A grammar of the Kadu (Asak) language

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Abstract

This thesis is a grammatical description of Kadu–a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Katha district of Sagaing division, Myanmar.

It contains eleven chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the language and its speakers. Chapter 2 is an outline of the phonological structure of Kadu. Chapter 3 looks at the word classes and word-forming processes. Chapters 4 to 6 look at nominal aspects of the grammar. Chapter 4 discusses the structure of the noun phrase, while the well-developed system of numeral classifiers in Kadu is discussed in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 looks at case marking postpositions.

Chapter 7 looks at the elements that make up the verb complex in Kadu. It discusses post-verbal modifiers such as auxiliary verbs, verbal particles, and modal auxiliaries. Clause final particles and aspectual particles are also looked at in this chapter.

Chapter 8 looks at the general structure of the clause. The structures of interrogative and negative clauses are discussed in Chapters 9 and 10 respectively. Chapter 11 looks at complex structures. It covers topics such as subordination, coordination, and narrative structures.

Statement of authorship

"Except where reference is made in the text of the thesis, this thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma.

No other person's work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis.

This thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree or diploma in any other tertiary institution."

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Acknowledgments in Burmese

ဤကျမ်းပြုစု ပြီးစီးနိုင်ရန် အဖက်ဖက်မှ ကူညီအားပေးခဲ့ကြသော လူပုဂ္ဂိုလ်များအား ကျေးဇူးတင် ဂုဏ်ပြုလိုပါသည်။

၁. စိတ်ဝင်စားစရာ ကောင်းလှသည့် ကတူးတိုင်းရင်းသား ဘာသာစကားကို ကျမ်းလေ့လာပြုစုနိုင်ရန် အခွင့်အရေးပေးခဲ့ကြသည့်ကတူးလူမျိုးများအားလုံး၊

၂. အထူးသဖြင့် မိမိတို့၏ နေအိမ်သို့ လှိုက်လှိုက်လှဲလှဲကြိုဆို၍ ကတူးရိုးရာ ပုံပြင်များ၊ ဝေါဟာရများကို အချိန်ပေး အသံသွင်းပေးခဲ့သူများ၊

၃. ကတူးတိုင်းရင်းသားများ၏ ရိုးရာဓလေ့၊ သမိုင်းအကြောင်းကို ပြောကြားပေးခဲ့ပြီး၊ အစစအရာရာ လိုလေသေးမရှိ ကူညီအားပေးခဲ့သည့် စက်တောကျေးရွာမှ wángshī ဦးရွှေမောင်နှင့် သက်ဆိုင်ရာ ကျေးရွာ အာဏာပိုင်များ၊

၄. မိသားစု တာဝန်ဝတ္တရားများကို ဘေးဖယ်၍ ကျွန်တော် အထပ်ထပ်အခါခါ မေးသည့် မေးခွန်းများကို မငြီးမငြူ ဖြေကြားပေးပြီး၊ အသံသွင်းထားသည့် ကတူးပုံပြင်များ ကို စိတ်ရှည်ရှည် နာရီပေါင်းများစွာ၊ ရက်ပေါင်းများစွာ၊ အဓိပ္ပါယ်ဖွင့်ဆို ကူညီပေးခဲ့ကြသော

- ❖ ကိုအောင်သန်းနွယ် (စက်တော)
- ❖ ကိုဝင်းနိုင် (ပေကုန်း)
- ❖ ကိုအောင်ကျော်စိန် (စက်တော)
- ❖ ကိုအောင်သန်း (စက်တော)
- ❖ မနှင်းစုခိုင်(စက်တော)
- ❖ မအေးမြတ်သူ(စက်တော)

၅. ဗန်းမောက်မြို့နယ်ရှိ ကတူးကျေးရွာများတွင် သာမက၊ ပင်လယ်ဘူးမြို့နယ်အတွင်းရှိ တောင်မော်၊ မြောက်မော်၊ မော်လင်၊ မော်ခါး စသည့်ကျေးရွာများသို့ ကွင်းဆင်းလေ့လာရာတွင် အနီးကပ်လိုက်ပါ ကူညီပေးခဲ့သည့် ညီငယ် ဝင်းနိုင်၊

၆. ဗန်းမောက်မြို့တွင် နေစရာ၊ စားစရာ လိုလေသေးမရှိ ကူညီပံ့ပိုး၍ မိသားစုမေတ္တာဝေမျှပေးခဲ့သည့် ဆရာ ဦးခင်ကျောင်ဆင် နှင့် မိသားစု၊

၇. အကြံဉာဏ်ကောင်းများစွာပေး၍၊ ဤစာတမ်းလက်ရှိ အခြေအနေရောက်လာအောင် အနီးကပ် ကြပ်မတ်ပေးခဲ့ကြသော လာထရိုပ် (La Trobe) တက္ကသိုလ်မှ ပါမောက္ခ Randy LaPolla နှင့် ပါမောက္ခ David Bradley

၈. ဤကျမ်းပြုစုနိုင်ရန် ပညာသင်စရိတ် ထောက်ပံ့ပေးခဲ့သည့် ဩစတေးလျနိုင်ငံ၊ မဲလ်ဘုန်းမြို့မှ လာထရိုပ် တက္ကသိုလ်၊

၉. ထိုင်းနိုင်ငံတွင် စာတမ်းပြုစုသည့် ကာလတွင် အဖက်ဖက်မှ ကူညီအားပေးခဲ့သည့် SIL international၊

၁၀. ကျွန်တော်ကို အမြဲတမ်း နားလည်၊ အားပေးတတ်သည့် ချစ်ဇနီး ဆားရ်ဇီ (Sarzi Dalanggin) နှင့်

၁၁. အခြားအခြားသောကျေးဇူးတင်ထိုက်သူများအားလုံး ၊

ကတူးတိုင်းရင်းသားများ၏ ပွင့်လင်းရိုးသားမှု၊ ဧည့်ဝတ်ကျေပွန်မှု၊ ဤစာတမ်းအပေါ် အပြုသဘောဆောင်သည့် သဘောထား လက္ခဏာများက စာတမ်းပြုစုသူအပေါ် ပျော်ရွှင်မှုနှင့် ခွန်အား ဖြစ်စေကြောင်း၊ ၄င်းတို့ကို ထာဝရအမှတ်ရနေမည် ဖြစ်ကြောင်း ဤကျမ်းဖြင့် မှတ်တမ်းတင်အပ်ပါသည်။

ကျေးဇူးအထူးတင်လျက်

David Sangdong

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List of Abbreviations and Conventions

*	ungrammatical reconstructed forms
#	syllable boundary
§	section
/ /	phonemic transcription
< >	transliteration of written Burmese
<	derived from
[ ]	phonetic transcription
A.AG	anti-agentive
ABL	ablative
AKYS	Aung Kyaw Seing
ALL	allative
ATT	attributive
ATTW	Attendant word
AUX	auxiliary
BEN	benefactive
CFP	clause final particle
CLF	classifier
CLT	class term
COM	comitative
COMP	compound
CONJ	conjunction
COS	change of state marker
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directional
EMPH	emphatic
EUPH	euphonic
EXCL	exclamatory
FINALLY	finality particle
HORT	hortative
HS	hearsay
IMMF	immediate future
IMP	imperative
INTRUSIVE	intrusive particle
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
IRLS	irrealis
L.SUFF	loan verbal suffix
Lit.	literally
LOC	locative
LOCN	locational noun
MIR	mirative
NEG	negator
NOM	nominaliser
NP	noun phrase
ONMT	onomatopoeic word
PART	particle
PL	plural
PN	proper noun
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
PURP	purposive
Q	question particle
RLS	realis
SAP	speaker attitude particle
SG	singular
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
SUBD	subordinator
SUFF	suffix
SUPL	superlative
TB	Tibeto-Burman
TOP	topic
VCX	verb complex
VSM	verb sentence marker
WH	wh-question word

Burmese words are often cited in this thesis. In describing those Burmese words, I have adopted standard transliteration used in the Myanmar-English Dictionary, Myanmar Language Commission 2008. These are shown below.

Consonants

က	k [k]	ခ	hk [k^h]	ဂ/ဃ	g [g]	င	ng [ŋ]
စ	s [s]	ဆ	hs [s^h]	ဇ/ဈ	z [z]	ည	nj [ɲ]
တ	t [t]	ထ	ht [t^h]	ဒ/ဓ	d [d]	န/ဏ	n [n]
ပ	p [p]	ဖ	hp [p^h]	ဗ/ဘ	b [b]	မ	m [m]
ယ	j [j]	ရ	r [ɾ]	လ/ဠ	l [l]	ဝ	w [w]
သ	th [t̪]	ဟ	h [h]	ၐ	sh [ʃ]		

Medial Consonants

◌ျ	-r-	◌ြ	-y-	◌ွ	-w-	◌ှ	h-

Vowels and Tones

	creaky		mid		low	
/i/	◌ိ	i.	◌ီ	i	◌ီး	i:
/e/	◌ေ့	ei.	◌ေ	ei	◌ေး	ei:
/ɛ/	◌ဲ့	e.	◌ိုင်	e	◌ဲ	e:
/a/	◌	a.	◌ာ	a	◌ား	a:
/u/	◌ု	u.	◌ူ	u	◌ူး	u:
/o/	◌ို့	ou.	◌ို	ou	◌ိုး	ou:
/ɔ/	◌ော့	o.	◌ော်	o	◌ော	o:
/ʔ/		'				

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins by explaining the aims and scope of this thesis and the data and its presentation. Subsequently, it looks at general background information of the language community. It is organised in the following order: 1.1 Aims and scope, 1.2 The data and its presentation, 1.3 The land, 1.4 The people and their language, and, finally, 1.5 Previous research.

1.1 Aims and scope

The analysis is designed to serve three main purposes. First, it is designed to serve as documentation of this endangered language in a systematic way, including phonemic analysis, syllable structure, tone, morphophonemics, and grammatical description. Second, it is designed to serve as a reference for linguists, anthropologists, and other scholars engaged in language research or with other interests in the language and culture of the Kadu. Third, it is designed to serve as a foundation for the development of a Kadu writing system and teaching materials to aid in the preservation and maintenance of the Kadu language for the benefit of future generations of Kadu people.

1.2 The data and its presentation

This study is the result of about seven months of fieldwork in the Kadu-speaking areas. The primary focus in this research is the Kadu dialect spoken in Settau village, Banmauk Township, Katha District, Sagaing Division, Myanmar. Although there are some slight differences of accent or speed of speech in how their language is spoken in different areas, the differences are so trivial that the Kadu use their own speech variety to communicate with people from other villages and understand everything. The Settau variety was selected for the following reasons. First, according to a sociolinguistic survey reported in Sangdong 2008, the speakers of Kadu reported that Kadu dialects spoken across the region are very similar. Therefore, selecting one variety of Kadu to describe will benefit the entire Kadu population and will undoubtedly broaden linguistic studies in this extremely interesting and long-neglected area of the linguistic world. Secondly, Settau is not only the largest existing Kadu village but also one where the language vitality is high. Thirdly, geographically it is not very far–just two miles–from Banmauk Township.

This work primarily uses three kinds of data: library-based data for theoretical studies, recorded wordlists, and language texts. First, all the available sources on Kadu, both in English and Burmese, were studied. Next, a wordlist of over 1000 items was collected from the Settau Kadu speakers. These words were transcribed and analysed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to determine syllable structure, phonemes, tones, stress, and intonation. Third, several texts were also recorded–primarily from the Settau

speakers and from speakers from other locations as well. These texts were double-checked and interlinearised with the help of two chief language consultants. Data was also collected during intimate contact with the language in the natural setting of actual day-to-day use.

This thesis uses about seven hours of recordings (see Appendix B). All the recordings, both the wordlist and the texts, were done under non-laboratory conditions using the following equipment: Zoom H4, Zoom H4n, and an external Sony ECM-44B electret condenser microphone. The data was compared and double-checked with two other Kadu speakers from the same village.

The recorded texts were then broken down into clauses using the free digital audio editor Audacity 1.2.6. After that, three of my chief language consultants who were literate in Burmese used Burmese script to transcribe them. There were many shortcomings and difficulties encountered during this process–one of the reasons being a huge phonological gap between literary and colloquial Burmese. To Kadu language consultants, this is particularly true when it comes to representing Kadu final consonant sounds. For instance, written Burmese makes distinctions between final bilabial and alveolar nasals, however, in colloquial styles these distinctions are not heard. Therefore, Kadu speakers puzzle over which Burmese symbol to use when representing the sound of the final bilabial nasal consonant. This is just one illustration of the difference between written and colloquial Burmese. However, we continued using Burmese script

in spite of many drawbacks. Our main reason for doing this was just to get a general idea of the text. Those texts were later put into a language database, first in Toolbox database software and later SIL Fieldworks version 6.0.5, using a Roman-based orthography I developed in order to see the Kadu sound and grammar patterns accurately and to extract a glossary. Example sentences extracted from those recorded texts are cited in this thesis, as in the following example.

(1) *ngaká phónshā wánpán kámpán īplakáé* (18:17)

ngā	= ká	phón-shā	wán	= pán	kám	= pán	īp	= laká	= é
1SG	= TOP	wood-small	chop	= COS	lay	= COS	sleep	= MIR	= SAP

'I cut the small trees, lay (them) down, and slept (there).

The first line in italics gives the natural utterance. Spaces mark phonological words. The example is represented with two numbers in brackets: one at the beginning and the other at the end. The first bracketed number at the start of the sentence provides an example number used throughout this thesis. The other bracketed number, which contains two numbers separated by ':' (colon) at the right end provides the source from which this example was extracted. The first number represents the number of the text and the second number represents the clause or sentence within that text. All my recorded language data texts are simply named as Text 01 and Text 02, etc. (The list of texts that were used for this thesis is given in Appendix B).

The second line provides the morpheme break-down and the third line gives morpheme-by-morpheme English glosses. Most, if not all, grammatical morphemes are abbreviated

using SMALL CAPS. The representations of these abbreviated forms are presented in the list of abbreviations and conventions on page xviii. The colon ':' is used for a contracted syllable which contains two grammatical categories. For example, the term *píng* is analysed as a contraction of *ìng,* a directional verbal particle, plus *pán*, a change of state aspectual particle. In this case, it will be glossed as 'DIR$_2$:COS'.

In the English free translation in line four, items in brackets are added simply to provide the English words that are not overtly expressed in Kadu. Some Kadu morphemes are not possible to gloss with a single word. In that case, English glosses which contain more than one word have a dot '.' instead of a space within the gloss (See line three in example (2)).

(2) *ínnúkànghàpánták ngaúpánkaú* (18:31)

ín-núk-àng-hà	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=**pánkaú**
NEG-flame-DIR$_1$-know.how	=COS	=HS	say	=**as.it.is.the.case**

'As it is the case that (it) didn't flame,'

However, standard hyphenated English words such as 'sister-in-law' will be used as is. In cases where items in English and Kadu correspond, in general, but have divergent semantic details, the difference is left for the reader to infer from the context. For example, words such as *phī* 'to wash one's face', *phaú* 'to wash vegetables', *chī* 'to wash clothes', *kazeú* 'to wash vegetables with a basket', and *sīn* 'to wash one's hand' are all glossed with a single word 'wash' in English. Conversely, *hīng* 'third person

singular' in Kadu has no gender distinction. In this case, it will be glossed as '3SG' and in the English free translation it will be indicated either as 'he' or 'she' because it is normally obvious from the context whether the person referred to is male or female.

1.3 The land

This section describes the geographical and demographical setting of Kadu, discussed in two sections: 1.3.1 Kadu in the larger context and 1.3.2 Kadu in the immediate context.

1.3.1 Kadu in the larger context

Myanmar, formerly known as Burma, is one of the largest countries in Southeast Asia. It lies on the western edge of the large peninsula that used to be known as Indo-China and is now called Mainland Southeast Asia. The country is cut off from the outer world by hills in the North, West, and East and the sea on the South. It is probably one of the most culturally and linguistically rich and diverse regions in all Asia. According to a Myanmar Ministry of Foreign Affairs July, 2003 report, the population of Myanmar is estimated at over 52.4 million with 135 national races. Many small speech groups of a few thousand people still maintain their mother tongues in every-day life in many parts of the country. The country is bordered by China on the Northeast, Tibet on the North, India on the Northwest, Bangladesh on the West, Laos and Thailand on the East, and the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea on the South and Southwest. Therefore,

Myanmar is not only a fascinating place for linguistic studies but also is positioned at the heart of the cultural-geographical crossroads of East, South and Southeast Asia (See Figure 1).

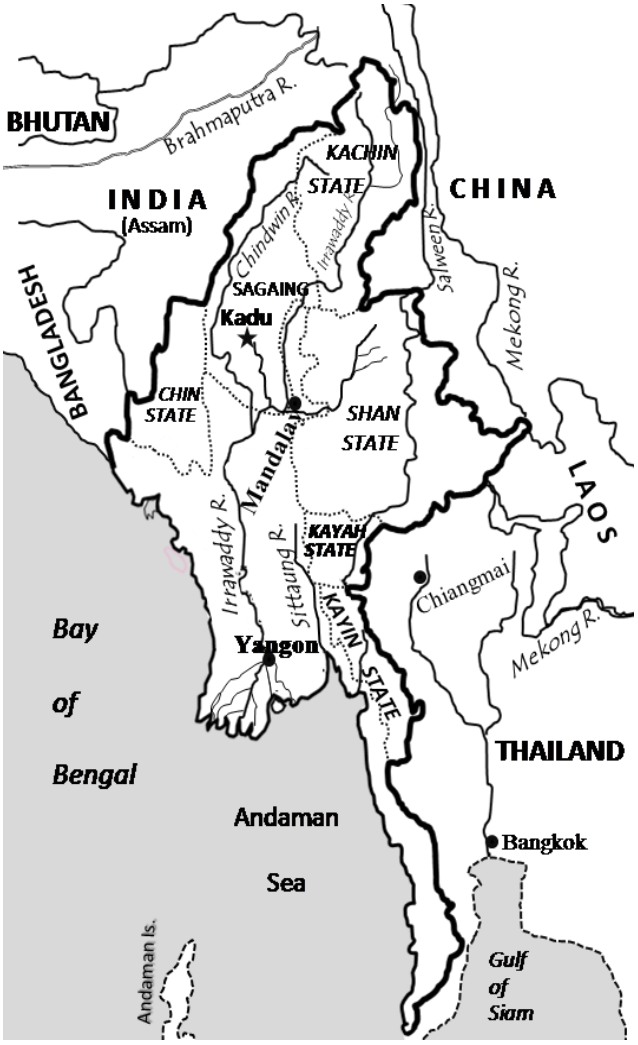

Figure 1: Map of Myanmar and surrounding countries

"The country lies between longitude 92^0 and longitude 102^0 east and between latitude 10^0 and latitude 29^0 north. Most of the country falls within the tropics, and the climate, flora, and fauna of the plains are accordingly tropical" (Donnison 1970: 22-27). The

country has two basic political delimitations: states and divisions. There are seven states, which are named after seven major races: Kachin, Kaya, Karen, Chin, Mon, Rakhine, and Shan. There is an equal number of divisions: Ayeyawaddy, Bago, Magway, Mandalay, Sagaing, Thnintharyi and Yangon, most of which are in lowland areas and predominantly populated by ethnic Bamar/Burmese. Most of the states, on the other hand, are sparsely populated and are on highlands. The country is proud to embrace languages of the Austro-Asiatic, Tai-Kadai, Austronesian, and Tibeto-Burman families. The linguistic diversity is fascinating but seriously understudied. Thus, it attracts and invites modern scholars of linguistics and anthropology.

Sagaing Division, where this research took place, is the largest division in the country (See Figure 2). It is home to many Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages such as Bamar, Chin, Naga, and Kadu. Many Tai/Shan speaking people, particularly Tailiang (Red Shan), are also found in this state. It is bordered by Arunachal Pradesh of India on the North; Nagaland and Manipur states of India, and Chin state of Myanmar on the West; Magwe and Mandalay divisions on the South; Shan state on the East; and Kachin state on the Northeast. The northern part is mountainous and home to many Naga languages. The southern part, however, is relatively flat and home to Bamar, Karen, Tai and Mon speakers. The majority of the population in this division are Bamar speakers. In the southwest part, the area adjacent to Chin state, several Chin languages are spoken. The central part has been home to the Kadu and their related speech varieties for centuries.

The Chindwin is the main river in this division. Its source is in Kachin state in the north and it flows into the country's principal river, the Irrawaddy, in the south. Agriculture is the chief occupation. The leading crops, as in many parts of the country, are rice, wheat, corn, sesame, peanuts, cotton, and tobacco. The division is one of the leading producers of wheat in Myanmar. Myanmar's most significant border trade post with India, Tamu, is in this division. Many products of India and Myanmar are exchanged through this post. Figure 2 shows a map of the Sagaing division. The shaded area represents the extent of the historical homeland of the Kadu, according to their oral history (Luce 1985:36).

Many parts of Sagaing division, including the Kadu areas, are still poor in terms of communication and transportation. For example, there are no proper roads which connect major towns in the Naga language speaking areas. People still rely on the Chindwin river, which is navigable by small motor boat throughout the year. Difficulties in communication and transportation in the hill areas range from less serious to extreme, and probably account for much of the linguistic diversity we find. As in the case of the Kadu, many language groups in Myanmar remain accessible only by foot to this day.

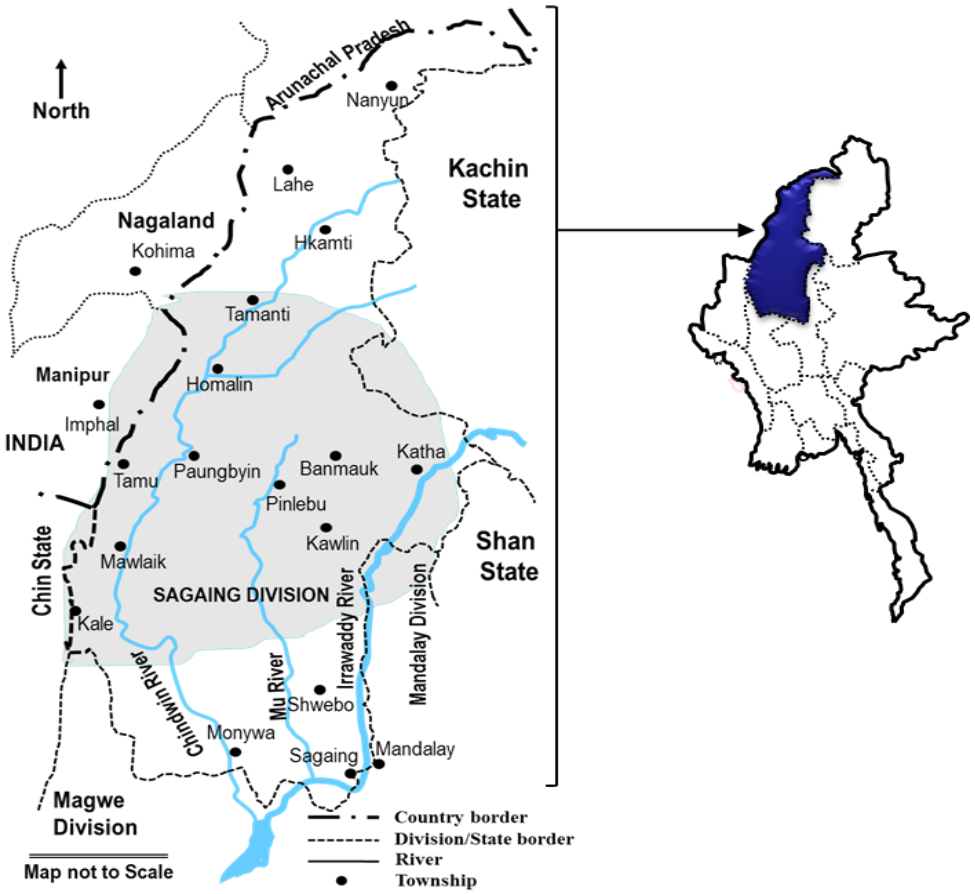

Figure 2: Map of Sagaing Division

1.3.2 Kadu in the immediate context

The speakers of the Kadu language live in Banmauk, Indau, and Pinlebu, which are three townships in Katha District, Sagaing Division, Myanmar (see Figure 3 and Figure 4). Among these three, Banmauk has the largest Kadu population and Pinlebu has the smallest Kadu population. See Figure 3 for a rough hand-drawn map showing the township boundaries. The current Kadu populated area is highlighted in gray.

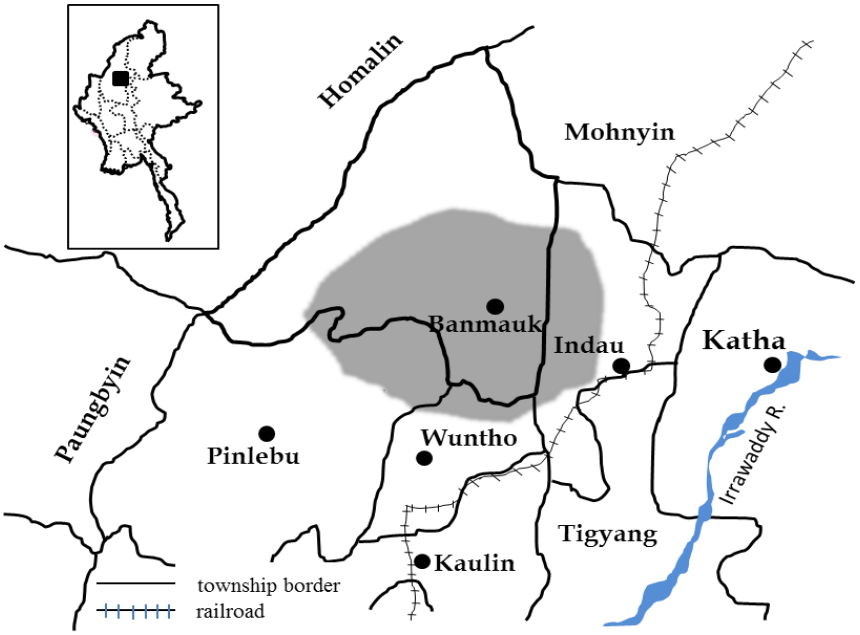

Figure 3: The current Kadu populated areas

All three townships are adjacent to and just west of the north-south Mandalay-Myitkyina railroad, and about halfway between those two cities. The Mandalay-Myitkyina railway tracks pass through Indau Township, so Indau has become a gateway to reach the Kadu community. Travelling to these areas, one must rely on Mandalay-Myitkyina trains. There are a couple of trains that depart from each location every day. All trains departing Mandalay leave at different times in the afternoon. Travelling by train to the Kadu community is not convenient, as most of the trains reach Indau between 1 and 4 am.

There are some buses which run regularly between Indau and Banmauk but transportation to villages around these townships is still very poor. Most of the roads are just dirt tracks so they are dusty during the dry season and muddy during the wet

season. Ox carts (and in some area, horses), are still the main means of transportation but motor bikes from China are becoming an important means of local transportation. A lot of people travel on foot even for 10-15 miles. For example, for Kadu high school students, walking two to three miles during the school day is not considered a long distance. Nowadays, some of the roads have been upgraded to allow motor bikes to travel throughout the year.

Figure 4: Geographical location of Banmauk, Pinlebu, and Indau Townships

Although the Kadu language speaking area falls in the tropical zone, it has cool, pleasant weather most of the year. The coldest months are November through January. The rainy season is May through October. The heaviest rain is usually expected in June and July. Rain in the dry season is rare.

Settau village, where most of the data used in this thesis was collected, is situated just about two miles west of Banmauk Township. It is inhabited purely by Kadu, except for a few intermarriages with other speakers. The elders from the village told me that the village was founded by their forefathers who migrated from Taungmau village in the 1780s. According to one of the recorded texts which explains the origin of Settau Kadu, there are two hypotheses regarding how they got this name.

The first hypothesis is that it may have come from a Burmese term ကြက်တော <**krakto:**>; which may be literally translated as a place plentiful with fowl. According to Kadu elders, when the people first moved into the area, there may have been a lot of wild fowl. Therefore, the place may have been called at first ကြက်တော <**krakto:**> see example (3) below.

(3) *zayàyítá kóngyóyósàpè pòkháū ngaúkà cíceū paútamā ngaúlakàé* (10:25)

zayà	=yí	=tá	kóng-yóyó-sà	=pè	**pòkhá-ū**
some	=also	=EMPH	hill-simple-DIM	=LOC	**forest-fowl**

ngaúkà	cíceū	paú-ta	=mā	ngaú	=lakà	=é
as.for	very	plenty-L.SUF	=RLS	say	=MIR	=SAP

'Some (people) said in that little hill there were plenty of wildfowl, it is said.

The other hypothesis is that it may have derived from the term ဗွက်တော <**bwakto:**>, also a Burmese term, which literally means 'muddy place'; see example (4) below.

(4) *zayàyítá pwát ngāmāyítá ngaúcímā* (10:44)

zayà	=yí=tá	**pwát**	ngā	=mā	=yí=tá	ngaú-cí	=mā
some	=also=EMPH	**mud**	exist	=RLS	=also=EMPH	say-PL	=RLS

'Some, as well, said there was mud.'

Many local leaders favor the first hypothesis.

1.4 The people and their language

This section looks at the general background of the people and their language, presented in the following order: 1.4.1 The people, 1.4.5 Language context and language contact, 1.4.2 Education, 1.4.3 Livelihood, and 1.4.4 Religion and spiritual life.

1.4.1 The people

The Kadu, who called themselves “Asak”, are well known among their neighbors for their hospitality. No traveler arriving in a village unannounced or a sick or old person will lack a roof or a meal. Partly it is the attitude of their Buddhist religion and partly it is the character of the people. The Kadu population in Banmauk Township is estimated to be at least 30,000 by the local Kadu leaders. There are also Kadu villages in Indau and Pinlebu Townships and elsewhere, but it is not known how many Kadu live in these places. The pronounciation of the word “Sak” in Burmese is ‘Thet’. Taylor (1922) claimed that the Sak inhabited the upper part of the Irrawaddy valley and might have

also spread into Manipur and become the ancestors of the Andro and Sengmai tribes. Luce (1985:36) confirms this claim and says that the Sak languages were "once spread over the whole north of Burma, from Manipur perhaps to northern Yunnan." Luce considers the Kadu to be the earliest settlers of the region, saying "a sure sign of antiquity is when one finds a language, unmistakably fragmented, spoken by minorities in remote places, widely separated from each other by major languages." Linguistically, there is a strong connection between Kadu and the Thet or Sak, who are scattered parts of Rakhine State and also across the Bangladesh border (Ah Ko Saw 1988:1). They are also sometimes refer to as "Thau Kadu" and "Thet Kadu" (Nu Nu 1991:3). The native speakers of Sak in Bangladesh often refer to themselves as Chak or Chakma, however,linguistically, the Chak is a distinct group from Chakma (Maggard 2007:1). The Chak are unmistakably kin of the Kadu. Many Kadu leaders also acknowledge this fact.

The Kadu, under the name Kantu, were the dominant group in the တကောင်း Tagaung kingdom[1] of upper Burma (Ah Ko Saw 1975:12; Bradley 2002:86). The local people explained to me that the word Tagaung, with high tone on the second syllable, came from *ta-kaūng* 'leg-step on' which literally means the stepping place in Kadu. Even today, Kadu use this expression to indicate a place belonging to someone. However, there is also a popular expression used by the Bamar which says မြန်မာအစတကောင်းက

[1] According to the Burmese chronicles, Tagaung was the first Burmese kingdom in northern Myanmar. However, there is no archaeological evidence to prove the existence of this particular Burmese kingdom. If it existed, it could have been as early as 128 B.C. (Htin Aung 1967:6-7).

<mrangma asa.takong:ka.> which literally means Bamar begins from Tagaung. I leave it to the historians to do further research on the historical birthplace of the Kadu due to limited time and space, except for briefly looking at some available historical sources of the Kadu migration into Burma.

Than Htun (2003) suggested that they may have migrated into Burma in the 4th century from the North and their dominant power in upper Burma was weakened by the migration wave of the ancestors of the Bamar[2] in about the 9th century. Before the Burmese intrusion, the Kadu had a long history of contact with the people called Pyu (Nu Nu 1991). Luce (1985) suggests that the Kadu migrated into Myanmar before the Pyu, however, some claim that they came into Myanmar following the Pyu (Ah Ko Saw 1975:11). When the Chin entered the Chindwin valley, the Kadu were split into two groups and the fall of Kadu was completed by the Shan, who rushed in torrents into Myanmar when the area now known as Yunnan in China was seized by the Mongols in the 13th century (Luce 1985:43). This once strong and powerful dominant people of upper Burma are now scattered in and around Katha district, Sagaing Division, and the north of Rakhine State[3]. They struggle for the survival of their language and culture in the midst of very strong influences from Burmese and Shan.

[2] In this paper the term Bamar refers to native speakers of Burmese; it doesn't include other ethnic minorities who also speak Burmese.

[3] Rakhine State was formerly known as Arakan State.

The Kadu in Katha District may be further roughly grouped into three groups: Settau, Mauteik, and Maukhwin. The Settau, also known as Kwan Kadu, are the largest Kadu speaking group. The majority of Settau Kadu live in Banmauk Township. The second largest group is Mauteik, also known as Tapan Kadu. They live scattered around Indau Township. The Maukhwin Kadu group, the smallest Kadu speaking group, is mainly found in the southwest of Banmauk Township.

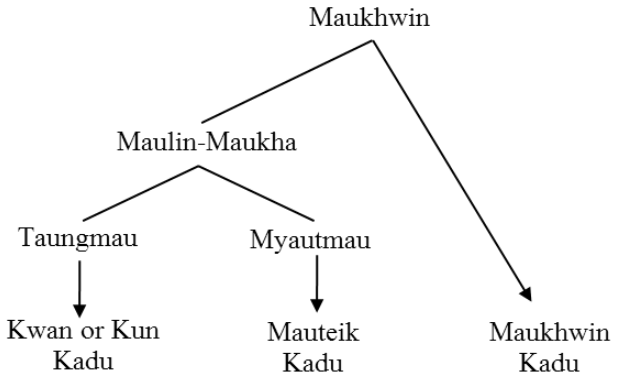

Figure 5: Classification of the Kadu varieties based on their recent migration

All three Kadu groups trace their recent migration from Maukhwin village in Pinlebu Township. One of the story tellers begins the Kadu migration story with (5):

(5) *azák azáq maūkhwīnkáqták máttaúpeúcí* (10:01)

azák azáq maūkhwīn =káq =ták mát-ta-peú-cí
PN begin Maukhwin =LOC =HS note-L.SUFF-keep-PL
'Keep note that Kadu begins from Maukhwin.'

Maukhwin village is situated at the northeast corner of Pinlebu Township. During my fieldwork, I, along with one of my chief language consultants, visited some of the old

Kadu villages in Pinlebu Township, including Maukhwin. Unfortunately, no one speaks Kadu in that village anymore. It is unclear whether people have switched to speaking Burmese or Burmese people later moved in. According to the story, some of the people from Maukhwin village moved to a place called Maulin-Maukha, a place where they produced abundant salt. From there, some of them moved south and founded two villages: Taungmau and Myautmau. Presumably the split into three main Kadu branches begins from there. Kadu who live in villages around Banmauk Township claim that they are the descendants of Taungmau village. They refer to themselves as Kwan or Kun Kadu. On the other hand, Kadu who live in villages around Indau Township claim that they are the descendants of Myautmau village. They refer to themselves as Mauteik Kadu or Tapan Kadu. The people who remained in Maukhwin village later moved into the southwest of Banmauk Township and become known as Maukhwin Kadu. Among the three groups, Maukhwin Kadu has the smallest population. Their current location, known as Anauktan-ngaywa (Lit. western five villages), is about 30 miles west of Banmauk Township. They live in close proximity to the Kanan ethnic group.

The name Sak or Thet is used in at least three ways in the literature. First, it refers to the Sak that live in the north of Rakhine State and eastern Bangladesh (Bradley 1997:25; Lewis 2010). This name also refers to “ancient Saks”, one of the first ethnic groups to inhabit Myanmar, and the ancestors of the Kadu and Kanan (Luce 1985:36-40). It is also the term the Kadu in Katha District use to refer to themselves.

Alternate names for the Kadu include Asak, Gadu, Gannan, Kado, Kadu-Gannan, Kato, Katu, Kudo, Mawteik, Puteik, Sak, That, Thet, Woni (Paul 2009).

1.4.2 Education

Traditionally, the education of Kadu children was limited to male children only. It began at the Buddhist monasteries when the male children were sent at an early age to study Buddhism. They were to remain there for three to six years. The children learned not only their religious practices but also learned to read and write Burmese. Women didn't have this privilege, therefore, nearly all of the older women are illiterate. A few decades ago government-funded standard education was introduced to the Kadu villages. Many primary schools were established in the region and opened opportunities for both male and female children.

The language of instruction at school is Burmese. Today, almost all the children go to school and learn to read and write Burmese. Settau village has a middle school and most of the children from Settau and nearby villages go to that school. The children who complete middle school go to Banmauk for high school, which is about 2 miles away from Settau village.

Local leaders from Settau village reported a continuously high drop-out rate at the high school level among the Kadu children. One of the reasons, they believe, is that most of the children cannot cope with the school education because teaching in the schools is all

in Burmese and the Burmese proficiency among the Kadu children is relatively low. Another reason for the high drop-out rate is the fact that the Kadu are poor and the schools charge various fees to support the teachers. As they live in a remote setting, it is difficult to find qualified school teachers. Also, education is still not a vital part of Kadu culture, so most of the young people quit school after completion of primary school.

1.4.3 Livelihood

The Kadu homeland is a rich land in which there is plenty of food and starvation is not known. Paddy rice is the main crop grown in the region and all the Kadu people practice a similar type of cultivation. The Kadu are hard working and expert rice growers. They practice both wet rice field and slash and burn cultivation. Both Kadu men and women are involved in paddy rice production. The cultivation of rice involves intensive and extremely arduous work from the time the monsoon rains soften the ground sufficiently to permit plowing and planting until the crop is reaped in the winter. Men do most of the plowing and the clearing of the fields, whereas women hoe the fields, spread the seeds, and transplant the rice seedlings. Planting of rice has to be done by hand, bent almost double, in tropical rain. Apart from paddy field planting, men are also responsible for gathering wood and building houses. Women, on the other hand, cook and do most of the housework. Traditionally, it is the responsibility of the women to weave and sew cloth. However, as modern clothing is available at cheap prices in nearby markets, traditional weaving is becoming a lost art among the Kadu women.

Modern methods of cultivation have had little effect on this area and they still use the old traditional ways of cultivation. Cotton and tea are also grown. Tea is used for drinking and welcoming guests. In addition, sesame, chili peppers, beans, tobacco, onions, garlic, eggplant, tomatoes, gourds, pumpkins, cucumbers, and many other varieties of vegetables are grown in the fields. A wide variety of fruits, mushrooms, roots, leaves, and other wild vegetables are also gathered from nearby forests.

Figure 6: Paddy field cultivation in the Kadu region

As the population increased over time, the land in the lowlands could not provide sufficient food for the people and this forced the local people to extend their fields up into the hills and to practice slash and burn cultivation.

The most important domestic animals are the cow and water buffalo in terms of the people's livelihood. They are the main means used to plow wet rice fields and carry goods. Other traditional domestic animals include chickens, ducks, and pigs, which provide meat for the family.

Young people, typically, leave their villages and go to nearby townships to earn money after the planting season is over. Some of the Kadu people travel all the way to the Chindwin river area and to northern Myanmar to labor in the private gold and jade mining businesses.

Figure 7: A typical Kanan house in Nanza village

Most of the Kadu villages are located on spurs of hills just above the valley floor. The main road generally cuts through the middle of the village and houses are built on both sides of the road. As the area is abundant with teak (Tectona grandis), most of the Kadu houses are built with invaluable teak, or of a kind of ironwood tree ပျဉ်းကတိုး <**prangkatou:**> (Xylia dolabriformis) and bamboo. Thatch roofing is common, however, zinc roofing is becoming more common. Most of the houses are built on stilts and the area under the house is left open to keep the family's animals and firewood. For some people, this place is used for weaving and storing some of the family's property.

Modern Kadu houses are rectangular with wooden siding and high roofs. The older Kadu said that their traditional house was identical with Kanan houses with a more oval shape and low hanging roof. The traditional Kadu house was built without using a single nail. They use a locking joints system. Traditional construction of a house used cane/rattan and a thin strip of bamboo as rope, thatch for roofing, and timber or bamboo frames for partitions.

The fireplace, which is the central point of the main room, has a large circular three or four legged iron potholder. The main room is used as a kitchen and common room and there are also one or two bedrooms where people sleep on the wooden floor on mats made of straw with pillows made of wood. The typical house also has a veranda at the back, which is used for drying paddy, corn, or other items and as a chatting place during the warm season. The house is generally occupied by an extended family. They live closely with their kin, with marriageable women leaving for other villages and women from other villages marrying in. Monogamy has been practiced in the Kadu community for many centuries.

1.4.4 Religion and spiritual life

The Kadu, like most of the neighboring peoples, Kanan, Shan, and Burmese, have been practicing Buddhism for centuries. They are almost exclusively Buddhists. The exact time the Kadu converted to Buddhism is not clearly known. They first practiced

Mahayana Buddhism and probably had converted to Theravada Buddhism during the reign of Anawrahta (1044-1086 AD) or earlier (Maung Kyan Shin 1994:238-240). Luce (1985) and Than Htun (1994) suggested a much earlier date by saying that one of the early groups entering Burma, the Pyu, who, probably in AD 638, founded the first great Buddhist capital in Burma, had been converted to Buddhism by the Sak (Thet).

Figure 8: A monastery in Settau village

The Kadu are devoted to their religious teachings and believe that their good merit will bring good fortune and a better life in the next life cycle. The enormous monasteries are one of the signs of their generous almsgiving and devotion to their religion. The monks not only play important roles in religion but also within the social structure, from weddings to funerals. The ရှင်ပြု <**hrangpru.**> novitiation ceremony of male children is one of the most important religious activities among the Kadu. Unlike the Burmese, they conduct combined community novitiations, including over 30 novices in one

ceremony that normally takes place during the summer and lasts 4-5 days. During this ceremony, the whole community comes together and shares the tasks for the success of the ceremony.

Although Buddhism is a very real part of their daily life, the Kadu are strongly superstitious people, as well. Among the Kadu there is a widespread belief in the existence of spirits (both good and evil) and many elements of animism have been mixed into their Buddhism. They believe good Nats (spirits) bring prosperity and bad Nats bring misfortune. They are scared of bad Nats and sacrifice chickens, eggs, fermented fish, fresh fish, and flowers in order not to bring calamities upon themselves. Some portions of each meal are sacrificed to the good Nats to bring good merit. Kadu people believe that everything they see is possessed by some kind of Nat. Even today, they still make sacrifices during their travels to please Nats at nearby shrines for protection from the danger of wild animals such as wild tigers and bears. They believe that only with the permission of the Nat can one get bitten by wild animals.

Among the Kadu, မိုင်းတုန်ရှင်ကြီး <moung:tun hrangkri:> is the chief Nat of all. All the Kadu villages make sacrifices to this Nat at least once a year. It is a title in Burmese which may be translated (<moung:toung> 'a mountain's name' <hrang> 'master' <kri:> 'big') as the master ruler of the Maindung mountain. According to some local leaders, his real name was *euhám*. In the story recorded about this man, he was a lazy and good-for-nothing type of person. However, fortunately, he happened to get a magical drum

which fulfilled all his desires and wishes and he later became a very powerful man. When he died, he was considered a supernatural being and the Kadu worship him even today. Look at the example below extracted from a story about *euhám*.

(6) *maléq maítùng ashīncíká àngpanáq zī sétcā lùànghaíkkáq hīngká lakò hamán thànglatá*. (08:127)

maléq	maítùng	ashīn-cí	=ká	àng	=panáq	**zī-seútcā**	
1PL	PN	lord-big	=TOP	that	=NOM	**drum-magical.weapon**	
lū-àng	haíkkà	hīng	=ká	lakò	hamán	thà-àng	=tá
get-DIR_1	and.then	3SG	=TOP	SAP	spirit	be-DIR_1	=EMPH

'As for our Maitung master, he became a spirit/Nat when he got a magical drum.'

Besides this Nat, there are also regional, village, and house guardian Nats. When someone from the household gets sick, sacrifices are made to the *mángtúng* 'house Nat' for the remedy. Making sacrifices to the house Nat is the duty of the oldest female in the family. Another Nat that is very common among the Kadu community is a compound guardian Nat called *cèī* or *caì*.

1.4.5 Language context and language contact

The Kadu have a long history of contact with different peoples. It may be because of these historical contact patterns that some groups such as the Chin, the Jingphaw, and the Shan claim that the Kadu are related to them. These claims are not made based on linguistic evidence but are, rather, motivated by political gains.

Houghton (1893) made an interesting remark about the Kadu and their language: "who the Kadu were originally remains uncertain, but now they are little more than Burmese and Shan half-breeds with traces of Chin and possibly Kachin[4] blood. If they ever had a distinct language it is now extinct or has been modified so much by all its neighbours as to be little better than a kind of Yiddish." I found a similar attitude when meeting with Shan speakers in the Homalin and Myitkyina areas, some of whom were claiming that the Kadu-Kanan are part of the Shan, and referred to them as Shan-Kadu. Many Jingphaw speakers also made a similar claim that the Kadu are related to them. Some Kadu talk about a relationship with the Jingphaw as cousins. I, being one of the ethnic minorities within the Kachin, was warmly welcomed in many villages, and was considered one of their kin. I have no knowledge or time to work out the Kadu relationship with the Chin but I must admit that the Kadu lexicon contains many words

[4] I assume that the term Kachin here refers to the Jingphaw speakers. However, the term Kachin for referring to the Jingphaw alone should be avoided as it is now widely accepted as a collective term for six ethnic groups: Jingphaw, Lawngwaw, Lahi, Zaiwa, Rawang and Lisu.

cognate with both Shan and Jingphaw. However, looking at other linguistic features, Kadu is quite distant from Shan, however, the numerals one to ten (§3.2.2) and some kinship terms (§3.1.1.2.6) are certainly loanwords from Shan. It is highly possible that the presence of the Shan numbers in Kadu is the result of the Shan economic domination in the area for a long period. The Shan are the people who run the five-day bazaars, so all Kadu and Kanan counting is in Shan (Luce 1985:35). However, today the Kadu are shifting toward the Burmese counting system. Upon reaching the Kadu area, I found out that there are many Kadu words which are clear cognates with Jingphaw.

Linguistic relationships between Jingphaw and Kadu still need to be established. However, lexical and syntactic similarities between Jingphaw and Kadu are much more promising than with the Shan. The Burma Gazetteer (1900) also suggested that Kadu and Jingphaw are of the same stock. It says regarding the relationship of Jingphaw and Kadu, that "the Kadu came from the Pagan country before it fell from its position as the capital province. They gradually scattered. Those who ascended to the hills are called Kachins; those who settled in the plains became Kadu. They were all, however, of the same race and spoke the same tongue" (Gazetteer 1900:575). Just for the sake of comparison, I have compared some of the Kadu lexical items that are similar to Jingphaw (see Table 1 and Table 2). Jingphaw wordlist items are written in the standard orthography. The tones in Jingphaw are unmarked. The diacritic ' ◌ॅ ' marks a short vowel [ə].

Kadu	Jingphaw	Gloss		Kadu	Jingphaw	Gloss
ashì	lăsi	be skinny		*phí*	hpai	sling/carry
haláp	kăhtap	stack		*phūn*	hpun	wrap
hamúk/kamúk	npu	under		*pū*	pru	emerge
hāp	hkrap	weep		*sák*	sa	send
kū	lăgu	steal		*thīn*	dip	press
lā	la	take		*thū*	htu	pound
lū	lu	get		*tī*	dwi	sweet
māt	mălap	forget		*ū*	lu	drink
mí	mări	buy		*yāp*	rap	cross
nám	mănam	smelly		*yīm*	rim	catch
ní	măni	laugh		*zāp*	tsap	stand

Table 1: Comparison of Kadu and Jingphaw verbs

Kadu	Jingphaw	Gloss		Kadu	Jingphaw	Gloss
ahà	ňhka	chin		*mán*	man	face
ān or ām	mam	paddy		*phón*	hpun	tree or wood
asák	ăsak	life/age		*salaú*	sau	cooking oil
awà	ăwa	father		*san*	shan	meat
cī	gwi	dog		*sàt*	shăt	husked rice
haláng	mărang	sky/rain		*satá*	shăta	moon
halí	hka li	rice seedling		*swá*	ăwa	tooth
kā	ga or ăga	earth, soil		*tacī*	măgyi	thigh
kaphú	lăpu	snake		*tāk*	lăta	hand
kasát	tsap	bear (animal)		*tapaúk*	lăbawp	calf (body part)
kayù	yu	rat		*ū*	u	chicken
kweu	woi or ăwoi	monkey		*wān*	wan	fire
maeú	moi	long ago		*zūn*	jum	salt

Table 2: Comparison of Kadu and Jingphaw nouns

The Kanan, who live along the Mu River to the southwest of the Kadu villages in Banmauk Township, are geographically the closest kin of the Kadu. The Kanan have

always been classified as a subgroup of Kadu and often associated under the name Kadu-Kanan. The Ethnologue (Lewis 2010) and many other sources group Kadu and Kanan together as one language. Culturally and linguistically they share many similarities and both people groups recognised these facts. Dawkins 2006 reported that there is a high degree of lexical similarity between Kadu and Kanan (see also Table 3 on page 34). Based on the statistics of 100 lexical items, the similarity between Kadu and Kanan varieties ranges from 82 to 92% (Dawkins 2006:14). Among the Kadu, the Maukwin Kadu have closer contact with the Kanan, as they live in closer proximity to the Kanan. The Kanan villages are located in very remote settings accessible only by foot for most of the year. The Kanan region in Banmauk Township is made up of 24 villages, (see Figure 5).

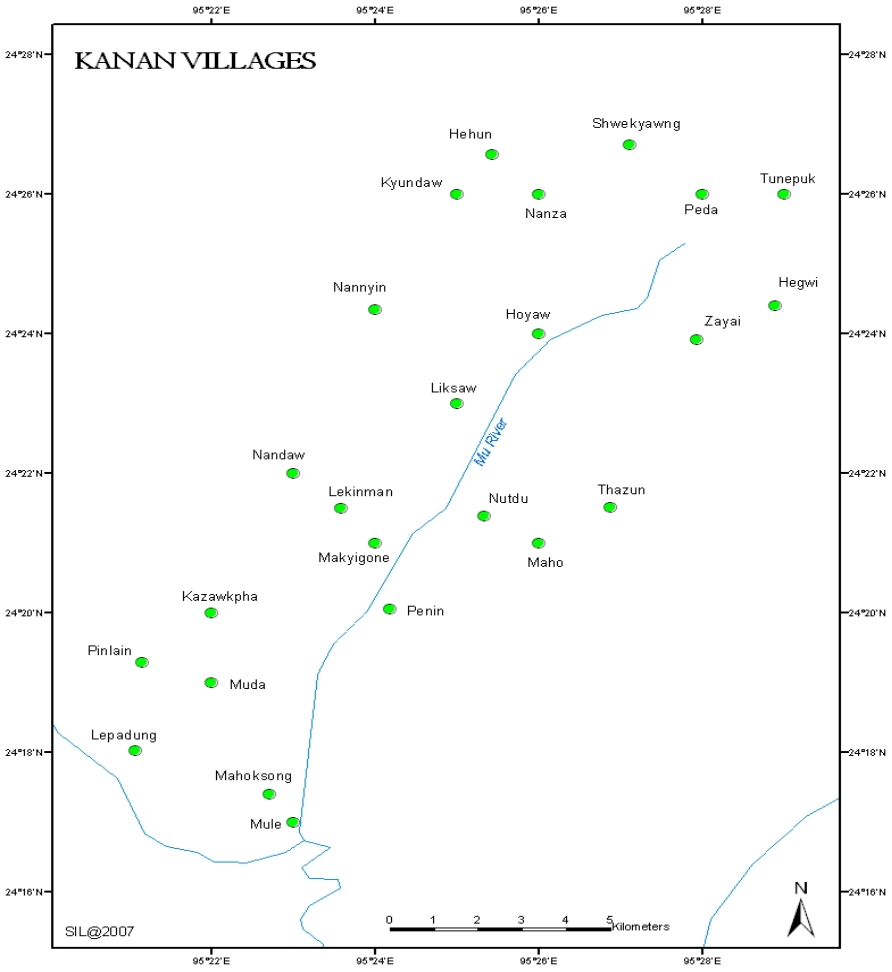

Figure 9: Kanan villages (from Dawkins 2006)

The Kadu lexicon also includes a massive number of loanwords from Burmese. The reason, obviously, is Burmese domination through religious (Buddhist) and government schools and Burmese mass media. Today, most of the Kadu, regardless of gender or age, with the exception of older people from remote villages, are bilingual in Kadu and Burmese. The Kadu people used to have a negative attitude toward the national language, Burmese. However, due to more freedom of travel, contact with outsiders,

and the education system, this attitude is changing and today Kadu are becoming more and more bilingual in Burmese. Burmese words are frequently used either for the names or ideas introduced by modern civilization or because they are considered more elegant. Burmese influence on the Kadu is so great that we not only find an extremely large number of Burmese loanwords in the Kadu lexicon, but also, typologically, Kadu is becoming more like Burmese. This may be due to superstratum influence (see LaPolla 2009). Similarity of the structure of Kadu with Burmese is shown in (7). Notice in the example below, although the forms of the words are different the structure is the same.

(7)	**Burmese:**	mi:	hrou.	=pri:	prei:-hta:	-louk	=te	=te.
	Kadu:	wān	sút	=pán	kát -peú	-àng	=mā	=ták
		fire	start.fire	=COS	run -keep	-DIR_1	=RLS	=HS
		'(She) burnt and ran away (from him), it is said.'						

A full explanation of Kadu's relationship with the Chin, Shan, Jingphaw, and Thet languages deserves a full-length study in its own right, but it would exceed my competence to attempt. However, Kadu is clearly a TB language and it deserves to be respected in its own right. Brown (1920) recognized the distinct vocabulary of Kadu belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family and further said that the structure and sound system of Kadu greatly resemble those of Burmese.

Some more examples of lexical comparison with other TB languages are presented in Table 3. Bodo and Eastern Naga data was taken from Burling (1983). The data from Burling (1971) is presented with a ' ˆ ' diacritic mark. The data from van Breugel

(2008) is represented with a superscript ‘ ^{s} ’. ‘x’ means no data is available. The Sak data are presented in two columns; one from Luce (1985) represented as Sak^{L}. and the other from Bernot (1966), represented as Sak^{B}. The Andro data was taken from Grierson (1928). The Kadu, Kanan, and Jingphaw data are my own. The PTB forms are from Matisoff (2003).

Gloss	Kadu	Kanan	Sak^{L}	Sak^{B}	Andro	Jingphaw	Boro	Atong	Garo	Konyak	Tangsa	PTB
sun	səmik	səmiʔ	tsămeʔ	čami	chamit	tɕan	san	raŋsan	sal	wanghi	rangsal	*nəy, *ka, *ring
moon	s^{h}əta	səta	s'ăda	θada	sat'a	ʃəta	x	jajong^{s}	jajoŋ	linyu	japi	*s/g-la
rain	həlaŋ	həlaŋ	hravehe ʔ	hraňhre ʔ	x	mraŋ^{3}	saraŋ	raŋwa	mikkaˆ	x	rangche	*r-wa
fire	wan	wan	vai	wan	wàl	wan	oʔr	waʔr	waʔl	vun	wal	*mey, *war
egg	təti	ti	ătji	kyi	x	udi	dauʔdəi	dauʔdəi	doʔci	x	woci	*t(w)i(y)
earth, soil	ka	ka	ka	ka	x	ga	haʔ	haʔ	aʔ	ka	hah	*r-ka
flower	pəpa	pəpa	ăpæ	apəň	x	nəmpan	biʔbar	bar	bibal	jupiang	pilpung	*ba:r
salt	sum	sum	tsəŋ	ciň	x	tɕum	sem	səmʔ^{s}	x	hum	sim	*gryum
ripe	miŋ	mɪŋ	me; ăme	x	x	m^{j}in	gumun	mən^{s}	min	x	x	*s-min
dog	tɕi	tɕi	kvɯ	kvɯ/s'ɤ	ki	gwi	x	gəiʔ	acakˆ	kui	hi	*k^{w}əy
snake	kəp^{h}u	kəp^{h}u	kăfɤ	kafɪ	x	ləpu	zi-bau	dəbau	cipbu	pu	puh	*s-b-ru:l
house	tɕim	tɕim	x	kiň	kem	n̥ta	noʔ	nok	nok	nok	x	*kyim ~ *kyum
finger	takɕi	takʃiʔ	taʃi	taʔkyuň	x	lataq	yaosi	chaksi^{s}	jaksi	yashao	jaksi	*m-yuŋ/ *yuŋ
water	wɛ	we	o	ɯ/i	me	k^{h}aʔ	dəi	dəi	ci	yiang	jung	*ti(y)
eat	jok	jauk	tsa^{3}	ca	šai	sha	zaʔ	saʔ	caʔ	ha	sat	*ʔam
sit	t^{h}oŋ	t^{h}ɔŋ	to	tuň	ton	duŋ	x	muʔ^{s}	asoŋ	x	tong	*m-d/tuŋ
kill	tanɕi	kapʃi	x	x	x	sat	x	soʔot^{s}	soʔot	x	tikduk	*g-sat
father	əwa	əwa	ăva	ava	àpà	əwa	piʔ-pa	a-wa	pagipa	pa	wa	*p^{w}a

Table 3: Comparison of Luish wordlists with other Sal TB languages and PTB forms

1.5 Previous research and linguistic classification

A partial record of languages in the Luish/Sak group has been done by linguists in the past few decades but no languages in this language group have been studied and classified well in the field of linguistics. Linguistically, Kadu is poorly described.

Brown (1920) wrote about Kadu and presented a brief description of its sound system. Brown appears to be the first one to acknowledge Kadu as a distinct language belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family: "clearly it is not a jargon of Burmese, Shan, and Kachin, but a member of the Tibeto-Burman family of legitimate and respectable descent." Brown (1920:12), however, suggested that Kadu closely resembles the Burmese structure and sound system. Prior to him, Houghton (1893), and a few decades later, Leach (1959), treated the Kadu and their language as mere hybrids. Houghton compared some vocabularies, and assigned Kadu to the Kachin-Kaga branch of the Tibeto-Burman family, and went on to say that its nearest relative was Sak. In his paper "Kadu and its relatives", he presented some comparative vocabulary of Kadu and of Andro and Sengmai. Some of the vocabulary items in common with these languages are characteristic of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages.

Brown described the Kadu sound inventory as consisting of (26) consonants and (11) vowels (Table 4). It is probably a phonetic representation of the Kadu sounds. The super-script symbols [^{p}, ^{t}, ^{k}] presented in the table are unreleased stops that appear only syllable finally and are in free variation with [p, t, and k] elsewhere. Aspiration is

marked with the symbol (‘). Brown recognized various dialects of Kadu and said Kanan is a variety of Kadu.

		Labial.	Dental.	Palatalized dental.	Palatal.	Velar.	Glottal.
Consonants.	Plosive	p, pʻ, ᵖ, b	t, tʻ, ᵗ, d	ʈ, ɖ		k, kʻ, ᵏ, g	ʔ
	Nasal	m	n			ŋ	
	Lateral		l				
	Fricative		s, sʻ, z, ʃ				h
	Semi-vowel	w			j	(w)	
					Front. Mixed. Back.		
Vowels.	Close	ʃ (u)			i u		
		⌊ (ʊ)			ɪ ʊ		
	Half close	(o)			e ə o		
	Half open	(ɔ)			ɛ ɔ		
	Open				a ɑ		

Table 4: Brown’s phonetic description of Kadu sounds

Grierson (1921), another early linguist, assigned the Kadu language to the Lui or Loi[5] group. He said, regarding this group “… there are certain servile tribes named Lui or Loi, who have languages of their own, which are quite distinct from Meitei, and, indeed, from any other form of speech found in the State of Manipur.” He compared some wordlist items and concluded that Kadu is closely connected with Andro (Undro) and Sengmai, omitting Chairel, and called them the Lui or Sak group. However, he was uncertain about whether these languages still existed in Manipur. Regarding the existence of these languages he said “I have spoken of these Loi languages as if they

[5] It is known that there are three types of Loi/Lui. They are Andro, Sengmai and Chairel. Loi is a Meithei term which means *slave* (Than Htun 1994).

were current at the present day; but this is a matter of some doubt. During the last half-century the influence of Meit'ei has become widely spread over the whole State, and has apparently superseded them. For our present purposes we must therefore treat them as extinct" (Grierson 1921:39).

Benedict (1972), in his grouping of Sino-Tibetan, instead of presenting a conventional language tree, placed Kachin as the centre of the geographical and linguistic diversity in the family (See Figure 10). Although many researchers and scholars today will disagree with some of Benedict's sub-group alignments, in fact, it was a commendable initial effort that introduced many newly discovered languages and gave the insight that languages can overlap and can be difficult to group. Benedict grouped Luish and Taman together. Tamans are now probably extinct but Brown (1911) did record the existence of the Taman. The village called Tamanthi, home of the Tamans, still exists today. It is located on the west bank of the upper Chindwin River but currently the people who live in Tamanthi village are all Nagas. The reason for the disappearance of the Tamans is unknown.

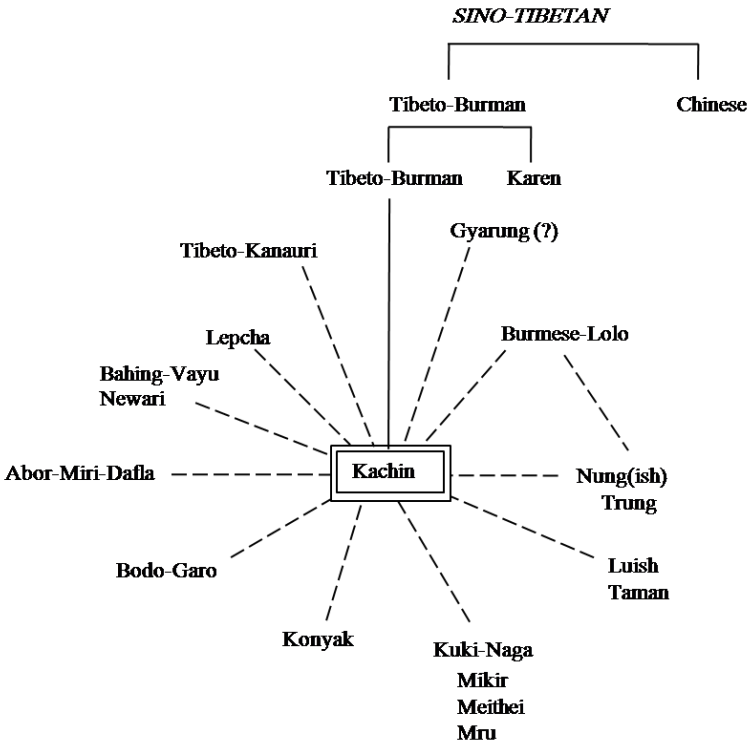

Figure 10: Benedict's Sino-Tibetan grouping

Shafer (1955) classified Tibeto-Burman languages into four groups; Bodic, Baric, Burmic and Karenic. He assigned Kadu and Sak under the Luish branch of the Burmic division.

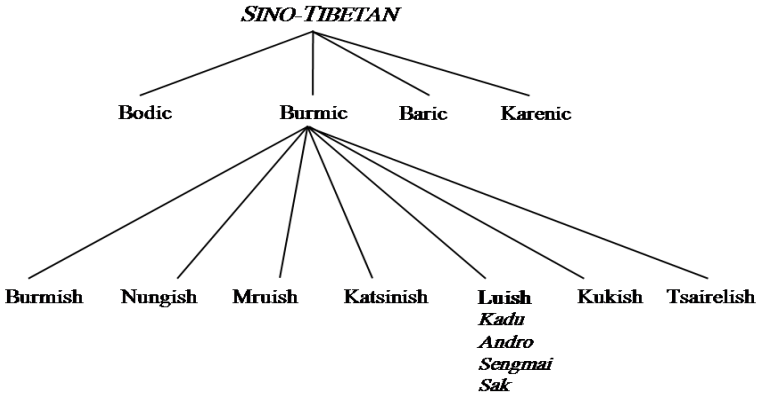

Figure 11: Shafer's classification of Luish within Tibeto-Burman.

Luce (1985) published wordlists for Sak, Kanan, Kadu, Andro, Sengmai, Chairel and Taman, which he called the "Sak group." It is probably the most extensive Kadu language data that was recorded in the past. Apart from Brown's and Luce's records, there is little or no mention of Kadu in the field of linguistic studies. Luce characterised the Kadu language as being "a remarkably pure, as well as old, Tibeto-Burman type of language. I can detect little, if any, admixture of Mon-Khmer, and not very much of Burmese" (Luce 1985:43). He states that there is a recognizable phonetic connection between the Sak of Rakhine State and the Kadu and Kanan of Sagaing Division.

Matisoff (2003) has a different grouping of Sino-Tibetan languages (See Figure 12). The Nungish and Luish languages are grouped with Jingphaw. This grouping, Jingphaw-Nungish-Luish, is somewhat similar to Benedict's grouping. He recognizes the Jingphaw language as having a special contact relationship with Northern Naga. However, he also acknowledges the comparative/historical research that still needs to be done on some of the Tibeto-Burman languages. "While some branches of the family are relatively well studied, … we have nothing approaching well-worked out reconstructions for such key subgroups as Qiangic, Baic, Luish, and Nungish" (Matisoff 2003:8). Based on my knowledge of these languages, there is an unmistakable historical connection between Jingphaw and Kadu. However, as a native speaker of Rawang (a Nungish variety), I find the connection between Nungish and Luish less promising. The morphological relationships among these languages still need to be established in order to have a clear understanding of this grouping.

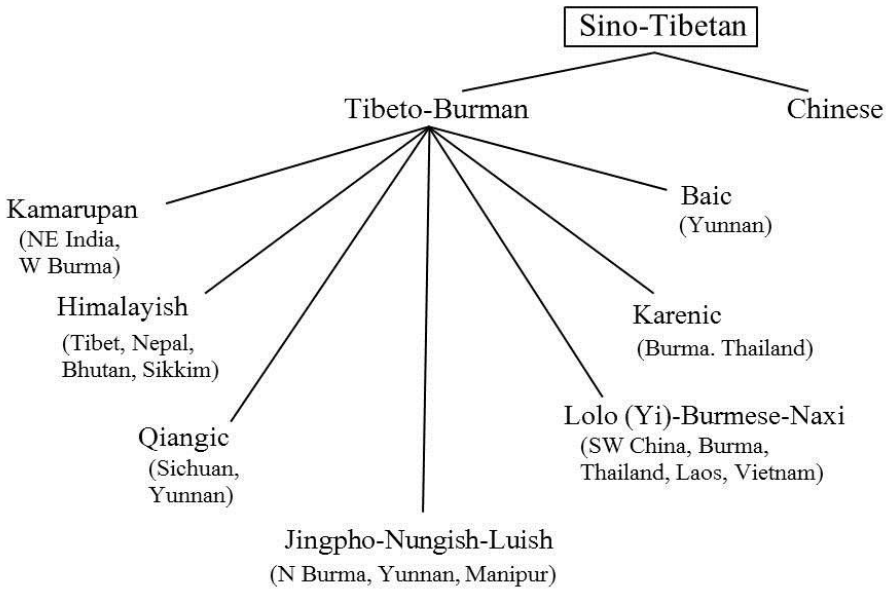

Figure 12: Matisoff's Sino-Tibetan grouping

David Bradley (2002), in his classification, sub-grouped Luish under the Sal branch, the term originally proposed by Burling (1983:4), and assigned Baric, Jingphaw, and Kuki-Chin together with Luish to this group (See Figure 13). The name for this group is derived from the word for 'sun', which in these languages is *san*, *sal*, or *jan*, sometimes preceded by the syllable for 'sky', which sets this group apart from other Tibeto-Burman languages (Burling 1983:11). The Kadu word for the 'sun' is *zamík* [səmık]. We may correlate the initial minor syllable as a reduced syllable of *san* or *sal*. Burling (1983) has provided a list of comparative vocabulary items which include languages such as Boro, Garo, Atong, and Wanang of the Bodo–Garo group, and Konyak, Nocte, and Tangsa of the Northern Naga group. By comparing these lexical items, it is evident that there are many lexical similarities that Kadu shares with other Sal languages. See Table 3 and also the lexical comparison of Kadu and Jingphaw in Table 1 and Table 2.

However, careful morphological analysis is needed in order to have a clearer understanding of the position of both Luish within Tibeto-Burman and the position of Kadu within Luish. It is imperative to complete an adequate grammatical description and to do a survey among this family to establish the effective criteria for sub-grouping while these languages are still spoken.

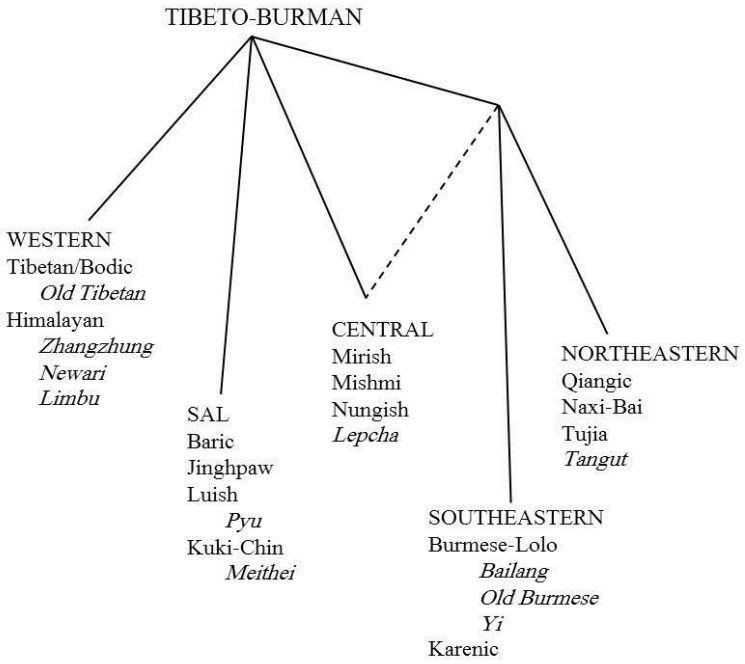

Figure 13: Bradley's classification of Tibeto-Burman

Burling (2003) classified the Kadu as belonging to the Luish group of languages and assigned it under part of the Bodo-Konyak-Jingphaw super group of TB languages. as shown in Figure 14.

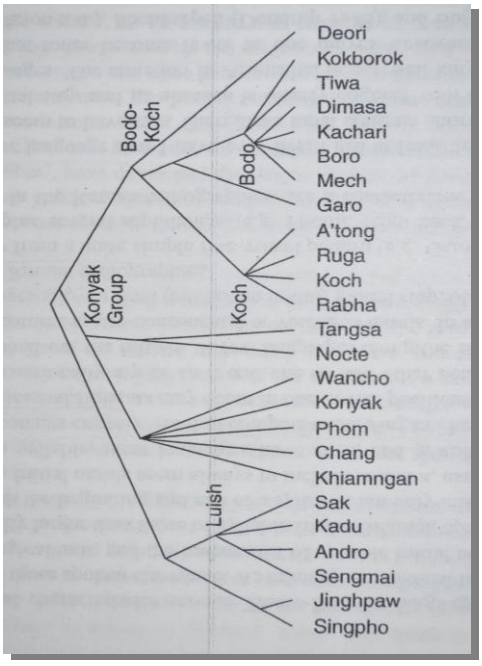

Figure 14: Burling's classification of Bodo-Konyak-Jingphaw languages

Some publications on the linguistic and socio-economic life of Sak/Thet of Rakhine State and Bangladesh have been done in different languages–Bernot (1967) in French, Thun Shwe Khain (1988) in Burmese, Huziwara (2008, 2009) in Janpanese and English, and Maggard (2007) in English. The Luish wordlist Bernot compiled and presented at the end of the book was useful for comparative purposes. Thun Shwe Khain (1988), a native speaker of Burmese, provides some useful information about the socio-economic life of the Thet. He has also provided accounts of their migration and language and said that during the 9th century Kadu and Thet were once a single group and lived in Hukawng valley in the upper reaches of Uru river in Hukaung valley in Kachin State. He said, regarding the split and migration route of the Thet and Kadu:

> “သက်အစုခွဲသည် ဟူးကောင်းတောင်ကြားနှင့် ဥရုချောင်းဖျားမှ ချင်းတွင်းမြစ်အတိုင်း ဆင်းလာခဲ့ရာ မဏိပူရသို့ လည်းကောင်း၊ ဘင်္ဂလားဒေ့ရှ် ဘက်သို့ လည်းကောင်း၊ ပျံနှံ့သွား သည်။ ကတူးအစုခွဲတို့မူကား တကောင်းဘက်သို့ရောက်လာပြီး ထိုမှတစ်ဆင့် ကာသာ၊မြစ်ကြီးနား ဘက်သို့ပျံနှံ့သွားသည်။” “[The Thet group from the upper reaches of Uru river and Hukaung valley came down along the Chindwin river and reached Manipur and Bangladesh. The Kadu group, on the other hand, reached Tagaung and from there they scattered into Katha and Myitkyina” (Thun Shwe Khai 1988:7) my translation]

Thun Shwe Khain also provided some wordlists in his book. However, his transcription lacks final consonants except the glottal stop. He noticed regular sound correspondences of the Burmese သ /t/ and ခ /kh/ with Thet [s^h] and [h], respectively. The same phenomenon is also attested in the Kadu of Katha District.

The most recent research on Sak has been done by Huziwara and SIL International, Bangladesh. Most of Huziwara’s works are in Japanese and I was not able access most of it. The only English articles I could access were “Cak prefixes (2008)” and “Cak numerals (2009).” SIL International, Bangladesh, has done a socio-linguistic survey on the Sak in Bangladesh (see Maggard 2007). In that report, it is reported that Sak in Bangladesh often refer to themselves as Chak or Chakma, which are indeed linguistically non related–representing two very different languages families, the first being a TB language and the latter being Indo-Aryan (Maggard 2007:1). The report acknowledged that the Chak in Bangladesh are the result of migration from Myanmar. Just for the sake of lexical comparison between Kadu and Sak, I have extracted some

wordlists from Maggard (2007) and Bernot (1967) and presented them in Table 5 and Table 6. Kadu wordlist items are written using the tentative Kadu orthography I have developed for this thesis (see §2.6). The Sak wordlist is presented using IPA, as it was transcribed in the source. The tones are also left out from Bernot's data. "x" means no data. Table 5 compares Kadu and Sak nouns.

Kadu	Sak, Thet or Chak		Gloss
	Maggard	Bernot	
ān	aŋ	aṅ	rice (paddy)
ják	jak	yəʔ	today
kā	kədʒa	ka	soil
kabeù	kabːɪk	kabi	goat
kaphú	kafu	kafɪ	snake
kasà	kaʃa	kaθa	tiger
kweú	kəvu	kɪwɯ	monkey
papá	apaiŋ̂	apəṅ	flower
phún	phuŋp^{h}aŋ	phaṅ	tree/plant
satá	ʃəda	θada	moon
tángngā	taŋna	tana	fish
wān	vaiŋ̂	veṅ	fire
zamík	tʃəmik	čami	sun

Table 5: Comparison of Kadu and Sak nouns

Some verbs are also compared in Table 6. It must be noted that in Maggard (2007), most, if not all, the Chak verb forms are followed by the syllables, [hɛ], [hɛka] or [ga]. These are probably verbal particles. In the comparison, I have omitted those verbal particles.

Kadu	Sak, Thet or Chak		Gloss
	Maggard	Bernot	
ī	ɨ/i	i	give
īp	ik	i	sleep
ká	ka	ka	hot
lā	la	naveṅ	take
lī	vaiŋ̊	veṅ	come
mā	aʃi/aʃʲɛ	neṅ	sell
mí	mɨr	mərɪ	buy
nāng	laŋ	laṅ	go
ōm	touŋ̊	ča	do/make
shí	akɨmaŋ	sɪ	die
tàk	taʔ	taʔ	weave
thúng	tuŋ	tuṅ	sit
ū	u	u	drink
yōk	ʃa	ca	eat
yū	x	yu	look at

Table 6: Comparison of Kadu and Sak verbs

I conducted the first socio-linguistic survey of the Kadu and Kanan people in 2003-2004. The purpose of that survey was to gain an overview of the sociolinguistic situation among these peoples. During the trip, I visited four Kadu villages in Banmauk Township and four Kanan villages. In each site, a 436-item wordlist was gathered and sociolinguistic questionnaires were administered to understand the language vitality, attitudes towards the mother tongue, and also other related varieties and languages. Lexical similarity among all these varieties was found to be very high (89-99%). (Dawkins 2006).

Follow-up sociolinguistic surveys were conducted in 2006 and 2008. During these trips, several Kadu leaders were interviewed. The main purpose of those surveys was to know more about the sociolinguistic situation among the Kadu and Kanan peoples and to identify people's attitudes toward each other and attitudes toward their own speech varieties. I found that both Kadu and Kanan people felt their languages and culture were related to each other, however, they also indicated that they have identities as separate groups (Sangdong 2007). Among the Kadu there are some dialect differences. The Maukhwin Kadu dialect seems to be a little different from the Kwan or Kun and Mauteik Kadu. Further research among the Maukhwin Kadu is recommended.

CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY

This chapter presents an overview of the phonological structures of Kadu. The discussion is arranged in the following order: 2.1 Phonemic inventory, 2.6 Practical orthography, 2.2 Consonants, 2.3 Vowels, 2.4 Distribution of consonant and vowel phonemes, 2.5 Tones, 2.6 Practical orthography, 2.7 Syllables, and, finally, 2.8 Other phonological processes. Transcription of phonemes will be provided using / /. For clarity, if the phonemic and orthographic representation (see §2.6) are different, the latter will be provided using < > brackets.

2.1 Phonemic inventory

2.1.1 Consonants

The consonant phoneme inventory of Kadu consists of twenty consonants. The final consonants are restricted to the nasals /m, n, ŋ/, and voiceless stops /p, t, k/, and /ʔ/. They are listed in Table 7 according to place (in top row) and manner (in left column) of articulation. The description of the consonants is given in §2.2.

Manner: \ Place:		Bilabial	Dental	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	unaspirated	p	t		k	ʔ
	aspirated	p^h	t^h		(k^h)[6]	
Affricate	unaspirated			tɕ		
	aspirated			$tɕ^h$		
Fricative	unaspirated		s	ɕ		h
	aspirated		s^h			
Nasals		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Approximant lateral			l			
central		w		j		

Table 7: Kadu consonant phonemes

2.1.2 Vowels

This analysis proposes that Kadu has eight vowel phonemes as shown in Table 8.

	Monophthongs			Diphthong		
	Front	Central	Back	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u			
Close mid	e		o			
Open-mid	ɛ		ɔ			
Open		a			ai	

Table 8: Kadu vowel phonemes

[6] There is no unambiguous Kadu native word that begins with an aspirated velar stop [k^h]. I have included this consonant in the chart because it often appears in Burmese loanwords.

Seven vowel phonemes are monophthongs and one is a diphthong. All of the monophthongs can occur with the full set of final consonants. However, the diphthong is restricted to the final /k/ only. See the description of vowels in §2.3.

2.1.3 Tones

Kadu is one of the many tonal languages spoken in Southeast Asia. Such languages make use of pitch in one form or another to distinguish between words that would otherwise be homophonous. Burquest (1998:186) asserts that "languages which make use of differences in pitch to differentiate lexical items are commonly referred to as tone languages." In other words, the pitch of the word can change the meaning of the word. Tone languages are divided into two major types. Pike (1948:4-15) used the term "register tone languages", which require the syllable to reach a certain pitch height, and "contour tone languages", which require the syllable to be said with pitch movement. "Register tone" is also used for those with phonation differences, like Burmese. The Kadu language tonal system falls into the first category.

The three tonemic distinctions occurring in Kadu involve three pitch registers. See the detailed description of tones in §2.5.

2.2 Consonants

The consonants are discussed in the follow order: 2.2.1 Single consonants, 2.2.2 Consonant clusters, and finally 2.2.3 Illustration of consonant contrasts.

2.2.1 Single consonants

Descriptions of single consonant phonemes are presented in the following order: 2.2.1.1 Stops, 2.2.1.2 Affricates, 2.2.1.3 Fricatives, 2.2.1.4 Nasals, and 2.2.1.5 Approximants.

2.2.1.1 Stops

The Kadu stops series demonstrates four distinctive places of articulation; bilabial, dental, velar, and glottal stop. Three series of stops–bilabial, dental, and velar occur in initial position. These series have aspiration contrasts at each place. The glottal stop /q/, which is treated as a consonant, only occurs phonemically in coda position.

2.2.1.1.1 Voiceless unaspirated plosives

/p/ This phoneme is realised as a voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive. When it occurs in syllable initial position with the low tone it may be realised as the allophone [b]. It is always realised as unreleased [p˺] in syllable final position. It

can occur in word initial, medial, and final positions. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (8).

(8) (a) word initially

pī	'smooth'
pīt	'angle'
pāng	'embark'

(b) word medially

apai	'tip top'
papá	'flower'
lapòk	'bamboo'

(c) word finally

púp	'suck (as candy)'
lāp	'catch'
kāp	'peel'

/t/ This phoneme is realised as a voiceless unaspirated dental plosive. When it occurs in syllable initial position with the low tone it may be realised as the allophone [d]. It is always realised as unreleased [t̚] in syllable-final position. It occurs in word initial, medial, and final positions, as illustrated in (9).

(9) (a) word initially

tí	'penis'
taì	'morning'
taū	'wear'

(b) word medially

satá	‘moon’
tatī	‘egg’
katù	‘forehand’

(c) word finally

tāt	‘release’
teút	‘listen’
tút	‘cut’

/k/ This phoneme is realised as a voiceless unaspirated velar plosive. When it occurs in syllable initial position with the low tone, it may be realised as the allophone [g]. It is also realised as unreleased [kˉ] in syllable-final position. It can occur in word initial, medial, and final positions. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (10).

. (10) (a) word initially

kā	‘soil’
kū	‘steal’
kweú	‘monkey’

(b) word medially

lakò	‘mirative’
pakaút	‘ladle’
takà	‘rice seedling’

(c) word finally

caík	'cross'
hamúk	'under'
mōk	'cook'

/ʔ/ This phoneme, represented as <q> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiceless glottal plosive. It is restricted in occurrence to syllable final position only. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (11).

(11)

cīnúq	'earthworm'
īkúq	'scarab beetle's egg'
panáq	'nominaliser'

2.2.1.1.2 Voiceless aspirated plosives

/p^h/ This phoneme, represented as <ph> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive. It does not show any allophonic variation and can occur word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (12).

(12) (a) word initially

phí	'sling'
phú	'silver/money'
phón	'wood'
phít	'sprinkle'

(b) word medially

kapheú	'lizard
kaphú	'snake'
taphā	'foot'

/t^h/ This phoneme, represented as <th> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiceless aspirated dental plosive. It does not show any allophonic variation and can occur word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (13).

(13) (a) word initially

theù	'thick'
thī	'scoop'
thām	'near'
thōk	'arrive'

(b) word medially

katháng	'fire fly'
katháp	'stack'
tathú	'knee'
yathú	'axe'

/k^h/ This phoneme, represented as <kh> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiceless aspirated velar plosive. This phoneme appears mostly with Burmese loanwords, does not show any allophonic variation, and can occur word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (14).

(14)

khō	ခို <hkou>	‘pigeon’
khwák	ခွက် <hkwak>	‘mug’
takhó	သူခိုး <thuhkou:>	‘thief’
takhīn	သခင် <thahkang>	‘master’

2.2.1.2 Affricates

/tɕ/ This phoneme, represented as <c> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiceless unaspirated alveo-palatal affricate. It does not show any allophonic variation and occurs word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (15).

(15) (a) word initially

ceú	‘buffalo’
cī	‘dog’
caìk	‘mango’
céng	‘letter’

(b) word medially

aceú	‘vomit’
ací	‘elephant’
nacá	‘carefully’
sací	‘centipede’

/tɕ^{h}/ This phoneme, represented as <ch> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiceless aspirated alveo-palatal affricate. It does not show any allophonic

variation and can occur word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (16).

(16) (a) word initially

chí	'sour'
chī	'excrement'
chō	'bamboo inner layer'

(b) word medially

achí	'muntjac deer'
achì	'chew'
achìn	'shake off'

2.2.1.3 Fricatives

/s^h/ This phoneme, represented as <s> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiceless aspirated dental fricative. It does not show any allophonic variation and can occur word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (17).

(17) (a) word initially

sā	'son'
saú	'collect'
sín	'spicy'
sún	'sew'

(b) word medially

kasà	'tiger'
kasù	'gibbon'
kasín	'cold'
pasát	'carp (fish)'

/s/ This phoneme, represented as <z> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiceless dental fricative. It does not show any allophonic variation and can occur word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (18).

(18) (a) word initially

zā	'build'
zí	'finish'
zán	'younger sister'
zāp	'stand'

(b) word medially

mazí	'gums'
kazeú	'wash'
azàn	'pity'
pazàt	'crumble'

/ɕ/ This phoneme, represented as <sh> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative and occurs word initially and medially. This tongue position is lower when occurring with low back vowels. This phoneme is illustrated in (19).

(19) (a) word initially

shā	'small'
shī	'medicine'
shīm	'cold'
shāng	'novice'

(b) word medially

ashì	'sister-in-law'
washì	'comb'
lashíng	'seabean seed'
mashaúk	'since that time'

/h/ This phoneme is realised as a voiceless glottal fricative. It can occur word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (20).

(20) (a) word initial

hā	'be hit'
heú	'tell'
hīng	'he/she'
hōm	'confine'

(b) word medially

ahà	'chin'
aheú	'scratch'
kahún	'termite'
pahángchāng	'friend'

This phoneme /h/, when preceded by stops /t/ or /k/, has the allophone [k^h]. I will use the post-verbal modifier *háng,* glossed as 'back' or 'again', to illustrate this. The examples in (21a) illustrate this term following open syllables and nasal finals. The examples in (21b) illustrate it following stop finals.

(21) (a) combining *háng* with open and nasal finals

lī	+	*háng*	>	*līháng*	'come back/again'
mí	+	*háng*	>	*míháng*	'buy again'
ōm	+	*háng*	>	*ōmháng*	'do again'
kaūng	+	*háng*	>	*kaūngháng*	'step on again'

(b) combining *háng* with /t/ and /k/ stop finals

hīt	+	*háng*	>	*hītkháng*	'hook again'
kát	+	*háng*	>	*kátkháng*	'run again'
yōk	+	*háng*	>	*yōkkháng*	'eat again'
hák	+	*háng*	>	*hákkháng*	'shout again'

2.2.1.4 Nasals

The nasal phonemes occur at bilabial, dental, palatal, and velar places of articulation.

/m/ This phoneme is realised as a voiced bilabial nasal. It does not show any allophonic variation and can occur word initially, medially and finally. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (22).

(22) (a) word initially

mā	‘sell’
meú	‘good’
mīn	‘awake’
mít	‘to love’

(b) word medially

amú	‘older brother’
kamà	‘wound’
hamúk	‘beneath, under’
samón	‘monk’

(c) word finally

ōm	‘do, make’
ūm	‘swell’
ním	‘stay’
tām	‘search’

/n/ This phoneme is realised as a voiced dental nasal. This does not show any allophonic variation and can occur word initially, medially and finally. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (23).

(23) (a) word initially

ná	‘be able’
nī	‘lazy’
nōm	‘soft’
nōp	‘bury’

(b) word medially

kaná	‘ear’
nanù	‘animal’
hanīng	‘they (3PL)’
panaù	‘mix’

(c) word finally

ān	‘paddy’
ín	‘negative particle’
kán	‘bite’
món	‘happy’

/ɲ/ This phoneme, represented as <ny> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiced alveo-palatal nasal. It occurs in syllable initial position only. It frequently occurs in Burmese loanwords. The examples in (24a) illustrate /ny/ occurring in word initial position and the examples in (24b) illustrate some Burmese loanwords.

(24) (a) word initially

nyón	‘to swallow’
nyeút	‘twist (rope)’
nyínphān	‘miss’

(b) Burmese loanwords

nyān	‘brain, wise’
nyeúp	‘clip’
nyít	‘squeeze’

/ŋ/ This phoneme, represented as <ng> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiced velar nasal. This does not show any allophonic variation and can occur word initially, medially, and finally. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (25).

(25) (a) word initially

ngaú	'say'
ngóm	'keep in mouth'
ngàt	'break'

(b) word medially

túngngú	'bee'
tángngā	'fish'
tūngngāk	'to bow'

(c) word finally

míng	'ripe'
tāng	'knife'
sāng	'enter'

2.2.1.5 Approximants

Kadu has one lateral approximant phoneme and two central approximant phonemes. The articulation of the lateral approximant is apical alveolar, but it will be treated phonologically as dental to accord with the phonemes of other series having a dental articulation. The two central approximants are the palatal /y/ and the labial-velar /w/.

The palatal /y/ involves an articulation similar to the high front vowel /i/, with the front of the tongue close to the palate; the labial-velar /w/ is similar to /u/, with rounded lips and the back of the tongue raised toward the velum.

/l/ This phoneme is realised as a voiced dental lateral approximant. It does not show any allophonic variation and can occur word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (26).

(26) (a) word initially

lā	'take'
lī	'come'
lōn	'mud'
lúng	'white'

(b) word medially

halá	'husband'
kalùn	'tree' or 'plant'
palán	'middle'
salóng	'mat'

/y/ This phoneme is realised as a voiced alveo-palatal approximant [j]. It can occur word initially and medially. It also occurs as the second member of an initial consonant cluster (§2.2.2). See the illustrations of this phoneme in (27).

(27) (a) word initially

yá	‘bright’
yū	‘look’
yīm	‘catch’
yēk	‘hill field’

(b) word medially

nayá	‘new’
zayà	‘some’
ayàn	‘poor’
nayóng	‘great grandchild’

/w/ This phoneme is realised as a voiced labio-velar approximant. It does not show any allophonic variation and can occur word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (28). It also occurs as the second member of an initial consonant cluster (§2.2.2).

(28) (a) word initially

wá	‘jump down’
weú	‘water’
wān	‘fire’
wángshì	‘uncle’

(b) word medially

awā	‘father’
kawàn	‘immediate future marker’
nawáng	‘sister-in-law’

2.2.2 Consonant clusters

There are not many consonant clusters attested in Kadu. The two glides /w/ and /y/ may occur as initial consonants or as the second consonant in an initial cluster. See the distribution of consonant and vowel phonemes in §2.4. There are no final consonant clusters. The occurence of these two phonemes is also common in Burmese loanwords. They are treated as consonant clusters because in Burmese they were historically treated that way. The phoneme /w/ occurring as the second element in an initial consonant cluster is shown in (29a) and /y/ in (29b).

(29) (a) consonant clusters with /w/

aswē	အဆွေ <**ahswei**>	'friend'
atwák	အတွက် <**atwak**>	'for'
kókweū	ကိုးကွယ် <**kou:kwe**>	'worship'
sweú	စွဲ <**swe:**>	'obsess'
thwáng	ထွင်း <**htwang:**>	'carve' or 'clear'

(b) consonant clusters with /y/

myān	မြန် <**mran**>	'fast'
nyān	ညာဏ် <**njan**>	'brain'
nyī	ညီ <**nji**>	'younger brother'
pyān	ပြန် <**pran**>	'happy'

2.2.3 Illustration of consonant contrasts

The following minimal pairs demonstrate voiceless unaspirated vs. voiceless aspirated stop contrasts.

/p/ vs. /ph/	*pí*	'year'	*phí*	'sling'
	paú	'dye'	*phaú*	'wash'
/t/ vs. /th/	*teú*	'wait'	*theú*	'thick'
	tóng	'big'	*thóng*	'sit'
/k/ vs. /kh/	*kán*	'bad'	*khán*	'room'
	kō	'body'	*khō*	'pigeon'

The following minimal pairs demonstrate contrasts between voiceless unaspirated stops.

/p/ vs. /t/	*paū*	'collapse'	*taū*	'wear'
	káp	'shoot'	*kát*	'run'
/p/ vs. /k/	*pū*	'emerge'	*kū*	'steal'
	páp	'been'	*pák*	'vagina'
/p/ vs. /q/	*náp*	'strips'	*anáq*	'this'
	kúp	'gulp down'	*īkúq*	'beetle's egg'
/t/ vs. /k/	*tā*	'leg'	*kā*	'earth' or 'soil'
	tút	'cut'	*kūt*	'play'
/t/ vs. /q/	*kūt*	'play	*īkúq*	'beetle's egg'
	leùtshíng	'seabean'	*aleúq*	'portion'
/k/ vs. /q/	*shík*	'CFP'	*īshíq*	'girl'
	kōk	'smear'	*īkúq*	'beetle's egg'

The following minimal pairs demonstrate contrasts between voiceless aspirated stops. As I have already mentioned, there are no native Kadu words that begin with /kh/. However, with Burmese loanwords it appears frequently. I have included several here for comparison.

/ph/ vs. /th/	*pheú*	'carry'	*theú*	'widen'
	kaphú	'snake'	*tathú*	'knee'
/ph/ vs. /kh/	*phaú*	'wash'	*khaū*	'call'
	phát	'wither'	*khát*	'add'
/th/ vs. /kh/	*thō*	'push'	*khō*	'pigeon'
	thún	'harrow'	*khún*	'CLF.word'

The following minimal pairs demonstrate aspiration contrasts between palatal-alveolar affricates and aspirated stops.

/c/ vs. /ch/	*cī*	'dog'	*chī*	'excrement'
	cìt	'pluck'	*chít*	'hardly'
/ch/ vs. /ph/	*chí*	'sour'	*phí*	'sling'
	técháng	'song'	*sìnphāng*	'grubbing hoe'

The following minimal pairs demonstrate contrasts between fricatives.

/s/ vs. /z/	*sā*	'son'	*zā*	'be far'
	sák	'rest'	*zák*	'be caught'
/s/ vs. /sh/	*sā*	'son'	*shā*	'small'
	sīm	'mess'	*shīm*	'cold'

/s/ vs. /h/	*sā*	‘son’	*hā*	‘walk’
	sīn	‘iron’	*hīn*	‘tease’
/z/ vs. /sh/	*zí*	‘finish’	*shí*	‘die’
	zīng	‘ask’	*shīng*	‘tie’
/z/ vs. /h/	*zā*	‘be far’	*hā*	‘walk’
	záng	‘put in’	*háng*	‘sharp’
/sh/ vs. /h/	*shā*	‘small’	*hā*	‘walk’
	shīng	‘tie’	*hīng*	‘2SG’

The following minimal or near minimal pairs demonstrate phonemic contrasts between nasals which occur at four places of articulation; bilabial, dental, palatal, and velar.

/m/ vs. /n/	*mí*	‘buy’	*ní*	‘laugh’
	nám	‘smelly’	*nán*	‘daughter-in-law’
/m/ vs. /ng/	*mā*	‘sell’	*ngā*	‘1SG’
	máng	‘date’	*ngáng*	‘look up’

The phoneme /ny/ is attested occurring mostly with Burmese loanwords. See the illustrations of contrast between /m/ and /ny/.

/m/ vs. /ny/	*meūt*	‘change’	*nyeút*	‘sticky’
	mān	‘distribute’	*nyān*	‘brain’
/n/ vs. /ng/	*ná*	‘able to’	*ngá*	‘steam’
	zán	‘sister’	*záng*	‘put in’
/n/ vs. /ny/	*nón*	‘mix’	*nyón*	‘swallow’
	nìk	‘leech’	*nyìt*	‘quarrel’

The following minimal pairs demonstrate phonemic contrasts between lateral and central approximants occurring word initially.

/w/ vs. /l/	*weú*	'water'	*leú*	'ox cart'
	wā	'plait'	*lā*	'take'
/w/ vs. /y/	*weú*	'water'	*yeú*	'get up'
	wàk	'pig'	*yàk*	'now'
/l/ vs. /y/	*lā*	'take'	*yá*	'bring'
	lēk	'askew'	*yēk*	'hill field'

2.3 Vowels

As I have already stated in §2.1.2, there are eight vowel phonemes, /i, e, ɛ, a, u, o, ɔ/ and /ai/, in Kadu which are represented as <i, e, eu, a, u, o, au>, and <ai> in my orthographic representation. Seven are monophthongs and one is a diphthong. They can be further divided into three front vowels (§2.3.1), two central vowels (§2.3.2), and three back vowels (§2.3.3). The three front vowels are a close front unrounded vowel, a close mid unrounded vowel, and an open mid-front unrounded vowel. The three back vowels are a close back rounded vowel, a close-mid back rounded vowel, and an open-mid back rounded vowel. The two central vowels include one monphthong and one diphthong. There is no phonological contrastive vowel length in Kadu. The syllables that have final stop codas tend to have shorter vowels than the syllables that have nasal codas. This vowel length variation differs from speaker to speaker. Generally a vowel in

a clearly closed syllable with high tone may be pronounced shorter than a vowel in a clearly open syllable.

2.3.1 Front vowels

The description of front vowel phonemes is presented in this section.

/i/ This phoneme is realised as a high front unrounded vowel. It has the allophone [ɪ] when it occurs in syllables closed with stops. See the illustrations of this vowel in (30).

(30). (a) with open syllables

ī	'give'
mí	'buy'
tī	'sweet'

(b) with closed syllables

cīt	'come close'
mít	'love'
típ	'pack'

/e/ This phoneme is realised as a close-mid front unrounded vowel. It occurs both with open and closed syllables. However, it is never attested alone as a word, except in the exclamation *é*. This vowel becomes a front diphthong [ei] when it occurs in closed syllables with the final /k/ and in a few cases with /ng/. See the illustrations of this vowel phoneme in (31).

(31) (a) with open syllables

até	'sister'
salē	'animal skin'
tē	'plural marker'

(b) with closed syllables

ēk	'wife'
nèk	'heavy'
téng	'transplant'
satēng	'thatch'
phéng	'full'

/eu/ This phoneme is realised as a mid-open front unrounded vowel [ɛ]. It can occur both in open and closed syllables. However, it is never attested occurring alone as a word except in the Burmese loanword *eú* 'that'. This phoneme does not show any allophonic variation. See the illustrations of this vowel in (32).

(32) (a) with open syllables

.

ceú	'buffalo'
heú	'resin'
meú	'good'

(b) with closed syllables

heūn	'reluctant'
peùt	'lie'
teúp	'throw'

2.3.2 Low central vowels

The descriptions of the central vowel phonemes /a/ and /ai/ are presented in this section.

/a/ This phoneme is realised as a low central unrounded vowel. It occurs both in open and closed syllables. The vowel length tends to be shorter with final stops particularly with high tone. However, there is no evidence to suggest that there is any contrastive or meaningful difference in vowel length. It often appears in the initial weak syllable of sesquisyllabic words (§2.7.2). See the illustration of this vowel in (33).

(33) (a) with open syllables

ahā	'crab'
kā	'soil'
mā	'sell'

(b) with closed syllables

hān	'flow down'
kám	'lay'
sāk	'itch'

/ai/ This phoneme is realised as a diphthong which begins from a low unrounded central vowel and moves toward a high front vowel. It can occur in open syllables, with a restricted set of words with final /k/, and in a few cases with final /ng/. See the illustrations of this vowel in (34).

(34) (a) with open syllables

apaí	‘tree top’
waí	‘rattan’
taì	‘morning’

(b) with closed syllables

caík	‘exchange’
haík	‘ablative marker’
phaīng	‘dam’

2.3.3 Back vowels

/u/ This phoneme is realised as a back close rounded vowel. It doesn’t show any allophonic variation. It can occur alone as a stem and also in open and closed syllables. See the illustrations of this vowel in (35).

