is degree of permanence and concentration of people. These two aspects are directly related; that is, the greater

the degree of permanence, the more people in them. In assuming a permanent settlement pattern, the gumrawng gumsa society is reflecting a change. The conditions of mobility in the hills are not present in the valleys; on the other hand, a different set of conditions which has reality in the valleys requires that they change the traditional type of shifting settlements. Permanent settlements have affected those aspects of political organization like the office of the village elders' council which has become more formal and larger in size; the function has not changed, but the form varies. In other details, the Kachin gumrawng gumsa differs from the ideal Shan type. In Shan villages, the headman is neither distinguished by the structure of his house, nor is he in a position of advantage economically. He represents the feudal lord who resides in a distant city. The Shan village is not a political unit. The gumrawng gumsa chief always builds his "haw" or mansion in the highest position in the village and his economic wealth is one basic requirement. The gumrawng gumsa village is a political unit, and hence the gumrawng gumsa settlement patterns also shifts from the ideal Kachin type.

### 3.3 Social Organization

What changes have occurred in Kachin social organization as a result of this contact? The gumchyng gumsa and gumlau are little affected in kinship and marriage systems that their social structural differences will not explain.

However, in the gumrawng gumsa society, because of larger villages due to permanent sites, local endogamy has developed. While clan exogamy is retained, settlement units are now large enough to make local endogamy possible. This indicates the shift from unlocalized nonresidential groups to a residential group. However, all customs relating to the marriage system are observed.

The other changes may involve more frequent use of domestic animals, a general tendency to emphasize the ritual and ceremonial aspects of bride price since each partner has become, for the first time, free of the persistent food shortage in the hills. This also suggests a shift in the form without a reciprocal shift in the function of the use of items with which to formalize social transactions. The other distinguishing factor is the advanced bilingualism in this group. What this correspondence implies will be taken up in a latter section.

The preceding discussion represents a brief review of the non-linguistic aspects of contact and change. Since this section is only intended to serve as a general basis for the examination and analysis of the linguistic evidences, further elaboration is not essential. Moreover, good references on the non-linguistic changes are easily available in Leach (1954), Hanson (1913), Carrapiett (1959), Hertz (1912), and Enriquez (1923), all listed in the bibliography. What follows is in the area of linguistic data.

#### 4. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Any attempt to analyze linguistic evidence in the light of cultural diffusion is beset with the initial problem of defining language as a part of, or a system within culture. While the need for specifying the relationship between language and culture is apparent, it is also true today that no synthesis exists which is generally acceptable both to linguists and anthropologists. Therefore, a preliminary survey of theoretical considerations concerning language as a part of culture must precede a study of the present nature.

Commenting on the general trend, Bright (1963:10) notes: "Much of the attention of linguists in recent times has been directed to language as a formal system, isolated from the rest of culture." To this, Hymes (1960:13-53) adds: "We have tried to relate language, described chiefly as a formal isolate, to culture, described largely without reference to speaking." Anthropology as a part of linguistics; linguistics as a part of anthropology; or, the degree of interdependence between components of culture within the structure of linguistic and nonlinguistic factors, are all elaborated (see for example Voegelin and Hoijer 1962:259-264). That language does not stand separate from the rest of culture, but is an essential part of it is generally accepted. But this fact does not bring out its relationship with the other

aspects of culture. Hockett (1958:580) reports that "There can be no question but that the conventions of human language are transmitted culturally, rather than genetically, from one generation to the next. . . . Man does not live by bread alone; his other necessity is communication. . . . Much human communication is itself about communication."

The last of Hockett's remarks immediately raises the question of linguistic procedure involving phonology, morphology and syntax. Sapir (1929:162) adds: "Language is a guide to social reality. We see and hear and otherwise experience very largely as we do because the language habits of our community predispose certain choices of interpretation." This involves the questions of logic, perception and semantics which are largely psychological. It is generally accepted in anthropology that culture in its broad sense depends on man's ability and capability to symbolize through language. Language on the other hand, communicates within the cultural setting and not in "a limbo," as Voegelin puts it (1949:36). Therefore, it would appear that, in spite of the lack of an adequate definition of the precise relationship, language and culture are not isolates. It is also apparent that such lack of a generally accepted view does not in any way indicate the unlikelihood of a relationship, the lack of interest, or the inherent sterility of its pursuit. Presently such understanding is pursued through a wide variety of the subdisciplines within the social sciences, such as psycholinguistics,

sociolinguistics, semantics, communications, research, etc., but a ready synthesis is not yet available. The position of an anthropologist attempting to analyze linguistic data in support of the evidence of diffusion therefore, becomes increasingly weak and imprecise, and likewise, such analysis tends to be only a hit-or-miss interpretation. Greenberg (1954:4) has warned that any specific attempt to connect linguistic with nonlinguistic data should be guided by three questions. Firstly, examination should be made of what kinds of linguistic facts are being adduced in evidence. This involves asking whether linguistic facts pertain to phonology, to grammar, or to semantics. Secondly, it must be asked with what other phenomena is a connection being made; in other words, are the linguistic phenomena which are cited to be associated with facts of sense perception, logic, individual behavior, or cultural behavior. Thirdly, it must be asked what the nature of this connection is. This involves the nature of asserted connection, and also asks if the relation is causal, and if so, what the causal factor is--a linguistic or a nonlinguistic one. In case the causal factor is elusive, there must be a third factor involved. However, he warns that the causality should not be confused with predictability. More frequently, analysis of linguistic data to either supplement or directly indicate cultural contact and diffusion relate to areas whose linguistic and general cultural context are well known to the analyst. Sapir, however, observes

(1959:231): "It is quite possible that the features of a language (largely phonemic) by means of which we link it to others in a stock or family are among the least important when we seek to connect it to the rest of culture."

Bloomfield (1933:444-445) regards the whole phenomena of language and dialectal borrowing as cultural and terms them "cultural borrowing." More recently, Bright (1963:14) discusses the study of contact between languages as being oriented around two interrelated phenomena:

One is bilingualism (using this term to cover multilingualism as well) which is of interest to psycholinguistics in that it occurs in individuals, and interests the sociolinguists insofar as it may be characteristic of whole groups of people. The second aspect of language contact is linguistic acculturation for which bilingualism is a precondition. This aspect is significant from the viewpoint of cultural anthropology, since it forms part of larger acculturative processes, and from the viewpoint of historical linguists, since borrowing is one of the mechanisms of linguistic change.