(35) (a) with open syllables

ū	‘drink’ or ‘fowl’
hū	‘burn’
kasù	‘gibbon’

(b) with closed syllables

húp	‘peel’
katùng	‘see’
tūm	‘clench’

/o/ This phoneme is realised as a back mid close rounded vowel. It doesn't show any allophonic variation and may occur in both open and closed syllables. This vowel appears the least of the seven vowels. See the illustrations of this vowel in (36).

(36) (a) with open syllables

chō	'outer layer of bamboo'
pò	'exist'
thō	'push'

(b) with closed syllables

halóng	'small mat'
hōk	'pull off' or 'six'
zón	'leak'

/au/ This phoneme is realised as a back mid open rounded vowel. It does not show any allophonic variation and can occur in both open and closed syllables. See the illustrations of this vowel in (37)

(37) (a) with open syllables

haū	'strike'
maú	'plump'
taù	'perforate'

(b) with closed syllables

haút	'dig (by animals)'
maún	'pillow'
paúngká	'basket'

2.3.4 Illustration of vowel contrasts

The following minimal or near minimal pairs of words demonstrate vowel contrasts.

/i/ vs. /e/	*tí*	'penis'	*até*	'sister'
	thīng	'village'	*thèng*	'deep'
/i/ vs. /eu/	*mí*	'buy'	*meú*	'good'
	hīn	'tease'	*heūn*	'reluctant'
/i/ vs. /a/	*tī*	'sweet'	*tā*	'leg'
	ním	'stay'	*nám*	'smelly'
/i/ vs. /u/	*ī*	'give'	*ū*	'drink'
	míng	'ripe'	*múng*	'hornet'
/i/ vs. /o/	*chī*	'true'	*chō*	'bamboo skin'
	halíng	'behind'	*halóng*	'small mat'
/e/ vs. /eu/	*até*	'sister'	*teú*	'wait'
	sēt	'sleeping area'	*seūt*	'scatter seed'
/e/ vs. /u/	*até*	'sister'	*tú*	'language'
	sèk	'person'	*súk*	'bark'

/e/ vs. /o/	*ēk*	'wife'	*òkshī*	'uncle'
	zèk	'bite'	*zōk*	'transplant'
/e/ vs. /au/	*até*	'sister'	*ataū*	'grandmother'
	yēk	'hill field'	*yaúk*	'and'
/e/ vs. /a/	*tē*	'A.AG'	*tā*	'leg'
	zèk	'bite'	*zàk*	'afraid'
/eu/ vs. /u/	*peú*	'keep'	*pú*	'worn out (clothes)'
	teút	'listen'	*tút*	'cut'
/eu/ vs. /o/	*peú*	'keep'	*pò*	'exist'
	theù	'thick'	*thō*	'push'
/eu/ vs. /a/	*heú*	'tell'	*há*	'red'
	meú	'good'	*má*	'be septic'
/a/ vs. /u/	*pá*	'slice'	*pú*	'worn out (clothes)'
	sāk	'itch '	*sūk*	'bark'
/a/ vs. /o/	*táp*	'CLF.flat'	*tōp*	'stab'
	thām	'near'	*thōm*	'blunt'
/u/ vs. /o/	*thū*	'dig'	*thō*	'push'
	katùng	'see'	*katòng*	'worm'

In summary, Kadu vowel phonemes are simple and this study proposes eight vowel phonemes. The only diphthong is /ai/; the rest are monophthongs. There are no vowel sequences in Kadu, therefore choosing <au> and <eu> to represent /ɔ/ and /ɛ/ does not cause any ambiguity. It is rare to find a vowel appearing alone as a stem, except for a few occurrences of /i/ and /u/, in this language. The vowel /i/ as a stem, as in *ī* 'give',

appeared only one time in my corpus. The vowel *ū* appeared three times, two sharing the same tone as in *ū* 'chicken' and 'drink', and the other with high tone *ú* 'deep'. The vowel /a/ is the most common vowel of all.

2.4 Distribution of consonant and vowel phonemes

Table 9 presents the distribution of initial consonants and vowels. The symbol " + " indicates occurrences, whereas, the highlighted blank indicates no occurrences. The symbol " + " in ( ) brackets indicates occurrences found only with loanwords. According to Table 9, we can conclude that /p, ph, t, m, n, h/, and /l/ can occur with all the vowels while /th, z, s, c/, and /y/ occur with all the monothongs. The consonants /kh/ and /ny/ occur mainly in Burmese loanwords except in *nyón* 'swallow', which does not resemble Burmese or Tai. The consonants /k/ and /ng/ do not occur with front vowels. The glide /w/ is not attested occurring with back vowels and /sh/ is not attested occuring with /eu, u/, or /ai/.

	i	e	eu	a	u	o	au	ai
ph	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
th	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
ch	+	+		(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	
kh		(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	
p	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
t	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
c	+	+	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	+
k				+	+	+	+	
m	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
n	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
ny	(+)		(+)	(+)		+	(+)	
ng			(+)	+		+	+	
s	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)
sh	+	+		+		+	+	
z	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
h	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
w	+	(+)	+	+				+
y	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	
l	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 9: Distribution of initial consonants and vowels

The final consonants, as mentioned above, are restricted to the unaspirated stops /p, t, and k/, and the nasals /m, n/, and /ng/ serial. Table 10 presents the distribution of final consonants and vowels in Kadu.

i	e	eu	a	u	o	au	ai	
+	+	+	+	+	+	+		p
+	+	+	+	+	+	+		t
+	+		+	+	+	+	+	k
+	+	+	+	+	+	+		ʔ
+		+	+	+	+			m
+		+	+	+	+	+		n
+	+		+		+	+	+	ng

Table 10: Distribution of final consonants and vowels

Referring to Table 10, it can be summarised that the vowel /e/ never occurs with /m/ or /n/, the vowel /eu/ never occurs with /k/ or /ng/, the vowel /u/ never occurs preceding /ng/, and the diphthong /ai/ occurs only with consonant final /k/ and /ng/.

As mentioned above, the two approximants /y/ and /w/ can occur as the second member of initial consonant clusters (§2.2.1.5). The distribution of these two consonants is given in Table 11.

	-y	-w
ph	+	+
th		+
ch		
kh		+
p	+	+
t		+
c		+
k		+
m	+	+

	-y	-w
n		+
ny		
ng		+
s		+
sh		+
z		+
h		
y		+
l		+

Table 11: Distribution of the medials with different consonants

Table 11 shows that /y/ is restricted to occurring with the labials /ph/, /p/, and /m/ and /w/ can occur with almost all the consonants except /ch/, /ny/, and /h/. It must be noted that most of the consonant clusters occur in Burmese loanwords.

The distribution of attested complex consonant onsets and vowels is illustrated in Table 12.

	i	e	eu	a	u	o	au	ai
phy	+	+	+	+				
py				+	+	+	+	
my	+	+	+	+		+	+	+
phw		+		+				
thw				+				
khw			+	+				
pw			+	+				
tw		+	+	+				
cw		+	+	+				
kw			+	+				
mw		+						
nw		+	+					
sw		+	+	+				
shw		+						
zw			+					
yw		+		+				
lw				+				+

Table 12: Distribution of initial consonant clusters and vowels

Table 12 shows that the cluster /py/ occurs only with the back vowels but /phy/ occurs only with the front vowels and /a/. The cluster /my/ occurs with all the vowels except

/u/. All other clusters tend to occur only with front vowels. The central low vowel is the most common vowel to occur with initial consonant clusters.

2.5 Tones

This thesis proposes that Kadu has phonemic contrasts between high, mid, and low tones occurring on all vowels and on all syllable types. Phonetically, the high toneme is realised at a pitch level of [^{55}] to [^{44}] or [^{45}] to [^{44}]; the mid toneme has its focus at [^{33}], but may be as low as [^{22}] and the low toneme is realised at a pitch level ranging from [^{22}] to [^{11}]. For the reason of simplification only one realisation is proposed for each toneme. Mid tone is the most common tone in this language.

In order to show three tonal distinctions, I have analysed two sets of tonal triplets–one with open syllable words and the other with closed syllable with nasal final words. However, I am not very certain about having three tonal contrasts with stop finals. I need to do further research and collect more data to prove whether we can establish three tonal distinctions or simply two with stop finals. All data for this analysis come from a male Kadu speaker, age 38, from Settau village. The pitch patterns are extracted using the Praat_win98. I have first analysed the pitch patterns of individual tones and shown the three constrastive three tonal pitch patterns at the end of this section.

2.5.1 High tone

The acute tone symbol, represented here with the low central vowel /á/, represents the high tone, as in *atá* [ətaˆ] 'cooked rice'. The high-toned vowels are articulated with greater force of breath and are heard as tense and short (creaky phonation).

Phonetically, the high tone in monosyllablic (whether closed or open) words and the final syllable of multisyllabic words starts at [ˆ] and slightly falls down to [ˆ] at its end point (see Figure 15) or may start at [ˆ] and go slightly higher to [ˆ] and fall slightly to [ˆ] as with an open syllable word *há* 'red' in Figure 16.

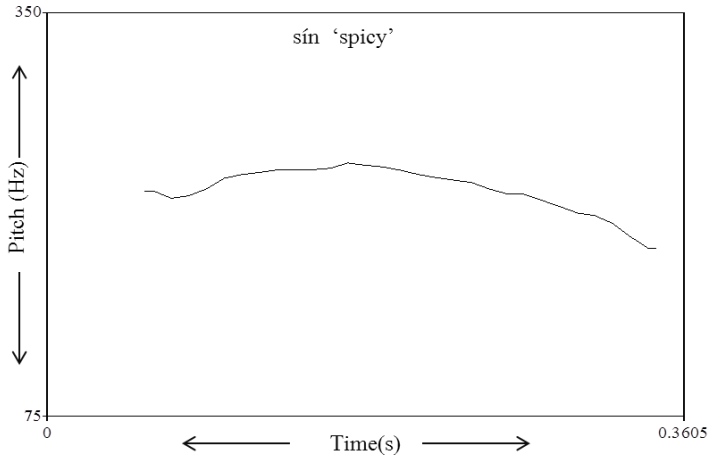

Figure 15: A pitch pattern of a closed syllable word with a high tone: *sín* 'spicy'

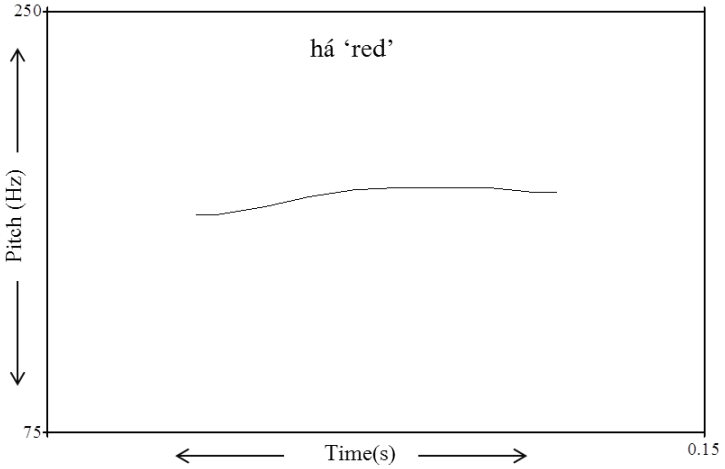

Figure 16: A pitch pattern of an open syllable word with a high tone: *há* 'red'

This tone can occur in both open and closed syllables. Some examples of high tone with open and closed syllables are given in (38).

(38) (a) high tone with open syllables

ní	'laugh'
heú	'tell'
até	'sister'
amú	'older brother'

(b) high tone with closed syllables

míng	'ripe'
káp	'shoot'
halíng	'behind'
samón	'monk'

2.5.2 Mid tone

The macron tone symbol /ā/ represents the mid tone as in *tā* [ta^{33}] ‘leg’. Phonetically, the mid tone [^{33}] starts at the middle of the voice range and may stay relatively the same through its end point as in Figure 18 or may go slightly lower as in Figure 17.

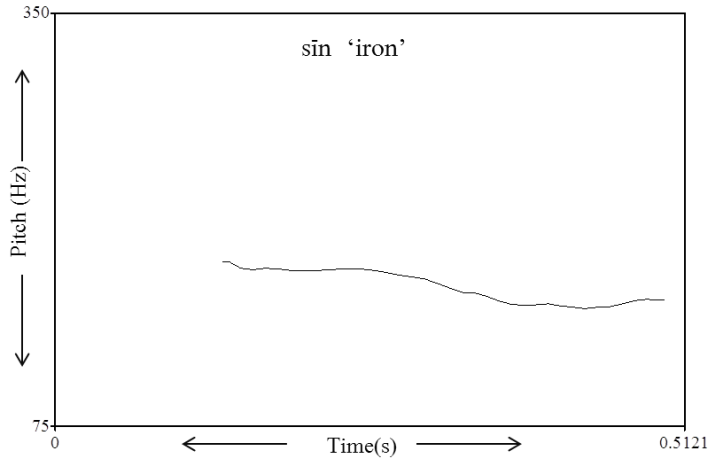

Figure 17: A pitch pattern of a closed syllable word with a mid tone: *sīn* ‘iron’

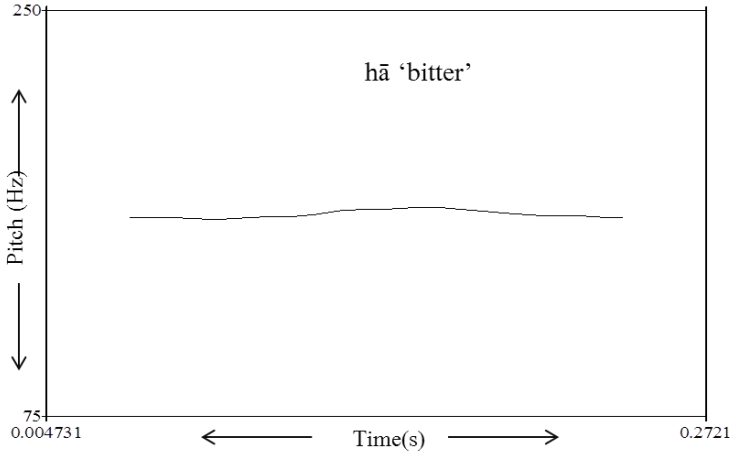

Figure 18: A pitch pattern of an open syllable word with a mid tone,: *hā* ‘bitter’

This tone can occur in both open and closed syllables. Some examples of the mid tone with open and closed syllables are given in (39).

(39) (a) mid tone with open syllables

ū	'chicken'
heū	'climb'
ahā	'crab'
halū	'round (object)'

(b) mid tone with closed syllables

ān	'paddy rice'
hīn	'tease'
tāng	'knife'
tōp	'stab'

2.5.3 Low tone

The grave tone symbol, /à/, represents the low tone as in *achì* [ətɕ^{h}i^{2}] 'chew'. Phonetically, the low tone starts at a low position of the voice range [^{2}] and may fall slightly to extra low, [^{1}], at the end point.

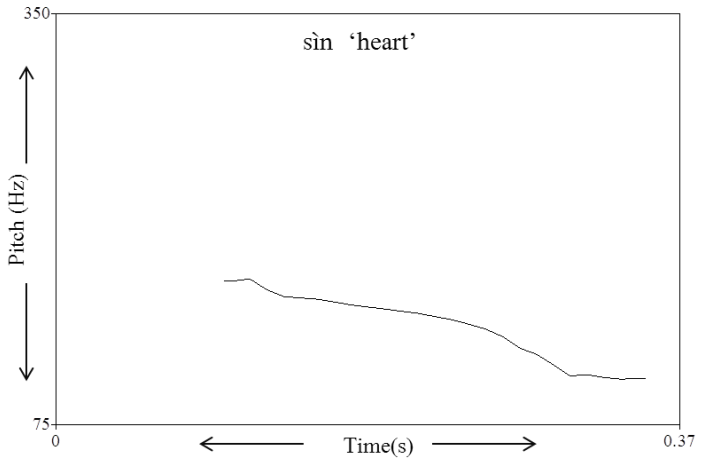

Figure 19: A pitch pattern of a closed syllable word with a low tone,: *sìn* 'heart'

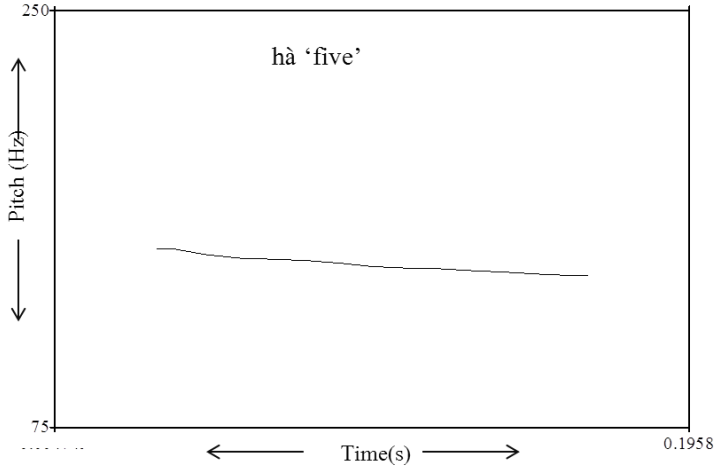

Figure 20: A pitch pattern of an open syllable word with a low tone: *hà* 'heart'

This tone can occur in both open and closed syllables. Some examples of the low tone in open and closed syllables are given as (40).

(40) (a) low tone with open syllables

neù	'taro'
taì	'morning'
ahà	'chin'
takà	'rice seedling'

(b) low tone with closed syllables

cìn	'cucumber'
hàt	'bed bug'
hamòk	'sky'
kalàng	'approximate'

2.5.4 Illustration of tonal contrasts

Three tonal contrast distinctions are found in Kadu. Alhough the three tonal distinctions are much more common in open syllables, they are also found with closed syllables.

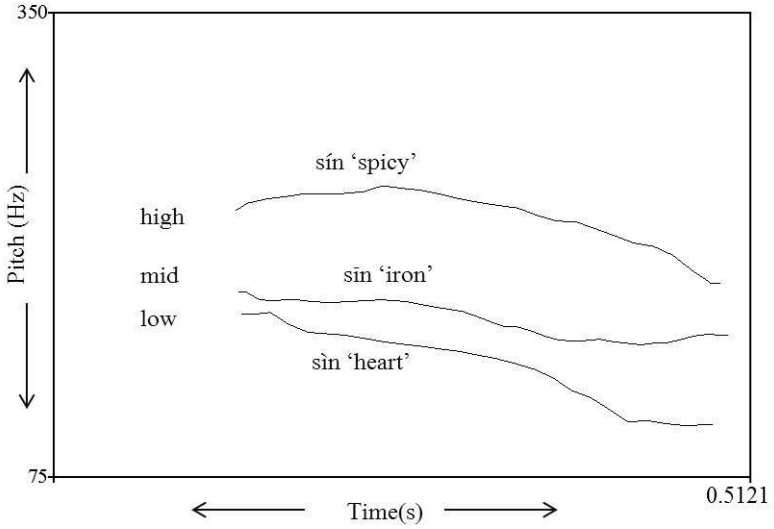

Figure 21: Pitch patterns of minimal tone triplets (closed syllable words)

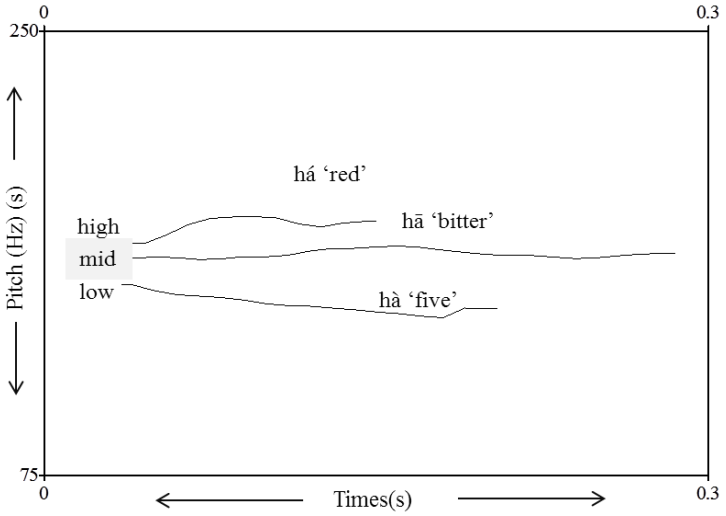

Figure 22: Pitch patterns of minimal tone triplets (open syllable words)

Table 13 illustrates a set of minimal triplets with open syllables that demonstrate all three tone contrasts.

High		Mid		Low	
shí	'die'	*shī*	'medicine'	*shì*	'four'
há	'red'	*hā*	'bitter'	*hà*	'know how'
meú	'good'	*meū*	'CLF.female'	*meù*	'choose'
taú	'carry'	*taū*	'wear'	*taù*	'perforate'
tú	'language'	*tū*	'CLF.round'	*tù*	'grow'

Table 13: Kadu three-fold tonal contrasts with open syllables

The Table 14 illustrates a set of minimal triplets with nasal finals.

High		Mid		Low	
céng	'letter'	*cēng*	'rattan'	*cèng*	'roll'
máng	'daytime'	*māng*	'pride'	*màng*	'thing'
náng	'compress'	*nāng*	'go'	*nàng*	'stiff'
pón	'muddy'	*pōn*	'teem'	*pòn*	'shrivel'
sín	'spicy'	*sīn*	'iron'	*sìn*	'mind'
zán	'sister'	*zān*	'levitate'	*zàn*	'mirror'

Table 14: Kadu three-fold tonal contrasts with nasal finals

Some three-fold minimal contrasts with stop finals have also been attested. These are exemplified in Table 15.

High		Mid		Low	
kák	'want'	*kāk*	'taut'	*kàk*	'open up'
pók	'help'	*pōk*	'hatch'	*pòk*	'CLF.bamboo'
káp	'shoot'	*kāp*	'beat'	*kàp*	'prepare'
zúp	'suck'	*zōp*	'test'	*zòp*	'join'
peút	'eight'	*peūt*	'overflow'	*peùt*	'lie'

Table 15: Kadu three-fold tonal contrasts with stop finals

2.6 Practical orthography

The Kadu have never had a writing system of their own. There are, however, a few self-appointed individuals who are making some attempts to develop a writing system. One individual based in Indau Township created a script largely based on phonetic symbols with a mixture of Roman letters (Figure 23). He probably used the Mauteik Kadu variety as the base for his orthography, as he belongs to that group. He has produced a

few reading materials based on this script, most of which are mere translations of Burmese phrases or comparisons of these two languages. It must be noted that there are a lot of controversies regarding this script in other Kadu communities.

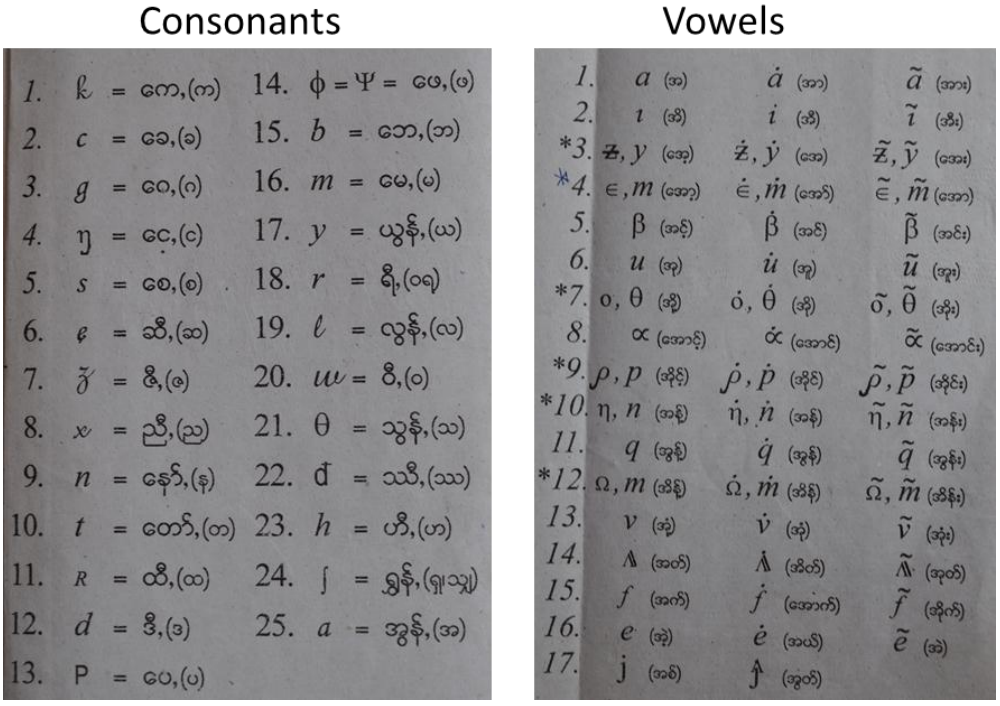

Figure 23: The script developed by HTMKY

Another person, who is a monk from Khonan village in Banmauk Township, has attempted to use Burmese script to write the Kadu language and published a vocabulary of Kadu. However, not long after that he created a unique script. This script, however, still has one symbol corresponding to each consonant in the Burmese orthography and he tried to impose it on Kadu. This script is simply a modification of the Burmese script. This script, as in Burmese, employs the Indic writing style. It contains graphs for initial consonants and superscripts and subscripts represent vowels and tones (Figure

24). The upper chart in the figure shows the 33 Burmese consonants. The lower chart shows the corresponding 33 consonants proposed for Kadu.

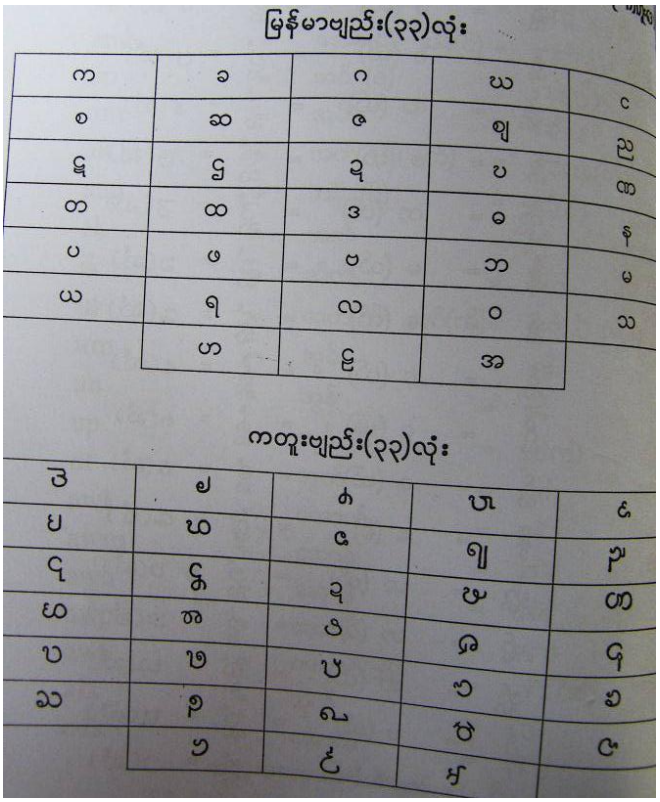

Figure 24: A script developed by NTL

For the purposes of simplicity, readability, and practical writing system development, I have constructed a Romanised orthography that I will use throughout the rest of this thesis. There are several factors involved when choosing these symbols. As I mentioned earlier, Kadu never has had a writing system of their own (many people still can't believe that their language can be written as others) and their literacy rate in the national language is considerably low. In addition, many Kadu have a very strong identity as Kadu and do not show a positive attitude toward the Burmese language. Therefore, choosing a Burmese based alphabet would not bring any motivation for the

Kadu people to learn to read and write. In addition, the literary style of Burmese does not accurately reflect colloquial style. The phonological difference between literary and colloqual Burmese is very large. Therefore, selecting Burmese script to represent Kadu will simply add much confusion. Some of the community leaders, seeing some other Romanised orthographies like Jingphaw and Rawang, requested their orthography be similar to those. They consider that Romanised alphabets have many advantages over other alphabets. Some of the reasons they mentioned were that they are easy to learn and they will have better access to computers, the internet, and type-writers, etc... Young educated people are more interested in learning English than Burmese. They said that they want their children to learn to read and write Kadu and also added that using a Romanised alphabet will allow them to bridge toward learning English, to some extent. All these factors led to selecting a Romanised alphabet to represent Kadu.

Table 16 below shows the consonant phonemes and their orthographic representation.

Phoneme	Orthography	Phoneme	Orthography
p^h	ph	n	n
p	p	ŋ	ng
t^h	th	ɲ	ny
t	t	s^h	s
tɕ	c	ɕ	sh
$tɕ^h$	ch	s	z
k^h	kh	h	h
k	k	l	l
ʔ	q	j	y
m	m	w	w

Table 16: Orthographic representation of the Kadu consonant phonemes

Referring to Table 16, my consonant orthographic representation of Kadu corresponds well with their phonemes. For the purpose of writing convenience, for the phonemes /tɕ/ and /tɕ^{h}/, ‘c’ and ‘ch’ were chosen. The glottal phoneme /ʔ/ is represented as ‘q’. As in many other Romanised orthographies the phonemes /ŋ/ and /ɲ/, are represented as ‘ng’, and ‘ny’, respectively. An aspirated dental fricative phoneme /s^{h}/ is presented as ‘s’. ‘z’ and ‘sh’ were chosen for the phonemes /s/ and /ɕ/.

The Kadu vowel phonemes and their orthographic representations are as shown in Table 17.

Phoneme	Orthography
i	i
e	e
ɛ	eu
a	a
ɔ	au
o	o
u	u
ai	ai

Table 17: Orthographic representation of Kadu vowels

Almost all of my vowel orthographic representations correspond well with the vowel phonemes. The only non-IPA orthographic representations are with the front and back mid open vowel phonemes /ɛ/ and /ɔ/, which will be represented as ‘eu’ and ‘au’.

The Kadu tone phonemes and their orthographic representations are as shown in Table 18.

Phoneme	Orthography
high	_́
mid	_̄
low	_̀

Table 18: Orthographic representation of Kadu tones

The three tones–high, mid, and low–are represented with the diacritic marks ‘ ́ ’, ‘ ̄ ’, and ‘ ̀ ’, respectively. Henceforth, I will be using my orthographic representations unless it is necessary to provide phonetic [ ] transcriptions.

2.7 Syllables

This section presents two types of syllable structures attested in Kadu: major and minor (also called strong and weak) syllables. Major syllables are those capable of functioning as major word classes such as nouns and verbs. The major syllables have more complex nuclei and contrastive tones. However, minor syllables cannot function alone but must combine with some other major syllable and must always precede the major syllable. The syllable structure of Kadu can be represented as follows:

$(C_1)\ (C_2)\ V\ (C_3)T$

Figure 25: Kadu syllable structure

Table 19 presents the six possible major syllable types in Kadu.

1.	VT	*ī*	'give'
2.	VC_3T	*īp*	'sleep'
3.	C_1VT	*lī*	'come'
4.	C_1C_2VT	*swá*	'tooth'
5.	C_1VC_3T	*lōn*	'mud'
6.	$C_1C_2VC_3T$	*swáng*	'master'

Table 19: Kadu major syllable structures

Represented metrically, the canonical shape of the Kadu syllable has the following hierarchical structure. Optional constituents are enclosed in parentheses.

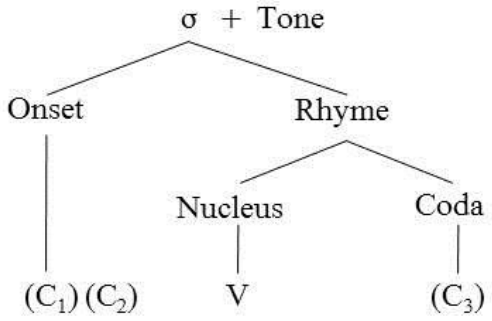

Figure 26: Metrical structure of the Kadu syllable

2.7.1 Major syllables

Major syllables can be further broken down into open and closed types. Open syllables are made up of an optional simple or complex consonant onset, an obligatory simple vowel nucleus, and a supra-segmental tone. In Kadu, neither the onset nor the coda are obligatory elements for a syllable to be well-formed. There are some instances of just a

vowel nucleus being a well-formed monosyllabic word and, therefore, by necessity, a well-formed syllable.

#V#	*ī*	'give'
	ū	'chicken' or 'drink'

The onset may be a single consonant or a cluster of two consonants. In either case, there are well-formed monosyllabic words without the coda, giving rise to two more types of well-formed syllables: simple onset CV# and complex onset CCV#.

CV#	*lī*	'come'
	hā	'walk'
CCV#	*kweú*	'monkey'
	swá	'tooth'

In initial position, the clustering of more than two consonants is not attested. Although many examples of consonant clusters have been attested in my corpus, a large number of them are clearly Burmese loanwords. The distribution of initial consonant clusters is discussed in §2.4. Some more examples of CCV# types are exemplified in (41) with their Burmese origin.

(41) (a) consonant cluster with /w/

kweú	'monkey'		
pwá	'multiply'	ပွား	<pwa:>
pweú	'celebration'	ပွဲ	<pwe:>
khwā	'hoof'	ခွာ	<hkwa>
mwē	'stir'	မွှေ	<hmwei>

(b) consonant cluster with /w/

ywā	'village'	ရွာ	<rwa>
pyaū	'happy'	ပျော်	<pjo>
pyāng	'outside'	ပြင်	<prang>
myān	'quick'	မြန်	<mran>
myó	'kind'	မြို့	<mro.>
nweū	'lineage'	နွယ်	<mwe>

A few examples of initial consonant clusters with Shan loanwords have also been attested as exemplified in (42).

(42) *lūkkhwé* 'son-in-law'
zweú 'scale'

Closed syllables are made up of an optional simple or complex consonant onset, an obligatory simple vowel nucleus, a consonant coda, and a supra-segmental tone, thus giving rise to two types of closed syllables: VC# and CVC#.

VC#	*íp*	'narrow'
	òk	'grandfather'
	ān	'paddy rice'
CVC#	*yīm*	'catch'
	mán	'face'
	phaúk	'jump'

2.7.2 Minor syllables

As mentioned above, minor syllables cannot function alone. Minor syllables may have a wide range of consonant initials or simply a single vowel, the schwa [ə], which is represented as unmarked <a> in my analysis. It is an open and toneless syllable which can never occur as the final element of the word and must precede the major syllable, thus forming a sesquisyllabic (a syllable and a half) pattern. Minor syllables with consonant initial clusters are not attested. Diachronically, these minor syllables may have been full syllables with clear meanings, however, synchronically it is difficult to assign any sort of precise meaning or morphological function to these syllables. For example, we find the syllable *ka-* frequently appears with animals such as *kasà* 'tiger', *kasàt* 'bear', and *kaphú* 'snake'. It may, however, also occur in other contexts such as *kahú* 'hot', *kahún* 'termite', and *kanà* 'hurt', which are from different semantic domains. It is beyond my competence and beyond the scope of this study to clarify the diachronic meanings of these syllables. It would, indeed, be a fascinating topic for further research.

In minor syllables, the initials are generally restricted to /p, t. k, m, n, c, s, z, l, w/, and /y/. The aspirated consonants /ph, th, ch, kh/, and /sh/ are not attested in minor syllables in native Kadu words. However, there are two occurrences with the initial /ph/ as in *phayá* 'god' and *phanaúk* 'heel'. These are loanwords from Burmese ဘုရား <**hpara:**> and ဖနောင့် <**hpanong.**>, respectively. The nominalised *-al-* infix also creates many minor syllables. For example, terms such as *maleú* 'good(ness)' and *phaleú* 'carrier'

are derived by *-al-* infixation from the verbs *meú* 'be good' and *pheú* 'to carry', respectively. See §3.1.1.2.10 for a more detailed discussion of *-al-* infixation. The following section illustrates minor syllables attested in Kadu.

a- This is the most common minor syllable of all and occurs in many different contexts. It is common to find this with higher status kinship terms (§3.1.1.2.6) which probably denote respect and authority. It has also been attested occurring with body parts and stative verbs. The *a-* minor syllable is illustrated in (43).

(43)

ahà	'chin'
asìn	'liver'
awà	'father'
achì	'chew'
ací	'elephant'
azàk	'Kadu'

ka- This is the second most common minor syllable. As mentioned above, it is common to find it appearing before the names of animals (§3.1.1.2.3). However, it can also occur in a wide variety of other contexts. The *ka-* minor syllable is illustrated in (44).

(44)

kasà	'tiger'
kalìng	'two'
kaná	'ear'
kamà	'wound'

ta- This is the third most common minor syllable. It is difficult to suggest a common meaning for this syllable, however, occurrences of this syllable with

nouns are much more common than with verbs. The *ta-* minor syllable is illustrated in (45).

(45) *tací* 'thigh'
tahaù 'ladle'
taká 'bridge'
talèt 'bow (object)'
tamì 'other people'
tapaúk 'speak' or 'calf of leg'

sa- This is the fourth most common minor syllable. As with *ta-* and *ka-*, it is difficult to identify a common meaning for this syllable. It can occur with both nouns and verbs. The *sa-* minor syllable is illustrated in (46).

(46) *sací* 'centipede'
salà 'banana'
salí 'tongue'
sanà 'nose'
sanàn 'snatch'
satá 'moon'
satún 'mouth'

pa- This is probably the fifth most common syllable. It appears mostly with nouns. With this syllable, it is also difficult to suggest a common meaning, however, in some cases it appears before the names of fish. For example, *pacīsá* 'loach fish', *pazīngzú* 'dwarf fish', and *pasàt* 'carp fish'. The Kadu native word for fish is *tángngā,* within which the second syllable is clearly cognate with PTB ***ŋa** or ***ŋya** as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:162). However, unlike in many

other TB languages, neither the term *ngā* or *tángngā* is used as a generic name for fish in taxonomic compounds. It may be simply due to the fact the word for fish is a two syllable word in Kadu. I suspect *pa-* occurring before the names of some fish may have derived from the Tai or Shan *plaa ~ paa* . The *pa-* minor syllable is illustrated in (47).

(47)

panaù	'mix'
pazèk	'fly (insect)'
patùn	'eel'
patóng	'boa snake'
papá	'flower'
pasàt	'carp (fish)'

na- This is the sixth most common minor syllable. It occurs mostly with nouns. It can also occur with kin terms (§3.1.1.2.6), particularly with lower status terms. The *na-* minor syllable is illustrated in (48).

(48)

nacá	'carefully'
nahū	'mid day'
nayá	'new'
nayóng	'great grandchild'
nashī	'younger sibling'

ma- This is the seventh most common syllable. It occurs mostly with nouns. The *ma-* minor syllable is illustrated in (49).

(49) *maeú* ‘long ago’
macháng ‘unless’
malā ‘flesh’
mamá ‘maternal aunt’
mazí ‘mushroom’

ha- This syllable occurs only with nouns, as illustrated in (50).

(50) *halí* ‘boat’
haláng ‘sky’
halóng ‘small mat’
hamán ‘spirit’
hamòk ‘sky’
hanīng ‘2PL’
hayák ‘so as to’

la- This syllable appears only six times in my corpus: five times with nouns and once with the grammatical particle *lamà ~ lakà* ‘mirative’. The *la-* minor syllable is illustrated in (51).

(51) *lapā* ‘rice field’
lapàng ‘cheek’
lapòk ‘bamboo’
lashíng ‘sea bean seed’
lamà ‘mirative marker’
lamaúng ‘mortar’

wa- This syllable occurs five times in my corpus, always with nouns. The *wa-* minor syllable is illustrated in (52).

(52) *washì* ‘comb’
wasá ‘flotsam’
wasáp ‘sponge gourd’
waték ‘steam pot’
watòk ‘a type of tree’

ya- This syllable occurs mostly with nouns; only one occurence with a verb, *yalán* ‘be long’, has been attested. Semantically, it seems to be appearing before lengthy objects. Words with *ya-* initial minor syllable are illustrated in (53).

(53) *yahùng* ‘water well’
yalū ‘vine’
yamā ‘crocodile’
yapá ‘shoulder’

za- This syllable occurs with both nouns and verbs although occurrences with verbs are more common. Words with *za-* initial minor syllable are illustrated in (54).

(54) *zalá* ‘be healthy’
zalaút ‘drift’
zalīn ‘frisky’
zamík ‘sun’
zanà ‘light’

ca- This syllable is the least frequent of all. Words with *ca-* initial minor syllable are illustrated in (55).

(55) *caeú* ‘yellow’
capū ‘a type of tree’
cahaúng ‘coriander’

There are also synchronically analysable minor syllables. These syllables are a result of an initial syllable weakening process in polysyllabic words. These may be considered compounding reduction.[7] In this process, the first major syllable of a polysyllabic word, (either analysable or unanalysable) is reduced to a minor syllable. For example, the minor syllable *ta* in *taphā* 'sole' comes from the synchronically retrievable word *tā* 'leg'. The initial syllable of other unanalysable polysyllabic words may also weaken, for example *mīshī ~ mashī* ,'sugarcane', *hùhú ~ hahú* 'snail', and *yīthú ~ yathú* 'axe'

Some words with two initial minor syllables have also been attested. Words with two initial minor syllables are given in (56).

(56)	*takalāt*	'root'	
	tapalín	'vibrate'	
	tatawā	'animal'	< Pali. dhadawa
	sakalá	'sound' or 'voice'	
	pathawī	'universal'	< Pali. pahtawi

2.8 Other phonological processes

This section discusses phonological processes such as fusion and linking which can change the shape of the syllable structures in Kadu. Kadu, in general, does not permit vowel complexes consisting of more than one vowel. When two vowels or two syllables are juxtaposed, one of two phonological processes takes place–fusion or linking.

[7] This term was adapted from Antony Dubach Green (2005).

2.8.1 Fusion

I will use the symbol (S) to refer to a syllable here. Vowel fusion occurs when the syllable (S_2), begining with a vowel is attached to an open syllable which has an identical vowel phoneme. The rule is $V_1 + V_2 = V$. For example, when *phà,* a numeral classifier for 'bunch', is followed by the numeral one, *à*, the vowel of S_2 is absorbed into the vowel of S_1. Look at the example in (57).

(57) (a) *salàshī **phà**naík lūìnglá* (08:107)

salà-shī **phà-à** =naík lū-ìng =lá
banana-CLF.fruit **CLF.bunch-one** =only get-DIR_2 =NOM
'I only got a bunch of bananas (nothing else).'

(b) *cím**hà***

cím-hà-à
house-**CLF.**building-one
'One house'

In the examples in (57), in the gloss line, I have separated the fused forms to present the underlying morphemes. However, in actual speech they are heard as a single mora. There is no lengthening of the vowels. The negative clitic *=á,* following a word with an identical vowel, also follows the same rule. Compare the two examples in (58).

(58) (a) *sāngpaláng saēktè alākáká* (25:169)

sāngpaláng	saēk	=tè	a-lā-kák	=á
king	daughter	=A.AG	NEG-take-want	=NEG

'I don't want to take (marry) the king's daughter.'

(b) *aheú**hà*** (25:52)

a-heú-**hà**	**=á**
NEG-tell-**know.how**	=NEG

'I can't tell or (I) don't know (what) to tell.'

The tone for the negative clitic is high, however, in fused form it doesn't retain its tone. Similarly, the vowels of the two verbal directionals *àng* and *ìng,* when preceded by a word with an identical vowel, are absorbed into the preceding vowel and the tone. Thus, *hā* 'go' + *àng* 'DIR_1' becomes *hāng* and *mí* 'buy' + *ìng* 'DIR_2' becomes *míng*.

However, in cases where S_1 ends with a high front vowel /i/ and S_2 begins with a central low vowel /a/, in the fused form the vowel of S_2 is retained. Thus, *cí* 'plural' + *àng* 'DIR_1' becomes *cáng*, and *zí* 'finish' + *àng* 'DIR_1' becomes *záng*. The examples in (59) illustrate this type of fusion.

(59) *weúkú pū**cáng**thāmā* (13:3)

weúkú	pū-**cí-àng**	=thāmā
bathe	emerge-**PL-DIR_1**	=HORT

'Let's go out for a bathe.'

What we have discussed so far is fusion of vowels when they occur next to each other. Fusion of S_1, an open syllable, with an S_2 which has an initial consonant has also been attested in Kadu. In this process, the resulting fused form is somewhat different in phonological shape. The rule is $S_1 + S_2 = S_3$. Consider the examples in (60).

(60) (a) *ngātè atánshí**shók*** (15:61)

ngā	=tè	a-tán-shí	=sà	=yók
1SG	=A.AG	NEG-beat-die	=NEG.IMP	=INTRUSIVE

'Don't kill (beat to death) me yet.'

(b) *azaúnzón**shík*** (18:105)

a-zaún-zón	=sà	=zík
NEG-follow.after-CONTINUE	=NEG.IMP	=FINALLY

'Do not follow (it) anymore.'

In the examples above, the negative imperative clitic *sà* is followed by CFPs *yók* 'INTRUSIVE' and *zík* 'FINALLY'. Here the vowel and coda of S_2 are retained and the initial of the combined form is /sh/.

2.8.2 Linking

Consonant lengthening is attested with nasals. In this process, if S_1 ends with a nasal and S_2 starts with a vowel, the final consonant of S_1 is lengthened. The examples in (61) illustrate this. Phonetic representations are presented in [ ] brackets. I use a single nasal (see line one) in my transcription.

(61) (a) *nímàngmā* [nímmàngmā]

ním-àng =mā
stay-DIR_1 =RLS
'(He) stays/lives (there).'

(b) *nímìngmā* [nímmìngmā]

ním-ìng =mā
stay-DIR_2 =RLS
'(He) stays/lives (here).'

(c) *nāngàngmā* [nānngngāngmā]

nāng-àng =mā
go-DIR_1 =RLS
'(He) went (there).'

If S_1 ends with /p/ or /t/ and S_2 starts with a vowel, the two syllables are linked by inserting the homorganic nasals /m/ and /n/, respectively. The two examples in (62) illustrate this.

(62) (a) *maeútóng laúkléyaúk ūhaū kápmàngmā* (19:1)

maeútóng laúklé =yaúk ūhaū káp-àng =mā
long.ago sling.shot =COM owl shoot-DIR_1 =RLS
'Long ago, (someone) shot the owl with a sling.'

(b) *cúntóngpè thōkkón kátnàngpeúpán hīngká* (12:57)

cún-tóng =pè thōk =kón kát-àng-peú =pán
island-big =LOC arrive =PURP run-DIR_1-keep =COS
'(He) ran until he reached the island.'

If S_1 ends with one of the front vowels /i, e/, or /eu/ and S_2 starts with a vowel, the semi-vowel /y/ is inserted. See the illustrations in (63).

(63) (a) *salàshī phà ī**yàng**mā* (08:123)

salà-shī	phà-à	ī-**àng**	=mā
banana-CLF.fruit	CLF.bunch-one	give-**DIR$_1$**	=RLS

'(I) gave a bunch of bananas.'

(b) *nāngyeún heú**yàng**kū* (09:23)

nāng	=yeún	heú-**àng**	=kū
2SG	=BEN	tell-**DIR$_1$**	=IRLS

'(I) will tell (it) for you.'

However, if S_1 ends with one of the back vowels /u, o/, or /au/ and S_2 starts with a vowel, the semi-vowel /w/ is inserted. See the illustrations in (64).

(64) (a) *anáq zōkshīwaleútè ū**wàng** meúmā* (12:33)

anáq	zōkshī-waleú	=tè	ū-àng	meú	=mā
this	breast-liquid	=A.AG	drink-DIR$_1$	good	=RLS

'Drink this milk. (It) is good.'

(b) *hīng halá ngaú**wàng**maták* (24:3)

hīng	halá	ngaú-**àng**	=mā	=ták
3SG	husband	say-**DIR$_1$**	=RLS	=HS

'Her husband said, it is said.'

CHAPTER 3: WORD CLASSES

This chapter presents what has been traditionally called parts of speech. Lexical word classes are presented in two sections: major and minor word classes. Subsequently, grammatical particles will be presented in a separate section.

3.1 Major word classes

The two main major word classes in Kadu, as in many other languages, are nouns and verbs.

3.1.1 Nouns

Syntactically nouns in Kadu can be followed by numeral classifier phrases to specify the type of referent (Chapter 5) or by various postnominal elements to indicate semantic roles such as an Agent, Patient (Chapter 6). There is no distinction of grammatical gender in nouns such as there is in Spanish. However, when reference to an animate noun does not provide gender, if need be, gender nouns such as *pá* 'female' and *lā* 'male' may follow the noun, as in *acípá* (elephant-female) 'female elephant' and *ūlā* (fowl-male) 'rooster'.

A noun can function as the head of an NP and also as a core or peripheral argument of a clause. In attributive or equational clauses it can function as the predicate of a clause (see §8.2.1).

Nouns in Kadu are an open class. They are a class of words which contains the names of most persons, places, and things (Schachter and Shopen 2007:5). They express the most concrete and time-stable concepts, e.g., 'mountain', 'rock', and 'house' (Payne 1997:33). Their bundled (co-experienced) properties, such as size, color, shape, or consistency thus change relatively slowly as individual features as well (Givón 2001:51). Abstract nouns such as freedom, love, experience, and anger are not attested in the Kadu noun class. They are, rather, expressed by verbs or adjectival verbs. In order to express an abstract noun concept, the verb must be nominalised, as in (65).

(65) (a) *mítpanáq meúmā*

mít	=panáq	meú	=mā
love	=NOM	good	=RLS

'Love is good.' Or 'To love is good.'

(b) *tínhaútpanáq ameúyá*

tínhaút	=panáq	a-meú-á
angry	=NOM	NEG-good-NEG

'Anger is not good.' Or 'To be angry is not good.'

The following section on nouns is divided into two: 3.1.1.1 The structure of nouns and 3.1.1.2 Types of nouns.

3.1.1.1 The structure of nouns

The structure of nouns in Kadu may be simple or complex.

3.1.1.1.1 Simple nouns

Simple nouns are those treated as monomorphemic by the native speakers of Kadu. Structurally, they may be monosyllabic, sesquisyllabic, or disyllabic words. Monosyllabic nouns are the most common of all Kadu nouns. They cannot be further broken down into meaningful units. Some monosyllabic nouns are shown in (66).

(66)

cī	'dog'
kā	'earth' or 'soil'
cím	'house'
ceú	'buffalo'
mōk	'cow'
ngón	'gold'
kweú	'monkey'
maù	'leech'

Sesquisyllabic nouns, which make up the second largest noun type, are formed by a weak initial syllable plus a full syllable. We can further divide weak syllables into two: one that is analysable (§3.2.5), in which case the lexical meaning of one or both of the two morphemes is retrievable, and one that is not (§2.7.2). Some sesquisyllabic nouns are shown in (67).

(67)

ací	‘elephant’
atá	‘cooked rice’
halá	‘husband’
haláng	‘sky’
lapòk	‘bamboo’
katòk	‘neck’
kaphú	‘snake’
malā	‘flesh’
sanú	‘roof’

Disyllabic nouns are composed of two full syllables. They cannot be further broken down into meaningful units. They are always considered as a single monomorphemic unit by the speakers of Kadu. Some examples of disyllabic nouns are exemplified in (68).

(68)

kānzū	‘mustard’
mánhá	‘summer’
sāngsūng	‘clothing’
yāmpū	‘banded snake head fish’
hūnzaú	‘spoon’
hānghák	‘toad’
haùheū	‘corn’
hānshí	‘cat’
kaúhán	‘otter’

A few trisyllabic nouns have also been attested in Kadu, as exemplified in (69).

(69)	*pòkweúsút*	'some *Ardsia* shrubs'
	ūpháksā	'bat'
	weūsālī	'Indian nightshade'
	mùkchíthú	'pennywort'
	kwuèlākzīng	'oyster'

Nouns in the Kadu lexicon also include many loanwords from neighboring languages and are frequently used in day-to-day speech. The great majority of the loanwords come from Burmese and Shan, and loanwords from Pali have also been attested. Loanwords may be recognisable as being from a particular language, but it is not possible to break them down into meaningful morphemes in Kadu. Some Burmese loanwords are exemplified in (70).

(70)	*leútsaūng*	လက်ဆောင် <**lakhsong**>	'gift'
	pōngzān	ပုံစံ <**pumsam**>	'pattern'
	panyāshíq	ပညာရှိ <**panjahri.**>	'wise man'
	amyóanweū	အမျိုးအနွယ် <**amjou:anwe**>	'tribe'
	cùm	ကျွန် <**kjun**>	'slave'
	ēngthaūng	အိမ်ထောင် <**eimhtong**>	'family'
	tānlyeút	သန်လျက် <**thanljak**>	'regalia'

Some Pali loanwords are exemplified in (71). Most of these loanwords are recent and came via Burmese. Notice in the examples below that there is a regular sound correspondence between /t/ in Kadu and /s/ in Pali. This historical sound change from /s/ > /θ/, (/θ/ > /t/ in Kadu) and /r/ > /j/ in Burmese has been already identified (see

Bradley 1979). An exception to this is *samón* 'monk' or 'priest' which may be a direct, older loanword.

(71)

Kadu	Pali	
túkháq	/dukkha/	'suffering'
pātā	/bhasa/	'language' or 'religion'
katē	/koti/	'ten million'
yātanā	/ratana/	'jewel'
tānkā	/sangha/	'member of Buddhist order'
samón	/samana/	'priest'
myíttā	/metta/	'love'

Shan loanwords are also attested. These Shan loanwords were identified with the help of my language consultants who understood some Shan. Interestingly, many Kadu kinship terms are Shan loanwords. Some Shan loanwords are exemplified in (72).

(72)

kónthaūng	'bachelor'
zaūpwá	'chief'
meúzaúng	'mother-in-law'
paīzaúng	'father-in-law'
thīngpālá	'village's chief'
heúttín	'slipper'

Some loanwords from English have also been attested. These loanwords came into the Kadu lexicon through school education or via Burmese. They are illustrated in (73).

(73)

tivi	'TV'
vidio	'video'
redio	'radio'
keútseút	'cassette'
beútayi	'battery'
saún	'speaker' (derived from sound box)
satí	'steel'
paú	'ball'

3.1.1.1.2 Complex nouns

Complex nouns, unlike simple nouns, are polymorphemic. Most of the complex nouns come from the process of compounding. A compound is a word that is formed from two or more different morphemes, most frequently members of open lexical classes (Aikhenvald 2007:24). Kadu compound nouns are formed, as in many other languages, by two or more morphemes–either from the same or different lexical classes. The meaning of both words, in most cases, is clear to speakers of Kadu. There are three types of compounds: endocentric, exocentric, and coordinate compounds. Endocentric compounds ((Bauer 1988:35), as quoted in (Aikhenvald 2007:30)), denote a subclass of items referred to by one of their elements that can be treated as the head of the compound. Exocentric compounds denote something which is different from either of the components. Coordinate compounds consist of two juxtaposed nouns which refer to a unitary concept (Aikhenvald 2007:30-31). Most of the Kadu compound nouns exhibit endocentric and coordinate compounds. There are a few compound nouns in Kadu which may be analysed as exocentric compounds such as *phaúk-caík* (literally 'jump-

cross') 'locust' and *yēk-zák* (literally 'hill field-be caught') 'grass'. However, this kind of compound is not common in Kadu, therefore our attention in the following section will be given to subordinate and coordinate compounds in Kadu.

Aikhenvald identifies (1) phonological (2) morphological (3) morphosyntactic and (4) semantic criteria for distinguishing compounds from phrases. Phonologically, compounds often form one phonological word with a single stress pattern. Morphologically, compound words are overtly marked by particular morphemes. Morphosyntactically, case makers cannot be inserted between the components of a compound word. Semantically, compounds tend to have compositional meanings (Aikhenvald 2007:24-28).

In Kadu, as it is a fairly isolating language, compounds do not necessarily behave like a single phonological word. It is possible to have a short pause between the two components. However, morphosyntactically it is impossible to insert a case marker between these components. For example, the two words *cím* 'house' and *ū* 'fowl' or 'chicken' are both free lexical morphemes. Therefore, they can be directly followed by the anti-agentive marker *tè*, as in (74).

(74) (a) *címtè mímā*

cím	=tè	mí	=mā
house	=A.AG	buy	=RLS

'I buy the house.'

(b) *ūtè mímā*

ū =tè mí =mā
fowl =A.AG buy =RLS
'I buy the fowl/bird.'

However, when they are used as a compound noun *címū* 'domestic chicken', which is a single word to the native speakers of Kadu, it is impossible to add the same anti-agentive marker *tè* between the two syllables. See illustrations in (75). Example (75a) is grammatical but (75b) is not.

(75) (a) *címūtè mímā*

cím-ū =tè mí =mā
house-chiken =A.AG buy =RLS
'I buy a home grown chicken.'

(b) **címtèū mímā*

Semantically, many of the Kadu compounds have a compositional meaning. For example, the word for 'parents' is *ameūawà* (*ameū* 'mother' + *awà* 'father'). Most Kadu compounds are of this type of 'binary noun compound'. However, there are also other compounds, for example, *tací* 'shin'. The first syllable is synchronically analysable as a reduced form of *tā* 'leg', however the second morpheme is not relatable to its lexical source. Therefore, we may define Kadu compounds loosely by adopting Matisoff's definition of Lahu compounds: "any polymorphemic structure in the nominal nucleus as a compound" (Matisoff 1973:54). Compounds in Kadu are presented in three

sections: subordinate compound nouns, coordinate compound nouns, and imitative compound nouns.

Subordinate compound nouns are composed of a head noun and an attributive member. The attributive member is either a noun or a verb. The attributive member modifies the head noun by making the meaning more specific. The attributive noun precedes the head noun and the attributive verb follows the head noun. NOUN + HEAD NOUN compounds are frequently found in the Kadu lexicon. As Kadu lacks a genitive marker, it is often difficult to distinguish between a NOUN + NOUN compound and a genitive construction. For example, *hamán-zāng* can be interpreted as a 'spirit-shelf' or 'spirit's shelf' and *tamìsā-cím* as 'human-house' or 'human's house'. NOUN + NOUN compounds may be further divided into two: one that has an underlying classificatory pattern as 'specific + generic'.

In a NOUN + NOUN subordinate compound, the first member stands in a subordinate relationship to the second. The role of the first member of a compound word is to specify or narrow the reference. For example, *tú* 'language', is a generic term for language (any language), and can be modified by *azàk* 'Kadu' which narrows the reference to, specifically, the 'Kadu language'. Some more examples of NOUN + NOUN compounds with 'specific + generic' classificatory are given in (76).

(76)	*cím-sèk*	(house-person)	‘family member’
	sateù-mūngkū	(lips-hair)	‘beard’
	swá-sweū	(tooth-tusk/fang)	‘eyetooth’
	wān-salí	(fire-tongue)	‘flame’
	weú-salí	(water-tongue)	‘wave’
	thīng-palá	(village-leader)	‘chief’
	yēk-ān	(hill field-paddy)	‘rice from hill field’

Another type of compound noun has a verb modifying the head noun. This is done by either a non-nominalised verb directly following the head noun or by a nominalised verb or verb phrase immediately preceding the head noun, as in a relative clause structure. See derived nouns in §3.1.1.2.10 and relative clauses in §8.2.3. In the HEAD NOUN + VERB compound, the attributive verb slot mostly comes from stative verbs or adjectival verbs. Some examples of HEAD NOUN + VERB compound nouns are given in (77).

(77)	*kāntāt-ngá*	(taro-steam)	‘steamed taro’
	púk-zalaút	(belly-drift)	‘diarrhea’
	ū-kán	(fowl-bad)	‘wild fowl’
	waleú-sín	(liquid-spicy)	‘liquor’
	weú-lóm	(water-warm)	‘warm water’
	ān-saú	(paddy-nutty taste)	‘sticky rice’
	púk-theú	(belly-widen)	‘navel’

Some VERB + HEAD NOUN compound nouns have also been attested in Kadu. The examples given in (78) may also be analysed as reduced relative clauses where the nominaliser *panáq ~ pín* (§8.2.3) is absent.

(78)	*míng-weú*	(ripe-water)	'pus'
	zít-weú	(urinate-water)	'urine'
	tòkweú	(?-water)	'sweat'
	zōk-kāntāt	(transplant-taro)	'sweet taro'

Compound nouns with VERB + VERB structures are not attested, except one word, *lómhā* 'warm clothes' (*lóm* 'warm' and probably *hà* 'know.how'), where neither of the components is a noun.

Coordinate compound nouns, also known as dyadic compounds (Evans 2006), consist of two juxtaposed nouns where neither member is subordinate to, nor modifies, the other and the two together refer to a unitary concept. For example, *ameū-awà* (mother-father) 'parents'. This is rather common with kinship terms in Kadu. Coordinate compounds nouns in Kadu are illustrated in (79).

(79)	*amú-nashī*	(big brother-younger sibling)	'brother siblings'
	até-nashī	(big sister-younger sibling)	'sister sibling'
	òkthaúng-athaúng	(father-in-law-mother-in-law)	'parents-in-law'
	mōksān-wàksān	(beef-pork)	'meat'
	atá-sapáksà	(cooked rice-curry)	'food or dishes'
	kasé-sāngsūng	(sarong-shirt)	'clothing'

Another type of compound noun is the imitative compound, which consists of two members: a noun member and an imitative member. Each member usually consists of two syllables. The first member can usually be used independently and has its own meaning, however, the second member can never be used independently. For example, the word *satúng* 'grandchild' can be followed by an expression such as *sazáng* which

has no semantic value in its own. These can be compared with 'expressive compounds' (Post 2006:278), and 'elaborate expressions' (Matisoff 1973:81). Matisoff noted that elaborate expressions are a typical construction of Southeast Asian languages in general. Many Kadu imitative compounds also contain four-syllable compound words, as in Burmese and Lahu. See the examples in (80).

(80) (a) တောင်ပေါ် တောင်အောက် (Burmese)
tong -po tong -ok
mountain -on.top mountain under
'every where' (lit. on the mountains and valleys)

(b) ɔ̀-lî-ɔ̀-lɔ (Lahu: Matisoff 1973:82)
'custom, tradition'

(c) *cím-zaūk-cím-tōm* (Kadu)
cím zaūk cím tōm
house on.top house under
'every where' (lit. on the top and below the house)

In Kadu, many sesquisyllabic or disyllabic nouns take imitative members, thus forming a four syllable word pattern. Three common patterns are found: A-B-A-C, A-B-C-B, and A-B-C-D. Imitative compound nouns in Kadu generally denote a generic or inclusive meaning. For example, when a disyllabic word *paúngká* 'basket' is imitated with *paúngtù,* it denotes various kinds of baskets.

The A-B-A-C pattern is the most common. In this process, the first syllable of the second member is a duplication of the first syllable of the first member. The second syllable of

the second member is euphonic. Some examples of the A-B-A-C pattern are given in (81).

(81)	*paúngká-paúngtù*	'baskets'
	phaíkhū-phaíktā	'carriers'
	kángpè-kángná	'deserted places'
	satúng-sazáng	'grandchild'
	kamā-kapeút	'wounds'
	malíp-maláp	'mushroom'
	talát-talaú	'vegetables'
	ūzík-ūyá	'birds'
	talū-talā	'tiny (stuff)'

Some examples that have the A-B-C-B pattern, where the second and the fourth syllables are identical, have also been attested, as in (82).

(82)	*salān-palān*	'meat'
	òkthaúng-athaúng	'parents-in-law'
	mōksān-wàksān	'beef and pork'
	ngónkā-phúkā	'gold and silver'

A few examples that have the A-B-C-D pattern, where none of the four syllables are identical, are also attested, as in (83). Although none of the initial consonants of both members are identical, in all examples the rhyme follows the A-B-A-B pattern.

(83)	*nanū-sapú*	'animal'
	tatū-sapú	'seeds'
	kapáng-saláng	'emptied'

3.1.1.2 Semantic classes of noun

Noun classes are presented in the following order: 3.1.1.2.1 Human, 3.1.1.2.2 Body parts, 3.1.1.2.3 Animals, 3.1.1.2.4 Plants and flowers, 3.1.1.2.5 Places, 3.1.1.2.6 Kinships, 3.1.1.2.7 Iconic nouns, 3.1.1.2.8 Location nouns, 3.1.1.2.9 Time nouns, and 3.1.1.2.10 Derived nouns.

3.1.1.2.1 Human

The Kadu call themselves *azàk*, but the etymology of this name is unknown. The term for 'human' is interesting. It is a compound of *tamì* 'other people' and *sā* 'child' (Lit. we may translate 'other people's child'). It contains the PTB etyma ***mi** 'person' and ***tsa** ~ ***za** 'son' as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:668). Some nouns used to refer to humans are given in (84).

(84)

halawà	'man'
tamìsā	'human'
īshíq	'girl'
tamì	'other people'
saék	'daughter'
ék	'wife' or 'woman'
sā	'child' or 'son'

3.1.1.2.1.1 Personal names

Most Kadu personal names consist of two or more syllables. Names with two syllables are the most common. If the name, particularly a female's name, has three syllables, the last syllable may be reduplicated and used alone to express an intimate relationship. For example, *nínsúqkhaī* may be called as *khaīkhaī*. Today, almost all the Kadu have adopted Burmese names to identify themselves. Therefore, most of the Kadu personal names, although each syllable may have a recognisable meaning in the source language, are not lexically analysable in Kadu. Some names of my language consultants are shown in (85) for illustration.

(85)

Female name	Male name
é myét tū	aūng tán nweū
khīn yī	caū zē yaq
laq seīng	aūng teín
maq naíng	é maūng
nín zuq khaī	thún laq
maq buq	paq maūng
tén seīn	shwē maūng
tīn tīn laq	tīn maūng

The Kadu, like the Burmese, do not have surnames nor birth order names like the Rawang or Jingphaw. Some personal names that are probably of Kadu origin are also attested. One of my language consultant's sons was named *ngón-phéng-katàm* (gold-full-beauty), which is not a common practice today among the Kadu. Some personal names in one of the recorded texts are probably Kadu, such as *phákhūlū* and *phúlùthaú* in (86). The lexical meanings of these names are not transparent.

(86) *phákhūlū phúlùthaū ngaúpanáq amúnashì eútpeúmaták* (15:2)

phákhūlū	**phúlūthaū**	ngaú = panáq	amú-nashì	eút-peú	= mā	= ták
PN	**PN**	say = NOM	brothers	drop-keep = RLS		= HS

'(The two) brothers who were called Phakhulu and Phalutau, were left behind, it is said.'

I also collected some older personal names that were once reported to be common among the Kadu. These names are presented in (87).

(87)

Female names	Male names
thaūlì	*x*
thaúlò	*càngthaù*
máqthaū	*phóthaù*
sweúsà	*sāsweúq*

All the names in (87) contain two syllables each. It is interesting to notice that in those names, the same syllable can be used for both male and female names. For example, the syllable *thaū* or *thaù* occurs both in male and female names. With male names it occurs in initial position, whereas, with female names it occurs following something. And, also, in the last set of names given in (87) the order is reversed. The third example in (87) contains two Burmese honorifics, *maq* and *phó,* female and male honorifics, respectively (§3.1.1.2.1.4).

3.1.1.2.1.2 Professional titles

There are not many professional titles in Kadu. Some professional titles, which are probably borrowed words, attested in Kadu are given in (88).

(88)	*zaúng*	'lord' or 'monk'
	samón	'monk'
	meūshīláq	'nun'
	sàngpaláng	'king'
	ósací	'teacher'
	palá	'leader' or 'elder'
	swáng	'rich person' or 'business man'

3.1.1.2.1.3 Other peoples' names

Kadu terms for the peoples who live around them are as illustrated in (89). So far, I have not been able to relate any of these names to their lexical meanings.

(89)	*hāháng*	'Jingphaw'
	hàkheū	'Chinese'
	kapaú	'Shan'
	kanán	'Kanan'
	khaūngsaī	'Chin'
	pūháng	'sub-clan of Kadu'

3.1.1.2.1.4 Honorifics

All the personal names mentioned in (85) above can be attached with Burmese general honorific terms, မ <**ma.**> and ဒေါ် <**do**> for females and ကို <**ko**> and ဦး <**u:**> or ဖိုး <**hpou:**> for male speakers (see Okell 1969:99-100). My transcriptions of these honorifics in Kadu are *máq*, *taū*, *kō*, *ú*, and *phó,* respectively. These honorifics precede the personal names. It is interesting that the Burmese royal or honorific တော် <**to**> (my transcription *taū*) which follows personal names or professional titles, is still used among the Kadu speakers in their day-to-day speech. It is particularly found with kinship terms such as *saya-taū* (teacher-honorific) 'monk', *khameú-taū* (father-honorific) 'father', *meū-taū* (mother-honorific) 'mother', and *nyī-taū* (brother-honorific) 'younger brother'. The terms *khameútaū* and *meūtaū,* however, are never used in referring to one's own parents. They are used as a title to refer to a monk's father and mother. If the monk has resigned from the monkhood, these titles are no longer applicable to his parents. However, the use of these terms seems to be gradually disappearing as the younger generations are more and more exposed to colloquial Burmese. The use of *taū* apart from those kinship terms mentioned above is rare.

The term *swáng* is used when addressing a supernatural being, such as a god or spirit. It is also used with an extremely respectable person, like a king or a monk, as exemplified in (90).

(90) *phayáswáng* ‘god’
hamánswáng ‘spirit’
samónswáng ‘monk’
sāngpalángswáng ‘king’

When directly addressing someone with one of those titles mentioned above, the term *swáng* follows the second person pronoun, which may be translated into English as ‘you, my lord’ as exemplified in (91).

(91) *nāngswáng panáqathá phóngtakó tóngkákláyeù* (07:62)

nāng	**swáng**	panáq	athá	phóngtakó	tong-kák	=lá	=yeù
2SG	**master**	DEM	more	glory.power	big-want	=Q	=SAP

‘Master, do you want to become more powerful than this?’

3.1.1.2.2 Body parts

Some body part terms occur with the initial minor syllables *a-*, *ka-,* and *sa-* as illustrated in (92a, b and c).

(92) (a) *ahà* ‘chin’
asaìng ‘intestines’
asìn ‘liver’

(b) *katòk* ‘neck’
kapaūtī ‘testicle’
kaaù ‘throat’
kaná ‘ear’

(c)	*sateū*	'lips'
	satún	'mouth'
	sanàpòk	'nose'

Terms referring to the hand typically occur with the initial formative root *ták* 'hand', which is clearly a reflex of PTB ***lak** 'hand/arm' as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:65), as in *tákshī* 'finger' and *tákkasú* 'elbow'. Similarly, terms related to the leg typically occur with the initial formative root *ta-*, which is a reduced form of *tā* 'leg' as in *tapaúk* 'calf' and *taphā* 'foot'. These kinds of structures are discussed in great detail in §3.2.5. Other minor syllables are *ha-* and *la-,* each occurring in one word as in *haláng* 'head' and *lapàng* 'cheek'. There are also body part terms that are monosyllabic. These are given in (93).

(93)	*pàng*	'pancreas'
	púk	'belly'
	láng	'body'
	mán	'face'
	tí	'penis'
	pák	'vagina'

Some body part terms include the syllable *hú.* The etymology of this syllable is unknown. These body terms are exemplified in (94).

(94) *sìnhú* ‘heart’
halánghú ‘hair’
tahú ‘hand’
kathánghú ‘chest’
míkhú ‘eyebrow’

3.1.1.2.3 Animals

Many terms denoting animals have been attested in Kadu. In general, names of common domestic animals such as cow and dog are monosyllabic, as illustrated in (95).

(95) *ū* ‘chicken’
cī ‘dog’
. *wàk* ‘pig’
mōk ‘cow’

Three minor syllables that occur with animal and insect names have been attested in Kadu. They are *a-*, *sa-*, and *ka-* (§2.7.2) and the last is the most common. Animal names that occur with the minor syllable *a-* are illustrated in (96).

(96) *ací* ‘elephant’
achí ‘muntjac deer’
. *ahā* ‘crab’

Mostly insect names occur with the *sa-* minor syllable, as illustrated in (97). An exception to this is *sapù* ‘horse’.

(97) *saceū* ‘red ant’
sací ‘centipede’
. *salít* ‘cockroach’
sapù ‘horse’

A large number of names for wild animals, insects, and small reptiles occur with the *ka-* minor syllable, as illustrated in (98).

(98) *kasà* ‘tiger’
kayù ‘rat’
kapí ‘mole(animal)’
kaphú ‘snake’
kapheú ‘monitor lizard’
kasàt ‘bear’
kasòk ‘frog’
kapeù ‘goat’
kahún ‘termite’
kalèt ‘cricket’

Otherwise, many insect and animal names are made up of two or more major syllables. These are illustrated in (99).

(99) (a) Disyllabic animal names

túngún ‘bee’
zángkùk ‘lizard’
phónzìng ‘ant’
hāngháng ‘toad’
húyá ‘firefly’
taúktaù ‘gecko’

(b) Trisyllabic or quadrisyllablic animal names

zīngzùksá	'dragonfly'
zákkalíng	'grass lizard'
taùngsaùkmú	'caterpillar'
katùzīpaūng	'pangolin'

Most bird names occur as a 'generic-specific/attributive' taxonomic compound, as in *ūkán* 'wild chicken' (*ū* 'generic-fowl' + *kán* 'attributive-bad'). For further discussion of taxonomic word formations see §3.2.5.

However, unlike in many neighbouring languages, names of fish in Kadu do not follow this taxonomic word formation pattern. The generic word for fish is *tángngà* < PTB ***nga** ~ ***nya** but *ngà* does not occur in taxonomic compounds. Instead, the Shan/Tai word *pa* < ***plaa** is used in some taxonomic compounds for fish names. Some fish names are as illustrated in (100).

(100)			
	yānpū	'snake headed fish'	
	yānsapú	'catfish'	
	pacīsá	'loach'	
	pazīngzú	'dwarf catfish'	
	pasàt	'carp'	
	paùkwá	'barbus chola'	ငါးလွာ <**nga:lwa**>
	aphú	'??'	ငါးလမြွေ <**nga:lamwei**>
	pòktùt	'systomus'	ငါးခုံးမ <**nga:hkom:ma.**>
	atát	'??'	ငါးချော <**nga:hkjo:**>
	tītèsáq	'catfish'	ငါးကျည်း < **nga:kri:**>

3.1.1.2.4 Plants and flowers

All plants generally take class terms *kùn* 'CLT.tree' and *pá* 'CLT.flower'. Illustrations of many names of plants and flowers are given in the section on categorising class terms §3.2.5.2.

3.1.1.2.5 Places

Most of the Kadu place names have at least two syllables. As the Kadu are immigrants to their present location, most of the place names are either of Burmese or Shan origin. The names of the Kadu villages around Settau are shown in (101). Alternate pronunciations in Kadu are given in ( ) brackets.

(101) (a) Kadu village names of Burmese origin

leūnétcí (yànákcí)	လယ်နက်ကြီး	<lenakkri:>
pēgóng	ပေကုန်း	<peikong:>
aleūywā (pāngkáng)	အလယ်ရွာ	<alerwa>
kānywā	ကန်ရွာ	<kangrwa>
ashéqkóng	အရှေ့ကုန်း	<ahrei.kong:>
khōnán (khūnnán)	ခိုနန်း	<hkonang:>
tayākóng (tóngyāyí)	သာယာကုန်း	<thajakong:>
nyaūngtāyā (pāngmanáq)	ညောင်သာယာ	<nyongthaja>

(b) Kadu village names of Shan origin

náyaú (paúkmaí)
nānlín (nānnáng)
náyàkà
takhúktà (sakòttá)
pamūn (pūngmūng)
nānmúngkòng
kōpyīn (haūpén)
khamó

3.1.1.2.6 Kinship terms

All kinship terms in Kadu are nouns. Like other nouns they may be followed by numeral classifier phrases and other post nominal elements. Their primary meaning is to denote persons who are blood kin. These forms may be used with an extended meaning denoting someone who is not a blood relation in order to show respect and affection. In doing so the person is treated in speech as occupying a position comparable to that of a blood kin. For instance, while I was conducting my research in the Kadu community I became very close with one of my male language consultants who was about my father's age. In that situation, where I was treated as one of their kin it was inappropriate for me to address the man by his name or title. Therefore, we had to figure out a position comparable to that of a blood kin. In our case, the term *wángshì*, a term for one's own father's younger brother, was chosen, as he was younger than my

father. Likewise, if the addressee is a female in a comparable position, the term for female kin may apply to the situation.

In the following section, I will discuss the word structures of kinship terms. Subsequently, I will divide those kinship terms based on kinship relations. Kadu kinship terms can be analysed as monosyllabic, sesquisyllabic, or disyllabic. The monosyllabic kinship terms are illustrated in (102).

(102)	*yóng*	'brother (younger of female)'
	zán	'sister (younger of male)'
	nán	'daughter-in-law'
	ék	'wife'
	ók	'paternal grandfather'

Sesquisyllabic kinship terms are interesting. There are three different minor syllables (*a*, *na* , and *sa*) which attach to kinship terms and thus form sesquisyllabic words. The kinship terms with *a-* minor syllable are well attested, crosslinguistically, among many TB languages (Post 2007:214; van Breugel 2008:128). Matisoff (1973:65) called this *a-* prefix a vocative of kinship terms and noted that it is widespread in TB languages and Chinese, as well. Kinship terms with the minor initial *a-* syllable are also well attested in Burmese[8] (Okell 1969:99). An interesting fact about this minor initial syllable *a-* is that, both in Kadu and Burmese, it occurs only with kinship terms that refer to an older generation. Therefore, we can assume that this syllable functions to denote respect and

[8] ဘခေါ<ahpei>'father', ဘခေ <amei>'mother', ဘကိုု <akou>'older brother', and ဘမ <ama.>'older sister',

authority. It occurs with both genders. Kinship terms that have the *a-* initial syllable are shown in (103).

(103)	*awà*	'father'
	ameū	'mother'
	até	'older sister of male and female'
	amú	'older brother of male and female'
	anaí	'maternal grandmother'
	ataū	'paternal grandmother'
	ashì	'aunt (mother's older sister)'

The second sesquisyllabic kinship term forming an initial syllable is *sa-*. Only two occurrences are attested in my corpus and both instances relate to younger relations, as in (104). It reflects the PTB word for 'child' ***tsa ~ *za** as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:668).

(104)	*saék*	'daughter'
	satúng	'grandchild'

The last sesquisyllabic kinship term forming an initial syllalbe is *na-*. Its lexical source is unknown. It occurs in terms for addressing someone from a younger generation, therefore, it probably denotes an affectionate relationship. Sesquisyllabic kinship terms that occur with the *na-* initial are illustrated in (105).

(105)	*nashī*	'younger sibling' (same gender)
	nayóng	'great grandchild'

Other kinship terms are disyllabic terms as illustrated in (106).

(106)	*òkshī*	'father's older brother' (Lit. small paternal grandfather)
	òknaí	'maternal grandfather'
	wángshī	'father's younger brother'
	paūzaúng	'father-in-law'
	meūzaúng	'mother-in-law'
	naūngzaúng	'wife's younger sister'

The Kadu kinship system is bilateral. Unlike a classificatory kinship system which distinguishes parallel and cross cousins[9], the Kadu system is very similar to the Burmese kinship system. Even though, like Burmese, they distinguish paternal and maternal aunts and uncles, in actual practice both parents' kin are treated with equal respect.

It is also noticed that the Kadu kinship terminology is a mixture of terms that were originally Shan or Burmese. Some of the Shan terms may have arisen as a result of early contact with those peoples and some Burmese terms as a result of more recent contact. It is rather striking to see many Kadu in-law kinship terms that are similar to those of Shan (for example, *paūzaúng* 'father-in-law' and *meūzaúng* 'mother-in-law'. A study of Kadu kinship terms will, indeed, be interesting and will definitely provide invaluable information in regards to their contact and historical relationship with Tai/Shan and Burmese. In this research I have not attempted to compare or contrast

[9] The children of mother's brother and father's sister are cross cousins. The children of father's brother and mother's sister are parallel cousins.

Kadu kinship terms with Tai or Burmese ones, as it is not the focus of this research. However, for clarification I have added superscripts ^{T} or ^{B} for kinship terms that are similar or identical with Shna/Tai or Burmese, respectively. Consanguinal kinship terms are presented in (107).

(107) Consanguinal kinship terms

òk ^{T}	'paternal grandfather'
ataū	'paternal grandmother'
òknaí ^{T}	'maternal grandfather'
anaí	'maternal grandmother'
awà	'father'
ameū ^{B}	'mother'
òkshī ^{T}	'father's older brother and step father'
wángshī	'father's younger brother'
ashì	'mother's older sister and step mother'
mamá	'mother's younger sister'
amú	'elder brother'
até	'elder sister and wife of older brother'
nashī	'younger sibling'
yóng	'brother (younger of female)'
zán	'sister (younger of male)

Filial kinship terms are presented in (108).

(108) Filial kinship terms

halá	‘husband’
ēk	‘wife’
sā	‘child or son’
saēk	‘daughter’
satóng	‘grandchild’
nayóng	‘great grandchild’
nūklán [T]	‘nephew’ or ‘niece’

Affinal kinship terms are presented in (109).

(109) Affinal kinship terms

paūzaúng [T]	‘father-in-law’
meūzaúng [T]	‘mother-in-law’
nán	‘daughter-in-law’
nūkkhwé [T]	‘son-in-law’
yaúkpháq [B]	‘brother-in-law’[10]
nūktá [T]	‘brother-in-law’[11]
néng	‘sister-in-law’[12]
naūngsaúng [T]	‘sister-in-law’[13]

[10] It refers to the older brother of one’s wife or the older sister’s husband.

[11] It refers to the younger brother of ones wife or the younger sister’s husband.

[12] It refers to female’s older brother’s wife.

[13] It refers to the younger sister of one’s wife.

There is one affix worth mentioning here. It is the form *hé-*, which can be prefixed to any kinship term to express an affectionate or intimate relationship. All of my informants agreed on where this term may have derived from. They told me that Kadu people are superstitious. When they go to the jungle, they believe that evil spirits can imitate the human language and deceive them, particularly, by imitating human names or kinship terms. The evil spirit then uses the personal names or kinship terms to call and mislead the person, which may result in the person being lost in the jungle and not finding the way home. Kadu believe that the only sound the evil spirit from the forest cannot pronounce is the sound *hé*. Therefore, they attach it before names or kinship terms to notify the hearer that it comes from a friend or kin. When the form *hé* is attached to *a*-prefix kinship terms, the weak syllable is obligatorily omitted, whereas there are no phonological changes with other fully disyllabic kinship terms. Look at some examples in (110).

(110)

héwà	'father'
hémeū	'mother'
hété	'older sister of male and female'
hému	'older brother of male and female'
hénaí	'maternal grandmother'
hénashī	'younger sibling (same sex)'
hénayóng	'grandchild'

3.1.1.2.7 Iconic nouns

Some of the nouns, particularly bird names, are iconic with the sound the birds make. They are exemplified in (111).

(111) *ūkatú* 'dove'
paūwaú 'cuckoo bird'
títtīweúq 'red-wattled lapwing bird'
cékcéksā 'tailor bird'
naúkchìngkweú 'mynah bird'
paūweú 'hay trunk's flute'

3.1.1.2.8 Location nouns

This section discusses location nouns (LOCN) attested in Kadu. They are also known as "relator nouns" (Starosta 1985:111-112) because they provide specific information about the location. LOCNs in Kadu have a similar role as the English prepositions 'in, at, to, on top of, and under' and occur immediately following the NP. They may be also be followed by postpositions (Chapter 6). The structure of NP + LOCN followed by *pè* marks a static location, by *pà* (optionally followed by *pè*) which marks a locative source, and by *haík* which marks a locative goal. They may appear independently like other nouns and are clearly nouns as they can be marked by postpositions (see Chapter 1). In a few cases, they may also indicate temporal relations.

Kadu LOCNs are divided into three groups, adopting Wheatley's (1982) grouping of Burmese locational nouns: horizontal, vertical, and within and without LOCNs.

Horizontal LOCNs express locations such as ‘in front of’, ‘beside’, and ‘behind’. Kadu horizontal locational nouns are presented in (112).

(112)

halíng	‘behind’
mán	‘in front’ < ‘face’
wánaúk	‘east’
wántòk	‘west’
címpák	‘south’
címmeù	‘north’
tahà	‘right side’
tapeū	‘left side’

The terms indicating ‘south’ and ‘north’ are clearly conventionalised terms from the location of the house as they contain the initial syllable *cím* ‘house’. The term *címpák* ‘south’ also means a corridor or a flat platform which is attached to the house for the purpose of drying paddy and other crops. Similarly, the term for ‘north’ points to a direction based on the position of the house. However, the lexical meaning for *meù* is unknown and at this point, unlike the term *címpák*, it is hard to establish the lexical meaning for *címmeù*. The terms for ‘left’ and ‘right’ are also conventionalised terms from the body part ‘hand’ as they contain the initial syllable *ta-* < *tahú* ‘hand’.

The example below exemplifies the use of *halíng* as a head noun modified by the 3rd person singlular pronoun, as is (113). The modifying pronoun, the speaker himself in (113b), is omitted. The example (113a) is an afterthought sentence (§8.1). Therefore, a locational phrase occurs after the verb complex.

(113) (a) *nāngákzík hīnghalíngpèyeù* (08:42).

nāng-à =zík hīng **halíng** =pè =yeù
go-EUPH=FINALLY 3SG **behind** =LOC =SAP
'Go after/behind him.'

(b) *hīngpè tátmí sanàmpánnaà halíngpà anyeùtōpmànglakáé* (18:60)

hīng =pè tātmí sanàn =pán =naà
3SG =LOC torch snatch =COS =only

halíng =pà an-yeù tōp-àng =lakà =é
behind =ALL DEM-manner stab-DIR_1 =MIR =SAP
'I snatched the torch from him and lit it behind (him) in this manner.'

Among the horizontal LOCNs mentioned in (112), only the term *mán* 'in front' is used to express a temporal relation. It is clearly derived from the word 'face', as in (114).

(114) *mán chīpókhalúksà ōmpánnaà līyákhángpánták* (15:132)

mán chīpókhalúk-sà ōm =pán =naà
face worriedly-DIM make =COS =only

lī-à-háng =pán =ták
come-EUPH-back =COS =HS
'With a gloomy/dejected face (he) came home, it is said.'

It expresses a locational meaning when it occurs immediately following another noun. Look at the example in (115) provided by one of my informants.

(115) *címmánpè thóngmā*

cím	**mán**	=pè	thóng	=mā
house	**face**	=LOC	sit	=RLS

'(He) is sitting in front of the house.'

It is also used to express a temporal relation such as 'in the future' as illustrated in (116).

(116) *kōká mánpàpè manīngyeù ōmyōkàngthàkū ngaúpanáqtè* (17:49)

kō	=ká	**mán**	=pà	=pè	mà-nīngyeù
self	=TOP	**face**	=ALL	=LOC	WH-manner

ōm	yōk-àng-thà	=kū	ngaú	=panáq		=tè
make	eat-DIR_1-must	=IRLS	say	=NOM		=A.AG

'As for me, the thing I will have to do for a living in the future ..,'

Although it is not common to find lexical overlap between nouns and verbs in Kadu, in the example in (117) the word *mán* is used as a verb meaning 'facing'.

(117) *ngāká wānpōtpà mánpán īplaká* (18:84)

ngā=ká	wānpōt	=pà	**mán**	=pán	īp		=lakà
1SG=TOP	fire.place	=ALL	**face**	=COS	sleep		=MIR

'I slept facing the fire-place.'

Althought the term *halíng* 'behind' is never attested in my corpus expressing a temporal relation, my language consultants suggested that it is possible to say *halíng-satá* (behind-month) 'last month'. Instead, semantically similar, the Burmese term *naúk*

is freely used to express the temporal meaning ‘after that’ or ‘later’. To illustrate this I have given Burmese examples in (118). Example (118a) provides locational usage of the term *naúk* and (118b) provides its usage for temporal relations.

(118) (a) ခင်ဗျားနောက်မှာ ရှိတယ် (Burmese)

hkangbra:	nok	=hma	hri.=te
2SG	behind	= LOC	exist = RLS

‘It is behind you.’

(b) ဘွဲ့ရပြီးတဲ့နောက် မတွေ့ကြတော့ဘူး (Burmese)

bwe.	ra.-pri:	=te.	nok	ma-twei.-kra.-to.	=bu:
degree	get-finish	= NOM	behind	NEG-meet-PL-PART	= NEG

‘(We) haven’t met since (we) graduated.’

The use of *naúk* in Kadu, expressing the temporal relation ‘later’ or ‘after that’, is illustrated in (119).

(119) *ngātè azànpánnakà ōmcíyóklé naúktèká līcípánták* (24:58)

ngā = tè	azàn	= pánnàkà	ōm-cí	= yók	= lé
1SG = A.AG	pity	= if	make-PL	= INTRUSIVE	= EMPH

naúk = tè	= ká	lī-cí	= pán	= ták
later = A.AG	= TOP	come-PL	= COS	= HS

‘“Do/help if you (plural) pity me” later (some people) came, it is said.’

Vertical LOCNs express locations such as ‘top’, ‘below’, ‘over’, and ‘above’. The Kadu vertical location nouns attested are illustrated in (120).

(120) *zaūk* ‘on top’
kamúk ~ hamúk ‘underneath’
haláng ‘upper area/ head side’
talà ‘down the road or river’
tōm ‘below’
aūksweú ‘place below another’

The terms mentioned in (120), like horizontal location nouns, may be optionally modified by another noun to indicate specific location. However, unlike *mán* ‘in front of’, none of these terms express temporal relations. The examples in (121) illustrate the usage of the term *zaūk* ‘on top’.

(121) (a) *phúnkalùnzaūkpè īpkalá* (18:53)

phún-kalùn **zaūk** =pè īp =kū =lá
wood-plant **on.top** =LOC sleep =IRLS =Q
‘Shall (we) sleep on top of a tree?’

(b) *ō zaūkpàpè amínghà* (31:57)

ó **zaūk** =pà =pè a-míng-hà-á
EXCL **on.top** =ALL =LOC NEG-ripe-know.how-NEG
‘Well the top part is not cooked yet.’

The term *haláng* by itself means ‘head’ or ‘sky’. Its usage as a LOCN is not attested in my corpus. However, my language consultants told me that it can be used metaphorically as a LOCN to indicate ‘upper area or headland’, as in (122).

(122) *kāhalángpàpè ngāmā*

kā	**haláng**	=pà	=pè	ngā	=mā
soil	**head**	=ALL	=LOC	exist	=RLS

'It exists in the upper parts/reaches of the area.'

The term *talà* usually refers to a lower area and may be translated as 'down the road' or 'down the river', as in (123).

(123) *yahaùngtalàpáqpè ngāmā*

yahaùng	**talà**	=pà	=pè	ngā	=mā
river	**lower**	=ALL	=LOC	exist	=RLS

'It exists in the lower part/reaches of the river.'

However, if it is retrievable from the context, the preceding head noun may be left out, as exemplified in (124).

(124) *achìyá nāngmanaík úngtalàpàpè* (07:4)

a-chī	=á	nāng	=manaík	úng	**talà**	=pà	=pè
NEG-true	=NEG	go	=only.if	that	**lower**	=ALL	=LOC

'This is not good. I will go down.'

The term *kamúk ~ hamúk* expresses the location 'underneath', as in (125).

(125) *cím kamúkpàhaík tōpmìngmaták* (25:99)

cím	**kamúk**	=pà	=haík	tōp-ìng	=mā	=ták
house	**beneath**	=ALL	=ABL	stab-DIR_2	=RLS	=HS

'(He) stabbed from underneath the house.'

The term *aūksweú,* glossed as 'lower area' is employed to indicate a place below another place. Therefore, it normally occurs following a locational phrase as shown in (126).

(126) *yàk wuntomyóq tóngpaúlaúkáq aūksweú kótānpaúkwáq* (08:3)

yàk	wúntō-myóq	tóngpaúlaú	=káq	**aūksweú**	kótānpaúkwáq
now	PN-town	PN	=LOC	**lower.area**	PN

'Kothanpaukwah is below Tongpaulau (which is) now in Wunto (township).'

The term *tōm*, unlike other LOCNs that follow an NP, only appears as an independent noun. It may correlate with English *bottom* or *below*. It is included here because it also expresses vertical location. It occurs only one time in my corpus.

(127) *hamòkzaūkhaíkà tōmpáqpè nāngpánnaà* (12:3)

hamòk	zaūk	=haík	**tōm**	=pà	=pè	nāng	=pán	=naà
sky	on.top	=ABL	**below**	=ALL	=LOC	go	=COS	=only

'I, from the sky above will go to the bottom/below..,'

Aside from those LOCNs mentioned above, the Burmese form အောက် <**ok**> 'below', my transcription *aúk*, also appears frequently in my corpus. Consider the examples in (128). The Burmese example (128a) is taken from Okell 1969:251. Example (128b) is extracted from my corpus.

(128) (a) ကုတင်အောက်မှာထားရတယ် (Burmese: Okell 1969)

ku.tang	**ok**	=**ma**	**hta:**	-**kra.**	=**te**
bed	under	=LOC	keep	-must	=RLS

'(We) had to keep (them) under the bed.'

(b) *amútóng aúkpanáq sèk* (12:25)

amú-tóng	**aúk**	=panáq	sèk
big.brother-big	**below**	=NOM	person

'the second oldest brother.' (Lit. the one who is under the oldest brother)

The LOCNs that indicate within and without locations are presented in (129).

(129) *naú* 'inside'
pyāng 'outside'
paìk 'beside'

The term *naú*, glossed as 'inside', expresses an interior location. The examples in (130) exemplify this.

(130) (a) *taūcíōtèká pòkhúnaúpè zángmaták* (25:97)

taūcí	=tè	=ká	pòkhú	**naú**	=pè	záng	=mā	=ták
woman	=A.AG	=TOP	basket	**inside**	=LOC	put.in	=RLS	=HS

'(He) put the woman inside a basket, it is said.'

(b) *anyeù ngā asìnnaúpè ngāpanáqtalé* (17:76).

an-yeù	ngā	asìn	**naú**	=pè	ngā	=panáq	=talé
DEM-manner	1SG	mind	**inside**	=LOC	exist	=NOM	=SAP

'This manner that I have in mind.'

I have not attested a Kadu native word that expresses exterior location in my corpus. However, one of my informants told me the term *pyāng*, which is a clear Burmese loanword from ပြင် <**prang**>, is used to express exterior location. Consider the examples provided by the Kadu informant in (131) .

(131) *hīng címpyāngpè ōmmā*

hīng	cím	**pyāng**	=pè	ōm	=mā
3SG	house	**outside**	=LOC	make	=RLS

'He is making it outside the house.'

The last LOCN to mention here is the form *paík*. It has the meaning of 'beside' or 'near', as in (132a) and (132b) respectively.

(132) (a) *weúpaíkpè atámúkpán yókcímā* (18:07)

weú	**paík**	=pè	atá	múk	=pán	yók-cí	=mā
water	**beside**	=LOC	food	cook	=COS	eat-PL	=RLS

'We cooked rice beside the water and ate together.'

(b) *anáqpaíkpè ngāmā* (18:105)

anáq	**paík**	=pè	ngā	=mā
this	**beside**	=LOC	exist	=RLS

'Don't follow it. (The tiger) is just near here.'

3.1.1.2.9 Time nouns

In this section, I present time nouns in Kadu. They are analysed as nouns because of their nominal distributional characteristics. Time nouns related to parts of the day are made up of diverse forms. The basic time nouns are such as *taì* 'morning', *nahū* 'day (time)', *mángyàk* 'day', *nákceū* 'night', and *pí* 'year'.

Unit and dimension	Gloss
taì	'morning'
nahū	'day or mid day'
mángyák	'day time'
nákceū	'night'
nákceūhān	'evening'

Table 20: Time nouns in Kadu

The initial syllable *na-* as in *nahū* 'day' or 'mid day' is probably a reflex of the PTB word ***ney** 'day'. And the initial syllable *nák* with the words related to night or evening is a reflex of PTB ***nak** 'black' as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:603).

Most of the time nouns are deictic (also called temporal shifters). The deictic centre is usually the time of speaking (but need not be) or to a particular time within the narrative discourse. For example, in (133), a sentence taken from one of the stories, the time noun *phàkmák* is used for referring to the next day. Therefore, in this case, we can say that the deictic centre is thus located within the timeframe of the narrative.

(133) *taūcí yōkhaútnàngzáng phàkmákká wuntopà zésà kámàkà míyáklé* (08:84)

taūcí	yōk-haút-àng	=záng	**phàkmák**	=ká
woman	eat-want-DIR_1	=EMPH	**tomorrow**	=TOP

wúntō	=pà	zé-sà	kámàkà	mí-à	=lé
PN	=ALL	market-DIM	so.on	buy-EUPH	=EMPH

'He told his wife to go to the Wuntho market the next day and buy some (food).'

Temporal shifters in Kadu are simple. They may be divided into two: days and years.

	Temporal shifers	Gloss
BACKWARD	*nàkhátóngmák*	'two days before yesterday'
	nàkhàmák	'the day before yesterday'
	nàkkamák	'yesterday'
CENTRE	*yàk*	'now'
	yàkmák	'today' or 'now/this day'
FORWARD	*phàkmák*	'tomorrow' or 'the next day'
	shīnát	'the day after tomorrow'
	shīnón	'two days after tomorrow'
	shīneún	'three days after tomorrow'

Table 21: Day temporal shifters

Referring to Table 21, most of the day temporal shifters occur with the form *mák* 'day time'. The backward temporal shifters all contain the initial *nàk*, which means 'night' in this language (< PTB ***nak** 'black'). However, time words related to days yet to come (forward) occur with the initial syllable *shī*.

Year temporal shifters are as shown in Table 22.

	Temporal shifters	Gloss
BACKWARD	*tamànghá*	'the year before last year'
	tanínhá	'two years before last year'
	talìnghá	'last year'
CENTRE	*yàkpí or yàknīng*	'this year'
FORWARD	*nátnīng*	'next year'
	zátnīng	'the year after next year'

Table 22: Year temporal shifters

The word *pí* 'year' is a loanword from Shan. It is the word Kadu speakers will answer with if you ask for the word 'year' as shown in (134).

(134) *hīngká pínùnaík phyeūtáklà* (17:23)

hīng	=ká	**pí**-nù	=naík	phyeū-ta-à	=lá
3sg	=TOP	**year**-one	=only	answer-L.SUFF-EUPH	=NOM

'He took the exam only one year.'

The relic form which reflects the PTB word ***s**-ning 'year' is also attested. Though it is never used in isolation, it shows up in words such as *yàknīng* 'this year', *nátnīng* 'next year', and *zátnīng* 'the year after next year'. Although the native speakers of Kadu were not able to give me the meaning of the last syllable *nīng*, it is clearly a reflex of the PTB form. Below is an example provided by one of my language consultants.

(135) *nátnīng ngā ngón ōmkū*

nátnīng	ngā	ngón	ōm	=kū
next.year	1SG	gold	make	=IRLS

'Next year I will mine gold.'

Year temporal shifters related to past years (backward) occur with the syllable *há*. The meaning of this form may not correspond well with an English calendar year. It expresses the general idea of an extended period of time or season, as it also occurs in *mánghá* 'summer' and *shínhá* 'winter'. The Kadu lexicon lacks a name for a seven-day week. Time words related to month contain the word *satá* 'moon' as illustrated in (136).

(136) *satā* 'this month'
mánsatá 'coming month'
halíngpínsatá 'last/past month'

Notice the word for moon is *satá* with a high tone on the last syllable. However, to say 'this month' it is *satā* with a clear mid tone. This is, once again, the result of a fusion of two identical vowels *satá* + *à* (moon + one), which resulted in *satā* 'this month'. The horizontal LOCNs *mán* 'in front of' and *halíng* 'behind' precede *satá* 'moon' to indicate 'coming month' and 'last month' respectively. See horizontal LOCNs in §3.1.1.2.8.

The prefix *ku-* attaches to time nouns to express the sense of 'every'. My language consultants told me that this prefix is a Shan loanword. Some examples with this prefix are given in (137).

(137) *kūmángyák* 'every day'
kūpí 'every year'
kūnákceū 'every night'

The Kadu, as do the Burmese, follow the twelve lunar months (moon cycles) of the year. Except for a few names of their own, they use the Burmese terms. Older Kadu people are not able to relate to the European calendar, however, younger speakers exposed to modern education frequently make use of the European calendar. Table 23 presents the twelve lunar months. Kadu native terms are represented in parentheses.