Since bilingualism and linguistic acculturation are understood through the basic procedures of structural linguistics, the problem of analyzing language borrowing as evidence of acculturation, linguistic as well as nonlinguistic, requires the procedures of "phonic, lexical and grammatical" studies. This has been suggested and adopted by Weinreich (1953) who relies on the method of structural linguistics to examine the problems and findings of languages in contact, and has also suggested the term "interference" (1953:1) to specify linguistic change due to contact. Interference as a result

of bilingual activity becomes the evidence of change acceptable to structural linguistics. Another linguist (Haugen) studying bilingualism and the manner of language borrowing, has retained the term "borrowing." Haugen (1950: 3.0) defines borrowing as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns found in another." Weinreich (1953:64) limits his method of approach to phonic, lexical, and grammatical and the sequence these aspects form in relation to each other as indicating linguistic change. Haugen conceives of two broad terms to embrace the forms of borrowing, namely: "Importation and Substitution." (Ibid., 4.0) He states that borrowing is where the original "pattern or content" is retained or preserved, and substitution occurs when the original pattern or content is influenced by the structure of the receiver's language. These two forms of reproduction, to Haugen, determine the structural implications of borrowing and change. He (1953:5.0) further elaborates on the terminology of borrowing as:

5.1 Loanwords - broadest term

5.2 Morphemic substitution

5.3 Loan translation

5.4 Semantic loan

Morphemic substitutions vary: partial in 5.2, complete in 5.3, and none in 5.4. Hence, morphemic importation operates in loan words without substitution. "Loan blends" in contrast to loan words show morphemic substitution as well as

importation and all substitution involves a certain degree of analysis by the speaker of the pattern that he is imitating. Loanshifts are borrowings where morphemic substitutions occur without importation; this includes what he calls "loan translations" and "semantic loans." "Loanshift" is a term suggested because "they appear in the borrowing language only as functional shifts of native morphemes." Both Haugen and Weinreich treat "borrowing" and "interference" on the basis of bilingualism which is the result of languages coming into contact. More recently, Mackey (1963:7\_51-85) has suggested that the description of bilingualism as it occurs in the individual be discussed in terms of four characteristics: the degree of bilingualism, the functions in which such language is used, the amount and condition of alternation or code switching, and the amount of interference between languages under various conditions.

In summary, the tendency of linguists noticeably inclines towards treating language borrowing as implying varying degrees of bilingualism. Since contact between two languages or groups having divergent languages or dialects must be assumed initially, bilingualism may be regarded as one feature of the general condition of acculturation. When the genetic relation of the two languages in contact is not the issue, the reservation expressed by Sapir (1959:231) is overcome, and the general procedures of Haugen and Weinreich through structural linguistics may be acceptable not only to

the linguist who is interested in structural changes, but also the anthropologist who sees these changes as results of cultural contact and borrowing. In other words, the linguist gains information concerning structural effects whereas the anthropologist may take this as a definite result of contact with a second culture, and may gain some knowledge from the concentration of types of words most frequently borrowed, then speculate on the nature of the contact situation, the motivations for borrowing, and the agents of change in terms of the varying degrees of bilingualism present. This again involves the structuring of the monolingual and bilingual communities within the contact situation in order that the function of the latter in relation to the former as the agent of change and language borrowing may be made clear. One pertinent factor at this stage is the relation between the size of the communities, and the possibility of causal relations between the decrease in the former and the increase in the latter. The next important factor is the possibility of these two communities developing distinguishable variations structurally on the basis of contact with an alien language system by the second community, the bilinguals. Since the degree of bilingualism within one group cannot be uniform (being dependent on proximity and extent of continuous contact), cultural diffusion cannot be equally extensive within the same language group (if there are varying degrees of bilingualism). This is easily seen as unequal exposure of the receiving group

(such as the Kachins) to the model group (such as the Shans). However, Dozier's hypothesis that language and nonlinguistics aspects of acculturation generally are complementary and reflect each other having been accepted as true earlier in the paper, it remains for this study to test to what extent within one of the groups in contact (the Kachin) this hypothesis holds true. In other words, the implications of this hypothesis in the context of this paper are:

1. The degree of bilingualism is not uniform in the Kachin; therefore, the functional importance of the elements of Kachin bilingual community as agents of change varies with the variation of the degree of bilingualism.

2. The varying degrees of Kachin bilingualism in general will also correspond with the varying depths of the language and nonlinguistic aspects of acculturation. In other words, a certain known degree of bilingualism in one community may be used as one criterion for determining the degree of language and nonlinguistic acculturation, and the degree of bilingualism will be related to the degree of acculturation in both aspects.

3. The method of structural linguistic analysis of the dialect of the bilinguals, assuming an accurate representation of all types of words borrowed in the data, can be relied upon to reveal the nature and type of acculturation which has resulted from the contact situation. This implies that an accurate sample of the Shan loan words in Kachin,

when viewed through the distribution of Kachin bilingualism will collate with known facts about Kachin social change as have been recorded by Leach, and claimed by him as a result of contact with the Shan.

4. Finally, linguistic acculturation occurs only within a cultural setting under conditions similar to those in the area of firsthand Shan-Kachin contact. If Shan loan words occur in other areas where the number of bilingual Shan speakers is low and the contact is indirect and noncontinuous, it is because the dialects are basically related, and Kachin cultural ties are present. It does not vitiate the possible point of acculturation under differing conditions between one of the areas and another in language and culture. These stipulations exclude any artificial impetus like instruction in public educational programs using borrowed terms; on the other hand, a natural process of contact is assumed. While such artificial conditions may cause variation in the short-run analysis, in the long-run, such conditions may only increase bilingualism and the hypotheses in general will apply.

It remains for what follows to clarify the above hypotheses by looking into the Shan-Kachin contact more closely. The sociological results of the contact having been recounted elsewhere earlier, an attempt is now made to relate them to linguistic evidences as they are applicable. More precisely, the varying degrees of Shan influence on the Kachin social organization will be interpreted as corresponding with the varying degrees of bilingualism in the Kachin.