Months	In Burmese	European calendar equivalent
takú	တန်ခူး	March-April
kasūng	ကဆုန်	April-May
nayū	နယုန်	May-June
wāsō	ဝါဆို	June-July
wākhaūng	ဝါခေါင်	July-August
taūtalín	တော်သလင်း	August-September
tatíncút	သီတင်းကျွတ်	September-October
tasaūngmúng	တန်ဆောင်မုန်း	October-November
nataū	နတ်တော်	November-December
pyātō (tónkán)	ပြာသို	December-January
tapóqtweú	တပို့တွဲ	January-Febuary
tapaúng	တန်ပေါင်း	Febuary-March

Table 23: The twelve lunar months

The Kadu recognise three seasons and all the season names occur with the term *há,* as in (138). The names for summer and winter are Kadu native terms, however, the name for monsoon comes from Burmese မိုးတွင်း <**mou: twang:**> 'monsoon'.

(138)	*mánghá*	'summer'
	mótwánghá	'monsoon'
	shínhá	'winter'

Time adverbials in Kadu are given in (139).

(139)	*yàk*	'now/day'
	meùtnáhà [14]	'a moment ago'
	meùtnátóng	'a while ago'
	ínnáhà	'a moment later'
	ínátóng	'a while later'
	maeútóng	'long ago'
	zaúngshì	'early'
	là/halánglà	'late'
	yàktánwán	'the whole day'

3.1.1.2.10 Derived nominals

Derived nominals in Kadu are formed by infixation of *-al-*, by suffixing a nominaliser to a noun, verb, or VP, or by reduplication. The infix *-al-* is employed with monosyllabic forms of class terms and verbs. Class terms are discussed in (3.2.5).

[14] *meùt* could be a Shan loan, as in mû:awà:n 'yesterday'.

Nouns derived from class terms are given in (140).

(140) Class term to noun derivations

kák	*kalák*	‘stick’
hàk	*halàk*	‘branch’
kùn	*kalùn*	‘tree’ or ‘plant’
húk	*halúk*	‘rounded object’
pōk	*palōk*	‘nest’
pūng	*palūng*	‘heap’ or ‘pile’
tāt	*talāt*	‘leaf’
saúk	*salaúk*	‘feet’
sān	*salān*	‘meat’
pá	*papá*	‘flower’
tá	*talá*	‘thread’
tū	*talū*	‘circle’

Some examples of deriving nouns from class terms by the process of reduplication have also been attested. These are given in (141).

(141)	*shī*	*shīshī*	‘fruit’
	pá	*pápá (papá)*	‘flower’
	tī	*tītī (tatī)*	‘eggs’
	tū	*tūtū* (*tatū*)	‘seeds’

Some nouns are also derived from verbs. These are given in (142).

(142) Stative verb-to-noun derivations (nominalisations)

ák	'bloom'	>	*alák*	'blossom'
meú	'be good'	>	*maleú*	'good'
paík	'be broken'	>	*palaík*	'half'
pàk	'be bald'	>	*palàk*	'flat'
saú	'be nutty'	>	*salaú*	'oil'

(143) Action verb-to-noun derivations (nominalisations)

típ	'pack'	>	*talíp*	'package (with ties)'
pheú	'carry'	>	*paleú*	'carrier'
taút	'chop'	>	*talaút*	'piece'
haúk	'make bundle'	>	*halaúk*	'bundle'
hám	'pack'	>	*halám*	'package (with no ties)'
teùt	'clip'	>	*taleùt*	'tong'
taùn	'cut'	>	*talaùn*	'piece'
phīm	'embrace'	>	*phalīm*	'amount of an armful'

This *-al-* derivation in Kadu functions similarly to the Burmese prefix *a-,* however, unlike the Burmese prefix *a-*, it is not productive. Although the *–al-* infix appears to have been used with many class terms in Kadu, its occurrence with verbs is not productive. The examples in (144) illustrate the Burmese productive *a-* prefix nominaliser.

(144) (a) ဟင်းချက်တယ် (Burmese)

hang: hkrak =te
curry **cook** =RLS
'He cooked curry.'

(b) ဟင်းအချက် တော်တော်ကောင်းတယ် (Burmese)

hang: a-hkrak toto kong: =te
curry **NOM-cook** quite good =RLS
'He is quite good at cooking curry.'

In the above example a noun is derived from the verb ချက် <**hkrak**> 'cook' in (144a) into a noun အချက် <**ahkrak**> 'cooking', as in (144b) by the *a-* prefixation. The Kadu derivational infix *-al-* cannot be used in this context. See the similar examples in (145).

(145) (a) *atá mōkmā*

atá mōk =mā
rice cook =RLS
'He cooks rice.'

(b) **atá* ***malōk*** *antān meúmā*

There are two productive nominalisers, *panáq* and *tìng*, in Kadu that are suffixed to verbs or verb complexes to form derived nominals. For example, the verb *mōk* 'cook', mentioned in (145a) can be nominalised by attaching *panáq*, as illustrated in (146).

(146) *atá mōkpanáq āntān meúmā*

atá	**mōk**	**=panáq**	āntān	meú	=mā
rice	**cook**	**=NOM**	quite	good	=RLS

'(He) is quite good at cooking rice.'

The derivational nominaliser *panáq* occurs both on bare verb stems and on verb complexes. The *panáq* derived nominals may have a concrete or an abstract sense. They, like ordinary nouns, can occur as the head of the NP.

(147) (a) *hīng ngaúmā*

hīng	ngaú	=mā
2SG	say	=RLS

'He said.'

(b) *hīng ngaúpanáq meúmā*

[hīng	ngaú	**=pánáq**]	meú	=mā
3SG	say	**=NOM**	good	=RLS

'What he said is good.' Or 'He is good at speaking'

The derived nominals in (147b), *ngaú panáq*, in this case, may function like the gerund in English in its ability to take verbal arguments. The verb *meú* itself may be nominalised, as in (148).

(148) *yōkmeúpanáq yōk*

[yōk	meú	=**panáq**]	yōk
eat	good	=**NOM**	eat

'Eat what's good!'

The nominaliser *panáq* occurring after the verb complex is illustrated in (149). (149a) simply illustrates a clause with a verb complex. (149b) illustrates the nominaliser panáq occurring after the complex.

(149) (a) *phú nátcímā*

phú	nát-cí	=mā
silver	use-PL	=RLS

'(They) are spending cash.'

(b) *phú nátcípanáqtè katùngmā* (17:42)

[[phú	nát-cí	=**panáq**]	=tè]	katùng	=mā
silver	use-PL	=**NOM**	=A.AG	see	=RLS

'(I) saw people spending cash.'

Derived nominals, as with other ordinary nouns, may be followed by nominal relational markers. The example just mentioned in (149b) and the following examples in (150) illustrate this.

(150) (a) *atípanáqtè ōmàngkū* (22:10)

[[atí	=panáq]	=**tè**]	ōm-àng	=kū
soft	=NOM	=**A.AG**	make-DIR_1	=IRLS

'I will do the soft one.'

(b) *ōmhaútpanáqká ngānímmā* (17:85)

[[ōm-haút	=panáq]	=**ká**]	ngā-ním	=mā
make-want	=NOM	=**TOP**	exist-stay	=RLS

'(I) have the desire to do (it).'

(c) *hīng kápmàngpanáqpè yūwà* (18:50)

[hīng	káp-àng	=panáq]	=**pè**]	yū-à
3SG	shoot-DIR_1	=NOM	=**LOC**	look-EUPH

'Look at where he shot.'

In (150a) and (150b) the derived nominals are followed by the anti-agentive marker *tè* and the topic marker *ká*, respectively, to mark the NPs as Patient and Topic arguments of the clauses. The derived noun in example (150c) is marked by the locative marker *pè*, which expresses static location.

The nominaliser *panáq* may also occur with the clause final particle *kū* 'irrealis' to denote a proposition which has not come to realisation. Look at the two examples in (151) and (152).

(151) *hīng ngaúkūpanáq meúmā*

[hīng	ngaú	=**kū**	=**panáq**]	meú	=mā
3SG	say	=**IRLS**	=**NOM**	good	=RLS

'What he will say will be good.'

(152) *ngatè yōkkūpanáq ínngaúwàngsà* (09:89)

[ngā	= tè	[yōk	= **kū** = **panáq**]]	ín-ngaú-àng	= sà
1SG	= A.AG	eat	= **IRLS** = **NOM**	NEG-say-DIR_1	= NEG.IMP

'Don't say that you will eat me.'

Nouns are also derived by suffixing *tìng* to make simple deverbal nouns and can be followed by postpositions. Unlike *panáq*, *tìng* appears only with a bare verb. Consider the examples in (153).

(153) (a) *ītìng ngāmā*

[ī	= **tìng**]	ngā	= mā
give	= **NOM**	exist	= RLS

'(I) have something to give.'

(b) *múngtī nyíttatìng laīngzíkseú* (30:33)

[múngtī	nyít-ta	= **tìng**]	lā-ìng	= zík	= seú	
noodle	squeeze-L.SUFF	= **NOM**	bring-DIR_2	= FINALLY	= SAP	

'Bring something to squeeze the noodles.'

(c) *heūtìng sàttìngpè* (15:40)

[[heū	= **tìng**]	[sàt	= **tìng**]]	= pè	
climb	= **NOM**	descend	= **NOM**	= LOC	

'at the ladders' (Lit. at to climb and to descend)

The semantic difference between derived nouns with *panáq* and *tìng* is referential versus non-referential. Compare the examples in (154).

(154) (a) *nāng heúpanáq ngālá* (awkward)

nāng	[heú	=**panáq**]	ngā	=lá
2SG	tell	=**NOM**	exist	=Q

'Is there anything you've told?'

(b) *nāng heútìng ngālá*

nāng	[heú	=**tìng**]	ngā	=lá
2SG	tell	=**NOM**	exist	=Q

'Is there anything you want to tell?'

The question in (154a) could imply that the person who asked the question presupposed that the hearer may have said something. (154b) does not imply that kind of presupposition. Many Kadu speakers think example (154a) is too straightforward and considered awkward and rude. If the speaker does not intend to be specific or does not want to convey any presupposition, it is appropriate to use the non-referential and indefinite *=tìng* nominal expression. Look at some more examples in (155) and (156).

(155) *yōkpanáq lāìng* (referential)

[yōk	=**panáq**]	lā-ìng
eat	=**NOM**	bring-DIR_2

'Bring what I ate (this morning).'

(156) *yōktìng lāìng* (non-referential)

[yōk	=**tìng**]	lā-ìng
eat	=**NOM**	bring-DIR_2

'Bring something to eat.' (You may bring anything edible)

3.1.2 Verbs

Verbs in Kadu, like in other languages, denote activities, processes, and states. Adjectives which express dimensions and qualities such as *tóng* 'big', *lóm* 'warm', and *kán* 'bad' function as verbs in Kadu. Therefore, they will be analysed as verbs. An important criterion to define verbhood in Kadu is its ability to occur as the head of a verbal predicate and its ability to be negated. Verbs in Kadu can be directly preceded by one of two negative proclitics, *ín-* and *a-* , and followed by verbal modifiers (§7.2) and clause final particles (§7.1). Verbs in Kadu do not take inflectional morphology. There is no person or agreement marking except the verbal optional plural particle, *cí* (§7.2.2.1).

3.1.2.1 Structure of verbs

The structure of Kadu verbs, like nouns, can be analysed as simple or complex.

3.1.2.1.1 Simple verbs

Simple verbs are those treated as monomorphemic words by the native speakers of Kadu. Structurally, they may be monosyllabic, sesquisyllabic, or disyllabic words. Monosyllabic forms are the most common of all Kadu verbs. They cannot be further broken down into meaningful units. Some monosyllabic verbs are shown in (157).

(157) *ceū* ‘sing’
ī ‘give’
lī ‘come’
kā ‘show’
kaū ‘call’
nāng ‘go’
pheú ‘carry’
tán ‘beat’
yōk ‘eat’

Sesquisyllabic verbs are made up of minor and major syllables (see syllable structures in §2.7). The most frequent sesquisyllabic verbs forming initial minor syllables in Kadu are: *a-*, *ka-*, *sa-*, and *za-*. The etymology of each is unknown. Verbs with sesquisyllabic structures are illustrated in (158).

(158) (a) *aceú* ‘vomit’
ahú ‘to boil’
atí ‘soft’
ashì ‘skinny’
ayàn ‘poor’
azàn ‘pity’

(b) *kahú* ‘hot’
katàm ‘be beautiful’
kasín ‘cold’
katùng ‘see’
kayà ‘lose’
kazeú ‘change’
kazíp ‘wring’

(c)	*sanàn*	'snatch'
	satú	'be boiling' or 'be noisy'
	satí	'point'
(d)	*zanàt*	'squeeze'
	zalaút	'drift'
	zalí	'clean'

As shown in (158), the two most common minor syllables in sesquisyllabic verbs are *a-* and *ka-*. A few other minor syllables are also attested with just one or two occurrences in my corpus. They are *ta-* as in *tapaúk* 'speak', *na-* as in *nayá* 'be new', and *la-* as in *lawaí* 'to reach out'.

Disyllabic monomorphemic verbs are not common in Kadu. Most of the disyllabic or polysyllabic verbs are loanwords. Possible native disyllabic verbs attested in my corpus are given in (159).

(159)	*lákzeút*	'tear off'
	mānták	'think'
	túngák	'bow (head)'
	peúnán	'be obstinate'

Only one trisyllabic verb, *ùhánphám* 'yawn', has been attested in Kadu.

3.1.2.1.2 Complex verbs

Complex verbs are polymorphemic. They are either compounds or strings of verbs. Unlike simple verbs, both members of compound verbs are, in most cases, semantically identifiable. These verbs are regarded as lexicalised verbs and recognized by the native speakers of Kadu as a single meaningful unit. Structurally, they can be divided into two groups:

(1) noun + verb
(2) verb + verb

Some examples of noun + verb compounds are given in (160).

(160) Noun + Verb compounds

mán-katàm	(face-beautiful)	'shy'
halá-nāng	(husband-go)	'marry'[15]
ēk-lā	(wife-take)	'marry'[16]
mōk-pū	(cow-emerge)	'tend'
mōk-thū	(cow-pound)	'gore'
shī-yeú	(medicine-get up)	'be angry'

Though in many cases these compound verbs are lexicalised, in my transcription the elements of the compound are glossed separately. Many verbs related to fire appear as

[15] A woman marrying a man. (Lit. 'go for a man').

[16] A man marrying a woman. (Lit. 'take woman').

compound words with the initial member *wān* 'fire'. Some fire related verbs in Kadu are given in (161).

(161)	*wān-mīt*	(fire-extinguish)	'extinguish'
	wān-sút	(fire-burn)	'burn'
	wān-zū	(fire-add)	'add firewood'
	wān-zék	(fire-?)	'to kindle'
	wān-tāt	(fire-send)	'to cast/shed light'

The fire related verbs in (161) are lexicalised compounds. These verbs, except for *zū* 'add wood' and *tāt* 'send', do not appear by themselves. The verb *mīt* reflects the PTB word ***mi:t** 'extinguish' as reconstructed by Matissoff (2003:350).

Verbs related to pain and sickness also occur as compound verbs, as given in (162).

(162)	*haláng-zèk*	(head-bite)	'headache'
	púk-hák	(belly-shout)	'gas in the abdomen'
	púk-zèk	(belly-bite)	'have dysentery'
	púk-zalaút	(belly-drift)	'have diarrhea'
	púk-heū	(belly-climb)	'have flatulence'

Verb-verb compounds differ from serial verb constructions. They, like exocentric compound nouns, express a meaning which is different from that of either of the components. Serial verbs, on the other hand, usually consist of two or more juxtaposed verbs, both of which together refer to a unitary concept. Some verb-verb compounds which have exocentric compound meanings are illustrated in (163).

(163) Verb + Verb compounds

yū-nī	(look-lazy)	'hate'
katùng-pá	(see-?)	'imagine'
mīng-zák	(spin-hook)	'lose sense'
teút-pū	(hear-emerge)	'hear'
tín-haút	(revile-want)	'angry'

3.1.2.1.3 Reduplication and attaching attendant words

Kadu verbs may be reduplicated using the same morpheme or may take attendant words[17]. Reduplication of dynamic verbs in Kadu signals an iterative aspect–that is, the reduplication of an action verb has the semantic effect of signalling that the action is being done "frequently" or "repeatedly."

(164) (a) *anáq síngngeútshītè yōk yōk pán nímmā* (12:70)

anáq	síngngeút-shī	=tè	**yōk**	**yōk**	=pán	ním	=mā
this	fig-CLT.fruit	=A.AG	**eat**	**eat**	=COS	stay	=RLS

'The pig, time to time, eats fig fruit and stays.'

[17] An attendant word is item that is not a free lexeme but occurs only with a steady partner word. (Ayoka 2010:41).

(b) *àngnáq saēkyaúk lāpánnaà lapā ōm ōmmaták* (23:14)

àngnáq	saēk	=yaúk	lā	=pán	=naà
that	daughter	=COM	take	=COS	=only

lapā	**ōm**	**ōm**	=mā	=ták
field	**make**	**make**	=RLS	=HS

'(He) married/took the daughter and repeatedly did cultivation.'

(c) *hīng saēkshàpàpè mānsátú tapaúk tapaúkmaták* (23:8)

hīng	saēk-shā	=pà	=pè	mānsáq-tú
3SG	daughter-small	=ALL	=LOC	maiden-language

tapaúk	**tapaúk**	=mā	=ták
speak	**speak**	=RLS	=HS

'(He) repeatedly expressed his love to her daughter.'

Stative verbs, unlike dynamic verbs, are not reduplicated from the same phonemic forms. Rather, they, adopting a term from Ayoko (2010), take attendant words. In Kadu, similar to Khmer, attendant words are not free lexemes but must occur together with meaningful word. However, unlike Khmer, the attendant words in Kadu contain two identical syllables which are identical in. Stative verbs together with attendant words signal the delimitative aspect in Kadu–that is, state verbs with attendant words signal the meaning of "somewhat V" or "be V a bit." Three tonal patterns (high-low-low, mid-high-high, and low-mid-mid) are attested with this structure.

This pattern occurs with state verbs such as colour, weather condition and taste terms. The colour terms with their attendant members are illustrated in (165).

(165) *thú zèkzèk* ‘black(ish)’
lúng pùngpùng ‘white(ish)’
thún chèkchèk ‘darkish’
thún kàngkàng ‘deep darkish’
tháng chèkchèk ‘blackish’
caeú paìkpaìk ‘yellowish’
há zèzè ‘reddish’

The taste terms with their attendant words are illustrated in (166).

(166) *túm paùngpaùng* ‘a little fragrant’
tī yúnyún ‘a little sweet’
hà tēktēk ‘a little bitter’
chí zìngzìng ‘a little sour’
chí òmòm ‘a little lightly sour’

The stative verbs in (166) may also be reduplicated if they are followed by the diminutive marker *sà*. These patterns are usually interpreted as something that is pleasingly V.

(167) *túmtúmsà* ‘pleasingly fragrant’
tītīsà ‘pleasingly sweet’
chíchísà ‘pleasingly sour’

The weather terms with their attendant members are illustrated in (168).

(168) *kasín tùktùk* ‘a little cold’
lúm paùkpaùk ‘a little warm’
yá taìktaìk ‘a little bright’
thī húnghúng ‘a little shiny’
ká taìngtaìng ‘a little hot’
shīm katúkkatúk ‘a little feel cold’
saceù sínsín ‘a little clear’
haláng sínsín ‘a little rain’

Dimension and value verbs also take attendant words. Structurally, they can be divided into two groups. The first group has a second member composed of a minor syllable plus a major syllable. The pattern is that the main vowel and final consonant of the first and second members are identical. The second group involves reduplication of all or part of the second member. If the second member is a sesquisyllabic word only the full syllable gets reduplicated. These are illustrated in (169a) and (169b), respectively.

(169) (a) *tōn talón* ‘a little short’
pák salák ‘a little wide’
íp kalíp ‘a little narrow’
thàk salák ‘a little ugly’

(b) *zaūk pátpát* ‘a little tall’
nèk zíkzík ‘a little heavy’
nūm tayūyū ‘a little soft’
zàk taìktaìk ‘a little hard’
zanà haúthaú ‘a little light’
katàm shīshí ‘a little beautiful’

3.1.2.2 Serial verbs: V-V constructions

It is generally accepted that a serial verb construction is a sequence of verbs which act together as a single predicate, without any overt marker of coordination, subordination, or syntactic dependency of any sort (Aikhenvald 2006). In Kadu serial verb constructions, the head verb always comes at the beginning of the verb phrase and the others follow in some sort of subordinate relationship to the head. Four categories of serial verb constructions will be dealt with in the following section: resultative, directional, evaluative, and manner.

3.1.2.2.1 Resultative

In the V-V resultative construction, the first verb expresses an action and the second verb provides a result of that action. Verbs that can occur as fillers of second verbs in V-V resultative compounds are given in (170).

(170) *shí* 'die'
tū 'be cut off'
paík 'be broken'
paū 'be fallen'
saík 'be torn'
ceú 'be full'

The verbs in (170), as fillers of second verb in V-V resultative constructions, are illustrated in (171).

(171) (a) *nāngtè tánshíkū* (25:173)

nāng	=tè	tán-**shí**	=kū
2SG	=A.AG	beat-**die**	=IRLS

'(They) will beat you to death.'

(b) *hīng katòktè túttūpánnaà lāìng* (12:119)

hīng	katòk	=tè	tút-**tū**	=pán	=naà	lā-ìng
3SG	neck	=A.AG	cut-**be.cut.off**	=COS	=only	take-DIR_2

'Cut off his neck and bring (the magic ball).'

(c) *óngshī wánpaík* (21:22)

óng-shī	wán-**paík**
coconut-CLF.fruit	chop-**be.broken**

'Chop up the coconut.'

(d) *phónkalùntè thōpaūmā* (AKYS)

phón-kalùn	=tè	thō-**paū**	=mā
wood-plant	=A.AG	push-**be.fallen**	=RLS

'(He) pushed over the tree.'

(e) *salà hásaíkpán* (31:20)

salà	há-**saík**	=pán
banana.leaf	grasp-**be.torn**	=COS

'I grasp the banana leaf (with my hand) to tear (it) apart.'

(f) *yōkceúpán īpmā* (12:70)

yōk-**ceú** =pán īp =mā
eat-**full** =COS sleep =RLS
'(He) ate until he was full and slept.'

In all the examples in (171), the fillers of the second position are one-argument verbs. Kadu, unlike Burmese, does not have transitive and intransitive verb pairs. In order to express causative accomplishment, verbs like Burmese ပြတ် <**prat**> 'cut' and English *break,* the V-V resultative construction is used (for example, *tút-tū* 'cut-be cut off'). The first verb in this type of construction can be filled by any transitive verb. The second verb can be any intransitive verb that expresses a change of state. A particular action verb could be used as the first verb if the speaker knows the action that causes the result stated by the second verb. If the speaker, however, does not know the exact action, then the verb *lā* 'take' is the most common verb to fill the first verb slot in V-V resultative constructions. Compare the examples in (172).

(172) (a) *lapòktè wánpaíkmā*

lapòk =tè **wán-paík** =mā
bamboo =A.AG **chop-be.broken** =RLS
'Chop up the bamboo.'

(b) *lapòktè lāpaíkmā*

lapòk =tè **lā-paík** =mā
bamboo =A.AG **take-be.broken** =RLS
'Break the bamboo.'

Most of the stative verbs that fill the second verb slot cannot take a patient argument. Compare the examples in (173).

(173) (a) *lapòk paíkmā*

lapòk **paík** =mā
bamboo **be.broken** =RLS
'The bamboo is broken.'

(b) **lapòktè paíkmā*

The Kadu lexicon lacks causative accomplish verbs like to 'kill'. To kill is 'to cause something to die' in Kadu. Therefore, the equivalent of 'kill' is expressed by a V-V resultative construction, which may be translated as 'do something to death'. If the manner of killing is not known, the generic form to kill is *tánshí* (beat-die) 'beat to death'. All the examples in (174) may be translated as 'kill' in English.

(174)

tánshí	'beat to death'
wánshí	'chop to death'
kápshí	'shoot to death'
thōshí	'push to death'
tōpshí	'punch to death'

It must be noted that the second verb, which expresses a change of state, may not necessarily be the final result, though it has a strong implication that it is. It can also be an intended or expected result. Whether the action expressed by the first verb really resulted or not is signalled by the CFPs *mā* 'realis' and *kū* 'irrealis'.

(175) (a) *ínalūpánnàkà tánshíkū* (15:88)

ín-a-lū	=pánnàkà	**tán-shí**	**=kū**
NEG-NEG-get	=if	**beat-die**	**=IRLS**

'(I) will kill/beat you to death if (you) don't get (it).'

(b) *tánshícàngmaták* (25:174)

tán-shí-cí-àng	**=mā**	=ták
beat-die-PL-DIR_1	**=RLS**	=HS

'(They) killed/ beat (him) to death, it is said.'

3.1.2.2.2 Directional

Motion verbs frequently occur as the second member in a V-V directional construction. As in resultative contructions, the first verb expresses an action and the second verb provides the result, but in this case the result is a location. The first verb slot may be filled from an open set of verbs indicating the action. The second slot, however, is limited to a closed set of directional verbs indicating change of location. Motion verbs that can occur as the second verb in V-V directional constructions are given in (176). Based on different semantic interpretations and causal relationships these verbs are divided into two categories, as in (176a) and (176b).

(176) (a)	*sàt*	'descend'	(b)	*nāng*	'go'
	heū	'ascend'		*hā*	'walk'
	eút	'drop'		*teū*	'walk/cross (bridge)'
	tāt	'release'		*lī*	'come'
				pū	'emerge'

The first set of verbs mentioned in (176a) describes the action which results from the first verb. When the second slot in a V-V directional construction is filled by *sàt* 'descend', *eút* 'drop', or *heū* 'ascend' as illustrated in (177a, b, and c) there is a tight causal relation. The event described by the two verbs is realised as a single action. They are usually pronounced without a pause between them. See the illustrations of these motion verbs in (177).

(177) (a) *takhāteú útsátnàngmā* (08:14)

takhāteú **út** **-sàt**-àng =mā
at.once **abandon-descend**-DIR_1 =RLS
'(He) threw (it) down (into the river) at once.'

(b) *síngngeútkùn zaúkpè phaúkheūpàng* (12:72)

síngngeút-kùn zaūk =pè **phaúk-heū** =páng
fig-CLF.plant on.top =LOC **jump.up-climb** =COS
'(He) jumped onto the fig tree.'

(c) *phīeútteúppàngták* (13:5)

phī-eút-teúp =páng =ták
kick-drop-throw =DIR_2:COS =HS
'(They) kicked (him) down, it is said.'

(d) *cānsíttáhaík tántātnàngmā* (07:117)

cānsíttá =haík **tán-tāt**-àng =mā
PN =ABL **beat-release-**DIR_1 =RLS
'Kyansitta beat him away.'

The other closed set of motion verbs, mentioned in (176b), is *nāng* 'go', *hā* 'walk', *teū* 'walk', *lī* 'come', and *pū* 'emerge'. The verbs *hā* and *teū* are both glossed as 'walk' in my corpus. The semantic difference between them is that the verb *hā* correlates with English *walk*; *teū,* however, is used particularly with walking on a bridge or a long pole.

(178) (a) *atá mōknāngmā* (17:24)

atá **mōk-nāng** =mā
rice **cook-go** =RLS
'(She) went cooking.'

(b) *ngón ōmhācímā* (17:13)

ngón **ōm-hā**-cí =mā
gold **make-walk**-PL =RLS
'(They) went out to mine gold.'

(c) *kaūlīpín sèktàk pòkhápè kasúmpánnaà* (7:28)

kaū-lī =pín sèk-tàk pòkhá =pè kasúm =pán =naà
call-come =NOM person-PL forest =LOC hide =COS =only
'The people (he) brought were hidden in the forest and ..,'

The verbs *nāng* 'go' and *hā* 'walk' are interchangeably used in the second slot in V-V directional constructions. The verb *hā* is much more common than the verb *nāng*. When the second slot is filled by one of the three motion verbs *nāng* 'go', *hā* 'walk', or *lī* 'come', as illustrated in (178), unlike the resultative and directional compounds

already mentioned in the examples in (171) and (177), it orders two actions and it is possible to pause between the two elements of the compound. It is realised as a V-V purposive construction which may be interpreted as 'go to do' or simply denote a movement to or away from the deictic centre.

Therefore, we summarize that the motion verbs given in (176a) describe the resulting location, whereas the motion verbs in (176b) describe an expected motion either to or away from the deictic centre. As with resultative constructions where the second verb expresses a change of state to a patient, in directional constructions the second verb may not necessarily represent the final result though it has the strong implication that this is the case. They can be either intended or expected results. Whether the change expressed by the first verb really resulted or not is signaled by the CFPs.

When the verb *teū* 'walk' fills the second slot in V-V directional construction, it denotes going to more than one place. It may be translated into English as 'going from place to place'. Compare the examples in (179) and (180). Example (179) illustrates the verb *teū* as the head verb of the clause.

(179) *takázaūkpè teūmā*

taká zaūk =pè **teū** =mā
bridge on.top =LOC **walk** =RLS
'(He) is walking on the bridge.'

The examples in (180) illustrate the verb *teū* as the filler of second verb in V-V directional constructions.

(180) (a) *peùtyōkteūyàngmā* (25:78)

peùt-yōk-**teū**-àng =mā
lie-eat-**walk**-DIR_1 =RLS
'(He) went about cheating.'

(b) *zémíteūmā* (AKYS)

zé mí-**teū** =mā
market buy-**walk** =RLS
'(He) went about shopping.'

The motion verb *sāng* 'enter' has never been attested as the second verb in V-V directional constructions. The verb *pū* 'emerge' occurs only one time in my corpus as the second verb in a V-V directional structure, as illustrated in (181).

(181) *hamúktóngheúq kaúpūpánnaà* (18:40)

hamúk-tóng =haík kaú-**pū** =pán =naà
under-big =ABL curl.up-**emerge** =COS =only
'Having curled up and emerged from under ..,'

3.1.2.2.3 Evaluative

In this V-V evaluative construction, the filler of the second verb gives an evaluative meaning. The verbs that give an evaluative meaning in V-V construction are given in (182).

(182) *meú* 'good'
yōkyá 'difficult'
yákpheú 'aimless'
kóm 'enough'

These verbs, unlike those in V-V resultative and directional constructions, do not denote change of state or location. They express evaluative descriptions related to the action of the first verb. In this structure, the two forms are realised as a tight unit and so adverbial modification must come before the whole unit, not before the evaluative terms, as in (183b). These verbs answer questions such as "how is that?." The verb *meú*, which has the lexical meaning of 'good', denotes something appropriate, advisable, or enjoyable.

(183) (a) *nāng nímmeúpè nímààng* (08:6)

nāng ním-**meú** =pè ním-à-àng
2SG stay-**good** =LOC stay-EUPH-DIR_1
'Wherever is good/appropriate to live you may live.'

(b) *cíceū yōkmeúmaták* (15:46)

cíceū	yōk-**meú**	=mā	=ták
very	eat-**good**	=RLS	=HS

'It was truly enjoyable/good to eat, it is said.'

The verb *kóm* as a second verb in V-V construction denotes the meaning of 'be sufficient to' or 'be enough of' the action expressed by the first verb, as illustrated in (184).

(184) *páknùpaí saūngpák ngāmásà yōkkómmā* (17:47)

pák-nù	paí	saūng-pák	ngā	=másà	yōk-**kóm**	=mā
hundred-one	over	two-hundred	exist	=only.if	eat-**enough**	=RLS

'(It) will be enough to eat only when we have over 100 or 200 (tins of) paddy.'

The verb *zeū* 'easy' as a second verb in V-V construction expresses the idea that the action of the first verb is easy, as illustrated in (185).

(185) *phón zūwìng satúzeūzàngthāmā* (30:29)

phón	zū-ìng	satú-**zeū**-zíng-àng	=thāmā
wood	burn-DIR_2	boil-**easy**-JUSS-DIR_1	=HORT

'Burn more wood. Let's make it boil easily.'

I have also included some verbal modifiers such as *yōkyá* 'difficult' and *yákpheú* 'indiscriminately' under these V-V evaluative constructions. These two verbs, unlike those mentioned above, never appear as head verbs. However, they are discussed here as they also provide evaluative meaning to the first verb.

When the form *yōkyá* follows action verbs such as *ōm* 'make' or *nāng* 'go' it denotes the meaning of 'difficulty' or 'hardship'. However, following SENSE verbs (§3.1.2.3.2), it means 'unpleasant' or 'not enjoyable'. Consider the examples in (186).

(186) (a) *mótwánghá thōkpánnàkà lán hāyōkyámā*

mótwánghá	thōk	=pánnàkà	lán	hā-**yōkyá**	=mā
rainy.season	arrive	=if	road	walk-**difficult**	=RLS

'If the rainy season arrives, it is difficult to walk on the roads.'

(b) *céttaúká teútyōkyámā* (10:42)

céttaú	=ká	teút-**yōkyá**	=mā
PN	=TOP	listen-**difficult**	=RLS

'(The name) Kyetthaw is unpleasant to hear.'

When the second slot in a V-V construction is filled by the term *yákpheú,* glossed as 'indiscriminately', it denotes no clear intention or direction. Its usage is somewhat similar to that of the verb *teū* 'walk' that I discussed in the section on directional constructions. The semantic difference between these two is that the verb *teū* denotes purposeful action, whereas *yákpheú* does not.

(187) (a) *hāyákpheúyàngkū* (21:1)

hā-**yákpheú**-àng		=kū
walk-**indiscriminately**-DIR_1		=IRLS

'(I) will walk indiscriminately (around that mountain).'

(b) *tapaúkyákpheúmā* (25:91)

tapaúk-**yákpheú** =mā
speak-**indiscriminately** =RLS
'(He) speaks indiscriminately.'

3.1.2.2.4 Explanatory

Only one verb, *kā* 'show', in V-V constructions which denote the meaning of demonstration or explanation of the action expressed by the first verb has been attested, as in (188).

(188) (a) *maléq heúkākūseúé ngaúmaták* (15:139)

maléq heú-**kā** =kū =seùé ngaú =mā =ták
1PL tell-**show** =IRLS =SAP say =RLS =HS
'(They) said, "we will tell-show (explain it to you)", it is said.'

(b) *ngā tánkākū* (25:115)

ngā tán-**kā** =kū
1SG beat-**show** =IRLS
'I will beat-show (show you how to beat).'

3.1.2.2.5 Manner

Fillers of the second verb in V-V manner constructions are few in number. The complete listing is given in (189).

(189) *teúp* ‘throw’
út ‘toss’
yū ‘look’

When the verbs mentioned in (189) are used in the second slot in V-V constructions, they have a ‘kind of manner’ adverbial meaning. They have undergone a certain degree of grammaticalisation. They answer the question, “In what manner or how is the action being done?.” Their grammaticalised meanings are illustrated in (190).

(190) *teúp* ‘swiftly’
út ‘impetuously’
yū ‘try out’

The verb *teúp* has the adverbial meaning of ‘swiftly’ or ‘suddenly’, as illustrated in (191).

(191) (a) *takhāteú athútalē tóngteúpmìngmaták* (7:66)

takhāteú athútalē tóng-**teúp**-ìng =mā =ták
at.once unusually big-**throw**-DIR_2 =RLS =HS
‘(It) swiftly and unusually became big, it is said.’

(b) *wàk ngaúkà mīnteúppìng* (12:74)

wàk ngaúkà mīn-**teúp** =píng
pig as.for awake-**throw** =DIR_2:COS
‘The pig suddenly awoke.’

The verb *út* denotes the adverbial meaning of how impetuously the action expressed by the first verb is done. See the illustrations in (192) and (193).

(192) *tākshī shìleúnkalàng yātaúpánnaà tútútnàngmaták seùé* (07:65)

tākshī	shì-leún	kalàng	yā-ta	=pán	=naà
finger	four-CLF.stick	approximate	gauge-L.SUFF	=COS	=only

tút-**út**-àng	=mā	=ták	=seùé
cut-**toss-**DIR_1	=RLS	=HS	=SAP

'(He) gauged (the drum to be) about four fingers length and cut (it) impetuously, it is said.'

(193) *zōkshīwaleú tékshīpā laúngtaútákhángpàng* (12:127)

zōkshī-waleú	tékshī	pā	laúng-ta-**út**-à-háng	=páng
breast-liquid	pot	include	pour-L.SUFF-**toss-** EUPH-back	=COS

'(He) poured (it) down including the milk pot.'

The verb *yū* denotes the meaning of 'try to' or 'carefully', as in (194). It is also known as 'probative' or 'conative' in the literature. Probative or conative sense deriving from the verb 'see' or 'look' is attested in other TB languages as well. See Coupe (2007:332) and Myit Soe (1999:225).

(194) *hīng halá shíyàngkà címpè nímhángyūmāseùé* (17:5)

hīng	halá	shí-àng	=ká	cím	=pè
3SG	husband	die-DIR_1	=TOP	house	=LOC

ním-háng-**yū**	=mā	=seùé
stay-back-**look**	=RLS	=SAP

'As her husband died she is living at home.' (She will stay until she finds a permanent place.)

Example (194) may be translated, also, as 'She is temporarily living with us. ' or 'She is trying to see how she would fit living with a family again.'. When the verb *yū* follows a cognition verb such as *sínzá* 'think', *yū* denotes an adverbial meaning something like 'to V-carefully', as in (195).

(195) *anaūyathā mínkáq sínzátaúyūwàngmatákseùé* (07:09)

anaūyathā	mín	=káq	sínzá-ta-**yū**-àng	=mā	=ták	=seùé
PN	king	=LOC	think-L.SUFF-**look**-DIR_1	=RLS	=HS	=SAP

'The king, Anawyatha, was thinking carefully(about it), it is said.'

yū is also frequently attached to the verb *zīng* 'ask', as in (196).

(196) (a) *taūcítè hīngká zīngyūmā seùé* (08:115)

taūcí	=tè	hīng	=ká	zīng-**yū**	=mā	=seùé
woman	=A.AG	3SG	=TOP	ask-**look**	=RLS	=SAP

'He tried asking the woman.'

(b) *hīng chíthaúngtè zīngyūheúqmaták* (25:59)

hīng	chíthaúng	=tè	**zīng-yū**-háng-ìng	=mā	=ták
3SG	bag	=A.AG	**ask-look**-back-DIR_2	=RLS	=HS

'(They) tried asking his bag, it is said.'

The example in (196b) is taken from a story where the bag was able to speak like a human. When the verb *yū* is attached to *zīng* , it has the meaning of 'ask (for information)'. Whereas the verb *zīng* itself means 'ask (for something)', the verb *zīngyū* is lexicalised as one unit by the native speaker of Kadu.

3.1.2.3 Verb classes

Morphosyntactically, there are no grammatical devices to signal voice or transitivity alterations in Kadu. A transitive verb can take a patient argument which may be marked by the anti-agentive marker *tè* (6.2) if the patient is animate, as exemplified in (197).

(197) (a) *kasàtóngtè zàkmaták* (09:4)

kasà-tóng	=**tè**	zàk	=mā	=ták
tiger-big	=**A.AG**	afraid	=RLS	=HS

'(The rabbit was) afraid of the tiger, it is said.'

(b) *nāng sātàktè tánshíkū* (15:4)

nāng	sā-tàk	=**tè**	tán-shí	=kū
2SG	son-PL	=**A.AG**	beat-die	=IRLS

'(I) will kill your sons.'

The distinction between stative and dynamic verbs in Kadu is largely based on semantics. Using the marking of progressive aspect, such as V-*ing* in English, to distinguish stative and dynamic verbs does not work in Kadu. In Kadu, both progressive and durative aspects are marked by a single auxiliary verb, *ním* 'stay', e.g., *ōm-ním* 'do-ing' and *món-ním* 'being-happy'.

On distributional grounds, the most noticeable distinction between stative and dynamic verbs in Kadu is their position when they are attributive modifiers of NPs. Dynamic verbs, used as nominal modifiers require derivation as nominals via =*panáq* to function

as attributives, precede the head, shown in the { } brackets in the examples in (198), in a relative clause structure.

(198) (a) *tacámín īpanáq cēngseútcā* (07:100)

{tacámín ī =panáq} cēng-seútcā
PN give =NOM rattan-weapon
'The rattan weapon that Tacamin gave'

(b) *eúhám wánpeúpanáq phónkalùntē* (08:59)

{eúhám wán-peú =panáq} phón-kalùn-tē
PN chop-keep =NOM wood-plant-PL
'The tree that Euham cut down ..,'

(c) *mángsátàk nēkpanáq kasé sāngsūng* (08:79)

{mángsá-tàk nēk =panáq} kasé sāngsūng
prince-PL dress.up =NOM sarong shirt
'The clothes that princes wore'

(d) *kātè ōmpanáq laúkzà,* (19:8)

{kā =tè ōm =panáq} laúkzà
soil =A.AG make =NOM mud.stone
'The mud stone that was made from the dirt/soil'

However, stative verbs immediately follow the head noun which they modify. This type of adjectival verb modifying the head noun is mentioned in the section on NOUN + VERB compounds in §3.1.1.1.2. More examples are given in (199).

(199)	*weú-lóm*	(water-warm)	'warm water'
	kweú-lóng	(monkey-white)	'white monkey'
	kasà-tóng	(tiger-big)	'big tiger'
	ēk-shā	(wife-small)	'second wife'

3.1.2.3.1 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs in Kadu can take a patient argument. Some of the monotransitive verbs in Kadu have a prototypically default body part associated with the verb as an Instrument/Manip. For example, the verbs *tāk* 'lick' and *phī* 'kick' have body parts 'tongue' and 'leg' as part of their lexical meaning. In the following section, I examine verb classes that have monotransitive interpretations. These verbs may be further divided into: AFFECT, PLACEMENT, MENTAL EXPERIENCE, LIKING, and UTTERANCE verbs.

Adopting Dixon's (1991) analysis, AFFECT verbs are prototypically transitive verbs. These verbs, quoting Dixon (1991:110), involve three semantic roles:

(a) an Agent moves or manipulates something (Manip)
(b) so that it comes into contact with some thing or person (Target)
(c) either the Manip or Target will be physically affected by the activity.

In this type, the Agent is typically a human and the Target may be either human or non-human. The term Manip is used as a cover term for instrument, an object usually held by the Agent, or a body part of the Agent. Under the AFFECT verbs, I have examined verb types such as TOUCH, RUB, HIT, SEVER, STRETCH, WRAP, BREAK, and CREATE.

Under the category of TOUCH verb, only one verb, *thōk* 'touch something slightly with something else', has been attested. The prototypical Manip is, by default, a body part–the hand. It denotes a light contact with the Target. The Target may be marked by locative marker *=pè* (200) or anti-agentive *=tè* as in (201). The Manip may be either implicit or explicit. For example, the Manip which is the body part–hand in (200) is implicit.

(200) *caìkshītè lāpánnaà hīng típéq thōkàngmaták* (08:12)

caìk-shī	=tè	lā	=pán	=naà
mango-CLT.fruit	=A.AG	take	=COS	=only

hīng	tí	=pè	**thōk**-àng	=mā	=ták
3SG	penis	=LOC	**touch-**DIR_2	=RLS	=HS

'(He) took the mango and touched it on his penis, it is said.'

However, if the Manip is explicit, and is an instrument rather than a human body part, it must be explicitly marked with the comitative *yaúk*, as illustrated in (201).

(201) *kaphútè ashí shí míngsàhàlūyák haúntùyaúk thōkyūmā* (AKYS)

kaphú	=tè	a-shí	shí	míngsàhà-lū	=yák
snake	=A.AG	NEG-die	die	know -get	=PURP

haúntū	**=yaúk**	thōk-yū	=mā
stick	**=COM**	touch-look	=RLS

'(He) touches the snake with a stick to see if it is dead or alive.'

RUB verbs describe the Manip being operated to affect the surface of the Target. RUB verbs attested in Kadu are given in (202).

(202) *pì* 'stroke'
aheú 'scratch with hand'
né 'rub'
tāk 'lick'
phaík 'scratch with feet'

The verbs *né* 'rub', *phaík* 'scratch with feet', and *aheú* 'scratch with hand' may involve greater force, whereas, *pì* 'stroke' and *tāk* 'lick' may involve lesser force to the surface of the Target. The Manip for the first three verbs in (202) is a default body part–the hand. The Manip of *tāk* 'lick' and *phaík* 'scratch' are default body parts–the tongue and animal's legs (particularly the chicken's feet), respectively. It is awkward and redundant to explicitly mention the Manip with these verbs. Some examples are shown in (203).

(203) (a) **zūntè salíyaúk tākmā* (AKYS)

zūn	=tè	salí	=yaúk	**tāk**	=mā
salt	=A.AG	tongue	=COM	**lick**	=RLS

'(He) licks the salt with his tongue.'

. (b) **ūtē haùktè phaíkpeúmālé* (AKYS)

ū-tē	haùk	=tè	tā	=yaúk	**phaík**-peú	=mā
fowl-PL	field	=A.AG	leg	=COM	**scratch-**keep	=RLS

'The chickens have scratched the field with their legs.'

HIT verbs involve a degree of force coming into contact with the Target. Here again, like the TOUCH and RUB verbs, the default Manip is usually a specific body part unless otherwise explicitly clarified. HIT verbs in Kadu are given in (204).

(204) *phī* 'kick'
phít 'kick'
tán 'beat/hit'
tōp 'punch' or 'stab'
haū 'strike'
mōkthū 'gore'

The verbs mentioned in (204) describe a volitional Agent using a Manip to make forceful contact with the Target. The prototypical Manip of *phī* 'kick', *tán* 'beat', and *tōp* 'punch' is a default human body part–the leg for the first and the hand for the last two. The Manip of *phít* 'kick' is a default animal body part–the leg. The Manip of *mōk-thū* (cow-pound) 'gore' or 'butt' is, prototypically, a cow body part–the horn. The first word may be replaced by any horn-bearing animal.

The prototypical Manip of *haū* 'strike' is a long object, such as *peúkút* 'adze' or *yīthú* 'axe'. It also occurs with an animate Manip–the snake. Semantically, we can consider these related because a snake uses its body as a Manip to make forceful contact with the Target . With inanimate Manips, the representation of the Manip must be explicitly marked with the comitative marker *yaúk*. However, with an animate object such as in the case of the snake's strike, the Manip is implicit. Compare the examples in (205).

(205) (a) *kaphú haūshíyàngmaták* (09:101)

haíkmā	kaphú	**haū**-shí-àng	=mā	=ták
that.time	snake	**strike-**die-DIR_1	=RLS	=HS

'That time, the snake killed (the tiger), it is said.'

(b) *phónkalùntè yīthúyaúk haūmā* (AKYS)

phón-kalùn	=tè	yīthú	=yaúk	**haū**	=mā
wood-plant	=A.AG	axe	=COM	**strike**	=RLS

'Chop the tree with an axe.'

The Manip of *tán* and *tōp* may also be instruments. In that case the Manip must be explicitly mentioned and marked with the comitative marker *yaúk*, as illustrated in (206).

(206) *hīng cītè zaūngwaíyaúk tánnā* (AKYS)

hīng	cī	=tè	**zaūngwaí**	**=yaúk**	tán	=mā
3SG	dog	=A.AG	**rattan**	**=COM**	beat	=RLS

'He hits the dog with a rattan.'

The Manip may also occur as a topic of the clause which may be marked by the topic marker *ká* in Kadu. In my corpus, there is one story in which the adze had a magical power and was treated like a faithful servant-instrument of a certain man. Look at the example in (207a) in which the master orders the adze to go and cut someone's neck. In this context, the Manip-adze is marked by the topic marker *ká* and take the role of agent referent, as in (207b).

(207) (a) *keù peúkút hīng katòktè wántūpánnaà lāhángìngyók* (12:93)

keù peúkút hīng katòk =tè
right! adze 3SG neck =A.AG

wán-tū =pán =naà lā-háng-ìng =yók
chop-be.cut.off =COS =only take-back-DIR_2 =INTRUSIVE
'Adze, go and cut his neck and bring back (the magic ball).'

(b) *peúkútká wántūpánnaà tátlúng lāhángpíng* (12:94)

peúkút **=ká** wán-tū =pán =naà
adze =**TOP** chop-be.cut.off =COS =only

tátlúng lā-háng =píng
magic.ball take-back =DIR_2:COS
'The adze cut off (the neck) and brought the magic ball.'

SEVER and BREAK verbs involve an Agent using a Manip to change the physical unity or the shape of the Target. These verbs can be divided into two groups–one which takes non-human instruments as Manips by default and one that takes human body parts as Manips by default. Verbs that take non-human instrument as Manip are given in (208).

(208) *haū* ‘strike’
phék ‘break off (hard cover)’
taū ‘prune’
tút ‘cut’
thaū ‘reap (thatch)’
thaù or *thwáng* ‘carve’ or ‘gouge’
thít ‘nick’
wán ‘chop (with knife)’
wát ‘shave’
yáp ‘reap (paddy)’
yīp ‘reap (leaves)’

The prototypical Manips of the verbs mentioned in (208) are, by default, sharp metal objects. The Manips of *wán* and *haū* are ‘knife’ and ‘axe’, respectively. The verbs *yáp* and *thaū* take the same Manip, a sickle, but have different typical patients. The Manip may be implicit or explicit. If the Manip is explicitly mentioned, it must be marked with the comitative marker *yaúk*. Compare the sentences in (209) and (210).

(209) *kàmpángkùntóngtè pahōzī thwángtaúpánnaà tánmaták* (06:35)

kàmpáng-kùn-tóng	=tè	pahōzī
PN-CLF.plant-big	=A.AG	drum

thwáng-ta	=pán	=naà	tán	=mā	=ták
carve-L.SUFF	=COS	=only	beat	=RLS	=HS

‘(They) carved the Gambang tree into a drum and played, it is said.’

(210) *phónkalùntè tāngkaūtóngyaúk wánnā* (15:22)

phón-kalùn =tè **tāngkaū-tóng** **=yaúk** wán =mā
wood-plant =A.AG **sword-big** **=COM** chop =RLS
'Cut the tree with a big sword.'

BREAK verbs that take human body parts as Manips are given in (211).

(211) *ngàt* 'break (branches)'
tèk 'break (leaves)'
kàp 'break off (soft shell)'

The Manips of *ngàt* and *kàp* are human body parts–the hands. The Manip of the verb *tèk* is usually finger tips, however, it may also be a non-body part–a sharp tiny instrument. If the Manip of the verb *tèk* is a non-human body part, it must be marked by a comitative marker *yaúk*. If the Target is clear from the context it can be omitted. Compare the two example sentences in (212).

(212) (a) *kānzū tèkmā* (AKYS)

kānzū **tèk** =mā
mustard **break** =RLS
'Break off the mustard leaves (from the plant).'

(b) *tāngshìyaúk kānzū tèkmā* (AKYS)

tāng-shì **=yaúk** kānzū **tèk** =mā
knife-DIM **=COM** mustard **break** =RLS
'Cut the mustard leaves with a knife.'

NPs before the verb have pragmatically determined word ordering (§8.1). Notice in example (212) the Manip occurs in clause initial position.

Only a few STRETCH verbs, *theú* 'be widened', *kāk* 'make taut', and *phāk* 'twist', have been attested in my corpus. The prototypical Manip for these verbs is a human body part–the hand. These are illustrated in (213).

(213) (a) *zángkōk salètè kākmā* (06:35)

zángkōk-salē =tè **kāk** =mā
lizard-leather =A.AG **make.taut** =RLS
'Tighten the lizard skin.'

(b) *shíthaúngtè theúmā*

shíthaúng =tè **theú** =mā
bag =A.AG **be.widened** =RLS
'(He) opened/stretched the bag.'

(c) *yāmpák phākmā*

yāmpák **phāk** =mā
hemp **twist** =RLS
'(He) twists the hemp.'

WRAP verbs involve an Agent using a Manip to wrap or cover a Target. The wrap verbs attested in my Kadu data are given in (214).

(214) *phú* ‘cover (with umbrella)’
sūp ‘wear (hat)’
nēk ‘wear (lower garments)’
taū ‘wear (upper garments)’
pí ‘put on (sandal)’ or ‘ride’
phūn ‘wrap’
típ ‘pack’
nōp ‘bury’ or ‘cover’

Notice that the Kadu lexicon includes many WRAP verbs which may be translated into English as ‘wear’ or ‘put on’. A lot of these verbs are tightly linked with specific NPs. For example, the verb *phú* is associated only with an umbrella or bamboo hat, *phún* is associated only with blankets or sheets, and *nēk* is associated only with clothes worn on the lower part of the body. These NPs usually occur immediately before the verbs. The Manips of WRAP verbs are conventionalised to the extent that they don’t take the comitative marker *yaúk*, as was the case with HIT and SEVER verbs.

(215) (a) *halángweúmā phūkná phúīyók* (AKYS)

haláng-weú	=mā	phūkná	**phú**	ī	=yók
sky-water	=RLS	bamboo.hat	**put.on**	give	=INTRUSIVE

‘(It is) raining. Put a bamboo hat on him.’

(b) **halángweúmā phūkná**yaúk** phúīyók*

haláng-weú	=mā	phūkná	=**yaúk**	phú-ī	=yók
sky-water	=RLS	bamboo.hat	=COM	put.on-give	=INTRUSIVE

However, when the Manip is followed by an attributive element to indicate contrast or emphasis, the comitative *yaúk* may optionally be added. The Manip with the comitative *yaúk* occurs as clause initial as illustrated in (216a-b).

(216) (a) *phūknáyaúk phúīmā* (AKYS)

phūkná	=yaúk	**phú**	ī	=mā
bamboo.hat	=COM	**put.on**	give	=RLS

'(They) put a bamboo hat (not the umbrella) on him.'

(b) *satēngyaúk cím nōpmā*

satēng	=**yaúk**	cím	nōp	=mā
thatch	=**COM**	house	cover	=RLS

'(They) are roofing the house with thatch (not with zinc).'

In some contexts, the conventionalised Manip can be left out and still be retrievable from the context. See the illustrations in (217).

(217) (a) *atá tékshītè ōpmànglé* (AKYS)

atá	tékshī	=tè	**ōp**-àng	=lé
rice	pot	=A.AG	**close**-DIR_1	=EMPH

'Oh! cover/put the rice pot('s lid).'

(b) *hīng phún īmásà īpkū*

hīng	**phún**	ī	=másà	īp	=kū
3SG	**wrap**	give	=only	sleep	=IRLS

'I will sleep only if he covers me (with the blanket).'

CREATE verbs refer to creating or manufacturing objects from some other materials. These verbs use a Manip to produce some new entity. The prototypical Manips of these verbs are human body parts. The CREATE verbs attested in my Kadu data are shown in (218).

(218)

zā	'build'
ōm	'make'
mōk	'cook'
wā	'plait (of bamboo or cane strips)'
tàk	'weave (of thread)'

The verb *mōk* 'cook' is tightly linked with specific NPs. The prototypical Manip of the verb *mōk* 'cook' is an instrument–a pot. The Manip is conventionalised and usually left out. See the illustration in (219).

(219) *hīng apòmákhà pūpán mōktalé* (15:52)

hīng	a-pò	=mákhà	pū	=pán	**mōk**	=talé
3sg	NEG-exist	=time/when	emerge	=COS	**cook**	=SAP

'(She) cooked when (he) was absent.'

However, when the Manip is followed by an attributive element or is something other than a prototypical pot, the comitative marker *yaúk* is obligatorily added. See the illustrations in (220).

(220) (a) *atá thòmpòkyaúk mōkmā*

atá	thòmpòk	=**yaúk**	mōk	=mā
rice	bamboo.tube	=COM	cook	=RLS

'The rice was cooked in a bamboo tube.'

(b) *watéktóngyaúk mōkmā*

waték	tóng	=**yaúk**	mōk	=mā
steam.pot	big	=COM	cook	=RLS

'(It was) cooked in a big steam pot.'

PLACEMENT verbs in Kadu are further divided into MOVE, PLACE, HANG, TAKE IN/OUT, and SEND verbs.

MOVE verbs, which cause objects to change their location, can be used transitively. The prototypical Manip of most of these verbs is by default a human body part–the hand. The MOVE verbs attested in Kadu are shown in (221).

(221) *út* ‘toss’
teúp ‘throw’
káp ‘shoot’
taleút ‘move’
thō ‘push’
tún ‘pull’
cèng ‘roll’

The Manip of the verb *káp* ‘shoot’ is a non-body part–an instrument. Therefore, it is obligatorily marked by the comitative marker *yaúk*. It is illustrated in (222).

(222) *laúkléyaúk ūhaú kápmàngmā* (19:1)

laúklé	=**yaúk**	ūhaú	**káp**-àng	=mā
sling.shot	=COM	owl	**shoot-**DIR_1	=RLS

‘(He) shot (the owl) with a sling shot.’

PLACE verbs, similar to MOVE verbs, also cause objects to change their location. The prototypical Manip is by default a human body part–the hand. PLACE verbs attested in my Kadu data are given in (223).

(223) *peú* ‘keep’
tāng ‘put onto’
thaū ‘put down’
pám ‘soak in liquid’
haùt ‘put in’

These verbs have lexicalised locative meanings. Therefore, an overt locative argument is not necessary unless the speaker wants to give a specific locative meaning.

(224) (a) *manīngyeù peúcíkalá* (11:35)

mà =nīngyeù **peú**-cí =kū =lá
WH =manner **keep**-PL =IRLS =Q
'How shall (we) keep/put (them)?'

(b) *anáq paíkpè peú* (08:63)

anáq paík =pè **peú**
this beside =LOC **keep**
'Just keep/put (them)!'

The verb *thaū* 'put down' has the conventionalised meaning of putting down a cooking pot from a fireplace. Compare the sentences in (225). The first sentence, (225a), is grammatical while (225b) is not.

(225) (a) *yàkká thaūwàngmák* (30:49)

yàk =ká **thaū**-àng =mák
now =TOP **put.down**-DIR_1 =HORT
'Now, let's put down (the pot).'

(b) **mōksūp thaūwàng*

mōksūp **thaū**-àng
hat **put.down**-DIR_1

For putting down objects other than cooking pots, the speakers of Kadu more frequently use the verb *cháq*, which is a loanword from Burmese ချ <**hkra.**> 'put down'.

(226) (a) *ngayeú cháqtakū* (26:28)

ngayeú **cháq**-ta =kū
hell **put.down-**L.SUFF =IRLS
'(I) will put (you) in hell.'

(b) *phàkmák kazī cháqtamák* (29:12)

phàkmák kazī **cháq**-ta =mák
tomorrow trap **put.down-**L.SUFF =HORT
'Let's put traps tomorrow.'

The verb *pám* 'soak in liquid' has a lexicalised locative meaning, therefore, it is not necessary to mention a location unless the type of liquid is worth mentioning. Compare the two sentences in (227).

(227) (a) *thóng zángpán cwēúqtè pám* (21:10)

thóng záng =pán cwēúq =tè **pám**
lime put.in =COS wild.yam =A.AG **soak**
'Put (in) lime and soak the wild yam (in the water).'

(b) *shīlákshītè zūnweúpè pámpánnàkà yōkmeúmā* (AKYS)

shīlák-shī =tè **zūn-weú** **=pè**
gooseberry-CLF.fruit =A.AG **salt-water** **=LOC**

pám =pánnàkà yōk-meú =mā
soak =if eat-good =RLS
'If (you) soak gooseberry in salty water (it is) good to eat.'

HANG verbs such as *weū* 'hang', *cēk* 'suspend', and *hīt* 'hang' have specific locations associated with the lexical verb so a locative argument is not necessarily overtly expressed. The prototypical Manip of these verbs is a human body part–the hand. The semantic difference between *weū* and *hīt* is that the former is used when hanging an object on a hook and the latter is used when the object which contains a hook is hung on the wall. Compare the example sentences in (228).

(228) (a) *shíthaúngtè weūyàng* (AKYS)

shíthaúng	=tè	**weū**-àng
bag	=A.AG	**hang-**DIR_1

'Hang the bag! (on the wall/post).'

(b) *yīthútè phónkalùnpè hītnàng* (AKYS)

yīthú	=tè	phón-halák	=pè	**hīt**-àng
axe	=A.AG	wood-branch	=LOC	**hang**-DIR_1

'Hang the axe on the tree branch!'

The verb *cēk* has the meaning of hanging something from the neck. Therefore, a locative phrase is redundant and unnecessary.

(229) *úng shīshā cēkpeúpanáq katàmmā* (AKYS)

úng	shīshā	**cēk**	-peú	=panáq	katàm	=mā
that	child	**suspend**-keep		=NOM	beautiful	=RLS

'The one that kid is wearing/suspended (on his neck) is beautiful.'

TAKE IN/OUT verbs such as *nòk* 'take out something by putting a hand into a bag/hole' and *záng* 'put in', involve a locative source and goal, respectively. The locative source and goal may be marked by the locative enclitic *=pè* as in (230) and (231).

(230) *kalùng*[18] *shíthaúngpè nòkpán īcímták* (20:22)

kalùng	shíthaúng	=pè	**nòk**	=pán	ī-cí	=mā	=ták
PN	bag	=LOC	**take.out**	=COS	give-PL	=RLS	=HS

'They took (it) out of Kalung's bag and gave (it), it is said.'

(231) *lōngzātèsà shíthaúngpè zángpán nāngmā* (16:11)

lōngzā	=tè	sà	shíthaúng	=pè	**záng**	=pán	nāng	=mā
honing.stone	=A.AG	merely	bag	=LOC	**put.in**	=COS	go	=RLS

'(He) put the honing stone only in the bag and went away.'

However, the locative source or goal may be omitted if they are recoverable from the context as in (232).

(232) (a) *ahā nòkkà nùwàzeú alùwà* (AKYS)

ahā	nòk	=ká	nù-à	=zeú	a-lū	=á
crab	take.out	=TO	CLF.animal-one	=even	NEG-get	=NEG

'(I went) taking crabs out (of their holes) but didn't get even one.'

[18] Kalùng is a mythical king of birds and also the enemy of the dragon.

(b) *cwēúqtè kazíppán záng* (21:18)

cwēúq =tè kazíp =pán **záng**
wild.yam =A.AG squeeze =COS **put.in**
'Squeeze the wild yam and put (them) in (the pot).'

SEND verbs such as *tāt* 'release, send someone/something' and *sák* 'send something.' have a lexicalised locative meaning related to sending something/someone to some place. If the locative source or goal is retrievable from the context, it may be implicit as illustrated in (233).

(233) (a) *hīng ēktè tātpán* (08:85)

hīng ēk =tè **tāt** =pán
3SG wife =A.AG **release** =COS
'(He) sent his wife.'

(b) *nāng saēktè lākákmāyeù céng sákìngmaták* (04:12)

nāng saēk =tè lā-kák =mā =yeù
2SG daughter =A.AG take-want =RLS =SAP

céng **sák**-ìng =mā =ták
letter **send-**DIR_2 =RLS =HS
'(They) sent a letter which says "(We) want to take your daughter (for our son)", it is said.'

If there is an noun representing the goal or source, it may be optionally marked by the allative *pà* or ablative *haík* to mark a locative goal and source, respectively. They are illustrated in (234) and (235).

(234) *àngnáq mandalayhaík tātnìngmā* (AKYS)

àngnáq	mandalay =**haík**	tāt-ìng	=mā
that	Mandalay =**ABL**	send-DIR_2	=RLS

'This was sent from Mandalay.'

(235) *nāng sātàktè tachápà sákkákpán sákà* (15:6)

nāng	sā-tàk	=tè	tachá	=**pà**	
2SG	son-PL	=A.AG	other.place	=**ALL**	
sák-kák	=pán	sák-à			
send-want	=if	send-EUPH			

'Send your sons to wherever you want.'

MENTAL EXPERIENCE verbs, a term used by Croft (1991:169), generally take two arguments with the thematic roles of an experiencer and a stimulus (Perceiver and Impression in Dixon's terminology 1991:131). The reference to the experiencer, which is usually human, always occurs before that of the stimulus in Kadu. The MENTAL EXPERIENCE verbs attested in my Kadu corpus are given in (236).

(236)

katùng	'see'
yū	'look'
teút	'hear'
teútpū	'listen'
zōpyū	'taste'
mít	'love'
yūnī	'hate'
zàk	'fear/ afraid'
leútkān	'accept'

The first five mental experience verbs in (236) describe straightforward acts of perception, in which an experiencer uses eyes, ears, nose, or tongue to experience the stimulus. If the stimulus is recoverable from the context it may be omitted, as in (237).

(237) *nacá teútnà yūzípánnaà līháng* (04:15)

nacá	teút-à	yū-zí	=pán	=naà	lī-háng
carefully	listen-EUPH	look-finish	=COS	=only	come-back

'Go listen and look carefully (to what he said) and come back!'

These verbs, *teút* 'listen' and *teútpū* 'hear', take nominals (including nominalised clauses) as complements. Complement clauses are shown in { } brackets in the following examples. In the following examples reference to the experiencer (second person in (238a) and first person in (238b)) is omitted.

(238) (a) *ósací ngaúpanáq teútpūànglá* (AKYS)

{ósací	ngaú	=panáq}	teútpū-àng	=lá
teacher	say	=NOM	hear-DIR_1	=Q

'Did (you) hear what the teacher said?'

(b) *hīng técháng ceūpanáqtè teútnímmā* (AKYS)

{hīng	técháng	ceū	=panáq}	=tè	teút-ním	=mā
3SG	song	sing	=NOM	=A.AG	listen-stay	=RLS

'(I) am listening to his singing.'

On the other hand, with the last four verbs, *mít* 'love', *yūnī* 'hate', *zàk* 'fear/ afraid' and *leútkān* 'accept', an experiencer expresses an attitude of rememberance or fear that

the complement proposition has been realised (Noonan 2007:130). The Experiencer may be optionally marked by the topic marker *ká*. The Stimulus may be realised as a simple NP, as in (239), or may be a complement NP, which may be marked by the anti-agentive *tè*, as in (239b).

(239) (a) *myáqmyáqtè mítnā* (AKYS)

myáqmyáq =tè mít =mā
PN =A.AG love=RLS
'(I) love Mya Mya.'

(b) *hīngtè yūnīmā* (AKYS)

hīng =tè yūnī =mā
3SG =A.AG hate =RLS
'(I) hate him.'

(c) *káqtapanáqtè caíktamā* (AKYS)

káq-ta =panáq =tè caík-ta =mā
dance-L.SUFF =NOM =A.AG like-L.SUFF =RLS
'(I) like the dance.'

UTTERANCE verbs such as *ngaú* 'say', *tapaúk* 'speak', *heú* 'tell', *zīngyū* 'ask', and *sàng* 'instruct' involve three semantic roles–the speaker, the addressee, and the message. The speaker role may be optionally marked by the topic marker *ká*. The addressee is usually marked by the anti-agentive marker *tè*. The message can be an NP or a complement clause (see §8.3).

(240) (a) *"sayācí kaūwàyók" úkaútè ngaúmā* (19:5)

sayācí kaū-à =yók ūkaú =tè ngaú =mā
sir call-EUPH =INTRUSIVE koel =A.AG say =RLS
'(It) said to the koel (bird) "Go and call the master."'

(b) *“katùngìngmā” heúmā* (8:120)

katùng-ìng =mā heú =mā
see-DIR_2 =RLS tell =RLS
‘(He) told (them) “I saw (them).”’

Arguments of the utterance verbs are omitted if they are retrievable from the context. The following examples in (241) are natural expressions in Kadu.

(241) (a) *hīng ngaúmā*

hīng **ngaú** =mā
3SG **say** =RLS
‘He says/said.’

(b) *hīng zīngyūmā*

hīng **zīngyū** =mā
3SG **ask** =RLS
‘He asks/asked.’

3.1.2.3.2 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs may be either stative or dynamic. These verbs do not have a patient argument. The examples in (242) exemplify intransitive clauses with stative verbs.

(242) (a) *mōksalē cíceū zé meúmā* (25:25)

mōk-salē cíceū zé **meú** =mā
cow-leather very market **good** =RLS
‘The cow leather price is good.’

(b) *anáq nēyā meúmā* (10:28)

anáq nēyā **meú** =mā
this place **good** =RLS
‘This place is good.’

(b) *ngā mónnā* (AKYS)

ngā **món** =mā
1SG **happy** =RLS
'I am happy.'

The examples in (243) exemplify intransitive clauses with dynamic verbs.

(243) (a) *nahūtèká kasàtàkká īpmā* (09:12)

satēng-kān-tóng =pè **ī-**cí =mā =ták
thatch-CLT.field-big =LOC **sleep**-PL =RLS =HS
'(The tiger and rabbit) slept in the big thatch field, it is said.'

(b) *hīng saék shíká hāpmā* (16:27)

hīng saēk shí =ká **hāp** =mā
3sg daughter die =TOP **weep** =RLS
'(He) wept because his daughter died.'

Verbs that take one argument (primary-B verb types in Dixon's (1991) typology) in a clause may be subcategorised as HUMAN PROPENSITY, PHYSICAL SENSATION, SENSE, DIMENSION and VALUE, WEIGHT, MOTION, UTTERANCE, PROPOSITIONAL ATTITUDE, EVALUATION, POSTURE, THE WEATHER, and IMITATIVE verbs.

HUMAN PROPENSITY verbs such as *món* 'happy', *ní* 'laugh', *háp* 'cry', and *nī* 'lazy' have a single argument. In most cases, the experiencer is a human.

(244) Emotion verbs

(a) *ngā mónnā*

ngā **món** =mā
1SG **happy** =RLS
'I am happy.'

(b) *hīng hāpmā*

hīng **hāp** =mā
3SG **weep** =RLS
'He weeps/wept.'

(c) *myáqmyáq nímā*

myáqmyáq **ní** =mā
PN **laugh** =RLS
'Mya Mya laughs.'

(d) *myáqmyáq nīmā*

myáqmyáq **nī** =mā
PN **lazy** =RLS
'Mya Mya is lazy.'

PHYSICAL SENSATION verbs such as *sāk* 'itch' *kanà* 'hurt', and *nàng* 'tired (of limbs)' take an animate body or body part as an experiencer.

(245) Physical sensation verbs

(a) *láng sākmā*

láng **sāk** =mā
body **itch** =RLS
'(My) body itches.'

(b) *haláng kanàmā*

haláng **kanà** =mā
head **hurt** =RLS
'(I) have a headache.'

(c) *ngakatòk nàngmā*

nga-katòk **nàng** =mā
1SG-neck **stiff** =RLS
'My neck is stiff.'

SENSE verbs that describe senses such as smell, taste, and temperature also take a single argument, as in (246).

(246) Sense verbs

(a) *sapáksà túmmā*

sapáksà **túm** =mā
dish **fragrant** =RLS
'The dish is fragrant.'

(b) *caìkshī chímā*

caìk-shī **chí** =mā
mango-CLT.fruit **sour** =RLS
'The mango is sour.'

(c) *weú lómmā*

weú **lóm** =mā
water **warm** =RLS
'The water is warm.'

(d) *weú kasínnā*

weú **kasín** =mā
water **cold** =RLS
'The water is cold.'

DIMENSION and VALUE verbs include dimension, value, weight, and texture. If a state of something expressed by one of these verbs is relatively well established and known to the speaker, the verb is immediately followed by the realis marker *mā,* as in (247a). However, if the state of the thing is an unexpected state, the progressive marker *ním* 'stay' will immediately follow the verb. It may carry a certain degree of mirativity.

(247) (a) *hīng zaūkmā*

hīng **zaūk** =mā
3SG **tall** =RLS
'He is tall.'

(b) *hīng zaūknímmā*

hīng **zaūk-ním** =mā
3SG **tall-stay** =RLS
'He is tall (to my surprise!).'

Verbs that describe DIMENSION and VALUE include *wák* 'wide', *íp* 'narrow', *zaūk* 'long, tall', *tōn* 'short', *meú* 'good', and *kán* 'bad', as in (248).

(248) Dimension and value verbs

(a) *lán wákmā*

lán **wák** =mā
road **wide** =RLS
'The road is wide.'

(b) *lán ípmā*

lán **íp** =mā
road **narrow** =RLS
'The road is narrow.'

(c) *anáq atá meúmā*

anáq atá **meú** =mā
this rice **good** =RLS
'This rice is good.'

(d) *anáq cī kánnā*

anáq cī **kán** =mā
this dog **bad** =RLS
'This dog bites.'(Lit. bad dog)

WEIGHT verbs include verbs *nèk* 'heavy', *zanà* 'be light', *theū* 'thick', and *phā* 'thin' as illustrated in (249).

(249) Weight and texture verbs

(a) *sāngsūng theūmā*

sāngsūng **theū** =mā
shirt **thick** =RLS
'This shirt is thick.'

(b) *anáq sāngsūng phāmā*

anáq sāngsūng **phā** =mā
this shirt **thin** =RLS
'This shirt is thin.'

(c) *anáq phón nèkmā*

anáq phón **nèk** =mā
this wood **heavy** =RLS
'This wood is heavy.'

(d) *yaūpū zanàmā*

yaūpū **zanà** =mā
cotton **light** =RLS
'Cotton is light.'

MOTION verbs such as *nāng* 'go', *hā* 'walk', *kát* 'run', *phaúk* 'jump', *pī* 'fly', *zalaút* 'float/drift on water', and *ká* 'dance' usually take a single argument. They may be optionally preceded by locative phrases to specify goal, source, or general location. However, when the source or goal location is common knowledge between the speaker and hearer, it is usually omitted.

(250) Motion verbs

(a) *hīng nāngmā*

hīng **nāng** =mā
3SG **go** =RLS
'He goes/went.'

(b) *hīng kátnímmā*

hīng **kát**-ním =mā
3SG **run**-stay =RLS
'He is running.'

(c) *ūhá pímā*

ūhá **pí** =mā
crow **fly** =RLS
'The crow flies.'

(d) *pyīnpalák zalaúknímmā*

pyīn-palák **zalaúk**-ním =mā
timber-flat.item **drift**-stay =RLS
'The timber is drifting.'

PROPOSITIONAL ATTITUDE verbs express an attitude concerning the truth of the statement made in their complement. These verbs include *mānták* 'guess', *yūng* 'believe', *yūsáq*

'consider', and *míngsàhà* 'know'. These verbs take a nominalised clause as their complements if they take an overt complement.

(251) Propositional attitude verbs

(a) *hīng míngsàhàmā*

hīng	**míngsàhà**	=mā
3SG	**know**	=RLS

'He knows/knew.'

(b) *ngā māntákmā*

ngā	**mānták**	=mā
1SG	**guess**	=RLS

'I suppose/guess.'

(c) *hīng acángkánpanáq míngsàhàmā* (AKYS)

hīng	acáng	kán	=panáq	míngsàhà	=mā
3SG	behaviour	bad	=NOM	know	=RLS

'(I) know his bad behaviour.'

POSTURE verbs include *thóng* 'sit' and *zāp* 'stand'. They may be optionally preceded by locative phrases to specify a specific location. However, when the location is common knowledge between the speaker and hearer, it is usually omitted.

(252) Posture verbs

(a) *hīng thóngmā*

hīng	**thóng**	=mā
3SG	**sit**	=RLS

'He is sitting.'

(b) *hīng zāpmā*

hīng	**zāp**	=mā
3SG	**stand**	=RLS

'He is standing.'

WEATHER verbs in Kadu always occur with NOUN + VERB compound constructions. The noun slot is filled by *haláng* 'sky' except with the rainy verb *halángweú* (sky-

water) which is NOUN + NOUN compound. Some of the morphemes that come second in these compounds can occur independently in other contexts. The weather verbs in Kadu are given in (253).

(253)	*halángweú*	(sky-water)	'be rainy'
	halángmūn	(sky-blow)	'be windy'
	halángká	(sky-hot)	'be sunny'
	halángnāk	(sky-dark)	'be dark'
	halángtháng	(sky-overcast)	'be cloudy'
	halángyá	(sky-bright)	'be bright'
	hamòkphā	(sky-thunder)	'to thunder'
	hamòkalúm	(sky-thundering)	'be thundering'
	hamòkzìháp	(sky-lightning)	'be lightning/flash'

Notice in the examples (253), the term *weú* 'water' is compounded with *haláng* 'sky' and results in the verbal meaning 'to rain'. The verbs *mūn* 'blow' and *kalúm* 'thunder' don't appear by themselves. To say 'it is dark' is *halángnākmā* in Kadu. The lexical source for the term *nāk* may not be identifiable in the Kadu lexicon but it is obvious to TB linguists that it is a reflex of PTB ***nak** 'black' as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:326). See also §3.1.1.2.9.

3.1.2.3.3 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs take three arguments: Donor, Gift, and Recipient (Dixon 1991). The order of these arguments in Kadu is determined by the information structure but the most common order is Donor > Recipient > Gift. In Kadu, like in many other TB

languages, the marking on arguments, either direct or indirect, is semantically based and based on an actor vs. non-actor contrast (LaPolla 1992). Verbs that take two non-agentive direct arguments are usually GIVING verbs (Dixon 1991:113). The ditransitive verbs attested in my Kadu data are shown in (254).

(254) *ī* 'give'
naút 'feed'
taík 'offer drink'
kát 'offer gift to monk'
lū 'offer'

The donor or agent who transfers an item can be optionally marked by the topic marker *ká*. The Recipient is marked by anti-agentive *tè*. The Gift is unmarked.

(255) *hīng(ká) tamìsā hawàtè mīsān īmā* (AKYS)

hīng	(=ká)	tamìsā-hú-à	=tè	mīsān	**ī**	=mā
3SG	(=TOP)	human-CLF-person-one	=A.AG	arrow	**give**	=RLS

'He gave an arrow to someone.'

(256) *hanīngtè maléq pweúq ītìng apòwá* (04:36)

hanīng	**=tè**	maléq pweúq	**ī**	=tìng	a-pò	=á
2PL	**=A.AG**	1PL	degree	**give**	=NOM	NEG-exist	=NEG

'We don't have to give you (PL) a title/degree.'

The Gift may optionally be marked with the anti-agentive marker *tè* when there is no explicit Recipient for an emphatic purpose. Compare the examples in (257a-b). See the detailed discussion on the anti-agentive marking in §6.2.

(257) (a) *ōnnáng ceú īkū* (25:6)

ōnnáng	ceú	ī	=kū
dowry	buffalo	give	=IRLS

'(I) will give a dowry buffalo.'

(b) *ōnnáng ceútè īkū* (AKYS)

ōnnáng	ceú	=tè	ī	=kū
gift	buffalo	=A.AG	give	=IRLS

'(I) will give the dowry buffalo (not anything else).'

3.1.2.3.4 The copulas

There are two copula verbs in Kadu–equational and existential. An equational statement may be signaled by either copula *thà* or by a zero copula. Consider the examples in (258).

(258) (a) *úpáq thīngphūceū* (AKYS)

úpáq	thīngphūceū
PN	village.chief

'U Ba (is) a village chief.'

(b) *úpáq thīngphūceū thàmā* (AKYS)

úpáq	thīngphūceū	thà	=mā
PN	village.chief	be	=RLS

'U Ba is a village chief.'

Negating the copula *thà* has an intended meaning which may be translated in English as 'be possible', as in (259).

(259) (a) *ngā akeūtaúyeù ínathà* (05:15)

[ngā a-keū-ta =yeù] **ín-a-thà** =á
1SG NEG-save-L.SUFF =SAP **NEG-NEG-be** =NEG
'I must save (him).' (Lit. It's not possible for me not to help.)

(b) *úpáq thīngphūceū athà* (AKYS)

[úpáq] [thīngphūceū] **a-thà** **=á**
PN village.chief **NEG-be** **=NEG**
'U Ba is not possible/fit to be a village chief.'

In order to negate the equational clause given in (258) the verb *chì* 'true' is used, as in (260). The Kadu verb *chì* 'true' resembles the Thai verb **châi** 'true'. However, it is never attested occurring with the loanverb suffix *–ta* (§3.1.2.3.5), therefore, it may not be a loanword.

(260) *úpáq thīngphūceū achīyá* (AKYS)

úpáq thīngphūceū a-**chī**-á
PN village.chief NEG-**true-**NEG
'U Ba is not a village chief.'

The copula *ngā*, glossed as 'exist', is used to mark the existence or location of a referent. The existential *ngā* in examples in (261a-b) and (262) indicates that the referent is present or exists.

(261) (a) *úpáq ngālá*

úpáq **ngā** =lá
PN **exist** =Q
'Is U Ba present?'

(b) *ngāmā*

ngā =mā
exist =RLS
'(Yes, he) is (in).'

(262) *àngpanáq yahaùng kótān ngāmatákseùé* (08:3)

[àng panáq yahaùng] [kó-tān] **ngā** =mā =ták =seùé
that NOM river nine-CLF.river **exist** =RLS =HS =SAP
'That river has nine outlets, it is said.'

The copula *ngā* also is used for possession. The interpretation of *ngā* as existential or possession is pragmatically determined. Compare the two examples in (263a-b).

(263) (a) *thīngpè alúk ngāmā* (17:66)

thīng =pè alúk ngā =mā
village **=LOC** work exist =RLS
'(There) is work in the village.'

(b) *pahángcháng kalaúngtóng hīng(pè) ngāmā* (AKYS)

pahángcháng kalaúngtóng hīng (=**pè**) **ngā** =mā
friend many 3SG (=**LOC**) **exist** =RLS
'He has many friends.'

The existential verb *ngā* 'exist' cannot be negated, as in (264b). In order to express non-existence the verb *pò*, also glossed as 'exist', is used, as in (264a). The use of the *pò* verb in an affirmative sentence is not attested.

(264) (a) *hamàngkazeú apòwá* (08:117)

hà-màng	=kà	=zeú	a-**pò**	=á
WH-thing	=Q	=even	NEG-**exist**	=NEG

'Nothing is there.'

(b) **hamàngkazeú angā*

hà-màng	=kà	=zeú	a-**ngā**	=á
WH-thing	=Q	=even	NEG-**exist**	=NEG

3.1.2.3.5 Loan verbs

The Kadu lexicon contains many loanwords from neighboring languages. The great majority of the loanwords come from Burmese but loanwords from Shan and Pali have also been attested. Burmese loanwords are identified basically in two ways. First, from the researcher's proficiency in Burmese and Jingphaw and, secondly, by the particular apperance of post-verbal morpheme *-tā ~ -taú* , glossed as 'L.SUFF' (loan (verb) suffix), which suffixes to Shan and Burmese loan verbs.

The lexical source of this morpheme, *-ta,* is not retrievable in Kadu. However, we can assume that this morpheme *-ta* may have come from Burmese, the source of most Kadu loan verbs, as it resembles the Burmese realis nominaliser တာ <**ta**>. Consider the Burmese examples in (265). Example (265a) illustrates a clause final particle တယ် <**te**> (verb sentence marker (VSM) in Okell 1969) and example (265) illustrates the realis nominaliser တာ <**ta**> (265b).

(265) (a) သူပျော်တယ် (Burmese)

thu pjo =**te**
2SG happy =**VSM**
'He is happy.'

(b) သူပျော်တာကောင်းတယ် (Burmese)

thu pjo =**ta** **kong:** =te
2SG happy =**NOM** good =VSM
'It is good that he is happy.'

When the same verb *pyaū* 'happy' is used as a loanword in a Kadu sentence the morpheme *ta* is obligatorily attached immediately after the head verb. However, *ta* is never used with a native verb. Compare the two sentences in (266) and (267).

(266) *hīng pyaūtamā*

hīng pyaū-ta =mā
3SG happy-L.SUFF =RLS
'He is happy.'

(267) *hīng mónnā*

hīng món =mā
3SG happy =RLS
'He is happy.'

Both the examples in (266) and (267) are considered grammatical by the speakers of Kadu. The verb in (266) is *pyaū*, which is borrowed from Burmese ပျော် <**pjo**>, therefore, the suffix -*ta* must be attached after the head verb. Without the suffixation of -*ta* the sentence is not acceptable to the speakers of Kadu.

(268) **hīng pyaūmā*

hīng pyaū =mā
3SG happy =RLS

The morpheme *-ta* has the allomorph of *-taú* when it is followed by verb modifiers or other verbal particles as illustrated in (269) and (270).

(269) *kaphúyí khweū**taú**nímmaták* (09:67)

kaphú =yí khweū-ta-ním =mā =ták
snake =also coil-L.SUFF-stay =RLS =HS
'The snake, as well, was coiling, it is said.'

(270) *zíchūngtè thwáng**taú**pánnaà nímmā* (10:37)

zí-chūng =tè thwáng-**ta** =pán =naà ním =mā
plump-bush =A.AG carve-**L.SUFF** =COS =only stay =RLS
'(They) cleared the plump bush and lived.'

Some Burmese loan verbs attested in my corpus are shown in (271).

(271)

léqlā	'study'	လေ့လာ <**lei.la**>
zúqzí	'compile'	စုစည်း <**su.siny:**>
pīnpán	'tire'	ပင်ပန်း <**pangpan:**>
cózá	'try hard'	ကြိုးစား <**krou:sa:** >
phānsín	'create'	ဖန်ဆင်း <**hpanhsin:**>
tìsaúk	'establish'	တည်ဆောက် <**tanjhsauk**>
lēngmā	'be clever'	လိမ္မာ <**leimma**>
aūngmyīn	'succeed'	အောင်မြင် <**ongmrang** >
phékhaù	'invite'	ဖိတ်ခေါ် <**hpeithko**>

3.2 Minor word classes

In Kadu, like in many other languages, nouns and verbs are the two largest word classes. Apart from these, several other word classes are considered minor word classes in this thesis, presented in the following order: 3.2.1 Adverbs, 3.2.2 Numerals, 3.2.3 Pronominals, 3.2.4 Quantifiers, and 3.2.5 Noun class terms.

3.2.1 Adverbs

The structure of adverbs, like verbs and nouns, may be analysed as simple or complex. Simple adverbs are words that function as adverbs and nothing else. Complex adverbs, on the other hand, are derived from verbs or nominals by the processes of reduplication or semi-reduplication. Adverbials, unlike reduplication of volitional verbs (§3.1.2.1.3), may be followed by a diminutive marker–*sà* to soften or to delimit adverbials, which may be translated in English as "a bit V-ly." Both types of adverbials precede the head verb. Futhermore, there are some Post-verbal modifiers that have adverbial functions. These are discussed under verbal modifiers in §7.2. Temporal and locational forms are treated as nouns and were already discussed under time nouns in §3.1.1.2.9.

3.2.1.1 Simple adverbs

Simple adverbs in Kadu are few in number. They usually occur immediately before the verb complex (VCX) they modify, however, they do not have a fixed order of occurrence

in the clause. They form a small closed class of just three members: two degree adverbs *cíceū ~ ácí* 'extremely' and *āntān ~ āntahān* 'quite, somewhat', and one manner adverb *nacá* 'carefully'. These are illustrated in (272).

(272) (a) *àngnáq īshíqshā cíceū katàmmaták* (15:45)

àngnáq	īshíq-shā	**cíceū**	katàm	=mā	=ták
that	girl-small	**extremely**	beautiful	=RLS	=HS

'This girl was extremely beautiful, it is said.'

(b) *maléq ameūtàk maléq awàtàk āntān thaùngtapán* (17:09)

maléq	ameū-tàk	maléq	awà-tàk	**āntān**	thaùng-ta	=pán
1PL	mother-PL	1PL	father-PL	**quite**	old-L.SUFF	=COS

'Our parents are quite old.'

(c) *nacá yūwìng nacá teútnà yūzípánnaà līháng* (04:15)

nacá	yū-ìng	**nacá**	teút-à
carefully	take-DIR_2	**carefully**	listen-EUPH

yū-zí	=pán	=naà	lī-hang
look-finish	=COS	=only	come-back

'Look carefully, listen carefully, and come back.'

The etymologies of the degree adverbials *ácí ~ cíceū* 'extremely' and *āntān* 'quite' or 'somewhat' are not known. They are probably Burmese loanwords of အကြီးအကျယ် <**akri:akye**> and အတော် <**ato**>.

3.2.1.2 Complex adverbs

All the complex adverbials consist of two members and each member consists of two syllables, thus forming a four syllable pattern. Some adverbials have clear relatable lexical meanings, however, for many, I have not been able to identify the meanings. In this thesis, the two members of adverbials will be hyphenated. Partial or semi–reduplications, as in (274), are much more common than reduplication, as in (273), with adverbials. One of my language consultants said that the stative verb *kazeút* 'quick' may be reduplicated, as in (273).

(273) *ngā lán kazeút-kazeút hāmā* (AKYS)

ngā	lán	**kazeút-kazeút**	hā	=mā
1SG	road	**quickly-REDUP**	walk	=RLS

'I walk quickly.'

However, the reduplication of *kazeút* in (273) may be due to Burmese influence, since it is a common practice in Burmese to derive adverbials from stative verbs (Okell 1969:35; Wheatley 1982:34-39). Other language consultants said that, for them semi-reduplication of *kazeút*, as in (274), is more natural in Kadu.

(274) *ngā lán kazeút-kazeút hāmā* (AKYS)

ngā	lán	**kazeút-kapaúk**	hā	=mā
1SG	road	**quickly-REDUP**	walk	=RLS

'I walk quickly.'

Some of the adverbials are reduplications of nominals. For example, the *-al-* infix form of *pán* 'CLT.times' is reduplicated to function as an adverbial, which may be translated in English as "frequently", as illustrated in (275).

(275) *hīngká palánpalán teútpūpánták* (07:2)

hīng	=ká	**palán-palán**	teútpū	=pán	=ták
3SG	=TOP	**frequently-REDUP**	hear	=COS	=HS

'He heard (it) frequently, it is said.'

There are also some reduplicated *-al-* infix forms for which I was unable to identify the lexical meaning. These include *halán-halán* '(fold) repeatedly', *salán-salán* '(say) repeatedly', and *yalún-yalún* '(queue) in rows'. I suspect some adverbials are reduplications of an onomatopoeic word, such as *kaphaík-kaphaík* '(keep) in vicinity' and *zīzāk-zīzāk* '(grow) tightly'.

The great majority of adverbials come from semi-reduplication. These patterns resemble imitative nouns (§3.1.1.1.2), however, unlike imitative nouns, these adverbials cannot be followed by postpositions. Semi-reduplicated adverbials consist of two members and each member consists of two syllables thus forming four syllable patterns. The first member is generally analysable; the second member is usually not. The four syllables will be represented using the English upper case letters A, B, C and D. Generally, there are three patterns: A-B-A-C (the first and the third syllables are identical), A-B-C-B (the second and the fourth syllables are identical), and A-B-C-D (none of the syllables are

identical). Out of these, the A-B-A-C pattern is the most common. Example sentences with semi-reduplicative adverbials are illustrated in (276).

(276) (a) *kōyítá maleú malàsà ōmnaútnàngkákmā seùé* (17:75).

kō	=yí	=tá	**maleú-malà**-sà	ōm-naút-àng-kák	=mā
self	=also	=EMPH	**well-REDUP**-DIM	make-feed-DIR_1-want	=RLS

'I also want to look after (do to feed them) (them) well.'

(b) *palī palák hāmā* (AKYS)

palī-palák	hā	=mā
idly-REDUP	walk	=RLS

'(He) walks idly.'

More semi-reduplicative adverbials with the A-B-A-C pattern are given in (277).

(277)	*kathì-kathaū*	'curlicue'		
	kánshì-kánsaít	'battered'		
	palīng-palāng	'tiny/small'		
	salaù-salàt	'violently'	< *salaù*	'rough'
	sapút-sapát	'soakingly (wet)'		
	tútpát-tútzaúk	'upside down'		
	yaleù-yalán	'suffuse'		
	zalí-zalát	'neatly'	< *zalí*	'clean'
	kazeút-kaphaúk	'quickly'	< *kazeút*	'quick'
	peúzì-peúzàk	'perversely'		

A few A-B-C-B (278a) or A-B-C-D (278b) examples have also been attested, as shown below.

(278)	(a)	*zīzák-kánzák*	'impediment'
		chīpúk-halúk	'worriedly'
		wílū-wánglū	'vaguely'
		salaú-malaú	'soothingly'
	(b)	*kapáng-saláng*	'empty'
		kapú-salú	'deteriorate'

3.2.2 Numerals and numerical approximations

Most of the native numerals in Kadu are lost. Only one through four of native Kadu numerals were identified. When I requested Kadu numerals from older Kadu speakers, the forms they provided were very similar to Tai/Shan numerals. These numerals never appear in isolation. They are always attached to classifiers (Chapter 5), however, classifiers do not occur with multiples of ten. No native ordinal numbers are attested in Kadu. They simply use Burmese ordinal numbers. The numerals found in the Kadu lexicon are shown in (279) together with the generic classifier *teùn,* glossed as 'CLF.thing'. Many classifiers are also borrowed from Shan and they usually occur with Shan numerals. However, native classifers may occur with both numeral systems. The native numerals attested in my corpus are given in (279a) and Shan borrowed numerals are given in (279b). There is a tone sandhi pattern such that any classifier following the numeral *kalìng* 'two' changes to high tone.

(279) (a)	Kadu numerals	(b)	Shan numerals	Meaning
	teùn-à		*teùn-nù*	'CLF.thing-one'
	kalìng-teún		*saūng-teún*	'two-CLF.thing'
	sóm-teùn		*sóm-teùn*	'three-CLF.thing'
	pí-teùn		*shì-teùn*	'four-CLF.thing'
			hà-teùn	'five-CLF.thing'
			hōk-teùn	'six-CLF.thing'
			síp-teùn	'seven-CLF.thing'
			peút-teùn	'eight-CLF.thing'
			kaùng-teùn	'nine-CLF.thing'
			shípnú	'ten'

The Kadu have been using Shan numerals since the early 20th century (Brown 1920). Many Kadu didn't realise how similar many of their numerals are to the Tai and consider them as their native numerals. Some older Kadu expressed their disappointment that these counting systems are swiftly disappearing in day-to-day speech. It is very probable that they will disappear soon, as younger Kadu speakers have switched to using Burmese counting systems. Numerals above ten are all Burmese.

We can correlates the numerals *kalìng* 'two', *sóm* 'three' and *pí* 'four' with PTB numerlas ***g-ni-s**, ***g-sum** and ***b-liy** as reconstructed by Matisoff (1997:119). Examples in (280) illustrate the use of two forms of the numeral four in Kadu.

(280) (a) *amúnashī shìkaú* (12:1)

amúnashì **shì**-kaú
brothers **four-**CLF.person
'four sibling brothers'

(b) *leútneút ngaúkà píteùn lūpáng hīngká* (12:113)

létnét ngaúkà **pí**-teùn lū =pán hīng =ká
weapon as.for **four-**CLF.thing get =COS 3SG =TOP
'As for the weapons, (he) got four.'

The numeral one in Kadu has two forms: *à* and *nù.* The latter form mostly occurs with Shan loanwords and has come from the Shan/Tai numeral *nyŋ* 'one', as in (281).

(281) (a) mă tua-nyŋ[19] (Thai: Haas 1942)
dog **CLF.animal-one**
'a dog'

(b) *kayā húkà* (29:26) (Kadu)
kayā húk-à
mountain CLF.round-one
'one mountain'

(c) *ānsaú zalaútnù* (31:8) (Kadu)

ānsaú zalaút-**nù**
sticky.paddy measurement-**one**
'One measurement' (a measurement equivalent to roughly 0.14 bushel or a regular 16 oz. condensed milk tin)

[19] In Thai, both –CLF-numeral or numeral-CLF structures are possible with difference in meaning.

Numerical approximation in Kadu, like in many TB languages, is expressed using two classifier phrases where the second contains a numeral that is one greater than the first. It is simply a numeral approximation much like the English 'one or two'. The example in (282) illustrates this type. Notice the example in (282) contains two forms for classifying humans –*hú* and *kaú,* both glossed as 'CLF.person'. (See the detailed discussion of numeral classifiers in Chapter 5).

(282) *hanīngká sómhú shìkaútóng lamà* (13:27)

hanīng	=ká	sóm-**hú**	shì-**kaú**-tóng	=lamà
2PL	=TOP	three-**CLF.person**	four-**CLF.person**-big	=MIR

'You are three or four people.'

Although the use of two numerical phrases for numerical approximation as mentioned in (282) is common, it is also possible to have up to three classifier phrases, as in (283). However, examples consisting of four or more classifier phrases to express numerical approximation have not been attested.

(283) *hawà kalìnghú súmhú nāngmaták* (04:06)

hú-à	kalìng-hú	sóm-hú	nāng	=mā	=ták
CLF.person-one	two-CLF.person	three-CLF.person	go	=RLS	=HS

'A few people went there.' (Lit. one person, two persons, and three persons)

The term *kalàng* may be attached to a classifier phrase to indicate numerical approximation of measurement. See the illustrations of this in (284).

(284) (a) *àngpàpè thōmpòk chátnù saūngchát kalàng kápphángàngthàmā* (18:76)

àng	=pà	=pè	thōmpòk	chát-nù
that	=ALL	=LOC	gun	CLF.shot-one

saūng-chat	**=kalàng**	káp-pháng-àng-thà	=mā
two-CLF.shot	**=approximate**	shoot-prior-DIR_1-must	=RLS

'(We) have to make one or two gun shots to that side.'

(b) *khayí tóngmaīkalàng kátnìngthàmā* (18:80)

khayí	tóng[20]-maī	**=kalàng**	kát-ìng-thà	=mā
journey	three-CLF.mile	**=approximate**	run-DIR_2-must	=RLS

'We had to come running about three miles distance/journey.'

(c) *tákshī shìleúnkalàng taítaúpánnaà tútútnàngyeù* (07:65)

tākshī	shì-leún	**=kalàng**	taí-ta	=pán	=naà
finger	four-CLF.stick	**=approximate**	measure-L.SUFF	=COS	=only

tút-út-àng	=yeù
cut-abandon-DIR_1	=SAP

'Measure approximately four fingers' length and cut it!'

3.2.3 Pronouns

Pronouns, like nouns, may be followed by postnominal relational markers (Chapter 6). However, unlike NPs, they cannot be modified by demonstratives and other attributive noun modifiers. Kadu personal pronouns, like in many other languages, encode the persons *first* (speaker), *second* (addressee), and *third* (person other than the speaker

[20] This is a Burmese numeral.

and addressee) and the numbers singular and plural. There is no evidence of an exclusive vs. inclusive distinction in the first person pronouns or dual marking on any pronouns in Kadu. Pronouns are not pluralised in Kadu. The number distinctions are straightforward–singular and plural–each having independent forms. The personal pronoun forms in Kadu are shown in Table 24.

	Singular	Plural
First person	*ngā*	*maléq*
Second person	*nāng*	*hanīng*
Third person	*hīng*	*ànták ~ maták*

Table 24: Kadu personal pronouns

All of the singular forms are monosyllabic words and the plural forms are sesquisyllabic or disyllabic words. The first person and the second person singular pronouns are reflexes of the PTB forms ***ŋa** and ***naŋ** (Benedict 1972:93). The third person singular pronoun *hīng* and all the plural pronoun forms are different from other TB languages. The third person plural *àntàk ~ matàk* is interesting in that the final syllable is identical with the animate plural marker *tàk*. However, the speakers of Kadu perceived the form as monomorphemic. There is no equivalent word for the English pronoun 'it' in Kadu. They use demonstratives, instead. The third person plural pronoun mentioned in Table 24 is always used for animate referents and usually refers to a human. This is illustrated in (285) and (286).

(285) *matákyítá pyúng ngón ōmpàpè nāngmā* (17:25)

àntàk	=yí	=tá	pyúng-ngón	ōm	=pà	=pè	nāng	=mā
3PL	=also	=EMPH	gems.soil-gold	make	=ALL	=LOC	go	=RLS

'They also went to the muddy-gold mining area.'

(286) *àntákká kōsātak cíng paútzánghayák ngaúpánnaà peúīyákmā* (17:20)

ànták	=ká	kō-sā-tàk	cíng	paút-záng-hà	=yák
3PL	=TOP	body-son-PL	letter	skill-JUSS:DIR$_2$-know.how	=PURP

ngaú	=pán	=naà	peú-ī-à	=mā
say	=COS	=only	keep-give-EUPH	=RLS

'They sent/kept us to school because they want us to be educated.'

All personal pronouns are used as address terms in Kadu. However, using them while addressing someone higher in status is considered rude. In this case, the personal pronouns are replaced by kinship terms. Using kinship terms instead of personal pronouns is considered polite and affectionate by the native speakers of Kadu. The following examples in (287) and (288) illustrate pronominal usage in Kadu. All sentences may be translated as 'I will cook (for you)'.

(287) *ngā mōkīkū*

ngā	mōk-ī	=kū
1SG	cook-give	=IRLS

'I will cook (for you).'

The first person singular form *ngā* may be replaced by any kinship term, as in (288a), or personal name, as in (288b). Among these usages, kinship pronominal usage is more common than personal names.

(288) (a) *awà mōkīkū*

awà mōk-ī =kū
father cook-give =IRLS
'I/father will cook (for you).'

(b) *wíntīn mōkīkū*

wíntīn mōk-ī =kū
PN cook-give =IRLS
'I/Win Tin will cook (for you).'

It must be noted that, semantically, pronominal usage of kinship terms differs from that of personal pronouns. The personal pronouns, regardless of context, always refer to referents in terms of their involvement in the speech act (speaker or addressee) where as the pronominal reference of kinship terms can only be determined by the context. For example, the kinship term *awà* in (288a) may mean 'I/father', 'you/father', 'he/father', or just simply 'father', depending on which context the utterance is used in.

Pronouns, except in a few cases, are used to refer to animals in the context where the animal has the human attribute of speaking. The examples in (289) and (291) illustrate pronouns with non-human referents.

(289) *wákyaúkcī ngaúkà aū maléq sèktàk ngaúkà maléqtè ngaúkà atá mōknaútthàmā* (12:37)

wák	=yaúk	cī	ngaúkà	aū	**maléq**	sèk-tàk	ngaúkà
pig	=COM	dog	as.for	well!	**1PL**	person-PL	as.for

maléq	=tè	ngaúkà	atá	mōk-naút-thà	=mā
1PL	=A.AG	as.for	rice	cook-feed-must	=RLS

'As the pig and dog said "Well, Our masters/lords have to feed us food."'

Example (289) is taken from a narrative where the pig and dog were able to speak like humans. In this narrative, they were discussing how thankful they are to their masters for their generosity of providing of food to them. Example (290) is taken from another narrative where the tiger and rabbit were friends. They also spoke like humans. At some point, the rabbit became scared of the tiger and made a plan to burn and run away from the tiger. Example (290) sets the background for the conversation between the tiger and the rabbit in (291).

(290) *wānsútpán kátpeúyàngmaták kasàtèá. kasà ngaúkà shíyeúpánnaà zaúntapánták* (09:15,20)

wān	sút	=pán	kát-peú-àng	=mā	=ták	kasà	=tè
fire	start.fire	=COS	run-keep-DIR_1	=RLS	=HS	tiger	=A.AG

kasà	ngaúkà	shíyeú	=pán	=naà	zaún-ta	=pán	=ták
tiger	as.for	angry	=COS	=only	run.after-L.SUFF	=COS	=HS

'(The rabbit) burnt the tiger and ran away, it is said. (As for) the tiger he got angry and followed the rabbit, it is said.'

(291) *ateú nāng ngātè wānsútpán līpeúká lāppán yákkà nāngtè ngā yōkkū* (09:25, 26)

ateú	**nāng**	**ngā**	=tè	wān	sút	=pán	lī-peú	=ká
Oh!	**2SG**	**1SG**	=A.AG	fire	start.fire	=COS	come-keep	=TOP

lāp	=pán	yák	=ká	**nāng**	=tè	**ngā**	yōk	=kū
catch	=COS	now	=TOP	**2SG**	=A.AG	**1SG**	eat	=IRLS

'Oh you, you burnt me and (then)came here. Now, I am going to eat you.'

Pronouns frequently occur in conversations and narratives. They (particularly the first and second person pronouns) may be omitted freely if they are retrievable from the context. The omission of first and second person pronouns is also common in Burmese (Bradley 1993; 2005:68). In making a statement, the first person pronoun may be omitted, as in (292).

(292) *aswē hāháng yaà nāngyeún (ngā) heúyàngkū* (09:23)

aswē	hàháng	yaà	nāng	=yeún(ngā)	heú-àng	=kū
friend	Kachin	now	2SG	=BEN (1SG)	tell-DIR_1	=IRLS

'My Kachin friend, now (I) will tell (it) for you.'

In asking a direct question, the second person pronoun may be omitted, as in (293).

(293) *(nāng) hàpà nāngkalá* (05:19)

(nāng)	hà	=pà	nāng	=kū	=lá
(2SG)	WH	=ALL	go	=IRLS	=Q

'Where are you going?'

Unlike in English, there is no separate class of possessive pronouns or a genitive marker in Kadu (see the discussion on genitive modification in §4.1.2). The system for referring to oneself and others, unlike that of Burmese, lacks denominal stems, which are very common in Burmese. For instance, in Burmese the first person singular and the second person singular pronouns can be replaced by ကျွန်တော် <**kwjunto**> 'slave' + royal or respectful suffix' and ခင်ဗျား <**hkangbya:**> derived from သခင်ဘုရား <**thakhanghpara:**> 'Bodhisattva' respectively (see Bradley 1993). It has been observed that the Kadu, however, being devoted Buddhists, borrowed denominal terms from Burmese (such as *tapíqtaū* to refer to oneself as a layman in relation to a monk and *ashīnphayá*[21] to address Buddhist monks). These words are analysable in the source language but not in Kadu.

3.2.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers follow the head noun they quantify and limit or increase the scope of NP. Quantifiers are not numerous in Kadu. The following list in Table 25 shows all the Kadu quantifiers attested in my corpus.

[21] Burmese *tapíq* 'servant' + *taū* 'honorific' and *ashīn* 'master' + *phayá* 'lord or god'.

Quantifiers	Gloss
ngānaíkngá	‘all, everything’
haìng	‘entirely, exclusively’
kalaúng (tóng)	‘much, many, a lot’
zeùyà ~ zayà	‘some’
zítsáq	‘few’

Table 25: Quantifiers in Kadu

The term *ngānaíkngá* denotes something like ‘all, every single one, nothing is left behind’. Its structure is V + *naík* + V. In general, the V slot is filled by the same verb and the second token always has a high tone. The most frequent verb that appears in this construction is the existential verb *ngā*, as in (294).

(294) (a) *ngónkā phúkā ngānaíkngátè īkū* (07:21)

[[ngón kā phú kā **ngānaíkngá**] =tè] ī =kū
gold so.on silver so.on **all** =A.AG give =IRLS
‘Such as gold and silver (I) will give (them) all.’

(b) *shīshīpalíq ngānaíkngá zōkmā* (08:8)

[shīshī palíq **ngānaíkngá**] zōk =mā
fruit ATTW **all** plant =RLS
‘(He) planted all the fruit (trees).’

If the head noun phrase is recoverable from the context, it can be omitted, as in (295)

(295) *ngānaíkngá tamyóqneūlúng līpánnaà* (08:33)

[**ngānaíkngá**]	[tamyóqneūlúng]	lī	=pán	=naà
all	the.whole.towhship	come	=COS	=only

'All (the people), the whole township, came and..,'

The verb slot in the V+ *naík* +V construction may be filled by another verb or even a series of verbs, as illustrated in (296).

(296) *shīshīpalíq yōkmeúnaík yōkmeútè zōkmā* (08:7)

[[shīshī-palíq	**yōk-meú**	**=naík**	**yōk-meú**]	=tè]	zōk	=mā
fruit-REDUP	**eat-good**	=only	**eatgood**	=A.AG	plant	=RLS

'(He) planted all the edible fruit (trees).'

The other form that very often occurs in my corpus that expresses 'all and totality' is *álóng,* which clearly is a Burmese loanword, အားလုံး <**a:lum:**>. (297a) illustrates a Burmese example and (297b) shows its occurence in a Kadu text.

(297) (a) အားလုံးကောင်းတယ် (Burmese)

a:lum:	**kong:**	**=te**
all	good	=RLS

'All are good.'

(b) *eúhám wánzípanáq phónkalùntē álóng zāphángsōmìng* (08:50)

[[eúhám	wán-zí	=panáq	phón	kalùn	=tē]	**álóng**]
PN	chop-finish	=NOM	wood	plant	=PL	**all**

zāp	háng	sōm-ìng
stand	back	finish.up-DIR_2

'All the trees Euham cut down stood up!'

In order to express the idea of entirety the term *haìng*, glossed as 'EXCLUSIVE', is employed following the head noun, as illustrated in (298) and (299).

(298) *kalaú kámàkà zūwāngmāsáq wānnúkìnghàlá phónhaìng athà* (30:31)

kalaú	kámàkà	zū-àng	=másà	wān	núk-ìng-hà	=lá
small.wood	so.on	burn-DIR_1	=only.if	fire	flame-DIR_2-know.how	=NOM

phón	=**haìng**	a-thà	=á
wood	=**EXCLUSIVE**	NEG-be	=NEG

'Only when you add small dried wood will (it) burn. (Large) wood alone won't burn.'

(299) *kayāhúkà lúnglúng pòkweúsútkalùnhaìng thànímmā* (18:20).

kayā	húk-à	lúnglúng
mountain	CLF.round-one	throughout

pòkweúsút-kalùn	=**haìng**	thà-ním	=mā
tree-plant	=**EXCLUSIVE**	be-stay	=RLS

'The whole mountain was filled with only *Pukweusut* trees.'

In order to express a large mass or numerous countable items, the term *kalaúngtóng* is employed after the head noun, as illustrated in (300). Notice in (300b), the plural marking on the head noun is optional.

(300) (a) *címtwē kalaúngtóng ngāmā* (AKYS)

[cím-tē **kalaúngtóng**] ngā =mā
house-PL **many** exist =RLS
'(There are) many houses.'

(b) *pahángcháng kalaúngtóng hīngpè ngāmā* (AKYS)

[pahángcháng **kalaúngtóng**] hīng =pè ngā =mā
friend **many** 3SG =LOC exist =RLS
'He has many friends.'

In order to express an approximation of a small number or quantity, the form *zeùyà ~ zayà* is employed. It may be translated into English as 'some'. The head noun may be omitted, as in (301b) if it is retrievable from the context.

(301) (a) *tamìsà zayà ngaúmā* (AKYS)

tamìsā **zayà** ngaú =mā
human **some** say =RLS
'Some people said.'

(b) *zayàyítá pwát ngāmāyítá ngaúcímā* (10:44)

zayà =yí =tá pwát ngā =mā =yí =tá ngaú-cí =mā
some =also =EMPH mud exist =RLS =also =EMPH say-PL =RLS
'Some (people) said there was mud.'

The form *zítsáq* is employed to indicate an approximation of a small amount.

(302) *salaú zítsáq záng* (21:23)

salaú **zítsáq** záng
oil **little** put.in
'Add a bit of oil.'

3.2.5 Noun class terms

We have already discussed the structures of compound nouns under complex nouns in §3.1.1.1.2 and this section deals with similar structures. However, in this section special attention is given to special classes of nouns which are employed in compound nouns to express a kind of categorisation or specific members of a word family. I call this class of words CLASS TERMS (CLT) in this thesis. It is not uncommon to find this type of categorising terms in TB languages. In this section, I propose there are two types of CLTs in Kadu: one which occurs pre-nominally and one that occurs post-nominally. The former can be analysed as a combination of 'whole-part' or 'class-kind' (CLT + NOUN)' and the latter simply as 'kind-class' (NOUN + CLT).

3.2.5.1 CLASS TERM + NOUN compound

The process of adding one or more syllables to an initial CLT to form a word family or a specific member of a category seems to be a common phenomenon not only in Kadu but among many, if not all other, TB languages. It is also found in Garo (Burling

2004:168-173) and Burmese[22] (Vittrant 2005). Burling treated the initial class terms as a "category prefix" of compound noun. He describes it as "... the use of numerous noun compounds constructed from a categorizing initial (portion) to which is added one or more syllables that indicate the specific member of the category" (Burling 1985:14).

Like Burmese and Garo, many initial CLTs are also attested in Kadu. Kadu CLT + NOUN compounds are formed by an analysable initial syllable which provides generic meaning and a noun (which may or may not be analysable) which provides specific meaning. For example, most of the names that are categorised with 'leg' are formed by the initial syllable *ta*, e.g. *tapaúk* 'calf'. It is obvious that the first syllable *ta,* a reduced form of *tā,* is relatable to its lexical meaning of 'leg'. However, the syllable *paúk* is never used in isolation. Some of the CLT + NOUN constructions can also be seen as a sesquisyllabic word. If the first syllable is an open syllable, the vowel is reduced to schwa. However, a sesquisyllabic word with a class term differs from a sesquisyllabic word in simple nouns. The lexical meaning of reduced syllables, in many cases, is relatable to its lexical meaning in CLT + NOUN, whereas the initial reduced or weak syllable of sesquisyllabic words in simple nouns is not.

CLT + NOUN compounds that exhibit 'whole-part' classification are discussed in the following section.

[22] Similar to Garo, Burmese class terms include a category of animal names. Bernot's dictionary (1979-92), as cited in (Vittránt 2005), included around 70 fish nouns starting with the class term /ŋə/. The generic name for fish is /ŋá/. Concerning bird names, about 30 entries have the generic noun /ŋɛʔ/ as a first syllable.

Names that are categorised with leg are formed by the initial syllable *ta,* which has a lexical meaning 'leg'. The examples in (303) exemplify the names that are associated with 'leg' in Kadu.

(303) *tā* 'leg' compounds

taphā	'sole'
tací	'thigh'
tapaúk	'calf'
tathū	'knee'

Names that are categorised with 'hand' are formed by using the syllable *tāk*. It is a reflect of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) root ***l(y)ak** as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:51). Synchronically, the word for hand in Kadu is *tahú*. This protoform of hand is retained as an initial class term in Kadu, whereas the word for hand contains an innovative stem. However, we may still explain the first syllable *ta* in the word *tahú* as a reduced form of *tāk*. Some words associated with hand are exemplified in (304).

(304) *tāk* 'hand' compounds

tākpaūng	'arm'
tākkasú	'elbow'
tākmīng	'finger nail'
tākshī	'finger'
tākseú	'finger ring'

Names related to the category of eye are formed by using the syllable *mík*, which has the lexical meaning of 'eye'. The syllable *mík* reflects the PTB word for 'eye' ***mik**

(Matisoff 2003:327). Some examples of names that are associated with eyes are given in (305).

(305) *mík* 'eye' compounds

míkweú	'tear'	(eye + water)
míksateù	'eye lid'	(eye + lips)
míkhú	'eyebrow'	(eye + hair?)
míkceū	'blind'	(eye + mature or overripe)
míktū	'eye ball'	(eye + CLT.round)

CLT + NOUN compounds that exibit the 'class-kind' classificatory structure are illustrated below. Many bird names are formed by using the syllable *ū*, which by itself has the lexical meaning 'chicken' or 'domestic fowl'. The PTB etyma for 'chicken' in Matisoff 2003:392 are ***ha:r**, ***rak,** and **ʔa:r**. This clearly shows that the Kadu word for chicken does not reflect the PTB root. However, it does reflect the PTB word for 'egg' ***t(w)i(y)**, ***ʔu** as reconstructed by Matisoff 2003:195). Some names that are associated with chicken or fowl, with its categorising initial *ū* , are exemplified in (306).

(306) *ū* 'chicken' compounds

ūhá	'crow'
ūhaú	'owl'
ūkatú	'dove'
ūkaú	'koel'
ūpháksà	'bat'
ūlēk	'pheasant bird'

Similarly, names related to rice are formed by the initial syllable *ān,* which is a generic name for husked rice in Kadu. These names are given in (307).

(307)

ānkū	'a type of husked rice'
ānmeū	'paddy'
ānsaú	'sticky rice'
ānpānpaūk	'first time pounded rice'
ānzapóng	'second time pounded rice'

Names related to the category of wood are formed by using the syllable *phón*, which has a lexical meaning of 'tree' or 'wood'. This syllable, *phón,* reflects the PTB word for 'wood' ***bul** or ***pul** as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:416). Some names that are associated with trees are given in (308).

(308) *phón* 'tree' compounds

phónhalák	'branch'
phónmaún	'wooden pillow'
phóntalāt	'leaf'
phóntanùk	'tree trunk'

Beside these analysable initials, a few other synchronically unanalysable initial CLTs have been attested. For example, many terms denoting animals may be roughly grouped into four: names that occur as monosyllabic words and names that occur with initial reduced syllables: *a-*, *sa-*, and *ka-*. These syllables may be remnants of old pre-nominal CLTs. These were already discussed under minor syllables in §2.7.2; see also §3.1.1.2.3.

3.2.5.2 NOUN + CLASS TERM compound

Post nominal class terms follow a noun, forming an N + CLT structure. Similar to 'whole-part' compound nouns (§ 3.2.5.1), these terms also denote specific members of a category. They are somewhat similar to NOUN + NOUN compound nouns with a SPECIFIC + GENERIC classificatory structure. However, unlike compound nouns which are made up of two independent nouns, these CLTs usually don't occur as independent words. In order for the class terms to be used independently they must be nominalised with the *-al-* infix form.

Names that can be categorised as plants and trees take the CLT *kùn*. This term covers everything from giant trees to tiny plants, as given in (309).

(309) *phóngtóngkùn* 'jackfruit tree'
caìkkùn 'mango tree'
thánkùn 'palm plant'
salàkùn 'banana plant'
kānzūkùn 'mustard plant'
cahaúngkùn 'coriander plant'

Names that can be categorised under fruits and vegetables that have rounded shapes take the CLT *shī*. Some fruit names are given in (310).

(310)	*salàshī*	'banana'
	caíkshī	'mango'
	maúshī	'plum'
	mìpákshī	'pumpkin'
	mángcíngshī	'tamarind'
	mōkneúshī	'chili'

A noun may contain two class terms, e.g. *caìk-shī-kùn* (e.g. *caìk-shī-kùn* (mango-fruit-tree) may be translated as 'mango fruit bearing tree'). I have not come across a noun followed by more than two categorising class terms in Kadu.

All the fruit bearing trees mentioned in (310) can be followed by the class term *kùn*. However, the other way around is not allowed. This indicates that, in general, the more specific class term precedes the general. If the specific class term such as *shī* 'fruit' is obvious from the context, it can be omitted. I have repeated some examples already mentioned in (310) to illustrate this.

(311)	*salà(shī)kùn*	'banana plant'
	caìk(shī)kùn	'mango tree'
	maú(shī)kùn	'plum plant'

The class term *shī* is not restricted to fruit names alone. It also occurs with nouns that have rounded shapes. These are exemplified in (312). Notice the term *míḱ-tū-shī* (eye-round-fruit) 'eye ball' contains a prenominal and a postnominal class term.

(312) *míktūshī* ‘eye ball’
zōkshī ‘nipple’ or ‘breast’
talùshī ‘bullet’

Names that can be categorised under creeper plants or vines take the already infixed CLT *yalù*. Some names of this type are given in (313)

(313) *ceùyalù* ‘thorny creeper vine’
malaùtyalù ‘oblong fruit vine’
mīpákyalù ‘pumpkin vine’
hōhōnyalù ‘ash pumpkin vine’
cìnshīyalù ‘cucumber vine’

Names that can be categorised under flowers take the CLT *pá ~ papá* as given in (314). Most flora names in Kadu are loanwords from Burmese.

(314) *heútlápá* ‘star flower’
nēcāpá ‘sun flower’
nínsīpá ‘rose’
zapeūpá ‘jasmine’
kāntamāpá ‘aster’
títsāpá ‘gladiola’

All the names of meat take the class term *sān* as given in (315).

(315) *mōksān* ‘beef’
wàksān ‘pork’
ūsān ‘chicken’
ceúsān ‘buffalo meat’

There are two terms glossed as 'field' in the list. The term *kān* is used for human grown fields (e.g. *kānzū-kān* 'mustard-field' and *haūngheū-kān* 'corn-field'). The other term, *tā*, may be also glossed as 'clump' when it describes a cluster of trees (e.g. *lapòk-tā* and *sakaú-tā* 'bamboo field' and 'teak field', respectively.) However, its scope is not only for trees and can be used for other places (e.g *zūn-tā* 'salt field'). Therefore, I have glossed it as 'field' in my corpus.

3.3 Particles

There is a large number of morphemes which I simply called particles in this thesis. Particles do not occur as the heads of phrases. They only have grammatical and no lexical meaning. They follow words, phrases, or clauses and provide important grammatical information. Phonologically they may be clitics or independent syllables.

3.3.1 Nominal relational markers

Nominal relational markers are case marking particles which provide the grammatical and semantic role of NPs at the phrasal and clausal levels. These include postpositions such as *ká* 'topic', *tè* 'anti-agentive', and *pè* 'locative'. They are dealt with in Chapter 6.

3.3.2 Verbal particles

The post-verbal particles presented in §7.2.2 include the plural marker, *cí ,* and the two directional markers, *àng* 'away from the deictic centre' and *ìng* 'toward the deictic centre'.

3.3.3 Clausal particles

Clausal particles are analysed as including two categories–subordinating particles and clause final particles (CFP). Subordinating particles are a category of morphemes that occur at the end of dependent clauses. The function of these particles is to mark subordinate relationship such as condition, temporal relation, or purpose to the main clause. These subordinating particles are presented in §11.1. Clause final particles (CFP) occur with independent clauses and are a class of morphemes that occur at the end of independent clauses. The function of clause final particles is to express mood, aspect, or other features such as an actual vs. hypothetical event and they are discussed in §7.1. Another small class of clausal particles are *tún/yún* 'still', *yók* 'intrusive', and *zík* 'finally', which express the relationship between two time frames (§7.3).

3.3.4 Utterance final particles

Syntactically, utterance final particles follow the CFPs. They mark utterances as questions, reported speech or miratives (suprise or unexpected situations).These

particles include the particles *lá* 'question', *ták* 'hearsay' and *laká ~ lakaú ~ lamà* 'mirative'. They are discussed in §7.4.

3.3.5 Speaker attitude particles

Speaker attitude particles (SAP) are a small class of morphemes which occur at the end of the utterances. It is impossible to give English translations for these particles, therefore, they are simply glossed as SAP in my corpus. They are frequently used to express the emotional commitment or attitude of the speaker. The list in (316) shows SAPs with possible English translations. Some references where these SAP are attested are provided in ( ) brackets (see Appendix B). The text number and clauses within that particular texts and seperated by colon (:).

(316)	*lakò*	'indeed, of course'	(17:1, 33, 42)
	lé	'of course'	(17:8, 10, 11)
	lèō	'don't you know? of course'	(13:5, 8, 61, 63)
	letā	'emphatic, of course '	(9:97, 25:105)
	ná ~ naú	'agree, right?'	(15:100, 101, 25:45)
	seù	'euphonic, sympathetic, you see?'	(17:5, 6, 12)
	talé	'yes, you see?, emphatic'	(17:2, 7, 15)
	yeù	'quotative?', 'is it said?'	(17: 32, 77, 90)

These particles, except those which end with the vowel [e] $=lé$ and $=talé$ may be addtionally followed by a euphonic $=é$ which has high falling tone. The vowel may be lengthened and may be pronounced as $=e^{3454321}$. The SAP *seù* is the most common and

occurs in most of the utterances and the SAPs *lèō* and *letā* are the least common. The SAP *ná* occurs only in female's speech.

CHAPTER 4: THE NOUN PHRASE

This chapter examines the elements that constitute a noun phrase (NP). The only obligatory element in a Kadu NP is the head noun. A head noun may be simple (§3.1.1.1.1) or complex (§3.1.1.1.2). A demonstrative (DEM), genitive (GEN) phrase, complement (COMPL) phrases or relative (REL) clause occur preceding the head noun while an attributive verb (ATT.V), plural (PL) marking or classifier (CLF) phrase follows the head noun. The structure of a Kadu NP may be presented as:

$$\begin{pmatrix} \text{DEM} \\ \text{GEN}_{\text{phrase}} \\ \text{COMPL}_{\text{phrase}} \\ \text{REL}_{\text{clause}} \end{pmatrix} (\textbf{HEAD.NOUN}) \ (\text{ATT.V}) \ (\text{PL}) \ (\text{CLF}_{\text{phrase}})$$

Figure 27: The structure of the Kadu noun phrase

A large number of nominal classifiers have been identified and they will be dealt with in Chapter 5. Numerals have been discussed in 3.2.2 above.

4.1 Pre-head nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers that precede the head noun are presented in the following order: 4.1.1 Demonstratives, 4.1.2 Genitive modification and 4.1.3 Complement phrases. Relative clauses and complement clauses also precede the head noun and are discussed in §8.2.3.

4.1.1 Demonstratives

All the demonstratives in Kadu prototypically express a spatial relation to the speaker and an addressee. In addition, they can also indicate, anaphorically, a referent that has already been mentioned in the preceding discourse context. There are three demonstratives in Kadu *an-*, *àng-* and *úng-*. They show three degrees of distance, proximal, distal and remote. They are bound roots; they cannot occur without something following after them. The most common form that follows the demonstrative is the nominaliser *naq ~ panáq*, as in *àngpanáq* 'that one' and *úngpanáq* 'that one (over there)'. There are no special locative forms of demonstratives like *here* and *there* in English. The same form is used with locative postpositions. These derived demonstrative forms can be used on their own to refer to any object which is clear from the context. Table 26 lists the demonstrative pronouns in Kadu.

Demonstratives	Derived forms	Gloss
an-	*anáq ~ panáq*	'this (near the speaker)'
àng-	*àngnáq ~ àngpanáq*	'that (near the hearer)'
úng-	*úngnáq ~ úngpanáq*	'that (away from both)'

Table 26: Demonstratives in Kadu

Referents that are closer to the speaker at the time of speaking and may or may not be visible are identified with the demonstrative *anáq ~ panáq*. Unlike distal and remote demonstratives, *an-* cannot be immediately followed by *panáq*, as in (317c). However, the form *náq* frequently occurs with the proximal demonstrative *an-*, as in (317a) and (317b). The form *panáq* by itself may also function as proximal demonstrative, as in

(317d). The *an-* proximal demostrative is reduced to schwa *a* [ə] when it is followed by the form *náq*, the rule is *an + naq = anáq*.

(317) (a) *anáq phónkalùntē* (08:55) (b) *anáq pòkhá*

anáq	phón-kalùn-tē	**anáq**	pòkhá
this	wood-plant-PL	**this**	forest
'These trees'		'This forest.'	

(c) **apanáq phóntē*

(d) panáq paíngtaí ngatè peúttaúlakàyeù (09:60)

panáq	pángtaí	ngā	=tè	peùt-ta	=lakà	=yeù
this	rabbit	1SG	=A.AG	lie-L.SUFF	=MIR	=SAP

'This rabbit lied to me.'

The form *anáq* can be used to refer anaphorically to a referent that has been already mentioned, as in (318).

(318) *anáq neūyā meúmā. anáqtè thwángtacíthāmā* (10:28)

anáq	neūyā	meú	=mā
this	place	good	=RLS

anáq	=tè	thwáng-ta-cí	=thāmā
this	=A.AG	clear.away-L.SUFF-PL	=HORT

'This place is good. Let's clear/cultivate this (place).'

Referents which are closest to the hearer at the time of speaking and are still at a visible distance and are identified with the demonstrative *àngpanáq ~ àngnáq,* as in (319).

(319) (a) *àngpanáq sāngpaláng* (06:23)

àng	**=panáq**	sāngpaláng
that	**=NOM**	king

'That king'

(b) *àngpanáq yahaùng tóngmā*

àng	**=panáq**	yahaùng	tóng	=mā
that	**=NOM**	river	big	=RLS

'That river is big.'

The demonstrative *àngpanáq,* like *anáq,* can also be used anaphorically to refer to a referent that has been mentioned, as in (320).

(320) *nakápīpèà naká zōkshīwaleú lāthàkūták ngatè* (15:93)

naká-pī	=pè	naká	zōkshī-waleú
dragon-country	=LOC	dragon	breast-liquid

lā-thà	=kū	=ták	ngā	=tè
take-must	=IRLS	=HS	1SG	=A.AG

'(He told) me that (I) must get dragon milk at the dragon kingdom.'

àngnáq ínlūpánnàkà tánshíkūták (15:94)

àng	**=panáq**	ín-lū	=pánnàkà	tán-shí	=kū	=ták
that	**=NOM**	NEG-get	=if	beat-die	=IRLS	=HS

'If I cannot get that (dragon milk), (he) will kill (me), it is said.'

If the referents are far away from both the speaker and hearer at the time of speaking they are identified with the demonstrative *úngpanáq ~ úngnáq,* as in (321).

(321) (a) *úngpanáq ací sèktàk* (15:168)

úng	**=panáq**	ací	sèk-tàk
that	**=NOM**	elephant	person-PL

'Those (remote) elephant people'

(b) *úngnáq yēk wányōkpín sèk* (13:14)

úng	**=panáq**	yēk	wán-yōk	=pín	sèk
that	**=NOM**	hill.field	chop-eat	=NOM	person

'That (remote) farmer'

There are no special forms of locative demonstratives. The same demonstratives, with or without attaching the form *panáq*, are used with the locative postposition, *pè* (§6.3), to form locative demonstratives in Kadu, as in (322) and also (319a).

(322) (a) *àngpè līthàmā* (11:9)

àng	**=pè**	lī-thà	=mā
that	**=LOC**	come-must	=RLS

'They have to come to that place.'

(b) *àngpanáqpè taúpmā* (09:102)

àng=panáq	**=pè**	taúp	=mā
that=NOM	**=LOC**	end	=RLS

'It stopped there.'

(c) *úngpè thōkpánták* (15:73)

úng	**=pè**	thōk	=pán	=ták
that	**=LOC**	arrive	=COS	=HS

'(They) reached that place, it is said.'

Unlike the distal and remote demonstratives mentioned above, when the proximal demonstrative *an-* is followed by *pè* it takes the allomorph *aú-*, as in (323).

(323) (a) *aúpè lī*

aú =pè lī
here =LOC come
'Come here!'

(b) *aúpè ōmnímákmā ngaká* (17:30)

aú =pè ōm-ním-à =mā ngā =ká
here =LOC make-stay-EUPH =RLS 1SG =TOP
'I am doing (it) here.'

A proximal location may be also expressed by the derived demonstrative form *anáq* followed by the locative *pè*, as in (324).

(324) *anáqpè taúpcàngmák seùé* (17:93)

anáq =**pè** taúp-cí-àng =mák =seùé
this =**LOC** end-PL-DIR_1 =HORT =SAP
'Let's stop (it) here.'

If the speaker considers the entity they are referring to to be really far away, and almost invisible, the form *myán* is used, as in (325).

(325) *myán nántaūpè* (20:11)

myán	nántaū	=pè
over.there	palace	=LOC

'The palace way over there!'

Manner demonstratives are formed by combining a demonstrative and the manner postposition *nīng, yeù,* or *nīngyeù* (§11.1.6), as (326) and (327). The forms *nīng* and *yeù* can immediately occur with the bound demonstrative forms, as in (326a) and (326b).

(326) (a) *phóténgaūngtè anyeù yūnímmā* (18:34)

phóténgaūng	=tè	an-**yeù**	yū-ním	=mā
PN	=A.AG	DEM-**manner**	look-stay	=RLS

'(The tiger) was looking at Photeingaung like this.'

(b) *àngnīng acān thúktapánták* (09:41)

àng	=**nīng**	acān	thúk-ta	=pán	=ták
that	=**manner**	plan	take.out-L.SUFF	=COS	=HS

'(The rabbit) extracts/makes plans that way, it is said.'

However, the form *nīngyeù* follows derived demonstrative forms, as in (327).

(327) *anáqnīngyeù pīnpīnpánpán ōmyōkthàkū* (17:50)

anáq	=**nīngyeù**	pīnpīnpánpán	ōm-yōk-thà	=kū
this	=**manner**	be.wearily	make-eat-must	=IRLS

'(I) will have to work hard this way for my living.'

4.1.2 Genitive modification

There is no overt marking of genitives in Kadu. Thus, a genitive phrase plus head noun resembles a compound noun. For example, *thīng tamìsā* 'villager' could be viewed as ATT.N + N 'someone from the village' or a with genitive interpretation 'village person'. In addition, Kadu doesn't have possesive adjectives such as 'my' and 'our' as in English. Therefore, it is often difficult to determine whether the pronoun is the subject of the clause or possessor of the noun that follows it. Consider the examples in (328).

(328) *ngā thīngpalá thàmā*

ngā thīngpalá thà =mā
1SG village.chief be =RLS
'I am the village's chief.' or
'(He) is my village chief.'

The sentence in (328) has two possible interpretations: one as a genitive phrase and the other as an equational clause. The choice of interpretation is determined by context. If the context is not clear, the topic marker *ká* is inserted to distinguish the independant pronoun from a genitive interpretation.

(329) *ngāká thīngpalá thàmā*

ngā =**ká** thīngpalá thà =mā
1SG =**TOP** village.chief be =RLS
'I am the village chief.'

As in the above example, the genitive always precedes the head noun. Another example is illustrated in (330).

(330) *nāng saēktè lākákmāyeù* (04:12)

nāng	**saēk**	=tè	lā-kák	=mā	=yeù
2SG	**daughter**	=A.AG	take-want	=RLS	=SAP

'(We) want to take your daughter.'

When the possessor is the first person singular pronoun *ngā*, it gets reduced to a minor syllable *nga* [ŋə], as in (331) and (332).

(331) ***nga**ēktè ngā sántáttahángmanaík*(08:88)

ngā	ēk	tè	ngā	sántát	-ta-háng	manaík
1SG	wife	A.AG	1SG	try.out	L.SUFF-back	only.if

'I will test my wife.'

(332) ***nga**teúpè acípá sāsèk ngaúkà chīnēkmā* (12:19)

ngā	teú	=pè	ací-pá
1SG	hut	=LOC	elephant-female

sāsèk	chīnēk	=mā
mother.son	defecate	=RLS

'The mother elephant and its baby defecated near my hut.'

The Kadu genitive construction can have multiple possessors preceding the possessed noun. Each possessor noun modifies the noun immediately following, as in (333a) and (333b).

(333) (a) *azàk sāngpaláng míqphyátóng* (07:124)

azàk sāngpaláng míqphyá-tóng
PN king queen-big
'The queen of Kadu's king' (Lit. the head queen of Azak's king)

(b) *maléq amú cím tóngmā* (AKYS)

maléq amú cím tóng =mā
1PL big.brother house big =RLS
'Our big brother's house is big.'

4.1.3 Noun complements

There are two types of noun complements in Kadu: postpositional phrases and non-finite complement clauses. Both complement types precede the head. See Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion of postpositions. Some examples of postpositional complement phrases are given in (334).

(334) (a) *mōksūpyaúk tamìsā*

mōksūp =**yaúk** tamìsā
hat =**COM** human
'a person with (a) hat'

(b) *panmaúkhaík sàt*

panmaúk =**haík** sàt
PN =**ABL** rice
'rice from Banmauk'

(c) *awàyeún zāúk*

awà =**yeún** zāúk
father =**BEN** book
'a book for father'

A non-finite clause may complement the head in an attributive relation. See the discussion on relative clauses in 8.2.3.

4.2 Post-nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers that follow the head noun are presented in two section: 4.2.1 Attributives and 4.2.2 Plural marking. Classifier phrases are dealt with in Chapter 5.

4.2.1 Attributives

Post-head verb attributives are dicussed in §3.1.2.1.2. Some more examples of noun with attributive verb members are illustrated in (335) again.

(335) (a) *maúshītè ácí yōkmā ūkántàk* (10:36)

maú-shī =tè ácí yōk =mā **ū-kán**-tàk
plum-CLT.fruit =A.AG extremely eat =RLS **fowl-bad**-PL
'The fowls ate a lot of plums.'

(b) *kasàtóngtè zàkmataák* (09:4)

kasà-tóng	=tè	zàk	=mā	=ták
tiger-big	=A.AG	afraid	=RLS	=HS

'(The rabbit was) afraid of the big tiger, it is said.'

4.2.2 Plural marking

Kadu has two plural markers in the NP: *tàk* and *tē ~ twē*, plus a separate optional plural marker that occurs in the verb complex. The plural marking in the verb complex is discussed in §7.2.2.1. The etymologies of the plural forms that occur within the NP are not apparent. The form *tàk* occurs only with living beings, whereas *tē ~ twē* does not have any restriction on its use and may occur following an NP referring to any type of referent. Consider (336) where (336a) and (336b) are grammatical, but (336c) is not.

(336) (a) *hīng sātàk atá yōknímcímā* (15:13)

hīng	sā-**tàk**	atá	yōk-ním-cí	=mā
3SG	son-**PL**	rice	eat-stay-PL	=RLS

'His sons are eating rice.'

(b) *kasàtàkká nākceūtè hāmataák* (09:9)

kasà-**tàk**	=ká	nākceū=tè		hā	=mā	=ták
tiger-**PL**	=TOP	night	=A.AG	walk	=RLS	=HS

'The tigers go out in the night, it is said.'

(c) **címtàk zāmā*

cím-**tàk**	zā	=mā
house-**PL**	build	=RLS

tàk can also occur with personal names to mark plurality indicating "X and those associated with them."

(337) (a) *maungmaungtàk awà*

maungmaung-**tàk**	awà
PN-**PL**	father

'Maung Maung and his siblings' father.'

(b) *myáqmyáqtak címtè satēngyaúk nōpmā*

myáqmyáq-**tàk**	cím	=tè	satēng	=yaúk	nōp	=mā	
PN-**PL**	house	=A.AG	thatch	=COM	cover	=RLS	

'(They) are roofing Mya Mya's and (her family's) houses with thatch.'

The plural marker *tē ~ twē* is probably derived from the Burmese plural marker ၀တ္ <**twei**>. Look at the Burmese example in (338).

(338) နွားတွေ (Burmese: Okell 1964:430)

nwa:	**-twei**
cow	-PL

'cows'

In Kadu, it is common to find the plural marker *tē* following Burmese loanwords, as in (339).

(339) *síttátē lìpán yāntūtē lìpán* (07:113)

síttá-**tē**	lī	=pán	yāntū-**tē**	lī	=pán
soldier-**PL**	come	=COS	enemy-**PL**	come	=COS

'Soldiers are coming. Enemies are coming.'

The plural marker *tē*, occurring with reference to living beings, is illustrated in (340).

(340) (a) *acítwē kaūteúpsōmìng* (15:168).

ací-**tē**	kaū-teúp-sōm-ìng
elephant-**PL**	call-throw-finish.up-DIR_2

'(She) brought elephants.'

(b) *zalìt zalàt tamìsātwēlakà* (04:30)

zalìt-zalàt	tamìsā-**tē**	=lakà
disgusting	human -**PL**	=MIR

'Disgusting people'

However, the form *tàk* is not attested with loan nominals. My language consultants insisted that it is not natural to use the plural marker *tàk* with loanwords like *síttá* 'soldier'.

(341) **síttátàk lìpán yāntūtàk lìpán*

The plural marker *tàk* is obligatorily omitted when it is followed by classifier phrases (see Chapter 5), as illustrated in (342).

(342) (a) *ēk kalìnghú ngāpánták* (15:113)

ēk	kalìng-hú	ngā	=pán	=ták
wife	two-CLF.person	exist	=COS	=HS

'(He) has two wives, it is said.'

(b) *aténashī sómhú* (24:7)

aténashī	sóm-hú
sibling.sisters	three-CLF.person

'Three sibling sisters'

(c) *leútneút píteùn lūpáng hīngká* (12:113)

leútneút	pí-teùn	lū	=páng	hīng	=ká
weapon	four-CLF.thing	get	=DIR1:COS	3SG	=TOP

'He got four weapons.'

CHAPTER 5: NOMINAL CLASSIFIERS

Kadu has a highly developed nominal classifier system. The use of classifiers is obligatory when a noun is modified by a numeral. Since these terms occur only with numerals, they will be referred to as numeral classifiers (NCLF) or simply classifiers in this thesis. The use of NCLFs has been widely attested across Asia (Jones 1970). NCLFs are one of the common features of Southeast Asia languages regardless of their genetic affiliation. Matisoff (1973:88) defines NCLFs in Southeast Asia as "a type of limited noun that occurs only after numerals or after another classifier and whose selection is determined by a preceding noun." In Kadu, a single noun may occur with different NCLFs, for example, *cím-lúk-à* (house-CLF.round-one) or *cím-hà-à* (house-CLF.building-one) 'one house'. Therefore, the choice of NCLF is constrained by the nature of the referent of the preceding noun. "The choice of NCLF is rather predominantly semantic ... the range of semantic oppositions employed in numeral classifiers varies; it most often involves animacy, shape, size, and structure." (Aikhenvald 2003:98).

In terms of word order, two orders are most commmon in Southeast Asia: numeral-classifier-noun and noun-numeral-classifier. The former type is found in languages like Chinese and Vietnamese. The latter type is common with languages such as Burmese and Thai. The following examples in (343) illustrate the Burmese numeral classifer construction.

(343) kjaun ta kaun (cat one CLF.animal) ‘one cat’
lu hna jau' (person two CLF.human) ‘two people’
hpja thoun: cha' (mat three CLF.flat) ‘three mats’

A typical Kadu classifier construction is, like in Burmese, a combination of a noun followed by a numeral and then the classifier. An exception to this rule is with the numeral ‘one’, like in Thai (Haas 1942) or Garo–a Sal language (Burling2004:244) which has the reverse order of numeral and classifier when the numeral is ‘one’. The numeral ‘one’ in Kadu has two forms *à* as in (344a) and *nù* as in (345a) a native and a borrowed form from Shai respectively (see §3.2.2). It must also be noticed that the Kadu numeral *à* ‘one’ is fused into a preceding identical vowel. See the discussion of vowel fusion in §2.8.1.

(344) (a) *kám húkà*

kám **húk-à**
plate **CLF.round-one**
‘one plate’

(b) *kám kalìnghúk*

kám kalìng-**húk**
plate two-**CLF.round**
‘two plates’

(345) (a) *pínù*

pí-nù
year-one
‘one year’

(b) *kalìngpí*

kalìng-**pí**
two-**year**
‘two years’

Notice in examples (344a) and (345a), even though only the form *nù* is clearly borrowed from Shai/Tai, both forms for ‘one’ follow the Tai word order pattern. The

head noun can undergo deletion if it is pragmatically recoverable from the context. For example, instead of (346) it is also possible to say (347).

(346) *amúnashì kalìnghú nāngmā* (AKYS)

amúnashì	**kalìng-hú**	nāng	=mā
brothers	**two-CLF.person**	go	=RLS

'Two brothers go/are going.'

(347) *kalìnghú nāngmā* (AKYS)

kalìng-hú	nāng	=mā
two-**CLF.person**	go	=RLS

'Two people go/are going.'

It is common to delete the noun when the same referent is referred to again in the course of the same utterance, as in (348).

(348) *maléq atétóng kalìnghú ngātalé hawàká halánāngzípán* (17:04)

maléq	até-tóng	kalìng-hú	ngā	=talé
1PL	sister-big	two-CLF.person	exist	=SAP

(**até-tóng**)	hú-à	=ká	halá	nāng-zí	=pán
(**sister-big**)	CLF.person-one	=TOP	husband	go-finish	=COS

'I have two older sisters. One person/of them got married.'

Notice in (348) the form *hú* 'CLF.person' is reduced to [hə] and the semi vowel *-w-* is inserted as a linker between the classifier and numeral. See the discussion of phonological processes in §2.8. Some numeral classifiers in Kadu exhibit two forms:

one that occurs with the native Kadu numerals one to four, and the other that occurs with the Shan loan numerals. Note that the highest Kadu numeral we have found that reflects a PTB form is the numeral for 'four'. See §3.2.2 for the discussion of numerals in Kadu. Most, if not all the classifiers that occur with Shan numerals are clearly Shan loanwords. For example, the two forms *hú* and *kaú* classify a human entity. The former occurs with native Kadu numerals (one to four) and the latter occurs with borrowed Shan numerals. Nominal classifiers that exhibit two forms are given in Table 27. They are separated by /. The first form occurs with the native Kadu numerals (one to four) and the latter form occurs with borrowed Shan numerals.

Noun classifiers	Meaning
teùn/zá	'general classifier'
hú/kaú	'person'
nù/tú	'animal'
yák/wán	'day'
kák/leún	'stick'
húk/lúk	'round' or 'globular'
táp/tú	'thin' or 'flat'
pák/peún	'currency'

Table 27: Noun classifiers that exhibit two forms

Classifiers do not occur with multiples of ten. Any classifier following the numeral *kalìng* 'two' changes to high tone. Classifiers used with higher numerals are not described in the thesis. The reason being, simply, that for the numerals eleven and higher the Kadu use Burmese numerals and freely borrow classifiers from Burmese as well. Therefore, I have focused on the numerals one to nine only.

Some numeral classifiers also occur as CLTs (§3.2.5.2) and may take *-al-* infixation to form nominals. See the illustrations in examples (349a-b).

(349) (a) *phónhalàk hàkà* (halàk < hàk)

phón-**halàk** **hàk**-**à**
wood-**branch** **CLF.branch**-**one**
'one branch'

(b) *phóntalāt tātnà* (talāt < tāt)

phón-**talāt** **tāt**-à
wood-**leaf** **CLF.leaf-**one
'one leaf'

Most of the classifiers are monosyllabic words in Kadu. So far, I have identified at least 58 of them. Just for the sake of convenience in analysing classifiers in Kadu I have categorised them into four types broadly based on semantic domains. These are Sortal, Collective, Measure and Event classifiers. The first type, in general, classifies objects based on shape-specific, but often arbitrary, characteristics. The second type classifies objects based on an arranged group, and the third type indicates measurement of volume, quantity, and length. The last type quantifies activities described by verbs.

5.1 Sortal classifiers

Sortal classifiers are semantically based in Kadu. A sortal classifier, quoting (Lyons 1977:463), "individuates whatever it refers to in terms of the kind of entity that it is."

They are further broadly divided by semantic subcategories as follows: 5.1.1 Generic and type/kind classifiers, 5.1.2 Human and animal classifiers, 5.1.3 Shape related classifiers, and 5.1.4 Plants, vegetal, and field classifers.

5.1.1 Generic and type/kind classifiers

There are two classifiers which express a non-specific and a kind/type reading as opposed to a specific reading, as in (350).

(350)	*teùn*	'thing, general all purpose classifier'	(Kadu)
	zá	'kind'	(Shan)

The use of the classifier *teùn* in Kadu is similar to that of ခု <hku.> in Burmese and *mà* in Lahu. It is used with a non-specific object as in *anáq teùnà meúmā* 'this one is good'. It can also freely be a substitute for more specific classifiers. For example, the specific classifier for rounded objects *húk* in *kám húkà* 'one bowl or plate' can be substituted by *teùn* as *kám teùnà.* For counting nonspecific objects, the general classifier is used with numbers, e.g. *teùnà, kalìngteún, sómteùn* 'one, two, three (things)'. *teùn* is also used to generalise the different types of nouns, as in (351).

(351) *leútneút ngaúkà píteùn lūpáng* (12:113)

létneút	ngaúkà	pí-**teùn**	lū	=páng
weapon	as.for	four-**CLF.thing**	get	=DIR$_1$:COS

'(He) got four weapons.'

When one does not want to make a specific indication, the head noun may be omitted, as in (352).

(352) *kalìngteún lūwàngká* (12:98)

kalìng-teún	lū-àng	=ká
two-CLF.thing	get-DIR_1	=TOP

'Having gotten two (weapons)'

The term *zá* is employed when the speaker wants to express the 'kind' reading. It generally occurs with the numeral one and takes the form *nù*.

(353) *alúk zánù lūkū ngaúpanáq amyóyítá phú cíceùsòtthàmā* (17:40)

alúk	**zá-nù**	lū	=kū	ngaú	=panáq	amyó	=yí	=tá	
work	**CLF.kind-one**	get	=IRLS	say	=NOM	kind/type	=also	=EMP	

phú	cíceū	sòt	-thà	=mā
silver	extremely	bribe	-must	=RLS

'Even to get a kind/type of job (we) have to bribe with a lot of money.'

5.1.2 Human and animal classifiers

Human and animal classifiers attested in Kadu are listed in (354).

(354) *hú* 'person' (Kadu)
kaú 'person' (Shan)
nù 'animal' (Kadu)
tú 'animal' (Shan)

As shown in (354), each type–human and animal–exhibits two forms. The classifiers for humans are *hú* and *kaú*. The first is used with the native numerals and the latter is used with borrowed Shan numerals. These are used when counting any human, regardless of social status. For example, *sāngpaláng hú-à* (king CLF.peron-one) 'one king' and *samón hú-à* (monk CLF.person-one) 'one monk'. The form *hú* is reduced to *ha* [hə] when it is followed by *-à*, the numeral 'one' and the linker *-w-* is inserted between the two vowels (§2.8.2). Compare the examples in (355) and (356). The example in (355) is grammatical, as the classifier occurs with the native numerals. However, the example in (356) is not grammatical because the classifier and numeral do not match.

(355) *hawà kalìnghú sómhú anyeùsà nāngmaták* (04:6)

hú-à	**kalìng-hú**	**sóm-hú**
CLF.person-one	**two-CLF.person**	**three-CLF.person**

an-yeù-sà	nāng	=mā	=ták
DEM-manner-DIM	go	=RLS	=HS

'A couple of people like this went (there), it is said.'

(356) **kaúwà kalìngkaú sómkaú anyeùsà nāngmaták*

kaú-à	**kalìng-kaú**	**sóm-kaú**
CLF.person-one	**two-CLF.person**	**three-CLF.person**

an-yeù-sà	nāng	=mā	=ták
DEM-manner-DIM	go	=RLS	=HS

'A couple of people like this went there, it is said.'

The classifier *kaú* is used with the borrowed Shan numbers, as in (357) and (358).

(357) *amúnashì shìkaú tayá áthúktaūnímmā* (12:1)

amúnashì	**shì-kaú**	tayá	áthúk-ta-ním	=mā
brothers	**four-CLF.person**	law	try-L.SUFF-stay	=RLS

'Four brothers are studying the law.'

(358) *ngapèká címsèk peútkaú ngālakúqé* (17:1)

ngā	=pè	=ká	cím	sèk	**peút-kaú**	ngā	=lakò=é	
1SG	=LOC	=TOP	house	person	**eight-CLF.person**	exist	=SAP	=SAP

'I've got eight people (in my family).'

In some stories, these classifiers occur with animals when they are able to speak like humans, as in (359).

(359) *àngnáq tayéksān sómhútè ngaúkà wānzūpánnáqà īphángkákmāyeù* (13:29)

àngnáq	tayéksān	**sóm-hú**	=tè	ngaúkà
that	animal	**three-CLF.person**	=A.AG	as.for

wānzū	=pán	=naà	ī-pháng-kák	=mā	=yeù
make.fire	=COS	=only	give-prior-want	=RLS	=SAP

'As for these three animals, I will make a fire and give (them) first.'

The classifier for animal referents also exhibits two forms: *nú* (Kadu) and *tú* (Shan). They are used with all kinds of animals, from tiny mosquitoes to giant elephants. The distribution of *nú* and *tú*, like with the human classifiers, is dependent on the numerals they follow. Kadu numbers one to four take the form *nú*, as in (360).

(360) (a) *kasà núwà*

kasà **nú**-à
tiger **CLF.animal**-one
'one tiger'

(b) *kasà kalìng**nú*** 'two tigers'
*kanún sóm**nú*** 'three termites'

The Shan numerals take the classifier *tú*, as in (361).

(361) (a) *kasà shìtú*

kasà shì-**tú**
tiger four-**CLF.animal**
'four tigers'

(b) *kaphú há**tú*** 'five snakes'
*kweú hōk**tú*** 'six monkeys'

The Burmese animal classifier *kaūng* is used together with numerals borrowed from Burmese, as in (362).

(362) *cīwātóngtē lé ngá shítkaūng* (18:98)

cī-wā-tóng-tē	lé	ngá	shít-kaūng
dog-male-big-PL	four	five	eight-**CLF.animal**

'A pack of big dogs.' (Lit. four, five, eight big dogs)

5.1.3 Shape related classifiers

Shape related classifiers attested in Kadu are given in (363).

(363)

táp	'thin and flat objects'
tú	'thin and flat objects'
húk	'globular things' (Kadu)
lúk	'globular things' (Shan)
kák	'sticks' (Kadu)
leún	'sticks' (Shan)
hà	'buildings'
haū	'long-handled tools'
tá	'long, thin things'

The classifier for counting thin and flat objects takes two forms: *táp* and *tú*. Both classifiers occur with both native and borrowed Shan numerals. The former is used when counting thin and flat (both flexible and non flexible) objects that are usually not rounded. This classifier usually occurs when counting items such as wooden planks, mats, mirrors, slices of bread, and sheets of paper.

(364) (a) *sān kalìngtáp*

sān kalìng-**táp**
mirror two-**CLF.flat**
'two mirrors'

(b)

*pyīn kalìng**táp***	'two planks'
*làpàng kalìng**táp***	'two cheeks'
*kám sóm**táp***	'three (flat) plates'

The latter form *tú* is used only with flexible flat objects such as mats, clothing, and bamboo hats as illustrated in (365).

(365) (a) *salaúng túwà*

salaúng **tú**-à
mat CLF.**flat**-one
'one mat'

(b) *phúkná kalìng**tú*** 'two bamboo hats'
*sāngsūng sóm**tú*** 'three shirts'

The classifier for counting globular objects also takes two forms: *húk* (Kadu) and *lúk* (Shan). The former occurs with the Kadu numerals one to four and the latter with Shan numerals. These classifiers are used in counting spherical, cubical, or round objects, such as plates, fruit, houses, heads, eyes, mountains, and bags.

(366) (a) *kámhúkà*

kám **húk**-à
plate CLF.**round**-one
'one bowl/plate'

(b) *yalùcaíkshī kalìng**húk*** 'two cucumbers'
*kám hà**lúk*** 'five bowls/plates'
*paláng hōk**lúk*** 'six bottles'

The classifier for 'stick' or 'long slender object' also takes two forms: *kák* (Kadu) and *leún* (Shan). They are used in counting small long slender objects such as pencils,

sticks, spoons, needles, rope, small pieces of bamboo, firewood, and tails. The distribution of *kák* and *leún*, like that of the human and animal classifiers, is dependent on the numerals they follow. The Kadu numerals one to four take the form *kák*, as in (367).

(367) (a) *tā kákà*

tā **kák**-à
leg **CLF.stick**-one
'one leg'

(b) *sīn kalìng**kák*** 'two nails'
*phón sóm**kák*** 'three wood sticks'

The Shan numerals take the classifier *leún*. These are illustrated in (368).

(368) *tákshī shìleúnkaláng ōmpánnáqà tútnàng* (07:64)

tākshī shì-**leún** kaláng ōm =pán =naà tút-àng
finger four-**CLF.stick** approximate make =COS =only cut-DIR_1
'Cut the length to about four finger lengths.'

The classifier *hà* is used in counting long buildings such as houses, halls, and monasteries, as in (369).

(369) (a) *cím hà*

cím **hà**-à
house **CLF.building**-one
'one house'

(b) *zalaùk kalìng**há*** ‘two rest houses’
*caúng sóm**hà*** ‘three monasteries’

The classifier *haū* is used in counting certain elongated hand tools and weapons, such as knives, guns, hoes, hammers, brooms, and umbrellas, as in (370). Notice linker *-w-* between the vowels.

(370) (a) *tāng haūwà*

tāng **haū**-à
knife **CLF.tool**-one
‘one knife’

(b) *sīnpháng sóm**haú*** ‘two grubbing hoes’
*saúthū há**haú*** ‘five brooms’

The term *tá* is used to classify counting vines, thread, wires, and ropes, as in (371). In fused form it is usually heard with a low tone *tà*.

(371) (a) *ītalá tá*

ītalā **tá**-à
thread **CLF.thread**-one
‘a string of thread’

(b) *halánghú **tà*** ‘a string of hair’
*mīhàk sóm**tà*** ‘three strings of bamboo ties’

5.1.4 Plants, vegetables, and field classifers

Classifiers for plants, vegetables, and fields attested in Kadu are given in (372). All these classifiers can occur both with Kadu and Shan numerals.

(372) *kaú* 'long vegetables and fruits'
ák 'blossoms'
tū 'seeds' or 'grain'
tāt 'leaves'
kùn 'plants'
kān 'fields (human grown)'
tā 'fields (natural)'

The classifer *kaú* is used for counting vegetables and fruits that have a long shape. This classifier is identical with the human classifier *kaú*, however, there seems to be no semantic correlation between them. A few examples are illustrated in (373).

(373) (a) *salàshī kaúwà*

salà-shī	**kaú**-à
banana -CLT.fruit	CLF.piece-one
'one banana'	

(b) *yapàshī kalìng**kaú*** 'two string beans'
*mōkneúshī sóm**kaú*** 'three chilis'

The classifier *ák*, which is derived from the verb for 'bloom' or 'open up', is used for counting numbers of blossoms, as in (374).

(374) (a) *papá ákà*

papá **ák**-à
flower **CLF.blossom**-one
'one flower'

(b) *papá kalìng**ák*** 'two flowers'
*kamú sóm**ák*** 'three mushrooms'

The classifier *tū* is also used for counting seeds, grain, and kernels. Notice below in (375) it can also occur as a class term.

(375) (a) *mīpáktū tūwà*

mīpák-**tū** **tū-**à
pumpkin-**seed** **CLF.seed-**one
'one pumpkin seed'

(b) *mīpáktū kalìngtú* 'two pumpkin seeds'
haùheū sómtū 'three corn seeds'

The classifier *tāt* is used only when counting numbers of leaves or sheets of papers. It can occur as a CLT and can be nominalised with the *-al-* infix, as in (376b).

(376) (a) *salàpaítaúng kalìngtāt ōpháng* (31:57)

salà paítaúng kalìng-**tāt** ōp-háng
banana.leaf tip two-**CLF.leaf** close-back
'Cover with two upper part of leaves again.'

(b) *phóntalāt kalìngtát* (talāt < tāt)

phón **talāt** kalìng **tát**
wood **leaf** two **CLF.leaf**
'two leaves'

The classifier *kùn* is used when counting plants. It can occur as CLT and can be nominalised with the *-al-* infix.

(377) (a) *phónkalùn kalìngkún* (kalùn < kùn)

phón-kalùn kalìng-**kún**
wood-plant two-**CLF.plant**
'two trees'

(b) *caìkshīkùn kalìngkún* 'two mango trees'
kānzū sómkùn 'three mustard plants'

There are two numeral classifiers, *kān* and *tā* that are used in counting fields. The former is used when counting human-grown fields such as a field of mustard, corn, beans, sugarcane, as illustrated in (378).

(378) (a) *kānzū kānà*

kānzū **kān**-à
mustard **CLF.field**-one
'one mustard field'

(b) *cínwán kalìng**kán*** 'two pineapple fields'
*cahaúng sóm**kán*** 'three coriander fields'

The latter form, however, is used when counting non-human-grown fields, mainly with larger plants, and clusters of many things, as in (379).

(379) *lapòk pítā*

lapòk pí-**tā**
bamboo four-**CLF.field**
'four bamboo fields'

5.2 Collective classifiers

Collective classifiers are used to describe an arranged group of referents such as bunches, clusters, pairs, heaps, and stacks. Based on a broad semantic classification, collective classifiers are further divided into three groups: Bundles, Pairs, and Groups.

5.2.1 Bundle classifiers

Classifiers disussed under 'bundle' are listed in (380). These classifiers are used with items that are neatly arranged and can be counted. These classifers can occur both with native and borrowed Shan numerals.

(380) *phà* 'bunch (banana)'
hūng 'stalks (banana)'
haúk 'bunches'
paū 'bunches (collection of bunches)'
thū 'bunches (straw)'
kazíng 'clusters'

The classifier *phà* is used only when counting hands of bananas, as in (381).

(381) (a) *salàshī phà*

salàshī **phà**-à
banana **CLF.hand**-one
'one hand of bananas'

(b) *salàshī kalìngphá* 'two hands of banana'

The classifier *hūng* is used in counting stalks of bananas, as in (382).

(382) (a) *salàshī hūngà*

salàshī **hūng**-à
banana **CLF.bunch**-one
'one branch of banana'

(b) *salàshī kalìng**húng*** 'two branches of banana'

There are three classifiers for counting tied up bunches. They are *haúk*, *paū* and *thū*. The term *haúk* seems to occur with any kind of bunch. The term *paū* is used when counting bunches that are made up of somewhat larger items, or collections of many small bunches, as in (383).

(383) (a) *papá haúkà*

papá **haúk**-à
flower **CLF.bunch**-one
'one bunch of flowers'

(b) *satēng* ***haúk****à* ‘one bunch of thatch’
satēng ***paū****wà* ‘one collection of thatch bunches’

The term *thū* occurs only with counting bunches of straw. Consider the examples in (384), where (384a) is grammatical but (384b) is not.

(384) (a) *ām thūwà*

ām **thū**-à
paddy CLF.**bunch-**one
‘one bunch of paddies’

(b) **satēng thūwà*

The classifier *kazíng* is employed to describe clusters of fruit and flowers, as in (385).

(385) (a) *papá kazíngà*

papá **kazíng**-à
flower CLF.**cluster-**one
‘one cluster of flowers’

(b) *maúshī kalìng****kazíng*** ‘two clusters of plums’
*óngshī sóm****kazíng*** ‘three clusters of coconuts’

5.2.2 Pair classifiers

Four classifiers under the category of pairs have been attested in Kadu as listed in (386). These classifiers usually take borrowed Shan numerals, but may also occur with native numerals.

(386) *kàt* 'yoke'
kùn 'pairs'
pheú 'pair of loads'
pàn 'one of a pair'

The classifier *kàt* is used in counting pairs of draught cattle, as in (387).

(387) (a) *mōk kàtnù*

mōk **kàt**-nù
cow **CLF.yoke-**one
'a pair of oxen'

(b) *mōk kalìng**kát*** 'two yokes of oxen
*ceú sóm**kát*** 'three yokes of buffaloes'

The classifier *kùn* is used in counting pairs of personal ornaments, such as shoes, earrings, and bracelets, as in (388).

(388) (a) *heúttín kùnnù*

heúttín **kùn**-nù
slipper **CLF.pairs-**one
'a pair of shoes/slippers'

(b) *heúttín kalìng**kún*** 'two pairs of shoes/slippers'
*peūpaūng sóm**kún*** 'three pairs of earrings'

The classifier *pheú* is lexically relatable to the verb 'carry'. It is used in counting pairs of loads carried with a shoulder pole, as in (389). It can be used with any kind of goods which weigh approximately 25-30 kilograms.

(389) (a) *zūn pheúyà*

zūn **pheú**-à
salf **CLF.carrier-**one
'a carrier of salt'

(b) *phón kalìng**pheú*** 'two carriers of wood'
*satēng sóm**pheú*** 'three carriers of thatch'

The classifier *pàn* is used to count one article of things which are generally in pairs. For example, one load of a *pheú* is counted as *pàn*. See the illustrations in (390).

(390) (a) *heúttín pànnù*

heúttín **pàn**-nù
slipper **CLF.half**-one
'one slipper'

(b) *paúngká* ***pán****nù* ‘one basket of a pair’
takaúk ***pàn****nù* ‘one bracelet of a pair’

5.2.3 Group classifiers

These classifiers, unlike the bundle classifiers discussed in §5.2.1, are used with items that are not neatly arranged and are usually counted as piles or heaps. Four classifiers under the category of ‘group’ have been attested in Kadu so far, as given in (391). These are native terms, therefore they usually occur with native numerals.

(391) *tàp* ‘stack of wood’
pūng ‘heap’
pōk ‘swarm’
zúq ‘group’

The classifier *tàp* is used for counting stacks of firewood, as in (392).

(392) (a) *phón tàpmà*

phún **tàp**-à
wood CLF.**stack**-one
‘a stack of wood’

(b) *phón kalìng****tàp*** ‘two stacks of wood’

The classifier *pūng* is used for counting heaps or piles, as in (393).

(393) (a) *phú pūngà*

phú **pūng**-à
silver **CLF.heap**-one
'a heap of silver'

(b) *phú kalìngpūng nōppán peúmaták* (25:108)

phú kalìng-**pūng** nōp =pán peú =mā =ták
silver two-**CLF.heap** bury =COS keep =RLS =HS
'(He) has hidden two heaps of silver, it is said.'

The classifier *pōk* is used for counting a colony of bees, an army of ants, or a swarm of insects, as in (394).

(394) (a) *túngún pōkà*

túngún **pōk**-à
bees **CLF.group**-one
'one swarm of bees'

(b) *tahà kalìng**pōk*** 'two armies of red ants'
*pazèk sóm**pōk*** 'three swarms of flies'

The classifier *zúq* is used for counting a family or group of people, as illustrated in (395). It is clearly a Burmese loanword from ဆု <**su.**> 'collect or gather'. Therefore, it takes Burmese numerals.

(395) (a) *ēngthaūng lézúq* (10:12) (b) *nazúq sátnìng* (10:7)

ēngthaūng	lé-**zúq**	na-**zúq**	sàt-ìng
family	four-CLF.**group**	two-CLF.**group**	descend-DIR_2
'four families'		'two groups (of people) came down'	

5.3 Measure classifiers

Measure classifiers are used to measure weight, length, area, and capacity. The Kadu lexicon lacks a metric system of units so words such as pound, kilogram, centimeter, meters, and kilometer are foreign to Kadu speakers. Rather they use a non-metrical system of units, many of which are general approximations. I have divided measuring classifiers into two: volume and length.

5.3.1 Volume measurements

Numeral classifiers for measuring volume have two types: one that indicates specific amounts and one that indicates general approximations or non-specific amounts. The former are discussed under container classifiers. In the following sections I will first look at some non-specific volume measurements. Many CONTAIN verbs can also occur as classifiers. Some contain verbs, except *háng*, which can also occur as classifers are illustrated in (396).

(396) *ngóm* ‘mouthful’
tūm ‘handful’
phīm ‘armful’
háng ‘basketful’

The term *ngóm* is relatable to a lexical verb ‘to keep something in the mouth’. It can also occur as a numeral classifier for counting a small amount of something. This term may correlate with the English phrase one tablespoonful, as in (397).

(397) (a) *weú ngómà*

weú **ngóm** -à
water CLF.**keep.in.mouth**-one
‘one mouthful of water’

. (b) *sapáksàwaleú kalìng**ngóm*** ‘two mouthfuls of soup’

The volume measurement classifier *tūm* is relatable to the lexical verb ‘to clench the fist’. It is usually used with a mass noun in counting a handful of items, such as rice, corn, wheat, or sugar.

(398) (a) *sàt tūmà*

sát **tūm**-à
rice CLF.**handful**-one
‘a handful of rice’

(b) *zūn kalìng**túm*** ‘two handfuls of salt’
*samát sóm**tūm*** ‘three handfuls of sand’

The volume measurement classifier *phīm* 'armful' is relatable to a lexical verb 'to embrace'. It is used in counting a number of things carried or held in one's arms. It is commonly used for carrying firewood, flowers, or vegetables.

(399) (a) *phón phīmà*

phón **phīm**-à
wood **CLF.armful**-one
'an armful of wood'

(b) *pūnsūn kalìng**phím*** 'two armfuls of hay'
*mīshī sóm**phīm*** 'three armfuls of sugarcane'

The volume measurement classifier *háng* is an auto-classifier (§5.5), a repetition of the second syllalbe of *kúnháng* 'basket'. It is used in counting a basketful of such items as taro, potatoes, wood, or fish. It is often reduced to *hà,* as in (400a). It is conventionalised, therefore, it is not necessary to mention the word 'basket'.

(400) (a) *kúnháng hà(à)*

kúnháng **hà**-à
basket **CLF.basket-**one
'a basket'

(b) *neù **hángà*** 'one basketful of taro'
*phón kalìng**háng*** 'two basketfuls of wood'

5.3.2 Container classifiers

Grain and crops are not weighed, but they are measured by containers. Many of the containers dissussed in this section are standard measurements throughout Myanmar. Unsurprisingly, the source for many of these terms for containers in Kadu come from their long time neighboring language, Burmese. As in Burmese, the standard smalleset unit for volume measuring grain in Kadu is the size of a regular condensed milk tin. The Kadu lexicon contains different terms for the equivalent of two, four, eight, and sixteen tins. Container measurement classifiers are given in (401).

(401)	*húk*	'one condensed milk tin'	(1 tin)
	zaleù	'two *húk* equal to one *zaleù*'	(2 tins)
	kwák	'two *zeleù* equal to one *kwák*'	(4 tins)
	pē	'two *kwák* equal to one *pē*'	(8 tins)
	zalaúk	'two *pē* equal to one *zalaúk*'	(16 tins/two *pē*)'
	zék	'two *zalaúk* equal to one *zék*'	(32 tins/four *pē*)
	kwaìng	'two *zék* equal to one *kwaìng*'	(64 tins/ eight *pē*)'
	táng	'two *kwaìng* equal to one *táng*'	(128 tins/sixteen *pē*)

It is evident that most of these terms mentioned above in (401) come from Burmese. The only Kadu term is the term *húk* (§5.1.3). All others are relatable to Burmese. For example, the term ပြည် <**pranj**> (my transcription *pē*) is used to measure grain. It is about 2.5 cubic litres, equal to eight regular condensed milk tins.

5.3.3 Length measurements

Numeral classifiers for measuring length are few in number. In general, the Kadu lexicon lacks specific units of length such as centimeter, inch, or yard. Many length measurements in Kadu simply use body parts that may be equal or close to the same unit of length. For example, the smallest length measurement is the horizontal width of a man's finger that may be equal or close to half an inch. Almost all the specific units of length are borrowed from Burmese. We will not deal with those loanwords in this study. Some native metric units of length measurement attested in Kadu are given in (402).

(402) *tākshī* 'inch?' < 'finger'
saúk 'CLF.cubit' < 'arm' (Shan loan?)
phák 'CLF.step' < 'to stride'

The term *tākshī* 'finger', together with numeral classifiers for stick *kák* (Kadu) and *leún* (Shan) is probably the smallest length measurement unit in Kadu. The standard is usually a man's fingers' width. Look at the example in (403).

(403) *tákshī shìleúnkalàng ōmpánnáqà tútnàng* (07:64)

tākshī shì-**leún** kalàng ōm =pán =naà tút-àng
finger four-**CLF.stick** approximate make =COS =only cut-DIR_1
"Measure approximately four fingers' (width) and cut (it)."

The numeral classifier *saúk* 'cubit' or 'foot' is used to measure the distance from the elbow to the tip of the extend middle finger.

(404) (a) *manaíksaúk ngālá*

mà	=naík-**saúk**	ngā	=lá
WH	=many-**CLF.cubit**	exist	=Q

'How many cubits are there?'

(b) *saūngsaúk ngāmā*

saūng-**saúk**	ngā	=mā
two-**CLF.cubit**	exist	=RLS

'Two cubits/feet'

The verb *phák* 'stride' is also used as a numeral classifier to indicate the approximate length of a medium length step.

(405) *taphā phákà* 'one step'
taphā kalìngphák 'two steps'

The term *maī* 'mile', which is an English loanword, has also been attested in my corpus. This term has come into the Kadu lexicon via Burmese and it occurs with the Burmese numeral သုံး <thum:> (my transcription *tóng*) 'three' in (406).

(406) *khayí tóngmaīkalàng kátnìngthàmā* (18:80)

khayí	tóng	-**maī**	=kalàng	kát-ìng-thà	=mā
journey	three	-**mile**	=approximate	run-DIR_2-must	=RLS

'We have to run about three miles.'

Other non-specific length measurement classifiers are those that indicate certain portions of a particular item. Equivalent expressions in English are *one half*, *one third*, or *one fourth* of something. These measurement classifiers are given in (407).

(407) *taùn* 'one piece of an item'
paík 'half of an item'
shíq 'one fourth of an item'

The classifier *taùn* is relatable to the lexical verb 'to make portion'. It is used in counting half units or cross-sectional pieces of a unit, such as logs, bamboo, or fish, as in (408).

(408) (a) *phón taùnnù*

phón **taùn**-nù
wood **CLF.piece**-one
'half portion/section of wood'

(b) *phón kalìng**taún*** 'two sections of wood'
*lapòk sóm**taùn*** 'three sections of bamboo'

The classifier *paík* is used in counting half or one of two parts, not necessarily equal parts, of spherical or cubical objects, such as fruit, bamboo, as illustrated in (409).

(409) (a) *cìnshī paíkà*

cìnshī **paík**-à
cucumber **CLF.half**-one
'a half portion of cucumber'

(b) *cìnshī kalìng**paík*** ‘two half portions of cucumber’
*lapòk sóm**paík*** ‘three half pieces of bamboo’

The classifier *shíq* is used in counting a slice or a piece smaller than half. It generally indicates one fourth or less of a unit. It is also used with counting segments of fruit and cloves of garlic.

(410) (a) *cìnshī shíqà*

cìnshī **shíq**-à
cucumber CLF.quarter-one
‘a quarter of a cucumber’

(b) *cìnshī kalìng**shíq*** ‘two quarters of a cucumber’
*súnshīlúng sóm**shíq*** ‘three cloves of garlic’

5.4 Event classifiers

The event classifiers are those that quantify activities which may be translated as ‘times’ These are few in number. Event classifiers attested in Kadu are listed in (411).

(411) *chát* ‘shot’
láp ‘frequency’
pán ‘frequency’ or ‘times’

The classifier *chát*, a Burmese loanword ချက် <chak>, is used when counting a number of shots, as in (412).

(412) *chátnù saūngchát kápmā* (18:76)

chát-nù	saūng-**chát**	káp	=mā
CLF.**shot**-one	two-CLF.**shot**	shoot	=RLS

'Shoot once or twice.'

The classifiers *pán* and *láp,* both glossed as 'CLF.times', are used when counting a number of repeated actions. The term *pán* occurs with borrowed Shan numerals. *láp*, on the other hand, is attested only with native numeral one and may be translated into English as 'once more'. See illustrations of these two classifiers in (413) and (414).

(413) (a) *pánnù nāng ínōmzónsà* (07:106)

pán-nù	nāng	ín-ōm-zón	=sà
CLF.**times**-one	2SG	NEG-make-continue	=NEG.IMP

'(You) don't do again!'

(b) *sāmpán lītí anyeù tūngākpánták* (06:16)

sām-**pán**	lī	-tí	an-yeù	tūngāk	=pán	=ták
three-CLF.**times**	come	-also	DEM-manner	bow	=COS	=HS

'Even the third time (the lizard) bows its head (to the king) in this manner, it is said.'

(414) *lápmà tīpmàngkū* (31:23)

láp-à	tīp-àng	=kū
CLF.**times**-one	pack-DIR_1	=IRLS

'Pack one (more) time'

5.5 Auto-classifiers

Some nouns can be repeated using the same phonological form to classify themselves. These kinds of classifiers are also found in Lahu, Burmese and in many other languages. I have adopted the term auto-classifiers from Matisoff (1973:89). Wheatley (1982) following Okell (1969) simply called them repeaters in his Burmese grammar. Auto-classifiers are often used if the noun has no salient physical features to classify it with.

(415) (a) *cím címmà*

cím **cím**-à
house **CLF.auto-**one
'one house'

(b) *cím kalìngcím*

cím kalìng-**cím**
house two-**CLF.auto**
'two houses'

(c) *cím hácím*

cím há-cím
house five-**CLF.auto**
'five houses'

Most often with sesquisyllabic or disyllabic nouns only the second syllable is repeated, as in (416).

(416) (a) *lapòk pòkà*

lapòk **pòk**-à
bamboo **CLF.auto**-one
'one piece of bamboo'

(b) *yameù meùyà*

yameù **meù**-à
dipper **CLF.auto**-one
'one dipper'

A few more examples of partially repeated classifiers are shown in (417).

(417) *lapá pà-à* 'one (wet rice) field'
papá pá-à 'one flower'
zāúk úk-à 'one book'

CHAPTER 6: NOMINAL RELATIONAL MARKERS

This chapter looks at the relational markers attested in Kadu. They are cliticised after the NP to signal the phrase as topic, anti-agentive, allative, ablative, locative, benefactive or comitative. The nominal realational markers attested in Kadu are shown in (418).

(418)

ká	'topic'
tè	'anti-agentive'
pè	'locative'
pà	'allative'
haík	'ablative'
yaúk	'comitative'
yeún	'benefactive'
athá and *neúq*	'comparative'
yaūngpáng	'reason'

6.1 *ká* 'topic'

The particle *ká*, glossed as 'topic', may follow the initial NP of a clause to introduce it as a topic, as in (419).

(419) (a) *hīngká sapùpā mínwúttasàpā akōnglóng lánpè kasúmpeúlakàé* (08:81)

hīng	=**ká**	sapù	=pā	mínwúttasà	=pā	akōnglóng
3SG	=**TOP**	horse	=include	royal.dress	=include	all

lám	=pè	kasúm-peú	=lakà	=é
road	=LOC	hide-keep	=MIR	=SAP

'He has hidden the horse as well as the royal dress on the road.'

(b) *ngā heúkāàngkūpanáqká kasàtóngyaúk paíngtaí aswētangeūchín thàcípanáq ngaúkà nímcímaták* (09:2).

[ngā	heú-kā-àng	=kū	=panáq]	=**ká**
1SG	tell-show-DIR_1	=IRLS	=NOM	=**TOP**

kasà-tóng	=yaúk	páng taí	aswē-tangeūchín
tiger-big	=COM	rabbit	friend-friend

thà-cí	=panáq	ngaúkà	ním-cí	=mā	=ták
be-PL	=NOM	as.for	stay-PL	=RLS	=HS

'The story I am going to tell is about the friendship between a tiger and a rabbit. (They) lived together, it is said.'

The term *ká* also functions to contrast the referent with other possible referents, as in (420).

(420) (a) *ngāhaláká eúhám kaūmā* (08:95)

ngā-halá	=**ká**	eúhám	kaū	=mā
1SG-husband	=**TOP**	PN	call	=RLS

'My husband is called Eham.' (not anybody else)

(b) *kasàká wānhūàngmaták* (09:16)

kasà	=**ká**	wān	hū-àng	=mā	=ták
tiger	=TOP	fire	burn-DIR_1	=RLS	=HS

'The tiger got burned.' (not anything else)

The topic marker can also be used at the clausal level, and frequently occurs in tail-head linkage structures. In this type, the verb complex of the preceding sentence is repeated, setting a topic for the sentence that will follow. See more detailed discussion on 'tail-head linkage' in §11.3.

(421) *àngnīngyeùzáng nímcíká paíngtaí ngaúkà zàkmaták* (09:3).

[àng-nīngyeù	=záng	ním-cí]	=**ká**
that-manner	=EMPH	stay-PL	=TOP

pángtaí	ngaúkà	zàk	=mā	=ták
rabbit	as.for	afraid	=RLS	=HS

'Having lived like that the rabbit was afraid, it is said.'

6.2 *tè* 'anti-agentive'

I have adopted the term 'anti-agentive', glossed as 'A.AG', which was proposed by LaPolla (1992). He argued that in many TB languages the same marking is used for the animate patient referent NP in a monotransitive clause and the goal or beneficiary in a ditransitive clause to disambiguate a non-actor from the actor. The term *tè* in Kadu, like anti-agentive marking in many other TB languages, almost exclusively occurs with

animate and human participants to distinguish a non-actor from an actor. The examples in (422) illustrate the *tè* marking animate patient of a monotransitve clause in Kadu.

(422) (a) *sāngpaláng nāngtè tánshíkū* (15:89)

sāngpaláng	nāng	=**tè**	tán-shí	=kū
king	2SG	=**A.AG**	beat-die	=IRLS

'The king will kill (beat to death) you.'

(b) *ngaēktè sántáttahángmanaík* (08:88)

ngā	ēk	=**tè**	sántát-ta-háng	=manaík
1SG	wife	=**A.AG**	try.out-L.SUFF-back	=only.if

'(I) will test my wife.'

The goal or beneficiary referents may be marked by either *tè*, as in (423) or by benefactive marker *yeún*, as in (424). I still need more data to understand whether there is any contrast in meanings with these markings.

(423) (a) *hanīngtè maléq pweúq ītìng apòwáyeù* (04:36)

hanīng	=**tè**	maléq	pweúq	ī	=tìng
2PL	=**A.AG**	1PL	degree	give	=NOM

a=	pò	=á	=yeù
NEG=	exist	=NEG	=SAP

'We have no title/degree to give you.'

(b) *hīng tamìsā hawàtè mīsān īyìngmā* (AKYS)

hīng	tamìsā	hú-à	**=tè**	mīsān	ī-ìng	=mā
3SG	human	CLF.person-one	**=A.AG**	arrow	give-DIR_2	=RLS

'He gave an arrow to a man.'

(424) (a) *àngpín tátmí ngayeún īìng* (18:73)

àng	=pín	tātmí	ngā	**=yeún**	ī-ìng
that	=NOM	torch	1SG	**=BEN**	give-DIR_2

'Give that torch to me.'

(b) *nāng hānshíyeún ngā atá anaútyeūná* (16:9)

nāng	hānshí	**=yeún**	ngā	atá	a-naút-yeūn	=á
2SG	cat	**=BEN**	1SG	rice	NEG-feed-can	=NEG

'I cannot feed your cat.'

The anti-agentive marker usually does not occur with inanimate arguments. This is possibly because the semantic role of agent and patient is clear from the context. In example (425), it is clear that the animate referent of the NP *hīng* '3SG' is the only possible agent to do the chopping.

(425) *hīng sétkeùtān wánnā* (17:58)

hīng	seútkeù-tān	wán	=mā
3SG	thatch-CLT.stick	chop	=RLS

'He chops (bamboo) for making a thatch stick.'

When the anti-agentive marker *tè* occurs with an NP with an inanimate referent it has a different semantic interpretation. Kadu does not have definite or indefinite articles such

as *a* or *an* and *the* in English. The anti-agentive marker carries a degree of definiteness or emphatic interpretation when it occurs with an NP with an inanimate referent.

(426) *hīng atátè yōkànglūpánták* (15:144)

hīng	atá	=**tè**	yōk-àng-lū	=pán	=ták
3SG	rice	=**A.AG**	eat-DIR_1-get	=COS	=HS

'(We) ate his food.' (not regular food)

(427) *palú zōkshīwaleútè lāthàkū* (15:130)

palú	zōkshī-waleú	=**tè**	lā-thà	=kū
ogre	breast-liquid	=**A.AG**	take-must	=IRLS

'(You) must bring an ogre's milk.'

In ditransitive clauses, the order of arguments is determined by information structure. See the detailed discussion on ditransitive verbs in §3.1.2.3.3 and on constituent order in §8.1. If the agent or anti-agent or both arguments are retrievable from the context, they may be omitted. See the examples in (428) and (429). In example (428) both agent and anti-agent NPs are omitted. In example (429) only the recipient NP is omitted.

(428) *salàshī phà īyàngmā* (08:123)

[salà-shī	phà-à]	ī-àng	=mā
banana-CLT.fruit	CLF.bunch-one	give-DIR_1	=RLS

'(She) gave (him) a bunch of bananas.'

(429) *tacámín leútneút īpeúmā* (12:82)

tacámín	leútneút	ī-peú	=mā
PN	weapon	give-keep	=RLS

'Takyamin gave a weapon (to three brothers).'

The patient NP may be fronted to topic position, as in (430) and (431), for reasons of focus. See the detailed discussion on constituent order of the clause in §8.1.

(430) *hanīngtè ngaká yūheúqmā* (12:28)

hanīng	**=tè**	ngā	=ká	yū-heúq	=mā
2PL	**=A.AG**	1SG	=TOP	look-back:DIR_2	=RLS

'I came back and looked for you.'

(431) *hīng taūcítè hīngká zīngyūmā* (08:115)

hīng	taūcí	**=tè**	hīng	=ká	zīng-yū	=mā
3SG	woman	**=A.AG**	3SG	=TOP	ask-look	=RLS

'He asked his wife.'

The anti-agentive marker *tè* may be followed by topic maker *ká* for contrastive and emphatic purposes as illustrated in (432).

(432) (a) *ngā saēktèká patóng ngómnímpán* (23:23)

ngā	saēk	**=tè**	**=ká**	patóng	ngóm-ním	=pán
1SG	daughter	**=A.AG**	**=TOP**	boa	keep.in.mouth-stay	=COS

'The boa is swallowing (Lit. keeping in mouth) my daughter.'

(b) *àngnáq ínalūpínnàkà ngatèká tánshíkū* (15:145)

àngnáq	ín-a-lū	=pánnàkà
that	NEG-NEG-get	=if

ngā	=**tè**	=**ká**	tán-shí	=kū
1SG	=**A.AG**	=**TOP**	beat-die	=IRLS

'If (I) don't get that, (the King) will kill me.'

The term *tè* also frequently occurs following time nouns (§3.1.1.2.9) to mark location in time.

(433) (a) *kasàtàkká nākceūtèhāmaták* (09:9)

kasà	=tàk	=ká	nākceū	=**tè**	hā	=mā	=ták
tiger	=PL	=TOP	night	=**A.AG**	walk	=RLS	=HS

'The tigers go out in the night, it is said.'

(b) *yàkàtè pánnùká ōmpeúpán* (21:11)

yàk-à	=**tè**	pán-nù	=ká	ōm-peú	=pán
now/day-one	=**A.AG**	CLF.times-one	=TOP	make-keep	=COS

'(I) have done (it) once a day.'

6.3 *pè* 'locative'

The term *pè* following the noun marks a static location. This term does not resemble other locative markers in TB languages and the lexical source for this term is not apparent. See the illustrations in (434).

(434) (a) *lánpè kasúmpeúlakàé* (08:81)

lán =**pè** kasúm-peú =lakà =é
road =**LOC** hide-keep =MIR =SAP
'It is hidden on the roadside.'

(b) *weúpè lāzalaútnàng ngaúmaták* (24:3)

weú =**pè** lā-zalaút-àng ngaú =mā =ták
water =**LOC** take-drift-DIR_1 say =RLS =HS
'Take and float/drift (it) on the water, it is said.'

The form *pè* can also appear directly after verbs. When it does, it functions as a locative nominaliser which can be interpreted as 'at the place of V'. Some examples of *pè* as a locative nominaliser are exemplified in (435).

(435) (a) *zalaútpè pātahángpìng* (13:21)

zalaút =**pè** pā-ta-háng =píng
drift =**LOC** carry.away-L.SUFF-back =DIR_2:COS
'(He) was carried away in the current.'

(b) *nāng nímmeúpè nímààng* (08:6)

nāng ním-meú =**pè** ním-à-àng
2SG stay-good =**LOC** stay-EUPH-DIR_1
'You can just live at a suitable place (Lit. good living place).'

(c) *tānlyeút lāhángpè cngtapánták* (04:32)

tānlyeút	lā-háng	=**pè**	cūng-ta	=pán	=ták
regalia	take-back	=**LOC**	meet--L.SUFF	=COS	=HS

'(He) saw (the situation) at a place where (he) came back and took the regalia.'

pè may also occur following demonstratives (§4.1.1), WH-words (§9.4), and pronouns (§3.2.3).

6.4 *pà* 'allative'

The allative case, which expresses motion to or toward the referent of the noun, is marked by the morpheme *pà* in Kadu. See the examples in (436).

(436) (a) *héq amaūngsà hàpà nāngkalá* (07:32)

héq	amaūng-sà	hà	=**pà**	nāng	=kū	=lá
EXCL	boy-DIM	WH	=**ALL**	go	=IRLS	=Q

'Hey, boy, where are you going?'

(b) *yaū ngāká lapāpáq nāngkū* (07:33)

yaū	ngā	=ká	lapā	=**pà**	nāng	=kū
EXCL	1SG	=TOP	field	=**ALL**	go	=IRLS

'Well, I am going to the field.'

When the allative case *pà* is used with motion verbs, as in (436b), the NP to which *pà* attaches is interpreted as the end point or final destination of the motion expressed by the verb. Some more examples are given in (437).

(437) (a) *yēkpà nāngthàmā* (07:30)

yēk =**pà** nāng =thāmā
hill.field =**ALL** go =HORT
'Let's go to the field.'

(b) *hīngká pòkhápà nāngmaták* (15:29)

hīng =ká pòkhá =**pà** nāng =mā =ták
3sg =TOP forest =**ALL** go =RLS =HS
'He went to the forest, it is said.'

The form *pà* cannot be used after NPs in clauses with existential verbs, as in (438b), unless it is immediately followed by a locative marker *pè*.

(438) (a) *hīng címpàpè ngāmā*

hīng cím =**pà** =pè ngā =mā
2SG house =**ALL** =LOC exist =RLS
'He is at home.'

(b) **hīng címpà ngāmā*

hīng cím =**pà** ngā =mā
2SG house =**ALL** exist =RLS

The sequence of *pà* plus *pè* has different interpretations depending on which type of noun it follows. Following human referents, it has the sense of definite goal, as in (439).

(439) (a) *hīng saēkshàpàpè mānsátú tapaúkmaták* (23:8)

hīng saēk-shā =**pà** =**pè** mānsáq-tú tapaúk=mā=ták
3SG daughter-small=**ALL** =**LOC** maiden-language speak =RLS=HS
'(He) expresses his love to the younger daughter.'

(b) *samónpàpè kátcímák* (07:76)

samón =**pà** =**pè** kát-cí =mák
monk =**ALL** =**LOC** run-PL =HORT
'Let's run to the monk.'

However, when the sequence of *pà* + *pè* follows an NP with an inanimate referent that is a locality, it has a general directional meaning such as 'toward that area'.

(440) *nwēyék kayāpàpè yàkká cwēúq tāmàngkū* (21:1)

nwēyék kayā =**pà** =**pè** yàk=ká cwēúq tām-àng =kū
PN mountain=**ALL** =**LOC** now=TOP wild.yam search-DIR_1=IRLS
'As for now, I will go and search for wild yam in the area of *Nweyek* mountain.'

(441) *yēkpàpè nānghángmaták* (15:42)

yēk =**pà** =**pè** nāng-háng =mā =ták
hill.field =**ALL**=**LOC** go-back =RLS =HS
'(He) returned toward/to the field, it is said.'

6.5 *haík* 'ablative'

The ablative case, which marks the NP as expressing the source location, is marked by the morpheme *haík*[23] in Kadu, as in (442).

(442) (a) *hamòkzaūkhaíkà tōmpáqpè nāngpánnaà* (12:3)

hamòk-zaūk	=**haík**	tōm	=pà	=pè	nāng	=pán	=naà
sky-on.top	=**ABL**	below	=ALL	=LOC	go	=COS	=only

'(I) from the sky above will go down and..,'

(b) *maléq záktaūká zíkónghaík záqtamā* (10:24)

maléq	záktaú	=ká	zíkóng	=**haík**	záq-ta	=mā		
1PL	PN	=TOP	PN	=**ABL**	begin-L.SUFF	=RLS		

'We, Settau, begin/come from Zikong.'

Although it is not very frequent, the form *haík* occasionally occurs immediately after an NP with an animate referent to mark the referent as the agent in Kadu. This is not an uncommon phenomenon in TB languages. Regarding the development of case markers in TB languages, LaPolla (2004) said "… none of the case marking… in TB languages can confidently be reconstructed to the PTB level. When we find marking of some time depth, it is generally a locative or ablative case at the earliest stages … in many languages the same form is used for the agentive and the ablative …" (LaPolla

[23] Some Kadu speakers, who seem to be speakers of the Mauteik variety, pronounce this as *heúq*.

2004:56). It is probably the case in Kadu that the ablative marker *haík* is in the initial stage of developing into an agentive marker, as illustrated in (443).

(443) (a) *cānsíttáhaík tántátnàngmā* (07:112)

cānsíttá =**haík** tán-tát-àng =mā
PN =**ABL** beat-send-DIR_1 =RLS
'Kyansitta beat (him) and sent him away.'

(b) *hīng ēkhaík ngaúmaták* (15:95)

hīng ēk =**haík** ngaú =mā =ták
3SG wife =**ABL** say =RLS =HS
'His wife said, it is said.'

(c) *mapà nānglá mángsáhaík zīngyūmā* (08:90)

mà =pà nāng =lá mángsá =**haík** zīng-yū =mā
WH =ALL go =Q prince =**ABL** ask-LOOK =RLS
'The prince asked "where are (you) going?"'

The sequence of *pà* plus *haík* is also attested in Kadu. However, the sequence of *pè* plus *haík* has not been attested in my corpus. The sequence of *pà* + *haík* expresses a general directional meaning such as 'from that area'. This is illustrated in (444) and (445).

(444) *címkamúkpàhaík tōpmìngmaták* (25:99)

cím kamúk =**pà** =**haík** tōp-ìng =mā =ták
house beneath =**ALL** =**ABL** stab-DIR_2 =RLS =HS
'(He) stabbed in from underneath the house, it is said.'

(445) *kasà ngaúkà halíngpàhaík wáhángpìng* (18:56)

kasà	ngaúkà	halíng	=**pà**	=**haík**	wá-háng	=píng
tiger	as.for	behind	=**ALL**	=**ABL**	jump.down-back	=DIR_2:COS

'The tiger jumps down behind, again.'

6.6 *yaúk* 'comitative'

The comitative, which expresses a semantic meaning of accompaniment such as 'with' or 'accompanied by', is indicated by the postposition *yaúk* in Kadu. See the illustrations in (446).

(446) (a) *awàyaúk nāngcíthāmā* (15:10)

awà	=**yaúk**	nāng-cí	=thāmā
father	=**COM**	go-PL	=HORT

'Let's go with father.'

(b) *hanīngyaúk tú tapaúkcángmákyeù* (11:32)

hanīng	=**yaúk**	tú	tapaúk-cí-àng	=mák	=yeù
2PL	=**COM**	language	speak-PL-DIR_1	=HORT	=SAP

'Let's debate (it) with you.'

The term *yaúk* also has an instrumental function, as in (447).

(447) (a) *tāngkaūtóngyaúk yēk wányōkmaták* (15:22)

tāngkaū-tóng	=**yaúk**	yēk	wán-yōk	=mā	=ták
sword-big	=COM	hill.field	chop-eat	=RLS	=HS

'With a big sword (they) cultivated, it is said.'

(b) *laúkléyaúk ūhaū kápmàngmā* (19:1)

laúklé	=**yaúk**	ūhaū	káp-àng	=mā
sling.shot	=COM	owl	shoot-DIR_1	=RLS

'(He) shot the owl with a sling shot.'

6.7 *yeún* 'benefactive', or 'for'

The recipient or benefactive argument of the action expressed by the verb is marked by the form *yeún*, as in (448). It may be also translated in some contexts into English as 'on behalf of'.

(448) (a) *hāhángyeúnnaà heúkāàngkákmā* (09:1)

hāháng	=**yeún**	=naà	heú-kā-àng-kák	=mā
Kachin	=BEN	=only	tell-show-DIR_1-want	=RLS

'For the sake of Kachin I want to tell it.'

(b) *salàshīká ngayeún īkáklá* (08:108)

salà-shī	=ká	ngā	=**yeún**	ī-kák	=lá
banana-CLT.fruit	=TOP	1SG	=BEN	give-want	=Q

'Can you give the banana to me?'

6.8 *athá* and *neúq* 'comparison'

The comparative construction contains two NPs: the entity being compared and the standard of comparison, followed by the verb. The NP representing the entity being compared may be marked by the topic marker *ká*, and the NP representing the standard of comparison is obligatorily marked by the comparative marker *athá*. The order is NP (entity being compared which is the topic), NP (standard of comparison), then a verb though the topic can be left out, as in (450). See the illustrations in (449) and (450).

(449) *hīngká myáqmyáqathá zaūkmā* (AKYS)

hīng	=ká	myáqmyáq	=**athá**	zaūk	=mā
3SG	=TOP	PN	=**more.than**	tall	=RLS

'He is taller than Mya Mya.'

(450) *nāngswáng panáqathá phóngtakó tóngkákláyeù* (07:62)

nāng-swáng	panáq	=**athá**	phóngtakó	tóng-kák	=lá	=yeù
2SG-master	DEM	=**more.than**	glory.power	big-want	=Q	=SAP

'You, master, do you want to be more powerful than this?'

The term *neúq* is also attached to the noun phrase representing the standard of comparison to indicate approximation of measurement as illustrated in (451).

(451) (a) *tóngmótá mōkshāneúq tóngpìngták* (06:25)

tóngmótá	mōkshā	=**neúq**	tóng	=píng	=ták
3yr.old	calf(cow)	=**as.much.as**	big	=DIR_2:COS	=HS

'(It) became about the size of a three year/season old cow.'

(b) *maléqkà hīngneúq lakò ínpaútná* (11:43)

maléq	=ká	hīng	=**neúq**	lakò	ín-paút		=á
1PL	=TOP	3SG	=**as.much.as**	SAP	NEG-skill		=NEG

'We don't know as much as he does.'

6.9 *yaūngpáng* 'reason'

The form *yaūngpáng* after an NP indicates that the referent of the NP is the cause of something that has happened. It seems to be mostly used with an answer to a 'why' question, as in (452).

(452) (a) *ngāyaūngpáng myáqmyáq paūmā* (AKYS)

ngā	=**yaūngpáng**	myáqmyáq	paū	=mā	
1SG	=**because.of**	PN	fall	=RLS	

'Mya Mya falls because of me.'

(b) *sāngpaláng saēktè ínlākákáseùé àngyaūngpáng hāpmāseùé* (25:160)

sāngpaláng	saēk	=tè	ín-lā-kák		=á	=seùé
king	daughter	=A.AG	NEG	take-want	=NEG	=SAP

àng	=**yaūngpáng**	hāp	=mā	=seùé
that	=**because.of**	weep	=RLS	=SAP

'I don't want to take the king's daughter therefore (I am) crying.'

CHAPTER 7: THE VERB COMPLEX

The verb complex (VCX) in Kadu can be defined as the nucleus of the clause. Arguments of the clause, such as topics, agents or anti-agent complements, and other constituents are often omitted if they are recoverable from the context. Therefore, we can say that the verb, or the VCX itself, is a meaningful clause in Kadu. The VCX in Kadu consists of an obligatory head verb, which may be preceded by an optional negative marker and followed by one or more optional post-verbal modifiers, an optional aspectual particle (ASP), and a clause final particle (CFP). In this chapter I also discuss the utterance final particles (§7.4). They are not structurally part of the VCX, but often phonologically fuse with the CFPs, so I am including the discussion at the end of this chapter. The order of elements in the Kadu verb complex is illustrated in (453).

(453) VCX = (NEG) VH (V.MOD) (ASP) (CFP)

NEG	=	Negation
VH	=	Verb head
V.MOD	=	Verb modifier
ASP	=	Aspectual particle
CFP	=	Clause final particle

Before I describe each element within the VCX in Kadu, I shall briefly discuss the terminology I use here. The structure of verb head may be simple or complex (§3.1.2). I use the term 'verb modifier' to cover a number of elements which occur between the head verb and CFPs. These include auxiliary verbs (§7.2.1), verbal particles (§7.2.2), and modal auxiliaries (§7.2.3). All verbal modifiers, except the negative proclitics (see chapter 10), are restricted to occurring post verbally only.

The ASPs discussed in §7.3 are *pán* 'change of state' *túnlyún* 'STILL', *yók* 'INTRUSIVE', and *zík* 'FINALLY'. They are treated as a separate class within the verb complex. They occur between modal auxiliaries and CFPs. The CFPs occur at the end of the VCX and they indicates the types of clauses, such as realis, irrealis, imperative, and hortative.

This chapter is divided into three sections presented in the following order: 7.1 Clause final particles, 7.2 Verbal modifiers, 7.3 Aspectual particles and 7.4 Utterance final particles..

7.1 Clause final particles

We want to start with CFPs because they normally must occur with a head verb except in imperative and negative clauses. They are a class of morphemes that mark clauses as irrealis vs. realis or hortative. Each CFP attested in my Kadu data is discussed below.

7.1.1 *kū* 'irrealis'

A clause ending with the CFP *kū* refers to an unrealised or a hypothetical event, as illustrated in (454).

(454) (a) *nāngtè ngā yōkkū* (09:26)

nāng =tè ngā yōk =**kū**
2SG =A.AG 1SG eat =**IRLS**
'I will eat you.'

(b) *hīng saēktàkká ngā lākū* (24:24)

hīng saēk-tàk =ká ngā lā =**kū**
3sg daughter-PL =TOP 1SG take =**IRLS**
'As for his wives I will take (them).'