## 5. SHAN INFLUENCE ON THE KACHIN: AN ANALYSIS

### 5.1 Control Procedure

To enable a measure of control over the extent and depth of this section of the paper, three sets of tripartite segmentations are made for the varying degrees of bilingualism, the varying degrees of contact, and the general categories of words most frequently borrowed.

#### Bilingualism:

The amount of Kachin bilingualism is given a general breakdown of basic, intermediate, and advanced degrees.

#### Contact:

The duration and intensity of contact are classified into the three general stages of remote, indirect, and continuous.

#### Loan Words:

While it is true that a large variety of words (in terms of content) are borrowed, generally these can be grouped under categories of technologico-economic, status-social and magico-religious (mythology included).

In one of these areas will be classified all the relevant loan words. Phonic and grammatical interferences are treated separately as they do not affect the "content" directly.

## 5.2 The Varying Degrees of Bilingualism in the Kachin

### 5.21 Types of Political Organizations

In an earlier section, three forms of political organizations were listed, namely: the gumchying gumsa aristocrats, the gumlau republicans, and the gumrawng gumsa semi-aristocratic chiefs. Leach (1954:213) argues that the "gumsa (by which he now means the gumrawng gumsa) Kachin society takes the form it does because Kachin chiefs, when they have the opportunity, model their behavior on that of Shan princes (saopha)." He is implying that the gumrawng gumsa chiefs are more similar in behavior to the chiefs of the Shan and less similar to other types of Kachin chiefs, the gumchying gumsa. This seems generally justified in the light of what information has come to light since Leach. (Refer Appendix I) This suggests that with the gumrawng gumsa chiefs who have settled amidst the Shan for at least seven to ten generations in what are today the Shan States, Shan influence is comparatively most advanced and likewise bilingualism. It is only fair to also mention that these semi-aristocratic chiefs requested and were granted a "sub-state" within the Shan States. This entails joint administrative responsibility between these forty chiefs. In matters of civic, educational and political affairs today, they are the undisputed leaders of the Kachin communities everywhere in Burma.

A brief discussion of each group in terms of the control criteria adopted earlier is now in order. This will be to reveal the fact that the varying degrees of bilingualism, the three types of contact situation, and the three political systems correspond in general.

#### 5.22 Gumchying Gumsa

The gumchying gumsa aristocrats comprise the most remote section in terms of contact. This is not wholly due to any regional or topographical barrier, the chief reason being that they retain a social-religious system which allows no provision for any other type of cultivation except the shifting method. Since the source of their power and the validity of their claims lie in sustaining the old system, there is no cultural need for direct borrowing from the Shan. It has been demonstrated that the nerve center of the Shan-Kachin contact is wet rice cultivation. The aristocrats do not adopt this change which will only undermine their system. Moreover, as zaw madu, "key-holders of the paraphernalia of Kachin cultural life" preserving tradition is of the utmost importance; this is the only tie that binds all Kachins irrespective of political system or region of settlement. Therefore, contact is at best indirect, and bilingualism is basic; what has been passed on to this group came by its maintaining an active relationship or contact with the other two. Moreover, the area known as the "Triangle" where these aristocratic chiefs have their stronghold is north of any area of intermittent contact; thus, the extent of contact may be generally

termed remote. This area is known as ji wa bu ga, or "fatherland," and those who have long since moved south refer to them for ritual, ceremonial and religious questions. More important is the universal practice of sending back the souls of the dead to this region, a process of oral incantation lasting three days and nights for gumrawng gumsa.

5.23 The gumlau republicans are also a local group confined to a dialect region. This group has settled in what was formerly a highly developed Shan kingdom. But the elaborate Shan irrigation systems and terracing for water control have not been used or maintained. Only minor use is made of the Shan agricultural legacy, opium being the principal crop cultivated. Contact with the Shan is relatively more frequent than for the gumchyng gumsa aristocrats. Here again, cultivation of rice is not the primary factor for contact because the gumlau is not a permanent wet rice cultivator at the scale of the gumrawng gumsa. The chief trait borrowed from the Shan is the "htamung," the role of the village headman. A village headman becomes the leader of the republican village unit of which kind Leach (1954:171) remarks appears to value independence more than economic prosperity. As a bilingual, his role ranges from remote and approaches intermediate. Contact with the Shan is non-continuous and strictly for business transactions. Because of its open rebellion against the "key holders," attempts have been made to remodel the ritual-ceremonial practices.

One good example is the refusal of this group to give sacrifice to madai the sky nat or spirit which only chief clans may invoke on occasion. The items of bride price which are limited between chief clans are also banished from the list. Members of any aristocratic clan (there are five) may not settle in this region unless his status is renounced publicly. Burial space to accidental death on journeys is not provided under any circumstances to an aristocrat. In terms of Shan influence, the category of loan words are mainly status-social. However, as a settler in the lowland and valleys, the contact is more frequent and the knowledge of Shan systems more widespread than the gumchying gumsa. Since this group is small in population, little influence is exerted to the Kachin or Shan as a whole. The occasional bilingual, therefore, has less functional significance to his group as an agent of change as the next group would involve.

#### 5.24 Gumrawng Gumsa

The gumrawng gumsa chiefs are economically and politically the most potent group among the three types. Having either settled with the Shan in the valleys or its fringes where terracing is practicable, they are permanent settlers tied to their land. Elaborate irrigation systems, a haw, an imitation mansion of Shan princes, larger and denser settlement units, a regular police force, and a paramount

chief having governance over at least fifteen to twenty village units mark the difference from the other two types. In bilingualism, an advanced degree of fluency in Shan is usual. The contact situation is firsthand and continuous; mixed settlements are frequently found. The types of words borrowed include all the categories: technologico-economic, status-social, and magico-religious. Therefore, in both aspects of acculturation, this group is more deeply involved than the other two.

#### 5.25 Method

Considering this group to be the bilingual firsthand agents of change (which is indicated without doubt by sociological facts), linguistic as well as nonlinguistic, an attempt will be made to interpret whatever forms of patterns are revealed in the linguistic evidences. The method involves a brief survey of Kachin dialectal differences and the consistent structural relations of such development, and the varying degrees of bilingualism. Then the Shan loan words will be examined in the light of the forms of resistance that may become apparent. Concluding the study will be the hypotheses concerning resistance to change in the linguistic structure, and the cultural implications.

### 5.3 Linguistic Evidences

#### 5.31 Dialectal Variation in Kachin

Generally, the development of dialectal variation follows a definite pattern. The right-hand column represents the dialect of the bilingually advanced dialect region. The left-hand column is the dialect of the other dialect groups.\*

a. The shift from voiced bilabial /b/ to voiceless /p/, unaspirated:

	ba ----- pa	to be tired
8	bi ----- pi	as in <u>shabi</u> , the face
	bye ---- pye	to hit as a person
	ningba - m'ba	(ningba - ning - assimilated) a blanket
	shabau - shapau	to nourish, to make fat

Therefore, / b / shifts to / p /, unaspirated.

Note: All shifts occur at one tone level, the high tone. This means that / b/ and / p / unaspirated, at this tone level form one single phoneme, the shift is within free variation, and morphologically nonfunctional. Such shifts do not occur when morphemic consequences involve, as in lower tones, as:

---

\*For notes concerning Hanson's orthography, Shan transcriptions, the Kachin phonemic system, please see Appendix II.

ba ----- pa	mid-tones	fish / field
bau ---- pau	"	to nourish / to dilute with water
bawng -- pawng	low-tones	to swell / to be spotted, uneven
but ---- put		disturbed soil / to grumble

Such changes are not possible in tone levels other than the high. Hence, at mid-tones

ba ----- ba	fish, as in (hkumba) fence
bau ---- bau	nourish
pa ----- pa	field
pau ---- pau	to dilute with water

This also applies at the low-tone level, and the rising-falling tones.

b. Similarly, the shift from voiced alveolar / d / to the voiceless unaspirated / t /.

At high tones:

doi ----- toi	vocative pronoun
du ----- tu	to pour, as water
dawng --- tawng	to be bewildered
dam ----- tam	to be lost, as in a crowd
din ----- tin, etc.	to press with fingernails

At other tones:

dum ----- dum	to recall
ting ---- ting	(adverbial particle), all

dan ----- dan     tin, metal  
dawt ---- dawt     to break  
tawng --- tawng     a solid article

Note: All shifts again occur at the high-tone, and are within free variation since no morphological implications are involved. This shift is nonrecurrent at other tones.

c. The shift from the voiced to unvoiced, unaspirated velar, / g / to / k /.

At high tone:

ga ----- ka     earth, soil  
gwi ---- kwi     to dare  
gring -- kring     to be conscious  
grawp -- krawp     to be destroyed

At other tone levels:

goi ---- goi     to crow as a cock  
koi ---- koi     to avoid, shun  
grang -- grang     to partition  
krang -- krang     to expose

Note: The shift occurs only within free variation. At tone levels where such shift is morphologically not free as indicated by the examples, the shift does not recur.

d. Also, the shifts from voiced affricate / j / to the voiceless, palatalized / chy /. (See AppendixII)

At high tone levels:

jau ----- chyau to catch  
 jawm ---- chyawm to combine force  
 ju ----- chyu thorn, to prick  
 jang ---- chyang (adverbial particle), also

At other tone levels:

jaw ----- jaw to water, splash  
 chyaw --- chyaw a measurement unit of rice  
 jan ----- jan to be left over  
 chyan --- chyan to tiptoe  
 jing ---- jing corner  
 chying -- chying to be tightly woven

Note: The shift is within free variation at high tone level.

e. From the above patterns:

gabun --- kapun high tone turbulent  
 gadau --- gadau mid-tone to be playful  
 gaden --- katen high tone when  
 gadoi --- gadoi low tone to cut  
 gajau --- kachyau high tone to catch  
 gaju ---- gaju low tone remote

f. Assimilation of preformatives:

ningba -- nba (/m'ba/) high tone blanket  
 ninglum - nlum (/n'lum/) " " hot weather  
 nang nu - nnu rising-falling tone

vocative: your mother

Mungbaw --- Nbaw (/m' baw/) mid-tone

name of village ,

Note: Preformatives are assimilated according as the initial consonant or syllable. No tone levels are exceptional in the application. The negative particle, a prenasalized preformative must, however, be left uninterfered. Since the negative particle is the same throughout the dialects, this has little comparative value or significance.

### Conclusions

The dialectal variation between these two groups is within free variation. Assimilation occurs where the preformative is not already a negative particle. The negative particle is always at the high tone. By this recognition, assimilation leaves the morphemic structure unaltered. Therefore, a. any utterance occurring in the high tone level freely undergoes a shift from the voiced to the unvoiced, un-aspirated consonant-morpheme (as in assimilation) in dialectal variation. b. In polysyllabic words having a nasal preformative, assimilation is free at the tone levels which do not interfere with the negative particle.

This conclusion is purely descriptive insofar as the relation between the dialect groups are concerned, and hence, no causal factors are implied internally. But, since the relation between these groups corresponds convincingly with degrees of bilingualism, levels of contact, and the types of

societies previously discussed, the Shan influence as a causal factor in the development of dialectal variation within the Kachin becomes a possible factor which cannot be overlooked. The consistent correspondence may be pure chance, or due to the Kachin linguistic structure having come under Shan influence; whatever the reason behind, the Shan as a possible causal factor becomes increasingly suggestive. However, this area calls for far more exhaustive examination of data than is presently possible. That the types of societies, the extent of contacts, and the degrees of bilingualism show a consistent relation to the pattern or manner of dialectal variation development must remain as the central feature of this section of the paper.