The CFP *kū* is reduced to *ka* [kə] when it is follwowed by another clitic, as in (455).

(455) (a) *hàpè īp**ka**lá* (18:15)

hà =pè īp =**kū** =**lá**
WH =LOC sleep =**IRLS** =**Q**
'Where shall we sleep?'

The CFP *kū* may also occur in clauses which have no future time implication, and are used to show lack of certainty, as in (456).

(456) (a) *chíttíseú shípàng thàkū* (10:55)

chíttí =seú shí =pàng thà =**kū**
PN =SAP die =DIR_1:COS be =**IRLS**
'Chitti may be dead.'

(b) *céttaú thàthàkū* (10:48)

céttaú thà-thà =**kū**
PN be-must =**IRLS**
'It must be Cettau.'

(c) *takhīntē shísōmkū zàkmā* (07:109)

takhīn-tē	shí-sōm	=**kū**	zàk	=mā
master-PL	die-finish.up	=**IRLS**	afraid	=RLS

'I fear that all my masters might die.'

The CFP *kū* may also be used in a relative clause construction, as in (457). The relative clause is bracketed with { }$_{RL}$ (§8.2.3).

(457) (a) *īpkūpanáq nēyātè tāmcímák* (18:8)

{īp	=**kū**	=panáq}$_{RL}$	nēyā	=tè	tām-cí	=mák
sleep	=**IRLS**	=NOM	place	=A.AG	search-PL	=HORT

'Let's search for a place to sleep.'

(b) *takà zōkkūpanáq lapā* (32:40)

{takà	zōk	=**kū**	=panáq}$_{RL}$	lapā
rice.seedling	transplant	=**IRLS**	=NOM	field

'the field for planting rice seedlings'

kū may be followed by morphemes such as *wàn* and *pán* to indicate immediate realisation or imminent occurrence. I have not been able to identify the lexical and grammaticalised meaning of *wàn*, however, we may correlate the later item, *pán*, to the change of state aspect (see §7.3.1). It is quite logical to analyse the combination of these two markers, *kū* + *pán* 'irrealis' plus 'change of state', as near realisation or fulfillment of the action at the time of speaking. *kū* is reduced to [kə] thus forming the sesquisyllabic words *kawàn* and *kapán*. They are always considered a single monomorphemic unit by the speakers of Kadu, therefore, I have analysed them as a single item and glossed them as 'immediate future (IMMF)'. The speakers of Kadu

express that *kawàn* and *kapán* can be used interchangeably. See the sentences in (458).

(458) (a) *hanīng tánshísōmkapán* (07:108)

hanīng tán-shí-sōm =**kapán**
2PL beat-die-finish.up =**IMMF**
'You are about to kill (all my masters).'

(b) *ngātè tánshíkawàn* (24:56)

ngā =tè tán-shí =**kawàn**
1SG =A.AG beat-die =**IMMF**
'(They) are about to kill (Lit. beat to death) me.'

7.1.2 *mā* 'realis'

Clauses ending with the CFP *mā* indicate events that have come to realisation. It indicates actuality, a generic event that has happened or is happening, or a state that exists or has existed. See illustrations of the CFP *mā* in (459).

(459) (a) *samón àngpanáqpè nímmā* (07:43)

samón àng =panáq =pè ním =**mā**
monk that =NOM =LOC stay =**RLS**
'The monk lives there.'

(b) *ngā haláká eúhám kaūmā* (08:95)

ngā halá =ká eúhám kaū =**mā**
1SG husband =TOP PN call =**RLS**
'My husband is called Eham.'

(c) *maúshītè ácí yōkmā* (10:36)

maú-shī	=tè	ácí	yōk	=**mā**
plum-CLT.fruit	=A.AG	extremely	eat	=**RLS**

'(The birds) eat a lot of plums.'

mā is also used to mark ngomic situations–events that are true for all time, see examples in (545).

The CFP *mā*, as mentioned above, marks non-future events. The distinction between past or present is inferred from the context or can be specified by an adverbial time phrase. Compare the clauses in (460). The first clause, (460a), does not contain a time adverbial so it can be translated as "Well, I had medicine" or "Well, I have medicine." The second clause, (460b), on the other hand, contains a time adverbial (*maeútóng* 'long ago'), so the translation of the clause is straightforward.

(460) (a) *yaū ngapè shī ngāmā* (16:39)

yaū	ngā	=pè	shī	ngā	=**mā**
EXCL	1SG	=LOC	medicine	exist	=**RLS**

'Well, I have medicine.' or 'Well, I had medicine.'

(b) *maeútóng maléq sāngpaláng úqyīntóng ngāmā* (06:1)

maeútóng	maléq	sāngpaláng	úqyīn-tóng	ngā	=**mā**
long.ago	1PL	king	garden-big	exist	=**RLS**

'Long ago, there existed our king's big garden.'

mā, unlike *kū*, is not used in relative clauses; the bare form is understood as realis. See the discussion on relative clauses in §8.2.3.

7.1.3 *thāmā* and *mák* 'hortative'

There are two CFPs that express hortative mood in Kadu. The default time frame for a hortative expression is the moment of speaking. The form *thāmā* indicates a hortative speech act, and has a similar sense to English *shall we* or *let's*. Though the speaker always includes himself in the suggested action, it is not obligatory to use the verbal plural particle *cí* (§7.2.2) with *thāmā*. See the examples in (461).

(461) (a) *múngshī yōkthāmā* (31:1)

múngshī yōk =**thāmā**
rice.cake eat =**HORT**
'Shall we eat rice cake?'

(b) *awàyaúk nāngcíthāmā* (15:10)

awà =yaúk nāng-cí =**thāmā**
father =COM go-PL =**HORT**
'Let's go with daddy.'

Except for a difference in tone, the structure of the hortative marker *thāmā* is similar to the *thà* 'must' plus *mā* 'realis' construction, which carries the meaning of obligation or compulsion as in (462) (and (547) in §7.2.3). The semantic distinction can only be inferred from the context and the tone.

(462) *ngā ōmthàmā angaúnímsà* (12:52)

ngā ōm-**thà** =mā a-ngaú-ním =sà
1SG make-**must** =RLS NEG-say-stay =NEG.IMP
'Don't say that I have to do (it).'

In example (462), *thà* 'must' is used as a verb modifier having the meaning of obligation, necessity, and compulsion. However, *thā* in (461) doesn't indicate obligation or compulsion. It, together with *mā*, indicates a hortative meaning.

The other CFP that denotes a hortative meaning is *mák*. It, unlike the term *thāmā*, indicates the speaker's strong suggestion, one that is difficult to reject. It may be interpreted as the 'final suggestive'. The speaker always includes himself in the suggested action. However, unlike with *thāmā*, it always occurs with the verbal plural particle *cí*. Look at the example sentences in (463) and (464).

(463) *kaí yèk kónnáng ōmcímák* (28:7)

kaí	yēk	kónnáng	ōm-**cí**	=**mák**
well!	hill.field	fence	make-**PL**	=**HORT**

'Well, let's make the field's fence.'

(464) *nāng peúkútyaúk maléq tátlúngyaúk caíkcímák* (12:89)

nāng	peúkút	=yaúk	maléq	tátlúng	=yaúk	caík-**cí**	=**mák**
2SG	adze	=COM	1PL	magic.ball	=COM	exchange-**PL**	=**HORT**

'Let's exchange my adze and your magic ball.'

7.1.4 Imperatives

Imperatives in positive and negative sentences are marked differently in Kadu. Positive imperative mood is marked by the absence of a CFP. Negative imperative mood is marked by the enclitic =*sà*. The default time frame for both positive and negative

imperative sentences is the moment of speaking. Affirmative imperative clauses are illustrated in (465).

(465) (a) *yōk* (b) *nāng* (c) *lī*

yōk	nāng	lī
eat	go	come
'Eat!'	'Go!'	'Come!'

One or more speaker attitude particles (SAP) (§3.3.5) may optionally follow the verb to soften the illocutionary force. The examples in (466) contain three SAPs: *ná*, *yeù* in (466a), *lé* in (466b) and *seù ~ seùé* (466c). As shown by (466a) more than one SAP can be used at one time.

(466) (a) "*anáq ataí nāngnáyeù*" *ngaúmaták* (15:102)

anáq	ataí	nāng	=**ná**	=**yeù**		ngaú	=mā	=ták
this	pattern	go	=**SAP**	=**SAP**		say	=RLS	=HS

'(The wife) said, "Please, go in this manner", it is said.'

(b) *atá yōklé*

atá	yōk	=**lé**	
rice	eat	=**SAP**	
'Please, eat rice'			

(c) *atá yōkseú*

atá	yōk	=**seú**	
rice	eat	=**SAP**	
'Please, eat rice'			

Imperative negative clauses are formed by attaching one of the negative proclitics *ín-* or *a-* (§10.2) immediately before the head verb and attaching the prohibitive clitic *=sà* at the end of the VCX, as illustrated in (467). See the detailed disussion on negation in Chapter 10.

(467) (a) *ínngaúsà* (11:22)

ín-ngaú =**sà**
NEG-say =**NEG.IMP**
'Don't say (it)!'

(b) *aōmzónsà* (07:111)

a-ōm-zón =**sà**
NEG-make-CONTINUE =**NEG.IMP**
'Don't do (it) anymore!'

7.2 Verbal modifiers

As mentioned earlier, the term 'verb modifier' is used as a cover term for a number of elements which occur after the head verb and before the CFP. It is very common to find a head verb in Kadu followed by one or two verbal modifiers. However, in day to day speech it is not common to find more than three or four morphemes occurring in a single VCX. The examples in (468) illustrate VCXs that contain verbal modifiers. Verbal modifiers are highlighted in bold.

(468) (a) *atá yōknímcímā* (15:13)

atá yōk-**ním-cí** =mā
rice eat-**stay-PL** =RLS
'(They) are eating cooked rice.'

(b) "*lāhángàngkákmā* " *ngaúmaták* (25:144)

lā-**háng-àng-kák** =mā ngaú =mā =ták
take-**back-DIR$_1$-want** =RLS say =RLS =HS
'(He) said, "(I) want to take (it) back", it is said.'

As in the examples above, if the lexical or etymological meaning of a verbal modifier is relatable it will be glossed using the lexical source. For example, the verbal modifier *ním*, as in (468a), which indicates progressive aspect, is glossed using its lexical meaning, 'stay'. All the verbal modifiers in Kadu follow the head verb. Semantically,

they are always in a subordinate relationship to the head. Furthermore, unlike the head verb, the verbal modifiers may or may not have a lexical meaning and do not allow direct negation. These modifiers, like in Lahu, "... serve to provide several sorts of information that, in the grammar of languages like English, may be handled by subordinating devices such as complementary infinitives, *-ing* complements, modal auxiliaries, adverbs, prepositional phrases, or even whole subordinate clauses" (Matisoff 1973:200).

Languages such as Burmese and Lahu allow verb modifiers to occur before the head[24] as well as after the head. Matisoff (1973) called the class of verbs that are juxtaposed to the head verb in Lahu versatile verbs. He identified two types of versatile verbs: those that appear before the head verb (pre-head versatiles) and those that appear after the head verb (post-head versatiles). However, Kadu verbal modifiers are restricted to the post-head position only.

In Kadu, many auxiliary verbs are also used as full verbs. To avoid ambiguity, the CFP *pán* may be inserted after the first verb to block an auxiliary reading of the second verb. Consider the examples in (469).

[24] The example below shows the use of three pre-head verbs, 'return', 'assemble' and 'ask', in Burmese.

pyan	*su*	*taun:*	*sa:*	*ca.*	*te*	(Myit Soe 1999:162)
again	gather	ask	eat	PL	RLS	

'We again asked together to eat (it).'

(469) (a) *hīng sātàk atá yōknímmā* (15:13)

hīng	sā-tàk	atá	yōk-**ním**	=mā
3SG	son-PL	rice	eat-**stay**	=RLS

'His sons are eating rice.'

(b) *síngngeútshītè yōkpán nímmā* (12:70)

síngngeút-shī	=tè	yōk	=**pán**	ním	=mā
fig-CLT.fruit	=A.AG	eat	=**COS**	stay	=RLS

'(The pig) eats fig fruit and lives.'

In example (469a), the verb *ním* immediately occurs following the head verb to mark the action as progressive. The event in (469a) is seen as a single event, an action in progress. However, in example (469b) the two verbs *yōk* and *ním* are separated by the CFP *pán*. Therefore, example (469b) is interpreted as having two sequential events. Most of the verbal modifiers are also true verbs and can function as the head verb in a sentence.

The degree of abstractness of a verbal modifier depends upon the degree of grammaticalisation it has undergone. Furthermore, the semantic interpretation of auxiliary verbs may vary depending on the verb types they follow. Some main verbs allow the auxiliary verb to retain its lexical meaning, whereas others do not. For example, when the verb *yōk* 'eat' is preceded by the verb *ī* 'give' it has a grammaticalised benefactive meaning, which may be translated as 'give something for someone's benefit.' However, when the verb *yōk* 'eat' is used used following food processing verbs such as *mōk* 'cook', as in (470), it retains its lexical meaning.

Therefore, we can say that the auxiliary verbs in Kadu can be more or less grammaticalised, depending on the head verb they follow.

(470) *atá mōkyōkcímák* (18:08)

atá	mōk-**yōk-**cí	=mák
rice	cook-**eat-**PL	=HORT

'Let's cook (for our benefit).'

The verbal modifiers which occur between the head verb and the CFPs are many. It is impossible to establish an exact order for them. Without strictly following the order of the verb modifiers, we may group them into three categories, presented in the following order: 7.2.1 Auxiliary verbs, 7.2.2 Verbal particles, and 7.2.3 Modal auxiliaries.

7.2.1 Auxiliary verbs

Syntactically, all the auxiliary verbs in Kadu follow the head verb and precede the verbal particles. Traditionally, the term "auxiliary" is used to refer to elements that provide information such as tense, aspect, and modality (Payne 1997:84). The auxiliary verbs in Kadu embrace a wider range of semantic domains than these. Some domains in Kadu may correlate with the function of adverbs in other languages. For example, auxiliary verbs such as *zíp* 'always', and *pháng* 'prior' have adverbial functions and *zíngyōk* 'order' and *maūk* 'together' have a causative and an associative function respectively. Although I don't claim that the list is complete, in this thesis I propose 20 auxiliary verbs in Kadu.

Based on their position within the VCX and semantic domain, auxiliary verbs in Kadu are further divided into ten categories and presented in the following order: 7.2.1.1 Benefactives, 7.2.1.2 Associative, 7.2.1.3 Jussive and causative, 7.2.1.4 Frequency and additive, 7.2.1.5 Aspectuals, 7.2.1.6 Degrees, 7.2.1.7 Excessive, 7.2.1.8 Experiential, 7.2.1.9 Totality, and 7.2.1.10 Discontinuity.

Table 28 presents the auxiliary verbs attested in my Kadu data.

Semantic domain	Auxilary verb	Lexical meaning	Grammaticalised meaning
Benefactive	*yōk*	'eat'	'benefactive (self-benefactive)'
	ī	'give'	'benefactive (other benefactive)'
Associative	*maūk*	x	'associative'
Jussing and Causative	*zíng*	'ask'	'jussive'
	zíngyōk	'order'	'causative'
Frequency/Time	*háng*	x	'back, again, repeatedly'
	phōt	x	'additionally'
	pháng	x	'do prior to something'
	zíp	x	'always'
Aspectual	*ním*	'stay'	'progressive'
	peú	'keep'	'resultative'
	zí	'finish'	'completive'
Degree	*mát*	x	'truly'
	pheū	x	'suppose'
Excessive	*hàm*	x	'be.exceed'
	pōt	x	'exceed'
Experiential	*páp*	x	'experiential'
Totality	*sōm*	'finish'	'totality'
Continuity	*zón*	x	'discontinuity'

Table 28: Attested auxiliary verbs in Kadu

Table 28 is arranged, from top to bottom, in their general order of occurrence within the VCX. The auxiliary verbs that appear closest to the head verb are presented at the top.

Lexically irretrievable items are represented by 'X'. It is also evident from Table 28 that, in general, auxiliary verbs that are closest to the head verb and aspectuals have a clearer retrievable lexical meaning. A clause, in general, may contain two or three auxiliary verbs, however, though not natural, my language consultants approved a clause which contains five auxiliary verbs, as illustrated in (471).

(471) *ōmyōkzíngyōkphòthángpeúmā* (AKYS)

ōm	**yōk-zíngyōk-phòt-háng-peú**	=mā
make/do	**eat-order-dd.more-back-keep**	=RLS

'He has made (him) do once more again (for his benefit).'

7.2.1.1 Benefactives

Two auxiliary verbs, *yōk* 'eat' and *ī* 'give', add a benefactive meaning to the head verb they follow. These auxiliary verbs occur closest to the head verb. These verbs do not change the transitivity of the verb. If the benefactive argument is made explicit, it may be optionally marked by *yéun* 'benefactive', as in (472a), or unmarked, as in (478c). A VCX containing more than one benefactive auxiliary verb is not attested. The semantic interpretation of the benefactive meaning of these two verbs may be explained as 'self-benefactive' and 'other-benefactive'.

The verb *yōk* is used for self-benefactive (V for a living) and *ī* is used for 'other-benefactive' (V-to do for other's benefit). To confirm that the semantic interpretations are self-benefactive and other-benefactive, I tested the two forms using the benefactive nominal particle, *yeún*, glossed as 'benefactive (BEN)', with the argument of the verb.

The native Kadu speakers said example (472a) is acceptable and natural but example (472b) is awkward.

(472) (a) *hīngyeún atá mōkīkū* (AKYS)

hīng	=**yeún**	atá	mōk-**ī**	=kū
3SG	=**BEN**	rice	cook-**give**	=IRLS

'I will cook rice for him.'

(b) **hīngyeún atá mōkyōkkū* (AKYS)

hīng	=**yeún**	atá	mōk-**yōk**	=kū
3SG	=**BEN**	rice	cook-**eat**	=IRLS

'I will cook rice for him.'

The benefactive meaning of the auxiliary verb *yōk* is even clearer when it follows a verb expressing an action that is something a person does on a regular basis as a profession or livelihood. Look at the example sentences in (473) and (474).

(473) *hīng phú heūyōkmā* (AKYS)

hīng	phú	heū-**yōk**	=mā
3SG	silver	borrow- **eat**	=RLS

'He lends money.' or 'He lends money for a living.'

(474) *azáktákká lapā ōmyōkká myátamā* (17:11)

azàk-tàk	=ká	lapā	ōm-**yōk**	=ká	myá-ta	=mā
PN-PL	=TOP	field	make-**eat**	=TOP	plenty-L.SUFF	=RLS

'Most Kadu practice wet-rice field cultivation.'
Or 'Most Kadu do wet-rice field cultivation for their living.'

The verb *yōk* following head verbs that express activities related to processing food or actions that are done for the purpose of food consumption retains the lexical meaning. This is illustrated in (475).

(475) (a) *atá mōkyōkcímák* (18:7)

atá mōk-**yōk**-cí =mák
rice cook-**eat**-PL =HORT
'Let's cook to eat the rice.'

(b) *tāngkaūtóngyaúk yēk wányōkmaták* (15:22)

tāngkaū-tóng =yaúk yēk wán-**yōk** =mā =ták
sword-big =COM hill.field chop-**eat** =RLS =HS
'(They) clear/chop the hill field (for their livelihood) with a sword, it is said.'

Cross-linguistically, it is not uncommon to find verbs of consumption to have such an extended meaning (Newman 2009). Clearly, using the 'eat' verb as an auxiliary verb for a benefactive meaning is an areal feature; it is also attested in many other TB languages in Burma. For comparison, I have constructed Rawang, Burmese and Jingphaw examples, as in (476).

(476) (a) rəmá wàame (Rawang)

rəmá wà-am =e
field do-eat =CFP
'(He) cultivates field for (his) livelihood.'

(b) တောင်ယာလုပ်စားတယ် (Burmese)

tong-ja	**loup-sa:**	**=te**
field	do-eat	=CFP

'id'

(c) yi galawsháai (Jingphaw)

yi	**galaw-shá**	**=ai**
field	do-eat	=CFP

'id'

The verb *ī* 'give', like the verb *yōk* 'eat', adds a benefactive meaning to the head verb. However, it is mostly associated with non-food related verbs and the semantic function is always 'other benefactive'. Example (477) exemplifies *ī* as the head verb of the clause, whereas the examples in (478) exemplify *ī* as an auxiliary verb.

(477) *ōnnáng ceú īkū* (25:6)

ōnnáng	ceú	**ī**	=kū
dowry	buffalo	**give**	=IRLS

'I will give you a dowry buffalo.'

(478) (a) *múkshìngkàng māīyók* (25:102)

múkcìngkàng	mā-**ī**	=yók
pestle	sell-**give**	=INTRUSIVE

'Sell your pestle (for us).'

(b) *halángweúmā, phūkná phúīyók* (AKYS)

haláng-weú	=mā	phūkná	phú-**ī**	=yók
sky-water	=RLS	bamboo.hat	put.on-**give**	=INTRUSIVE

'(It is) raining, put a bamboo hat on him.'

(c) *àntákká kōsātak cíng paútzánghayák ngaúpánnaà peúīyákmā* (17:20)

ànták	=ká	kō-sā-tàk	cíng	paút-záng-hà	=yák
3PL	=TOP	self-son-PL	letter	skill-JUSS:DIR$_2$-know.how	=PURP

ngaú	=pán	=naà	peú-**ī**-à	=mā
say	=COS	=only	keep-**give**-EUPH	=RLS

'They sent/kept us in school because they want their children to be educated.'

7.2.1.2 Associative

The term *maūk*, glossed as 'together', synchronically not relatable to a lexical source, is employed to add an associative meaning to the head verb. Syntactically, it occurs following benefactive auxiliary verbs and preceding jussive and causative auxiliary verbs. It may be translated into English as 'V-together'.

(479) (a) *hīngyaúk atá yōkmaūkmásà hīng saēk* (04:14)

hīng	=yaúk	atá	yōk-**maūk**	=másà	hīng	saēk
3SG	=COM	rice	eat-**together**	=only.if	3SG	daughter

'The only one who eats together with him (the king) is his (own) daughter.'

(b) *sātàkyaúk ngaúpán ngā ínanímmaūkkáká* (15:5)

sā-tàk	=yaúk	ngā	ín-a-ním-**maūk**-kák	=á
son-PL	=COM	1SG	NEG-NEG-stay-**together-** want	=NEG

'I don't want to live together with your sons.'

(c) *ōmyōkmaūkzíngyōkkákmā* (AKYS)

ōm-yōk-**maūk**-kák =mā
do-eat-**together-**want =RLS
'(I) want (us) to do (it) together.'

7.2.1.3 Jussive and causative

The term *zíng*, glossed as 'jussive' (JUSS), is employed to add a speaker's command or permission. It is relatable to the lexical verb *zīng* 'ask'. The only minor difference between these two is the tone. The implication is mostly found with the first person directly signaling his or her proposition to the third person. Consider the examples in (480) and (481). The examples in (480) exemplify the use of *zīng* as a head verb.

(480) (a) *léq tashītàkpàpè ceú zīngkū* (25:7)

maléq tashī-tàk =pà =pè ceú **zīng** =kū
1PL uncle-PL =ALL =LOC buffalo **ask** =IRLS
'I will ask for a buffalo from my uncles.'

(b) *zaūpwápè zīngàmaták* (08:4)

zaūpwá =pè **zīng**-à =mā =ták
Shan.chief =LOC **ask-**EUPH =RLS =HS
'(They) asked the Shan chief, it is said.'

The following examples in (481) illustrate the use of *zíng* as an auxiliary verb.

(481) (a) "*ngāzíng*" *ngaúmataák* (08:26)

"ngā-**zíng**" ngaú =mā =ták
exist-**JUSS** say =RLS =HS
'(The chief) said, "Let (her) stay", it is said.'

(b) *àngnáq ēksāhalátè kaūzíngákkákmā* (15:72)

àngnáq ēksāhalá =tè kaū-**zíng**-à-kák =mā
that husband.wife =A.AG call-**JUSS-**EUPH-want =RLS
'(I) want to let (someone) call that couple.'

When the term *zíng* is used in hortative clauses, it functions as a causativiser. It may be translated into English as 'to cause/make V'. Consider the examples in (482).

(482) (a) *hīngtè sāngpaláng ōmzíngthāmā* (15:30)

hīng =tè sāngpaláng ōm-**zíng** =thāmā
3SG =A.AG king make-**JUSS** =HORT
'Let's make him a king.'

(b) *hīngtè shízíngàngthāmā* (15:117)

hīng =tè shí-**zíng-**àng =thāmā
3SG =A.AG die-**JUSS-**DIR$_1$ =HORT
'Let's cause/make him to die.'

Another term that denotes causative meaning to the head verb is the verb *zíngyōk* 'order'. It may have derived from a combination of the verbs *zīng* 'ask' and *yōk* 'eat'. However, I have glossed it as a single verb 'order' because most Kadu speakers see it as a single unit. The examples in (483) exemplify the use of *zíngyōk* as a head verb.

(483) (a) *hīngtè zíngyōkmā* (AKYS)

hīng	=tè	**zíngyōk**	=mā
3SG	=A.AG	**order**	=RLS

'(He) ordered him.'

(b) "*palú zōkshīwaleú lāthàkū*" *zíngyōkmaták* (15:127)

"palú	zōkshī-waleú	lā-thà	=kū"	**zíngyōk**	=mā	=ták	
ogre	breast-liquid	take-must	=IRLS	**order**	=RLS	=HS	

'(The king) ordered "You have to bring the ogre's milk", it is said.'

When the verb *zíngyōk* is used as an auxiliary verb, it adds a causative meaning to the action expressed by the head verb. The following examples in (484) illustrate the use of *zíngyōk* as an auxiliary verb.

(484) (a) *tánshízíngyōkmā seùé hīngtè* (15:150)

tán-shí-**zíngyōk**	=mā	=seùé	hīng	=tè	
beat-die-**order**	=RLS	=SAP	3SG	=A.AG	

'(The king) made (his official) kill him.'

(b) *ngatè ōnnáng ceú zīngzíngyōkìngmā* (25:9)

ngā	=tè	ōnnáng	ceú	zīng-**zíngyōk-**ìng	=mā	
1SG	=A.AG	dowry	buffalo	ask-**order**-DIR_2	=RLS	

'They made me ask the dowry buffalo.'

7.2.1.4 Frequency and additive

The auxiliary verbs which indicate frequency, repetition, and the order in which the action expressed by the head verb happens relative to some other event are given in (485). Sychronically, they are not relatable to lexical meanings.

(485) *háng* ‘back’ or ‘again’
phòt ‘add more’
pháng ‘prior’ and
zíp ‘always’

The term *háng* denotes repetitive action, as in (486).

(486) (a) *hanīngtè yūhángmātalé* (12:16)

hanīng =tè yū-**háng** =mā =talé
2PL =A.AG look-**again** =RLS =SAP
‘I am looking after you, again.’

(b) *acān ōmhángpánták* (09:68)

acān ōm-**háng** =pán =ták
plan make-**again** =COS =HS
‘(The rabbit) made a plan again.’

However, it may also mean ‘back’ when it follows motion verbs such as *nāng* ‘go’ and *lī* ‘come’, as in (487).

(487) (a) *phàkmáknīngyeù yēkpàpè nānghángmaták* (15:42)

phàkmák =nīngyeù yēk =pà =pè
tomorrow =manner hill.field =ALL =LOC

nāng-**háng** =mā =ták
go-back =RLS =HS
‘The next day, (he) went back to the field, like that, it is said.’

(b) *heúwà līhángzík* (15:15)

héwà lī-**háng** =zík
daddy come-back =FINALLY
'Daddy, come back.'

The term *phòt*, glossed as 'more', adds an additive meaning to the head verb. It occurs only three times in my data, each time following the verb *kaū* 'call', in one of the narratives. It can be translated as 'more of V' in English, as in (488).

(488) *tamìsā kaūphòtnàngthāmā* (18:93)

tamìsā kaū-**phòt**-àng =thāmā
human call-**more-**DIR_1 =HORT
'Let's make more calls to people.'

My language consultants, however, said that it is not restricted to following the verb *kaū* 'call' only, but may follow any other verb. Some more examples with *phòt* provided by Kadu language consultants are given in (489).

(489) (a) *ōmphòtnā*

ōm-**phòt** =mā
do-**more** =RLS
'do more'

(b) *yōkphòtnā*

yōk-**phòt** =mā
eat-**more** =RLS
'eat more'

The term *pháng*, glossed as 'prior', denotes that an action expressed by the head verb is prior to some other action and temporary in most cases, compared to the other action, which is more permanent. The action which may follow may or may not be explicit. In most cases, it is pragmatically determined. Consider the examples in (490).

(490) (a) *awà shī lāphángkū* (24:19)

awà shī lā-**pháng** =kū
father medicine take-**prior** =IRLS
'(I)-father will bring medicine, (and heal him).'

(b) *múngshī há ōmphángkū* (31:30)

múngshī-há ōm-**pháng** =kū
noodle-red make-**prior** =IRLS
'I will make red noodles first (and do others later).'

It also denotes that the action expressed by the head verb is not a permanent but, rather, a temporary action. This is particularly true with posture verbs such as *ním* 'stay', and *thóng* 'sit'. Consider the examples in (491).

(491) (a) *nāngká tamìsā thàmā, pīkpè nímphángyók* (13:28)

nāng=ká tamìsā thà =mā, pīk =pè ním-**pháng** =yók
2SG =TOP human be =RLS beside =LOC stay-**prior** =INTRUSIVE
'You are a human, (therefore) stay aside (for a while).'

(b) *aúpè thóngphángkū* (AKYS)

aú =pè thóng-**pháng** =kū
here =LOC sit-**prior** =IRLS
'(I) will sit here (for a while).'

7.2.1.5 Aspectuals

The verbs *ním* 'stay', *peú* 'keep, put', or 'to place', and *zí* 'finish' express the aspectual meanings 'progressive', 'resultative', and 'completive', respectively, when

they are used as auxiliary verbs. Each verb is dealt with in detail in the following section.

Continuity[25] in Kadu is marked by the use of the verb *ním* 'stay' as an auxiliary verb. Continuity is a semantic notion that describes states as enduring and non-states as ongoing situations. Continuity, quoting Comrie (1976:24), is defined as " ... imperfectivity not occasioned by habituality." He divided continuity into two morphological categories: *non-progressive* for stative verbs and *progressive* for non-stative verbs. In Kadu, continuity, both non-progressive and progressive, is handled by a single auxiliary verb, *ním* 'stay'. It can occur both with dynamic, ongoing durative events (activities, achievements, and accomplishments) and states but is not used for habitual action. When used with achievement verbs it has iterative sense. The following examples in (492) exemplify the use of the intransitive verb of location *ním* in Kadu.

(492) (a) *ànták ēksāhalá nímcímā* (15:69)

àntàk	ēksāhalá	**ním**-cí	=mā
3PL	husband.wife	**stay**-PL	=RLS

'They, husband and wife, live (there).'

(b) *ngaká kótānpaúkwáqpè nímmā* (08:93)

ngā	=ká	kótānpaúkwáq	=pè	**ním**	=mā
1SG	=TOP	PN	=LOC	**stay**	=RLS

'I live at Kothanpaukwaq.'

[25] Continuousness in Comrie (1976).

The semantics of the verb *ním* 'stay' in the examples in (492) imply the existence of an animate entity (the actor) being at a specific location and the maintenance of this situation over a certain period of time. The phenomenon of a marker of imperfectivity deriving from grammaticalisation of the location verb 'stay' or 'live' is well attested cross-linguistically. This phenomenon is found in Burmese, Lahu, Thai, and Chinese (Matisoff 1991: 415-418). For comparison, I have given examples from Burmese and Lahu. The Burmese example in (493) is my own and the Lahu example in (494) is from Matisoff (1973).

(493) Burmese examples

(a) ထမင်းစားနေတယ်

htamang: sa:-nei =te
rice eat-stay =RLS
'(He) is eating rice.'

(b) ထမင်းကပူနေတယ်

htamang: =ka. pu-nei =te
rice =TOP hot-stay =RLS
'The rice is (being) hot.'

(494) Lahu examples (Lahu: Matisoff 1973:237)

(a) vəʔ -chê
wear -stay
'is wearing'

(b) chu -chê
be.fat -stay
'is still fat'

As shown in examples (493) and (494), in both languages continuity is marked by a post-verbal auxiliary which derives from the main verb 'live' or 'stay', Burmese ေန <nei> and Lahu *chê*. Matisoff (1973:240) glossed *chê* as 'be in the act or state of V-ing or be still V-ing', clearly stating that it is used with verbs that describe both states and non-states.

In Kadu, the auxiliary verb *ním* is attested occurring both with state and non-state verbs. For example, in the examples in (495) two stative verbs, *ngā* 'exist' and *há* 'red', are unmarked for aspect. They are simply followed by the realis marker *mā* to indicate that the situations expressed in the clauses are happening or known to have happened at the speech time or prior to the speech time.

(495) (a) *thīngpè alúk ngāmā* (17:66)

thīng =pè alúk **ngā** =mā
village =LOC work **exist** =RLS
'(I) have work to do in the village.' Or '(There) is work in the village.'

(b) *anáq papá hámā* (AKYS)

anáq papá **há** =mā
this flower **red** =RLS
'The flower is/was red.' (timeless truth)

The auxiliary verb *ním* can be added, as in (496), to describe the continuity of the stative situation at the moment of speaking.

(496) (a) *ōmhaútpanáqká phéngkón ngānímmā* (17:85)

ōm-haút =panáq =ká phéng =kón ngā-**ním** =mā
make-want =NOM =TOP full =PURP exist-**stay** =RLS
'(I) have full desire to do (it).' (Lit. I am having full desire.)

. (b) *anáq papá hánímmā* (AKYS)

anáq papá há-**ním** =mā
this flower red-**stay** =RLS
'The flower is/was red.' (temporary truth)'

The same term *ním* is also used to express the continuity of a non-state situation, as shown in (497).

(497) (a) *atá yōknímcímā* (15:13)

atá **yōk-ním**-cí =mā
rice **eat-stay-**PL =RLS
'(They) are eating rice.'

(b) "*sāngpaláng saēktè lākákmaléyeù*" *ngaúpánnaà hāpnímmaták* (25:172)

"sāngpaláng saēk =tè lā-kák =mā =lé =yeù"
king daughter =A.AG take-want =RLS =SAP =SAP

ngaú =pán =naà **hāp-ním** =mā =ták
say =COS =only **weep-stay** =RLS =HS
'(He) said "I want the princess" and was crying, it is said.'

The resultative or perfective aspect is marked by the post-verbal modifier *peú*, which is derived from the lexical verb 'to keep' or 'to place'. The lexical usage of *peú* is illustrated in (498).

(498) (a) *anáqpaíkpàpè peú* (08:63)

anáq paìk =pà =pè **peú**
this beside =ALL =LOC **keep**
'Keep (it) around here!'

(b) *pòkhápè peúmaták* (24:29)

pòkhá =pè **peú** =mā =ták
forest =LOC **keep** =RLS =HS
'(He) had kept (the princess) in the forest, it is said.'

When the verb *peú* is used as an auxiliary verb it adds the sense of perfective aspect. It patterns like the Burmese ∞ः <hta:>, which "marks the state of the undergoer resulting from the activity expressed by the main verb–a state that is seen as stable and permanent" (Romeo 2008:183). The focus in this type of sentence is the undergoer, the affected entity. It indicates that the activity brought about by the actor has been completed and is kept in that state. The examples in (499) exemplify the auxiliary usage of the verb *peú*.

(499) (a) *hīng tamìsātàktè kasúmpeúmā* (07:27)

hīng	tamìsā-tàk	=tè	**kasúm-peú**	=mā
3SG	human-PL	=A.AG	**hide-keep**	=RLS

'(He) has hidden his people/followers.'

(b) *maléq òktàk heúpeúmā* (09:22)

maléq	òk-tàk	**heú-peú**	=mā
1PL	grandfather-PL	**tell-keep**	=RLS

'Our forefathers had told (us).'

The situation which resulted from the activity is realised as a permanent state unless it gets interfered with or modified by other events, as illustrated in (500).

(500) "*maléqká manákceūká kasà káppeúmā līyákcíkalá* " *ngaúlakà* (18:86)

"maléq	=ká	manákceū	=ká	kasà	káp-**peú**	=mā
1PL	=TOP	last.night	=TOP	tiger	shoot-**keep**	=RLS

lī-ák-cí	=kū	=lá"	ngaú	=lakà	
come-EUPH-PL	=IRLS	=Q	say	=MIR	

'(We) told them, "Last night we shot a tiger, (We're going to look for it), and will you come with us?."'

The post-verbal *peú* is also used to express enduring qualities of the state or situation. It can even extend its scope to events that may hold true for any time (*gnomic*). For example, the speakers of Kadu believe that they all migrated from a place called Maukhwin, as in (501). Notice the ablative *káq* in (501) is a Burmese loan word.

(501) *azàk azáq maūkhwīnkáqták* (10:1)

azàk	azáq	maūkhwīn	=káq	=ták
PN	begin	PN	=LOC	=HS

'Kadu begins from Maukhwin, it is siad.'

Therefore, based on the fact that all the Kadu migrated from Maukhwin, it is appropriate to use the sentence in (502).

(502) *azáktàk maūkhwīnhaík līpeúmā* (AKYS)

azák-tàk	maūkhwīn	=haík	**lī-peú**	=mā
PN-PL	PN	=ABL	**come-keep**	=RLS

'The Kadu had come from Maukhwin.'

The post-verbal modifier *peú* is also used when a present state provides evidence of a past event. For example, if the wet grass evidently indicates that it has rained, example (503b) is possible.

(503) (a) *halángweúmā* (AKYS)

haláng-weú	=mā
sky-water	=RLS

'(It) rains.' or 'It is raining.'

(b) *halángweúpeúmā* (AKYS)

haláng-weú-**peú**	=mā
sky-rain-**keep**	=RLS

'It has rained.' (It is still wet).

When the post-verbal modifier *peú* is followed by the irrealis marker *kū*, it denotes a future perfect, as in (504).

(504) *ósací alīcī anáq alúk zíkón ōmpeúkū* (AKYS)

ósací	a-lī-cī	anáq	alúk
teacher	NEG-come-before	this	work

zí	=kón	ōm-**peú**	=**kū**
finish	=PURP	make-**keep**	=**IRLS**

'I will solve this problem before the teacher comes.' Or 'By the time the teacher comes I will have finished the work.'

The completive aspect is defined by Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994:57) as "to do something thoroughly and completely and the completive sometimes carries the semantic sense that the object of the action is totally affected, consumed, or destroyed by the action." In Kadu the auxiliary verb *zí*, which is synchronically relatable to the lexical source *zí* 'finish', is employed to indicate the completive aspect, which also includes the sense of total affectedness of the patient of the action.

The verb *zí* 'finish' is commonly found as a full lexical verb when the situation expressed is shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer and it would be redundant to repeat it, as in (505).

(505) (a) *maíkmà zíkalá* (AKYS)

mà	=naík	mà	**zí**	=kū	=lá
WH	=only	time	**finish**	=IRLS	=Q

'When are you finishing (it)?'

(b) *phàkmák zíkū* (AKYS)

phàkmák **zí** =kū
tomorrow **finish** =IRLS
'(I) will finish (it) tomorrow.'

A similar situation can also be found in English when someone says "I finished the whole glass of wine." This does not mean that the person has completed the object (the glass) but, rather, it is the completion of the activity or process. The only implied activity or process in this case would be the drinking of the wine. If the speaker, however, is asking about a specific activity or process, it is obligatory to use the specific verb. Consider the examples in (506)–conversations which are frequently used as greetings among the speakers of Kadu in their day to day lives.

(506) *atá yōkzípánlá*

atá yōk-**zí** =pán =lá
rice eat-**finish** =COS =Q
'Have (you) finished eating?'

(b) *(yōk) zípán*

(yōk) **zí** =pán
(eat) **finish** =COS
'(I am) finished (eating).'

Omission of the main verb is often found in non-final clauses, as in (507).

(507) *weúkúmā, zípán tanákhá paúmā* (AKYS)

weúkú =mā Ø **zí** =pán tanákhá paú =mā
bathe =RLS (bathe) **finish** =COS cosmetic.paste apply =RLS
'She bathed. After (bathing) she put on cosmetic paste.'

(508) *yèk kānzū kámàkà wáthángcáq zípánnaàyítá nāngcímákseùé* (28:24)

yēk	kānzū	kámàkà	wát-háng-**cáq**[26]
hill.field	mustard	so.on	shave-back-PL

zí	=pán	=naà	=yí	=tá	nāng-cí	=mák	=seùé
finish	=COS	=only	=also	=EMPH	go-PL	=HORT	=SAP

'Cut the mustard field and so on! If (it) is done, let's go.'

When the form *zí* is used post verbally, it indicates the completion of the situation. It is common to find the post-verbal modifier *zí* followed by the change of state CFP to express the completion of the situation and the state of having changed the situation, as in (509).

(509) (a) *ān zōkzípán* (30:1)

ān	zōk-**zí**	=pán
paddy	transplant-**finish**	=COS

'The paddy transplantation is done.'

(b) *ēklāzípán* (17:3)

ēklā-**zí**	=pán
marry-**finish**	=COS

'(He) is married.'

The post-verbal usage of the verb *zí* 'finish' is not restricted in terms of the semantics of the verb it attaches to. I have tested this auxiliary verb with different verb classes and my language consultants said that all the examples in (510) are grammatical.

[26] This is a Burmese verbal plural form.

(510) (a) *ngā tamìsāhawàtè katùngzípán* (Stative)

ngā	tamìsā-hú-à	=tè	katùng-**zí**	=pán
1SG	human-CLF.person-one	=A.AG	see-**finish**	=COS

'I already saw the man.' (Now I can go)

(b) *weú ahúzípán* (Accomplishment)

weú	ahú-**zí**	=pán
water	boil-**finish**	=COS

'The water has already boiled.' (It's no longer boiling)

(c) *ngátzípán* (Achievement)

ngát-**zí**	=pán
break-**finish**	=COS

'(He) broke it.'

(d) *ōmzípán* (Activity)

ōm-zí	=pán
do-finish	=COS

'(He) did it.'

7.2.1.6 Degrees

This section deals with adverb-like auxiliary verbs such as *māt* 'truly' and *pheù* 'suppose'. These auxiliary verbs indicate degrees of certainty and likelihood. We may also analyse these two auxiliaries as epistemic modals.

The auxiliary verb *māt* denotes a degree of certainty about the action expressed by the main verb. It shares the same form with the verb *māt* 'forget', however, the adverbial meaning of 'truly' or 'really' does not seem to have any semantic relationship with this

form. More data is needed to understand the origin of *māt*. It is not restricted to state or action verbs. It may be translated into English as 'really, certainly, surely, actually, or definitely'. It is illustrated in (511).

(511) (a) *chīmātlá nāng* (09:91)

chī-**māt** =lá nāng
true-**truly** =Q 2SG
'Are you really sure?'

(b) *hīngtè yōkmātkūnaík* (09:62)

hīng =tè yōk-**māt** =kū =naík
3SG =A.AG eat-**truly** =IRLS =only
'(I) will certainly eat him now.'

Unlike other auxiliary verbs, the order of the auxiliary *māt* within the VCX is less fixed. It generally occurs toward the end of the VCX following the benefactive, jussive/causative, aspectual, and frequency and additive auxiliaries. Consider the examples in (512). Example (512a) is grammatical but example (512b) is not.

(512) (a) *lízíngyōkmātnā* (AKYS)

lī-zíngyōk-**māt** =mā
come-order-**truly** =RLS
'(He) truly orders (him) to come.'

(b) **līmātzíngyōkmā*

lī-**māt**-zíngyōk =mā
come-**truly**-order =RLS

However, its position relative to the benefactive, jussive/causative, aspectual, and frequency and additive auxiliaries is fixed, but not fixed relative to the verbal particles and modal auxiliaries. Kadu language consultants said that all the examples illustrated in (513) and (514) are grammatical. Notice *māt* occuring before or after verbal particles, as illustrated in (513).

(513) (a) *ōmcíàngmātnā*

ōm-cí-àng-**māt** =mā
do-PL-DIR$_1$-**truly** =RLS
'(They) really did (that).'

(b) *ōmmātcíàngmā*

ōm-**māt-**cí-àng =mā
do-**truly-**PL-DIR$_1$ =RLS
'(They) really did (that).'

It may also occur either before or after modal auxiliaries as illustrated in (514).

(514) (a) *ōmkákmātnā*

ōm-kák-**māt** =mā
do-want-**truly** =RLS
'(I) want to really do.' Or '(I) really want to do.'

(b) *ōmmātkákmā*

ōm-**māt-**kák =mā
do-**truly-**want =RLS
'(I) want to really do.' Or '(I) really want to do.'

The auxiliary verb *pheù* denotes the speaker's supposition about the likelihood of the action represented in the predicate. It is restricted to occurring with a negative verb only. It occurs only once in my corpus. More data is need to understand this auxiliary verb.

(515) (a) *lámzā anāngpheùyá* (18:106)

lámzā a-nāng-**pheù** =á
be.far NEG-go-**suppose** =NEG
'(I) suppose (the wounded tiger) did not go far.'

(b) *hīng alīpheùyá* (AKYS)

hīng a-lī-**pheù** =á
3SG NEG-come-**suppose** =NEG
'(I) suppose (he) is not coming.'

7.2.1.7 Excessive

There are two terms, *hàm* 'excess' and *pōt* 'exceed', that express a comparative or excessive sense. The former is used to indicate a comparative degree of quality, as in (516).

(516) (a) *hīng lītí meúhàmlakaú* (02.18)

hīng lī =tí meú-**hàm** =lakaú
3SG come =also good-**be.excess** =MIR
'It's better if he comes too.'

(b) *tónghàmpín sèk* (11:4)

tóng-**hàm** =pín sèk
big-**be.excess** =NOM person
'The older person'

The latter, *pōt*, is mostly used to indicate an unintended or uncontrollable excess situation. Look at the example sentences in (517).

(517) (a) *yōkpōtnā* (AKYS)

yōk-**pōt** =mā
eat-**exceed** =RLS
'I ate more (than I needed).'

(b) *ngāká īppátpōtnímtún* (18:29)

ngā =ká īp-pát-**pōt**-ním =tún
1SG =TOP sleep-asleep-**exceed** -stay =STILL
'I was still asleep.' (more than I was supposed to)

7.2.1.8 Experiential

The auxiliary verb *páp*, glossed as 'been', indicates the action of the main verb was unintended or experiened previously, as illustrated in (518). It does not occur as a head verb in my data.

(518) (a) *ngayítá ōmákpáptalé* (17:15)

nga =yí =tá ōm-à-**páp** =talé
1SG =also =EMPH make-EUPH-**been** =SAP
'I, as well, have done that before(experience of mining gold).'

(b) *katùngpápmákkákmā ngāyítá* (07:49)

katùng-**páp**-à-kák =mā ngā =yí =tá
see-**been**-EUPH-want =RLS exist =also =EMPH
'I want to be (able to say) I've seen the monk before.' Lit. I, as well, want to have experienced seeing (the monk).'

(c) *atá yōkpápmákpáng* (15:110)

atá yōk-**páp**-à =páng
rice eat-**been**-EUPH =COS
'(S/he) happened to eat rice.' (ate without considering the consequences)

7.2.1.9 Totality

The term *sōm*, relatable to the lexical verb *sōm* 'used up', indicates the totality of the relevent participants of the action expressed by the head verb are affected by the action. The example (519) exemplifies the use of *sōm* as a head verb.

(519) *talùshīyítá sōmkapánlē* (18:68)

talù-shī =yí =tá **sōm** =kapán =lē
seed-CLF.fruit =also =EMPH **used.up** =IMMF =SAP
'(We) are running out of bullets as well.' (Lit. we are running out seeds)

The auxiliary usage of the verb *sōm* may be translated into English as 'V-all' or 'V-utterly'. These are illustrated in (520) and (521).

(520) *ngā ashīn takhīntàktè hanīng tánshísōmkapán* (07:108)

ngā	ashīn	takhīn-tàk	=tè	hanīng	tán-shí-**sōm**	=kapán
1SG	lord	master-PL	=A.AG	2PL	beat-die-**used.up**	=IMMF

'(You) are going to kill all my masters.'

(521) *pháklánkōlán nahángsōmpán* (13:48)

phák-lán	kō-lán	nāng-háng-**sōm**	=pán
?-road	body-road	go-back-**used.up**	=COS

'(They) all went back to their respective places.'

The term *sōm* may be preceded by the plural marker *cí* to mark the totality of plural referents. The function of the verbal plural marker *cí* is discussed under verbal particles in §7.2.2.

(522) *anyeù ōmnímcísōmpán* (04:34)

an-yeù	ōm-ním-**cí-sōm**	=pán
DEM-manner	make-stay-**PL-finish.up**	=COS

'All (people) are doing (it) in this manner.'

7.2.1.10 Discontinuity

The term, *zón*, glossed as 'CONTINUE', never occurs as a head verb in my data. It is restricted to occurring only with negative verbs and is employed to indicate a discontinuitive notion to the main verb event. See the illustrations in (523).

(523) (a) *azaúnzónshík* (18:105)

a-zaún-**zón** = sà = zík
NEG-follow.after-**CONTINUE** = NEG.IMP = FINALLY
'Don't continue following (the tiger).'

(b) *nāng ínōmzónsà* (07:106)

nāng ín-ōm-**zón** = sà
2SG NEG-make-**CONTINUE** = NEG.IMP
'You, don't do it again.'

(c) **ōmzónmā*

ōm-zón = mā
do/make-**CONTINUE** = RLS
'(He) keeps on doing it.'

In order to express a positive continuative proposition the clause final aspectual particle *tún* is employed (see the discussion of Aspectual particles in §7.3)

7.2.2 Verbal particles

This section discusses three verbal particles: *cí* 'PL', *ìng* 'DIR$_1$', and *àng* 'DIR$_2$'. They are highly grammaticalised. Synchronically it is not possible to relate them to any lexical sources. I have grouped them together simply because of their syntactic position within the VCX. They all occur following auxiliary verbs (§7.2.1) and preceding modal auxiliaries (§7.2.3). The directional particles *àng* and *ìng* occur in the same slot, following the particle *cí* within the VCX. In the following sections I will discuss each of them in turn.

7.2.2.1 *cí* 'plural'

If the agent referent that performs the action is more than one person, the verbal particle *cí* can be added to the predicate to mark plurality, as in (524).

(524) (a) *pòkhá nāngcímā* (18:2)

pòkhá nāng-**cí** =mā
forest go-**PL** =RLS
'(We) went to the forest.'

(b) *manīng ōmcíkalá* (12:121)

ma =nīng ōm-**cí** =kū =lá
WH =manner make-**PL** =IRLS =Q
'What shall (we) do?'

(c) *atá yōkcízík* (15:12)

atá yōk-**cí** =zík
rice eat-**PL** =FINALLY
'(You plural) can eat rice now.'

The function of *cī* resembles that of Burmese ကြ <**kja.**>. Consider the Burmese and Kadu examples in (525). The Burmese example in (525a) is my own and I repeat the Kadu example given in (524a) as (525b).

(525) (a) တောသွားကြတယ်

to: thwa:-**kra.** =te
forest go-PL =RLS
'(We) went to the forest.'

(b) *pòkhá nāngcímā* (18:2)

pòkhá nāng-**cí** =mā
forest go-**PL** =RLS
'id'

However, the position of these particles within the VCX in the respective languages differ. In Burmese <**kja.**> follows most of the auxiliaries, however, it precedes the auxiliary ရ <**ra.**> 'permission' (Wheatley 1982:232). The position of the particle *cí*, unlike <**kra.**>, within the vcx in Kadu is stable. It follows the auxiliaries and precedes the two directional particles, *ìng* and *àng,* and the modal auxiliaries. See *cí* followed by the directional verbal particles in (538).

The insertion of the particle *cí* in the predicate is optional. Its usage seems to depend on the speakers' free will. For example, although the particle *cí* was not present in the natural sentence, my language consultants said that it is possible to insert it without any changes in meaning.

(526) *àngpanáqpèká tapàntàk nímmā* (10:12)

àng =panáq =pè =ká tapàn-tàk ním-(**cí**) =mā
that =NOM =LOC =TOP PN-PL stay-(**PL**) =RLS
'Tapan people live there.'

Using the term *cí* with a singular agentive referent is ungrammatical. Consider the examples in (527). Example (527a) is grammatical as the verbal plural particle *cí* is used with a plural referent *maléq* '1PL', however, (527b) is not grammatical since a singular agentive referent is used with the verbal plural particle *cí* eventhough there a plural non-agentive is mentioned.

(527) (a) *maléq hanīngtè yūhángcímā*

maléq	hanīng	=tè	yū	háng-cí	=mā
1PL	2PL	=A.AG	look	back-PL	=RLS

'We are looking after you.'

(b) **ngā hanīngtè yūhángcímā*

ngā	hanīng	=tè	yū	háng-cí	=mā
1SG	2PL	=A.AG	look	back-PL	=RLS

7.2.2.2 *àng* 'directional: away from the deictic centre'

The particle *àng*, glossed 'DIR_1', indicates an action or movement away from the deictic centre. Look at the example in (528).

(528) *hīngpè thōkàngmā* (10:56)

hīng	=pè	thōk-**àng**	=mā
3SG	=LOC	arrive-**DIR_1**	=RLS

'(They) reached towards him.'

The deictic centre is determined by pragmatic and shared knowledge between speaker and addressee. Example (528) indicates an action or movement away from the deictic centre. In this case the deictic centre could be the speaker. When the action or movement is happening toward the third person, using *àng* 'DIR_1' is grammatical but not *ìng* 'DIR_2'. We repeat the example (528) in (529a) to show the contrast of these two directionals. The first example is grammatical but example (529b) is not.

(529) (a) *hīngpè thōkìngmā* (10:56)

hīng =pè thōk-**àng** =mā
3SG =LOC arrive-**DIR$_1$** =RLS
'(They) reached towards him.'

(b) **hīngpè thōtìngmā*

hīng =pè thōk-**ìng** =mā
3SG =LOC arrive-**DIR$_2$** =RLS

Some more examples of *àng* with motion verbs to denote the action or movement away from the deictic centre, the speaker, are given in (530).

(530) (a) *weúyahaùngpèà takhāteú útsátnàngmā* (08:14)

weú yahaùng =pè út-sàt-**àng** =mā
water river =LOC abandon-descend-**DIR$_1$** =RLS
'Throw (it) down to the river.'

(b) *cānsíttáhaík tántātnàngmā* (07:112)

cānsíttá =haík tán-tāt-**àng** =mā
PN =ABL beat-release-**DIR$_1$** =RLS
'Kyansitta beat and sent (him) away.'

The particle *àng* also indicates spatial displacement 'away', as in (531).

(531) (a) *zíngyōkpanáqtè īyàngmā* (05:4)

zíngyōk =panáq =tè **ī-àng** =mā
order =NOM =A.AG **give-DIR$_1$** =RLS
'(We) gave away a slave girl.' (Lit. the ordered one)

(b) *salàshī phà īyàngmā* (08:123)

salà-shī-phà-à	**ī-àng**	=mā
banana-CLT.fruit-CLF.bunch-one	**give-DIR$_1$**	=RLS

'(I) gave away a bunch of bananas (to him).'

With action verbs, it indicates actions performed with self volition or strong intention. See illustration in (532).

(532) (a) *laúkléyaúk ūhaū kápmàngmā* (19:1)

laúklé	=yaúk	ūhaū	káp-**àng**	=mā
sling.shot	=COM	owl	shoot-**DIR$_1$**	=RLS

'(Someone) shot an owl with a sling shot.'

(b) *hīng awàtè yīmàngmā* (25:32)

hīng	awà	=tè	yīm-**àng**	=mā
3SG	father	=A.AG	arrest-**DIR$_1$**	=RLS

'(The man) arrested his father.'

7.2.2.3 *ìng* 'directional: toward the deictic centre'

The particle *ìng*, in contrast to *àng*, indicates an action or movement toward the deictic centre[27]. The idea of movement toward the speaker's location is particularly true when *ìng* follows motion verbs in Kadu, as illustrated in (533).

[27] This particle resembles Burmese ခဲ့ <hke.>, which Allott says is used when "the speaker associates a specific action carried through in one location (in space or time) with another location." As it is related to the speaker, she called it "speaker oriented" (Allot 1965:299).

(533) (a) *àngpanáq sàtnìngmā kasà* (18:44)

àng =panáq sàt-**ìng** =mā kasà
that =NOM descend-**DIR$_2$** =RLS tiger
'That tiger came down (toward us).'

(b) *tóngmaīkalàng kátnìngthàmā* (18:80)

tóng maī kalàng kát-**ìng**-thà =mā
three mile approximate run-**DIR$_2$**-must =RLS
'(We) came running about three miles.'

(c) *paúlaú paúlaú zalaútnìngmaták* (08:16)

paúlaú-paúlaú zalaút-**ìng** =mā =ták
floating-REDUP drift-**DIR$_2$** =RLS =HS
'(The raft) came drifting (towards them), it is said.'

When *ìng*, together with the realis marker *mā*, follows activity verbs it indicates a 'speaker oriented' deictic sense, usually with 'past' reference. It may be interpreted as 'to V elsewhere and be here now' in English. Consider the examples in (534).

(534) (a) *atá yōkmā* (AKYS)

atá yōk =mā
rice eat =RLS
'I ate/eat rice.' or 'I am eating rice.'

(b) *atá yōkìngmā* (AKYS)

atá yōk-**ìng** =mā
rice eat-**DIR$_2$** =RLS
'I ate rice (before I came here).'

The example in (534a) simply indicates a realis situation, which may be interpreted with past or present reference. However, when *ìng* is used together with the realis marker *mā*, the interpretation with present time reference is not possible.

The time reference with *ìng* may be 'remote past' or 'near past'. It is usually determined by time adverbials such as *yàkmák* 'today', *maeútóng* 'long ago' or simply the pragmatics of the situation. Consider the examples in (535).

(535) (a) *yákmák pūhángìngmā* (25:130) (near past time reference)

yàkmák	pū-háng-**ìng**	=mā
today	emerge-back-**DIR$_2$**	=RLS

'(I) came out (of the prison) today.'

(b) *àntákkáé ngáywā teūtìngmā* (10:31) (remote past time reference)

àntàk	=ká	=é	ngá	ywā	teū-ta-**ìng**	=mā
3PL	=TOP	=SAP	five	village	establish-L.SUFF-**DIR$_2$**	=RLS

'They had founded/established five villages.'

Unlike with action verbs, when *ìng* occurs with state verbs (particularly true with mental perception verbs), the sense of physical movement is blocked and it simply indicates the situation happened in a past time frame.

(536) (a) *mōksótàk ngaúkà katùngìngmaták* (15:64)

mōksó-tàk	ngaúkà	**katùng-ìng**	=mā	=ták
hunter-PL	as.for	**see-DIR$_2$**	=RLS	=HS

'Hunters saw (them), it is said.'

(b) *ósací ngaúpanáq teútpūìngmā* (AKYS)

ósací	ngaú	=panáq	**teútpū-ìng**	=mā
teacher	say	=NOM	**hear-DIR$_2$**	=RLS

'I heard what the teacher said.'

(c) *theūtheūwāwā ngāìngmā* (11:15)

theūtheū	wāwā	**ngā-ìng**	=mā
grandly	ATTW	**exist-DIR$_2$**	=RLS

'(They) became wealthy.'

ìng plus *kū* with other action verbs indicates the probability of an unrealised situation.

(537) (a) *ngāpáq cítnìng kaphú yōkìngkū* (13:20)

ngā	=pà	cīt-ìng	kaphú	yōk-**ìng**	=**kū**
1SG	=ALL	come.close-DIR$_2$	snake	eat-**DIR$_2$**	**=IRLS**

'Come close toward me, the snake will eat you (there).'

(b) *hamàngkà lūìngkū aheúhà* (08:87)

ha=màng=kà	lū-**ìng**	**=kū**	a-heú-hà	=á
WH=thing=Q	get-**DIR$_2$**	**=IRLS**	NEG-tell-know.how	=NEG

'(I) don't know what (she) will get.'

I have already mentioned that the plural particle *cí* precedes *ìng* and *àng* within the VCX. When *cí* is followed by one of these particles, it results in vowel fusion. See the discussion on fusion in §2.8.1. I will not repeat the discussion of this phonological process here but, instead, simply illustrate it with a few examples, as in (538).

(538) (a) *hamàngkà ōmnímcànglá* (30:41) (*cí + àng > càng*)

ha = màng = kà ōm-ním-**càng** = lá
WH = thing = Q make-stay-**PL:DIR$_1$** = Q
'What are (they) doing?'

(b) *taleú zángcìng* (30:41) (*cí + ìng > cìng*)

taleú záng-**cìng**
dangling put.in-**PL:DIR$_2$**
'(You plural) put (the noodle) in dangling position!'

Any of the CFPs discussed in §7.1 can follow the directional verbal particles *ìng* and *àng*. However, when *pán* 'COS' immediately follows one of these particles, the two forms result in fusion thus forming a monosyllabic word. The rule is *ìng + pán > píng* and *àng + pán > pàng*. There is tone sandhi with fused forms. If the preceding syllable is a high tone e.g. '*á* ' the fused form takes the low tone. However, if the preceding syllable is either a low or mid tone (e.g. '*à* ' or '*ā* ') the fused form takes the high tone. The examples in (539) illustrate the fused form of *àng + pán > pàng*.

(539) (a) *ózītóngtè sanànpán lā**páng**ták* (08:73)

ózī-tóng = tè sanàn = pán lā = **páng** = ták
drum-big = A.AG snatch = COS take = **DIR$_1$:COS** = HS
'(He) snatched the drum and took (it) away, it is said.'

(b) *cīhaík ngaúpàngták* (12:51)

cī = haík ngaú = **pàng** = ták
dog = ABL say = **DIR$_1$:COS** = HS
'The dog said, it is said.'

The examples in (540) illustrate the fused form of *ìng + pán > pìng*.

(540) (a) *kaphúká pūpíngták* (13:50)

kaphú	=ká	pū	=**píng**	=ták
snake	=TOP	emerge	=**DIR$_2$:COS**	=HS

'The snake came out, it is said.'

(b) *tátlúng lāhángpìng* (12:94)

tátlúng	lā-háng	=**pìng**
magic.ball	take-back	=**DIR$_2$:COS**

'(He) took back the magic ball.'

7.2.3 Modal auxiliaries

Syntactically, modal auxiliaries occur following verbal particles (§7.2.2) and preceding CFPs (§7.1). In English they convey "the relationship between the referent of the subject NP and the action" (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:41). In general, two types of modals may be classified: deontic and epistemic. The former provides information on the obligation, capacity, ability, possibility, and permission of the actor to perform the action. The latter, on the other hand, conveys "the extent to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition" (Bybee 1994:179). Deontic and epistemic modalities are discussed in §7.2.3.1 and §7.2.3.2, respectively.

7.2.3.1 Deontic modality

Modal auxiliaries with a deontic reading attested in Kadu are shown in (541). Each will be discussed subsequently.

(541) *hà* ‘be accustomed to, habitual, know how’
kák ‘desiderative’
haút ‘desiderative’
thà ‘permission, obligation, necessary’
yeūn ‘can, ability, permission’

The question, “Does the referent know how to do the action expressed by the predicate?” is answered by the term *hà*, glossed as ‘know.how’. It indicates the agent referent’s learned ability, skill, and knowledge. It may be translated into English as ‘know how’ or ‘able to’, as illustrated in (542).

(542) (a) *tākpáyí yūhàmā* (07:35)

tākpá	=yí	yū-**hà**	=mā
palm	=also	look-**know.how**	=RLS

‘(He) knows how to read palms, as well.’ Or ‘He is able to read palms, as well.’

(b) *chíthaúng tú tapaúkhàmā* (25:128)

chíthaúng	tú	tapaúk-**hà**	=mā
bag	language	speak-**know.how**	=RLS

‘The bag knows how to speak.’ Or ‘The bag can speak.’

The term *hà* has other functions as well. It is used to mark a customary or habitual action. Habituality is defined as “...a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time–so extended, in fact, that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but precisely as a characteristic feature of a whole period” (Comrie 1976:27-28). In English, habituality includes two types: present and past. E.g., ‘He goes to the office’ and ‘He used to go to the office’. The former indicates that the event is taking place regularly at speech time and beyond. The latter, however,

indicates that the event was a customary action in the past but it no longer holds true at speech time. Kadu, unlike English, does not distinguish present and past habituality. The only way to make the present and past habituality distinction is to use a time adverbial phrase like *talìnghā* 'last year', as in (543b).

(543) (a) *hīng mandalaypà nāngmā* (AKYS)

hīng	mandalay	=pà	nāng-**hà**	=mā
3SG	PN	=ALL	go-**know.how**	=RLS

'He goes/used to go to Mandalay.'

(b) *talìnghā hīng mandalaypà nāngmā* (AKYS)

talìnghā	hīng	mandalay	=pà	nāng-**hà**	=mā
last.year	3SG	PN	=ALL	go-**know.how**	=RLS

'Last year, he went/used to go to Mandalay.' (but not anymore)

The interpretation of *hà* as either as a modal auxiliary or a marker of habituality is pragmatically determined. Consider the examples in (544).

(544) (a) *kweú ngaúkà shīshīpalíq yōkhàlakàé* (08:62)

kweú	ngaúkà	shīshī-palíq	yōk-**hà**	=lakà	=é
monkey	as.for	fruit-ATTW	eat-**know.how**	=MIR	=SAP

'Monkeys eat fruit (from time to time)'. Or 'The monkey knows how to eat fruit.'

(b) *hīng mandalaypà nānghàmā* (AKYS)

hīng	mandalay	=pà	nāng-**hà**	=mā
3SG	PN	=LOC	go-**know.how**	=RLS

'He goes to Mandalay (from time to time).' Or 'He knows how to go to Mandalay.'

Unlike temporary habitual action with *hà*, ngomic situations, "events that are regarded as timeless because they hold true for all time, but they still can be regarded as in effect at the moment of speech" (Bybee, Perkins et al. 1994:141), are expressed with the realis CFP *mā*, as illustrated in (545).

(545) (a) *cī súkmā*

cī súk =mā
dog bark =RLS
'Dogs bark.'

(b) *tamìsā atá yōkmā*

tamìsā atá yōk =mā
people food eat =RLS
'People eat/ate food.'

The question, "Does the referent have an obligation to do the action mentioned by the predicate?" is answered by the modal *thà*, glossed as 'must'. It denotes compulsion, permission, and obligation. The modal *thà* has an identical form with the copula *thà*, however synchronically it is not the copula, as there are cases where the copula *thà* is followed by the modal *thà*, as in (546c). When the modal *thà* is followed by the irrealis marker *kū* it indicates a strong suggestion or compulsion, as in (546).

(546) (a) *nāng nāngthàkū* (07:19)

nāng nāng-**thà** =kū
2SG go-**must** =IRLS
'You must go.'

(b) *naká zōkshīwaleú lāthàkūták ngatè* (15:93)

naká	zōkshī-waleú	lā-**thà**	=kū	=ták
dragon	breast-liquid	take-**must**	=IRLS	=HS

'(You) must bring dragon's milk, it is said.'

(c) *céttaú thàthàkū* (10:48)

céttaú	thà	-**thà**	=kū
PN	be	-**must**	=IRLS

'(It) must be Cettau.'

However, when it is followed by the realis marker *mā*, it simply denotes a strong obligation which can be translated as 'must' or 'have to', as in (547).

(547) (a) *haúk ōmthàmā* (40:35)

haúk	ōm-**thà**	=mā
hill.field	make-**must**	=RLS

'We have to cultivate the hill field.'

(b) *maūtékkatú sèktàk àngpè līthàmā* (11:9)

maūtékkatú	sèk	-tàk	àng	=pè	lī-**thà**	=mā
PN	Kadu	person	-PL	that	=LOC come-**must**	=RLS

'The Mauteik Kadu have to come to that place.'

The question, "Does the referent have the desire or willingness to do the action expressed in the predicate?" is answered by the modal *kák* [28] or *haút*. Both are glossed as 'want' and they can be used interchangeably in many cases to denote a desiderative

[28] This particle has the same semantic sense as Burmese ချင် <hkrang>, *thwa:hhrang* 'want to go', *thi.hkrang* 'want to know'; and also Lahu *gâ* : *qay gâ* 'want to go', *šī gâ* 'want to know'. Matisoff supposed that it may have once had an independent verbal meaning like 'think of conatively; desire' (Matisoff 1991:394).

meaning. However, *kát* is used more frequently than *haút*. They both can be translated into English as 'want to V'. The modal *kák* is illustrated in (548).

(548) (a) *aswē hāhángyeúnnaà heúkāàngkákmā* (09:1)

aswē	hàháng	=yeún	=naà	heú-kā-àng-**kák**	=mā
friend	Kachin	=BEN	=only	tell-show-DIR_1-**want**	=RLS

'I want to tell (the story) for (my) Kachin friend.'

(b) *tángngà yōkkákmā* (26:4)

tángngà	yōk-**kák**	=mā
fish	eat-**want**	=RLS

'(I) want to eat fish.'

The desire for food, water and to do something is expressed by the modal *haút*[29]. The examples in (549) exemplify the desiderative construction with *haút*.

(549) (a) *atá yōkhaútpìng maūng ngaká* (18:7)

atá	yōk-**haút**	=píng	maūng	ngā	=ká
rice	eat-**want**	$=DIR_2$:COS	boy	1SG	=TOP

'I am hungry.' (Lit. Boy! I am hungry)

(b) *weú yōkhaútnā* (AKYS)

weú	yōk-**haút**	=mā
water	eat-**want**	=RLS

'(I) am thirsty.'

The question, "Does the referent have the ability to do the action expressed by the predicate?" is answered by the modal *yeūn*, glossed as 'can'. It is also not relatable to a

[29] It may have derived from the Tai (Shan) word *hiw* 'hungry'.

lexical meaning. Unlike *hà* in (542), which indicates referent's learned ability, it denotes semantic notions such as physical ability or capability, as in (550).

(550) (a) *azàk taípītè náyeūnpán* (07:97)

azàk taípī =tè ná-**yeūn** =pán
PN country =A.AG win-**can** =COS
'(We) can win the Kadu kingdom.'

(b) *hīng cíng ceúyeūnnā* (AKYS)

hīng cíng ceú-**yeūn** =mā
3SG letter read-**can** =RLS
'He can read the letter.'

(c) *leúzíyeū tayā lūtayeūnnā* (13:60)

leú-zíyeū-tayā lū-ta-**yeūn** =mā
ox.cart-CLF.cart-one.hundred offer-L.SUFF-**can** =RLS
'(He) can offer a hundred ox carts.'

It also denotes the semantic notion of permissibility, as in (551).

(551) *nāng pūháng sāngháng ōmyeūnnā* (07:54)

nāng pū-háng sāng-háng ōm-**yeūn** =mā
2SG emerge-back enter-back make-**can** =RLS
'You may/can freely go in and out of my palace.'

7.2.3.2 Epistemic modality

The question, "What is the speaker's assessment of the likelihood of the action mentioned by the predicate?" may be answered in several ways. One structure is to use

the copula followed by the modal *thà* 'must' and the realis *kū*. See the examples in (546). The auxiliary verbs *māt* 'truly' and *pheú* 'suppose', which also have epistemic meanings, are discussed in §7.2.1.6. The auxilary *lū*, which is relatable to the lexical verb *lū* 'get' or 'obtain' also has an epistemic sense. Consider the examples in (552). Example (552a) illustrates *lū* as the main verb of the clause, whereas example (552b) illustrates the word *lū* as a modal auxiliary with an epistemic meaning.

(552) (a) *sā lūwàngmā* (11:13)

sā	**lū**-àng	=mā
son	**get-**DIR_1	=RLS

'She got pregnant.' (Lit. She got a child)

(b) *hīng shímásà hīng ēktè lālūkū* (15:81)

hīng	shí	=másà	hīng	ēk	=tè	lā-**lū**	=kū
3SG	die	=only.if	3SG	wife	=A.AG	take-**get**	=IRLS

'It is probable that he will take the wife when he dies.'

Reduplication of *nīng* (§11.1.6) following a VCX also has an epistemic reading, which may be interpreted in English as 'seems to be', or 'looks like', as illustrated in (553).

(553) (a) *hīng zaūknīngnīng* (AKYS)

hīng	zaūk	=**nīng**	=**nīng**
3sg	tall	=**manner**	=**REDUP**

'He seems tall.'

(b) *anáq nayánīngnīng* (AKYS)

anáq	nayá	=nīng	=nīng
this	new	=manner	=REDUP

'It looks new.'

7.3 Aspectual particles

Five verbal particles that indicate aspectual meaning are *túń/yúń* 'still', *yók* 'intrusive', *zík* 'finally' and *pán* 'change of state' . Syntactically the particles *túń* and *zík* occur in the same slot as *mā* 'realis' and *kū* 'irrealis' in the VCX. However, with the particles *yók* and *pán* the irrealis marker *kū* may follow to indicate irrealis situation.

The particles *túń/yúń* have similar functions to Burmese သေး <thei:>, and the use of *yók* and *zík* are similar to Burmese ဦး <um:> and တော့ <to.> respectively. The functions of these particles in Burmese are best explained by Okell (1979). Okell, adopting Michael Morrissey's (1973) view, pointed out that these morphemes, similar to 'still', 'yet' and 'anymore' in English, "have to do with a primary time of reference, often 'now', and an implied secondary time, which is previous to the first" (Okell 1976:69). Adapting Okell's approach, I will use symbols Ω and Δ to represent two time frames and occurrence or non-occurrence of a situation is symbolised as '+' and '-' respectively. Quoting exmples from Okell (1976), for example 'Mr. Jones is still tampering with the lock' was represented as +Ω +Δ, which includes both 'Mr. Jones is (now) tampering (+Ω)', and 'Mr. Jones was (previously) tampering (+Δ)'. Similarly, 'Mr. Jones isn't tampering with the lock anymore' can be represented as -Ω +Δ: -Ω 'he

is not tampering (now)', and +Δ 'he was tampering (previously)'. Each aspectual particle that relates two time frames in Kadu is discussed in the following sections.

7.3.1 *pán* 'change of state'

The CFP *pán*, glossed as 'change of state (COS)', marks a change of state or situation. This concept of COS may be unusual in European languages, however, it is well attested in Southeast and East Asian languages (Wheatley 1982:220). This particle *pán*, like ပြီ <pri> in Burmese, indicates that at the moment of speaking the point of realisation of the action or state indicated by the verb has been reached (Allot 1965:289). It may be translated as with a sense of inchoative meaning 'already' in English. In this section, I will use the Greek ahphabets omega (Ω) and delta (Δ) to resprents two time frames, present and past respectively. This change of situation in positive clauses with *pán* may be represented as +Ω -Δ, and conversely, -Ω +Δ in negative clauses. Clauses with the CFP *pán* are illustrated in (554). For the expressions of -Ω –Δ and +Ω +Δ in Kadu see also *mā* 'realis' (§7.1.1) and *kū* 'irrealis' (§7.1.2).

(554) (a) *yatéq līpán* (13:64)

yatéq lī =**pán**
hermit come =COS
'The hermit has come.' or 'The hermit is coming.'

(b) *síngngeútshī cúnpè thōkpán* (12:61)

síngngeút-shī cún =pè thōk =**pán**
fig-CLT.fruit island =LOC arrive =COS
'(He) reached fig tree island.'

(c) *ngatè haláng atūngākpán* (06:30)

ngā	=tè	haláng	a-tūngāk	=pán
1SG	=A.AG	head	NEG-bow	=COS

'(He) no longer bows his head to me.'

(d) *amúká alīhángpán* (15:38)

amú	=ká	a-lī-háng	=pán
brother	=TOP	NEG-come-back	=COS

'(The) older brother did not come back.'

General affirmative responses to questions such as "has it/s/he V-ed?" in Kadu would be sentences like those just mentioned above. The implication can be made from the examples in (554) that at the time of speaking, the anticipated action has finally come to fulfillment and the activity is now in progress. Therefore translation to render this construction in English would be "has V-ed', or 'is V-ed." For example with a process like cook or ripen: 'has cooked/is cooked' or 'has ripened/is ripe'.

pán may occur both with stative and dynamic verbs. When it occurs with stative verbs like *katùng* 'see', and *míngsàhà* 'know', it indicates the situation has entered into a new stage or state at the speech time. For example, compare the two examples below.

(555) (a) *phú nátcípanáqtè katùngmā* (17:42)

phú	nát-cí	=panáq	=tè	**katùng**	**=mā**
silver	use-PL	=NOM	=A.AG	**see**	**=RLS**

'(I) see/saw (people) spending money.'

(b) *húng nát ngaúkà katùngpánták* (07:101)

húng	nát	ngaúkà	**katùng**	**=pán**	=ták
PN	spirit	as.for	**see**	**=COS**	=HS

'The Hung spirit saw (the people who are in trouble), it is said.'

Example (555a) simply states that the entity has seen or sees a situation (people spending money). However, (555b) indicates a change of state from a non-seeing stage to seeing stage. Similar situations can be also exemplified by the verb of knowing, as in (556).

(556) (a) *hīng míngsàhàmā*

hīng	míngsàhà	=mā
3SG	know	**=RLS**

'He knows.'

(b) *hīng míngsàhàpán*

hīng	míngsàhà	=pán
3SG	know	**=COS**

'He knows (it now).' (He didn't know before.)

However, when the COS *pán* is used with action verbs, it has a different semantic interpretation. Unlike with stative verbs, it denotes the meaning of 'now, it has started/begun to V' or 'now it is V-ing'. Consider the examples in (557). Depending on the context, clauses with *pán* may indicated imminent action.

(557) (a) *sāngpaláng līpán* (06:9)

sāngpaláng lī =**pán**
king come =COS
'The king has come.' Or 'The king is coming.'

(b) *atá yōkpán*

atá yōk =**pán**
rice eat =COS
'(I) have eaten.' Or '(I) have started eating rice.'

pán is also often employed in order to express the idea of one action immediately followed by another, see sequential clauses in 11.1.5.

7.3.2 *tún*/*yún* 'still'

The particles *tún* and *yún*, glossed as 'STILL', are in complementary distribution. The former occurs with positive situations and the latter occurs with negative situations. See the examples in (558a) and (558b) respectively.

(558) (a) *maléq ōmtún hātún yōktún ayweù* (17:44)

maléq ōm =**tún** hā =**tún** yōk =**tún** ayweù
1PL make =STILL walk =STILL eat =STILL age
'We are still active/strong.' (Lit. We who are in the age of still working, walking and eating.)

(b) *tángngàtèká ayōkàngyún* (26:12)

tángngà=tè =ká a-yōk-àng =**yún**
fish =A.AG =TOP NEG-eat-DIR_1 =STILL
'(I) still haven't eaten the fish (yet).'

Syntactically, they appear in the same position as CFPs. A clause which ends with *tún* indicates an action/state that was previously occuring and is still occuring at the reference time "now." This situation may be respresented as $+\Omega$ $+\Delta$. The examples in (559) illustrate clauses with the particle *tún*.

(559) (a) *sapùká lùpán mínwúttasà lōtatún* (08:79)

sapù	=ká	lū	=pán	mínwúttasà	lō-ta	**=tún**
horse	=TOP	get	=COS	royal.dress	need-L.SUFF	**=STILL**

'(I) got the horse, (I was needing the royal dress) (I) still need the royal dress now.'

(b) *tamìsāyaà zátúnlá* (24:15)

tamìsā	=yaà	zá	**=tún**	=lá
human	=EUPH	alive	**=STILL**	=Q

'(the person was alive previously,) Is the person still alive?'

Conversely, a clause which ends with *yún* indicates a situation which had not occured previously and has still not occurred now. It may be represented as $-\Omega$ $-\Delta$. The examples in (560) illustrate clauses with the particle *yún*.

(560) (a) *tamìsā ashíyún* (24:18)

tamìsā	**a-**shí	**=yún**
human	**NEG-**die	**=STILL**

'(The person hadn't died previously,) and hasn't died yet.'

(b) *ayōkàngyún* (26:7)

a-yōk-àng	**=yún**
NEG-eat-DIR_1	**=STILL**

'(He didn't eat previously.) He hasn't eaten yet.'

Example (560b) can be read as implying 'the preceding not + V-ing (not eating) and further continuation of the same action. The meaning of the sentence may be understood as '(though the time has come for him to eat), he has not eaten yet'.

7.3.3 *yók* 'intrusive' or 'interruptive'

The particle *yók*, glossed as 'INTRUSIVE', indicates an intrusive or interrupting situation. This particle informs the hearer that an action or situation that is going to take place is a new, intrusive, and mostly a temporary situation. The previous action or situation (usually inferred from context) may resume shortly. Look at the example in (561). This example was taken from the context of a Kadu speaker who was on his way to a paddy field when a fake monk invited him to come to do palmistry.

(561) *līphángyók nāng tākpásà kámàkà yūwàngthàmā* (07:31)

lī-pháng	=**yók**
come-prior	=**INTRUSIVE**

nāng	tākpá-sà	kámàkà	yū-àng	=thāmā
2SG	palm-DIM	so.on	look-DIR_1	=HORT

'Come here first. Let's do palmistry.' (Later you can continue your journey).

The clause with *yók* may be interpreted in English as 'I've been working/doing this for some time, and now I will do something else and may continue that later'. It occurs only in future non-realised situations. Therefore, it can be followed by the CFP *kū* 'irrealis' but hasn't been attested occurring with other CFPs such as *mā* and the ASP *pán*. Consider the examples in (562). (562a) is grammatical, but (562b) and (562c) are not.

(562) (a) *sapáksà mōkīpín sèktè chaúngtayókkū* (15:54)

sapáksà	mōk-ī	=pín	sèk	=tè
dish	cook-give	=NOM	person	=A.AG

chaúng-ta	=**yók**	=kū
spy-L.SUFF	=**INTRUSIVE**	=IRLS

'I will spy on the one who cooked dish/curry (for me).'

(b) **chaúngtayókmā*

chaúng-ta	=**yók**	=mā
spy-L.SUFF	=**INTRUSIVE**	=RLS

(c) **chaúngtayókpán*

chaúng-ta	=**yók**	=pán
spy-L.SUFF	=**INTRUSIVE**	=COS

The particle *yók* cannot occur together with the negative clitic *=á*. However, it may be preceded by the negative imperative clitic *=sà* (§10.2) to indicate an action or situation on hold which may be translated in English as 'do not V it yet'. When *yók* follows the negative imperative enclitic *=sà*, they are fused into a single phonological unit. The rule is *sà + yók > shók*. See the illustrations in (563).

(563) (a) *ínyōkshóklé* (09:77)

ín-yōk-**shók**	=lé
NEG-eat-**NEG.IMP:INTRUSIVE**	=SAP

'Don't eat me yet.'

(b) *ngātè atánshíshók* (15:61)

ngā =tè a-tán-shí-**shók**
1SG =A.AG NEG-beat-die-**NEG.IMP:INTRUSIVE**
'Don't kill/beat me to death yet.'

7.3.4 *zík* 'finally'

The term *zík*, glossed as 'FINALLY', adds the meaning of finality to the predicate. This particle informs the hearer that the action that is going to take place is the final one or something in contrast to the previous action/state. Similar to the particle *yók,* it informs the hearer of some action to take place but also implies the meaning 'you've been doing this for some time, and finally you have to do that'. Clauses with the particle *zík* are shown in (564).

(564) (a) *atá yōkcízík* (15:12)

atá yōk-cí =**zík**
rice eat-PL =**FINALLY**
'(Now,) eat the food.' (We have been walking for many hours)

(b) *kōhángpè zángàngzík* (30:5)

kōnháng =pè záng-àng =**zík**
basket =LOC put.in-DIR_1 =**FINALLY**
'Add (it) to the basket.' (It has been kept outside for two to three days).

(c) *yàkká weú zángìngzík* (30:65)

yàk =ká weú záng-ìng =**zík**
now =TOP water put.in-DIR_2 =**FINALLY**
'Now, add the water.' (We have been making other preparations)

The particle *zík*, like *yók*, cannot occur together with the negative proclitic =*á*. However, it may be preceded by the negative imperative enclitic =*sà* (§10.2). When *zík* follows the negative imperative enclitic =*sà*, like *sà* + *yók* > *shók*, they are fused together into a single phonological unit. The rule is *sà* + *zík* > *shík*. See the illustrations in (565).

(565) (a) *azaúnzónshík* (18:105)

a-zaún-zón =**shík**
NEG-follow.after-CONTINUE =**NEG.IMP:FINALLY**
'Don't continue to follow after.'

(b) *wāntè azūteúpmàngshík* (30:64)

wān =tè a-zū-teúp-àng =**shík**
fire =A.AG NEG-burn-throw-DIR_1 =**NEG.IMP:FINALLY**
'Stop burning the fire.'

7.4 Utterance final particles

Utterance final particles include the particles *lá* 'question', *ták* 'hearsay' and *laká* ~ *lamà* 'mirative'. Structurally, they indicate utterances as questions, reported speech or miratives (suprise or unexpected situations). Syntactically, they follow the VCX and may be phonologically bound with the preceding CFPs. For example, when the hearsay

marking particle *ták* occurs following the realis CFP *mā* , *mā* is reduced to a minor syllable, thus forming the sesquisyllabic word *maták* [mətak] 'realis-hearsay'. However, structurally they are outside of the verb complex and may also appear following noun phrases.

7.4.1 Hearsay marking

We have already discussed in §7.1.2 that the realis marker *mā* is employed to express an event that really happened or is happening. However, no grammatical marking has been attested to indicate events as eye-witnessed in Kadu. The same marker *mā* 'realis' may be employed to indicate a situation that is either eye witnessed or is indisputable common knowledge.

If the situation expressed by the main verb is not the speaker's first hand knowledge, the term *ták*, glossed as 'hearsay (HS)', is obligatorily attached to the VCX following the CFP. We may analyse it as evidential marking, which "... refers to the grammatical marking of the source of evidence for a proposition ..." (Delancey 2001). It may be interpreted as an indirect evidential marker as it indicates the proposition is reported speech or hearsay. Sentences with the term *ták* are illustrated in (566).

(566) (a) *hīngká pòkhápà nāngmaták* (15:29)

hīng	=ká	pòkhá	=pà	nāng	=mā	=**ták**
3SG	=TOP	forest	=ALL	go	=RLS	=**HS**

'He went to the forest, it is said.'

(b) *ngātèká tánshíkūták* (15:109)

ngā	=tè	=ká	tán-shí	=kū	=**ták**
1SG	=A.AG	=TOP	beat-die	=IRLS	=**HS**

'(The king) will kill me, it is said.'

(c) *ēk kalìnghú ngāpánták* (15:113)

ēk	kalìng-hú	ngā	=pán	=**ták**
wife	two-CLF.person	exist	=COS	=**HS**

'(He) now has two wives, it is said.'

(d) *ēktèká aphákáták* (15:9)

ēk	=tè	=ká	a-phák	=á	=**ták**
wife	=A.AG	=TOP	NEG-divorce	=NEG	=**HS**

'(He) didn't divorce (his) wife, it is said.'

ták can also occur following a nominal predicate, as in (567a), or a time adverbial phrase, as in (567b).

(567) (a) *wíqpatùpáqtákyeù heúyàngmā* (05:6)

wíqpatùpáq	=**ták**	=yeù	heú-àng	=mā
PN	=**HS**	=SAP	tell-DIR_1	=RLS

'(He) told (them), (it is) "Wipadupa", it is said.'

(b) *maeúeútóngták sā kalìnghú ngāmaták* (16:1)

maeúeútóng	=**ták**	sā	kalìng-hú	ngā	=mā	=**ták**
long.long.ago	=**HS**	son	two-CLF.person	exist	=RLS	=**HS**

'Long ago, it is said, there were two sons, it is said.'

7.4.2 Mirative

The terms *lakà ~ lakaú* and *lamà* are interchangeably used to indicate when the situation expressed by the main verb, usually first hand knowledge, is an unexpected one for the speaker. Analogous to the hortative (§7.1.3) and imperative (§7.1.4), the default time reference for the mirative expression is the moment of speaking. Clauses that contain the mirative markers *lakà* and *lamà* are illustrated in (568). The example in (568b) was taken from a story about a giant mythical snake. In that story, during the night the snake would come out from its skin and become a man. He then expressed his love to one of the widow's daughters and entered into his skin before dawn. One night the widow found the skin and burned it down. When the snake-man came back, to his surprise, he didn't find his skin.

(568) (a) *cī chēyāhaìng kaūngpeúpánlaká* (12:55)

cī	chēyā	=haìng	kaūng-peú	=pán	=**lakà**
dog	footprint	=exclusive	step.on-keep	=COS	=**MIR**

'Stepped all over, leaving a dog's foot prints only.'

(b) "*ngā salēká ínpòpán lamà*" (23:12)

ngā	salē	=ká	ín-pò	=pán	=**lamà**
1SG	leather	=TOP	NEG-exist	=COS	=**MIR**

'My skin/leather exists no longer.'

The terms *lakà* and *lamà* are also attested occurring immediately after NPs. These particles occurring with nominals indicate an expression as explanatory, which may be glossed as 'of course' or 'after all'. See example (569a). It was taken from a story where the king ordered his officials to bring someone. The one brought before him

unexpectedly happened to be his younger brother. All my language consultants said that the term *lamà* can be replaced by *lakà*, as in (569b), with no difference in interpretation.

(569) (a) *ngā nashīlamà* (15:75)

ngā nashī =**lamà**
1SG younger.brother =MIR
'(It's) my younger brother.'

(b) *ngā nashī lakà*

ngā nashī =**lakà**
1SG younger.brother =MIR
'(It's) my younger brother.'

CHAPTER 8: THE CLAUSE

We have already looked at various elements that make up the verb complex (VCX) in Chapter 7. In that chapter, it was indicated that the VCX itself in Kadu can be a meaningful clause. In this chapter, I will examine consituent order in the clause (§8.1), different predicate clauses (§8.2) and complementation (§8.3). Interrogative and negative clauses will be discussed in Chapters 9 and 10 respectively, and subordinate clauses in Chapter 11.

8.1 Constituent order

Although Kadu has been in contact with Shan, a verb medial language, for many years and the Kadu lexicon includes many Shan loanwords, its basic word order is consistently verb final. A clause may be a VCX alone or may contain a single NP or several NPs. NPs are optionally followed by nominal relational markers (see Chapter 6) which express semantic case-marking and topic marking. The structure of the noun phrase has been discussed in Chapter 4. The arguments of the clause are often absent if they are retrievable from the context. They are syntactically present when needed for disambiguation. Therefore, the presence and order of NPs in the Kadu clause is, as in Chinese, to signal pragmatic factors rather than grammatical relations (LaPolla 1995:297; 2002). Consider the examples in (570).

(570) (a) *sāngpaláng nāngtè tánshíkū* (15:89)

sāngpaláng	**nāng**	**=tè**	tán-shí	=kū
king	**2SG**	**=A.AG**	beat-die	=IRLS

'The king will kill/beat you to death.'

(b) *nāngtè nga yōkkū* (09:26)

nāng	=tè	**ngā**	yōk	=kū
2SG	=A.AG	**1SG**	eat	=IRLS

'I will eat you.'

The structure with the agent NP preceding the patient NP is illustrated in (570a). The order of agent and patient NP arguments is reversed in (570b). In (570b) the agent of the verb, *ngā* '1SG', occurs in the focal position immediately before the verb. Therefore, we can say that the NPs within the clause have pragmatically determined ordering, as in agent > patient > VCX ordering in (570a) and patient > agent > VCX ordering in (570b). The position of arguments within the clause is rather determined by information structure. This is true of arguments of ditransitive verbs as well. See the discussion of ditransitive verbs in §3.1.2.3.3.

Post-verbal constituents are not generally found in careful speech. However, they are attested in narrative texts that were recorded without prior discussion of what will be recorded. Generally, arguments which occur after the VCX as afterthought constituents are less prominent and are often recoverable from the context. Afterthought constituents generally serve as reminders or clarifications of the arguments. Either the agentive NP, as in (571a), the anti-agentive NP, as in (571b), or both NPs can occur as afterthoughts, as in (571c). Afterthought constituents are presented in { } brackets.

(571) (a) *hīng sapùtè kasúmpeúlakà hīngká* (08:112)

hīng sapù =tè kasúm-peú =lakà {hīng =ká}$_{\text{AGENT}}$
3SG horse =A.AG hide-keep =MIR 3SG =TOP
'As for him, he hid the horse.'

(b) *ngāyí katùngkákmā àngpanáq samóntè* (07:48)

ngā =yí katùng-kák =mā {àng =panáq samón =tè}$_{\text{PATIENT}}$
1SG =also see-want =RLS that =NOM monk =A.AG
'I also want to see the monk.'

(c) *anyeù thók thókyeù ōmànglakà hīngká tātmítè* (18:32)

an-yeù thók thók yeù ōm-àng =lakà
DEM-manner ONMT REDUP SAP make-DIR$_1$ =MIR

{hīng =ká}$_{\text{AGENT}}$ {tātmí =tè}$_{\text{PATIENT}}$
3SG =TOP torch =A.AG
'In this manner, he shook the torch "Thok ,Thok."'

8.2 Clause types

Three clause types are discussed, presented in the following order: 8.2.1 Nominal predicate clauses, 8.2.2 Verbal predicate clauses, and 8.2.3 Relative clauses.

8.2.1 Nominal predicate clauses

In nominal predicate clauses, a noun functions as the main predicate. It totally lacks a verb or verbal elements altogether. It usually occurs as two NPs with nothing in between. The second NP functions as the main predicate. Languages like English require the copula verb to be used with nominal predicates as in 'John is a teacher'. However, it

has been attested crosslinguistically that other languages use a noun as the predicate without any sort of copula or verbal elements. It is also attested in Burmese, as in (572).

(572) (a) သူကလူဆိုး (Burmese)

thu	ka.	lu	so:
3SG	SUB	person	bad

'He is a bad person.'

(b) သူကျောင်းဆရာ (Burmese)

thu	kjaun:	hsaya
3SG	school	teacher

'He is a school teacher.'

Kadu nominal clauses, like the Burmese examples above, are attributive clauses, as in (573) or equational clauses, as in (574).

(573) (a) *hīng thīngsací*

hīng	thīng-sací
3SG	village-chief

'He is a chieftain.'

(b) *hīng ósací*

hīng	ósací
3SG	teacher

'He is a teacher.'

(574) (a) *hīngamúká phákhūlū lakaúé* (15:27)

hīng	amú	=ká	phákhūlū	=lakaú	=é
3SG	brother	=TOP	PN	=MIR	=SAP

'His older brother is Phakulu.'

(b) *hīng nashīká phúlùthaū lakaúé* (15:27)

hīng	nashī	=ká	phúlūthaū	=lakaú	=é
3SG	younger.brother	=TOP	PN	=MIR	=SAP

'His younger brother was Phuluthau.'

The topic marker, *ká* (§6.1), in (574a) is optional. It is often employed to disambiguate a free NP from a possessive NP (§4.1.2). If the context is clear to the speaker and hearer,

it is not necessary to insert it. We have already discussed that there is no overt marking on possessor or possessee in Kadu (§4.1.2).

Nominal predicate clauses are also frequently attested with locative predicates, as in (575).

(575) (a) *hīng yangonpè*

hīng yangon =pè
3SG PN =LOC
'He is in Yangon.'

(b) *hīng címpè*

hīng cím =pè
3SG house =LOC
'He is at home.'

8.2.2 Verbal predicate clauses

The verbal predicate clause has a verb as the head of the clause. Independent or main clauses are marked by CFPs (§7.1) and aspectual particles (§7.2.2). Subordinate clauses are marked by subordinate markers in the same position. Subordinate clauses will be discussed in §11.1. We have also discussed patient arguments marked by the anti-agentive marker (A.AG) *tè* to distinguish the patient argument from the agent (§6.2). However, if the patient argument is an inanimate referent, *tè* is optional. In Kadu arguments, either agent, patient or recipient, need not be overtly stated when they are recoverable from the context. Verb classes that can take patient arguments are presented in §3.1.2.3.1. Verbs that do not take a patient argument are presented in §3.1.2.3.2. And also verbs that can take patient and goal or recipient arguments are discussed in §3.1.2.3.3. Since most of the examples in this thesis have verbal predicates, I have not given examples in this section.

8.2.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Kadu precede the head noun. There is no relative pronoun, such as 'who' or 'whom' (which signals animate actor and undergoer in English), in Kadu. Clausal nomination and relative clauses overlap in Kadu. The same nominaliser *panáq* (§3.1.1.2.10) is used in the relative clause construction. Andrews (2007:206) defines relative clauses in the following way. "A relative clause is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause." We have discussed lexical nominalisation in §3.1.1.2.10. In that section, I discussed that a noun may be derived by attaching the term *panáq ~ pín* to the VCX, the term *tìng* to a bare verb (§3.1.1.2.10), or by infixation of *-al-* (§3.2.5) to a monosyllabic verb. In this section, we will be looking at clausal nomination.

Relative clauses may indicate restrictive function–either specific or non-specific. The specific restrictive relative clause is signalled by the absence of the realis CFP *mā* and the non-specific restrictive relative clause is indicated by the presence of the irrealis maker *kū*. Compare the two examples in (576).

(576) (a) *hīng nímpanáq nēyāpèká* (07:84) (Specific)

[[hīng	ním	=panáq]$_{RL}$	nēyā]$_{NP}$	=pè	=ká	
3SG	stay	=NOM	place	=LOC	=TOP	

'At the place he stayed.'

(b) *īpkūpanáq nayā* (18:8) (Non-specific)

[īp =**kū** =**panáq**]$_{RL}$ nēyā]$_{NP}$
sleep =**IRLS** =**NOM** place
'a sleeping place' or 'a place (where we) will sleep'

In (576a) the relative clause has a specific restrictive function where the speaker is indicating a specific place–"the place." However, in (576b) as the irrealis CFP is inserted and so the relative clause has a non-specific restrictive function indicating an indefinite place–"any place" for sleeping.

Multiple relative clauses may modify the same head noun. For example, the example in (577) contains two clauses modifying the head noun *tāngkaū* 'sword'.

(577) *hamántàk īpeúpanáq alōlōsà paūzíngpanáq tāngkaūtóngyaúk yēkwányōkmaták* (15:22)

[[hamán-tàk ī-peú =**panáq**]$_{RL}$ [alōlō-sà paū-zíng =**panáq**]$_{RL}$
spirit-PL give-keep =**NOM** itself-DIM show.up-JUSS =**NOM**

tāngkaū-tóng]$_{NP}$ =yaúk yēk wán-yōk =mā =ták
sword -big =COM hill.field chop-eat =RLS =HS
'With the sword that was given by the spirits and that appeared by itself, (they) cultivate the land for their livihood.'

In the following example in (578), the head noun occurs after each modifying clause. The head noun of the relative clause funtions as the patient argument of the main verb *zīman* 'to plan'.

(578) *azàktè túktakūpanáq azīasīn pahōzītè phyáttakūpanáq azīasīntè hīngká zīmāntapán* (07:23)

[[azàk =tè túk-ta =kū =**panáq**]$_{RL}$ azīazīn]$_{NP}$
PN =A.AG battle-L.SUFF =IRLS =**NOM** plan

[[pahōzī =tè phyát-ta =kū =**panáq**]$_{RL}$ azīazīn]$_{NP}$ =tè
drum =A.AG destroy-L.SUFF =IRLS =**NOM** plan =A.AG

hīng =ká zīmān-ta =pán
3SG =TOP plan-L.SUFF =COS

'He makes a plan for battle and a plan to destroy the drum and the Kadu (Asak) people.'

Relative clauses may also used with a non-restrictive function. In those cases, the relative clauses appears as appositional phrases, as illustrated in (579). Notice the example in (579a) is an afterthought sentence, therefore the topic NP appears after the verbal predicate.

(579) (a) *phú ínlūyeùká aōmyeūná maléq ayànpín sèktàkká* (17:31)

phú ín-lū =yeù =ká a-ōm-yeūn =á
silver NEG-get =SAP =TOP NEG-make-can =NEG

[maléq [[ayàn =pín]$_{RL}$ sèk-tàk]]$_{NP}$ =ká
1PL poor =NOM person-PL =TOP

'We, the poor, without getting payment/money, can't work.'