### 5.32 Shan Loan Words in Kachin

Hanson (1906) lists almost a hundred entries as Shan in his dictionary of eleven thousand words. However, many more are shrouded after the phonic changes that result since the Kachin took them over, and the etymology of these appears uncertain to a non-speaker of Shan. Since there is no source of comparative study available, this student has relied rather frequently on his own knowledge of the language (as a member of the advanced bilingual group) to determine the origin. An acquaintance with structural linguistics, particularly the Kachin intonational and the general phonological pattern has been the central source of determining the evidences

produced in this section. Also, examples of Shan words produced have been selected to amplify the phonic, and lexical changes, and as such, it becomes impracticable to enmass words, the range of which is already covered in the selection.

a. Technologico-economic:

Although wet rice cultivation is not usual to the Kachin and demands a higher form of technology, as a dry rice cultivator, there are a large number of terms that the Kachin finds available in his own tongue and could readily use. For instance, the terms related to the water buffalo, and the paddy itself are fully available. Hence, only the inevitable borrowings are accepted and these are normally preserved without much morphemic substitution. However, phonic changes distinguish those that have been borrowed and are in use. (For method of transcription of these words, refer Appendix II.)

chyaw - a unit of measurement of rice

da ga - seedlings for transplanting

dang - a unit of measurement, a tenth of chyaw, above

hkau ling - the bundles of sheaves

hkau na - irrigated field

hkau pum - the sheaves piled in a cone before thrashing

na hkam - a fallowed field

na htai - the ploughshare

na jawn - the plough blade .

na lawk - a unit of field, a plot walled by bunds  
about a foot high for water control

na lung - a field under one ownership

te na - the bund separating the plots, lawk

These words represent the barest minimum of terms essential to accepting the field and tools as part of the borrowed technology. However, their use and functions are pivotal to successful adjustment to this kind of cultivation.

b. Status-social:

Although the Shan influence in the status and social structure are apparent, the Kachin has never made obsolete the traditional systems of kinship, marriage, inheritance, and property ownership. As a result, the apparent loan words belong under the two sub-categories, personal-individual, and certain public offices.

Zau, Nang, Khun, Kham - first names indicating chiefly status. This name will replace an extraneous affix the Kachins put before the sibling position. Hence, a Ja Naw is a chiefly name for a second son in traditional fashion. This will assume a Zau from the Shan and become Zau Naw.

Htamung - a village headman; also synonymously used is the term "agyi" meaning elder. This office in a Shan-type peasant society has no executive power; he is only an instrument of the chief, representing his authority at the village unit level.

pya da - policeman; all gumrawng gumsa chiefs maintain a regular police force serving as the chief's messengers or agents of law enforcement.

mung - country, district, or region under one chief.

tara - law, customary system of justice or codes of social control.

asuya - government, the rule of the chief or central government.

htung - custom, customary sanction in legal matters.

These terms represent the essential framework on which the gumrawng gumsa society rests for stability.

c. Magico-religious:

Almost all the gumrawng gumsa chiefs were converted to Christianity. One of the outcomes has been that they retain very little of what they might have borrowed previously concerning magic, religion and mythology. The areas which remain animistic maintain active connection with the

gumchying gumsa group. Those borrowed terms in these categories have only a limited descriptive function or use, and so these figure as the smallest volume among the three categories. Of the forty important Kachin chiefs in the Shan States today, only two have become Buddhist and reduced active connection with other Kachins in the area. The others have regarded these lineages as lost to the Kachin although religious change is obviously the only criterion. Culturally, the strongest resistance appears to be offered the Shan influence in this matter. (See Appendix I.)

The most frequently used magico-religious Shan words are:

ahpyit - a ghost, haunting spirits of the dead

hpara - a god, the Buddha, an image of

jau mun - a monk in charge of a Buddhist

monastery

jau wawng - emperor, a king; also incest in Kachin

with reference to system of marriage

of king which is incestuous to the

Kachin

ya hkau - a nun

ya ya - herb medicine or folk medicine

An examination of the Kachin oral literature on religion and mythology recorded in such relevant detail by Hanson (1913), Gilhodes (1922), and Carrapiett (1929) reveals no deposit of Shan loan words in its length and

breadth. Some that do occur in the gumrawng gumsa version occur as couplets, and vehicles of conveyance. They do not constitute concepts at all. This again coincides with the bilingually basic gumchying gumsa group which controls religion and traditions.

### 5.33 Structural Resistance in the Linguistic Evidence

#### a. Phonic:

The first feature of structural resistance to the Shan loan words is seen in the phonic changes. The most obvious form is the intonational pattern change. Since Kachin is a tonal language (refer Appendix B for tonal structure), such change is phonemic, and hence structural. A survey of such changes is given through two types of words, place names, and a random selection of the most frequently reproduced words.

#### Place Names

<u>Shan</u>	<u>Kachin</u>
Kham <sup>˩</sup> Ti <sup>˩</sup>	Kan <sup>˩</sup> Si <sup>˩</sup>
Loi <sup>˩</sup> -je <sup>˩</sup>	Loi <sup>˩</sup> -je <sup>˩</sup>
Maing <sup>˩</sup> -kwan	Mung <sup>˩</sup> -hawm
Man <sup>˩</sup> -kang	Man <sup>˩</sup> -kang
Man <sup>˩</sup> -ming <sup>˩</sup>	Man <sup>˩</sup> -wing <sup>˩</sup>
Mung <sup>˩</sup> -pau	M <sup>˩</sup> 'baw
Man <sup>˩</sup> -si	Man <sup>˩</sup> -si
Man <sup>˩</sup> -mau	Man <sup>˩</sup> -maw

Nam<sup>^</sup>-mye<sup>/'</sup>

Nam<sup>/'</sup>-mye<sup>/'</sup>

Nam<sup>^</sup>-kham<sup>/'</sup>

Nam<sup>/'</sup>-hkam<sup>/'</sup>

Nam<sup>^</sup>-ting<sup>/'</sup>

Nam<sup>/'</sup>-ting<sup>/'</sup>

Nam<sup>^</sup>-hpak<sup>/'</sup>-ga<sup>/'</sup>

Nam<sup>/'</sup>hpak<sup>/'</sup>-ka<sup>/'</sup>

Patterns:

- i. Tone level ( / ) high in Shan becomes ( / \ ) high or low in Kachin in initial syllables.
- ii. Tone level of ( ^ ) rising-falling in initial syllables consistently becomes ( \ ) in Kachin.
- iii. But tones of ( ^ ) rising-falling followed by a syllable having tone level ( \ ) low in Shan produces the neutral tone in Kachin.

This observation of the patterns is not conclusive as a broad or general principle, but the evidence of structural change is obvious.