(b) *ací tóngpanáq nanù hákmā* (AKYS)

[ací [[tóng =panáq] nanù]]$_{NP}$ hák =mā
elephant big =NOM animal roar =RLS

'The elephant, the big animal, roars.'

The personal pronouns discussed in §3.2.3 usually do not occur as the head noun of a restrictive relative clause. However, nouns such as *sèk* 'person' and *tamìsā* 'other people' can take up this position. The term *sèk* occurs more frequently than *tamìsā*. See the illustrations given in (580).

(580) (a) *matàk zíngyōkpanáq tamìsātè īyàngmaták* (04:19)

matàk [[zíngyōk =panáq]$_{RL}$ **tamìsā]$_{NP}$** =tè ī-àng =mā =ták
3PL order =NOM **human** =A.AG give-DIR$_1$ =RLS =HS
'They gave a servant girl (Lit. the ordered one), it is said.'

When the term *sèk* is used as the head noun of a relative clause, the relativising form *pín* occurs much more commonly than its alternate form *panáq*, as in (581).

(581) (a) *alākákpín sèk* (13:5)

[[a-lā-kák =**pín]$_{RL}$** **sèk]$_{NP}$**
NEG-take-want =**NOM** **person**
'(A) jealous person' (Lit. a person who does not want)

(b) *yēk wányōkpín sèk* (13:14)

[yēk wán-yōk =**pín]$_{RL}$** **sèk]$_{NP}$**
hill.field chop-eat =**NOM** **person**
'(A) farmer' (Lit. a person who cuts to eat)

The term *sèk* is often conventionalised to the point where a nominaliser *panáq* or *pín* is no longer required and it may alone function as a nominaliser, as in (582).

(582) (a) *láksamá ōmhàsèk láksamá ōm* (17:14)

[láksamá	ōm-hà	**sèk]**$_{NP}$	láksamá	ōm
carpenter	make-know.how	**person**	carpenter	make

'(people) who know carpentry, work as carpenters'

(b) *heūsèk heūyàmā* (28:21)

[heū	**sèk**]$_{NP}$	heū-à	=mā
borrow	**person**	borrow-EUPH	=RLS

'(person/people) who borrows/borrow (paddy)'

(c) *ēk thàsèkká ngaúmatákseùé* (08:44)

[ēk	thà	**sèk**]$_{NP}$	=ká	ngaú	=mā	=ták	=seùé
wife	be	**person**	=TOP	say	=RLS	=HS	=SAP

'The wife said, it is said.' (Lit. The person who is his wife said, it is said.)

The head noun of relative clauses may be followed by nominal relational markers to indicate its semantic relationship with the main verb. For example, the head noun of a relative clause represents a location in (576a), an agent argument in (580b), and an anti-agentive argument in (580a).

8.3 Complementation

This section examines complementation, particularly sentential complementation, in Kadu. Sentential complementation, according to Noonan (2007:59), involves a syntactic situation in which a sentence or a clause is an argument of a predicate. It may either function as the agentive or anti-agentive argument of that predicate. Three complement

types are discussed in the following sections: (a) embedded complement, (b) embedding with the particle *yeù,* and (c) nominalised complement.

8.3.1 Embedded clauses

In Kadu, independent finite clauses may be embedded as a complement of the main verb. The embedded clause as a complement of the main verb will appear as it is when it is used as an independent clause before a verbal predicate. Without overt marking on the complement clause, the main clause and complement clause are syntactically independent. This kind of embedding is common with direct quote complement of utterance verbs such as *ngaú* 'say' and *heú* 'tell'. Some cognition verbs such as *teútpū* 'hear' and *mānták* 'guess' can also take direct embedded clauses. The following examples illustrate embedding of finite declarative clauses, an irrealis clause in (583a), and a realis clause in (583b), as the quotation complement of the utterance verb *ngaú* 'say'. For clarity, embedded clauses are bracketed with { }.

(583) (a) *zōkshīwaleú laīngthàkū ngaúmā* (15:145)

{zōkshī	waleú	lā-ìng-thà	=kū}	**ngaú**	=mā
breast	liquid	take-DIR_2-must	=IRLS	**say**	=RLS

'(He) said "(you) will have to bring dragon's milk."'

(b) *tángngà yōkkákmā ngaúmā* (26:4)

{tángngà	yōk-kák	=mā}	**ngaú**	=mā
fish	eat-want	=RLS	**say**	=RLS

'He said "(I) want to eat fish."'

The example in (584) illustrates an embedded clause with an utterance verb *heú* 'say'.

(584) *katùngìngmā heúmā* (08:120)

{katùng-ìng =mā} **heú** =mā
see-DIR_2 =RLS **tell** =RLS
'He told (him) "(I) he saw (them)."'

An interrogative sentence may be embedded as a complement clause of the utterance verb *zīngyū* 'ask', as in (585)

(585) *nāng halá ngālá zīngyūmā* (AKYS)

{nāng halá ngā =lá} **zīngyū** =mā
2SG husband exist =Q **ask** =RLS
'(He) asked "do you have a husband?."'

8.3.2 Embedding clauses with *yeù*

Clauses that are embedded may be optionally marked by the particle *yeù*. Throughout this thesis I have glossed this morpheme as 'SAP' because it frequently occurs at the end of utterances like many speaker attitude particles (§3.3.5). However, this morpheme also often appears as a complementiser immediately following an embedded clause. See the illustrations in (586).

(586) (a) *naká zōkshīwaleú lāthàkūyeù ngaúmaták* (15:84)

{naká zōkshī-waleú lā-thà =kū} =**yeù** ngaú =mā =ták
dragon breast-liquid take-must =IRLS =**SAP** say =RLS =HS
'(He) said to (me) "(You) will have to bring dragon's milk."'

(b) *túkháq thōknímpányeù hákmaták* (13:25)

{tókháq	thōk-ním	=pán}	=**yeù**	hák	=mā	=ták
trouble	arrive-stay	=COS	=**SAP**	shout	=RLS	=HS

'(He) shouted, "(I) am in trouble", it is said.'

In the presence of the particle *yeù*, the main clause predicate can be dropped. This is particularly common with the utterance verbs *ngaú* 'say' and *zīngyū* 'ask', as illustrated in (587).

(587) (a) *acíceū phúngtakó tóngmāyeù (ngaúmā)* (07:7)

{acíceù	phóngtakó	tóng	=mā}	=**yeù**	(ngaú	=mā)
extensively	glory.power	big	=RLS	=**SAP**	say	=RLS

'(He said) that (the king) is so powerful.'

(b) *ngayeún īkákláyeù (zīngyū mā)* (08:108)

{ngā	=yeún	ī-kák	=lá}	=**yeù**	(zīngyū	=mā)
1SG	=BEN	give-want	=Q	=**SAP**	ask	=RLS

'(He) asked "Do you want to give (it) to me?"'

The insertion of *yeù* after a complement clause is necessary with other utterance verbs. This is illustrated using the verb *peùt* 'lie', as in (588).

(588) *hīng míngsàhàmāyeúq peúttamā* (AKYS)

{hīng	míngsàhà	=mā}	=**yeù**	peùt-ta	=mā
3SG	know	=RLS	=**SAP**	lie--L.SUFF	=RLS

'(He) lied that he understood.'

8.3.3 Embedding of nominalised clauses

For certian types of verbs the clause it takes as a complement is nominalised. With realis embedded clauses the CFP is obligatorily deleted and the clause is followed by the nominaliser *panáq*. However, with irrealis embedded complement clauses, the irrealis marker *kū* is obligatorily retained in its position to indicate a hypothetical statement, which is then followed by the nominaliser *panáq*. This type of nominalised complement clause is common with indirect quote complement of speech act verbs, attention verbs, propositional attitude verbs, and verbs of evaluation. Some examples of complement clauses, bracketed with { }, are illustrated in (589).

(589) (a) *weúkúpanáq meúmā* (AKYS)

{weúkú	=panáq}	meú	=mā
bathe	=NOM	good	=RLS

'To swim/bathe is good.'

(b) *ngatè yōkkūpanáq ínngaúwàngsà* (09:89)

ngā	=tè	yōk	=kū	=panáq	ín-ngaú-àng		=sà
1SG	=A.AG	eat	=IRLS	=NOM	NEG-say-DIR_1		=NEG.IMP

'Don't say that you will eat me.'

Complement clauses with attention verbs and propositional attitude verbs may be optionally followed by the anti-agentive marker *tè*.

(590) (a) *phú nátcípanáqtè katùngmāseú* (17:42)

phú nát-cí =panáq =**tè** katùng =mā =seú
silver use-PL =NOM =**A.AG** see =RLS =SAP
'I saw that other people spent the money.'

(b) *hīng ngaúpanáqtè yūngtamáq* (AKYS)

hīng ngaú =panáq =tè yūng-ta =mā
3SG say =NOM =A.AG believe-L.SUFF =RLS
'I believe what she said.'

Complement clauses with evaluation verbs and the insertion of an anti-agentive *tè* are considered ungrammatical, as in (591a). However, the topic marker *ká* following the nominalised clause is grammatical, as in (591b).

(591) (a) **shīshātàk ceūpanáqtè āntān meúmā* (AKYS)

shīshā-tàk ceū =panáq =**tè** āntān meú =mā
child-PL sing =NOM =**A.AG** quite good =RLS

(b) *hīng ōmpanáqká āntān kánnā* (AKYS)

hīng ōm =panáq =**ká** āntān kán =mā
3sg make =NOM =**TOP** quite bad =RLS
'What she did was very bad.'

It is also common to find independent clauses occurring with the nominalised phrase *ngaúpanáq* ('say' + 'nominaliser') which may be translated into English as 'as it is to say that' or 'as it is the fact that'.

(592) (a) *hīng míngsàhàmā ngaúpanáq yūngtamáq* (AKYS)

hīng	míngsàhà	=mā	**ngaú**	**=panáq**	yūng-ta	=mā
3SG	know	=RLS	**say**	**=NOM**	trust-L.SUFF	=RLS

'It is to say that I believe/trust that he knows (it).'

(b) *hànīng ōmpán yōklūkū ngaúpanáq míngsàhà mā* (17:83)

{hà	=nīng	ōm	=pán	yōk-lū	=kū	**ngaú**	**=panáq**}
WH	=manner	make	=if	eat-get	=IRLS	**say**	**=NOM**

míngsàhà	=mā
know	=RLS

'I know what (one) needs to do to survive.'

CHAPTER 9: INTERROGATIVES

This chapter looks at yes/no questions, alternative questions, tag questions and WH-questions in Kadu. Some WH-questions words are also used as indefinite pronouns in Kadu and will be discussed subsequently.

9.1 Yes/No interrogatives

The term yes/no interrogative or polar interrogative is used to refer to interrogative clauses for which the expected answer is "yes" or "no." Yes/no questions in Kadu are formed by simply adding either of the two interrogative particles *lá* and *kà* at the end of the phrase. The particle *lá* is employed with a VCX and *kà* with a NP. They may be translated as " is it the case that X?" or "is it X?", respectively. The answer to yes/no questions can be simply affirmation or disaffirmation. The Kadu interrogative particle *lá* is clearly a reflex of the PTB question particle ***la**. Matisoff (2033:231) reconstructed the Proto-Tibeto-Burman interrogative particle as ***la** on the basis of Burmese လား <**la:**> yes/no question particle, Lahu **lâ** 'id' and Newari **lā** 'id' and Meithei **la ~ lə** 'id'. Consider the examples illustrated in (593).

(593) (a) *nāng halá ngālá* (08:94)

nāng	halá	ngā	**=lá**
2SG	husband	exist	=Q

'Do you have a husband?'

(b) *leútsaūng īyànglá* (08:41)

leútsaūng ī-àng =**lá**
gift give-DIR$_1$ =**Q**
'Did you give the gift?

(c) *salàshīká ngayeún īkáklá* (08:108)

salà-shī =ká ngā =yeún ī-kák =**lá**
banana-CLT.fruit =TOP 1SG =BEN give-want =**Q**
'Do you want to give the banana to me?'

The question particle *lá* can also occur with a negated VCX. When *lá* occurs with a negated VCX, the negative clitic =*á* is absent, as in (594). This happen when the speaker is asking whether "someone is willing to do X" or if the counter proposition is true. In (594), the speaker presupposes that the person being questioned wants to do X.

(594) (a) *aswángkáklá nāng* (07:37)

a-swáng-kák =**lá** nāng
NEG-rich-want =**Q** 2SG
'Don't you want to be rich?' (I assume you do)

(b) *salàshī ìīkáklá* (08:109)

salà-shī a-ī-kák =**lá**
banana-CLT.fruit NEG-give-want =**Q**
'Don't you want to give me the banana?' (I assume you do)

The positive reponses to the questions in (594) are given in (595).

(595) (a) *swángkákmā*

swáng-kák =**mā**
rich-want =**RLS**
'Yes, I do.'

(b) *īkákmā*

ī-kák =**mā**
give-want =**RLS**
'Yes, I do.'

In must be noted that there are no words in Kadu that are equivalent to the English words *yes* or *no*. In order to give a *yes* (affirmative) answer the affirmative clause is used and to give a *no* (disaffirmative) answer the negated clause is used. Therefore, the answer to example (594a) could be simply *swángkákmā* "Yes, (I) do" as in (595a), or *ínswángkáká* "No, (I) don't."

Realis and irrealis distinctions can also be made in interrogative mood sentences. Absence of the realis marker *mā* in interrogative sentence indicates a realis mood, as in (593a). The irrealis interrogative mood is made by adding [kə], the reduced form of *kū* 'irrealis', preceding the interrogative particle *lá*, as shown in (596).

(596) (a) *ngā kátpháng**kalá*** (18:70)

ngā kát-pháng =**kū** =**lá**
1SG run-prior =**IRLS** =**Q**
'Shall I run first?'

(b) *līyákcí**kalá*** (18:86)

lī-à-cí =**kū** =**lá**
come-EUPH-PL =**IRLS** =**Q**
'Will (you) come?'

The interrogative marker can also be preceded by the CFP *pán* 'COS', as shown in (597). The structure *pán* followed by *lá* simply questions a change of state situation which may be translated into English as "has it V?"

(597) (a) *thōnká phaúpánlá* (30:20)

thōn =ká phaú =**pán** =**lá**
mortar =TOP wash =**COS** =**Q**
'Have you washed the mortar?'

(b) *tānó tóngpánlá* (30:27)

tānó tóng =**pán** =**lá**
pot place =**COS** =**Q**
'Have you placed the pot?'

The question particle *lá* cannot directly follow a nominal (copula) sentence to ask "is X Y?." Instead the morpheme *kà*, identical with the topic marker except for having a low tone, is employed. This is illustrated in (598a).

(598) (a) *nāng hamánkà* (07:105)

nāng hamán =**kà**
2SG spirit =**Q**
'Are you a spirit?'

(b) **nāng hamánlá*

nāng hamán =**lá**
2SG spirit =**Q**

Some more examples with the question particle *kà* are given in (599).

(599) (a) *nāng tamìsākà* (12:14)

nāng tamìsā =kà
2SG human =Q
'Are you a human?'

(b) *hàpèkà* (18:63)

hà =pè =kà
WH =LOC =Q
'Where is it?'

9.2 Alternative questions

The speakers of Kadu reported that yes/no questions in Kadu can also be expressed by an alternative interrogative expression such as "Is something X or not X." Though I have not attested this alternative question in my corpus, my language consultants said that it is common in their day-to-day speech. In this construction, the speaker provides two possible answers and the hearer is to choose the answer from one of these two possibilities. The affirmative clause usually appears first and the negated form then follows, as shown in (600).

(600) (a) *atá yōkmeúlá, ayōkmeúlá* (AKYS)

atá	yōk-meú	=lá	a-yōk-meú	=lá
rice	eat-good	=Q	NEG-eat-good	=Q

'Is it good to eat or not?'

(b) *nāng nāngkalá, anāngkalá* (AKYS)

nāng	nāng	=kū	=lá	a-nāng	=kū	=lá
2SG	go	=IRLS	=Q	NEG-go	=IRLS	=Q

'Will you go or will you not go?'

9.3 Tag questions

The other way to signal an interrogative in Kadu is to tag on a short question which may be translated into English as "O.K?; right?' at the end of the clause. The tag question is formed by the verb *chī* 'true' followed by the question particle *lá*. The tag question is usually reduplicated, thus forming V_1 + Q + V_1 + Q or used as alternative question V_1 + Q + NEG V_1 + Q. It is often heard as V_1 + (Q) + (NEG) V_1 + Q. There is tone

sandhi on the second token of *chī*. It usually takes the high tone. In fast speech, the *lá* between the verbs changes its tone from high to mid and it is often omitted in fast speech. The intonation of the four syllable taq question is mid-mid-high-low, see line one of (601). In my morpheme analysis, line two, however, the underlying tone is shown.

(601) (a) *tamìsātákká tāyātapè nímcílakà* ***chīlāchílà*** (10:47)

tamìsā-tàk	=ká	tāyā-ta	=pè	ním-cí	=lakà
human-PL	=TOP	pleasant-L.SUFF	=LOC	stay-PL	=MIR

chī	(=lá)	chī	=lá
true	(=Q)	true	=Q

'People live in pleasant places, isn't that true?'

(b) *lūpángseú phúpalòt ngónpalòt chīlāchílà* (07:40,41))

lū	=pán	=seú	phú-palòt	ngón-palòt
get	=COS	=SAP	silver-heap	gold-heap

chī	(=lá)	(a-)chī		=lá
true	(=Q)	(NEG-)true		=Q

'(He) got heaps of gold and silver, isn't that true?'

9.4 WH- questions

Kadu WH- questions are formed by attaching the WH-word forming morphemes, *mà* or *hà*, glossed as 'WH', to specific nominals or nominal postpositions. They are interchangeably used and may be reduced to *ma* [mə] and *ha* [hə]. However, the occurence of *mà* is much more frequent than *hà* in my corpus. These forms are obligatorily followed by postpositions or other nouns to specify what type of question is

being asked. The WH-words cannot be directly followed by nominal class terms or numeral classifiers. Kadu question words, as in many other languages, are used to indicate that the clause is a question and to indicate what information is being requested (Payne 1997:299-300). The WH-word remains in-situ, in the slot where the referent being questioned would normally occur. A WH- question clause with a verbal precidate takes the question particle *lá* and a nominal predicate takes the question particle *kà*. The question-word forms of Kadu are listed in Table 29.

WH-word	Postpositions/nouns		Meaning
mà- ~ hà-	*màng*	'thing'	'what'
	hameú	'person'	'who'
	nīng ~ nīngyeù	'manner'	'how'
	naík	'many'	'how many'
	neúq	'much'	'how much'
	pà	'ablative'	'where to'
	pè	'locative'	'where at'
	haík	'allative'	'where from'
	panáq	'nominaliser'	'which one'

Table 29: WH-words in Kadu

9.4.1 *hamàng* 'what'

The WH-word *mà ~ hà* followed by the term *màng*, glossed as 'thing', forms the 'what' question word. It has a non-human implication. The 'what' question word in Kadu is illustrated in (602) and (603).

(602) *nāngká* ***hamàngkà*** *lākáklá* (12:29)

nāng	=ká	**hà**	**=màng**	=kà	lā-kák	=lá
2SG	=TOP	**WH**	**=thing**	=Q	take-want	=Q

'What do you want to take?'

(603) *nāng satóngtèà mamàngkà pweúq īkalá* (04:26)

nāng	satóng	=tè	**mà-=màng**	=kà	pweúq	ī	=kū	=lá
2SG	grandchild	=A.AG	**WH=thing**	=Q	degree	give	=IRLS	=Q

'What royal title (Lit. degree) will you give to your grandchild?'

9.4.2 *manaík* 'how many'

The WH-word *mà* followed by the term *naík*, glossed as 'many', forms the 'how many' question word. It is used with count nouns. Though my language consultants said that *hà* may also occur in this position, using *mà* before *naík* is much more natural. In my corpus, *hà-* is not attested occuring with *naík*. The question word *mà* plus *naík* is used to inquire about the quantity and measurement of something. This question word is always followed by a classifier (Chapter 5) in order to clarify the specific referent that is being asked about. This is illustrated in (604).

(604) (a) *manaíksatá* (28:4)

mà	**=naík**-satá
WH	**=many**-CLF.month

'How many months?'

(b) *manaíksaúk* (07:27)

mà＝naík-salaúk
WH＝many-CLF.cubit
'How many feet?'

(c) *manaíkhú pūwìngkalá* (10:4)

mà＝naík-hú	pū-ìng	＝kū	＝lá
WH＝many-CLF.person	emerge-DIR_2	＝IRLS	＝Q

'How many (of you) will come out?'

9.4.1 *màneúq* 'how much'

The WH-word *mà* followed by the term *neúq*, glossed as 'as much as', forms the question word 'how much' in Kadu. It is used with mass nouns to inquire about the amount or approximation of something. This question word cannot be followed by a classifier. This is exemplified in (605).

(605) (a) *maneúq kalàng kátnìngthàlá* (18:80)

mà＝neúq	kalàng	kát-ìng-thà	＝lá
WH＝as.much.as	approximate	run-DIR_2-must	＝Q

'How much distance have (you) come running?'

(b) *anáq sāngsūng maneúq īìnglá* (AKYS)

anáq	sāngsūng	**mà＝neúq**	ī-ìng	＝lá
this	shirt	**WH＝as.much.as**	give-DIR	＝Q

'How much did you pay for this shirt?'

The term *neúq* may also occur with other nouns to denote an approximation of something (§6.8). An example of this type is illustrated in (606).

(606) *tóngmótá mōkshāneúq tóngpìngták* (06:25)

tóngmótá	mōkshā	=**neúq**	tóng	=píng	=ták
3yr.old	calf(cow)	=**as.much.as**	big	=DIR_2:COS	=HS

'(The lizard) grew to about the size of a three year old calf.'

9.4.2 *màhameú* 'who'

The WH-word *mà* followed by the term *hameú*, glossed as 'person', forms the question word 'who' in Kadu. It is used to refer to humans and is illustrated in (607).

(607) (a) *nāngká màhameúkà* (12:26)

nāng	=ká	**mà=hameú**	=kà
2SG	=TOP	**WH=person**	=Q

'Who are you?'

(b) *ngaká màhameúyaúk nímkalá* (15:38)

ngā	=ká	**mà=hameú**	=yaúk	ním	=kū	=lá
1SG	=TOP	**WH=person**	=COM	stay	=IRLS	=Q

'With whom will I stay?'

9.4.3 *manīng* 'how' or 'in which manner'

The WH-word *mà* followed by the term *nīng ~ nīngyeù*, glossed as 'like' (§11.1.6), forms the question word 'how' or 'in which manner' in Kadu. It is used to inquire about the manner in which something is done or has been done. This is illustrated in (608).

(608) (a) *manīngyeù ōmkalá* (07:8)

mà=nīngyeù ōm =kū =lá
WH=manner make =IRLS =Q
'How shall (we) do?'

(b) *manīng peúkalá* (11:46)

mà=nīng peú =kū =lá
WH=manner keep =IRLS =Q
'How shall we keep/place (them)?'

9.4.4 *màpanáq* 'which one'

The WH- word *mà-* followed by the nominaliser *panáq* (§3.1.1.2.10) forms the question word 'which one' or 'which thing' in Kadu. This is illustrated in (609).

(609) (a) *màpanáq amaūngsàkà* (15:107)

mà=panáq amaūng-sà =kà
WH=NOM boy-DIM =Q
'Which boy is it?'

(b) *mapanáq kalùnkà* (07:27)

mà=panáq kalùn =kà
WH=NOM plant =Q
'Which tree is it?'

9.4.5 *hàpà ~ màpà* 'where to'

The WH-word *mà* or *hà* followed by the allative marker *pà* (§6.4) forms the question word 'where to' or 'which direction' in Kadu. This is illustrated in (610).

(610) (a) *héq amaūngsà hàpà nāngkalá* (07:32)

héq	amaūng-sà	**hà=pà**	nāng	=kū	=lá
hey!	boy-DIM	**WH=ALL**	go	=IRLS	=Q

'Hey buddy, where (which direction) are you going?'

(b) *hàpà kátnànglá* (08:3)

hà	**=pà**	kát-àng	=lá
WH	**=ALL**	run-DIR_1	=Q

'Where (which direction) did (he) run to?'

9.4.6 *hàpè* 'where at'

The WH-word *mà* followed by the locative marker *pè* (§6.3) forms the question word 'where at' or 'which place' in Kadu. It is used to ask about the location of the action. This is illustrated in (611).

(611) (a) *nāngká hàpè īpkalá* (18:15)

nāng	=ká	**hà**	**=pè**	īp	=kū	=lá
2SG	=TOP	**WH**	**=LOC**	sleep	=IRLS	=Q

'Where (which place) will you sleep?'

(b) *hàpè nāngthàkalá* (25:6)

hà	**=pè**	nāng-thà	=kū	=lá
WH	**=LOC**	go-must	=IRLS	=Q

'Where (which place) will (I) have to go?'

9.4.7 *hamàng ngātéq* 'why'

The cause or reason is questioned by the clausal expression *hamàng ngātéq* (WH-thing be reason/for) 'for what reason, why?'. It is the only place in my corpus where the form *téq* is attested. It is probably an allomorph of the anti-agentive marker *tè*.

(612) (a) *hamàng ngātéq ōmlá nāng* (07:107)

hà	=màng	ngā	=téq	ōm	=lá	nāng
WH	=thing	exist	=reason	make	=Q	2SG

'Why did you do that?'

(b) *nāngká hamàngngātéq hāplá* (25:158)

nāng	=ká	**hà**	**=màng**	**ngā**	**=téq**	hāp	=lá
2SG	=TOP	**WH**	**=thing**	**exist**	**=reason**	weep	=Q

'Why did you cry?'

9.5 WH-question word as indefinite pronouns

WH-question words in Kadu may also function as indefinite pronouns denoting notions such as 'whoever', 'whatever', 'wherever', 'anyone', or 'anything'. There is no distinction of positive or negative indefinite pronouns, such as in English *everyone* and *anyone*, respectively. In Kadu, the positive indefinite pronouns are formed by the WH-words followed by the structures *thàkákthà* (be-want-be) or *ngaúkákngaú* (say-want-say). To express negative indefinite pronouns such as 'nobody' or 'no one', the WH-words may be optionally followed by *yí* 'also', and the matrix verb is negated.

Examples of wh-question words functioning as indefinite pronouns provided by my Kadu consultants are illustrated in (613) - (615).

(613) 'whoever'

(a) *màhameú thàkákthà lī*

mà	**=hameú**	**thà-kák-thà**	lī
WH	**=person**	**be-want-be**	come

'Come someone/anyone.'

(b) *màhameúyí alīcí* (4:21)

mà-	=hameú	**yí**	a-lī-cí
WH	=person	**also**	NEG-come-PL

'Nobody/no one came.'

(614) 'whatever'

(a) *hamàng thàkákthà ōm*

hà	**=màng**	**thà-kák-thà**	ōm
WH	**=thing**	**be-want-be**	do

'Do whatever!' or 'Do anything!', or 'Do something!'

(b) *màhameúyí aōmá*

hà-	=màng	**yí**	a-ōm	=á
WH	=thing	**also**	NEG-do	=NEG

'(He) didn't do anything.'

(615) ‘wherever’

(a) *hàpè thàkákthà nāng*

hà	**=pè**	**thà-kák-thà**	nāng
WH	=LOC	**be-want-be**	go

‘Go somewhere/anywhere.’

(b) *hàpè thàkákthà anāngsà*

hà-	=pè	**yí**	a-nāng	=sà
WH	=LOC	**also**	NEG-go	=IMP.NEG

‘Don’t go anywhere.’

CHAPTER 10: NEGATION

Negation indicates events, situations, or states of affairs that are not true. In addition, it is also used to indicate that an event that has not come to realisation. Nouns in Kadu are not negated. Negation is a property of verbs, either action or stative verbs, in Kadu.

Verbs in Kadu are negated by double negation–proclitic and enclitic. The verb complex in Kadu can have more than one verb (§3.1.2.2). However, the negative proclitic never occurs on secondary verbs or on post verb modifiers; instead it must always precede the main verb. The negative enclitic occurs at the end of the VCX.

10.1 The structure of negative clauses

There are two negative proclitics, *a-* and *ín-* in Kadu. Either one, as in (616), or both of them, as in (617b), is attached before the main verb and the enclitic *=á* follows the VCX. Consider the examples in (616).

(616) (a) *zángkōk atóngá* (06:4)

zángkōk	**a-**tóng	**=á**
lizard	**NEG**-big	**=NEG**

'The lizard is not big.'

(b) *zángkōk īngīngsáq íntóngá* (06:5)

zángkōk	īngīng-sà	**ín-**tóng	=á
lizard	tiny-DIM	**NEG-**big	=NEG

'Lizard was a tiny one, not big.

(c) *ngāká ngón aōmá* (17:29)

ngā	=ká	ngón	**a-**ōm	**=á**
1SG	=TOP	gold	**NEG**-make	=**NEG**

'I don't make/mine gold.'

The two negative proclitics, *ín-* and *a-,* can be used interchangeably but *a-* occurs more frequently than the *ín-*. However, the native speakers of Kadu say that *ín-* has a stronger sense of emphasis than *á-*. They may also occur together. When they both occur in a single verb complex the *ín-* always precedes the *a-*, as in (617b). The use of two negative proclitics in a single VCX denotes extremely strong negative emphasis. We may relate the etymology of the proclitic *a-* to ***ma**, the PTB negator as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:488).

(617) (a) *wíqpatùpáq achīyá* (04:35)

wíqpatùpáq	**a-**chī	**=á**
PN	**NEG-**true	=**NEG**

'It is not Wipatuba.'

(b) *ngā ínanímmaūkkáká* (15:5)

ngā	**ín-a-**ním-maūk-kák	**=á**
1SG	**NEG-NEG-**stay-together-want	=**NEG**

'I don't want to live together (with your sons).' (I really mean it)

Regarding the development of the negative prefix *ín-*, native speakers of Kadu explained that when they are speaking loudly to someone at a distance, it is very difficult to say the unstressed negative prefix *a-* . In that case, they would prefer to use

ín-. This morpheme is also similar to the negation marker of Turung[30] which is a syllabic nasal /n/. I have repeated the example (616b) for comparison in (618b).

(618) (a) Turung example (Morey 2011:627)

turung	thah	go	pheyn	**n-**khat
Turung	with	TOP	war	**NEG-**fight

'They did not fight the Turungs.'

(b) *zángkōk īngīngsáq íntóngá* (06:5)

zángkōk	īngīng-sà	**ín-**tóng	=á
lizard	tiny-DIM	**NEG-**big	=NEG

'The lizard was a tiny bit, not big.'

The use of two negative proclitics could be the result of merging two dialects together or the development of different stages over time. The *a-* prefix is probably older and *ín-* is probably more recent. Due to the limit of time and scope, I will not go deeply into the etymology of these negative proclitics. If time permits, it will definitely be an interesting topic to explore further.

In fast speech, when the initial phoneme of the main verb is a high front vowel, the negative *a-* is often not heard. However, the negative meaning of the clause can still be recoverable from the negative enclitic *=á*, as in (619).

[30] Turung is a variety of Jingpho spoken in Northeast India (see Morey 2011).

(619) (a) *īkáká* (04:10)

(a-)ī-kák =á
(NEG-)give-want =NEG
'(I) don't want to give.'

(b) *ngā akhwák īyeūná* (AKYS)

ngā akhwák (a-)ī-yeūn =á
1SG permit (NEG-)give-can =NEG
'I cannot give permission.'

The speakers of Kadu often use a structure of (X, but not X) for strong negative emphatic expressions. In this structure the same verb is repeated and they are usually linked by the morpheme *zeú* 'even' (§11.1.4) or *yí* 'also' (§11.2). *yí* is the most frequent in this position. Usually, the first verb is positive and the second verb is negative. A more elaborate structure of this type may be presented as (V_1- *yí* -not-V_1). In this kind of expression, the negative proclitic *a-* is often not heard.

(620) (a) *caíkyí (a)caíktawáyeù ngaúmā* (08:104)

caík =yí (a-)caík-ta =á yeù ngaú =mā
like =also (NEG-)-exchange-L.SUFF =NEG SAP say =RLS
'(She) said like this "(I) don't love (him) at all."'

(b) *līyí (a)līyá* (AKYS)

lī =yí (a)-lī-á
come =also (NEG)-come-NEG
'(He) didn't even/also come.'

Before we look in detail at the negative enclitic *=á*, it is a good idea to remind ourselves of the two phonological processes, fusion and linking, that I discussed in §2.8. These processes are illustrated in (621) and (622).

(621) fusion: with identical vowels (*a* + *a* = *a*)

(a) *aōmhà* (13:12)

a-ōm-hà =**á**
NEG-make-know.how =NEG
'don't know how to do.'

(b) *phónhaìng athà* (30:31)

phón =haìng a-thà =**á**
wood =EXCLUSIVE NEG-be =NEG
'only wood won't burn'

(622) linking: (i) following /p/ and /t/ the nasals /m/ and /n/ are inserted, respectively.
(ii) following the front vowels /i, e, eu/, /y/ is inserted.
(iii) following the back vowels /u, o, au/, /w/ is inserted.

(a) *shīzeú anaút**ná*** (19:10)

shī =zeú a-naút =á [naút -ná]
medicine =even NEG-feed =NEG
'(You) didn't give me medicines.'

(b) *kasàzeúachī**yá*** (18:58)

kasà =zeú a-chī =á [chī -yá]
tiger =even NEG-true =NEG
'It's not even a tiger.'

(c) *kúqtō alūwá* (26:30)

kúqtō a-lū =á [lū -wá]
merit NEG-get =NEG
'(You) don't get merit.'

Syntactically, *=á* occurs in the same slot as the CFPs *mā* 'realis' and *kū* 'irrealis' within the VCX. See the detailed discussion on CFPs in §7.1. The examples in (623) illustrate clauses with the CFPs *kū* and *mā*. Their negative counterpart expressions are illustrated in (624).

(623) (a) *anáq nēyā meúmā* (10:28)

anáq nēyā meú =**mā**
this place good =**RLS**
'This place is good.'

(b) *nāngtè ngā yōkkū* (09:26)

nāng =tè ngā yōk =**kū**
2SG =A.AG 1SG eat =**IRLS**
'I will eat you.'

(624) (a) *anáq nēyā ameúyá* (AKYS)

anáq nēyā a-meú-**á**
this place NEG-good-**NEG**
'This place isn't good.'

(b) *nāngtè ngā ayōká* (AKYS)

nāng =tè ngā a-yōk-**á**
2SG =A.AG 1SG NEG-eat-**NEG**
'I won't eat you.'

However, with the CFP *pán* 'COS' (§7.3.1), like those aspectual particles discussed in §7.3, the negative clitic *=á* is obligatorily omitted. A negative clause with the CFP in (625) indicates a situation which was once in progress but is no longer true at the moment of speaking.

(625) (a) *haláng atūngākpánták* (06:28)

haláng	**a-**tūngāk	**=pán**	=ták
head	**NEG-**bow(head)	**=COS**	=HS

'(The lizard) no longer bows its head, it is said.' (The lizard used to bow its head.)

(b) *hīngká ínalīpánseú* (15:34)

hīng	=ká	**ín-a-**lī	**=pán**	=seú
3SG	=TOP	**NEG-NEG-**come	**=COS**	=SAP

'He does not come anymore.' (He used to come)

The negative clitic *=á* is also obligatorily omitted in subordinate clauses. See the illustrations in (626). Subordinate clauses are shown in { }$_{\text{SUB.CL}}$ brackets. Notice the example (626b) is an afterthought sentence (§8.1). Therefore, the subordinate clause appears after the main clause.

(626) (a) *címpèzáng alúk apòtìtà thīngpè alúk ngāmā* (17:66)

{cím	=pè	=záng	alúk	a-pò	=tí	=tá}$_{\text{SUB.CL}}$
house	=LOC	=EMPH	work	NEG-exist	=also	=EMPH

thīng	=pè	alúk	ngā	=mā
village	=LOC	work	exist	=RLS

'Though there is no work at home there is work to do in the village.'

(b) *pánnù mīnhángìnglakà kónāyī athōkcītè* (18:25)

pán-nù mīn-háng-ìng =lakà
CLF.times-one awake-back-DIR_2 =MIR

{kó nāyī a-thōk-cī =tè}$_{SUB.CL}$
nine o'clock NEG-arrive-before =A.AG
'(I) woke up one more time before nine o'clock.'

10.2 Negative imperative

Negative imperative clauses are formed by adding one of the negative proclitics *ín-* or *a-*, immediately before the head verb and cliticising the prohibitive particle *=sà*, glossed as 'negative imperative' (NEG.IMP), at the end of the VCX, as illustrated in (627).

(627) (a) *ínngaúsà* (11:22)

ín-ngaú =sà
NEG-say =NEG.IMP
'Don't say!'

(b) *aōmzónsà* (07:111)

a-ōm-zón =sà
NEG-make-continue =NEG.IMP
'Don't do (it) anymore!'

The negative imperative suffix is never used without one of the negative proclitics. Look at the illustrations in (628). (628a) is grammatical but (628b) is not.

(628) (a) *aīpsàlé àngpèlé* (18:13)

a-īp	**=sà**	=lé	àng	=pè	=lé
NEG-sleep	**=NEG.IMP**	=SAP	that	=LOC	=SAP

'Don't' sleep there!'

(b) **īpsà*

īp	**=sà**
sleep	**=NEG.IMP**

'Don't sleep!'

Notice the example in (628a) is an afterthought sentence. It also contains the speaker's attitude particle *lé*, glossed as 'SAP', to soften the imperative expression (§3.3.5).

10.3 Marking mood on negated clauses

Unlike affirmative clauses, which distinguish between realis and irrealis situations using CFPs (§7.1), negative clauses do not syntactically distinguish realis and irrealis mood. In order to make these distinctions in negated clauses, the affirmative clauses can be nominalised and used as arguments of the verb *chī* 'be true', which is then negated. This type of construction in Kadu is parallel with Lahu[31] and Burmese[32].

[31] Matisoff in his Lahu Grammar states that "clauses in Lahu are negatable by means of *mâ hê?,* provided they are first nominalised, usually via the particle *ve*" (Matisoff 1973:26).

[32] A syntactic device to code the distinction between future and non future in a negated proposition is to nominalise the affirmative proposition, which is marked for tense, and to make it the argument of the verb ဟုတ်/hou/ 'be true/right/be the case', which is then negated ‹thu pyo ta ma-hou hpu:›. 'It's not the case that he said (it).' (Myint Soe 1999:146).'

(629) (a) *maléq ōmpanáq achīyá* (AKYS)

maléq	ōm	=panáq	**a-chī**	**=á**
1PL	make	=NOM	**NEG-true**	**=NEG**

'It is not the case that we did/do (that).'

(b) *maléq ōmkūpanáq achīyá* (AKYS)

maléq	ōm	=kū	=panáq	**a-chī**	**=á**
1PL	make	=IRLS	=NOM	**NEG-true**	**=NEG**

'It is not the case that we will do (that).'

The realis CFP *mā* is obligatorily omitted in nominalised clauses, as in (629a). However, the irrealis CFP *kū* is obligatorily present in nominalised clauses, as in (629b). Example (629a) simply expresses that the proposition made by the nominalised verb *ōm* 'make' does not hold true at the time of speaking: negative realis mood. Example (629b), on the other hand, signals a strong assertion of the unlikelihood of the situation mentioned in the utterance: negative irrealis mood.

Kadu nouns can also be negated by the expression (NP *achìyá*) 'it is not the case/true of NP'. In order to provide a negative response, the phrase *achìyá* can be used as a complete utterance. Similarly, *chīmā* in used to give an affirmative response. The answer to an identity question *nāng asákkà* 'Are you Kadu (Asak)?' would be as in (630a) and (630b)–affirmative and negative responses, respectively.

(630) (a) *chīmā* (AKYS)

chī	=mā
true	=RLS

'Yes, (I am).'

(b) *achīyá* (AKYS)

a-chī	=á
NEG-true	=NEG

'No, (I am not).'

With alternative in an nominal interrogative clause, it is obligatory to use the NP with the verb *chī* to make a clear distinction of which noun phrase is negated. See example (631), an interrogative sentence which has two nominal arguments, and the possible answers in (632).

(631) *tamìsākà nāng hamánkà* (07:105)

tamìsā =kà nāng hamán =kà
human =Q 2SG spirit =Q
'Are you a human or a spirit?'

(632) (a) *hamányí achīyá tamìsāyí achīyá* (07:106)

hamán =yí **a-chī** **=á** tamìsā =yí **a-chī** **=á**
spirit =also **NEG-true** **=NEG** human =also **NEG-true** **=NEG**
'I am neither a human nor a spirit.'

(b) *hamán achīyá tamìsā chīmā* (AKYS)

hamán **a-chī** **=á** tamìsā chī =mā
spirit **NEG-true** **=NEG** human true =RLS
'I am not a spirit, (but) a human.'

10.4 Negative interrogative clauses

Negative interrogative clauses, unlike affirmative clauses, do not make realis or irrealis mood distinctions in Kadu. The head verb is negated by one or both negative proclitics: *ín-* or *a-*. The negative clitic *=á* is absent and the question particle *lá* is attached at the end of the clause. The affirmative interrogative form differs from its negative interrogative counterpart only in that the negative prefix is not affixed to the main verb.

The affirmative interrogative form is exemplified in (633a) and its negative counterpart in (633b).

(633) (a) *hamàngkà lōkáklá* (12:5)

hà = màng	= kà	**lō-kák**	**= lá**
WH = thing	= Q	**need-want**	**= Q**

'What do you need?'

(b) *hamàngkazeú alōkáklá* (12:6)

hà = màng	= kà	= zeú	**a-lō-kák**	**= lá**
WH = thing	= Q	= even	**NEG-need-want**	**= Q**

'What do you not want?'

CHAPTER 11: COMPLEX STRUCTURES

In this chapter I will look at various constructions that involve combined clauses and phrases, organised in the following order: 11.1 Subordination, 11.2 Coordination and 11.3 Narrative structure.

11.1 Subordination

Subordinate clauses occur in sentence initial position preceding the main or independent clause. Subordinate clauses are marked by grammatical particles to mark their subordinate relation to the independent clauses. Subordinate clauses in Kadu do not encode tense nor aspect nor make a distinction between irrealis and realis. The verbs in the matrix clauses make these distinctions. Some emphatic particles may optionally follow subordinating particles. The distribution and function of each emphatic particle will be also discussed. Table 30 summarises the subordinating particles attested in Kadu. They are subdivided into five sections and will be presented in the following order: 11.1.1 Conditional clauses, 11.1.2 Purpose clauses, 11.1.3 Temporal clauses, 11.1.5 Sequential clauses, 11.1.6 Manner clauses and 11.1.7 Comparison clauses.

Category	Subordinating terms		Emphatic particles
Conditional	*pánnàkà/pán*	'if'	*-naà* 'only/emphatic'
	tí	'also, although'	*-tá* 'emphatic'
	másà	'only if'	
Purpose/cause	*kón*	'so as to'	
	hàyák	'in order to cause'	
	tìng	'purposive'	
Temporal	*zàk*	'while'	
	naíktaí	'whenever'	
	ká	'when'	
	hayaúk	'since'	
	yaúk VP *yaúk*	'simultaneity'	
	macháng	'until'	
	cī	'when (prior to)'	
Concessive	*zeú*	'even if'	
Manner and Comparison	*nīngyeù ~ nīng*	'in the manner of'	
	neúq	'as much as'	

Table 30: Subordinating particles in Kadu

11.1.1 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses (also called protasis or simply if-clauses), which set the condition for the outcome of the main clause, occur in initial position and the then-clause (also called apodosis) usually occurs in sentence final position. As shown in Table 30, there are three terms: *pánnàkà* 'if', *tí* 'also', and *másà* 'only if', that are attached to the end of the initial clause to form the 'if-clause' in Kadu. Each conditional clause is discussed in the following sections.

The term *pánnàkà* is probably a combination of *pán* + *naà* + *ká* ('change of state' + 'only' + 'topic') and is employed to make a conditional clause. However, due to

frequent occurrence and native speakers' view of this form as a monomorphemic word, I have glossed it as one word, 'if', in this thesis. See the illustrations of conditional clauses marked by *pánnàkà* in (634). Conditional clauses are bracketed with { }.

(634) (a) *zūn yahùngpèà weúkúpánnàkà meúhàmā* (09:45)

{zūn yahùng=pè weúkú =**pánnàkà**} meú-hà =mā
salt well =LOC bathe =**if** good-know.how =RLS
'If (you) take a bath at the salt well (you) may get well.'

(b) *sāmpán thūkkón tánpánnàkà phú pūhàmāyeù ngaúmaták* (25:113)

{sām-pán thōk =kón tán =**pánnàkà**}
three-CLF.times arrive =PURP beat =**if**

phú pū-hà =mā =yeù ngaú =mā =ták
silver emerge-know.how =RLS =SAP say =RLS =HS
'If you beat three times (with this stick) money/silver emerges, it is said.'

(c) *maléqpè līpánnàkà nāng alúkyí aūmthà* (08:101)

{maléq =pè lī =**pánnàkà**}
1PL =LOC come =**if**

nāng alúk =yí a-ōm-thà =á
2SG work =also NEG-make-must =NEG
'If you come to us you don't have to work as well.'

The conditional marker *pánnàkà ~ pán* may be preceded by some modal auxiliaries, as in (635), but never by CFPs, as in (635).

(635) (a) *nāngswáng lākákpánnàkà lūtakū* (13:51)

{nāng-swáng lā-kák =**pánnàkà**} lū-ta =kū
2SG-master take-want =**if** offer-L.SUFF =IRLS
'If you want to get/take (I) will offer.'

(b) *apheúyeūnpánnàkà* (32:77)

{a-pheú-yeūn =**pánnàkà**}
NEG-carry-can =**if**
'If (you) cannot carry …'

It is common to find a modal *kák* 'want' followed by *pán* 'if' when the subordinate clause and the main clause represent the same sort of event, sharing the same agentive argument and verb, as illustrated in (636).

(636) (a) *hīng yangonpà nāngkákpán nāngkū* (AKYS)

hīng yangon =pà **nāng**-kák =pán **nāng** =kū
3SG PN =ALL **go**-want =if **go** =IRLS
'He'll go to Yangon if he wants to.'

(b) *ngā yōkkákpán yōkkū* (AKYS)

ngā yōk-kák =**pán** yōk =kū
1SG eat-want =**if** eat =IRLS
'I will go if I want to.'

The term *tí* indicates a converse conditional when it is subordinated to a positive main clause, as in (637). The term *tí* changes to low tone when it is preceded by a syllable with a high or low tone.

(637) *hīng lītí pōtaúmeúlakaú* (AKYS)

{hīng lī =**tí**} pō-ta-meú =lakaú
3SG come =**also** more-L.SUFF-good =MIR
'Yes, of course, it's better if he comes too.'

Like the conditional marker *pánnàkà* 'if', it may be preceded by the modal auxiliary *kák* to indicate that the subordinate clause and the main clause represent the same event, sharing the same agentive argument and verb, as illustrated in (638).

(638) (a) *ūkáktì ūwàng* (12:107)

{ū-kák =**tí**} ū-àng
drink-want =**also** drink-DIR_1
'If (you) want to drink also (you can) drink (it).'

(b) *maléqtè tánshíkáktì tánshíkū* (04:10)

{maléq =tè tán-shí-kák =**tí**} tán-shí =kū
1PL =A.AG beat-die-want =**also** beat-die =IRLS
'If (he) wants to kill us too, he will.'

However, if one of the clauses is negated, the subordinate clause indicates concessive function, which may then be translated as 'although' or 'even though' in English. Consider the examples in (639). In these sentences the main clause is negated.

(639) (a) *túktaūtí ngā anáyeūná* (07:115)

{túk-ta =**tí**} ngā a-ná-yeūn =á
battle-L.SUFF =**also** 1SG NEG-win-can =NEG
'Even though I battle I cannot win.'

(b) *hīng phīmtí alùhà* (08:31)

{hīng phīm =**tí**} a-lū-hà =á
3SG hold.up =**also** NEG-get-know.how =NEG
'Even though he embraced (it)/held (it), (he) couldn't (soothe the baby).'

In the following examples in (640), the subordinate clauses are negated.

(640) (a) *címpè alúk apòtìtà thīngpè alúk ngāmā* (17:66)

{cím =pè alúk a-pò =**tì** =tà}
house =LOC work NEG-exist =**also** =EMPH

thīng =pè alúk ngā =mā
village =LOC work exist =RLS
'Even though there is no work at home, there is work to do in the village.'

(b) *swángzáng aswángtìtà īthàmā* (AKYS)

{swáng =záng a-swáng =**tì** =tà} ī-thà =mā
rich =EMPH NEG-rich =**also** =EMPH give-must =RLS
'Even though (we) are not rich, we have to give/pay.'

The subordinate particle *tí* may be additionally followed by the emphatic particle *tá* for more emphatic purposes, as in (640). The tone of the particle *tá* is determined by the preceding particle *tí*. It simply follows the same tone that *tí* takes. The use of the emphatic particle *tá* as a subordinator has not been attested.

The term *másà,* glossed as 'only if', also sets a conditional background for the outcome of the main clause. It can occur both with realised and unrealised main clauses. The speakers of Kadu said that the term *másà* has stronger emphasis than the term *pánnàkà*.

(641) (a) *hīng shímásà hīng ēktè lālūkū* (15:81) (unrealised)

{hīng	shí	=**másà**}	hīng	ēk	=tè	lā-lū	=kū
3SG	die	=**only.if**	3SG	wife	=A.AG	take-get	=IRLS

'(He) will be able to take his wife only if he (the husband) dies.'

(b) *zūn tīpanáq waleú āntahān zángàngmásà yōkmeúmā* (31:27)

{zūn	tī	=panáq	waleú
salt	sweet	=NOM	liquid

āntān	záng-àng	=**másà**}	yōk-meú	=mā
quite	put.in-DIR_1	=**only.if**	eat-good	=RLS

'It tastes good only if we put in more sweet liguid.' (Lit. sweet salt water)

This term *másà* is clearly a Burmese loaned subordinator မှသာ <**hma. tha**> which is translated as 'only if, only when V' (See Okell and Allott 2001:165-166). In Burmese, the second syllable သာ <**tha**> is optional, and it is used for emphatic purposes.

(642) ဓါတ်ပုံပါမှ ဖတ်ကြပါတယ် (Burmese: Okell 2001:165)

da'pum	**pa**	=**hma.**	**hpat**	**-kra'**	=**te**
picture	be.present	=only.if	read	-PL	=CFP

'(They) read (them) only if (they) have pictures.'

11.1.2 Purpose clauses

There are two terms, *kón* and *yák*, glossed as 'so as to', that are employed as subordinators to indicate the purpose of an action. The clause with *kón* functions to stimulate or motivate an agent referent of the subordinate clause to perform an action.

The motivating event is usually an unrealised situation at the time of the main event. Initial clauses with the subordinator *kón* are illustrated in (643).

(643) (a) *lāpkón chaúngtayókkū* (15:55)

{lāp =**kón**} chaúng-ta =yók =kū
catch =**so.as.to** spy-L.SUFF =INTRUSIVE =IRLS
'(He) will spy on (her) to catch (her).'

(b) *címsèktàktèà ngāká nacá peúyeūnkón ōmkū* (17:88)

{cím-sèk-tàk =tè ngā =ká nacá
house-person-PL =A.AG 1SG =TOP carefully

peú-yeūn =**kón**} ōm =kū
keep-can =**so.as.to** make =IRLS
'I will do so so as to keep my family members up to the standard.'

The term *yák*, also glossed as 'so as to', like *kón*, also indicates a purpose of action clause. This term, however, mostly occurs following the modal auxiliary *hà* (§7.2.3). The form *hà* 'know.how' may be reduced to *ha* [hə] and the native speakers of Kadu see (*hà* + *yák* = *hayák*) as a single morpheme. Some examples of clauses that contain the subordinator *hayák* are illustrated in (644).

(644) (a) *malā phénghángìnghayák ōmàngmaták* (15:165)

{malā phéng-háng-ìng-**hà** =**yák**}
flesh full-back-DIR_2-**know.how** =**so.as.to**

ōm-àng =mā =ták
make-DIR_1 =RLS =HS
'(She) made it so that the flesh filled up (the bones), it is said.'

(b) *shípanáq sèktèà záhánghayák ōmhàmā ngaká ngaúmāták* (16:39)

{shí =panáq sèk =tè zá-háng-**hà** =**yák**}
die =NOM person =A.AG alive-back-**know.how** =**so.as.to**

ōm-hà =mā ngā =ká ngaú =mā =ták
make-know.how =RLS 1SG =TOP say =RLS =HS
'(He) said, "I can make the dead person come alive", it is said.'

11.1.3 Temporal clauses

Several subordinators which temporally relate subordinate clauses to main clauses have been attested and are discussed in the following sections. The term *zàk* is employed to indicate two actions happening simultaneously as illustrated in (645). Notice that the sentence has a single agentive argument.

(645) (a) *hīng técháng teútzàk céng ceūmā* (AKYS)

hīng {técháng teút =**zàk**} céng ceū =mā
3SG song listen =**while** letter read =RLS
'He is studying while listening to music.'

(b) *céng ceūnímzàk wān pyáktamā* (AKYS)

{céng ceū-ním =**zàk**} wān pyák-ta =mā
letter read-stay =**while** fire go.off-L.SUFF =RLS
'While (I) was reading the light went off.'

If the two clauses have different agentive arguments, in order to clarify who does what, it is necessary to insert reference to different referents in each clause. This is illustrated in (646).

(646) *hīng īpnímzàk ngā atá mōknímmā* (AKYS)

{hīng	īp-ním	=**zàk**}	ngā	atá	mōk-ním	=mā
3SG	sleep-stay	=**while**	1SG	rice	cook-stay	=RLS

'While he was sleeping I was cooking rice.'

The term *naíktaí* is employed to indicate 'whenever'. In the example in (647a), the one who performs the action, in this case *únyút* 'to bow head', of the main clause is omitted because culturally it is clear from the context. People and other creatures bow to the king but not the other way around. Similarly with the 1SG referent in (647b).

(647) (a) *sāngpaláng līnaíktaí únyúttamā* (06:19)

{sāngpaláng	lī	=**naíktaí**}	únyút-ta	=mā
king	come	=**whenever**	head.bow-L.SUFF	=RLS

'(The lizard) bows its head whenever the king comes.'

(b) *halángweúnaíktaí apyaūtawá* (AKYS)

{haláng-weú	=**naíktaí**}	a-pyaū-ta	=á
sky-water	=**whenever**	NEG-happy-L.SUFF	=NEG

'I am not happy whenever it rains.'

In order to express a temporal reference (which may be translated as 'when' in English), the topic marker *ká* is employed at the end of the first clause, as illustrated in (648). LaPolla (1995) and Genetti (1986) discussed the syncretism of postpositions and clausal subordinators in TB languages. We can also see a similar development in Kadu. The topic marker *ká* without a nominaliser can occur immediately following the VCX as a temporal clausal subordinator.

(648) (a) *līhángká haláng atūngākpánták* (06:27)

{lī-háng	=**ká**}	haláng	a-tūngāk	=pán	=ták
come-back	=TOP	head	NEG-bow	=COS	=HS

'When (the king) returned (the lizard) no longer bowed its head, it is said.'

(b) *pūngtaūng tánàngká ací kátnàngpán* (12:126)

{pūngtaūng	tán-àng	=**ká**}	ací	kát-àng	=pán
drum	beat-DIR_1	=TOP	elephant	run-DIR_1	=COS

'When (he) played the drum the elephant run away.'

In order to indicate an initial boundary, the structure *mà* 'time noun' + *haík ~ hayaúk* 'ablative' is employed in Kadu, which may be translated as 'since' or 'ever since' in English. See the discussion on ablative *haík* in §6.5. Clauses with this structure are exemplified in (649) and (650).

(649) *nāngyaúk ngayaúk ngaúkà satēngkānpè nímcímàhayaúk mékswē thàcímā* (09:51)

{nāng	=yaúk	ngā	=yaúk	ngaúkà	satēng-kān	=pè
2SG	=COM	1SG	=COM	as.for	thatch-CLT.field	=LOC

ním-cí	**mà**	=**hayaúk**}	mékswē	thà-cí	=mā
stay-PL	**time**	=**since**	friend	be-PL	=RLS

'As for you and me, we have been friends since we lived at the thatch field.'

(650) *hīng myóqhaík līhángmàhayaúk hamàngkazeú aōmkáká* (AKYS)

{hīng	myóq	=haík	lī-háng	**mà**	=**hayaúk**}
3SG	town	=ABL	come-back	**time**	=**since**

hà	=màng	=kà	=zeú	a-ōm-kák	=á
WH	=thing	=Q	=even	NEG-make-want	=NEG

'(She) doesn't want to do anything since she came back from town.'

In order to indicate a negative condition, the subordinator *macháng*, glossed as 'as long as' in this thesis, is employed following a negated verb. This form is clearly an old loanword from the Burmese term, မချင်း <**mahkrang:**> glossed as 'until' in Okell and Allot (2001:152). Although the initial syllable is clearly a negative marker, မ <**ma**> in Burmese, thus forming (NEG + V-NEG + ချင်း <**hkrang:**>) structure, Okell analysed this subordinator as a single morpheme and provided the English translation as 'for as long as something has not V-ed, not been V-ed, until V-ed'. The structure of the Burmese negative initial boundary is illustrated in (651a) and the corresponding structure in Kadu in (651b).

(651) (a) သူမသွား မချင်း ငါမသွားဘူး (Burmese)

thu	**ma-thwa:**	**mahkrang:**	**nga**	**ma-thwa:-bu:**
3SG	NEG-go	**as.long.as**	1SG	NEG-go-NEG

'As long as he doesn't go, I won't go.'

(b) *hīng alīmacháng ngā anāngá* (02:42)

{hīng	a-lī	=**macháng**}	ngā	a-nāng	=á
3SG	NEG-come	=**as.long.as**	1SG	NEG-go	=NEG

'As long as he doesn't come, I won't go.'

ချင်း <hkrang:> in Burmese and *cháng* in Kadu also occur with positive verbs to indicate coincidental actions or actions that happened simultaneously. Okell (2001:152) translated this term as 'as soon as, immediately upon V-ing'. In spoken Burmese, this kind of coincidental action is expressed by attaching the term <hkrang:>, <chin:> in spoken form, after a reduplicated verb, as in (652).

(652) သူ ရောက်ရောက်ချင်းစားမယ် (Burmese)

thu	rok	rok	hkrang:	sa.	=me
3SG	arrive	arrive	as.soon.as	begin	=IRLS

'(We) will begin the moment s/he arrives.' Or 'As soon as s/he arrive (we) will begin.'

However, in Kadu, the term *cháng* does not follow a reduplicated verb, rather it occurs in between the two iterations of the verb. The sentence provided by one of my language consultants is given in (653).

(653) *nàntè thōkchángthōk weútaíktamā* (AKYS)

{nàntè	thōk	=cháng	thōk}	weú	taík-ta	=mā
guest	arrive	=CHÁNG	arrive	water	offer.drink-L.SUFF	=RLS

'(I) offered drinking water to the visitor the moment (s/he) arrived.' Or 'As soon as the guest arrived, (I) offered (him/her) a drink of water.'

Another temporal subordinator is *cī*, which may be glossed as 'before'. It only occurs with a negated verb to indicate that the action the negated verb refers to happens after the action of the verb in the main clause.

(654) *kónāyī ínthōkcītè pánnù mīnhángìnglakà* (18:25)

{kó nāyī ín-thōk-**cī**}
nine o'clock NEG-arrive-**before**

pán-nù mīn-háng-ìng =lakà
CLF.times-one awake-back-DIR_2 =MIR
'(I) awoke again before nine o'clock.'

(655) *ūzíksátè hīng mahángpè peúmaták hīng ameū hīng awáqtàk amíngsákhàcī* (24:42)

ūzíksá =tè hīng maháng =pè peú =mā =ták
bird =A.AG 3SG that.thing =LOC keep =RLS =HS

{hīng ameū hīng awà-tàk a-míngsàhà-**cī**}
3SG mother 3SG father-PL NEG-know-**before**
'He hid the bird in that place before his parents noticed (it).'

11.1.4 Concessive clauses

The term *zeú*, glossed as 'even', is employed to indicate an 'even if' clause. It is also used to indicate a proposition which is counter to the expectation expressed in the main clause, as in (656).

(656) (a) *hīng nāngzeú ngā anāngá* (AKYS)

{hīng nāng =**zeú**} ngā a-nāng =á
3SG go =**even** 1SG NEG-go =NEG
'I won't go even if he does.'

(b) *ameū mátzeú nāngkū* (AKYS)

{ameū màt =**zeú** } nāng =kū
mother scold =**even** go =IRLS
'I will go even if mother scolds me.'

It may be immediately followed by the emphatic particle *tá* for even more emphasis, as in (657).

(657) *címmátzeútá aōmyeūnpánseùé* (17:54)

cím-mát =**zeú** =tá} a-ōm-yeūn =pán =seùé
house-watch =**even** =EMPH NEG-make-can =COS =SAP
'(My parents are old now), (They) can't even do the job of looking after the house.'

The form *zeú* can also occur with an NP. Following an NP, it indicates an emphatic meaning which may be translated as 'even' in English (658a). It may be additionally followed by the emphatic particle *tá* for more emphasis, as in (658b).

(658) (a) *hamàngkà shīzeú anaútná* (19:10)

ha=màng=kà shī =**zeú** a-naút =á
WH=thing=Q medicine =**even** NEG-feed =NEG
'(You) didn't even give (me) any sort of medicine.'

(b) *kalìngsatá sómsatázeútá ngāpán* (17:26)

kalìng satá sóm satá =**zeú** =**tá** ngā =pán
two month three month =**even** =**EMPH** exist =COS
'It's already been up to two or three months.'

11.1.5 Sequential clauses

In order to express the idea of one action immediately followed by another the *pán* 'change of state' ASP employed at the end of the first clause, as in (659).

(659) (a) *wàk ngaúkà anáq síngngeútshītè yōkceúpán īpmā* (12:70)

wàk	ngaúkà	síngngeút-shī	=tè
pig	as.for	fig-CLT.fruit	=A.AG

yōk-ceú	=**pán**	īp	=mā
eat-full	=COS	sleep	=RLS

'The pig ate the figs (to full) and slept.'

(b) *caúngshāpā zāpán īyàngmaták* (07:53)

caúng-shā	pā	zā	=**pán**	ī-àng	=mā	=ták
school-small	include	build	=COS	give-DIR_1	=RLS	=HS

'(The king) built a school/monastery and gave (it to him), it is said.'

A few examples in my corpus also contain three consecutive events as illustrated in (660) and (661).

(660) *hīngtè wánshípán nōppán peúpàngták* (15:157)

hīng	=tè	wán-shí	=**pán**	nōp	=**pán**	peú	=páng	=ták
3SG	=A.AG	chop-die	=COS	bury	=COS	keep	$=DIR_1$:COS	=HS

'(They) chopped to death, buried and kept/placed (him), it is said.'

(661) *zìnpúkpè tímpán nímpán yūpánták* (08:57)

zìnpúk	=pè	tím	=**pán**	ním	=**pán**	yū	=**pán**	=ták
bush	=LOC	hide	=COS	stay	=COS	look	=COS	=HS

'(He) hid, stayed in the bush and looked, it is said.'

In some cases, when a sentence contains three sequential events, the first event may be left unmarked, as in (662).

(662) *sāngpaláng ōm pheúpán lāpánták* (15:31)

sāngpaláng	ōm	pheú-**pán**	lā	**=pán**	=ták
king	make	carry-COS	take	=COS	=HS

'(They) made him king, carried and took him, it is said.'

The term *pán* may be additionally followed by an emphatic particle *naà*, glossed as 'only', to indicate an emphatic purpose or change of state prior to the action expressed by the following verb. Consider the illustrations in (663) and (664).

(663) *lapòk wánpánnaà salākpánnaà hōppánnaà* (29:20)

lapòk	wán	**=pán**	**=naà**	salāk	**=pán**	**=naà**	hōp	**=pán**	**=naà**
bamboo	chop	=COS	**=only**	prune	=COS	**=only**	tie	=COS	**=only**

'chopped, pruned, and tied the bamboo…,'

(664) *atá tīppán īpánnaà tawákká weúpè naútnàngná ngaúmaták* (15:100)

atá	tīp	**=pán**	ī	**=pán**	**=naà**
rice	pack	=COS	give	=COS	**=only**

tawák	=ká	weú	=pè	naút-àng	=ná	ngaú	=mā	=ták	
half	=TOP	water	=LOC	feed-DIR_1	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS	

'(She) packed the rice and gave (it to him) and said "feed (them) half of it at the water", it is said.'

11.1.6 Manner clauses

The term *nīng ~ nīngyeù* is attached to the end of the first clause of two or more clauses to express manner, as in (665). See also the discussion of adverbials in §3.2.1.

(665) (a) *hīng ēk ngaúnīngyeù ōmīyàngmaták* (15:103)

{hīng ēk ngaú =**nīngyeù**} ōm-ī-àng =mā =ták
3SG wife say =**manner** make-give-DIR_1 =RLS =HS
'He did (for them) in the manner his wife had told (him).'

(b) *ací háknīngyeù hákàng* (07:103)

{ací hák =**nīngyeù**} hák-àng
elephant shout =**manner** shout-DIR_1
'Roar like an elephant!'

It may also occur after an NP to mark similarity in manner or attribute, as in (666).

(666) *hīng zíngyōk īshíqmáqtè hīng saēknīng ōmpánnaà atá yōkcímaták* (04:11)

hīng zíngyōk īshíq máq =tè hīng saēk =**nīng**
3SG order girl female =A.AG 3SG daughter =**manner**

ōm =pán =naà atá yōk-cí =mā =ták
make =COS =only rice eat-PL =RLS =HS
'(He) dressed his servant girl like his own daughter and they ate rice, it is said.'

(667) *wāncíngká kasà míktūshīnīngyeù tūtaūlaká* (18:83)

wāncīng =ká kasà míktūshī =**nīngyeù** tū-ta =lakà
charcoal =TOP tiger eyeball =**manner** same-L.SUFF =MIR
'(The) charcoal (in the fire) resembles a tiger's eye.'

11.1.7 Comparison clauses

The term *neúq*, glossed as 'as much as', is employed to indicate an amount or quantity of some action or quality expressed by the VCX, as in (668). It can also occur immediately after an NP (§6.8).

(668) (a) *nāng lākákneúq īkū* (25:106)

{nāng lā-kák =**neúq**} ī =kū
2SG take-want =**as.much.as** give =IRLS
'(I) will give you as much as you want.'

(b) *hīng īneúqlā* (AKYS)

{hīng ī =**neúq**} lā
3SG give =**as.much.as** take
'Take as much as he gives.'

It is also used to describe 'as much as V' or to do something to an extreme. In this type of structure, the subordinator *neúq* is preceded by one of the modal auxiliaries (§7.2.3) and the same verb is repeated. The most common auxiliary in this position is *hà* 'know.how', as illustrated (669).

(669) (a) *nónhàneúq nón* (30:26)

{nón-**hà** =**neúq**} nón
mix-**know.how** =**as.much.as** mix
'Mix as much as possible.'

(b) *ngáhàneúq ngá* (21:20)

{ngá-**hà** =**neúq**} =ngá
steam-**know.how** =**as.much.as** =steam
'Steam as much/long as possible.'

11.2 Coordination

In coordinating two or more nouns (A, B, and C), *yaúk* 'comitative', *pā* 'and too' and *yeū* 'and also' are employed. Each type is exemplified below.

The term *yaúk*, which functions as a comitative (§6.6), is used when coordinating two nouns (A and B). The examples in (670) illustrate *yaúk* coordinating two NPs.

(670) (a) *kasàyaúk hānshíyaúk atūtawá* (27:9)

{kasà =**yaúk**} {hānshí =**yaúk**} a-tū-ta =á
tiger =COM cat =COM NEG-same-L.SUFF =NEG
'tiger and cat–(they) are not the same.'

(b) *nāng peúkútyaúk maléq tátlúngyaúk caíkcímák* (12:89)

{nāng peúkút =**yaúk**} {maléq tátlúng =**yaúk**}
2SG adze =COM 1PL magic.ball =COM

caík-cí =mák
exchange-PL =HORT
'Let's exchange your adze and/with my magic ball.'

Although not attested in my corpus, the speakers of Kadu expressed that it is also possible to use *yaúk* when coordinating three NPs such as A, B, and C, as in (671).

(671) *hīng saékyaúk sāyaúk mōkyaúk nāngcímā* (AKYS)

{hīng saék =**yaúk**} {sā =**yaúk**} {mōk =**yaúk**} nāng-cí =mā
3sg daughter =**COM** son =**COM** cow =**COM** go-PL =RLS
'His daughter, son, and the cow went.'

Only one time in my corpus, the comitative marker *yaúk* is attached to two clauses to indicate temporal simultaneity of the two actions, as in (672).

(672) *úng thīngpàpanáq sèktàk ngaúkà sāngpaláng tāmìngyaúk hīngyítá pòkhápè nāngìngyaúk "hīngtè sāngpaláng ōmzíngthāmā" ngaúpánnaà sāngpaláng ōm pheúpán lāpántàk* (15:30).

{úng thīng =pà =panáq sèk-tàk ngaúkà
that village =ALL =NOM person-PL as.for

sāngpaláng tām-ìng =**yaúk**}
king search-DIR_2 =**COM**

{hīng =yí =tá pòkhá =pè nāng-ìng =**yaúk**}
3SG =also =EMPH forest =LOC go-DIR_2 =**COM**

"hīng =tè sāngpaláng ōm-zíng =thāmā" ngaú =pán =naà
3SG =A.AG king make-JUSS =HORT say =COS =only

sāngpaláng ōm pheú =pán lā =pán =ták
king make carry =COS take =COS =HS
'At the time people from that village came looking for a king and the time he was going to the forest, (they found him and) said, "let's make him a king", And they made him king and carried him away, it is said.'

The term *pā* is also employed to coordinate two or more NPs. The lexical meaning of this morpheme is not retrievable in Kadu. However, as it is common to find Kadu speakers using a lot of grammatical words from Burmese, we can relate this term with

Burmese ပါ <pa>. Compare the examples in (673). The example in (673a) is in Burmese and (673b) is in Kadu.

(673) (a) ခွေးပါ ဝက်ပါ ခေါ်သွားတယ် (Burmese)

{hkwei: =**pa**}{wak =**pa**} hko-thwa: =te
dog =**and** pig =**and** take.along-go =RLS
'(He) took along a dog and a pig.'

(b) *cīpā wàkpā ngaúcípánták* (12:49)

{cī =**pā**} {wàk =**pā**} ngaú-cí =pán =ták
dog =**and** pig =**and** say-PL =COS =HS
'The dog and pig said, it is said.'

It is also common to find the term *pā* when coordinating more than two NPs, as in (674).

(674) *amúnashì hàkaú ameūpā awàpā nūklánpā ngaúpánnàkà peútkaútalé* (17:2)

amúnashī hà-kaú {ameū =**pā**} {awà =**pā**}
sibling five-CLF.person mother =**and** father =**and**

{nūklán =**pā**} ngaú =pánnàkà peút-kaú =talé
nephew =**and** say =if eight-CLF.person =SAP
'(I've got) five siblings, a mother, a father, and a nephew, (we are altogether,) eight.'

The term *yeū* is employed to connect two NPs, particularly connecting personal names, as in (675).

(675) *zaúpaúmaíyeū eúhámyeū kátcílakàé* (08:1)

{zaúpaúmaí =**yeū**} {eúhám =**yeū**} kát-cí =lakà =é
PN =**and** PN =**and** run-PL =MIR =SAP
'Zaupaumai and Eham run away.'

This marker is identical with the Burmese coordinate marker ရယ် <**je**>, as in (676).

(676) သီတာရယ် မြမြရယ် လာတယ် (Burmese)

{**thita** =**re**} {**mra.mra.** =**re**} **la** =**te**
PN =and PN =and come =RLS
'Tita and Mya Mya came.'

There is one other term that is employed to coordinate two or more NPs when there aren't exhaustive listings. It is the term *kā*, glossed as 'so.on', which may be translated as 'such as' or 'so on', as in (677).

(677) *ngónkā phúkā ngānaíkngátè īkū* (07:21)

{ngón **kā**} {phú **kā**} ngānaíkngá =tè ī =kū
gold **so.on** silver **so.on** all =A.AG give =IRLS
'(I) will give all things such as gold and silver.'

The term *kā* 'so.on' frequently occurs in the structure *kā*+*mà*+*kā* (so.on+WH-+so.on) which may be translated as 'such sort of things' in English. In this structure there is tone sandhi. The token of *kā* in the initial position changes to high tone and the one in the final position changes to low tone. Due to its frequent occurrence, I have glossed this structure as a single lexical item 'such.sort.of.thing'.

(678) *zalaúk kámàkà tamāyūng kámàkà zākū* (17:64)

{zalaùk	**kámàkà**}	{tamāyūng	**kámàkà**}	zā	=kū
resthouse	**sort.of.things**	community.hall	**sort.of.things**	build	=IRLS

'(We) will build a rest house and a community hall–that sort of thing.'

(679) *tékshī zalūng kámàkà hamàngkazeú alāhángìngá* (18:90)

tékshī	zalūng	**kámàkà**	hà	=màng	=kà	=zeú
pot	sink	**sort.of.things**	WH	=thing	=Q	=even

a-lā-háng-ìng	=á
NEG-take-back-DIR_2	=NEG

'(We) didn't bring anything such as a pot, a sink–that sort of thing.'

In order to express an 'either-or' relation, parallel clauses are simply juxtaposed, as shown in (680). Alternative clauses are shown in { } brackets.

(680) (a) *sā thàkákthà saék thàkákthà lī* (AKYS)

{sā	thà-kák	thà}	{saék	thà-kák	thà}	lī
son	be-want	be	daughter	be-want	be	come

'Come (one of you) either son or daughter.'

(b) *ngā ōmpán ōmkū aōmpán aōmá* (AKYS)

{ngā	ōm	=pán	ōm	=kū}
1SG	do/make	=if	do/make	=IRLS

{a-ōm	=pán	a-ōm	=á}
NEG-do/make	=if	NEG-do/make	=NEG

'I'll do it if I want to, or I won't do it if I don't want to.'

Two interrogative clauses may be also juxtaposed, as illustrated in (681).

(681) (a) *nāng sāngpaláng nántaū áttakalá síttúkcítakalá* (12:114)

nāng	sāngpaláng	{nántaū	àt-ta	=kū	=lá}
2SG	king	palace	submit-L.SUFF	=IRLS	=Q

{sít	túk-cí-ta		=kū	=lá}
war	battle-PL-L.SUFF		=IRLS	=Q

'You, king, will you surrender/submit your palace or (do you) want war?'

(b) *nāng kátphángkalá ngākátphángkalá* (18:70)

{nāng	kát-pháng	=kū	=lá}
2SG	run-prior	=IRLS	=Q

{ngā	kát-pháng	=kū	=lá}
1SG	run-prior	=IRLS	=Q

'Will you run first or shall I run?'

In order to express a 'whether or not' relationship juxtaposition of two clauses is employed. In this process, both clauses have the same verb; one of the clauses expressing a negative and the other a positive proposition, as exemplified in (682).

(682) (a) *nga ēk ngatè míngsàhà amíngsàhà ngā sántáttahángmanaík* (08:88)

ngā	ēk	ngā	=tè	{míngsàhà	a-míngsàhà}
1SG	wife	1SG	=A.AG	know	NEG-know

ngā	sántát-ta-háng	=manaík
1SG	try.out-L.SUFF-back	=only.if

'I will test my wife (to see) whether my wife knows/recognises me or not.'

(b) *ayōkmeú yōkmeúká aheúhà* (22:13)

{a-yōk-meú} {yōk-meú} =ká a-heú-hà =á
NEG-eat-good eat-good =TOP NEG-tell-know.how =NEG
'I can't tell whether it is good taste or not.'

Notice in (682b) the negative VCX complex may precede the positive VCX.

11.3 Narrative structures

This section looks at the pattern of linking independent clauses that are frequently attested in the stories and narratives recorded. Two structures are common: "Tail-head" constructions and attaching adverbial clauses in the clause initial position of the second of two consecutive independent clauses.

11.3.1 Tail-head linkage

There is a clear pattern of "Tail-head" linkages in Kadu. This structure is commonly found not only in TB languages but also in Papuan languages (de Vries 2005). In this structure, the last segment of the section of discourse–usually the final verb complex–is partially or completely repeated at the beginning of the next sentence, as in (683a) and (683b), The head clause and following segments are linked by the structure *ngaú* + *pánkaú* 'say' + 'as it is the case' which may be translated into English as 'having said that' or 'having said that it is the case'.

(683) (a) *úngpè sā hawà pyōkpíng* (04:20)

úng	=pè	sā	hú-à	{pyōk	=píng}$_{\text{TAIL}}$
that	=LOC	son	CLF.person-one	give.birth	=DIR$_2$:COS

'Over there (she) gave birth to a baby son.'

(b) *pyōkpíngták ngaúpánkaú màhameúyí alīcí* (04:21)

{pyōk	=píng	=ták}$_{\text{HEAD}}$	ngaú	=pánkaú
give.birth	=DIR$_2$:COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case

mà	=hameú	=yí	a-lī-cí
WH	=person	=also	NEG-come-PL

'Having given birth to a baby, no one came (to see the baby).'

The last segment of (683a), *pyōkpíng*, is repeated at the beginning of (683b). In many cases, the tail-head construction involves repetition of just the verb or verb complex from the 'tail clause', as in (684) and (685).

(684) *weúyahaùngpèà útsátnàngmā* (18:15)

weú-yahaùng	=pè	{**út-sàt**-àng	=mā}$_{\text{TAIL}}$
water-river	=LOC	**abandon-descend**-DIR$_1$	=RLS

'(He) throws (it), at once, into the river.'

(685) *útsátpánták ngaúpánkaú zaūpwá saēktàk zaūpwá saēktàk ngaúkà hīngathéngtaūyaúk weúkú līpánták* (18:16)

{**út-sàt**	=pán	=ták}$_{\text{HEAD}}$	ngaú	=pánkaú	zaūpwá
abandon-descend	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	shan.chief

saēk-tàk	ngaúkà	hīng	athéng	taū	=yaúk	weúkú	lī	=pán	=ták
daughter-PL	as.for	3SG	maiden	HONR	=COM	bathe	come	=COS	=HS

'Having thrown that, the chief's daughters and friends with a maiden came for a bath, it is said.'

Kadu being a verb final language, the verbal predicate which comes at the end of the sentence is frequently marked by CFPs: *mā* 'realis', *kū* 'irrealis', and the ASP *pán* 'change of state'. For instance, the tail clause in (684a) ends with the CFP *mā*. These CFPs are usually not repeated in the head clause. Rather, they are replaced by the *pán* 'change of state' marker followed by the evidential hearsay marker *ták*.

If the tail clause contains nominals, they may be restated in the head clause, as in (686) and (687).

(686) *hīng ēktè lākákpán* (15:78)

{hīng	ēk	=tè	lā-kák	=pán}$_{\text{TAIL}}$
3SG	wife	=A.AG	take-want	=COS

'(The king) wanted his wife.'

(687) *hīng ēktè lākákpánták ngaúpánkaú hīngtè tēcaúng cāntamaták* (15:79)

{hīng	ēk	=tè	lā-kák	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú}$_{\text{HEAD}}$
3SG	wife	=A.AG	take-want	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case

hīng	=tè	tēcaúng	cān-ta	=mā	=ták
3SG	=A.AG	way.to.die	plan-L.SUFF	=RLS	=HS

'Having wanted his wife, (the king) plans to kill him, it is said.'

The topic marker *ká* (§6.1; §11.1.3) may be employed as a temporal linker to connect the head clause with the following segment, as illustrated in (688)-(690).

(688) *maeúeútóngták sā kalìnghú ngāmaták* (16:1)

maeúeútóng	=ták	{sā	kalìng-hú	ngā	=mā	=ták}$_{\text{TAIL}}$
long.long.ago	=HS	son	two-CLF.person	exist	=RLS	=HS

'Long ago, there were two sons, it is said.'

(689) *sā kalìnghú ngāká sā kalìnghú amwē sanàmcímaták* (16:2)

{sā	kalìng-hú	ngā	=**ká**}$_{\text{HEAD}}$			
son	two-CLF.person	exist	=**TOP**			
sā	kalìng-hú	{**amwē**	**sanàn-cí**	=mā	=ták}$_{\text{TAIL}}$	
son	two-CLF.person	**inheritance**	**snatch-PL**	=RLS	=HS	

'Having two sons, they fought over the inheritance, it is said.'

(690) *amwē sanàmcíká anáq sā ngaúkà amwē lāpángták* (16:3)

{amwē	sanàn-cí	=**ká**}$_{\text{HEAD}}$				
inheritance	snatch-PL	=**TOP**				
anáq	sā	ngaúkà	amwē	lā	=páng	=ták
this	son	as.for	inheritance	take	=DIR$_1$:COS	=HS

'Having fought for the inheritance, these sons took their shares, it is said.'

11.3.2 Linking with adverbial clauses

The form *haík-mà* (ablative-time), glossed as 'that time', also functions as a temporal linker of the two independent clauses, as in (691).

(691) (a) *kaphútè ómàngmaták* (09:100)

kaphú	=tè	óm-àng	=mā	=ták
snake	=A.AG	hold-DIR$_1$	=RLS	=HS

'(He) held the snake, it is said.'

(b) *haíkmà kaphú haūshíyàngmaták* (09:101)

haíkmà	kaphú	haū-shí-àng	=mā	=ták
that.time	snake	strike-die-DIR$_1$	=RLS	=HS

'At that time, the snake killed (the tiger), it is said.'

The phrase *àng-yaūngpáng* (that-reason/because) is added at the beginning of the second clause to indicate the result/consequence.

(692) (a) *ngāká sāngpaláng saēktè ínlākáká seùé* (25:160a)

ngā	=ká	sāngpaláng	saēk	=tè
1SG	=TOP	king	daughter	=A.AG

ín-lā-kák-á	=seú	=é
NEG-take-want-NEG	=SAP	=SAP

'I don't want to take (marry) the king's daughter.'

(b) *àngyaūngpáng hāpmā seùé* (25:160)

àng-yaūngpáng	hāp	=mā	=seú	=é
that-because.of	weep	=RLS	=SAP	=SAP

'That's why (I) cry.'

In order to indicate a concession relationship between two independent clauses, the construction *hamàngkazáng ngaútìtà* (WH-thing-Q-EMPH say-also-EMPH) is used at the beginning of the second clause, as in (693).

(693) (a) *àngpè útpeúmā* (18:91)

àng	=pè	út-peú	=mā
that	=LOC	abandon-keep	=RLS

'(We) left (our staff) there.'

(b) *hamàngkazáng ngaútìtà lāhángcíàngmák* (18:92)

hà =màng =ká =záng ngaú =tí =tá
WH=thing =TOP =EMPH say =also =EMPH

lā-háng-cí-àng =mák
take-back-PL-DIR$_1$ =HORT
'Whatever (is) said, let's go and take them.'

Appendix A: Kadu-English-Burmese glossary

The Kadu-English-Burmese glossary contains over 3000 entries that were gathered during my two fieldwork trips (2009-2011) among the Kadu community. Most lexical items and grammatical morphemes were gathered by extracting them from recorded language data texts and elicitation and observation in natural language settings. Since one of the main intentions of this research is to help the Kadu community develop a writing system of their own so that they can maintain their language and culture, therefore, it is presented using a tentative orthography I developed and used in this thesis. In addition, I have included Burmese glosses with the intention of making the data available to Burmese students of linguistics and Kadu younger generations who are being brought up learning to read and write Burmese.

The order of the symbols in the Kadu alphabet is arranged following English alphabetical order. Entries are also indicated with grammatical information, such as verb, noun, and particle. Abbreviations used in the glossary are presented below.

adv	adverb	*onmt*	onomatopoeic word
attw	attendant word	*part*	particle
aux	auxiliary	*prn*	pronoun
clf	classifier	*quant*	quantifier
conj	conjunction	*refl*	reflexive
dem	demonstrative	*slg*	slang
excl	exclamation	*subd*	subordinator
locn	locational noun	*v*	verb
n	noun		

Possible loanwords from Shan and Burmese are indicated by "＜Shan" and "＜Bur." Though I am pretty confident in my Burmese, due to lack of competence in Shan, many

Shan loanwords are left unmarked. Variant forms or allomorphs are indicated by ( ) brackets.

A a

a = *part* proclitic negative particle. ကြိယာအရှေ့တွင်အသုံးပြုရသည့် အငြင်းပြဝိဘတ်။

á *n* strength ခွန်အား <Bur.

=á (**-wá, ná, má, ná, ngá**) *part* particle attaches to verbs or verb complexes to convey a negative sense. ကြိယာနောက်တွင်သုံးသည့် အငြင်းပြဝိဘတ်။

ā *excl* oh အာ

à$_1$ *n* numeral one တစ်

à$_2$ *v* be opened ဟ

-à *part* euphoric particle. ချေ

acān *n* plan အကြံ <Bur.

acānaík *v* be in a fix အကြံအိုက် <Bur.

acáng *n* behaviour အကျင့် <Bur.

acaúng *n* about အကြောင်း <Bur.

acaúngayín *n* reason အကြောင်းအရင်း <Bur.

acaūteū *n* person အကြော်သည် <Bur.

acēng *n* time အကြိမ် <Bur.

aceú *v* vomit အန်

achák *n* time အချက် <Bur.

achángacháng *refl* mutually အချင်းချင်း <Bur.

achēanē *n* condition အခြေအနေ <Bur.

achēng *n* time အချိန် <Bur.

achēng akhā *n* time အချိန်အခါ <Bur.

achí *n* muntjac deer ဂျိ

achì (**chì**) *v* chew ဝါး

achìn *v* shake off ဆိတ်ခွာ As in shake off buds from one's body မွှားတို့ကို အသားမှ ခါချသည့် အခါတွင်သုံးသည်။

achīsalī achàsalā *adv* playful, impish မဟုတ်တရုတ်

achít *v* murmur ညီးညူ

ácí *adv* exceedingly; extremely; very. အားကြီး၊ တအား <Bur.

ací$_1$ *n* elephant ဆင်

ací$_2$ *n* indigenous hardwood tree အင်းကြင်းပင်

acíceù *adv* extensively အကြီးကျယ် <Bur.

acísweū *n* tusk ဆင်ဆွယ်

ahá *v* pull ရမ်းဆွဲ ဆံပင်တို့၊ မျက်နှာတို့ကို ရမ်းဆွဲတာမျိုးကို ဆိုသည်။

ahā *n* crab ကဏန်း

ahà *n* chin မေးစေ့

aháhē *excl* wonderful! အဟားဟေ

ahàmūngkū *n* beard မုက်ဆိတ်မွေး

ahát *n* smell အနံ့

ahaú (**haú**) *v* 1) crawl တွားသွား 2) feel pain when someone eats pepper

aheú (**heú**) *v* scratch ကုတ်ခြစ်

aheū *n* fish ငါးတစ်မျိုး

aík$_1$ *v* hot အိုက် <Bur.

aík$_2$ *v* veer တိမ်း veer; shift

aíkkalèaík *onmt* sound of small rooster crow အောက်အီးအီးအွတ် (တိန်ညင်ကြက်)

aīng$_1$ *onmt* sound of day crying in pain ခွေးများ နာကျင်သည့်အခါ အော်သည့်အသံ

aīng$_2$ *n* lake အိုင် <Bur.

aìngsaì halaíng *adv* tilt စောင်းစောင်း

aīngsaút aīngsaút *adv* limp ထော့နဲ့ထော့နဲ့

ák *v* bloom, be slightly opened, ပွင့်ဟ သည်။ နုံအသည်။

aká *v* roast ကင် ညှပ်ဖြင့် ညှပ်ပြီး ကင်သည်ကိုတာဆို။

akáq *n* dance အက <Bur.

akékhát *n* observe အကဲခတ် <Bur.

akhā *n* time အခါ <Bur.

akhán *n* room အခန်း <Bur.

akhàtóng *adv* while အခါတုန်း <Bur.

akhaúng *n* coffin အခေါင်း <Bur.

akhwák *n* permit အခွင့် <Bur.

akōng *n* all, everything အကုန်၊ ရှိရှိသမျှ <Bur.

akōnglóng *n* all, everything အကုန်လုံး၊ ရှိရှိသမျှ <Bur.

akú *v* dry ခြောက်

akwák *n* blot အကွက် <Bur.

ákweú *n* spittle သွားရည်

ákweúthaúk *v* spit တံသွေးထွေး

ákyá *n* tree with long edible pods ကြောင်လျှာပင်
álá *excl* Ah las! အားလား
alaík *part* accordingly အလိုက် <Bur.
aleūkóng *n* place's name အလယ်ကုန်း
aleúq *n* turn အလှည့် <Bur.
aléuq *n* portion အလှည့်ဖွက်ခြမ်း <Bur.
alō *n* need အလို <Bur.
alòkà *excl* surprise အလိုက
alōlō *adv* by itself, naturally အလိုလို <Bur.
álóng *n* all အားလုံး <Bur.
alū *n* offering အလှူ <Bur.
alúk *n* work အလုပ် <Bur.
amākà *adv* that time ဒီအခါမှာ
amān *n* true အမှန် <Bur.
amànkáq *n* truly အမှန်က <Bur.
amát *n* official အမတ် <Bur.
amék *n* command အမိန့် <Bur.
ameū *n* mother အမေ
ameūawà *n* parent မိဘ
ameūsāsā *n* mother and son သားအမိ
amú *n* older brother အစ်ကို
amúnashī *n* male siblings ညီအစ်ကို
amwē *n* inheritance အမွေ <Bur.
amyeú *n* always အမြဲ <Bur.
amyeútán *n* always အမြဲတန်း <Bur.
amyó *n* kind အမျိုး <Bur.
amyó anweū *n* lineage အမျိုးအနွယ် <Bur.
amyómyó *n* various way အမျိုးမျိုး <Bur.
amyótamí *n* female အမျိုးသမီး <Bur.
an *dem* proximal demonstrative ဒီ **anyeù** *dem*
ān$_1$ *v* count ရေတွက် <Bur.
ān$_2$ *n* paddy စပါး
anaí *n* maternal grandmother အဖွား
anánq *n* smell အနံ့ <Bur.
anáq *prn* this ဒီ
anaūyathā *n* man's name အနော်ရထာ
anè *n* condition အနေ <Bur.
aneúsóng *quant* at least အနည်းဆုံး <Bur.
āng *n* sal tree အင်ကြင်းပင်
àng *dem* that အဲဒီ
áng$_1$ *n* cabalistic square အင်း <Bur.
áng$_2$ *n* 1) lake ရေအိုင် 2) pond ရေကန်
-àng *part* particle attaches to verbs to denote directional meaning of away from deictic centre. လိုက်
ángcháq *v* inscribe အင်းချ <Bur.
àngnáq *prn* that one အဲဒါ
angōk *n* stump အငုတ် <Bur.
āngtūng *n* basin အင်တုံ < Bur.
àngyeùzàngngaútì *conj* however ဒါပေမဲ့
àngzàngngaú *conj* but ဒါပေမဲ့
àngzàngngaútì *conj* however ဒါပေမဲ့
ānkatùn *n* barn စပါးကျီ
ānkū *n* rice ဆန်ကြမ်း any kind of non sticky rice
ānmeū *n* paddy စပါးလုံး exclusively with paddy that is mixed with pounded rice. ဆန်နဲ့ရောသည့် စပါးလုံးကိုသာဆိုသည်။
ānpānpaūk *n* second version of pounded rice စပါးထောင်းဒုတိယသပ်
ānsaú *n* glutinous paddy
ānsaúsát *n* sticky rice ကောက်ညှင်းဆန်
àntàk (**matàk**) *prn* third person plural form. သူတို့
āntān (**āntahān**) *adv* quite တော်တော်
anweū *n* lineage အနွယ် <Bur.
anyeù *dem* like this, this manner ဒီလို
anyínakhòng *n* argue အငြင်းအခုံ <Bur.
ānzapóng *n* pounded paddy စပါးပထမသပ်
áp *clf* classifier for counting numbers words or utterances ခွန်း
āp *clf* classifier for counting numbers of mouthful လုတ်
apaí$_1$ *n* portion အပိုင်း <Bur.
apaí$_2$ (**paí**$_2$) *locn* tip top ထိပ်ဖျား
apáng *n* curse အပင်း
apaū *locn* upon အပေါ် <Bur.
apaúk *n* hole အပေါက် <Bur.
aphòkcí *n* clump အဖုတ် tuft or clump of hair or grass.
aphweúq *n* team အဖွဲ့ <Bur.
aphyít *n* state အဖြစ် <Bur.
áphyít *n* by အားဖြင့် <Bur.
apú *n* ngapi ငပိ

apyā *n* blue အပြာ <Bur.

apyīn *conj* in addition to အပြင် <Bur.

apyít *n* mistake အပြစ် <Bur.

apyōpyān *n* maiden အပျိုဖျန်း <Bur.

asá *v* shake ခါချ

asaìng *n* intestines အူ

asák *n* life, age အသက်

asáng *n* group အသင်း

asāyēsā *n* food အစာရေစာ <Bur.

aséng látlát *adv* still fresh, or raw အစိမ်းလတ်လတ် <Bur.

aseút *n* connection အဆက် <Bur.

ashéq *locn* east အရှေ့ <Bur.

asheqkóng *n* place's name အရှေ့ကုန်း <Bur.

ashì$_1$ *n* 1) sister-in-law မရီး 2) older sister of one's own mother and father older brother's wife မိမိမိခင်၏ အမနှင့် မိမိဖခင် အစ်ကို၏ ဇနီးကိုခေါ်သည်။

ashì$_2$ *v* skinny ပိန်

ashì naúngpaúng *n* sisters by marriage လင် ညီအစ်မ

ashīn *n* lord အရှင် <Bur.

ashīn látlát *adv* alive အရှင်လတ်လတ် <Bur.

ashúngkhān *v* surrender အရှုံးခံ <Bur.

asìn *n* mind and also liver စိတ်၊အသဲ

asīntít *adv* ready အဆင်သင့် <Bur.

asít *n* level အဆင့် <Bur.

asó *n* ruler အစိုး <Bur.

asóng *part* extremity အဆုံး <Bur.

asùn *n* edge အစွန် <Bur.

aswē *n* friend အဆွေ <Bur.

asweù *n* tusk အဆွယ် <Bur.

āt *n* broken ကျိုး

àt *v* submit အပ် <Bur.

atá *n* rice ထမင်း

átā *excl* oh,no! အားကွာ

ataí *n* pattern အတိုင်း <Bur.

atáshínq *n* left over rice or snack ထမင်းကြမ်း literally. cold food

ataū *n* paternal grandmother ဖခင်ဘက်မှ အဖွား paternal grandmother ဖခင်ဖက်မှ အဖွား

ataūtaū *adv* somewhat တော်တော် <Bur.

até *n* older sister အမ **hété** *n*

atékpeū *n* meaning အဓိပ္ပါယ် <Bur.

aténashī *n* 1) sibling sisters ညီအမ 2) siblings မောင်နှမ

ateú *excl* oh!.you အသင်

athàng *v* guess အထင်

athaúng *n* mother-in-law ယောကျ်ခမ term used by the female to her in-laws. ခွေးမမှ သူ့ယောကျ်ခမများကို ခေါ်သည့် အခေါ်အဝေါ်။

athéng *n* maiden အထိန်း <Bur.

atheú *locn* inside အထဲ <Bur.

atheút *locn* up အထက် <Bur.

atheút atheút *adv* repeatedly ထပ်ခါထပ်ခါ

athíq *locn* up to အထိ <Bur.

athú *adv* extraordinary အထူး <Bur.

áthúk *v* meditate အားထုတ် <Bur.

athútalē *n* unusually အထူးတလည် <Bur.

athwé *n* youngest အထွေး <Bur.

athweút *n* come out အထွက် <Bur.

atí *v* soft နု

atíanān *n* vegetable အသီးအနှံ <Bur.

atūtū *adv* together အတူတူ <Bur.

atwé *n* idea အတွေး <Bur.

atwéqacūng *n* experience အတွေ့အကြုံ <Bur.

aú *prn* here ဒီ

aū *excl* well! အော်

aúk$_1$ *locn* below အောက် <Bur.

aúk$_2$ *v* flip, change or reverse position of things; turn inside out. လှန်သည်။

aùkchín *n* seaweed ကျောက်ပွင့် kind of edible seaweed စာလို့ရသည့် ရေညှိ တစ်မျိုး။

aūksweú *n* lower area အောက်ပိုင်းဟု အဓိပ္ပါယ်ရသည်။အောက်ပိုင်းဟု အဓိပ္ပါယ်ရသည်။ <Bur.

aūlaúq *n* speaker လှော်စပီကာ ရုပ်ပုံကြည့်။

aúm *locn* front ရှေ့

aūmpā *n* geese ငန်း

aūmpeút *n* duck ဘဲ

aūng *v* pass အောင် <Bur.

aùng- *n* particle that attaches before kinship terms, father and mother to make it very polite ဆွေမျိုးအခေါ်အဝေါ်ရှေ့တွင် ထည့်သုံးသည့် ပုဒ်

aùngawà *n* parents မိဘ

aūngmyīn *n* succeed အောင်မြင် <Bur.

aūngtánnweū *n* man's name အောင်သန်းနွယ်

aūngtweú *n* bamboo basket ဝါးဖြင့်လုပ်ထားတဲ့ပုံး
awà *n* father အဖေ
awàsāsā *n* father and son သားအဖ
awút *n* clothe အဝတ် <Bur.
ayàn *v* poor ဆင်းရဲ
ayāng *n* prior အရင် <Bur.
ayát *n* place အရပ် <Bur.
ayaúng *n* color အရောင် <Bur.
ayé *n* matter အရေး <Bur.
ayécí *n* important အရေးကြီး <Bur.
ayék *n* shadow အရိပ် <Bur.
ayékachē *n* situation အရိပ်အခြေ <Bur.
āyūng *n* sense အာရုံ <Bur.
ayweù *n* age အရွယ် <Bur.
azàk *n* the name Kadu called themselves. သက်လူမျိုး၊ ကတူးလူမျိုးများ မိမိကို မိမိ ခေါ်သည့် အမည်နာမ။
azàn *v* pity, sympathetic သနားစာနာသည်။
azáq *n* begin အစ <Bur.
azīazīn *n* plan အစီအစဉ် <Bur.
azúq *n* group အစု <Bur.

C c

cá *n* in between ကြား <Bur.
-cā *part* contracted form of plural marker cí and euphoric marker à
ca í *n* guardian Nat ခြံစောင့်နတ်
caeú *v* be yellow ဝါ
cahaúng *n* coriander နံနံ
caìk *n* mango သရက်
caík$_1$ *v* like ကြိုက် <Bur.
caík$_2$ *v* cross over ကျော်လွှား
caík$_3$ *v* exchange လဲလှယ်
cāk *v* cooked ကျက် <Bur.
cáknáng *n* fence ဝါးစည်းရိုး
cáksaháng *n* drumstick ဒန့်သလွန်
camà *n* luck ကြမ္မာ <Bur.
cān$_1$ *v* remain ကျန် <Bur.
cān$_2$ *v* plan ကြံစည် <Bur.
cáng *v* flat? ပြန့်
-càng *part* contraction of (cí + àng = càng) ကြလိုက်
càngchī *n* mirror ရိုးတွင်းချည်ဆီ
cānphān *v* plan ကြံဖန် <Bur.
cánpyén *n* floor ကြမ်းပြင် <Bur.
cánsā *n* script ကျမ်းစာ <Bur.
cānsíttá *n* man's name ကျန်စစ်သား
cānzī *v* plan ကြံစည် <Bur.
cāpá *n* lotus ကြာပန်း
capū *n* tree သစ်အယ်သား
cáq *v* cost/fall ကျ <Bur.
-cáq *part* particle attaches to verbs to denote plurality . က <Bur.
cáqcáq náqnáq *adv* do something carefully or comfortably ကျကျနန <Bur.
cáqtaù *n* as for ကြတော့ <Bur.
caú *n* shoulder back ကျော <Bur.
caū$_1$ *v* fry ကြော် <Bur.
caū$_2$ *v* 1) cross over ကျော် 2) exceed ကျော် <Bur.
caúk *n* stone ကျောက် <Bur.
caúktānpatamyá *n* precious stone ကျောက်သံပတ္တမြား <Bur.
caūlē *n* clan's name ကျော်လေ
caúng *n* school ကျောင်း <Bur.
caúnq *n* because ကြောင့် <Bur.
cé$_1$ *n* parrot ကျေး
cé$_2$ *n* bronze ကြေး <Bur.
cék *v* angry in mind ကျိတ်ခဲ <Bur.
cēk$_1$ *v* curve ကောက်
cēk$_2$ *v* suspend from the neck လည်ပင်းတွင်ဆွဲထား
cékcéksā *n* tailor bird နှဲပီစုတ်
cékkatéq cákkatàk *adv* zigzag ကွေ့ကွေ့ကောက်ကောက်
cēnát *v* satisfy ကြေနပ် <Bur.
céng *n* letter စာ

cēng$_1$ *clf* time ကြိမ် <Bur.

cēng$_2$ *n* rattan ကြိမ်

cèng *v* roll လိမ့် <Shan

céttaú *n* place's name ကြက်တော

ceú$_1$ *v* full (stomach) ဗိုက်ဝ

ceú$_2$ *n* buffalo ကျဲ

ceú$_3$ *v* wide ကျဲ <Bur.

ceū$_1$ *v* **1)** read ဖတ် **2)** sing ဆို **3)** crow တွန်

ceū$_2$ *v* be over ripe ရင့်မာ <Shan

ceū$_3$ *n* night or dark ည၊မှောင်

ceū$_4$ *v* deaf ကန်း၊မှောင်

ceù *n* species of thorny creeper ခပ်ချိုန္တယ်

ceú lamù *n* buffalo ဦးချိုကိုကျဲ

ceú paíkpaík *n* yellow အဝါ

ceūceū nátnát *adv* with satisfaction ကြေကြေနပ်နပ် <Bur.

ceúntaík *n* bael ဥသျစ်သီး

ceūnyā *v* announce ကြော်ငြာ <Bur.

ceùt *n* roof's frame ခေါင်မိုးအချင်း

cézú *n* gratitude ကျေးဇူး

cézútīn *v* thankful ကျေးဇူးတင် <Bur.

chalá *part* verbal particle that attaches to verb to denote completive. ပြီးသား

chán *v* cold ချမ်း <Bur.

chanákchī *n* grime ဂျီး

cháng *refl* reciprocal ချင်း <Bur.

chántā *v* be rich ချမ်းသာ <Bur.

cháq *v* put down ချ <Bur.

cháshí *v* drop something to kill ချသတ်

chát$_1$ *n* classifier for counting numbers of shots ချက် <Bur.

chát$_2$ *v* cook ချက် <Bur.

chaū *v* miss ချော် <Bur.

chaúk$_1$ *n* six ခြောက်

chaúk$_2$ *n* cliff ချောက် <Bur.

chaúng$_1$ *v* spy ချောင်းကြည့် <Bur.

chaúng$_2$ *n* river ချောင်း <Bur.

chaúngphyá *n* up river ချောင်းဖြား <Bur.

chaúq *v* soothe ချော့ <Bur.

chék *v* hook ချိတ် <Bur.

cheùtphāng *n* eve ဆည်းဆာ

chēyā *n* foot print ခြေရာ <Bur.

chí *v* sour ချဉ်

chī$_1$ *v* true ဟုတ်

chī$_2$ *v* march ချီ

chī$_3$ *v* wash လျှော်

chī$_4$ *n* dung or excrement ချီး၊ မစင်

chīlāchíqlá *v* tag question ဟုတ်တယ်ဟုတ်

chím *n* clan's name ချဉ်း

chīmánkwín *n* magical tied ring ချည်မန်းကွင်း <Bur.

chīmīntā *n* toilet အိမ်သာ

chímtúng *n* clan's name ချဉ်းတုန်း

chín *v* come near ချဉ်းကပ် <Bur.

chīnīk *v* defecate ချီးပါ

chīnlínmùng *n* place's name ချင်းလေးမုံ

chīnpaūng *n* vegetable ချဉ်ပေါင် <Bur.

chíntwín *n* river's name ချင်းတွင်း

chīphí (**chītát**) *v* fart အီးပေါက်

chīpókhalúk *adv* worriedly ငိုင်တိုင်တိုင်

chít$_2$ *v* verbal particle that attaches to verb to denote rarity. ခဲ

chìthú *n* anus စအို

chíttí *n* man's name ချစ်တီး

chō *n* outer layer of bamboo နှီးကျော

chōngpūk *n* bush ချုပုတ် <Bur.

chūng (**chūngcá**) *n* bush ချုံ <Bur.

chút *v* take off ချွတ် <Bur.

cí *n* big ကြီး <Bur.

-cí *part* particle attaches to verbs to denote plurality. ကြ

cī$_1$ *n* dog ခွေး

cī$_2$ *v* peel ခွာ as in taking out the inner layer of banana, cane plan. ငှက်ပျောအူ၊ ကြိမ်ဖူး စသည်တို့ ခွာယူရာတွင် သုံးသည်။

= **cī** *subd* particle attaches to negated verbal predicates to mean 'before'. မတိုင်ခင်

cíceū *adv* extremely ကြီးကျယ်

cīhaúm *n* flower ပန်းတစ်မျိုး

cīlāng *n* squirrel ရှဉ့် **kátcīlāng** *n*

cím *n* house အိမ်

címaúng *n* gong ကြေးမောင်း < Bur.
címmát *n* look after the house အိမ်စောင့်
címmeù *n* north မြောက်
címpák *n* 1) corridor အိမ်ကပြင် 2) south တောင်
címsàt *v* set up a separate house, or start a new family အိမ်ဆင်း
címtaī *n* pillar အိမ်တိုင်
címwáng *n* compound အိမ်ဝင်း
cín *v* narrow ကျဉ်း <Bur.
cīn *v* fall; drop (of leaves, fruits, etc.); drop off. ကြွေကျသည်။
cìn$_1$ *n* cucumber(small) တောင်ယာသခွား small size and has some spots. အနုံအသက်ရှိ၍ အစက်အပြောက်များပါသည်။
cìn$_2$ *v* dry အရည် ခမ်းခြောက် exclusively with fruits.
-cìng *part* contracted form of **cí** 'plural' + **ìng** directional particle. ကြခဲ့
cīnú *v* delight ကြည်နူး <Bur.
cīnúphweù *n* delightful ကြည်နူးဖွယ် be delighted, be very pleased; enraptured. <Bur.
cīnúq *n* earthworm တီကောင်
cínwán *n* pineapple နာနတ်သီး
cīnyō *v* respect ကြည်ညို <Bur.
cíp *v* firm မြဲ
cīpōn *n* spear လုံ
cīsēk *n* plea ခွေးသန်း
cīsōk *n* 1) wild dog တောခွေး၊ ခွေးစုတ် 2) kind of black big ants ပုရွက်ဆိတ်အမဲအကြီး တစ်မျိုး
cìt *v* pluck ခြွေခူး
cīt *v* come close ကပ်လာ
cósámúq *n* trying hard ကြိုးစားမှု <Bur.
cótōk *v* tie ကြိုးတုပ် <Bur.
cówaítaú *n* palace's name ကြိုးဝိုင်းတော <Bur.
cózá *v* try hard ကြိုးစား <Bur.
cùm *n* slave ကျွန် <Bur.
cùmmáq *n* slave girl ကျွန်မ <Bur.
cún *n* island ကျွန်း <Bur.
cūng *v* meet or happen by chance or by accident or unintentionally or coincidentally ကြုံ <Bur.
cūngók *n* trunk of reeds ကျူငုတ် <Bur.
cūpīn *n* reed ကျူပင် <Bur.
cwáq *v* come ကြွ <Bur.
cwēúq *n* wild yam ကြွေဥ <Bur.
cwēúqtaūng *n* place's name ကြွေဥတောင်
cweútsúk *n* shrew ကြွက်စုတ် <Bur.

E e

é *excl* yes အေး
= **é** *part* euphoric particle which usually occur following speaker attitude particle. seú အေး
éé *excl* yes အေးအေး
ēk *n* wife ဇနီး
ēklā *v* man marrying a woman မိန်းမယူ
ēksāhalá *n* couple, a husband and a wife လင်မယား
ēlā *adv* large, giant
ēng *n* house အိမ် <Bur.
ēngmák *n* dream အိမ်မက် <Bur.
ēngnyaūng *n* house lizard အိမ်မြှောင် <Bur.
ēngsací *n* leader of a particular clan အိမ်သူကြီး <Bur.
ēngsó *n* ruler of the clan or family အိမ်စိုး
ēngthaūng *n* family, couple and household အိမ်ထောင်၊ မိသားစု၊ လင်မယား <Bur.
eú *excl* that အဲဒီ
eù *excl* yes! အေ
eúhám *n* man's name အဲခန်း
eūhám *n* elephant foot yam tuber ဝဉ
eùm *v* die သေ slang?
eùn *n* barn စပါးတိုက် barn built underneath the house. အိမ်အောက်ရှိ တိုင်တွင် လုပ်ထားသည့် စပါးတိုက်။

eúqaūshī *n* wheel used in waving စက်သီး
eúqkhān *v* receive guest ည့်ခံ <Bur.
eút$_1$ *v* drop ကျ
eút$_2$ *v* left ကျန်
eútā *n* that အဲဒါ <Bur.

H h

há$_1$ *n* red အနီ
há$_2$ *v* jeer အတင်းပြော <Bur.
há$_3$ *v* grasp ကုတ်ဆွဲ
hā$_1$ *v* walk သွား
hā$_2$ *excl* ha ဟာ
hā$_3$ *v* bitter ခါး
hā$_4$ *v* be hit ထိမှန်
hà$_1$ *prn* WH word ဘာ၊ဘယ်
hà$_2$ *n* five ငါး
hà$_3$ *clf* classifier for counting buildings ဆောင် as in caúnghà ကျောင်းတစ်ဆောင်
-hà *aux* know how တတ်
hàaì *n* waist ခါး
hāàng tèàng *v* go to and fro သွားလိုက်လာလိုက်
hàháng *n* Kachin ကချင်
= **haík** *part* from မှ၊က
haíkkà (**heúq**) *conj* and then, after that ပြီးတော့
haíkmà *adv* that time ဒီအခါမှာ
haíkmākà (**haíkmákhà**) *adv* as for that time, and then ဒီအခါမှာ
haìng *v* came up တတ်ခဲ့
= **haìng** *part* particle attach to nouns indicating the sense of exclusiveness. (comparable in usage to adverbs 'only', 'alone', 'just') ချည်းပဲ
haīnghaúng *n* cow bell နွားခြေ
hák$_1$ *v* shout or call aloud ခေါ်၊ အော်ခေါ်
hák$_2$ *v* widen or spread out, scatter; space out ချဲသည်။ exclusively with firewood မီးစချေရာတွင်သာသုံးသည်။
hàk$_1$ *clf* classifier for counting branches ကိုင်း see also halàk
hàk$_2$ *v* dislocate ပြုတ် <Shan
hákceù *n* turmeric ဆန္ဒင်း
hākū *v* reckon, think, guess ထင်သည်၊ခန့်မှန်းသည်။
halá *n* husband လင်ယောကျ်ား
halák *v* dull နုံအ
halàk *n* branch ကိုင်း
-halák *aux* roughly တစ်ဝက်တစ်ပျက်
halán halán *adv* fold something repeatedly အထပ်ထပ်ခေါက်
halánāng *v* woman marrying a man ယောကျ်ားယူ
haláng *n* 1) head ခေါင်း 2) sky မိုးကောင်းကင်
halàng *v* in vain, meaningless အချည်းအနှီး
halánghú *n* hair ဆံပင်
halángká *v* 1) hot နေပူ 2) head burning ခေါင်းပူ
halángkāk *n* headdress ခေါင်းပေါင်း
halánglà *n* late နေမြင့်
halángmūn *v* wind လေတိုက်
halángtháng *v* dark မိုးအုံ့
halángweú *v* rain မိုးရွာ
halángyá *v* dawn မိုးလင်း
halángzèk *v* headache ခေါင်းကိုက်
haláp *v* stack ထပ်
haláp haláp *adv* stack.repeatedly အထပ်အထပ်
halaúk *n* bunch စည်း
halawà *n* man/husband ယောကျ်ား
halawàshā *n* boy ယောက်ကျားလေး
haleù *part* accidentally မိ
halí *n* boat လှေ
halíng *locn* behind နောက်
halíngsatá *n* last month လွန်ခဲ့သည့်လ
halíngtàm *n* backward နောက်ပြန်
halóng *n* small mat ဖျာငယ် small square mat which

is used to dry tea leaf and hot cooked rice. လက်ဖက်ခြောက်၊ ထမင်းတို့ နွေးရန်၊ လှမ်းရန် အသုံးပြုသည့် လေးထောင့်ဖျာငယ်တစ်မျိုး။

halú *n* particle that attaches to kinship terms to indicate immediate blood relation. မိသားစုအစစ်အမှန်ဖြစ်ခြင်းကို ဖော်ပြသည့်ပုဒ်။ blood relation.

halū *n* rounded object အလုံး

halū halúq *adv* rounded object လုံးလုံးကြီး

halúng *onmt* sound make by flame မီးတောက်၊ မီးလျှံ မြည်သံအသံ

hám$_{1}$ **1** *v* setting a bait သားကောင်ကို ဖမ်းရာတွင် တည်သည့် အစာ။

hám$_{2}$ **2** *clf* classifier for counting numbers of packages ထုပ် used when counting package which is not tied by bamboo ties or rope. နှီးမချုပ် ထုပ်ထားသည့် ဟင်းအထုပ်ကိုသာသုံးသည်။

-hàm *aux* be over, be excess ပို

hamán *n* spirit နတ်

hamàngkàngātéq *prn* why ဘာကြောင့်

hameú *n* person သူ

hamòk *n* sky ကောင်းကင်

hamòkalúm *v* thundering မိုးချိန်း

hamòkphā *v* (of lightning) strike. မိုးကြိုးပစ်

hamòkzìháp *v* lightning လျှပ်စီးလျှပ်

hamúk (**kamúk**) *n* under အောက်

hán$_{1}$ *v* be threaten ခြိမ်းခြောက်၊ ရန်စောင် <Bur.?

hán$_{2}$ *n* mat သင်ဖြူးဖျာ

hān$_{1}$ *v* lessen လျော့

hān$_{2}$ *v* flow or go downward စီးဆင်း၊ စုန်

hànáq *n* which ဘယ်ဟာ

háng *v* be sharp ထက်သည်၊ ချွန်သည်။

hāng *v* huge/wide gap ကျဲ

-háng *aux* 1) back ပြန် 2) again နောက်တဖန်

hángchì *n* cloud မိုးတိမ်

hānghák *n* toad ဖားပြုတ်

hāngkashì hāngkazák *adv* sparsely ကျိုးတိုးကျဲတည်း

hángmú *n* wild yam မျောက်ဥ အရိုင်းတစ်မျိုး

hàngshíng *n* top (toy) ဂျင်

hángtì *n* sweet potato ကဒွန်းဥ

hanīng *prn* second person plural form. မင်းတို့၊ ခင်ဗျားတို့၊ နင်တို့

hānshí *n* cat ကြောင်

háp *v* unpack ဖြည်

hāp *v* weep ငို

hát *v* 1) make ပြုလုပ် 2) move လှုပ်ရှား something done swiftly or without discernment

hàt *n* bed bug ကြမ်းပိုး

haú$_{1}$ *v* preach ဟော <Bur.

haú$_{2}$ *excl* look! ဟော

haú$_{3}$ *v* gather (ထင်း)ခွေ gathering wood for one time use. တရက်စာ၊ တခါသုံးစရာအတွက် ကို ဆိုသည်။

haū$_{1}$ *clf* classifier for counting numbers of implement and tools လက် as in counting knife, spade etc.

haū$_{2}$ *v* also as strike as in snake's strike မြွေပေါက်သည့်အခါလည်းသုံး။ exclusively with long handle implements. It is also used with snake bite. လက်ကိုင်ရှည်သည့် ပေါက်ဆိန်ဖြင့် ခုတ်ပေါက်ခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။ မြွေပေါက်ရာတွင်လည်း အသုံးပြုသည်။

haùheū *n* corn ပြောင်းဖူး

haúk *v* bundle စည်း also means to harvest. ကောက်သိမ်းသည် ဟုလည်းအဓိပ္ပာယ်ထွက်သည်။

haùk *n* field အခင်း

haúkmón *n* hornbill အောက်ချင်းငှက်

haúng *n* coffin အခေါင်း

haúntū (**tū**$_{4}$) *n* stick ဒုတ်ချောင်း

haúp *v* drink an egg, or coconut juice ကြက်ဥကိုမျိုချ၊သောက်ချသည်။

haūpát *n* snail ခရု

haūpút *n* glutinous rice cake ခေါပုတ်

haút *v* digging by animal ကျုံးယှက်

haùt *v* put in လိမ့်ထည့် fold the cloth and put in something ပုဆိုးစတွင် လိမ့်ထည့်ခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။

-haút *aux* want ချင်

haút salaút *adv* wanting ချင်ချင်

haūttaūt khalaūt *adv* sag ခွက်ခွက် sag (at the middle of surface).

= **hayaúk** *subd* particle attaches to verbs to indicate the meaning of 'since', or 'from the time of '. ကတည်းက

hē *onmt* shivering sound ကြောက်သည့်အခါ ထွက်သည့်

အသံ

hé- *n* particle that attaches before the kinship terms to denote affectionate. မိသားစု ခေါ်ဝေါ်များရှေ့တွင် ချစ်ခင်လေးစားမှုကို ပြရန်အတွက်သုံးသည့် ပုဒ်။

héq *excl* exclamation ဟေ့

hété (**hé-**, **até**) *n* older sister မမ

heù *excl* yes! ဟေ့ပေါ့

heú$_1$ *v* 1) tell ပြောပြ 2) answer ဖြေ

heú$_2$ *n* resin သစ်စေး ယွန်းထည်တို့ကို သုတ်လိမ်းသည့် သစ်စေးတစ်မျိုး

heū$_1$ *v* climb တတ်

heū$_2$ *v* borrow ချေးငှား

heū$_3$ *v* plant စိုက် exclusively with planting as with potato and yam. အာလူး၊ ပိန်းဥ စသည့် ဥများကို စိုက်ခြင်းကိုသာဆိုသည်။

heūhān *onmt* sound of wave? လေလှိုင်းထသည့်အသံ

heūhān heūhān *adv* go ups and downs ဆုန်ဆုန်ဆန်ဆန်

heúheū *onmt* sound make when someone is short of breath မောသည့် အသံ

heúm *v* pregnant သန္ဓေတည်

heūn *v* reluctant တွန့်တို

heúp$_1$ *v* squeeze အစ် squeeze or throttle or feel tight.

heúp$_2$ *v* lure မြှူဆွယ် lure; entice; tempt; persuade. မြှူဆွယ်၍ အကျည်းအကျပ်ထဲရောက်သွားအောင် လုပ်ဆောင်ယူတာမျိုးကိုဆိုသည်.

-heúq *part* contraction of an auxiliary verb and a directional verbal particle (háng + ìng = heúq).

heūsàt heūsàt *adv* go ups and downs တတ်တတ်ဆင်းဆင်း

heūtìng sáttìng *n* ladder တတ်စရာဆင်းစရာ

heútlá *n* star flower plant ခရေပင်

heúttín *n* slipper ဖိနပ် < Shan

héwà *n* father ဖေဖေ

hīn *v* tease စနောက်

híng *onmt* roar ဟိန်း < Bur.

hīng *prn* third person singular form. သူ

hīngkalīng *n* bell ချိ small spherical metallic bell which is wore in child's leg. ကလေး ခြေတွင်ဆွဲသည့် ချိငယ်။

hīngkaú hīngkā *refl* himself သူဘာသာသူ

híp *v* fall လဲ

hípphāngmákkū (**mákkū**) *n* rib နံရိုး

hīt *v* hang ချိတ်

hītzalaúng *n* hook ချိတ်

hó *excl* exclamation ဟိုး

hōhōn *n* ash pumpkin ကျောက်ဖရုံသီး

hōhōnná *n* kind of edible leaf မြင်းခွာရွက်လို မြေမှာကပ်ပေါက်သော အပင်တစ်မျိုး

hōk$_1$ *n* six ခြောက်

hōk$_2$ *v* take off as a stick or post ပြန်နုတ်

hōkáq *prn* there ဟိုက < Bur.

hōm *v* confine လှောင် as in to confine chickens with baskets. တောင်နှင့် ကြက်လောင်းသည်ကိုဆိုသည်။

hóng *part* verbal particle attaches to verb to indicate sympathy. ကြိယာနှင့်တွဲသုံးရသည့် သနားညှာတာမှုကိုပြ သည့် ဝိဘတ်။

hōp$_1$ *v* be astringent ဖန်သည်။

hōp$_2$ *v* tie ချည်

hòt *v* make a hole ပေါက်သည်။

hōtín *prn* there ဟိုဒင်း < Bur.

hòtúngkáqtaúq *n* long ago ဟိုတုန်းကတော့

hú$_1$ *clf* classifier for counting numbers of people ယောက် occurs with numerals one to there.

hú$_2$ *v* boil ပြုတ်

hū *v* burn လောင်

hùhú (**hahú**) *n* snail ခရု

húk *clf* classifier for counting numbers of rounded objects လုံး as in counting ball, pumpkin etc.

húktúktúk *adv* truly ဟုတ်တုတ်တုတ်

hūlā *n* empty ဗလာ

hūlā hūlā *adv* empty ဟာတာတာ

hūlāsā *n* bastard အဖမဲ့သား

hùnàsā *n* fontanelle, soft spot in the cranium of an infant. ငယ်ထိပ်

hūng *clf* stalk(banana) ခိုင်

húngnat *n* Nat's name ဟုန်းနတ်

húnzaú *n* spoon ဇွန်း

húp *v* 1) peel or to take off ခွာသည်၊ ချွတ်သည်။ 2) take off ချွတ်

hùpón *n* kind of plant ကနာဖေါ့
hūtā *n* cousin ဝမ်းကွဲ

húyá (**kathánɡ**) *n* firefly ပိုးစုန်းကြူး
húyeú *n* ridged gourd ကြက်ခဝဲသီး

I i

ì *n* thread အပ်ချည်
ī *v* give ပေး
íí *n* female's nick name အိအိ
īkúq *n* scarab beetle's egg နောက်ချေးပိုးဥ edible စားလို့ရသည်။
īlòt *n* bobbin ရက်ဖောက်
ín$_{1}$ *excl* Oh yes!
ín$_{2}$ *n* cabalistic sign အင်း <Bur.
ín$_{3}$ *prn* there အဲဒီ
ín = *part* proclitic negative particle. မ
īná *n* force အင်အား <Bur.
ínaīng *n* cabalistic square အင်းကွက်ချသည် (လူကို ပြုစားသည့်နည်းပညာ) <Bur.
īnán *n* maiden ပျိုမေ <Shan
íncháq *v* inscribe အင်းချ
-ìng *part* particle attaches to verbs to denote directional meaning of toward a deictic centre.
īngīng (**ìīng**) *adv* tiny သေးသေး

ìngzàngngaútì *conj* however ဒါပေမဲ့
ìngzángtìng *conj* however ဒါပေမဲ့
ínnátóng *n* later ခုနနေ
íntóng *locn* next နောက်
íp *v* narrow ကျဉ်း
īp *v* sleep အိပ်
īpmàng *n* dream အိမ်မက်
īpmàngthī *v* talk or act in one's sleep အိပ်မက်မက်၊ ယောင်
īppát *v* sound sleep အိပ်ပျော်
īpthíng *v* unconscious မေ့မြော အိပ်ပျော်၍ သတိလက်လွတ်ဖြစ်သည်။
īshíq *n* girl or woman အမျိုးသမီး
īshíqshā *n* girl မိန်းကလေး
ìsúk *n* prawn ပုစွန်
ìtalá *n* thread အပ်ချည်ကြိုး
ítòng *n* female's name အိတုံ

K k

ká$_{1}$ *n* car ကား <Bur.
ká$_{2}$ *v* hot ပူ
kā$_{1}$ *n* block ကာ <Bur.
kā$_{2}$ *n* soil မြေ
kā$_{3}$ *v* show ပြ
kā$_{4}$ *part* thing ဟာ
= **ká** *part* topic marker ကတော့
= **kā** *part* such as, so on စသည် frequently occur in a structure as in kámàkà 'things so on' စသည်ဖြင့်
= **kà** *part* interrogative particle enclitic to nouns. လဲ၊လား
kaaù *n* throat လည်ချောင်း
kācáng *n* plain မြေပြန့်
kachīn *n* Kachin ကချင်
kahīng *adv* quite ခပ်ပူပူ
kahú (**kahùng**) *v* hot အိုက်

kahún *n* termite ခြ

kahúnpúngtūng *n* termite mound ခြတောင်ဘို့

kaí$_1$ *excl* well! ကိုင်း

kaí$_2$ *n* frame ကိုင်း <Bur.

kaī kaī *n* type of plant မာန်နီပင်

kaítàk *n* frame ကိုင်း

kāk *v* pulled or stretched tightly. eg the leather used as in drum. ကြက်သည်။

kàk *v* open up ဖောက် exclusively with opening up dam water ဆည်ရေဖောက်ရာတွင်သာသုံးသည်။

kák$_1$ *v* go down the wrong pipe

kák$_2$ *clf* classifier for counting numbers long thin objects ချောင်း occurs with numerals one to three. နံပါတ် တစ်မှသုံးအထိ အသုံးပြုသည်။

-kák *aux* particle attaches to verbs to denote wish or desire to do. ချင်

kákcīng *n* charcoal မီးသွေး

kalá *n* Indian ကုလား

kalácahaùng *n* coriander ကုလားနံနံ

kalaīng *adv* onomatopoeic word မြည်သံစွဲ

kalák *n* stick ချောင်း variant form of kák

kálán *n* motor road ကားလမ်း <Bur.

=kalàng *quant* particle attaches to nouns to indicate that the quantity mentioned is an approximation. ခန့် measurement ဒီလောက်လောက်

kalaú *n* wood ထင်းတိုထင်းစ မီးတောက်လွယ်သည့် ထင်းတိုထင်းစ၊ ဝါးတိုဝါးစ။

kalaúng *v* many ပေါများ

kalaúngtóng *adv* many အများကြီး

kalé *n* place's name ကလေးမြို့

kalèt *n* cricket ပုရစ်

kalìng *n* two နှစ်

kalùn *n* tree or plant အပင်

kalúng *onmt* sound of falling an object ကလုန်း

kalùng *n* name of mythical creature ဂဠုန်

kám *v* lay ခင်း

-kām *aux* prior action နှင့်

kamà *n* wound အနာ

kamà kapeút *adv* wood အနာအဆာ

kámàkà *part* such sort of things စသည်

kamī *n* bamboo shoot မျစ်

kamík *v* look by concentration. စူးစိုက်ကြည့်သည်။

kámíkaúk *n* scorpion ကင်းမြီးကောက် <Bur.

kamòkchí *n* species of amaranth used as a vegetable ဟင်းနုနွယ်

kāmpaík *v* break ခွဲ

kàmpáng *n* tree ကင်ပလင်း name of several species of small evergreen trees producing clusters of acidulous fruit.

kāmpaúkchí *n* acacia ကင်ပွန်းချဉ်

kán$_1$ *v* bad ဆိုး

kán$_2$ (**kám**$_2$) *n* plate, bowl

kán$_3$ *v* bite ကိုက် bite without causing pain. မနာအောင် ဖွဖွလေးကိုက်သည်။

kān$_1$ *n* fortune ကံ <Bur.

kān$_2$ *n* human grown field အခင်း

kān$_3$ *v* multiply တိုးများပွား

kān$_4$ *v* squeeze ညစ်

kaná *n* ear နား **kanáceū** *v*

kanà *v* hurt နာ

kanà kanón *adv* sickly ဖျားဖျားနာနာ

kanáceū *v* be deaf နားကန်း

kanàchíq *n* opium ဘိန်း slang: literally it is a combination of 'wound' plus 'dung'

kanàhā *v* be sick ဖျား

kanáhám *v* listen secretly ခိုးနားထောင်

kanán *n* Kanan ကနန်း

kanàt *v* starve ငတ်

kanaú *n* beginning ကနဦး <Bur.

kāncamā *n* luck ကံကြမ္မာ

kāncí *n* man's name ကံကြီး

kaneú *n* fruit မက်လင်သီး

kāng$_1$ (**múngkāng**) *v* old ဟောင်း

kāng$_2$ *v* inflate ဖေါင်း

kàng *v* roast ကင် roast superficially. ဖက်ရွက် ကင်သည်။

káng káng *onmt* sound of falling down a big object ကန်ကန်ကုန်းကုန်း

kānglaí *n* center အလယ် <Shan

kāngnyāng *n* large tree with oily sap ကညင်ပင်

kāngpāng *n* tree ကင်ပလင်း

kángpè kángná *n* isolated or unimportant places ချောင်ကြိုချောင်ကြား <Shan လယ်တော လယ်စပ်

kàngtalá *v* be old (material) ဟောင်း

kánhalúk *n* bowl ပန်းကန်လုံး

kánhú *n* bed sheet အိပ်ယာခင်း

kánshì kánsaík *adv* battered စုတ်စုတ်ပြတ်ပြတ်

kāntāt *n* taro ပိန်း

kānzaún *n* water convolvulus ကန်စွန်းရွက် <Bur.

kānzū *n* mustard မုံညှင်း

káp *v* shoot ပစ်

kàp *v* prepare ပြင်ဆင် general word for preparing anything. see also kòm.

kāp$_1$ *v* beat ရိုက်ပုတ် အပြားဖြင့်ရိုက်သည်ကိုဆိုသည်။

kāp$_2$ *v* peel နွာ

kāp$_3$ *v* stick ကပ်

kapā *n* world ကမ္ဘာ <Bur.

kapá$_1$ *n* bank ကမ်းပါး

kapá$_2$ *n* large mole ဝါးရင်းပွေး larger the regular one သာမာန် ပွေးထက်ကြီးပြီး နှစ်ပိသာခန့်ကြီးတတ်သည်။

kapák$_1$ *v* patch ဖာ patch a hole ဖာထေး

kapák$_2$ *v* mess ညစ်ပေရွှပ်ပွ

kapàn$_1$ *n* herbaceous plant ဇရစ်

kapàn$_2$ *v* boil vegetable ကြိုင်းသည်။

=kapán *part* clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate the sense of immediate future. တော့မယ်

kapáng saláng *adv* empty ဗလ နတိ

kapātīú *n* from the very beginning ကမ္ဘာတည်ဦး

kapaú *n* Shan ရှမ်း

kapaūtī *n* testicles ဂွေးဥ

kapeù *n* goat ဆိတ်

kapeút *attw* attendant word which follows the word katòng 'worm' as in katòng kapeút ပိုးမွား

kaphaík kaphaík *adv* keep in vicinity ရစ်သီ ရစ်သီ (keep, remain, loiter) in the vicinity of somebody or something.

kaphàng *n* wall နံရံ

kaphaúk *n* kind of rounded leaf ဖက်ဝိုင်း

kaphaút *attw* attendant word which follows kazeút as in kazeút kaphaúk မြန်မြန်ဆန်ဆန်

kapheú *n* monitor lizard ဖွတ်

kaphú *n* snake မြွေ

kapí *n* mole (animal) ပွေး

kapòn$_1$ *n* ringworm ပွေး

kapòn$_2$ *n* collect ယူ taking the left over. လက်ကျန်တွေကို ယူသည်။

kapòn kasaú *adv* gather သိမ်းကျုံး

kapóng *v* rinse ကျင်း

kapōt *n* ashes ပြာ

káppeù *n* scales ချိန်ခွင် <Bur.

kapú *v* rotten ပုတ်

kapú salú *adv* deteriorate ဆွေးဆွေး မြေ့မြေ့ deteriorate; be in a state of decay.

kapyā *n* poem ကဗျာ <Bur.

káq *v* dance က

=káq$_1$ *part* from က <Bur.

=káq$_2$ *part* topic marker က <Bur.

kasà *n* tiger ကျား

kāsaleú (**kā**$_2$) *n* sand သဲ bigger in size than samát. ကျောက်စရစ်သဲမျိုးကို ဆိုသည်။

kāsamát *n* sand သဲဖုန်

kasáng *n* back ကျောပြင်

kasát *n* bear ဝက်ဝံ

kasé *n* sarong ပုဆိုး

kasèng *v* raw အစိမ်း

kaseú *n* tree ကျွဲမချို့လိမ်ပင်

kasín *v* cold အေး

kasín túktúk *adv* cool အေးစက်စက်

kasínshī *n* hail မိုးသီး

kasòk *n* frog ဖါး

kasōngláq *n* second month of the lunar calendar. ကဆုန်လ <Bur.

kasú *attw* attendant word which follow the word kapú 'rotten' as in kapú kasú ပုတ်ပွ

kasù *n* gibbon မျောက်လွဲကျော့

kasúm *v* hide ဖွက်

kát$_1$ *v* 1) run ပြေး 2) အိမ်ယာပြောင်းတာမျိုးကို ခေါ်သည်.

kát$_2$ *v* 1) come close ကပ် 2) glue ကပ် <Bur.

kát$_3$ *n* tree ညောင်ချည်

kát$_4$ *v* offer ကပ် <Bur.

kāt *n* fire place shelf ကြပ်ခိုး
kàt *clf* classifier for counting numbers of yokes
katā *n* place's name ကသာ
katák *v* rare ရှား
katàk *v* obstruct (the view) ကွယ်
kàták *n* loom stick ယက်တန်း
katàm *v* beautiful လှ
katàm shīshí *adv* beautiful လှလှပပ
kátamá *n* driver ကားသမား <Bur.
katàng *n* bed ကုတင် <Bur.
kataū *n* wife ကတော် wife of an official or a respected person.. <Bur.
kataút *n* fruit ဒဒွန်သီး
kátcī páksá *n* squirrel ရှည့်ကြွက်
kátcīlāng *n* squirrel ရှည့်
katē *n* million ကုဋေ <Bur.
kātékshī *n* clay pot မြေအိုး
kateú *v* leak ယို exclusively with 'saliva' ákweú
kāthā *n* incantation ဂါထာ <Bur.
kathánghú *n* chest ရင်
katháp *v* stack ထပ်ဆောင်း
kathaù *v* be numbed လျာထုံ
kathì kathaū *adv* curlicue အတွန့်အတက် curlicue; convolution.
kathòk *v* stack up ဆင့် toss up rice grains in a tray to separate chaff, broken, wizened grains, etc. put one on top of the other; pile up; stack up. ဆန်ပြာရာတွင်သာ သုံးသည်။ မှုန့်အနုများ ဇကေါထိပ်သို့ တတ်လာအောင် ဆင့်ခါသည်။
kathòn *n* youngest အထွေး
katíp *v* fold ခေါက်
katíq *n* promise ဂတိ <Bur.
kàtnaúk *n* resin ညောင်ချည်စေး
katòk *n* neck လည်ပင်း
katón *n* barn ကျီ
katòn *v* roll လိပ် as rolling mats. ဖျာလိပ်ရာတွင်သာ သုံးသည်။
katóng *n* Burmese ဗမာ
katòng *n* worm ပိုး
katòng kapeút *n* insects ပိုးမွှား
katú *n* Kadu ကတူး
katù *n* forehead နဖူး
katùng *v* see မြင်
katùngpá *v* imagine မြင်ယောင်
katùpák *v* bald နဖူးပြောင်
katùzīpaūng *n* porcupine ဖြူ
kaú$_1$ *v* curlup ကုန်းကော့ curlup at the ends
kaú$_2$ *clf* classifier for counting numbers of people ယောက် occurs numerals four to nine. နံပါတ် လေးမှ ကိုးအထိ အသုံးပြုသည်။
kaú$_3$ *v* need လို
kaū$_1$ *v* 1) call ခေါ် 2) take along ခေါ်သွား
kaū$_2$ *n* gum ကော် <Bur.
kaū$_3$ *v* invite ဖိတ်
=kaú *part* topic marker တော့
kaúhán *n* otter ဖျံ
kaún *n* bamboo root frame ချင်ဝါး
kaùng *n* nine ကိုး
kaūng$_1$ *clf* classifier for counting animals ကောင် <Bur.
kaūng$_2$ *v* step on နင်း
kaúngkīn *n* sky ကောင်းကင်
kaúp *v* stack ထပ်
kaūpyá *n* spade ဂေါ်ပြား <Bur.
kaút *v* 1) scoop up ခူး 2) gather up ကျုံး
kaùt *v* embrace ဖက်
kaútaláq *n* man's name ကြော်သလ
kaūyē *n* liquid glue ကော်ရည် <Bur.
=kawàn *part* immediate future marker. တော့မယ်
kayā *n* mountain တောင်
kayà *v* lose ပျောက်
kayaū kasàk *adv* mixture ရောရော နှောနှော
kayīyáq *n* implement ကရိယာ <Bur.
kayù *n* rat ကြွက်
kazák *v* stir မွှေ
kazalíng *n* clusters အတွဲ as in clusters of vine စပျစ်သီးအတွဲ
kazalún kasalún *adv* imitative expression; in large quantity အစုလိုက်အပြုံလိုက်
kazán *subd* manner ဟန်ပုံစံ

kazaú *v* flow စီးကျ
kazaù *v* putting palms together လက်အုပ်ချီ လက်ကို မြောင်းလို ချိုင့်အောင်လုပ်သည်ဟု အဓိပ္ပါယ်ထွက်သည်။
kazeú *v* wash ဆေး
kazeù *v* 1) be lower, low status နိမ့်ပါး 2) ချိုင့်ဝင်
kazeút *v* quick မြန်
kazeút-kaphaúk *adv* quickly မြန်မြန်ဆန်ဆန်
kazī *n* trap ညှန့်ကွင်း
kázīn *n* crucifying post ကားစင် <Bur.
kazíng *n* ginger ဂျင်း
kazíp *v* wring ညစ်
kazúk *v* start fire မွေး
keú$_1$ *v* naughty ကဲ <Bur.
keú$_2$ *excl* well! ကဲ
keū *v* save ကယ် <Bur.
keù *excl* right! ကဲ
keūtaūmūpā *v* help! ကယ်တော်မူပါ <Bur.
keūtīn *v* save ကယ်တင် <Bur.
khā *n* word indicating number of times အခါ <Bur.
khaī *v* strong and lasting ခိုင်ခံ့ <Bur.
khán *n* chapter/room ခန်း <Bur.
khān *v* 1) receive ရရှိ 2) accept လက်ခံ <Bur.
khanák *v* pleasant.bitter ခါး
khanák khanák *adv* somewhat bitter ခါးသက်သက်
khanáq *adv* often ခဏ <Bur.
khánq *v* appoint ခန့် <Bur.
khát$_1$ *v* add ခပ် <Bur.
khát$_2$ *v* strike ခတ် <Bur.
khātlélé *adv* somewhat heavy ခပ်လေးလေး <Bur.
khaū *v* call ခေါ် <Bur.
khaūngmó *n* roof ခေါင်းမိုး <Bur.
khayí *n* journey ခရီး <Bur.
khék *n* this era ဒီခေတ် <Bur.
khēkhē *excl* attendant word မြည်သံစွဲ
khét *v* difficult ခက် <Bur.
-kheúq *aux* verbal particle ခဲ့ <Bur.
khīnmyáqú *n* female's name ခင်မြဦး
khīnyī *n* female's name ခင်ရီ
khít *n* era ခေတ် <Bur.
khó *n* smoke အခိုး <Bur.
khō$_1$ *v* make a short stay ခို <Bur.
khō$_2$ *n* pigeon ခို <Bur.
khók *v* chop ခုတ် <Bur.
khōnán *n* place's name ခိုနန်း
khún *clf* classifier for counting numbers words or utterances ခွန်း <Bur.
khūnnayét *n* seven day ခုနှစ်ရက် <Bur.
khūnnayét tapát *n* seven days a week ခုနှစ်ရက်သတ္တပတ်
khúq *v* be offended စိတ်ခု <Bur.
khwā *v* leave ထွက်ခွာ <Bur. *n* hoof ခွာ <Bur.
khwák *n* cup ခွက် <Bur.
khwēsúkchí *n* place's name ခွေစုတ်ချီ
khweú *n* half ခွဲ <Bur. *v* split ခွဲ <Bur.
khweū *v* coil ခွေ <Bur.
khweúthwét *v* branch out, separated ခွဲထွက် <Bur.
kínmeúq *v* be free from ကင်းမဲ့ <Bur.
kó *n* nine ကိုး <Bur.
kō$_1$ *n* 1) body/self ကိုယ် 2) self ကိုယ် <Bur.
kō$_2$ *part* honorific term for male person. ကို <Bur.
=kō *part* anti-agentive marker ကို <Bur.
kōk *v* smear လူး
kókweū *v* worship ကိုးကွယ် <Bur.
kōlángtèkō *refl* oneself ကိုယ့်ကိုယ်ကို
kóm *v* enough လောက်၊တော်
kòm *v* prepare ပြင်ဆင် exclusively with food.
=kón *subd* in order to, so as to အောင်
kóng *n* hill ကုန်း <Bur.
kóngyócí *n* hill ကုန်းရိုးကြီး <Bur.
kōnháng *n* basket တောင်း
kónháng kōnthōk *n* baskets တောင်းပလုံ
kónnáng (**kweúnàng**) *n* fence ခြံစည်းရိုး
kónthaūng *v* old person လူအို <Shan
kōpyaúk *n* magical power to make oneself invisible ကိုယ်ပျောက် <Bur.
kótān *n* nine outlets ကိုးတန် <Bur.
kótānpaúkwáq *n* place's name ကိုးတန်ပေါက်ဝ
kōtèkō *refl* oneself ကိုယ်ကိုယ်ကို

kōyaúk kōkā *refl* oneself ကိုယ့်ဖါသာကို

kōyaúkkōkà *refl* reciprocal ကိုယ့်ကိုကို

kú *v* see to bath

kū *v* steal ခိုး

=kū *part* irrealis verb sentence marker. မယ်၊ မည်။

kūlāng kūlāng *adv* in awe or wonder with eyes popping out. ပြူးတူးကြောင်တောင်

kùm *part* verbal particle attaches to a verb indicating unfinished activity. exclusively with negated VP. အငြင်းဝါကျတွင်သာ သုံးသည်။

kūmángyák *adv* every day, each day နေ့စဉ် နေ့တိုင်း

kūn *v* pick ကောက်

kùn$_1$ *n* tree or plant အပင်

kùn$_2$ *v* finish ပြီး <Shan

kūng *v* prestige ဂုဏ် <Bur.

kúng kúng *onmt* sound of falling an object ကုန်းကုန်း

kúnshí *n* betel nut ကွမ်းသီး

kūnyī *v* help ကူညီ <Bur.

kúp *v* gulp down ကျိုက်

kūpí *n* every year နှစ်စဉ် နှစ်တိုင်း

kúq *v* treat ကု <Bur.

kúqtō *n* merit ကုသိုလ် <Bur.

kūshī *n* poison အဆိပ်

kút *v* play ကစား

kūyū *v* peep ခိုးကြည့်

=kwā *part* speaker attitude particle. ကွာ

kwák *v* circular figure ကွက် <Bur.

kwán *n* sub-group of Kadu, also know as Settau Kadu ကွာမ်း

kwángpyàng *n* plain ကွင်းပြင် <Bur.

kweú *n* monkey မျောက်

=kweū *part* speaker attitude particle. ကွယ်

kweúkasù *n* gibbon မျောက်လွဲကျော်

kweùlākzīng *n* mussel ယောက်သွား

kyaw *n* man's name ကျော်

L l

=lá *part* interrogative particle enclitic to verbal clauses. လဲ၊လား၊ the morpheme is realised as a nominaliser only when the preceding noun phrase is attached with naik 'only'. တာ naík/sà + V + lá

lā$_1$ *n* male အထီး

lā$_2$ *v* take ယူ

-laík *aux* just လိုက် <Bur.

laīng *v* brought ယူခဲ့

laīngkaúng *n* cave လှိုဏ်ဂူ <Bur.

laíngtháq *v* wave လှိုင်းထ

=lakà *part* particle attaches at the end of utterances to indicate a surprise realisation; mirative status. တာကိုး

=lakaú *part* particle attaches at the end of utterances to indicate a surprise realisation; mirative status. တာကိုး

lákhák *n* instrument? လက်ခတ်

lákhaúk *n* bark ခေါက် as in tree bark သစ်ခေါက်

=lakò *part* speaker attitude particle ကိုး

lakóng *part* as well, ditto ၄င်း <Bur.

lákpàng *n* red silk cotton tree လက်ပံ Salmalia malabarica.

láksamá *n* carpenter လက်သမား <Bur.

lákzeút *v* tear off ချွတ် as off snake's skin မြွေအရေခွံ

làkzweú *n* comedian လူရွှင်တော်

lám$_1$ *v* dry လှမ်း

lám$_2$ (**lán**) *n* road လမ်း

=lamà *part* particle attaches at the end of utterances to indicate a surprise realisation; mirative status. ကိုး

lamāng *part* kind ကဲ့သို့၊မျိုး particle following a noun denoting similarity (in usage equivalent to

adverbs 'as' , 'like')

lamaúng *n* mortar မောင်းဆုံ ခြေဖြင့်နင်းသည့် မောင်းဆုံ။

lāmmīng *v* miss the road မျက်စိလည်လမ်းမှား

lámmù lámpá *n* roadside လမ်းမလမ်းဘေး has a negative meaning when refers to someone.

làmphák *n* tea လဖက်

làmphákweú *n* tea လဖက်ရည်

lámzā *v* be far, far distance အလှမ်းဝေး

lān$_1$ *n* spear လံ့ <Bur.

lān$_2$ *v* tilt back လှန် <Bur.

làng$_1$ *v* pleasant သာယာ probably there is variety differences Settau people do not agree with this word.

làng$_2$ (**láng**) *n* body ကိုယ်

làng$_3$ *v* just take ယူလိုက် a contracted form of lā 'take' + àng 'directional particle'

lángshìngkalìng *n* naked ကိုယ်တုံးလုံး only upper body. အပေါ်ပိုင်း ဝတ်လစ်စားလစ်ဖြစ်ခြင်းကိုသာဆိုသည်။

lánq *v* afraid လှန့် <Bur.

lánsūng lánkhwáq *n* junction လမ်းဆုံ လမ်းခွ <Bur.

lānzétcā *n* powerful magical spear

láp *clf* classifier for counting numbers times or occasions ကြိမ်

lāp *v* 1) catch မိ 2) reachable မီ

lapā *n* field လယ်

lapàng *n* check ပါး

lapòk *n* bamboo ဝါး

láq *n* month လ

láqpyíq *n* full moon night လပြည့် <Bur.

laúk (**lút**) *v* 1) release လွတ် 2) escape လွတ် <Bur.

laúklé *n* sling shot လောက်လေး

laúkzà *n* mud stone use to shot with sling shot လောက်စာလုံး

laùn *v* make circle ဝိုင်း shake grain around in a circular bamboo tray to separate it from the chaff.

laūn *v* exceed များ၊ကြီး

laúng *v* pour လောင်း <Bur.

laùng *n* drainage မြောင်း

lé *n* four လေး <Bur.

=**lé** *part* speaker attitude particle; you know? လေး

lē *n* boat လှေ <Bur.

lēcímócí *v* raining at the same time windy လေကြီးမိုးကြီး <Bur.

lēk *v* askew ရွဲ့ exclusively with knife, hoe etc ဓါးတို့ ပေါက်ပြားတို့ ရွဲ့သွားခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။

lēng *v* lie လိမ် <Bur.

lēngmā *v* clever လိမ္မာ

=**lèō** *part* speaker attitude particle; of course!. ဗျာ

léq *v* roam လှည့် <Bur.

léqlā *v* research လေ့လာ <Bur.

léqleū *v* go around လှည့်လည် <Bur.

=**lētā** *part* particle attaches to utterance to indicate to denote speaker attitude. ပါကွာ

léttwéqáphyít *adv* practically လက်တွေ့အားဖြင့် <Bur.

leú *n* ox cart လှည်း <Bur.

leū *v* visit လည်

leún *clf* classifier for counting numbers long thin objects ချောင်း occurs with numerals four to nine. နံပါတ် လေးမှ ကိုးအထိ အသုံးပြုသည်။

leùshíng (**lashíng**) *n* seabean seed or potsherd ခုံညင်းစေ့ Entada pursaetha used in a game of pitch. လက်ဖြင့်လှည့်ကာ ပစ်ကစားသည့် ခုံညင်းစေ့။

leút *clf* classifier for counting numbers of implement and tools လက် <Bur.

leútneút *n* weapon လက်နက် <Bur.

leūtní *n* potholder လက်နှိုး potholder; cloth used when handling hot cooking utensils.

leútsaūng *n* gift လက်ဆောင် <Bur.

leúttháť *v* marry လက်ထပ် <Bur.

lézá *v* respect လေးစား <Bur.

lī *v* come လာ

līhàng naháng *adv* go to and fro သွားပြန်လာပြန်

līn *subd* if လျှင် <Bur.

līzáng *n* coop (ကြက်)ခြံ

lō *v* need လို <Bur.

lōát *v* need လိုအပ် <Bur.

lòk *v* abandon စွန့်ပစ် exclusively with liquid. အရည်များကို စွန့်ပစ်ရာတွင်သာ သုံးသည်။

lōlētémashíq *v* nothing lack of လိုလေသေးမရှိ <Bur.

lōlō *adv* appear like လိုလို <Bur.

lóm *v* warm နွေး

lóm paùkpaùk *adv* warm နွေးနွေး

lómhā *n* warm clothe အနွေးထည်

lōn *n* mud ရွံ့

lóng$_1$ *clf* classifier for counting numbers of round objects လုံး

lóng$_2$ *v* round လုံး

lōngshíng *n* stone ကျောက်ခဲ

lóngwáq *adv* completely လုံးဝ

lōngzā *n* honing or sharpening stone ဓါးသွေးကျောက်

lóq *part* particle used by a public crier when announcing something in public. ဗျို့ call of a public crier.

lū$_1$ *n* human လူ <Bur.

lū$_2$ *v* get ရ

lū$_3$ *v* offer လှူ <Bur.

lúk (**halúk**) *clf* classifier for counting numbers rounded objects လုံး

lūklēng (**nūklēng**) *n* servant အခိုင်းအစေ

lúkngánkhwìn *n* workplace လုပ်ငန်းခွင် <Bur.

lúktá *n* brother-in-law ယောက်ဖ <Shan

lūmyó *n* race လူမျိုး <Bur.

lúng *v* white ဖြူ

lúng pūngpūng *adv* white ဖြူဖြူ

lúngkaùng *n* clan's name လုံးကောင်

lúnglúng *adv* completely; entirely; without exception; throughout; the whole time လုံးလုံး

lúnglùng *n* clan's name လုံးလုံ

lūpyō *n* bachelor လူပျို <Bur.

lūzīn *n* (of social attributes) be of standard. လူစင် <Bur.

lwá *v* peel လွှာ <Bur.

lwaí (**lwá**) *v* reach out လှမ်းသည်။ <Bur.

lwáng *v* flutter လွင့် <Bur.

lwāng *n* plain ကွင်းပြင် <Bur.

lwáq *n* handsaw လွှ <Bur.

lweú$_1$ *v* except လွဲ <Bur.

lweú$_2$ *v* sling လွဲ <Bur.

M m

ma- *n* this ဒီ has negative implication such as in 'that one!' in English' အထင်မြင်သေး၊ အလိုမကျဖြစ်သည့် အခါတွင် အမည်နာမ၏ ရှေ့တွင် သုံးသည်။

ma = *part* negative particle which attaches before the verb မ <Bur.

= **mā**$_1$ (**nā**) *part* clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate realis mood. တယ်

= **mā**$_2$ *part* nominal relational marker equivalent to English locative prepositions such as 'at', 'on', 'in', or ' by'. မှာ <Bur.

má$_1$ *v* be septic ရောင်ရင်း

má$_2$ *v* mistake မှား <Bur.

má$_3$ *excl* what! ဘာ

mā$_1$ *v* sell ရောင်း

mā$_2$ *n* timber-tree yielding smooth-grained wood. ယမနေပင် Gmelina arborea.

mà$_1$ *n* time အချိန်

mà$_2$ *prn* what ဘာ

= **macháng** *conj* particle attaches to verbs to mean 'as long as' မချင်း <Bur.

macheúkóng *n* place's name မကျီးကုန်း

maeú *n* long ago ရှေး

maeúeútóng *n* long long ago ရှေးရှေးတုန်း

maeútóng *n* long ago ရှေးတုန်း

mahà *n* large မဟာ <Bur.

mahāmyaīng *n* place's name မဟာမြိုင်

maháng *prn* that thing ဟိုဟာ

maī *n* mile မိုင် <Bur.

maíhaú *n* kind of tree ကျိုပင်

maìkkú (**meùtkú**) *n* tail အမြီး

maíkmāzeú (**manaìkmāzeú**) *adv* never ဘယ်တော့မှ

maíkmeú *v* dark မိုက်မဲ <Bur.

maítùng *n* place's name မိုင်းတုန်

mák *v* open ဖွင့်

=**mák** *part* clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate hortative sense. စို့

màk$_1$ *v* be a long time ကြန့်ကြာ၊ ကြာ

màk$_2$ *v* thorn inside the flesh ဆူးသည်။

makākcīng *n* mushroom မှိုဥ

mákhà *n* time/when အချိန်အခါ

mákheú *n* parrot ရွှေခဲ

mákhú *n* tick မွား tick, parasite which infests cattle, horses, goats, etc

mákkū *n* bone အရိုး

mákná *n* myrobalan tree ဖန်ခါးပင်

màkzák *v* be pricked ဆူးစူး

malā *n* flesh အသား

malà *attw* attendant word which follows maleú 'good' as in maleú malà ကောင်းကောင်းမွန်မွန်

malànmakán *n* proximity မလှမ်းမကမ်း

malāt (**-māt**) *part* verbal particle that attaches to verb to denote adverbial meaning of truly and certainty. အမှန်တကယ်

malaút *n* kind of climbing shrub bearing red, acidulous, oblong fruit မှန်ကူသီး Elaeagnus latifolia.

maléq *prn* First person plural form. ငါတို့၊ကျွန်တော်တို့။

maleú-malà *adv* well ကောင်းကောင်းမွန်မွန်

mamá *n* maternal aunty ဒေါ်လေး

mán$_1$ *part* particle to nouns or verbs to indicate cognizance မှန်း <Bur.

mán$_2$ *n* 1) face မျက်နှာ 2) in front of ရှေ့မှာ

mán$_3$ *v* decay ကျင် (ကြက်ဥ)

mán$_4$ *v* turn face aside မျက်နှာလည့်

mān$_1$ *v* true မှန် <Bur.

mān$_2$ *v* distribute ဝေ

manaík *prn* contracted form of 'WH-word' and 'many'

=**manaík** *subd* particle attaches to verbs to denote emphasis. မှ

manākceū (**nākceū**) *n* last night ညတုန်း

mànālō *v* envy မနာလို <Bur.

manáng *attw* attendant word which follows manīng 'what manner' as in manīng manáng ဘယ်လို ညာလို may be translated into English as 'whatever manner'

mandalay *n* Mandalay မန္တလေး

máng *n* date နေ့

māng *n* pride မာန် <Bur.

=**màng** *prn* morpheme which attaches to interrogative pronouns to indicate 'which things' or 'what' ဘာလဲ

mángcéng (**macíng**) *n* tamarind မကျီးသီး

mánghá *n* summer နွေရာသီ

māngká *n* guava မာလကာပင် <Bur.

māngkalāsaūng *v* wedding မင်္ဂလာဆောင် <Bur.

mángmú mángtà *n* public work မင်းမှု မင်းသာ <Bur.

mángsá *n* prince မင်းသား

mángtúng *n* guardian house Nat အိမ်ဦးနတ်

mángyák *n* day နေ့ရက်

manìng manáng *adv* in such a manner ဘယ်လိုညာလို

manīng maneúq *adv* whatever ဘယ်လို ညာလို

mánkatàm *v* shy ရှက်

mánphī *v* wash face

mānsácéng (**mānsáqcéng**) *n* love letter အပျိုစာ

mānsáq *n* maiden အပျို

mánsatá *n* coming month နောက်လ

mānták *v* 1) think ထင်၊စဉ်းစား 2) guess ခန့်မှန်း

māntān *n* mantra မန္တန် <Bur.

mántayá *n* mantra မန်တရား <Bur.

mántháng *n* ugly person ရုပ်ဆိုး

maphyítnaīpú *v* it is not possible မဖြစ်နိုင်ဘူး <Bur.

mapyétà *v* can't run မပြေးသာ <Bur.

mapyít *v* does not abandon မပစ် <Bur.

máq *n* feminine မ <Bur.

=**máq** *conj* particle attaches to nouns or verb to denote emphasis. မှ <Bur.

máqlé *excl* exclamatory မလေး

= **másà** *subd* particle attaches to verbs to denote emphasis. (equivalent in usage to the adverbial 'only then' or 'only if'). မှသာ

= **màshaúk** (**māshaúk**) *subd* particle attaches to verbs to denote emphasis. (equivalent in usage to the meaning 'only then' or 'since then'). ကတည်းက

mashī (**mīshī**) *n* sugarcane ကြံချောင်း

mát *v* note မှတ် <Bur.

māt *v* forget မေ့

màt *v* scold ဆဲ

matàkkaú matàkkā *refl* by themselves. naturally သူ့တို့ဘာသာသူတို့

mátè *subd* when အခါမှာ

mathák *subd* more ထက် မှာထက်

mátmíq *v* remember မှတ်မိ

mátsà (**mátshī**) *adv* tempting ချင်စရာ <Shan?

màtshí *adv* pleasing ချင်ဖွယ်

maú *n* plum ဇီး

maū *n* mining area မော်

maù$_1$ *n* water leech မျော့

maù$_2$ *v* lift up မထား

maúk *v* overturn မှောက် <Bur.

-maūk *aux* together, associative အတ

maūkhá *n* place's name မော်ခါး

maūkhwīn *n* place's name မော်ခွင်

maūlīn *n* place's name မော်လင်

maún *n* pillow ခေါင်းအုံး

maúng *n* gong မောင်း <Bur.

maūng *part* particle that frequently occur as a address terms to denote intimate relationship. မောင်

maúngkhát *n* spread news မောင်းခတ် <Bur.

maungmaung *n* man's name မောင်မောင်

maūngnyān *n* man's name မောင်ညံ

maungpáq *n* man's name မောင်ဘ

maút *v* lift up ပင့်တင် exclusively with lifting up to the shoulder. ပုခုံးပေါ်ကို မတင်ပေးခြင်းမျိုးကိုသာဆိုသည်။

maūték *n* place's name မော်တိတ်

mayà *adv* hardly မနဲ

mayūngyīn *v* if you don't believe မယုံရင် <Bur.

mazí *n* mushroom သစ်ကပ်မို့

mazì *n* gums သွားဖုံး

mékswē *n* friend မိတ်ဆွေ <Bur.

méng *v* relish မိန်း <Bur.

meú$_1$ (**maleú**) *v* good ကောင်း

meú$_2$ *part* big ကြီး

meū *n* feminine မယ် <Bur.

meù$_1$ *v* choose ရွေး

meù$_2$ *clf* classifier for counting numbers of coconut shell which is used as container. မှုတ် auto classifier as in yameùshī meùyà ရေမှုတ် တစ်မှုတ်

meūcaī *n* female's name မယ်ကြိုင်

meūmaī *n* widow မုဆိုးမ

meūshīlā *n* nun မယ်သီလ <Bur.

meūt *v* change လဲ ပုဆိုးရေလဲသည် ကိုဆိုသည်။

meútnátóng *n* just a moment ago, just past ခုဏတုန်းက

meūzaúng *n* mother-in-law ယောကျ်မ

mí *v* buy ဝယ်

mì *v* reach မီ <Bur.

mīhàk *n* bamboo ties ဝါးနှိုး

mík *n* eye မျက်စိ

míkceū *n* blind မျက်ကန်း

míkhú *n* eyebrow မျက်ခုံး

míklóngpū míkhàpū *adv* bulging (as of eyes) မျက်လုံးပြူး မျက်ဆံပြူး

míkmūngkū *n* eyelid မျက်တောင်မွေး

míksateū *n* lower eyelid မျက်ခွံ

míkshīnyúp *v* wink မျက်စပစ်

míktū *n* eye မျက်စိ

míktūshī *n* eyeball မျက်လုံး

míktūshī zīngzúksá *n* pupil (of the eye) မျက်လုံးသူငယ်အိမ်

míkweú *n* tear မျက်ရည်

mín$_1$ *n* king မင်း <Bur.

mín$_2$ *prn* second person singular မင်း <Bur.

mīn *v* awake နိုး

míng$_1$ *v* ring မြည်

míng$_2$ *v* ripe မည့်၊ကျက်
mīng$_1$ *v* spin လည်၊ မျက်စိလည်ခြင်း၌သာ သုံးသည်။
mīng$_2$ *n* nail (လက်)သဲ
míngsàhà *v* know သိ
míngweú *n* pus ပြည်ပုတ်
mīngzák *v* loose one's sense မျက်စိလည်
mīnkalā (**màngkaláq**) *n* auspicious မင်္ဂလာ <Bur.
mínnyīmíntá *n* royal brothers မင်းညီမင်းသား <Bur.
mínsóyāzākō *n* ruling people မင်းစိုးရာဇာ <Bur.
míntóq *prn* second person plural form. မင်းတို့ <Bur.
mínwúttasà *n* royal dresses မင်းဝတ်တန်ဆာ <Bur.
mīnyeú *v* awake နိုးထ
mīpā *n* buttocks တင်ပါး
mìpák *n* pumpkin ရွှေဖရုံသီး
mīpúk *n* inner layer of bamboo နှီးအတွင်းသား
míqphyá *n* queen မိဘုရား <Bur.
míqtázúq *n* family မိသားစု <Bur.
mīsān *n* arrow မြား
mīsū *n* bamboo filament which can be used for starting fire. ဝါးအမျှင်၊ နှီးမိုက်
mít *v* love ချစ်
mīt$_1$ *v* strips ဖြာ cut into strips as with bamboo strips. နှီးဖြာခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။
mīt$_2$ *v* extinguish ငြိမ်း
mītheū *n* needle အပ်
mók *n* light food မှုန့်
mōk$_1$ *v* cook ချက်
mōk$_2$ *n* cow နွား
mōkchíthū *n* kind of pennywort used medicinally and also as a vegetable. မြင်းခွာရွက်
mōkneú *n* red pepper ငရုတ်သီး
mōkpá *n* cow နွားမ
mōkpū *v* tend herd နွားကျောင်း
mōksān *n* beef အမဲသား
mōkshā *n* calf (cow) နွားငယ်
mōksó *n* hunter မုဆိုး <Bur.
mōksūp *n* hat ဦးထုပ်
mōkthū *v* gore ခွဲ
mōkwā *n* bull နွားသိုး
món$_1$ *v* 1) happy or smile ဝမ်းသာ၊ပြုံး 2) smile ပြုံး
món$_2$ *n* cost ဖိုး
món$_3$ *n* tree သပြေ
móngkángkū *n* fortune ကံ
mōnmōn *n* tree စီးမွဲ
mótwánghá *n* rainy season မိုးတွင်း <Bur.
mù *v* fool ရူးသွပ်
mū *v* crazy ရူး
múkcìng *n* pestle ကျည်ပွေ့
múkcìngkalāng (**múkcìngkāng**) *n* pestle ကျည်ပွေ့
mūláq *n* origin မူလ <Bur.
múmát *n* officials မှူးမတ် <Bur.
múmyít *n* Mu river မူးမြစ်
mūn *v* blow တိုက်
múng$_1$ *n* snack မှုန့် <Bur.
múng$_2$ *n* hornet ပျားတူ
mūng$_1$ *n* small size dam မြောင်းဆည်
mūng$_2$ (**mú**) *n* core အဓိက
múnggángkū *n* fortunate လူဖြစ်ရကြိုးနပ်
mūngkāng *n* old ဟောင်း exclusively with old hill fields. တောင်ယာဟောင်းများနှင် သာသုံးသည်။
mūngkū (**mūnkū**) *n* hair, feather အမွေး (ငှက်)
mūngkū zúngzúng *adv* hairy အမွှေးစုတ်ဖွား
múngshī *n* rice cake မုန့်ဖက်ထုပ်
múngtī *n* noodle မုန့်တီ <Bur.
múngwàkchī *n* hornet (ဝက်ချေး)ပတူ
mútaūmáttaū *n* official မှူးတော်မတ်တော် <Bur.
mwē *v* stir မွေ <Bur.
myá 1) *v* be many များ 2) *part* marker for plurality များ <Bur.
myaīng *n* jungle မြိုင် <Bur.
myán *prn* over there ဟိုး
myān *v* quick မြန် <Bur.
myáng *v* tall or high <Bur.
myānmyān *adv* quickly မြန်မြန် <Bur.
myáqmyáq *n* female's name မြမြ
myát *v* angry အမျက် <Bur.
myaú *v* drift မျော <Bur.
myaū *v* wait for, long for မြော် <Bur.

myaúk *n* north မြောက် <Bur.

myaúkmaù *n* place's name မြောက်မော်

myétnangeū *v* dejected မျက်နှင်ယ် <Bur.

myeūcí *n* earth မြေကြီး <Bur.

myeútaí *subd* as usual မြဲတိုင်း <Bur.

myín *n* horse မြင်း <Bur.

myínshī *n* ovoid မရမ်း Bouea burmanica. tree bearing clusters of ovoid fruit, which turn yellow when ripe and may either be sour or sweet.

myít *n* river မြစ် <Bur.

myítq *v* high မြင့် <Bur.

myíttā *n* love မေတ္တာ <Bur.

myíttāpóq *v* send a good wishes မေတ္တာပို့ <Bur.

myó *n* kind အမျိုး <Bur.

myóq *n* town မြို့ <Bur.

myóqwáq *n* city/town entrance gate မြို့အဝင်ဝ <Bur.

N n

ná *v* win နိုင်

= **ná**$_1$ *part* particle attaches to verbs to indicate comparative degree. It may be reduplicated as náná လေလေ

= **ná**$_2$ *part* speaker attitude particle; agree?, you know? နော် particle following a verb conveying the sense of making a polite request, seeking approval or emphasising some point.

nà *v* erect လေခါးထောင် exclusively with erecting ladder. လေခါးထောင်ရာတွင်သာသုံးသည်။

= **naà** *subd* particle attaches to verbs to denote emphasis မှ

nacá *adv* carefully သေချာ

naháng *v* return ပြန်သွား

nahū *n* midday နေ့လည်

naí *n* mist နှင်း

= **naík**$_1$ [1] *part* particle attaches to nouns or verbs to denote emphasis. မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ

= **naík**$_2$ *part* see manaík

= **naíktaí** *subd* whenever တိုင်း

naíktóng *subd* whenever အခါတိုင်း

naíng *n* mist or fog မြူခိုး၊နှင်း

nāk (**halángnāk**) *v* dark ချုပ်

nakáá *n* dragon နဂါး <Bur.

nākceūhān *n* evening ညနေစောင်း

nakhā *n* two times နှစ်ခါ <Bur.

nákhátóng *n* before ဟိုတုန်း

nákkamák *n* yesterday မနေ့က

náleū *v* understand နားလည် <Bur.

nám *v* smelly နံ

nāmeū *n* name နာမည် <Bur.

nán *n* daughter-in-law ခွေးမ <Shan

nàn$_1$ *v* mix မွှေနှောက် exclusively with legs. ခြေထောက်ဖြင့် နှယ်၊မွှေနှောက်ခြင်းကို ဆိုသည်။

nàn$_2$ *n* guest ဧည့်သည် see also nàntè

náná *subd* the more လေလေ

náng *v* compress သိမ့် <Bur.

nāng$_1$ *v* go သွား

nāng$_2$ *prn* second person singular form. မင်း၊ခင်ဗျား

nàng *v* stiff ညောင်း

nángyeù *attw* attendant word which follows manìng 'what manner' as in manìng nángyeù ဘယ်လို ညာလို

= **nāngzeù** (= **zeú** [1]) *part* particle attaches to verbs to denote emphasis. It can be interchangeably used with zeú. တောင်၊ ပင်လျှင်

nánná *n* basil ပင်စိမ်း

nānpát *n* number နံပါတ် <Bur.

nánq *v* spread out everywhere နှံ့ <Bur.

nántaū (**nán**$_1$) *n* palace နန်းတော် <Bur.

nàntè *n* guest ည့်သည်

nántwíntá *n* royal boy နန်းတွင်းသား <Bur.

nántwíntū *n* royal girl နန်းတွင်းသ <Bur.

nanù *n* animal သားကောင်

nanù nānā *adv* tiny သေးသေးသောသော exclusively with animals.

nanù zapú *n* various types of creatures အကောင်ပလောင်

nányónántā *n* fortresses နန်းရိုးနန်းတာ <Bur.

náp *v* strips ခွာဖြာ as stripping that has already been marked by a knife ဓါးဖြင့် အရာလုပ်ပြီးသားကို ခွာခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။

nashī *n* younger sibling မောင်ညီ၊နှမ

nát$_1$ *n* spirit နတ် <Bur.

nát$_2$ *v* use သုံး၊တွယ်

nát$_3$ *v* come လာ၊နှက် <Shan?

nàt *v* tire မော <Shan

nàtámwétwēpātwē *n* incense sticks နံ့သာမွေးတွေဘာတွေ <Bur.

nátnīng *n* next year နောင်နှစ်

nátpī *n* celestial နတ်ပြည် <Bur.

nàttaūng *n* place's name နတ်တောင် <Bur.

nátzíng *n* spirit နတ်စိမ်း <Bur.

naú$_1$ (**naúng**) *locn* inside ထဲ

naú$_2$ *n* syllable that occur to represent a daughter as in sātàk naútàk. သားတို့သမီးတို့ However, it is the only occurrence and it still needs further research.

naū *n* shoot or sprout အညှောင့်

naúk$_1$ *adv* later နောက် <Bur.

naúk$_2$ *n* resin အစေး all kinds of resins သစ်စေးမှန်သမျှကို ခေါ်သည်။

naúkchìngkweú *n* mynah bird ဆရက်ငှက်

naúkhá *n* blood သွေး slang used by hunters. Literally means 'red resin'

naúkkàt *n* blue or green jay ငှက်ခါး

naūklúng *n* heron ဗျိုင်း

naúkmā *n* later နောက်မှာ <Bur.

naúkpaí *n* later နောက်ပိုင်း <Bur.

naúkpyān *n* backward နောက်ပြန် <Bur.

naúktaúq *adv* later နောက်တော့ <Bur.

naúkthát *adv* again နောက်ထပ် <Bur.

naùkwàk *n* moor hen ရေကြက် Gallinula chloropus. common moor hen.

naùkwànpū *n* pigeon ငှက်ငန်း green imperial pigeon

naūngsaúng *n* sister-in-law (wife's younger sister) ခမ <Shan

naút *v* feed ကျွေး

nawáng *n* sister-in-law ယောက်ဖ၏ဇနီး

nayá *v* new အသစ်

nāyī *n* o'clock နာရီ <Bur.

nayó *n* ridge နားရိုး <Bur.

náyōk *v* bully နိုင်စား

nayóng *n* great grandchild မြစ်

nayōngláq *n* third month of the lunar calendar နယုန်လ <Bur.

nèk *v* heavy လေး

nēk *v* dress up ဝတ်သည်။ exclusively with dressing up lower garments such as pants and longyi. ပုဆို၊ ထမိန်၊ ဘောင်းဘီတို့နှင့်သာ သုံးသည်။

nèk zíkzík *adv* heavily လေးလေးလံလံ

néng$_1$ *n* sister-in-law ယောကျ

néng$_2$ *v* short နှိမ့် <Bur.

neú$_1$ *quant* few နည်း

neú$_2$ *n* traditional wind instrument နှဲ <Bur.

neū$_1$ *n* area နယ် <Bur.

neū$_2$ *v* mix နှယ် <Bur.

neù *n* taro ပိန်းဥ

neūkā *n* land နယ်မြေ

neúneú *adv* little နဲနဲ <Bur.

neúneú pápá *adv* few နည်းနည်းပါးပါး <Bur.

= **neúq** *quant* particle attaches to nouns or verbs to mean 'as much as' or 'approximation'. ခန့်လောက် particle attaches to nouns to indicate that quantity mentioned is an approximate number.

nēyā *n* place နေရာ <Bur.

nēyātaí *n* everywhere နေရာတိုင်း <Bur.

ngá$_1$ *n* five ငါး <Bur.

ngá$_2$ *v* steam ပေါင်း

ngā$_1$ *prn* First person singular form. ငါ၊ကျွန်တော်

ngā$_2$ *v* exist ရှိ

ngák *v* lift up မ

ngàk *v* chase မောင်း

ngākaú ngākā *refl* myself ငါ့ဘာသာငါ

ngám *v* bite as win fish; snap; snatch with the teeth as in dog ငါးတို့၊ ခွေးတို့ ဟပ်သည်။ as in fish bite ငါးဟပ်တာမျိုးကိုဆိုသည်။

ngānaíkngá *quant* all, everyone of them အားလုံး

ngáng *v* look up မော့ကြည့်

ngāng *v* contracted form of existential verb and verbal directional marker. ရှိလိုက်

ngapyín *n* lazy person ပျင်း <Bur.

ngát *v* starve တတ် <Bur.

ngàt *v* break ချိုး

ngathwēyú *n* man's name ငထွေရူး

ngaú *v* say ဆို၊ပြော

ngaū *v* bent ကိုင်းညွှန့်

ngaúkà *part* as for ဆိုရင်

ngaūng *v* undeveloped grain ဖျင်းသည်။

ngayeú *n* hell ငရဲ <Bur.

ngeút *n* bird ငှက် <Bur.

ngeútmízweú *n* drongo bird ငှက်မီးနှစ်ခွငှက်

ngeūtū ngeūtá *n* followers, servants ငယ်သူငယ်သား <Bur.

ngīng ngīng *onmt* sound of dog crying ကိန်ကိန်

ngók *n* trunk ငုတ် <Bur.

ngóm *v* keep in the mouth ငုံသည်။

ngón *n* gold ရွှေ

ngúp *v* submerge ငုပ် <Bur.

ngwē *n* silver ငွေ <Bur.

ní *v* laugh ရီ

nī *v* lazy, bore ပျင်း

nìk *n* leech မျော့တစ်မျိုး leech that enters into animal's nose ကျွဲနွား နာခေါင်းထဲ ဝင်တတ်သည့် မျော့။

nīkchí *n* sarong ထမိန်

ním *v* stay နေ

nímzák ngāzák *adv* while simply staying နေရင်း ထိုင်ရင်း

=**nīng** *part* particle attaches to nouns or verbs to denote similarity (equivalent in usage to adverbs 'like', 'as') လို၊ကဲ့သို့

=**nīngyeù** *part* particle attaches to nouns or verbs to denote similarity (equivalent in usage to adverbs 'like', 'as') လို၊သလို

nít$_1$ (**na**) *n* two နှစ် <Bur.

nít$_2$ *n* year နှစ် <Bur.

níttít *n* new year နှစ်သစ် <Bur.

nòk$_1$ *v* dull အ <Shan

nòk$_2$ *v* taking out by putting one's hand into pocket, bag etc နှိုက်

nōknākchī *n* brain ဦးနှောက်

nōm *v* soft ပျော့

nón *v* mix နှယ် exclusively with hands. လက်ဖြင့် နှိပ်နှယ်ခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။

nōp *v* 1) bury မြုပ် 2) cover ဖုံး

nóqyē *n* milk နို့ရည် <Bur.

nù$_1$ *clf* classifier for counting animals ကောင်

nù$_2$ *n* one တစ်

nù$_3$ *v* swing လွှဲ

núk$_1$ *v* burn, flame, glow မီးလျှံ၊မီးတောက်

núk$_2$ *v* pull out နုတ် <Bur.

núkhà *n* cane bud ကြိမ်ဖူး edible စားလို့ရ

nūkhwé *n* son-in-law သမက် <Shan

nūklán *n* nephew တူ၊တူမ <Shan

nùn *v* wipe သုတ်

nūshēk *n* small ငယ်သူ refers to small/tiny animals. အကောင်ငယ်လေးများကိုဆိုသည်။

nút *v* sharpen သွေး

nūzaúng (**nūzaùng**) *n* eagle သိမ်းငှက်၊ စွန်

nweū *n* lineage အနွယ် <Bur.

nweūzú *n* weaving instrument နွယ်ဆူး

nwēyék *n* place's name နွေရိတ်

nyān *n* brain ဉာဏ် <Bur.

nyáng *v* 1) quarrel ငြင်းခုံ 2) oppose or reject ငြင်းပယ် <Bur.

nyánq *v* poor ညံ့ be poor in quality

nyáqnēzaúng *n* evening ညနေစောင်း

nyáqnēzaúnghān *n* late evening ညနေစောင်း

nyaūngpāng *n* banyan tree ညောင်ပင်

nyaūngúphí *n* man's name ညောင်ဦးဖိး

nyeúp *v* clip ညှပ် <Bur.

nyeút$_1$ *v* sticky, gummy or be stingy ကပ်စီးပျစ်ခွဲ။ ကပ်စီးနည်း <Bur.

nyeút$_2$ *v* twist ကျစ် three or more big ropes ကြိုးကြီး နှစ်ချောင်းထက်မက ကျစ်ရတွင်သုံးသည်။

nyeútkát *n* sticky စေးကပ် <Bur.

nyī *n* younger brother ညီ <Bur.

nyínphān *v* miss လွမ်း

nyīnyút *v* unit ညီညွတ် <Bur.

nyíq *v* 1) discuss ညှိနှိုင်း 2) level ညှိ literally to level.

nyít *v* squeeze ညစ် <Bur.

nyìt *v* quarrel ဆူဆဲ used particularly when women quarrel. အမျိုးသမီးများ အိမ်နှစ်အိမ်ကြား အော်ဟစ်ဆူဆဲခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။

nyón *v* swallow မြို

nyóngeū *v* sad ညိုးငယ် <Bur.

O o

ó *excl* exclamation အို

ō *part* euphoric particle which usually occur following speaker attitude particle seú အို

ók *n* brick အုတ် <Bur.

òk *n* paternal grandfather အဖေဖက်မှ အဖို်း

òknaí *n* maternal grandfather မိခင်ဖက်မှ အဖို်း။

òknaítóng *n* maternal great grandfather မိခင်ဖက်မှ ဘေး။

òkshī *n* 1) uncle ဘကြီး 2) brother-in-law (husband of a woman's elder sister or elder brother of one's husband). ခဲအို

òkshī wángshī *n* brothers by marriage မယားညီအစ်ကို

òkthaúng *n* father-in-law ယောကျ်ထီး term female used to call her parent-in-law ယောကျ်ထီးကို ခွေးမမှ ခေါ်သည့် အဝေါ်

òktóng *n* paternal grandfather ဖခင်ဖက်မှ ဘေး။

óm *v* hold ကိုင်

ōm *v* do or make လုပ်

óng *n* coconut အုန်းသီး <Bur.

óngmūk *n* coconut shell used as a cup အုန်းမှုတ် <Bur.

ōnnáng *n* gift လက်ဖွဲ့ gift that comes from wife's relative. သတို့သမီးတို့ ဖက်မှ ပေးသည့် အမွေ။

ōp$_1$ *v* cover အုံ့ <Bur.

ōp$_2$ *v* close ပိတ်

ósací *n* master, teacher ဆရာကြီး

ózī *n* drum အိုးစည် <Bur.

P p

pá$_1$ *n* feminine မသတ္တဝါ

pá$_2$ *n* palm လက် ဖဝါး

pá$_3$ *v* slice လွှာ cut into thin layers or slices as in slice onion. ကြက်သွန်နီ နွှာသည်။

pá$_4$ *clf, n* flower ပန်း auto classifier; repetition of final syllable form the word 'flower'. papá

pá$_5$ *v* imagine ယောင် never appears as head verb. It attaches after the verb 'see' or 'hear'

pā$_1$ *v* include ပါ <Bur.

pā$_2$ *v* spill out ဖိတ်စင်

=**pā** 1) *part* and ရော 2) *v* bring ပါ

=**pà** *part* to or toward သို့ဆီသို့

páchīkān *n* earth turned up by a plough ထယ်ချေး၊ထယ်စာ

pacīsá *n* loach ငါးသလဲထိုး

pahángcháng *n* friend သူငယ်ချင်း

pahōzī *n* drum ဗဟိုစည်

paī *v* own ပိုင် <Bur.

paí$_1$ *quant* over ကျော်

paí$_2$ *v* chop ပိုင်း <Bur.

paìk *locn* beside or near အနား၊ နဘေး

paík$_1$ *v* be broken ကွဲခွဲ

paík$_2$ *clf* classifier for counting half of something ခြမ်း also palaík

paítaúng *locn* tip အဖျားပိုင်း exclusively with banana leaf. ငှက်ပျောရွက် အဖျားပိုင်းကိုသာဆိုသည်။

pák$_1$ *clf* classifier for counting currencies. ကျပ်

pák$_2$ *n* hundred ရာ

pák$_3$ *n* vagina ယောနီ

pakaút *n* 1) large wooden ladle ယောက်ချို 2) wrist လက်ကောက်ဝတ်

pāknaík *adv* alike ကဲသို့

páktékhalét *adv* prostrate ပြားပြား

pàkweú *n* rain water မိုးရေ

pālá *n* elder or leader လူကြီး၊ ခေါင်းဆောင်

palaík *n* broken piece ကွဲသည့်အခြမ်း derived from the verb 'be broken', see the verb paìk

palák *n* flat အပြင် derive from the verb 'be flat' by -al- infixation.

palán *locn* middle အလယ်

palán palán *adv* very often, frequently မကြာခဏ၊ အခေါက်ခေါက် အခါခါ

paláng *n* bottle ပုလင်း <Bur.

palásaték *n* plastic ပလပ်စတစ် >Eng.

palaúng *n* millet နှံစားပြောင်း

palí *n* package အထုတ် pack which is not tied with ropes or bamboo ties. နှီးမချိပဲ ထုပ်ထားသည့် ထမင်းအထုပ်ကိုသာသုံးသည်။

palì *n* tree မခုတ်

palī palák *adv* idly ပျင်းပျင်းရိရိ

palíng *n* stick တခွေ stick used for plucking fruits. သစ်သီးခွေရာတွင်သုံးသည် တခွေ။

palīng palāng *adv* tiny ငယ်ငယ်ရွယ်ရွယ်

palíq *attw* attendant word which follows shīshī 'fruit' as in shīshī paliq သစ်သီးဝလံ

palòt *n* natural piles of things, plants သဘာဝ စုပုံနေသည့် အပုံများနှင့်သုံး

palú *n* ogre ဘီလူး <Bur.

palūng$_1$ *onmt* sound of dropping stone into the water ပလုံ

palūng$_2$ *n* heap/pile အပုံ derived from 'accumulate' see the verb pūng

palút *v* wounded ပွန်းပဲ့ wounded superficially

pám *v* soak စိမ်

pām *v* carry ပိုး

pámahúkpú *v* nothing! ဘာမဟုတ်ဘူး <Bur.

pamūn *n* place's name ပမုံ

pān$_1$ *v* 1) circle လှည့် 2) drunk အရက်မူး <Shan

pān$_2$ *v* sprinkle ဖြူး as in 'sprinkle sesame.' နှမ်းဖြူးသည်။

pán$_1$ *n* birthmark မွေးရာပါအမှတ်သား <Bur.

pán$_2$ *clf* classifier for counting numbers trips ကြိမ်

= **pán**$_1$ *part* clause final particle indicating change of state mood. ပြီ

= **pán**$_2$ *subd* particle attaches to verbs to indicate the sense of 'if' ရင်

= **panáq** (**pín**) *part* 1) nominaliser တဲ့၊တာ 2) ablative မှ 3) demonstrative ဒီဥစ္စာ

panaù *v* mix ရော <Shan? အင်္ဂါတေ နှယ်တာမျိုးကို ဆိုသည်။

páng$_1$ *v* invite ပင့်ဖိတ် <Bur.

páng$_2$ *v* collapse ပြို <Shan

= **páng** *part* clause final particle; a contracted form of a directional marker that indicates action away from the deictic centre plus a change of state clause final particle. လိုက်ပြီ။

pāng *v* embank ဆည်ဖို့

pàng$_1$ *n* pancreas ဘေရွက်

pàng$_2$ *v* roast something in embers or hot ashes. မီးအုံး

pángtaí *n* rabbit ယုန်

pāngtaík *n* place's name ပန်းတိုက်

= **pánkaú** *part* as it is the case (ဆို)ရင်တော့

pānmúk (**pànpōk**) *n* township's name. မြို့တစ်မြို့၏

အမည်။
pánnàkà *subd* if ရင်
panyā *n* education ပညာ <Bur.
panyāshíq *n* wise man ပညာရှိ <Bur.
-páp *aux* been, experiential ဖူးမိ
papá *n* flower ပန်း
papūng *onmt* sound of drum ဗုံသီးသံ
pāpūzaūng *n* blanket ပါဘူစောင် <Bur.
=páq *part* speaker attitude particle; of course! ပါ့ပေါ့ <Bur.
páqtūcweū *n* man's name ဘသူကြွယ်
pasàt *n* name of many carp species ငါးခုန်းမ
pát$_1$ *v* wrap ပတ် <Bur.
pát$_2$ *adv* asleep ပျော် exclusively with the verb 'sleep'
pāt$_1$ *adv* long ရှည်ရှည်
pāt$_2$ *v* give birth ပေါက် as in give birth by hatching. ဥပေါက်တာမျိုးကို ဆိုသည်။
pātā *n* religion ဘာသာ <Bur.
patamyá *n* ruby ပတ္တမြား <Bur.
pataū *n* towel သဘက်
pataúk *n* type of hardwood tree ပိတောက်
pathàmáq *n* first ပထမ <Bur.
pathàmáqtán *n* first class ပထမတန်း <Bur.
pathawī *n* universal ပထဝီ <Bur.
patóng *n* boa စပါးကြီးမွှေ
pátpátleù *n* all around ပတ်ပတ်လည် <Bur.
pātseút *v* sprout အခွံကွဲ အခွံကွာ၍ အပင်ပေါက်လာခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။
pátteút *v* regarding ပတ်သက် <Bur.
patùn *n* eel ငါးရှဉ့်
patūng *n* man's name ပဒုံ
paú$_1$ *v* plenty ပေါ <Bur.
paú$_2$ *v* 1) apply something လိမ်းခြယ် 2) swim ရေကူး 3) dye အရောင်ဆိုး
paū$_1$ *locn* on top အပေါ် <Bur.
paū$_2$ *v* fall, collapse လဲသည်။
paū$_3$ *v* show up, appear ပေါ် <Bur.
paúk$_1$ *v* reachable, or in good condition to travel. ပေါက် <Bur.
paúk$_2$ *v* return ပြန်ခေါက် <Shan
paúk$_3$ *v* pull out as in grass or small plants မြက်နုတ် only with small plant that has root အမြစ်တွယ်သည် အပင်ငယ်များနှင့်သာ သုံးသည်။
paūk *v* time သပ်ကြိမ်
paúkkān *n* pagan ပုဂံ
paúkmaí *n* place's name ပေါက်မိုင်း
paūkpaū *n* eggplant ခရမ်းသီး (အရှည်မျိုး)
paúkpaúk *attw* attendant word which follows lóm 'warm' lóm paúkpaúk နွေးနွေးထွေးထွေး
paūkphweū (**paūphweúq**) *n* eggplant ခရမ်းကျွတ်သီး
paūksàt *n* eggplant ခရမ်းစပ်
paúksēng (**pasēng**) *n* axe ပုဆိန် <Bur.
paúlaú *n* floating ပေါလော <Bur.
paūmaī *n* widower မုဆိုးဖို
paùn *v* strip ခွေ pull kernels off
paūng$_1$ *v* roast ဖုတ်
paūng$_2$ *n* ?? မတန်းဖျန်း <Shan?
paúngká *n* basket ချင်းတောင်း
paúngká paúngtù *n* various types of baskets တောင်းပလောင်း
paúngkámíktū *n* basket ချင်းကြားမျက်ခွက်
paūngpaūng *attw* attendant word which follows túm 'fragrant' as in túm paūngpaūng မြည်သံစွဲ၊ မွေးမွေးလေး denotes a pleasant smell.
paúngpheút *v* mingle together ပေါင်းဖက် <Bur.
paúngsāng *n* glutinous rice cooked in a green bamboo tube. ပေါင်းသင်း
paūngshī *n* fish-trap made of bamboo. မြှို့
paúngsūng *adv* all ပေါင်းစုံ <Bur.
paút *v* skill or clever တတ်မြောက်၊ လိမ္မာ
paūt *n* lung အဆုတ်
paútí *n* bohdi tree ဗောဓိပင်
paūwaú *n* cuckoo bird ဥဩငှက်
paūweú *onmt* stump ရိုးငုတ် iconic noun
paūzaúng *n* father-in-law ယောကျ္ဖထီး term used by daughter-in-law <Shan
pawáq *n* life ဘဝ <Bur.
payanatī *n* place's name ဗါရာနဒီ
payáphú *v* pilgrimage ဘုရားဖူး <Bur.

pazàt *v* be crumbled ကြေ၊ ကြေမွ

pazèk *n* fly ယင်ကောင်

pazèkchíq *n* pimple မုံ့

pazèkmún *n* black flies ဖြူတ်

pazèkzaūk *n* mosquito ခြင်ရှည်

pazeūkán *n* old and no longer useful cloth အဝတ်စုတ်

pazīngzú *n* striped dwarf catfish ငါးစဉ်ရိုင်း

pē *n* feet ပေ <Bur.

=**pè** *part* nominal relational marker indicating locative sense. (equivalent in usage to the preposition 'to'). မှာ

pék *v* close ပိတ် <Bur.

pēpaūng *n* earring နားကပ်

péq *n* measurement ပြည် <Bur.

péshítpá *n* eight curses ဘေးရှုစ်ပါး <Bur.

pētāng *n* fortune telling, prediction ဗေဒင် <Bur.

peū *v* look ကြည့် Looking after time to time as with traps. ကျော့ကွင်း၊ မြို့ ထောင်ထားသည်များကို အချိန်နဲ့ အချိန်လိုက်ကြည့်ခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။

peú$_1$ *v* keep ထား

peú$_2$ *n* bean ပဲ <Bur.

peúkút *n* adze ပဲခွပ် <Bur.

peúnán *v* obstinate ပေကတ်

peút *n* eight ရှစ် <Shan

peùt *v* lie လိမ်

peūt *v* over flow ပြည့်လျှံ only as verb modifier.

peútshí *n* hook use for fishing ငါးမျှားချိတ်

peúzì peúzàk *adv* act or speak perversely. အရွတ်တိုက်

phá *v* flatter ဖား <Bur.

phā$_1$ *v* thin ပါး

phā$_2$ *v* patch a hole အပေါက်ဖို <Bur.

phā$_3$ *v* stumble ခလုတ်တိုက်

phà *clf* classifier for counting bunches of banana ဖီး

phaík *v* scratch by chicken ကြက်ယက်

phaíkhū *n* shoulder yoke ထမ်းပိုး

phaíkhū phaíktā *n* carriers အထမ်း

phaīng *n* dam ဆည်

phāk *v* twist ကျစ် twisting two small threads. ချည်ပင်အငယ် နှစ်ပင်ကို ကျစ်ရာကို ဆိုသည်။

phák$_1$ *v* split or divorce ကွဲသည်။ exclusively used with divorce. လင်မယားကွဲကွာခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်.

phák$_2$ *v* pair တွဲဖက်

phák$_3$ *v* stride ခွ

phák$_4$ *prn* his သူ့

phákhūlū *n* man's name ဖါးခူလ

phákkaú phákkā *refl* he himself သူ့ဟာသူ

phàkmák *n* tomorrow မနက်ဖြန်

pháksaháng *n* kind of tree ပြင်းတော်တိန်ပင်

pháktà *n* clan's name ဖါက်တာ

phàktaì *n* tomorrow morning မနက်ဖြန်မနက်

phaláng phaláng *adv* open အာ

phaleú *n* carrier အထမ်း derive from the verb 'carry on shoulder' by -al- infixation, see also pheú

phān *part* numerical classifier denoting frequency ဖန် <Bur.

phanaúk *n* heel ဖနှောင့် <Bur.

phāng *n* mountain slope တောင်စောင်း

-pháng *aux* in advance, prior အရင်၊နှင့်

phānsín *v* create ဖန်ဆင်း <Bur.

phāseūmā *n* prostitute ဖါသည် <Bur.

phát *v* wither နွမ်း

phátphúng phátyá *adv* scatter disorderly ပြန့်တိပြန့်ကျဲ

phaú *v* wash ဆေးကြော

phaū *v* dig up ဖော် <Bur.

phaúk$_1$ *v* jump up ခုန်(အထက်ကို)

phaúk$_2$ *v* open ဖေါက် <Bur.

phaúk$_3$ *v* ferment ဖေါက် <Bur.

phaúkcaík *n* locust နှံကောင်

phaúkphaù *n* relative ဆွေးမျိုး <Bur. ဘောက်ဖေါ်

phaúkzaleú yánzaleú *adv* active တွက်တွက်လက်လက်

phaúkzaúk *v* jog ခုန်ဆွ

phaúkzaúk phaúkzaúk *onmt* jogging ခုန်ဆွခုန်ဆွ

phaúng *onmt* sound of gun fire သေနတ်ပစ်သံ

phaūng *n* raft ဖေါင်

phaūthúk *v* discover ဖေါ်ထုတ် <Bur.

phayá *n* god ဘုရား <Bur.

phayálaúng *n* one striving to attain Buddhahood <Bur.

phayaūsáq *n* flies ယင် type of flies.

phēk *v* pare ဖျင် pare down (wood, as in fashioning the blade of an oar). ခုတ်ထစ်၍ ဖျင်သည်ကိုဆိုသည်။

phékhaù *v* invite ဖိတ်ခေါ် <Bur.

phéng *v* full ပြည့်

pheú *v* carry ထမ်း

pheū *n* slope တောင်စွယ်

pheù *part* suppose ထင် negative VP only

pheūlā *n* mountain slope တောင်စောင်း

pheún *n* currency ကျပ်

phí$_{1}$ *v* sling လွယ်

phī$_{1}$ *v* kick ကန်

phī$_{2}$ *v* wash မျက်နှာကို ရေနှင့်သပ်သည်။ as in 'washing face' mánphī မျက်နှာကို ရေဖြင့်သပ်သည်။

phīm *v* embrace or hold up ပွေ့

phīng *v* push တိုက် also possible to say 'phāngtamā' လူလူချင်းတိုက်သည့်အခါတွင်သုံးသည်။

phít$_{1}$ *v* kick by animal ကန်(နွား)သည်။ ခတ်သည်။

phít$_{2}$ *v* sprinkle (ရေ)ဖျန်း

phó *part* honorific term for older male ဖိုး၊ဦး

phō (**aphō**) *n* male ဖို

phócí *n* old man အဖိုးကြီး

phócíō *n* old man ဖိုးကြီးအို <Bur.

phón *n* tree or wood ထင်း၊သစ်

phōng *n* dust ဖုန် <Bur.

phóngkān *n* glory ဘုန်းကံ <Bur.

phóngshíq *v* powerful ဖုန်းရှိ <Bur.

phóngtakó *n* glory, power ဘုန်းတန်ခိုး <Bur.

phóngtóng *n* jack fruit ပိန္နဲ

phónhalák *n* branch သစ်ကိုင်း

phónhaú *v* gather firewood ထင်းခွေ gathering firewood for small amount, daily use. တရက်စာ၊ တခါသုံးစာ ထင်းရှာသည်ကို ဆိုသည်။

phónlákhaúk *n* tree bark သစ်ခေါက်

phónmaún *n* wooden pillow သစ်သားခေါင်းအုံး

phóntalát *n* leave သစ်ရွက်

phóntanùk *n* trunk သစ်ငုတ်

phónzìng *n* ant ပုရွက်ဆိတ်

phóq *v* fill ဖို့ <Bur.

phósùtaù *n* acolyte ဖိုးသူတော် white-robed acolyte <Bur.

-phòt *aux* exceed, add more ထပ်ပို

phóténgaūng *n* man's name ဖိုးသိန်းအောင်

phú$_{1}$ *n* silver ငွေ

phú$_{2}$ *v* put on hat or umbrella ဆောင်း

phū *v* blow မှုတ်

phūceū *n* chief သူကြီး

phúk *onmt* sound light items falling ပေါ့ပါးသည် အရာဝတ္ထုကျသည့် အသံ

phūkná *n* bamboo hat ခမောက် <Shan

phúlūthaū *n* man's name ဖူးလူထော်

phūn *v* wrap ခြုံ

phūntìng nīktìng *n* clothing အဝတ်အစား

phwákaneú *adv* appear suddenly ဖွားကနဲ <Bur.

phwéq *v* compose ဖွဲ့ <Bur.

phyá *n* tip ဖျား <Bur.

phyārārátrát *onmt* sound of wind ရှလတ်လတ်

phyát *v* destroy ဖျက် <Bur.

phyéphyé *adv* slowly ဖြေးဖြေး <Bur.

phyét *onmt* sound of swift movement ဖြပ်ခနဲ မြည်သံ

phyeū *v* answer ဖြေ <Bur.

phyít *v* be ဖြစ် <Bur.

pí$_{1}$ *n* four လေး <Shan

pí$_{2}$ *n* year နှစ် <Shan

pí$_{3}$ *v* 1) ride စီး 2) fly ပျံ 3) put on စီး

pí$_{4}$ *v* pack ထုပ်

pí$_{5}$ *v* finish ပြီး <Bur.

= **pí** *conj* particle attaches to verbs to indicate the completion of an act. ပြီး <Bur.

pī$_{1}$ *v* 1) smooth ချော 2) slip ချော်

pī$_{2}$ *n* country ပြည်

pì *v* stroke with water ရေသပ်တယ်

pīk *n* beside ကပ်ရက် some pronounce also as paík

pīn *n* tree or plant အပင် <Bur.

pīng *v* thin ပိန် <Bur.