Words Other Than Place Names:

<u>Shan</u>	<u>Kachin</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Sao <sup>^</sup> (dzau)	Zau <sup>/'</sup>	Chiefly status name
Nang <sup>/'</sup>	Nang <sup>/'</sup>	Female "
kawng <sup>^</sup>	gawng <sup>/'</sup>	to hunt, gun
Hkang	Hkang <sup>/'</sup>	uncivilized, a term the Shan applies to Kachin, and the Kachin passes on to the Chin

ᵛjǐng	jǐng	corner, edge
ǰǎu mǎn	ǰǎu man	owner of land
ǰǎu mun	ǰǎu mun	priest, monk
hkǎu ná	hkǎu ná	irrigated field
kyǝp din	gyǝp din	shoe
ᵛnák	nák, shǎnák	to be heavy, shanak-- cause to
hpúk	hpúk	to be spoiled, adulterated
gù byi	gù byi	each year, every year, Kachin use limited to couplet--gu byi gu yang--each in turn
gang bǎng	gang bǎng	wide open, uncovered daylight
gun	gùn rǎi	goods for sale, couplets only in Kachin
hki	hki	of own kind, ru hki-- couplet
ᵛmák	ᵛmák	to be dumfounded
ᵛlák	lák	to become uncontrollable
	shǎlák (causative	
	lák dik lák dǎ -	couplet--for no reason

At the phonic level of observation, it is very clear that Shan loan words undergo a change. This may be regarded as readaptation to the Kachin pattern. Since the evidence of intonational change is conclusive to the Kachin system, this feature is to be regarded as resistance to change phonologically.

b. Lexical

At this level, to understand the Kachin lexical pattern is necessary as a basis to understanding the changes resulting from the assimilation of Shan loan words. The Kachin system of lexical patterning depends on two important forms: coupletizing and affixing.

Coupletizing:

This involves two distinctive procedures: The first kinds are semantic divisions including two free forms, and the second type is a phonic extension of the initial morpheme. The first type is semantic, whereas the second type is structural. The first type generally can be divided into cases, where the second free form represents an extension of the first, or where the second free form is an independent free form. This may be abstracted as:

1a: X ----- x - where the two free forms are semantic  
correlates,

1b: X ----- Y - where the two free forms are not correlated, or where the first free form does not imply the second free form,

2. X ----- 0 - The morphemic extension is a bound form, a purely phonological form and the morphemic change is zero. This type of coupletizing is therefore, within the range of structural linguistics.

Examples: Semantic divisions having two free forms.

1a: X ----- x - where each form is a semantic correlate of the other

ana	na	- to observe taboos in agriculture
sumtsaw	sumna	- love and affection
myit ru	myit yak	- worry and anxiety
kashu	kasha	- grandchildren and children, offspring
shut hpyit	lam dam	- wrong doing and losing the (moral) way
pyaw daw	kadaw	- pleasure and indulgence
karing	karang	- strange and unheard of (news, names, etc.)



n dum	shami - unawareness, unmindful
htauli	htaula - common sense, mindfulness
gumrawng	gumra - boastful, to brag
gayau	gaya - all mixed, lack of order
mana	maka - plenty, many, much

These three patterns may be variously combined assuming that such combination follows one of the three patterns basically. Hence: machye machyang (X---0) and htauli htaula (X--0) combined become ( lb. X----Y). Also, zaw nawng zaw wa ( X---Y ) and uphkang aya (X---Y) can be combined to get ( la. X-----x) since zaw nawng zaw wa means many people and uphkang aya is the right to rule over by the clan chief. In the gumlau situation however, this may be interpreted differently, but it will be semantic and not structural.

#### Lexical Resistance to Shan Loan Words: Coupletizing:

Shan loan words at the lexical level become more assimilated when, after the phonic readaptations, they are again made into couplets, and also given affixations. The following examples indicate that loan words are to conform to the patterns of coupletizing:

<u>Shan</u>	<u>Kachin</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Type</u>
mak	nam mak lawhpa	desire and greed	(X-Y)
lak	lak dik lak da	"out of the blue" unexpectedly	(X-0)
jau mun	jau mun mun	to be initiated	(X-0)

gu byi	gu je gu yang	each in turn	(X-X)
lami	lami lamak	reckless, careless	(X-0)
mandan	mandan myawk le	charms and magic	(X--Y)
gun	sut gun sut gan	goods and wealth	(X--x)
lik	lailik laika	writing and books	(X- x)
tang	tang pyaw tang kyin	pleasure and trouble	(X-Y)
mung	lamu mungdan	sky kingdom (haven)	(X--Y)
chyaw, dang	achyaw adang	(a bushel a basket)	(X--x)

These are examples of how Shan loan words undergo a process of coupletization in becoming a part of the Kachin lexicon. This strongly indicates lexical resistance, and therefore, phonic resistance has been amplified lexically as well.

#### Affixations:

This is another means by which structural resistance is given to the loan words. Normal Kachin affixing involves prefixing causative particles as preformatives.

#### Examples in Kachin:

kyin	shakyin	- to be busy and causative
lam	galam	- to wave and causative
len	shalen	- to attract and causative
yak	jayak	- to be hard and causative

Hence, the preformatives / sha-/, / ga- /, / ja- / are the causative particles. All these particles have the unstressed

vowel / ǎ̃ /. Through these prefixes, further lexical resistance is offered to the loan words.

Examples:

<u>Shan</u>	<u>Kachin</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Mak	shamak	to become uncontrollable
nak	shanak	to cause to be heavy
let	shalet	to cause to be mindful
hpát	jahpat	teach, to teach
hpyau	jahpyau	overly, beyond capacity
shuk	jashuk	disorder
suk sak	jasuk jasad	disorder (caus.)
	gasuk gasak	disorder (adj.)
lem	galem	to cheat, deceive

### Conclusion:

Structural resistance at lexical level is through completizing and prefixing.

### c. Grammatical

#### Grammatical Resistance:

A general comparison of the manners in which the Shan and Kachin sentence structures are organized and how certain loan words undergo a change of grammatical function in Kachin is given.

Some examples of Shan sentence structures. Method

of transcription is primarily convenience. (See Appendix B.)

k' wa kalau? Where are you going?

go where (to)

gyin hkau yauk haq? Have you eaten your meal?

eat food finished (interrogative particle)

'ka loi loi na. Go slowly, will you.

go slowly (post part. command)

hpun duk ma yauk.

rain fall come (postpart. participle)

Contrasts:

k'wa, kalau? Shan )

go where (to) )

) Where are you going?

kade sa na kun? Kachin )

where go will (inter.part.) )

' se mau wa sang?

name yours call what (inter.) Shan  
say

What is your name?

na a mying hpa nga ma ta? Kachin

you poss. part. name what say they interr. part.

ma nang g'nai le. Shan

come sit here (postpart. command)

Come and sit here.

nang kaw sa dung rit. Kachin  
 here at come sit (postpart. request.)

hpakkat sum m'pa ma haq? Shan  
 mustard sour not bring come (inter. part.)

Do you bring mustard pickle?

hkrang hkri n gun nni? Kachin  
 mustard sour not carry (inter. part. second  
 person, sing.)

k'wa ha ba le. Shan  
 go look fish (postpart. command)

Go and fish.

nga sa hkwi su. Kachin  
 fish go catch (postpart. command)

kau m' pye lai yauk. Shan  
 I not can get (postpart. affirmative)

I cannot do it anymore

Ngai n di lu sai. Kachin

I not can do have (postpart. affirmative)

These examples illustrate the general sentence structure in Shan and Kachin. The general subject-object relation in Shan is the reversal of Kachin, and even in questions or interrogatives, the Shan begins with a verb and the Kachin with a noun or pronoun, an object. Resistance becomes apparent when a word whose Shan grammatical function is known



mut in Shan is gone, be empty; ma in Kachin literally means the same but is qualified by mat the past participle, hence the functions of gone or to be empty in the two structures are dissimilar.

3. Go to school.

Shan: k'wa hkin kyawng le.  
go attend school (postpart. command)

Kachin: jawng sa lung su.  
school go climb (postpart. command to  
be there second pers. sing.)

4. Your elephant is uncontrollable.

Shan: dzang mau lak teq teq.  
elephant yours uncontrollable (postpart.)  
very.

Kachin: na magwi nau lak la ai.  
your elephant too uncontrollable very.  
(postpart., affirm.)

Note: lak occurs mutually, but the functions are different; in Shan, it is verbal, in Kachin adverbial and qualified by nau and la respectively. Suppose a word for wild in Kachin were to be substituted for lak, a borrowed word, the qualifiers would be dropped. It will be:

na magwi zai ai.  
your elephant wild (postpart. affirm.)

Since the different systems of sentence structuring have been demonstrated, these examples only serve to clarify the fact that the grammatical functions of Shan loan words are disregarded, and in Kachin reproduction, it can only follow Kachin rules of grammar. A further example of a whole phrase borrowed from the Shan is an excellent reason that even phrases and clauses borrowed lock and stock in terms of content do change under Kachin system.

A lazy person carries beyond his strength.

Shan: kun hkan pa nak.

person lazy carry heavily.

Kachin: (Loan translation)

masha lagawn a lit gun.

person lazy (poss.part) burden

carry-like.

This is the way the Kachin reproduces the Shan saying when not using the loan translation.

kun hkan pa shanak gaw e. Masha lagawn a kun-hkan-pa shanak gaw e. (It is case of a lazy person carrying too much.)

By prefixing / sha-/ to nak, the Kachin achieves phonic and lexical changes. Moreover, the affixing being a causative, the whole phrase, which is a simple sentence in Shan complete with all the basic components, becomes adverbialized. It simply becomes a term to qualify the verb in Kachin. This disrupts the system of the origin of

the phrase, but a graft which does not take to the Kachin system cannot last, and this readaptation is the condition to a lasting graft. Hence is grammatical resistance to Shan indicated.

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

The central feature of this paper is the varying degrees of bilingualism and the borrowing of material culture from the Shan shown by the gumchying gumsa, gumlau, and gumrawng gumsa type political organizations. The likely inference is that the language and nonlinguistic aspects of acculturation complement and reflect each other in the Shan-Kachin contact situation. Shan contact may have brought about the development of the three political systems, and thus brought into being the three dialects. This may appear as over-extending the data; however, probability cannot be entirely counted out when correlations occur within one general cultural system like the Kachin. If language "is a guide to social reality" as Sapir (1929: 126) has written, then linguistic resistance to change also correlates with the nonlinguistic resistance to the same change. (See Appendix III for evidences of psychological attitudes and feelings of animosity between the contacting parties as reflected in Kachin and Shan languages.) This may not have brought to light any new concept on the general relation between language and culture; but, within the confines of linguistic acculturation, the value of the language evidence of change as having inherent potential as nonlinguistic evidence is greatly enhanced. The facts

about the Shan-Kachin contact have revealed that it is possible for language and nonlinguistic aspects of acculturation to complement and reflect each other. Furthermore, for the Kachin, bilingualism in its structural implications constitute the language aspect of acculturation.

In summary, with reference to the hypotheses made earlier, the following conclusions may be made:

First, that the functional importance of the Kachin bilingual elements are not equal since the extent of bilingualism is not uniform. The three varying degrees of Kachin bilingualism relate to the three stages of non-linguistic aspect of acculturation. Therefore, the general Kachin bilingualism has three variable degrees of functional importance involving three variable stages of nonlinguistic borrowing from the Shan.

Second, that a certain degree of bilingualism will be directly related to the degree of acculturation in both aspects is substantiated because the structural study of Kachin bilingualism generally constitutes the language aspect of acculturation, and also because it corresponds to the nonlinguistic aspect.

Third, that a structural linguistic analysis of loan words as bilingual phenomena will collate with known facts about social change is also apparent. The categories

of words most frequently borrowed from the Shan correspond with the relative importance of wet rice cultivation as the chief area of borrowing. The social change that has resulted supports language borrowing and bilingualism.

Fourth, that linguistic acculturation occurs only in a cultural context is beyond doubt.

In summary, the extent to which language and non-linguistic aspects of acculturation generally complement and reflect each other greatly depends on understanding the bilingual's role, and the meaning to be adduced from the linguistic structural examination of the loan words which result from bilingual activity.

APPENDIX I

There are forty gumrawng gumsa Kachin chiefs in the Shan States today. Of this number, two have professed to becoming Shans by embracing Buddhism. Ten of the more influential were asked questions concerning the number of villages in their domains, their nationality, religion, intermarriage with the Shan, and how many generations have they been settled in the area.

<u>Chief of</u>	<u>Village(s)</u>	<u>Villagers</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Generations</u>
Ding Ga	25	Kachin Palaung Shan	Animism	11
Gang Ming	21	Kachin Shan	Christian	13
Howa	50	Kachin Shan Chinese Palaung	Christian	16
Hu Bren	35	Kachin Shan	Christian	not known
Mung Ji	80	Shan Kachin	Buddhism	not known
Mung Ku	78	Kachin Shan Chinese	Christian	not known
Mung Htang	20	Shan Kachin	Buddhism	not known
Namhkyek	47	Kachin Shan Chinese	Christian	15

Hpawng Seng	86	Kachin Chinese Shan Palaung	Christian	17
Zau Bung	15	Kachin Shan Palaung Chinese	Christian	12

<u>Religion</u>	<u>Intermarriage</u>	<u>Nationality*</u>
Animism (1)	Infrequent	Kachin
Buddhism (2)	Always (with Shan)	Shan (originally Kachin)
Christian (34)	None	Kachin
Christian (3)	Infrequent	Kachin (all offspring do not intermarry although mothers are Shan)

It appears from this table that becoming a Buddhist is also interpreted by the subjects as becoming Shan. The extent of bilingualism is about the same in all. One possible answer to this may be that Christianity does not uproot the traditional customs of kinship, marriage, and ceremonial aspects of traditional practices like folk dancing and songs, harvest festivals, etc.; rather, Christianity puts a new moral standard on these aspects and has not tried to abolish them.

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\*Self-appraised

APPENDIX II

A. Kachin Phonemic System

Kachin phonemes include 10 stops, 4 fricatives and affricates, 4 liquids, 3 nasals, 5 vowels and 5 tonemes.

<u>Stops</u>	<u>Fricatives and Affricates</u>	<u>Liquids and Semivowels</u>
/ b d g	/ z	/ l w
p t k	c s (ts)	r y /
p t k / (hp ht hk)*	c (chy) /	

\*Hanson's orthography which is used throughout in the paper is given in parentheses here.

<u>Nasals</u>	<u>Vowels</u>	<u>Tonemes</u>
/ m	/ i u	/
n	e o (aw) a /	—
ŋ (ng) /		∩
		∨

Ref.: Bedell, George Dudley, and Maran La Raw, MS., Tucson, Arizona.

B. Shan Phonemic System

Initial consonants:

p	ph	m	w
t	th	n	l

s [s, ts]	sh [sh, tsh]	h	r
kj [kj, c]	khj [khj, ch]	ngj [ŋj, ñ]	j
k	kh	ng(ŋ)	(zero)[ʔ]

## Final consonants:

b	m	w
d	n	j
g	ng	y

## Vowels:

i	y	u
e	ya	o
	a	
ea	aa	oa

Tones: There are five tonemes, falling, high, middle, low, and rising. Egerod, in a system developed for Tai Dau, a dialect of Laotian Tai suggested the following notation:

+h	+l	/./	(falling)
+h	-l	/:/	(high)
-h	-l	/;/	(middle)
-h	+l	/,/	(low)
+l	+h	/((zero)	(rising)

Note: This Shan phonemic system is reproduced from Egerod's system for the Tai Dau of Yunnan, a dialect of Laotian Tai.

The Tai Nui dialect whose language is used in this paper is also a dialect variation within the Laotian branch. For lack of information regarding phonic relation between these two dialects, Hanson's orthography is extended to cover the Tai Nui dialect throughout this thesis. The tonal notation system is from the Bedell-Maran system reproduced as Appendix II A.

### APPENDIX III

A general psychological attitude between the Shan and the Kachin as is apparent in Kachin language is briefly reported here.

To the Shan, the Kachin is hkang, meaning "boorish and uncivilized," as Hanson (1906:294) translates it. Polite Shans use the term Jinghpaw which is the Kachin term for themselves. Among Shans, Kachin children are not luk, meaning human children, but e, having the semantic undertone of being animal or subhuman. Other terms frequently referring to the Kachin are hkang-pok or hkapok, meaning descendents of slaves. Leach (1954:219-226) has also pointed out that fair dealings with the Kachin are primarily for political convenience, and therefore restricted to the Kachin chiefs. At the level of the commoners, all advanced bilingual Kachins are regarded as equal to serfs and slaves. This may be projecting the general form of the Shan social stratification on the Kachin by the Shan, but it reveals cultural resistance to the Kachin. No two contacting groups are expected to assimilate each other without some form of resistance; therefore, the relevant question is in what way resistance to assimilation or incorporation is reflected. Had the Kachin been ordinary farmers like the Shan without any aggressive design, the manners of the Shan towards them

might have been different. But the Kachins came as conquerors over the Shan, threatening, killing, and looting while at the same time borrowing much of the essential technology for wet rice cultivation. The Kachin intrusion into the Shan area is backed by military force, and the Shan could not, for obvious reasons, be expected to accommodate him.

The Kachin criteria for severing relations with certain clansmen is conveniently summed up in a rhyme:

Sam shat sha,  
Sam ga ga  
Sam num la

meaning "eating Shan food, speaking Shan, and marrying Shan women." This is sufficient reason for excommunication. Some of the more frequently used common sayings are:

Prang majoi nat  
Sam majoi sat.

We burn the fields as freely as  
we kill the Shans.

Lamu ra yang a ga madi,  
Jinghpaw ra yang a Sam si.

When the sky is at fault and it rains,  
the earth is wet; but when a  
Kachin is at fault, the Shan has  
to die.

A general lack of the inclination to fulfill clan obligations provokes A Sam myit myit ai--thinking only like a Shan. A social misdemeanor arouses a disapproving Sam num la na wa--you will only get a Shan wife, or you are

worth a Shan woman only. The Shan is the definite subject of prejudice and mockery.

These brief examples of the mental attitudes between the contacting parties reveal a generally active and serious cultural resistance to assimilation of one by the other.

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