= **píng** *part* clause final particle; a contracted form of a directional marker that indicates action toward the deictic centre plus a change of state clause final particle.

pínkhánneū *n* place's name ပင်းခန်းနယ်

pīnpán *n* tire ပင်ပန်း <Bur.

pīnpīnpánpán *adv* be wearily ပင်ပင်ပန်းပန်း <Bur.

pīnyín *n* origin ပင်ရင်း <Bur.

pīt$_1$ *n* chip off ပဲ့

pīt$_2$ *v* angle များ angle; as in fish ငါးများ

pìt *v* come close ချည်းကပ်

pītá *n* civilian ပြည်သား <Bur.

pítaúq *conj* and then, after that ပြီးတော့ <Bur.

pò *v* exist ရှိ exclusively with negated VP. မရှိသည့် အရာကိုဖော်ပြရတွင်သာ သုံးသည်။

pō *v* be excess ပို <Bur.

pōcí *n* captain ဗိုလ်ကြီး <Bur.

pók *v* help ကူညီ never appeared as head verb.

pōk$_1$ (**palōk**) *v* hatch ဝပ်

pōk$_2$ *n* nest အသိုက်

pòk$_1$ *v* foresty တောရှုပ် <Shan?

pòk$_2$ *n* classifier for counting numbers of bamboos. ချောင်း auto classifier; repetition of final syllable form the word 'bamboo'. lapòk ဝါးလုံး ရည်တွက်ရာတွင် သုံးသည် နာမ်အမျိုးအစားပြပုဒ်။

pòkhá *n* forest တော

pòkhānshí *n* wild cat တောကြောင်

pòkhápòk *v* be thick forest တောထ

pòkhú *n* round bamboo basket for storing paddy ပုတ်

póksā *n* problem ပုစ္ဆာ <Bur.

pòkwàk *n* boar တောဝက်

pòkweúsút *n* tree ကြက်မအုံပင် Ardsia name applied to some shrubs.

pōm *v* cover? အုံး as in covering fruits to make them ripe ငှက်ပျောသီး အုံတာမျိုးကိုဆိုသည်။

pòn *v* shrivel နူ (of leaves) shrivel up (through disease). <Shan? အရွက် အသီးများ မဖြစ်ထွန်းပဲ နူသွားသည်ကိုဆိုသည်။

pōn *v* teem ၍ teem; exclusively as in ants and bees. ပုရွတ်ဆိတ်၊ ပျားတို့ အအုံမှ ထွက်ခြင်းကိုသာဆိုသည်။

pón$_1$ *v* muddy (ရေ)နှောက်

pón$_2$ *v* exceed လွန်သွား ၏့ည၊ လွန်သွားသည်။

póng *n* bucket ပုံး <Bur.

pōng *n* story ပုံပြင် <Bur. also pōngyī n

pōngmān *n* regular ပုံမှန် <Bur.

pōngná *n* Brahmin ပုဏ္ဏား <Bur.

pōngpyīn *n* story ပုံပြင် <Bur.

pōngzān *n* pattern ပုံစံ <Bur.

pópó *n* grandfather ဖိုးဖိုး <Bur.

pú$_1$ *v* worn out ရိုပြို

pú$_2$ *n* betel ကွမ်း

pū$_1$ *v* tend or look after ထိန်းကျောင်း

pū$_2$ *v* emerge ထွက်

pū$_3$ *v* worry ပူ

pū$_4$ *n* kind of large tree with soft wood ထောက်ကြန့်ပင်

púchò *n* gourd ဘူးသီး

pūháng *n* name for variety of Kadu ကတူးမျိုးနွယ်စုခွဲတစ်မျိုး၏အမည်။

púk *n* belly ဗိုက်

púkhák *v* (of gas in the abdomen) become agitated. လေထ

púkheū *v* have stomach-ache အအေးပတ်ပြီးဗိုက်နာ

púkká *v* hungry ထမင်းဆာ

púkkanà *v* have frequent motions of the bowels., or stomach ache ဗိုက်နာ၊ ဝမ်းလျှော

púkkāng *v* belly swell ဗိုက်ပ

púktáq *n* Buddha ဗုဒ္ဓ <Bur.

púktheú *n* navel ချက်

púkūm *v* .belly swell ဗိုက်ရောင်

púkzalaút *v* diarrhoea ဝမ်းလျှော

púkzèk *v* dysentery ဝမ်းကိုက်

púmatíq páqmatíq *n* expressing in Burmese for not knowing anything. <Bur.

pūng$_1$ *v* accumulate ပုံ <Bur.

pūng$_2$ *onmt* sound of drum ဗုံသံ

pūngpūng *attw* attendant word which follows lúng 'white' as in lúng pūngpūng ဖြူဖြူဖွေးဖွေး may be translated into English as pleasant white.

pūngtaūng *n* drum ဗုံ

pūnsūn *n* hay ကောက်ရိုး

pūnyūn *n* tree သစ်ဖွဲ့

púp *v* suck စုပ် exclusively with candy. သကြားလုံးစုပ်သည်ကိုဆိုသည်။

pút$_1$ *v* be tender or soft နူး

pút$_2$ *n* kind of rice ထမနဲ့ delicacy made of glutinous rice, oil, sesame, groundnut, etc.

pútát (**pútalát**) *n* leaf of betel nut plant ကွမ်းရွက်

pūtsú pūtsú *adv* jelly soft ပျော့စိစိ pulpy; jelly-soft; weak; flaccid.

pútsún *n* soil? အဆုပ် earth scooped out when digging ကြွက်၊ ပွေးစသည်တို့ တူးဆွထားသည့် မြေစာများကိုခေါ်သည်။

pūzaū *v* scarify ပူဇော် <Bur.

pwá *v* multiply ပွား <Bur.

pwáq *v* pulpy ပွ <Bur.

pwáqzíqzíq *adv* complain ပွစိစိ <Bur.

pwát *n* mud ဗွက် <Bur.

pwáttaú *n* muddy place ဗွက်တော <Bur.

pweú *n* celebration ပွဲ <Bur.

pweúq *n* degree ဘွဲ့ <Bur.

pweúqpéteù *v* give a title ဘွဲ့ပေးတယ် <Bur.

pyák *v* ruin ပျက် <Bur.

pyān$_1$ *v* again or return <Bur.

pyān$_2$ *v* fly ပျံ <Bur.

pyāng$_1$ *n* outside အပြင် <Bur.

pyāng$_2$ *v* repair ပြင် <Bur.

pyānmā *n* place's name ဗြမ်မာ <Bur.

pyānmāpī *n* place's name ဗြမ်မာပြည် <Bur.

pyāpyā *adv* blue ပြာပြာ <Bur.

pyaū *v* happy ပျော် <Bur.

pyaúlaík *v* tell ပြောလိုက် <Bur.

pyaúng *v* change ပြောင်း <Bur.

pyaūng *n* buffalo ပြောင် <Bur.

pyaūpá *v* happy ပျော်ပါး <Bur.

pyaūpyaūpápá *adv* happily ပျော်ပျော်ပါးပါး <Bur.

pyīn *n* timber ပျဉ် <Bur.

pyíq *v* full ပြည့်

pyíqpyíq zūngzūng *adv* adequately ပြည့်ပြည့်စုံစုံ <Bur.

pyíqsūng *v* complete ပြည့်စုံ <Bur.

pyít$_1$ *v* make a mat of thatch (for roofing) ပျစ် <Bur.

pyít$_2$ *v* abandon ပစ် <Bur.

pyítsí *n* thing ပစ္စည်း <Bur.

pyítzīn *n* shooting place ပစ်စင် <Bur.

pyōk *v* give a birth ကလေးမွေး as with human လူကလေးမွေးတာမျိုး

pyúng *n* gem bearing soil ဗြုန်း <Bur.

pyúq *v* do ပြု <Bur.

S s

sá *n* salt ဆား <Bur.

sā *n* son သား have particular meaning for male offspring. သားယောကျ်ားလေးကိုဆိုရာတွင် လည်းသုံးသည်။

-sà$_1$ *part* merely သာ

-sà$_2$ *part* diminutive particle လေး

=sà *part* particle attaches to verbs or verb complexes to convey a negative imperative sense ကြိယာနောက်တွင်သုံးသည့် အမိန့်ပေးတားမြစ် သည့် အငြင်းပြဝိဘတ်။

saàng (**sàāng**) *n* inside of the mouth ခံတွင်း feel a sour or uneasy sensation in the mouth (making one want to eat, drink, or smoke)

sààngát *v* hip cup ဂျုံထိုး

saceù (**sakeù**) *v* clear ကြည်လင်

saceù sínsín *attw* crystal clear ကြည်ကြည်လင်လင်

sací *n* centipede ကင်းခြေများ

saēk *n* daughter သမီး combination of sa̱+e̱k 'child' +'female or wife'= daughter

saén *n* sweet chestnut ဂုံးသီး

sāheúm *v* pregnant သန္ဓေတည်

saī *v* relevant ဆိုင် <Bur.

saík *v* be torn ပြဲ

saíng *n* cane or bamboo strips ဆိုင်း(ကြိုး) <Shan

saíngtalá *n* necklace ဆွဲကြိုး

sák$_1$ *v* rest နား

sák$_2$ *v* send ပို့

sák$_3$ *v* join ဆက် <Bur.

sāk *v* itch ယား

sakā *part* diminutive marker လေး

sakalá *n* sound or voice အသံ

sakaú *n* teak wood ကျွန်း Tectona grandis

sakaùng *n* midnight သန်းကောင်

sakaút *n* kind of sweet lime ရှောက်ဝိုင်းသီး

sákphák *v* messy ရှုတ်ပွ

sáksán *v* breathe အသက်ရှူ

sáksè *n* draw သရေ draw or tie သရေကျသည်။

sàksè *n* witness သက်သေ <Bur.

sakút *n* citrus lemon plant ရှောက်နွယ်ပင်

salà *n* banana ငှက်ပျော၊ leaf ဖက် leaf (used for wrapping things, rolling cheroots, roofing house)

salāk *v* prune သပ် prune as in branches. အကိုင်း၊ အတက် တွေကို သပ်သည်ကိုဆိုသည်။

salán salán *adv* speak repeatedly ထပ်ခါထပ်ခါပြော

sáláng naúláng *attw* adverbial expression to indicate a mother whose children are grown up and she is free and independent. အပျိုရည်ပြန်ဖြန်းသည့်မိခင် မိမိကလေးတွေ ကြီးကုန်လို့ လွပ်လပ်သွားသည့် မိခင်

salāp *v* rough ကြမ်း အမှုန်များ ကြမ်းသည်ကိုသာဆိုသည်။

salàpaúk *n* banana core ငှက်ပျောအ

salaú *n* oil ဆီ see also saú

salaù *v* rough ကြမ်း as in leaves and timbers သစ်ရွက်များကြမ်းသည်ကိုဆိုသည်။

salaù-salàt *adv* roughly ကြမ်းကြမ်းတမ်းတမ်း

salaúk (**saúk**$_1$) *n* feet အတောင်

salē *n* leather သရေ

salí *n* tongue လျှာ

salíp *n* cockroach ပိုးဟပ်

salít *n* gall သည်းခြေ

salóng$_1$ *part* all စလုံး <Bur.

salóng$_2$ *n* mat ဖျာ

sām *n* three သုံး

samát *n* sand သဲ

sāmépweú *n* exam စာမေးပွဲ <Bur.

samón *n* monk ဘုန်းကြီး

sán *v* breathe ရှူ

sān$_1$ *v* 1) shake လှုပ် 2) shiver တုန်

sān$_2$ (**salān**) *n* meat အသား

sān$_3$ *part* verbal particle that attaches to verb to denote the action expressed by the verb is for the purpose of leading and guiding. only as verb modifier.

sān$_4$ *v* be tuber ဥ

sanà *n* nose နာခေါင်း used with animals' noses only. လူနာခေါင်း အတွက် မသုံးပါ၊ တိရိစ္ဆာန်များ အတွက်သာ။

sanàchī *n* mucus နှပ်ချေး

sanàn$_1$ *v* snatch လု

sanàn$_2$ *n* sesame seed နန်းစေ့

sanáp *v* wedge သပ်သွင်း

sanàpòk *n* nostril နာခေါင်း

sanátnát *attw* attendant word which follows pīng 'thin or skinny' as in pīng sanátnát မြည်သံစွဲ၊ ပိန်သေးသေး

sānaú *n* children သားသမီး

sāng *v* enter ဝင်

sàng *v* send message မှာ

sāngkán *n* Buddhist monk's rope သင်္ကန်း

sāngpaláng *n* king

sángphaúhángtì *n* cassava or tapioca ပီလောပီန်

sāngsé *n* lion ခြင်္သေ့

sāngsūng *n* shirt အင်္ကျီ

sángyeúsá *n* poor people ဆင်းရဲသား <Bur.

sānsalún *n* naked ကိုယ်တုံးလုံး

sántát *v* test or try out စမ်းသပ် <Bur.

sanú *n* thatch roof အမိုး

sanúnúp *v* roofing အိမ်မိုးမိုး

sānzá *v* reign စံစား <Bur.

sáp *v* spread ခင်း

sapáksà *n* dish ဟင်း

sapáksàwaleú *n* soup ဟင်းရည်

sapaúng *part* first ဦး

sapaūng *n* herb ဂုံမင်း Amomum corynostachyum kind of edible herb. စားလို့ရသည့် အပင် တစ်မျိုး။

sapaút$_1$ *n* foam အမြုပ်

sapaút$_2$ *n* sponge gourd သပွတ်အူသီး Luffa pentandra

sapíkàt *n* palm tree ရုံး Anogeissus acuminata. large timber tree yielding a strong and resilient yellowish wood. အမိုးမိုးရာတွင် အသုံးပြုနိုင်သည့် အပင်တစ်မျိုး။

sapù *n* horse မြင်း

sapút sapát *adv* soaking wet စိုစိုရွှဲရွှဲ

sāpyōk *v* birth ကလေးမွေး

sàsà *adv* slowly ဖြေးဖြေး

sasāng *n* ridged gourd ခဝဲရှည်သီး

sāsēk *n* mother မိခင်

sát *v* pay back ဆပ် <Bur.

sàt$_1$ *v* descend ဆင်း

sàt$_2$ *n* husked rice ဆန်

satá *n* moon or month လ

satā *n* this month ဒီလ

satáng *n* news သတင်း

sataūsét *n* royal chef စားတော်ဆက်

satēng *n* thatch သက်ငယ်

sateù *v* hard/stubborn အပြောအဆိုရခက်သည်

sateū *n* lips နှုတ်ခမ်း

sateūmūnkū *n* mustache နှုတ်ခမ်းမွေး

satí$_1$ *v* remember သတိ

satí$_2$ *v* point ညွှန်

satílū *v* remember သတိရ

satóng *n* grandchild မြေး

sātóng *n* oldest son သားကြီး

sàtshī *n* broken rice, fried rice ဆန်ကွဲ၊ ဆန်လှော်

satú *v* 1) noisy ဆူ 2) boil ရေဆူ

satún *n* mouth ပါးစပ်

sátyáq *n* chestnut ဂုံးသီး

saū *v* insert through လျှို

saú$_1$ *v* collect သိမ်း

saú$_2$ *v* nutty taste ဆိပ့်

saú$_3$ *v* urge ဆော်သြ <Bur.

saù$_1$ *v* be awaken နိုးလာ

saù$_2$ *v* be bored ငြီး as in tired of hearing something repeatedly. နားငြီးသည်ကို ဆိုသည်။

saúk$_1$ *n* feet အတောင်

saúk$_2$ *v* secluded ဧကတ်မြူပ် live a secluded

saúknú *n* 1) one thousand တစ်ထောင် 2) one feet တစ်တောင်

saúkpyá *n* chisel ဆောက်ပြား <Bur.

saún *n* food ဆွမ်း food offered to monks or the Buddha.

saūn *v* teach သင်မှာ

saúng$_1$ *v* bang, jolt ဆောင့် <Bur.

saúng$_2$ *v* wait စောင့် <Bur.

saūng *n* two နှစ် <Shan

saúngnù *n* twenty နှစ်ဆယ် <Shan

saúngpák *n* two hundred နှစ်ရာ <Shan

saūngpyāng *n* sand beach တောင်ပြင် <Bur.

saúngqcaúngq *v* squat seated ဆောင့်ကြောင့်

saúthū *n* broom တံမျက်စည်း

sayācí *n* sir ဆရာကြီး <Bur.

sécaú *v* wash ဆေးကြော <Bur.

sék *n* mind စိတ် <Bur.

sēk$_1$ *n* louse သန်း

sēk$_2$ *n* poison အဆိပ် <Bur.

sèk *n* person သူ၊လူ

sēkchántā *v* happy စိတ်ချမ်းသာ <Bur.

séng heūheū *adv* alive အရှင်လတ်လတ်

sépéng *n* opium ဘိန်း

séphówákháq *n* cost for medical treatment ဆေးဖိုးဝါးခ <Bur.

sēt *n* sleeping area အိပ်ယာ

seú *v* ring (လက်)စွတ်

=seú *part* speaker attitude particle enclitic to nouns and verbs to denote politeness. လေ

seū$_1$ *n* ten ဆယ် <Bur.

seū$_2$ *n* blood သွေး

seū$_3$ *v* pour water from a kettle. ငှဲ့

seū$_4$ *v* take out something form water ဆယ်ယ exclusively taking out something from water.

seúqnanāyī *n* 12.o'clock ၁၂ နာရီ <Bur.

seúqngá *n* fifteen ဆယ့်ငါး <Bur.

seút$_1$ *v* join ဆက် <Bur.

seút$_2$ *v* scatter seed အစေ့ကြဲ

seút$_3$ *v* offer ဆက်သ <Bur.

seūtaūng *n* 10.cubit ဆယ်တောင် measure by the cubit. <Bur.

seútcā *n* powerful magical weapon စကြာ <Bur.

seútkeù *n* thatch သက်ငယ် <Bur.

seúttáq *v* offer ဆက်သ <Bur.

shā *v* small ငယ်၊ခလေး

shalát *onmt* sound of wind လေတိုက်လို့ မြည်သံ ရှလတ်

sháng *v* clear ရှင်း <Bur.

shāng *n* novice ကိုရင်

shángphaú *n* ship သင်္ဘော

shaúk *v* address လျှောက် <Bur.

=**shaúk** *part* contracted form of a diminutive and comitative particles. (sà + yaúk) လေးနဲ့

shaúkpán *n* pomelo ရှောက်ပန်းသီး <Bur.

shēk *v* small ငယ်

sheūlyá *v* be very long ရှည်လျား <Bur.

shí *v* die သေ

shī$_1$ *n* leg ခြေချောင်း

shī$_2$ *v* bear fruit (အသီး)သီး

shī$_3$ *n* medicine ဆေး

shī$_4$ *n* fruit အသီး

shī$_5$ *v* comb ဖြီး

shì$_1$ *n* four လေး

-shì$_2$ *part* diminutive marker လေး see also sà

shīk *v* break off a portion of something. ဖဲ့၊ စိပ်သည်။ break off a portion of something. ဖဲ့သည်၊ စိပ်သည်။

=**shík** *part* contracted form of a negative imperative and a clause final particles. (sà + zík = shík) နဲ့တော့

shìlák *n* gooseberry ဇီးဖြူပင် emblic.myrobalan

shīlák *n* gooseberry ဇီးဖြူ

shīm *v* cold ချမ်း

shīnát *n* the day after tomorrow တဘက်ခါ

shīneún *n* three days after tomorrow လေးရက်မြောက်နေ့

shīng$_1$ *v* deteriorate တုံးလာ deteriorate and cease to be ; become extinct.

shīng$_2$ *v* tie စည်း ပေါင်းခါးစည်းကြိုးချည် ရာတွင်သာ သုံးသည်။

shínhá (**shīmhá**) *n* winter ဆောင်းရာသီ

shínón *n* two days after tomorrow ဖိန်းနွဲခါ

shíp *n* ten ဆယ်

shīphēk *n* herbal medicine တောထွက်သဘာဝဆေး

shīpheūn *n* scar အမာရွတ်

shípnú *n* ten တဆယ်

shíq$_1$ *v* exist ရှိ <Bur.

shíq$_2$ *n* portion ဖဲ့

shīshā *n* child ကလေး

shīshí *attw* attendant word which follows katàm 'beautiful' as in katàm shīshí လှလှပပ

shīshī *n* fruit အသီး

shīshī palíq *n* various types of fruits သစ်သီးဝလံ

shít *n* eight ရှစ် <Bur.

shītalát *n* tobacco ဆေးရွက်ကြီး

shíthaúng *n* bag လွယ်အိတ်

shīyeú *v* angry စိတ်ဆိုး၊ ဒေါသထွက်သည်။ as in suffering due to adverse effects of amulets, charms, etc.

shīzú *n* hair knot ဆံထုံ

=**shók** *part* contraction of the negative imperative form sà and clause final particle yók. နဲ့အုံး

shóq *v* decrease လျော့ <Bur.

shúng *v* loose ရှုံး <Bur.

shúqzá *v* look ရှုစား <Bur.

shwé *n* sound make for chasing chicken ကြက်မောင်းတဲ့အသံ

shwē *n* gold ရွှေ <Bur.

shwēaūng *n* man's name ရွှေအောင်

shwēúqtaūngcówaí *n* place's name ရွှေဥတောင်ကြိုးပိုင်း

síkthàsík *n* owner အစိုးရသူ

sīm *v* mess ရှုပ်ထွေး exclusively with small tiny staff သေးငယ်သည့် ပစ္စည်းများနှင့်သာ သုံးသည်။

sín *v* spicy စပ်

sīn$_1$ *n* iron သံ

sīn$_2$ *v* wash(hand) ဆေး

sīn$_3$ *v* sprinkle စင် <Bur.

sīn$_4$ *n* elephant ဆင်

sìn *n* mind စိတ်

síngngeút *n* fig ရေသဖန်း

sìnhú *n* heart နှလုံး

sìnká pùkká *adv* worry စိတ်ပူ

sínkheúqtà *n* came down ဆင်းခဲ့သော <Bur.

sīnpháng *n* grubbing hoe သံတူရွင်း

sīnphyū *n* white elephant ဆင်ဖြူ <Bur.

sīnpyaūng *n* elephant ဆင်ပြောင် <Bur.

sínteút *v* descend ဆင်းသက် <Bur.

sìntū pùktū *adv* weary ခြေမကိုင်မိလက်မကိုင်မိ

sínzá *v* think စဉ်းစား <Bur.

síp *n* seven ခုနှစ်

sít$_1$ *v* authentic အစစ် <Bur.

sít$_2$ *n* war စစ် <Bur.

sítchī *v* march to war စစ်ချီ <Bur.

sítkhín *v* go for war စစ်ခင်း <Bur.

síttá *n* soldier စစ်သား <Bur.

síttán *n* record စစ်တမ်း <Bur.

síttī *n* soldier စစ်သည် <Bur.

síttū *n* soldier စစ်သူ

síttūcí *n* captain စစ်သူကြီး <Bur.

síttúk *v* battle စစ်တိုက်

só *n* dominate စိုး <Bur.

sòk 1) *v* bump ဆောင့် 2) *v, slg* make mischief ကုန်းတိုက် slang: to make mischief or cause trouble (between two parties).

sòkhū *n* stove with stones base ဖိုခနောက်

sòksòk *onmt* cough ချောင်းဆိုး

sóm *n* three သုံး <Bur.

sōm *v* used up ကုန်

sóng *adv* superlative degree ဆုံး <Bur.

sóntàng (**saúntaū**) *n* food ဆွမ်း

sòt *v* 1) block; stop (a bottle) ဆို့သည်။ 2) bribe လာဘ်ထိုး <Bur.

sōteúq *n* one that is called ဆိုတဲ့ <Bur.

sú *v* smell rank (fish or flesh) ညီစော်နံ

sū *n* slave ကျွန်

súk$_1$ *v* bark ဟောင် as in dog bark ခွေးဟောင်သည်။

súk$_2$ *v* moldy မှိုတတ်

sūn *v* pound ဖွပ် exclusively with grains such as corn, paddy, and mustard seeds. အစေ့များကို ဖွပ်ရာတွင်သာသုံးသည်။

sún$_1$ *v* sew or stitch ချုပ်

sún$_2$ *n* onion ကြက်သွန်

sùng *n* mortar ဆုံ <Bur.

sūng *v* complete စုံ <Bur.

súnshìhá *n* onion ကြက်သွန်နီ

súnshìlúng *n* garlic ကြက်သွန်ဖြူ

sūp *v* wear (hat) ဆောင်း

súq *n* present ဆု <Bur.

súqlát *n* gift ဆုလတ် <Bur.

sút *v* start fire or burn ရှို့

sūt *n* mosquito net ခြင်ထောင် <Shan

swá *n* tooth သွား

swáng$_1$ *n* master အရှင်

swáng$_2$ *v* rich ချမ်းသာ

swáng$_3$ *v* put သွင်း <Bur.

swángyōk *v* prosperous ကောင်းစား

swásweū *n* eye-teeth ဒဒတ်

swé *v* 1) sharpen သွေး 2) grind သွေး as in သနပ်ခါးသွေး

sweú *v* obsessed with စွဲမက် <Bur.

sweū *n* tusk စွယ် <Bur.

sweúmát *v* concept ဆွဲမှတ် <Bur.

sweūtaū *n* name of flower ဆွယ်တော်

T t

-ta (**-taú**) *part* particle attaches to foreign loan verbs.

tá$_1$ *v* block တား <Bur.

tá$_2$ *n* son သား <Bur.

= **tá** *part* particle attaches to nouns or verbs for emphasis. ပဲ

tà *v* 1) receive ခံ 2) accept 3) collect ခံ

tā$_1$ *n* field နေရာ၊အခင်း

tā$_2$ *n* leg ခြေထောက်

= **tā** *part* realis nominaliser တာ <Bur.

tacá *n* sugar သကြား <Bur.

tacámín *n* Sakkra သကြားမင်း

tachá *n* other place တခြား <Bur.

tací$_1$ *n* chief သူကြီး <Bur.

tací$_2$ *n* thigh ပေါင်

taeūkáq *n* acre တစ်ကေ <Bur.

tahà *n* 1) red ant ခါချည် 2) right side ညာဖက်

tahaù *n* ladder လှေခါး

tahaūng *n* hole တွင်း၊ပေါက်

tahú *n* hand လက်

taí *v* measure တိုင်း <Bur.

taì *n* morning နံနက်

taī *n* post တိုင် <Bur.

taík$_1$ *v* 1) battle တိုက် 2) collide တိုက် <Bur.

taík$_2$ *v* offer a drink တိုက် <Bur.

taíkhánleúqleū *v* royal visit တိုင်းခန်းလည့်လည် <Bur.

taíkpweú *n* battle တိုက်ပွဲ <Bur.

taīktaīk *adv* attendant word which follows zàk 'hard' as in zàk taīktaīk မာတာတာ

taíkú (**ténkú**) *n* wing အတောင်

taīpāng *v* discuss တိုင်ပင် <Bur.

taípī *n* country တိုင်းပြည် <Bur.

taītán *v* report တိုင်တန်း <Bur.

taítapá *n* other country တိုင်းတစ်ပါး <Bur.

taítóng *n* edible ridged luffa ပုံလုံသီး

ták *v* hook ညှိ

= **ták** *part* particle attaches at the end of utterance to denote reported speech. တဲ့ hearsay marker ကြားထားသည့် အကြောင်းအရာကို ပြန်ပြောရတွင်သုံးသည့် ဝိဘတ်။

tāk$_1$ *n* hand လက်

tāk$_2$ *v* lick လျှက်

tàk *v* weave ယက်

-tàk *part* animate plural marker တို့၊ သက်ရှိနှင့်သာသုံး။

takáq$_1$ *n* one car တစ်ကား <Bur.

takáq$_2$ *n* bridge တံတား

takà *n* rice seedling ပျိုးပင်

takalāt *n* root သစ်မြစ်

takaúk *n* bracelet လက်ကောက်

takeū *adv* really တကယ် <Bur.

takhā *n* one time တစ်ခါ <Bur.

takhápaúk *n* door တံခါးပေါက် door step

takhāteú *adv* at once တစ်ခါတည်း <Bur.

takháwáq *n* at a door step တံခါးဝ <Bur.

takhīn *n* master သခင် <Bur.

takhó *n* thief သူခိုး <Bur.

takhúttà *n* place's name သခွေတ္တာ

tākī *n* member of the Cakya dynastic clan သာကီ

tākīwīn *n* clan's name သာကီဝင် <Bur.

tākkasú *n* elbow တံတောင်ဆစ်

tāklín *n* shuttle (of a loom) လွှန်း

tákmá *n* grass hopper ဓါးခုတ်ကောင်

tākmīng *n* finger nail လက်သဲ

tākmú (**tākmūng**) *n* thumb လက်မ

tākpá *n* palm ဖဝါး

tākpaūng *n* arm လက်မောင်း

tākseú *n* ring လက်စွတ်

tākshī *n* 1) finger လက်ချောင်း 2) forefinger လက်ညိုး

tākshīasít *n* knuckles လက်ဆစ်

tākshīkathùn *n* little finger လက်သန်း

tāksúkcī *n* loom ယက်ကန်းစင်

talá *n* thread ချည်ကြိုး variant form of tá

talà *n* lower အောက်ပိုင်း lower part of river and road. မြစ်အောက်၊ လမ်းအောက်ပိုင်းကို ဆိုသည်။

talaí *v* hanging တွဲလွဲဆွဲခဲ့

talák *n* one tube တစ်တောင့်၊ဆုံ motor used for making noodle. မှုန့်တီ ညစ်ရာတွင်သုံးသည့် ဆုံ။

talāt *n* leaf ရွက်

talaút (**taút**) *n* solid အခဲ

= **talé** *part* speaker attitude particle that occurs at the end of the clause to denote surprise realisation. တယ်လေး

talèp *n* turtle လိပ်

talèt *n* bow လေး

taleú *v* dangling တွဲလောင်းချိတ်

taleút$_1$ *n* one tool or implement တစ်လက် <Bur.

taleút$_2$ *v* move ရွှေ့

taleùt (**teùt**) *n* tongs ညှပ်ကင် derive from the verb 'clip' by -al- infixation, see also teùt

talìnghā *n* last year မနှစ်က

talīp *n* package အထုတ်

taló *n* post ခြံတိုင်

talù *n* circle အလုံး၊အဝိုင်း slang: bullet

tām *v* search ရှာဖွေ

tamān *n* soil of rice fields တမန်း

tamaúngkú *n* shin ညိုသကျိုး

tamāyūng *n* community hall ဓမ္မရုံ <Bur.

tameū *n* deer သမင်

tamí *n* daughter သမီး <Bur.

tamì *n* other people သူများ

tamíktū *n* ankle ခြေမျက်စိ

tamíng *n* seed မျိုး seeds saved for transplanting မျိုးစေ့

tamìsā *n* human လူ

támyít *v* forbid တားမြစ်

tamyó *n* one kind တစ်မျိုး <Bur.

tamyóqneūlúng *n* people from the whole town တစ်မြို့နယ်လုံး <Bur.

tán$_1$ *v* beat တီး၊ရိုက်

tán$_2$ *n* quality တန်း <Bur.

tān$_1$ *n* numerical classifier used in counting different legs of a journey, component parts of abstract concepts. တန် <Bur.

tān$_2$ *n* iron သံ <Bur.

tān$_3$ *n* pain ဒဏ် <Bur.

tān$_4$ *n* stick တံ <Bur.

tān$_5$ *part* verbal particle that attaches to verb to denote acceptance. derived from the verb tām 'search'?

tanát *n* gun သေနတ် <Bur.

tanátkhá *n* thanakha သနက်ခါး ground-up bark of the tree of the same name. <Bur.

tānchaūng *n* bucket သံချောင် <Bur.

tanéq tanaík *n* at one day တစ်နေ့ တစ်၌ <Bur.

táng$_1$ *v* ကိုက်ညီ၊ ဝင်ဆန့်သည်။

táng$_2$ *n* basket တောင်း၊တင်း <Bur.

táng$_3$ *onmt* sound of breaking တစ်စုံတစ်ရာ ကွဲသွားသည့်အသံ

tāng$_1$ *v* put onto တင် <Bur.

tāng$_2$ *n* knife ခါး

tangeūchín *n* friend သူငယ်ချင်း <Bur.

tāngkā *n* Sangha ; member of Buddhist Order. <Bur. သံဃာ

tāngkaū$_1$ *n* sword ဓါးရှည်

tāngkaū$_2$ *n* bean? ပဲသလက်သီး

tángkwoì *n* a basket which holds twenty four pē (approximately a bushel and a half). တစ်တင်းခွဲ <Bur.

tángngà *n* fish ငါး

tángpà *n* banister လက်ရမ်း

tāngpāng *v* sit cross legged တင်ပျဉ်ခွေထိုင် <Bur.

tāngshī *n* pointed knife ဓါးမြောင်

tānlyeút *n* regalia သန်လျက် <Bur.

tānlyeúttá *n* four-edged dagger which forms part of the Myanmar regalia. သန်လျက်သား <Bur.

tānó *n* pot ဒန်အိုး <Bur.

tanòk *n* trunk ဥတ်၊အရင်း

tānphó *n* value တန်းဖိုး <Bur.

tánshí *v* kill (beat to death) ရိုက်သတ်

tāntayáq *n* doubt သံသယ <Bur.

tānwayáqyāzà *n* man's name သံဝရရာဇာ

tányát *v* be cross over တန်းလန်း <Bur.

táp *clf* classifier for counting flat objects အချပ်

tapalín *v* vibrate တုန်ခါ

tapàn *n* sub-group of Kadu also know as Mauteik

တပန်၊ မော်တိတ်ကတူးဟုလည်းခေါ်သည်။

tapát$_1$ *n* encircle တစ်ပတ် <Bur.

tapát$_2$ *n* one week တစ်ပတ် <Bur.

tapaú *n* principle သဘော <Bur.

tapaúk$_1$ *v* speak ပြော

tapaúk$_2$ *n* calf ခြေသလုံး

tapaúkkā *v* explain ပြောပြ

tapaúngláq *n* twelfth month တပေါင်းလ <Bur.

tapaútayá *n* example တဘောတရား <Bur.

tapaútayámā *n* example or in principle တဘောတရားမှာ <Bur.

tapaútū *v* agree သဘောတူ <Bur.

tapék *n* monk's bowl သပိတ်

taphā *n* foot or sole ခြေဖဝါး

taphyān *n* measure တစ်ပြန် Myanmar measure of time (equivalent to four seconds).

tapíq *n* servant တပည့် <Bur.

tapīté *adv* level တပြေတည်း <Bur.

tapītī *adv* real တကယ် <Bur.

tapyá *n* one plank တစ်ပြား <Bur.

tapyā *n* stick for driving draught animals တံဖျာ

tapyān *n* about the length of the whole bamboo တပြန် <Bur.

tasà *n* ornament တန်ဆာ <Bur.

tasák *n* life long, one whole life တသက်

tashaúk *locn* along တစ်လျောက် <Bur.

tashī *n* uncle ဦးကြီး mother's older brother. မိခင်၏အစ်ကို

tashō *n* spy သူလျှို <Bur.

tát$_1$ *v* attach တပ် <Bur.

tát$_2$ *n* wedge သပ်

tát$_3$ *part* verbal particle attaches to a verb to denote the acquiring of some knowledge, skill, capability etc. တတ် <Bur.

tāt$_1$ *clf* classifier for counting numbers of leaves ရွက် see also talāt

tāt$_2$ *v* 1) release or send လွှတ်၊ပို့ 2) send ပို့

tàt *v* kill သတ် <Bur.

tataítaí *onmt* sound of gun fire တဒိုင်းဒိုင်း

tātākshī *n* toe ခြေချောင်းကလေး

tatát *n* one cluster တတပ် <Bur.

tatātayá *n* generosity သဒ္ဓါတရား <Bur.

tataúlúng *n* whole forest တတောလုံး <Bur.

tataūnglúng *n* whole mountain တစ်တောင်လုံး <Bur.

tataūútāng *v* term used while addressing to royalty သံတော်ဦးတင် <Bur.

tatawā *n* animal သတ္တဝါ <Bur.

tátchúk *v* constipate ဓါတ်ချုပ် <Bur.

tathú *n* knee ဒူး

tathúthaúk *v* kneel ဒူးထောက်

tathwā *n* one span တစ်ထွာ <Bur.

tatī tī (**tatī**, **tī**$_3$) *v* lay egg ဥဥ

tatínsó *n* bad news သတင်းဆိုး <Bur.

tátlúng *n* magic ball ဓါတ်လုံး <Bur.

tátmát *v* set rule သတ်မှတ် <Bur.

tātmí *n* torch ဓါတ်မီး <Bur.

táttayáq *n* third တတိယ <Bur.

tatū (**tū**$_4$) *n* seed အစေ့

tatū zapúq *n* seed မျိုးစေ့

taú$_1$ *n* jungle တော <Bur.

taú$_2$ *v* carry သယ် <Bur.

taū$_1$ *v* wear (shirt)

taū$_2$ *v* 1) fit တော် 2) enough တော် 3) proper 4) be related <Bur.

taū$_3$ *v* prune ချိုင်

taū$_4$ *part* honorific terms to show reverence, power, sacredness, royalty when speaking to monks. တော် <Bur.

= **taū** *conj* when သော်၊ တဲ့အခါ <Bur.

taù *v* perforate ဖေါက်

taūcí *n* woman အဖွားကြီး address term used by a husband to his wife.

taúk$_1$ *v, slg* do/hit တွယ်ပစ် slang. an expression to do or to use something forcefully.

taúk$_2$ *onmt* sound of clicking sound when someone got angry တောက်ခေါက်သံ

taūk *n* cattle's hump နွားလပို့

taúkōleū *v* hunting တောကိုလည် <Bur.

taúkshaúk *adv* directly တောက်လျောက် <Bur.

taúktaù *n* gecko တောက်တဲ့

taūlā *n* jicama စိမ်းစားဥ
taúlāng *v* rebel တော်လှန် <Bur.
taún *v* castrate ဝှေးသင်းသည်။ <Shan
taùn *v* portion ပိုင်း အပင်ထက်ပွားလာအောင်ဖြတ်တာကို ဆိုသည်။
taúng *n* ten thousand သောင်း <Bur.
taūng *n* feet တောင်
taúngá *n* rice power မှုန့်န့စ်
taūngkapyān *n* place's name တောင်ကပျံ
taūngkúng *n* place's name တောင်ကုန်း
taúngláng *n* big circular tray on a stand used for serving meals.
taūngmaū *n* place's name တောင်မော်
taūngmwé *n* rod တောင်ဝှေး <Bur.
taúngpān *v* apologise တောင်းပန် <Bur.
taùngsaúkmú *n* caterpillar ခူယား
taùngséng *n* fly (big with green colour) ယင်ကောင်
taúngyú *n* place's name ဒေါင်းယူး
taúp *v* end ဆုံး
tawaík *n* around တဝိုက် <Bur.
tawák *n* half တစ်ဝက် <Bur.
tāwūn *n* responsibility တာဝန် <Bur.
tāwūnceū *v* responsible တာဝန်ကျေ <Bur.
tayá *n* law တရား <Bur.
tayā *n* one hundred တစ်ရာ <Bur.
tāyā *v* pleasant သာယာ <Bur.
tāyācīnú *v* pleasant သာယာကြည်နူး <Bur.
tayáq *n* one portion or section တစ်ပိုင်း၊ တစ်ရပ် <Bur.
tayát *n* one stop တစ်ရပ် <Bur.
tayaù *n* undressed cotton ဝါ
tayéksān *n* animal တိရစ္ဆာန် <Bur.
tayūyū *adv* jelly soft အိအိ
tazáqtazáq *adv* bit by bit, step by step, gradually တစစ <Bur.
tazí *n* one cart တစ်စီး <Bur.
tazúq *n* one group တစ်စု <Bur.
-tē (**twē**) *part* general plural maker တွေ <Bur.
= **tè** *part* anti-agentive marker နာမ်နောက်တွင်တွဲသုံး၍ ပြုလုပ်သူမဖြစ်ကြောင်းပြသည့် ဝိဘတ်။
tēcaúng *n* way to die သေကြောင်း <Bur.
técháng *n* song သီချင်း <Bur.
ték *adv* quite သိမ့် <Bur.
tèk *v* break leaves ခူးတယ်။ as in breaking leaves. သစ်ရွက်များ ခူးရာကိုဆိုသည်။
tékhòt *n* pan လှော်အိုး
tékpáq *n* innate wisdom သိပ >Pali
tékshī *n* pot အိုး **kātékshī** *n*
tén *v* gather သိမ်း <Bur.
téng$_1$ *v* quiet ငြိမ်
téng$_2$ *v* plant စိုက် exclusively with seeds အစေ့စိုက်ပျိုးခြင်းကိုသာဆိုသည်။
tēngwīn *v* be ordained into monk hood သိမ်ဝင် <Bur.
= **téq**$_1$ *subd* reason, because လို့
= **téq**$_2$ *part* realis nominaliser တဲ့ <Bur.
teú$_1$ *n* hut တဲ <Bur.
teú$_2$ *v* cut superficially ရှ
teú$_3$ *v* wait စောင့်
teū$_1$ *v* walk လျှောက် exclusively with walking on a bridge or log သစ်တုံး၊ တံတားပေါ်တွင် လျှောက်ခြင်းကိုသာ ဆိုသည်။
teū$_2$ *v* establish တည်ထောင် <Bur.
= **teū** *part* clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate realis mood. တယ် <Bur.
teúēng *n* hut တဲအိမ် <Bur.
teúkhō *v* putting up at a place တည်းခို <Bur.
teúm$_1$ *v* concentrate စူးစိုက်
teúm$_2$ *v* pillow အုံး
teùn *clf* classifier for counting unspecific objects or kinds ခု
teúnsú *n* bamboo clip ဝါးကင်ညှပ် used when roasting fish ငါးကင်ရာတွင်သုံးသည့် ငါးကိုညှပ်သည် ဝါးခြမ်း။
teúp *v* throw ပစ်
teút *v* listen နားထောင်
teūteū *adv* lightly သာသာ
teútpū *v* hear ကြား
teútpūpá *v* hear confusedly ကြားယောင်
teútsaīyā *n* relevant သက်ဆိုင်ရာ <Bur.

teūzák ngāzák *adv* while simply walking သွားရင်း လာရင်း

thá *v* keep ထား <Bur.

thà *v* be ဖြစ်

-thà *aux* must, have to ရ

thaí *onmt* sound of gun fire သေနတ်ပစ်သံ

thaík *n* should ထိုက် <Bur.

thaíktān *v* deserve ထိုက်တန် <Bur.

thaíng *v* slow နှေး <Bur.

= **thák** *part* particle attaches to verbs to form a verbal noun. ဖို့စရာ

thákéqtaúq *v* when left behind ထားခဲ့တော့ <Bur.

thām *v* near နီး

= **thāmā** *part* clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate hortative sense. ရအောင်

thán *v* carry ထမ်း <Bur.

= **thān** *part* to or toward ထံ <Bur.

tháng *v* overcast အုံ့

thàng *v* just happened ဖြစ်လိုက

thāng$_1$ *n* think ထင် <Bur.

thāng$_2$ *n* pattern ပုံစံခွက်

thángāk *n* jaggery ထန်းလျက် palm sugar; jaggery.

thāthātweù *n* female's name ထားထားသွယ်

thaū$_1$ *v* put down (rice pot) အိုးချ exclusively with putting down rice's pot. ထမင်းအိုးချရာတွင်သာသုံးသည်။

thaū$_2$ *v* reap thatch သက်ကယ်ရိတ် exclusively for reaping thatch. သက်ကယ်ရိတ်ရာတွင်သာ သုံးသည်။

thaù *v* carve ထွင်း

thaúk$_1$ *v* point out ထောက်ပြ <Bur.

thaúk$_2$ *v* spit တံသွေးထွေး

thaūng$_1$ *v* boil ကျိုချက် something boil for a long time အကြာကြီး ကျိုချက်သည်ကိုသာဆိုသည်။

thaūng$_2$ *n* jail ထောင် <Bur.

thaūng$_3$ *v* up right ထောင် <Bur.

thaùng *v* be old (loan word from Shan) အို <Shan

thék$_1$ *v* shock ထိပ် <Bur.

thék$_2$ *n* tip ထိပ် <Bur.

thēk *v* pinch ဆိတ်

théktí *n* first class ထိပ်သီး <Bur.

théng *v* control ထိန်း <Bur.

thèng *v* deep နက် exclusively with well. တွင်းနက်သည်ကိုသာဆိုသည်။

théngténg *v* archive ထိန်းသိမ်း <Bur.

thēp *v* prevent တားဆီး obstruct; block; prevent. ကွယ်သည်၊ ကားဆီးသည်။

théq *v* add ထည့် <Bur.

theú$_1$ *n* navel ချက် as in púttheú 'navel' ချက်

theú$_2$ *v* widen (as of mouth) ဖြဲသည်။

theū *n* plough ထည် <Bur.

theù *v* thick ထူ

theūn *v* repeat ထပ် used when changing flower from the flower pot. ပန်းအိုးလဲသည့်အခါတွင်သုံးသည်။

theūtheū wāwā *adv* grandly ထည်ထည်ဝါဝါ <Bur.

thí *n* umbrella ထီး <Bur.

thī$_1$ *v* dream မက်

thī$_2$ *v* scoop ကော်ခပ် exclusively with scooping water from a water pot. ရေအိုးမှ ရေကော်ခပ်ခြင်းကိုသာ ဆိုသည်။

thī$_3$ *v* shine သာ as with moon shine.

thīn *v* press ဖိ

thīng *n* village ရွာ

thīngpālá *n* village leader ရွာလူကြီး

thīngphūceū *n* village's chief ရွာသူကြီး

thīngsá *n* villager ရွာသား

thīnpaū *v* known ထင်ပေါ် <Bur.

thīnthú *n* tree သစ်ပင်တစ်မျိုး

thíphyū *n* white umbrella ထီးဖြူ <Bur.

thíq *v* touch ထိ <Bur.

thít *v* nick ထစ် make a nick or notch. <Bur.

thó *v* joust ထိုး <Bur.

thō *v* push တွန်း

thók *onmt* sound of shaking something တစ်စုံတစ်ခုကို လှုပ်ခါသည့် အသံ

thōk$_1$ *v* touch or dip something lightly တို့၊တို့စားသည်။

thōk$_2$ *v* arrive ရောက်

thōkkón *n* until တိုင်အောင်

thōm *v* blunt knife

thómà *n* short moment ခဏတာ

thōmpòk *n* gun သေနတ် slang: literally short length

of bamboo closed at one end. ကျည်တောက်

thōn$_1$ *n* mortar ဆုံ

thōn$_2$ *v* plough ထွန်

thóng$_1$ *n* lime ထုံး <Bur.

thóng$_2$ *v* sit ထိုင်

thónghaúng *n* old custom ထုံးဟောင်း <Bur.

thóngtít *n* new custom ထုံးသစ်

thóngzānshíqtíq *v* as it is a custom to ထုံးစံရှိသည့် <Bur.

thōnshī *n* mortar (ငရုတ်)ဆုံ

thót *v* balance or measure ချိန်သည်၊တိုင်းဆသည်။ measure (things by volume) ခြင်သည်၊ ဆန်၊စပါး၊ ရွှေ စသည်တို့

thòt *v* pluck ခူး for the purpose of eating. စားဖို့ခူးယူခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။

thú *v* different ထူး <Bur.

thū *v* 1) pound ထောင်း 2) dig တူး

thú chèkchèk *adv* be black အနက်၊ မဲမဲ

thúchá *v* different ထူးခြား <Bur.

thúk *v* take out or extract ထုတ် <Bur.

thúm *v* black နက်

thún *v* harrow ထွန် <Bur.

thūncīn *n* sensitive plant Mimosa pudica. ထိကရုံး

thūnswá *n* rake ထွန်သွား <Bur.

thúntaúk *v* shine ထွန်းတောက် <Bur.

thūthaūng *v* establish ထူထောင် <Bur.

thwáng *v* 1) carve, gouge or to clear the field for plantation ထွင်း 2) clear away ရှင်းလင်း <Bur.

tí *n* penis လိင်တံ

=tí *subd* also or although လည်း၊လည်းပဲ

tī$_1$ **(tatī)** *n* egg ဥ

tī$_2$ *v* sweet ချို

tī$_3$ *v* lay egg (ဥ)ဥ imitative verb derived from the word 'egg' tatī

tīlùtwēkō *n* these people ဒီလူတွေကို <Bur.

tím *v* hide ပုန်း

tīm *v* put down ချထောင် as in putting down mosquito net or curtain ခြင်ထောင်ချ၊ လိုက်ကာချတာမျိုးကိုဆိုသည်။

tín *v* revile ဆဲ used excessively with obscene language. ရိုင်းစိုင်းသည် စကားများဖြင့် ဆဲရေးတိုင်းထွာသည်ကိုသာ ဆိုသည်။

=tìng *part* purposive nominaliser ဖို့၊စရာ

tínhaút *v* angry စိတ်ဆိုး ဆဲဆိုချင်သည်။

tīnmaung *n* man's name တင်မောင်

tínq *aux* should သင့် <Bur.

tíntān *onmt* hanging တွဲလောင်း

tīp *v* pack; bundle; wrap with paper or leaves ထုတ်

tìsaúk *v* build တည်ဆောက် <Bur.

tít *n* one တစ် <Bur.

títánq *adv* separately သီးသန့် <Bur.

títthúkyé *n* logging သစ်ထုတ်ရေး <Bur.

títtīweúq *n* red wattled lapwing bird? တစ်တီတူး

tó *v* increase တိုး <Bur.

tók$_1$ *onmt* sound of shaking something off တစ်စုံတစ်ခုကို လှုပ်ခါသည့် အသံ

tók$_2$ **(atók)** *v* hold on a moment နေအုံး

tōk *v* collect firewood ထမ်းခွေ

tòkcī *n* palm tree မင်းပေါ Caryota mitis. kind of large palm yielding hardwood.

tókháq *n* trouble ဒုက္ခ <Bur.

tókháqteū *n* sufferer ဒုက္ခသည် <Bur.

tōklī tōklāng *adv* dangling တွဲလောင်းတွဲလောင်း

tókweú *n* sweat ချွေး

tōm *n* below အောက်

tōn *v* short တို

tóng$_1$ *v* 1) big ကြီး 2) fat ဝ

tóng$_2$ *n* three သုံး <Bur.

tóng$_3$ *n* log တုံး

tóng$_4$ *v* place တည် exclusively with putting a cooking pot on a stove အိုးတည်ခြင်းကိုသာသုံးသည်။

tóng$_5$ *onmt* sound of falling something. ဒုန်း

tōng ngōng tōng ngōng *onmt* sound of a gong မောင်းတီးတံ

tóngcìng *n* three times သုံးကြိမ်

tóngkhā *n* three times or trips သုံးခါ <Bur.

tōngkwán *n* ring or loop ကွင်းလိုက်

tóngmótá *n* three years/seasons old သုံးမိုးသာ <Bur.

tóngpaúlaú *n* place's name တုန်းပေါလော

tóngzúq *n* three groups သုံးစု <Bur.

tōp$_1$ *v* fist ထိုး

tōp$_2$ *v* 1) stab with an object. ထိုး 2) beam ထိုး (မီး)

-tóq *part* particle attaches to nouns to denote plurality. တို့ <Bur.

tóteút *v* improve တိုးတတ် <Bur.

tōtpát tōtsaúk *adv* up side down ဇောက်တိဇောက်ထိုး

tú$_1$ *n* language စကား

tú$_2$ *v* 1) lean against မှီ၊ 2) prop up ထောက် exclusively with stick or posts. ဒုတ်ချောင်းတိုင် စသည်တို့ မှီရာတွင်သာသုံးသည်။

tú$_3$ *v* pound ထု

tū$_1$ *v* same တူ <Bur.

tū$_2$ *prn* third person singular form. သူ <Bur.

tū$_3$ *v* carry on head ရွက်

tū$_4$ *v* be cut off ပြတ်

tù *v* grow ပေါက် exclusively with seeds. အစေ့မှ ပေါက်ခြင်းကိုသာဆိုသည်။

túk$_1$ *v* transport တိုက် transport (things) in ox's cart or vehicles လှည်း၊ ကားဖြင့် သယ်ယူခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။

túk$_2$ *v* battle တိုက် transport (things) in ox's cart or vehicles လှည်း၊ ကားဖြင့် သယ်ယူခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။

tūktān *n* cemetery သုသာန် <Bur.

túktháqkúqmàráq *n* man's name သဿကုမာရ

túktúk *attw* attendant word which follows kasín 'cold' as in kasín túktúk ခပ်အေးအေး

tūlōlō *adv* onomatopoeic word မြည်သံစွဲ <Bur.

túm *v* 1) fragrant မွှေး 2) smell နမ်း

tūm$_1$ *v* blow flute မှုတ် exclusively with flute ပလွေ့မှုတ်သည်ကိုဆိုသည်။

tūm$_2$ *v* clench ဆုပ် as in tahù tūmàng လက်သီးဆုပ်။

túm paùngpaùng *adv* fragrant မွှေးကြိုင်ကြိုင်

tūmí *n* firearm တူမီး <Bur. a percussion lock firearm တူမီး သေနတ်

tún *v* pull ဆွဲ

= **tún** *part* clause final particle enclitic to verbal predicates to indicate the action express by the verb is still in progress. သေးတယ်

tūngngāk *v* bow ခေါင်းညိမ့်

túngngún *n* bee ပျား

túpíkkà *n* pinnacle ထုပိကာ <Bur.

túq *v* fake တု <Bur.

túqtayáq *n* second ဒုတိယ <Bur.

túqtúqpáqpáq *n* man's name သူသူပပ

tút *v* cut ဖြတ်

twá *v* go သွား <Bur.

twák *v* calculate တွက်ချက် <Bur.

twé *v* think တွေး <Bur.

tweú *onmt* sound make for chasing bird ငှက်မောင်းတဲ့အသံ

U u

ú$_1$ *n* head ဦး <Bur.

ú$_2$ *v* deep နက် exclusively with water. ရေနက်ရာတွင်သာသုံးသည်။

ū$_1$ *v* drink သောက်

ū$_2$ *n* fowl ကြက်

ū$_3$ *excl* oh! အူ

ūhá *n* crow ကျီး

ùhākū *n* kind of poisonous root ဆေးမင်း used for poisoning fish. ငါးအဆိပ်ခပ်ရာတွင် အသုံးပြုသည့် အဆိပ်သစ်မြစ်တစ်မျိုး။

ùhánphám *v* yawn အာသမ်း

ūhaū *n* owl ဇီးကွက်

ūhaút *v* thirsty ရေဆာ

ūkán *n* wild fowl တောကြက်

ūkatú *n* dove ကျိုင့်က်

ūkaú *n* koel ဥသြ

ùkkalùkùk *onmt* sound of a big rooster crow အောက်အီးအီးအွတ်(ကြက်ဖကြီး)

úkzā *n* thing ဥစ္စာ <Bur.

ūlā *n* rooster ကြက်ဖ

ūlēk *n* pheasant bird ရစ်

ūlīzáng *n* chicken coop ကြက်ခြံ

ūlūshī *n* star ကြယ်

ūm *v* swell ရောင်

úmeú *v* deep ရေနက် used together with úshík

úng *dem* that ဟို

únyút *v* bow one's head in respect to someone ဦးညွှန့် <Bur.

ūpá *n* hen ကြက်မ

úpáq *n* man's name ဦးဘ

ūpháksā *n* bat လင်ခွေ

ūphūt *n* caucal ဘုတ် greater coucal ဘုတ်ငှက်

úqyīn *n* garden ဥယျာဉ် <Bur.

úshík *v* shallow တိမ်

út *v* 1) abandon စွန့်ပစ် 2) toss ပစ်

ùtaùkchí *n* sunburn နေလောင်ကွက်

ūthū *n* nest ကြက်မြှူ hen's nest

ūtī *n* egg ကြက်ဥ

ūweú *onmt* sound of infant cry ကလေးငယ်ငိုသံ

ūyaùt (**ūlaùt**) *n* flower ပန်းတစ်မျိုး type of flower ဧကရာဇ်ပန်း

úzá *n* priority ဦးစား

ūzík *n* bird ငှက်

ūzík ūkán *n* fowl ငှက်များ

ūzík ūyá *n* various types of fowls ကြက်ငှက်

ūzíkpalúk *n* bird's nest ငှက်သိုက်

ūzíksá *n* bird ငှက်

W w

wá$_1$ *v* jump down ခုန်ချ

wá$_2$ *n* bamboo ဝါး <Bur.

wā$_1$ (**waláng**) *n* male ကျားသတ္တဝါ၊အထီး

wā$_2$ *n* lent ဝါတွင်း <Bur.

wā$_3$ *v* plait (of bamboo strips) ယက် (တောင်း၊ ချင်း)

waí$_1$ *v* encircle ဝိုင်း <Bur.

waí$_2$ *n* cane or rattan ကြိမ်

waí$_3$ *v* vanish အကြံမထမြောက် <Shan?

waì *v* be askew ရွဲစောင်း

waì *v* do obeisance (with palms raised together on the forehead) လက်အုပ်ချီ ရှိခိုး

waík *v* round ဝိုက် <Bur.

wák *v* 1) wide ကျယ် 2) loose ချောင် used with clothing အင်္ကျီပုဆိုး ကျယ်၊ချောင်ရာတွင် သုံးသည်။

wàk *n* pig ဝက်

wákkáhángtì *n* wild yam ဝက်မြေဥ

wàkzáng *n* big pen ဝက်ခြံ

walànníq *n* moss or slime ရေညှို

waleú (**weú**) *n* liquid အရည်

waleúsín *n* liquor အရက် literally spicy or hot liquid.

wán *v* chop ခုတ်

wān$_1$ *n* fire မီး

wān$_2$ *v* clear ထွင်ရှင်း exclusively with clearing small plants သစ်ပင်ငယ်များကို ခုတ်ထွင်းရာ တွင်သာသုံးသည်။

wàn *clf* numeral classifier for counting numbers of days ရက် used with numeral four to nine. နံပါတ်လေးမှ ကိုး အထိသာ သုံးသည်။

wān hítzalaúng *n* iron hook attached to a long pole used in fighting fire. မီးချိတ်

wānakhó *n* smoke မီးခိုး

wánaúk *n* east, in front အရှေ့

wāncīng *n* charcoal မီးသွေး

wáng *n* compound ခြံဝင်း

wangán *n* pot's case အိုးအဖုံး

wángshì^{1} *n* younger brother of one's husband (of women) မတ်

wángshì^{2} *n* uncle ဘဒွေး one's father's younger brother ဖခင်၏ညီ

wāngwáq *n* entrance ဝင်ဝ <Bur.

wánhú *n* rice sieve ဇကော

wānkākcīng *n* live coal မီးခဲ

wānkāng *n* firewood that didn't burn and those left in the fire place မီးကြွင်းမီးကျန်

wānkazúk *v* add firewood, make fire မီးမွေး

wānmīt *v* extinguish fire မီးငြိမ်း

wánneú *v* sad ဝမ်းနည်း <Bur.

wānpōt *n* fire place မီးဖို

wànpyák *v* light went off မီးပျက်

wānsāng *n* cup သောက်ရေခွက် exclusively a cup used for drinking water

wānsūng *v* smoke မီးခိုး

wānsút *v* burn မီးရှို့

wāntāt$_1$^{1} *n* stove မီးဖို fire place within a house အိမ်ခန်းအတွင်းရှိ မီးဖိုကိုသာ ဆိုသည်။

wāntāt$_2$ *v* light မီးထွန်း

wántòk *n* west, behind အနောက်

wāntū *n* burning fagot or firebrand မီးစ

wānyá *n* torch မီးရူး bamboo torch ဝါးခြမ်းတွေကို စိပ်ပြီး မီးတုတ်သဖွယ် အသုံးပြုသည်။

wānzék *v* kindle (fire) မီးညှိ

wānzū *v* make fire မီးထည့်၊ ထင်းမီးထပ်ထည့်

wáq *n* circle ဝ

wáqlúng *n* circle ဝလုံး <Bur.

wasá *n* flotsam ဒိုက်

wasáp *n* sponge gourd ပေါင်းကြမ်း Luffa pentandra stringy mass of fibres from the dried fruit of the sponge gourd used as a spongeor scourer.

washì *n* comb ဘီး

washìlā *n* crested အမောက်

washīng *n* steamer ties ပေါင်းခါးစည်း

washìtū *n* fruit ကစောခါးသီး

wát$_1$ *v* ရိတ် (နုတ်ခမ်းမွေး)

wát$_2$ *n* below အောက်ပိုင်း lower part of mountain, valley. တောင်အောက်ပိုင်းကို ရည်ညွှန်းသည်။

wàt *n* leech ကျွတ်

waték *n* steaming pot ပေါင်းအိုး

watòk *n* kind of tree သံမလန်း

wēphān *v* critique ဝေဖန် <Bur.

weū *v* hang (bag) ချိတ် exclusively with hanging on a hook. ချိပ်တွင် ချိတ်ဆွဲခြင်းကိုသာ ဆိုသည်။

weú àngtūng *n* insect ရေထဲတွင် တွေ့ရတတ်သည့် အကောင် edible စားလို့ရသည်။

weú kasúm *n* goblet ရေတကောင်း လည်ပင်းကျည်းသည့် ရေတကောင်း

weúaīng *n* lake ရေအိုင် <Bur.

weúkú *v* bathe ရေချိုး

weúmakōk *n* person who do not bath ရေမချိုးသ

weúpaìk *n* bank ရေစပ်

weúsalí *n* wave လှိုင်း

weūsālī *n* Indian nightshade ခရမ်းကစောသီး

weūtanā *n* pain ဝေဒနာ <Bur.

weúwá *v* jump down`ခုန်ချ as into the water ရေထဲသို့ခုန်ချ

wílú wánglú *adv* vaguely ဝေဝေါးဝါး vaguely; hazily; indeterminately.

wīn *n* member ဝင် <Bur.

wīnkāntáq *n* man's name ဝင်ကံသ

wíqpatùpáq *n* man's name ဝိပတ္ပု

wíqpétcamà *n* consequence ဝိပက်ကြမ္မာ result, effect, consequence of one's deeds. <Bur.

wúng *onmt* sound of dropping a massive object ဝုန်း

wúntō *n* place's name ဝန်းသို

wūsùt (**wasùt**) *n* knot hair ဆံထုံး

wút *v* wear ဝတ် <Bur.

wūtcwé *n* debt ဝဋ်ကြွေး atonement or expiation for past sins and misdeeds. <Bur.

Y y

yá *v* bright လင်း

=**yá** *conj* particle attaches to nouns or verbs to indicate the meaning 'also' or 'either. ဖြစ်ဖြစ်၊ ဖြစ်စေ

yā$_1$ *v* gauge, size up လျှာ <Bur.

yā$_2$ *part* verbal particle that attaches to verb to indicate an excessive meaning.

yaà (**yákà**) *n* now အခု

yàā *n* one day တစ်ရက်

=**yaà** *part* euphoric particle. ဖြင့်၊လေ၊ပဲ

yahāk *n* rope ကြိုး

yahán *n* monk-hood ရဟန်း

yahaūk *n* husk ဖွဲ

yahaūkchí *n* tender husk ဖွဲနု can feed the animals. တိရစ္ဆာတွေကို ကျွေးလို့ရသည်။

yahaùng *n* river ချောင်း

yahaùnghaláng *n* head river ချောင်းဖျား

yahaùngtóng *n* river မြစ်

yahú *n* edible thorny leaves ဆူးပုတ်

yahùng$_1$ *n* well ရေတွင်း

yahùng$_2$ *n* steamer ပေါင်းချောင် pot with a perforated bottom forming the upper part of a steamer (cooking utensil).

yàk *n* 1) now အခု 2) day ရက်

-yák

yàkmák (**yamák**) (**yàk**) *n* today ဒီနေ့

yákpheú *adv* indiscriminately လျှောက်

yáktánwán *n* whole day တနေကုန်

yalán *v* long ရှည် never used as a head verb.

yalaùt *n* bud အညွှန့်

yaleù yalán *adv* suffuse ယှက်နွယ်

yalū *n* vine နွယ်

yalūcaík *n* cucumber သခွားသီး

yalún yalún *adv* imitative expression; in tows or rows of many things အစီအရီ

yamà *n* crocodile မိချောင်း

yameùshī *n* dipper ရေမှုတ်

yāmpák *n* hemp လျှော်

yāmpū *n* banded snake head fish ငါးရံ့

yán *v* struggle ရုန်း

yān *v* fight ရန် <Bur.

yānān *n* bush ချုံ

yanéq *n* today ယနေ့ <Bur.

yanéqchíngthíq *n* until today ယနေ့ချိန်ထိ <Bur.

yáng *v* be straight ဖြောင့်

yāngyaó *n* vase pot ညောင်ရေအိုး vase, pot or jar in which water and flowers are placed as a religious offering.

yānsapú *n* freshwater catfish ငါးခူ

yānthāq *n* fight ရန်ထ <Bur.

yāntū *n* enemy ရန်သူ <Bur.

yáp$_1$ *v* reap or to harvest ရိတ်သိမ်း exclusively with cutting with a sickle. တံစဉ်ဖြင့် ရိတ်ခြင်းကိုသာဆိုသည်။

yáp$_2$ (**nyāp**) *n* wax ဖယောင်း

yāp$_1$ *v* fan ယက်ခတ်

yāp$_2$ *v* cross ဖြတ်ကူး

yapá *n* shoulder ပုခုံး

yapà *n* string bean ပဲတောင့်ရှည်

yát *v* stop ရပ် <Bur.

yàt *v* clip/cut ညှပ်/ဖြတ် exclusively cutting plants with knife. ဓါးဖြင့် အပင်ပျော့များကို ဖြတ်ခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။

yātanā *n* jewel ရတနာ <Bur.

yatéq *n* hermit ရသေ့ <Bur.

yátyát zaúngzaúng *adv* with difficulty ခက်ခက်ခဲခဲ <Shan?

yaú *v* ask, propose, prepare တောင်းရမ်းသည်၊ နားဖေါက်သည်။ prepare the ground (for a proposal of marriage). မင်္ဂလာအတွက် နားဖေါက်ခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။

yaū *excl* exclamation ရော်

yaúk$_1$ *clf* classifier for counting numbers of people ယောက် <Bur.

yaúk$_2$ *v* arrive ရောက် <Bur.

= **yaúk$_1$** *part* nominal relational marker indicating a comitative sense. နဲ့

= **yaúk$_1$** *subd* particle attaches to a verb to indicate purpose အောင် probably reduced form of hayaúk.

yaúkā *n* disease ရောဂါ <Bur.

yaúkcá *n* man ယောကျ်ား <Bur.

yaúkpháq *n* brother-in-law ယောက်ဖ <Bur.

yaūng *v* fake ယောင် <Bur.

yaúngmáq *n* ladle ယောင်းမ <Bur.

yaūngpáng *conj* because of or the reason for ကြောင့်

yaúngyínkhát *v* disorder ယောင်းရင်းခတ် <Bur.

yaúp *v* reduce; lessen; decrease. လျှော့သည်။ as in flat type လေလျှော့ခြင်းတွင်သုံးသည်။

yaūpū *n* cotton ဂွမ်း

yāzā *n* king ရာဇာ <Bur.

yé *v* write ရေး <Bur.

yē *n* water ရေ <Bur.

= **yē** (**yeú$_2$**) *part* particle attaches to the name of the person hailed. တစ်ဦးတစ်ယောက်ကို ခေါ်ရာတွင် အမည်၏ နောက်တွင် သုံးသည့် ဝိဘတ်။ <Bur.

yēk *n* hill field တောင်ယာ

yēkzák *n* grass မြက်

yeú *v* get up ထ

= **yeū** *conj* and ရယ်

= **yeù$_1$** *part* particle attaches to nouns to denote similarity (equivalent in usage to adverbs 'like', 'as') လို **anyeù** *dem*

= **yeù$_2$** *part* speaker attitude particle လို့

-yeūn *aux* can, be able to နိုင်၊ အစွမ်းအစရှိသည်။

= **yeún** *part* nominal relational marker indicating purpose or beneficiary. အတွက်

yeúpaū *n* soldier ရဲဘော် <Bur.

yeút *n* day ရက် <Bur.

yeútín *n* axe ရဲဒင်း <Bur.

= **yí** *part* also လည်း

yīm *v* arrest ဖမ်း

yīnnā *v* sad ရင်နာ <Bur.

yīp *v* slice လှီး chopping one after another. တစ်ချက် ချင်းဖြတ်ချင်း ကိုဆိုသည်။

yìpalák *n* kind of bean နွေပဲသီး

yít *v* spin ရစ် <Bur.

yīthú (**yathú**) *n* long handled axe ခွန်

yítíyátá *adv* (act) ambiguously, evasively; shilly-shally; (behave) dilatorily; (fool) away, around ယိုးတိုးယားတား

yīyweūcheút *n* purpose ရည်ရွယ်ချက် <Bur.

yó *n* ridge ရိုး <Bur.

yók *n* disgrace ယုတ် <Bur.

yōk *v* eat စား

= **yók** *part* clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate the action expressed by the verb is a temporary or an intrusive action. အုံး

yōkhaút *v* hungry ဗိုက်ဆာ

yōkmātaū *v* wicked ယုတ်မာသော <Bur.

-yōkyá *aux* particle attaches to verbs to denote the sense of difficulty to do something. ခက်ခဲ cannot be used as a main verb. အဓိက ကြိယာဖြင့် မသုံးပါ။

yóng *n* younger brother မောင်လေး

yōng *v* trust ယုံ <Bur.

yōngcī *v* believe ယုံကြည် <Bur.

yóngkáng *n* horn ချို

yóngshī yóngzán *n* sibling မောင်နှမ

yōngyīnleú *v* even if (you) believe ယုံရင်လည်း <Bur.
yōp *v* stop crying တိတ်
yōpshīshí *adv* quiet တိတ်တိတ်
yōtē *v* respect ရိုသေ <Bur.
yóyà *n* tradition ရိုးရာ <Bur.
yóyó *adv* simple ရိုးရိုး <Bur.
yú *v* 1) collapse လဲ 2) stiff အညောင်းဆန့်
yū$_1$ *v* take ယူ <Bur.
yū$_2$ *v* look ကြည့်
yúk *n* image ရုပ် <Bur.
=**yún** *part* clause final particle enclitic to negated verbal predicates to indicate the meaning of 'still hasn't V'. သေးဘူး
yūnī (**yūníq**) *v* hate မုန်း
yúp *v* desire တပ်မက် be infatuated with; desire inordinately.
yút$_1$ *v* recite ရွတ် <Bur.
yút$_2$ *v* run after ပြေးလိုက် <Shan လိုက်ဖမ်းခြင်းကိုဆိုသည်။
yútyút *adv* imitative expression မြည်သံစွဲ follows the verb 'soft' as in tí yútyút နုဖတ်ဖတ်
ywā *n* village ရွာ <Bur.
ywākaúng *n* village crier ရွာဆော် <Bur.
ywé *v* select ရွေး <Bur..

Z z

zá$_1$ *v* eat စား <Bur.
zá$_2$ *v* alive ရှင်သန်
zá$_3$ *clf* classifier for counting numbers of kinds မျိုးမယ်
zā$_1$ *v* build ဆောက်
zā$_2$ *v* far ဝေး
zaeú *n* cicada ပုဇွန်းရင်ကွဲ
zaíhaúng *n* cavity သစ်ခေါင်း
zák$_1$ *v* 1) catch ညှိ 2) be pricked ဆူးစူး
zák$_2$ *n* machinery စက် <Bur.
zák$_3$ *onmt* sound of pulling a rope swiftly ဇက်ခနဲ
=**zàk** *subd* while တုန်းလျက်
zàk$_1$ *v* afraid ကြောက်
zàk$_2$ *v* hard မာ
zàk taīktaīk *adv* be hard မာတာတာ
zakáqīngtīng *n* spider ပင့်ကူ
zákkalīng *n* spotted lizard ကင်းလိတ်လျော
zákkū *n* paper စက္ကူ <Bur.
zákseù *n* fish scooping net ယက်သဲ့
záktaú *n* Settau စက်တော
zàktaú *n* place's name စက်တော
zákzák *adv* deliberately သက်သက် <Bur.
zalá *v* health ကျန်းမာ
zalàk *v* loose ချောင်
zalàk zalàk *adv* loosely ချောင်ချောင်
zaláphátphát *adv* alive အရှင်လတ်လတ်
zalaūk *n* pack ဖက်ထုပ် ကတော့ပုံစံ ထုပ်ထားသည့် ဖက်ထုတ်ကိုသာ ဆိုသည်။
zalaùk *n* rest house ဇရပ် <Bur.
zalaút$_1$ *v* drift မျော
zalaút$_2$ *quant* measurement စရွတ် dry measure equivalent to 0.14 bushel. <Bur. ၂ပြည်နှင့်ကိုက်ညီသည်။
zalí *v* clean စင်ကြယ်
zalí zalák *adv* neatly သန့်သန့်ပြန့်ပြန့်
zalīn *v* frisky or fluster ရွှင်သည်၊ ပျာသည်။ အပျိုကလေးတွေ တော်တော်ရွှင်သည်။
zalìt *v* disgusting ညစ်ပတ်
zalìt zalàt *adv* disgusting ရွံစရာ filthily; dirtily; obscenely. ညစ်တီးညစ်ပတ်၊ ညစ်ညစ်ပတ်ပတ်
zálóqmyá *v* eat စားလို့များ <Bur.
zalùn *n* tree core အူတိုင်

zalūng *n* sink ဇလုံ <Bur.

zamík$_1$ *n* sun နေ

zamík$_2$ *n* shrub စမွတ် edible shrub. derived from Burmese term 'zamút'. စားလို့ရသည့် အပင်တစ်မျိုး။

zán$_1$ *v* test စမ်း <Bur.

zán$_2$ *n* younger sister ညီမ

= **zán** *part* interrogative particle enclitic to verbal clauses to indicate rhetorical question. လဲ

zān *n* levitate စွာန်

zàn *n* mirror မှန်

zanà *v* light ပေါ့

zanàt *v* squeeze ညစ်

zāncwáq *v* levitation စွာန်ကြွ <Bur.

zāng *n* shelf စင်

zàng *part* part စေလိုက်

záng$_1$ *v* add, put in ထည့်

záng$_2$ *part* contraction of a jussive marker and a directional verbal particle (zíng + àng = záng).

záng$_3$ *part* sympathetic ရှာ

= **záng** *part* particle attaches to nouns for emphasis. ပဲ

zángkōk *n* lizard ပုတ်သင်

zángpapá *n* flower ဇကာဝါပန်း

zángsà *subd* particle attaches to a verb to convey the sense of being limited in degree or extent (equivalent in usage to adverbs 'just', 'only')

zāngyeún *subd* barely နိုင်ရုံ

-zāngzeú *aux* particle attaches to verbs to convey the notion of unwillingness. ကိုယ်မလုပ်စေချင်သည့်အရာကို ကြည့်ပြောခဲ့တာ ကို ဆိုလိုသည်။

zánhà *n* bitter gourd ကြက်ဟင်းခါးသီး

záp *v* sieve rice ဆန်ပြာ

zāp$_1$ *v* stand ရပ်

zāp$_2$ *v* stinging စပ် stinging as with wound. အနာစပ်ရာတွင်သာသုံးသည်။

zāpatí *n* sparrow စာကလေး

záq *v* begin စ <Bur.

zát$_1$ *v* upright ရပ်

zát$_2$ *locn* near စပ် <Bur.

zátcá *n* in between two time frames စပ်ကြား <Bur.

zátkhúqtékpáq *n* all knowing power စကျွသိပ <Bur.

zātnīng *n* the year after next နောက်တစ်နှစ်

zaú *v* (of tooth) protruding (သွား)ခေါ

zaúhá *n* thorn ဆူး exclusively with tree's thorn. အပင်မှ ဆူးကိုသာ ဆိုသည်။

zāúk *n* book စာအုပ် <Bur.

zaūk$_1$ *v* pour လောင်း

zaūk$_2$ *locn* on top အပေါ်

zaūk$_3$ *v* long and tall ရှည်၊မြင့်သည်။

zaúkkaīngkaíng *n* armpit ကျိုင်း

zaúkkalaìng *v* stack up ဆင့် as in sieving husked rice စပါးတစောင်းဆင့်ရာတွင်သာသုံးသည်။

zaùkleú *n* small basket လက်ကိုင်တောင်းလေး

zaúkzá *v* wait စောင့်စား <Bur.

zaún *v* follow after someone လိုက် <Shan

zaúng$_1$ *n* honorific term for supernatural beings အရှင်၊ဘုရား

zaúng$_2$ *v* wait စောင့် <Bur.

zaúng$_3$ *v* early စော

zaūng *n* blanket စောင် <Bur.

zaúngshī *adv* early ခပ်စောစော

zaūngwaí *n* rattan ကြိမ်လုံး

zaúpaúmaí *n* man's name စောပေါမို့ငိုး

zaūpwá *n* Shan chief စော်ဘွား <Bur.

zaúshòk *n* rice ဆန်

zaút *v* be sprout အညွန့်ထွက်

zayà *n* some တစ်ချို့

zé *n* market ဈေး <Bur.

zē *part* jussive marker ဧ <Bur.

zék *n* measurement စိတ် <Bur.

zèk *v* bite ကိုက်

zèksalá *n* witch စုန်း

zēng *v* soak စိမ် <Bur.

zēngkhaū *v* challenge စိန်ခေါ်

zéq *v* completed ဧ့ <Bur.

zētanā *n* charity ဧတနာ

zeū *v* easy လွယ်

zeú$_2$ *part* might ခဲ့ same with zángzeù

zeù taleúqsà *adv* easily လွယ်လွယ်လေး

zeùnzaleú *n* carambola ဧောင်းလျားသီး

zeùt *v* cut superficially ရှ

zí$_1$ *v* finish ပြီး

zí$_2$ *v* ride စီး <Bur.

zí$_3$ *n* plum ဇီး <Bur.

zí$_4$ *n* border စည်း <Bur.

zī$_1$ *n* drum စည် <Bur.

zī$_2$ *v* chop or break into many pieces ပေါက်၊ ပေါက်ခြမ်း as in chopping into many pieces အချက်အရည် အများကြီး ပေါက်ထားခြင်းကို ခေါ်သည်။

zī$_3$ *v* smile ပြုံး

zī$_4$ *part* each စီ <Bur.

=zík *part* clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate finality. တော့

zīká *v* busy စည်ကား <Bur.

zíkán *n* discipline စည်းကမ်း <Bur.

zíkóng *n* place's name ဇီးကုန်း

zílóng *v* unit စည်းလုံး <Bur.

zīmān *v* plan စီမံ <Bur.

zíng *part* verbal particle attaches to a verb denoting effectuation and jussive.

zīng *v* ask မေးတောင်း

zīngkalíng *v* skinny ပိန်ချုံး

zīngkweúlák *n* pangolin သင်းခွေချပ်

zíngyōk *v* order ခိုင်းစား

zīngyū *v* ask မေးကြည့်

zíngzíngpaúktà *n* magpie robin သပိတ်လွယ်ငှက်

zīngzúksá *n* dragonfly ပုဇွန်း

zìnpúk *n* bush ချုံပုတ်

-zíp *aux* particle attaches to verbs to convey the notion of always and as usual. အမြဲ

zípīn *n* plum tree ဇီးပင် <Bur.

zísín *v* flow စီးဆင်း <Bur.

zít$_1$ *v* urinate သေးပေါက်

zít$_2$ *v* few နည်း

zīt *v* sieve စစ် <Bur.

zītalóng *n* place's name စည်သလုံး

zítná *quant* few နဲနဲ

zítsáq *adv* little or few နဲနဲ

zítweú *n* urine ဆီး

zíyeū$_1$ *n* carts and vehicles စီးရေ <Bur.

zíyeū$_2$ *adv* ?? ပြတ်ခါနီးနီး သရေကွင်းနှင့်သာ သုံးသည်။

zīzák kānzák *adv* impediment အထစ်အငေါ့

zīzák zīzák *adv* cut or grow repeatedly အထပ်ထပ်ပေါက် grow or cut something so tightly အထပ်ထပ်ပေါက်ရောက်သည်။

zīzú *n* spider ပင့်ကူ edible စားလို့ရသည်။

zīzúpalōk *n* spider web ပင့်ကူအိမ်

zōk *v* transplant စိုက် exclusively with planting trees အပင်ကို စိုက်ရာတွင်သာ သုံးသည်။

zōkkántàk *n* taro ပိန်းချို

zōkshī *n* breast နို့

zón *v* leak ယို

zón *part* continue ဆက် used only with negated verb အငြင်း ဝါကျတွင်သာ သုံးသည်။

zòp *v* join ဆက်

zōp *v* test မြည်းတို့

zōpyū *v* taste မြည်းကြည့်

zōtzīn *v* do something inadvertently ဆတ်ဆော့

zú *v* chain or to thread

zū *v* burn မွေးထည့် exclusively with firewood ထင်းမီးထည့်ရာတွင်သာ သုံးသည်။

zūn *n* salt ဆား

zūng *v* complete စုံ <Bur.

zūngtalīn *v* complete စုံလင် <Bur.

zúnqceú *v* offer away စွန့်ကြဲ <Bur.

zúnqpyít *v* throw away စွန့်ပစ် <Bur.

zúp *v* suck စုပ်

zūpyā *n* tree မအူလက်ပန်း

zúq$_1$ *v* accumulate or gather စု <Bur.

zúq$_2$ *clf* classifier for counting clusters or groups အဖွဲ့၊ အစု <Bur.

zúqzí *v* compile စုစည်း <Bur.

zút$_1$ *v* wet စို

zút$_2$ *v* put on စွပ် <Bur.

zweú *n* scale ပိသာ

Appendix B: Interlinearised Kadu texts

Table 31 provides all the interlinearised texts from which I extracted the examples in this thesis. It contains 32 texts labelled simply as text 01, 02, etc... in my corpus. The first three texts are not natural texts; they are, rather, grammatical questionnaires. These were gathered in my initial stage of research in order to understand the grammatical patterns of the Kadu language as quickly as possible. All other texts are recorded in language natural settings.

Text No.	Speaker	Title	Time
Text 01	Ne Tha lung	Grammtical questionnaire 1	41:50
Text 02	Aung Than Nwe	Grammtical questionnaire 2	52:22
Text 03	Aung Than Nwe	Grammtical questionnaire 3	29:05
Text 04	Pa Maung	Kadu migration story part one	06:14
Text 05	Shwe Maung	Kadu migration story part two	03:47
Text 06	Shwe Maung	The king and the lizard	03:46
Text 07	Shwe Maung	The powerful Kadu drum	15:15
Text 08	Shwe Maung	Story of the lazy Euham	15:26
Text 09	Aye Aung	A tiger and a rabbit	08:05
Text 10	Aye Aung	The origin of Kadu	09:28
Text 11	Aye Aung	Marriage customs	05:24
Text 12	Thin Maung	A story about four brothers	09:27
Text 13	Thin Maung	The unthankful prince	09:20
Text 14	Pa Thin	Kadu song	00:38
Text 15	Ma La Seing & Ma Nai	The jealous brother	39:42
Text 16	Ma La Seing	The two brothers	03:29
Text 17	Win Naing	My family	11:27
Text 18	Shwe Maung	Hunting a tiger	16:59
Text 19	Maung Maung	an Owl story	01:24
Text 20	Kyaw Ze Yah	How Kadu reached to a Palace	02:03

Text 21	Khin Yi	How to make wild yam food	02:30
Text 22	Khin Yi	How to make food form yam tuber	01:31
Text 23	Tin Sein	A daughter who wanted a husband	11:04
Text 24	Tin Sein	The three sisters	04:06
Text 25	Lah Sein	Mr. Maung Nyan	15:57
Text 26	Khi Yi	The nun who wanted to eat fish	02:59
Text 27	Htun Lah	The life of a hunter	04:02
Text 28	Htun Lah	How to clear a field	04:59
Text 29	Htun Lah	How to trap animals	03:30
Text 30	Khin Yi	How to make rice noodles	07:59
Text 31	Khin Yi	How to make rice cake	07:17
Text 32	Nin Zuh Khai	How to do rice planting	09:57

Table 31: List of recorded Kadu texts

Out of 32 texts, I have presented five texts of different genres. The first two texts are traditional fictional stories ‘a tiger and a rabbit’ and ‘a jealous king’, respectively. The two texts that follow are narrations of actual life experiences. One of them talks about a family situation and the other talks about an experience of encountering a tiger. The last text is procedural narrative, telling us about how to make wild yam food. These texts are presented almost exactly the same as they were recorded. A few alterations made to these texts are the removal of hesitations and unnecessary noises. False starts and unnecessary repetitions are provided with { } brackets. All texts are glossed with English and Burmese. Burmese glosses are provided with the intention of making the data available to Burmese students of linguistics and Kadu younger generations who are being brought up learning to read and write Burmese. English free translation is also provided.

Text09: ‘A tiger and a rabbit’

1. *maeútóngták maléq òkthaúng athaúngtàk heúpeúpínnáq pūngpyīnká yàk aswē hāhángyeúnnaà heúkāàngkákmā.*

maeúeútóng	=ták	maléq	òkthaúng	athaúng	-tàk	òk	tóng	-tàk
long.long.ago	=HS	1PL	father-in-law	mother-in-law	-PL	grandfather	big	-PL
ရှေးရှေးတုန်း	တဲ့	တို့	ယောကျ္ဘထီး	ယောကျ္ဘမ	တို့	အဖိုး	ကြီး	တို့

heú	peú	=panáq	pōngpyīn	=ká	yàk	aswē	hàháng	=yeún	=naà
tell	keep	=NOM	story	=TOP	now	friend	Kachin	=BEN	=only
ပြောပြ	ထား	တဲ့၊တာ	ပုံပြင်	ကၤတော့၊တာ	အခု	အဆွေ	ကချင်	အတွက်	မှ

heú	kā	-àng	-kák	=mā	.
tell	show	-DIR1	-want	=RLS	
ပြောပြ	ပြ	လိုက်	ချင်	တယ်	

‘I want to tell a story that our parents (Lit. father-in-laws and mother-in-laws) told us long ago, to a Kachin friend.’

2. *nga heúkāàngkūpanáqká kasàtóngyaúk paíngtaí aswētangeūchín thàcípanáq ngaúkà nímcímaták.*

ngā	heú	kā	-àng	=kū	=panáq	=ká	kasà	tóng	=yaúk	pángtaí
1SG	tell	show	-DIR1	=IRLS	=NOM	=TOP	tiger	big	=COM	rabbit
ငါ	ပြောပြ	ပြ	လိုက်	မယ်	တဲ့၊တာ	ကၤတော့၊တာ	ကျား	ကြီး	နဲ့	ယုန်

aswē	tangeūchín	thà	-cí	=panáq	ngaúkà	ním	-cí	=mā	=ták .
friend	friend	be	-PL	=NOM	as.for	stay	-PL	=RLS	=HS
အဆွေ	သူငယ်ချင်း	ဖြစ်	ကြ	တဲ့၊တာ	ဆိုရင်	နေ	ကြ	တယ်	တဲ့

‘The story I will tell is about a friendship between a tiger and a rabbit. (They) lived (together), it is said.’

3. *àngnīngyeùzáng nímcíká paíngtaí ngaúkà zàkmaták.*

àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	tanéq tanaík	ním	-cí	=ká	pángtaí	ngaúkà	zàk	=mā	=ták .
that	=manner	=EMPH	at.one.time	stay	-PL	=TOP	rabbit	as.for	afraid	=RLS	=HS
အဲဒီ	လိုၤသလို	ပဲလှ	တစ်နေ့ တစ်၌	နေ	ကြ	ကၤတော့	ယုန်	ဆိုရင်	ကြောက်	တယ်	တဲ့

‘Living like that, the rabbit was/became afraid, it is said.’

4. *kasàtóngtè zàkmaták.*

kasà	tóng	=tè	zàk	=mā	=ták .
tiger	big	=A.AG	afraid	=RLS	=HS
ကျား	ကြီး	ကို	ကြောက်	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(The rabbit was) afraid of the tiger, it is said.’

5. *màknà zàknà {màknà zàknà} zákmatákseùé.*

màk	=ná	zàk	=ná	màk	=ná	zàk	=ná
be.a.long.time	=COMPR	afraid	=COMPR	be.a.long.time	=COMPR	afraid	=COMPR
ကြာ	လေ	ကြောက်	လေ	ကြာ	လေ	ကြောက်	လေ

zák	=mā	=ták	=seùé	.
catch	=RLS	=HS	=SAP	
ညှို	တယ်	တဲ့	လေ	

'The longer it lasted the more afraid the rabbit became, it is said.'

6. *zàkpánkaú àngnīngyeùzáng paíngtaíká manīngyeù cānphāntalá ngaúkaú īpcímátè wānsútpán kátpeúyàngkūpanáqtè hīngká cānphāntaúnímmā seùé*

zàk	=pánkaú	àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	pángtaí	=ká	mà	=nīngyeù		
afraid	=as.it.is.the.case	that	=manner	=EMPH	rabbit	=TOP	WH	=manner		
ကြောက်	ရင်တော့	အဲဒီ	လိုသလို	ပဲလှ	ယုန်	က	ဘာဘယ်	လိုသလို		
cānphān	-ta	=lá	ngaú	=kaú	īp	-cí	mà	=tè	wān	sút	=pán
plan	L.SUFF	=Q	say	=TOP	sleep	-PL	time	=A.AG	fire	start.fire	=COS
ကြံဖန်	—	လဲလား	ဆိုပြော	တော့	အိပ်	ကြ	အချိန်	ကို	မီး	ရှို့	ပြီးပြီး

kát	peú	-àng	=kū	=panáq	=tè	hīng	=ká
run	keep	-DIR1	=IRLS	=NOM	=A.AG	3SG	=TOP
ပြေး	ထား	လိုက်	မယ်	တဲ့တာ	ကို	သူ	ကတော့တာ

cānphān	-ta	ním	=mā	=seùé
plan	L.SUFF	stay	=RLS	=SAP
ကြံဖန်	—	နေ	တယ်	လေ

'As it happened, the rabbit planned to burn (the tiger) and run away when he was asleep.'

7. *anáqtè manīngyeù ōmàngthàkūzányeù.*

anáq	=tè	mà	=nīngyeù	ōm	-àng	-thà	=kū	zán	=yeù .
this	=A.AG	WH	=manner	make	-DIR1	-must	=IRLS	=Q	=SAP
ဒီ	ကို	ဘာဘယ်	လိုသလို	လုပ်	လိုက်	ရ	မယ်	လဲ	လို့

"How should I do this?"

8. *àngnīngyeùzáng aswē paíngtaí ngaúkà àngpanáq kasàtèá wānsútpán kátpeúyàngkūpanáq hīng īppátnímmátè.*

àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	aswē	pángtaí	ngaúkà	àng	=panáq	kasà	=tè
that	=manner	=EMPH	friend	rabbit	as.for	that	=NOM	tiger	=A.AG
အဲဒီ	လိုသလို	ပဲလှ	အဆွေ	ယုန်	ဆိုရင်	အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	ကျား	ကို

wān	sút	=pán	kát	peú	-àng	=kū	=panáq	hīng	īppát	ním	mà	=tè	.
fire	start.fire	=COS	run	keep	-DIR1	=IRLS	=NOM	3SG	asleep	stay	time	=A.AG	
မီး	ရှို့	ပြီးပြီး	ပြေး	ထား	လိုက်	မယ်	တဲ့ဟာ	သူ	အိပ်ပျော်	နေ	အချိန်	ကို	

'Like that, the rabbit (made a plan) to burn the tiger and run away while (the tiger) was asleep.'

9. *kasàtàkká nākceūtè hāmaták léq òktàk heúpeúmā léq ataūtàk heúpeúmā.*

kasà	-tàk	=ká	nākceū	=tè	hā	=mā	=ták	maléq	òk	-tàk
tiger	-PL	=TOP	night	=A.AG	walk	=RLS	=HS	1PL	grandfather	-PL
ကျား	တို့	ကဖတော့ဟာ	ည	ကို	သွား	တယ်	တဲ့	တို့	အဖိုး	တို့

heú	peú	=mā	maléq	ataū	-tàk	heú	peú	=mā	.
tell	keep	=RLS	1PL	grandmother	-PL	tell	keep	=RLS	
ပြောပြ	ထား	တယ်	တို့	အဖွား	တို့	ပြောပြ	ထား	တယ်	

'Our forefatherss (Lit. grandfather and grandmother) told us that the tiger went out during the night.'

10. *achī chīmā aheúyákhà àngpanáq pūngpyīntalé.*

a=	chī	chī	=mā	a=	heú	-à	-hà	=á	àng	=panáq
NEG=	true	true	=RLS	NEG=	tell	-EUPH	-know.how	=NEG	that	=NOM
မ	ဟုတ်	ဟုတ်	တယ်	မ	ပြောပြ	ချေ	တတ်	ဘူး	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ

pōngpyīn	=talé
story	=SAP
ပုံပြင်	တယ်လေး

'(I) am not certain whether it is true or not, it's just a story.'

11. *àngnīngzáng nahūtèká kasàtàkká īpmā.*

àng	=nīng	=záng	nahū	=tè	=ká	kasà	-tàk	=ká	īp	=mā	.
that	=manner	=EMPH	midday	=A.AG	=TOP	tiger	-PL	=TOP	sleep	=RLS	
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	နေ့လည်	ကို	ကဖတော့ဟာ	ကျား	တို့	ကဖတော့ဟာ	အိပ်	တယ်	

'Like that, the tiger slept during the day.'

12. *nahūtè īpmátè satēngkāntóngpéq īpcímaták.*

nahū	=tè	īp	mà	=tè	satēng	kān	tóng	=pè	īp	-cí	=mā	=ták	.
midday	=A.AG	sleep	time	=A.AG	thatch	CLT.field	big	=LOC	sleep	-PL	=RLS	=HS	
နေ့လည်	ကို	အိပ်	အချိန်	ကို	သက်ငယ်	ခင်း	ကြီး	မှာ	အိပ်	ကြ	တယ်	တဲ့	

'When (they) slept in the daytime, (they) slept in a thatch field, it is said.'

13. *satēngkāntóngpè īpcíká àngnīngyeùzáng paíngtaí ngaúkà mīnyeúìngkà haíkmākà acān lūpánták hīngká*

satēng	kān	tóng	=pè	īp	-cí	=ká	àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	pángtaí
thatch	CLT.field	big	=LOC	sleep	-PL	=TOP	that	=manner	=EMPH	rabbit
သက်ငယ်	ခင်း	ကြီး	မှာ	အိပ်	ကြ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အဲဒီ	လိုၤသလို	ပဲၤလှ	ယုန်

ngaúkà	mīn	yeú	-ìng	=ká	haíkmākà	acān	lū	=pán	=ták
as.for	awake	get.up	-DIR2	=TOP	as.for.that.time	plan	get	=COS	=HS
ဆိုရင်	နိုး	ထ	ခဲ့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ဒီအခါမှာ	အကြံ	ရ	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

hīng	=ká
3SG	=TOP
သူ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ

'As (they) slept in the thatch field, like that, the rabbit woke up, and (it) got an idea, it is said.'

14. *"ā ngáq acān anáqpè taúktamanaíktá hīngtè yàkká".*

ā	ngā	acān	anáq	=pè	taúk	-ta	=mā	=naík	=tá	hīng	=tè
oh	1SG	plan	this	=LOC	do/hit	L.SUFF	=RLS	=only	=EMPH	3SG	=A.AG
အာ	ငါ	အကြံ	ဒီ	မှာ	တွယ်ပစ်	—	တယ်	မှၤပဲၤသမျှ	ပဲ	သူ	ကို

yàk	=ká	.
now	=TOP	
အခု	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	

"Now, I will act out my plan on the tiger."

15. *haíkmākà wānsútpán kátpeúyàngmaták kasàtèá.*

haíkmākà	wān	sút	=pán	kát	peú	-àng	=mā	=ták	kasà	=tè	.
as.for.that.time	fire	start.fire	=COS	run	keep	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS	tiger	=A.AG	
ဒီအခါမှာ	မီး	ရှို့	ပြီးပြီး	ပြေး	ထား	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့	ကျား	ကို	

'That time, (the rabbit) burned the tiger and ran away, it is said.'

16. *amākà kasàká wānhūàngmaták.*

amākà	kasà	=ká	wān	hū	-àng	=mā	=ták
that.time	tiger	=TOP	fire	burn	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS
ဒီအခါမှာ	ကျား	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	မီး	လောင်	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့

'That time, the tiger got burnt, it is said.'

17. *kasà wānhūàngká kasà ngaúkà tínhaútpánták.*

kasà	wān	hū	-àng	=ká	kasà	ngaúkà	tínhaút	=pán	=ták
tiger	fire	burn	-DIR1	=TOP	tiger	as.for	angry	=COS	=HS
ကျား	မီး	လောင်	လိုက်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ကျား	ဆိုရင်	စိတ်ဆိုး	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

'Having gotten burnt, the tiger got angry, it is said.'

18. *haíkmākà paíngtaítè zaúntapánták.*

haíkmākà	páng.taí	=tè	zaún	-ta	=pán	=ták .
as.for.that.time	rabbit	=A.AG	follow.after	L.SUFF	=COS	=HS
ဒီအခါမှာ	ယုန်	ကို	လိုက်	—	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

'Then (the tiger) ran after the rabbit, it is said.'

19. *kasà ngaúkà wānhūhalák thààngmaták.*

kasà	ngaúkà	wān	hū	-halák	thà	-àng	=mā	=ták .
tiger	as.for	fire	burn	-roughly	be	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS
ကျား	ဆိုရင်	မီး	လောင်	တစ်ဝက်တစ်ပျက်	ဖြစ်	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့

'The tiger got burnt slightly, it is said.'

20. *wānhūhalák thààngká àngpè kasà ngaúkà shíyeúpánnaà zaúntapánták.*

wān	hū	-halák	thà	-àng	=ká	àng	=pè	kasà	ngaúkà
fire	burn	-roughly	be	-DIR1	=TOP	that	=LOC	tiger	as.for
မီး	လောင်	တစ်ဝက်တစ်ပျက်	ဖြစ်	လိုက်	က၊တော့၊တာ	အဲဒီ	မှာ	ကျား	ဆိုရင်

shīyeú	=pán	=naà	zaún	-ta	=pán	=ták .
angry	=COS	=only	follow.after	L.SUFF	=COS	=HS
စိတ်ဆိုး	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	လိုက်	—	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

'When he (got) burnt, the tiger got angry and ran after the rabbit, it is said.'

21. *zaúntaūká àngnīngyeùzáng mahángpè úng taká wānhūhalákpè teúpán nímhángpánták.*

zaún	-ta	=ká	àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	maháng	=pè	úng	taká
follow.after	L.SUFF	=TOP	that	=manner	=EMPH	that.thing	=LOC	that	bridge
လိုက်	—	က၊တော့၊တာ	အဲဒီ	လို၊သလို	ပဲ၊လှ	ဟိုဟာ	မှာ	ဟို	တံတား

wān	hū	-halák	=pè	teú	=pán	ním	-háng	=pán	=ták .
fire	burn	-roughly	=LOC	wait	=COS	stay	-back	=COS	=HS
မီး	လောင်	တစ်ဝက်တစ်ပျက်	မှာ	စောင့်	ပြီးပြီး	နေ	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

'While being chased like that, (the rabbit) stopped and waited for the tiger at the bridge (which was slightly/roughly burned), it is said.'

22. *maléq òktàk heúpeúmā.*

maléq	òk	-tàk	heú	peú	=mā
1PL	grandfather	-PL	tell	keep	=RLS
တို့	အဖိုး	တို့	ပြောပြ	ထား	တယ်

'Our forefathers told (us this).'

23. *aswē hāhán yaà nāngyeún heúyàngkū.*

aswē	hàháng	yaà	nāng	=yeún	heú	-àng	=kū	.
friend	Kachin	now	2SG	=BEN	tell	-DIR1	=IRLS	
အဆွေ	ကချင်	အခု	ခင်ဗျား	အတွက်	ပြောပြ	လိုက်	မယ်	

'My friend Kachin, now (I) will tell (it) to you.'

24. *àngnīngzáng takákánpè teúpán nímká kasà zaúnìngkà kasà ngaúkà cūngtahángzángpínták.*

àng	=nīng	=záng	taká	kán	=pè	teú	=pán	ním	=ká	kasà
that	=manner	=EMPH	bridge	bad	=LOC	wait	=COS	stay	=TOP	tiger
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	တံတား	ဆိုး	မှာ	စောင့်	ပြီးပြီး	နေ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ကျား

zaún	-ìng	=ká	kasà	ngaúkà	cūng	-ta	-háng	=záng	=pán	=ták .
follow.after	-DIR2	=TOP	tiger	as.for	meet	L.SUFF	-back	=EMPH	=COS	=HS
လိုက်	ခဲ့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ကျား	ဆိုရင်	ကြုံ	—	ပြန်	ပဲလှ	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

'Having waited at the broken bridge, when the tiger arrived they met again, it is said.'

25. *"ateú nāng ngātè wānsútpán līpeúká ngaúkà nāng ngaúkà lāppán yàkká."*

ateú	nāng	ngā	=tè	wān	sút	=pán	lī	peú	=ká	ngaúkà	nāng	ngaúkà
oh!.you	2SG	1SG	=A.AG	fire	start.fire	=COS	come	keep	=TOP	as.for	2SG	as.for
အသင်	ခင်ဗျား	ငါ	ကို	မီး	ရှို့	ပြီးပြီး	လာ	ထား	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ဆိုရင်	ခင်ဗျား	ဆိုရင်

lāp	=pán	yàk	=ká	.
catch	=COS	now	=TOP	
မိ	ပြီးပြီး	အခု	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	

"Alas! As you burnt me and came here, now (I) I caught you."

26. *"nāngtè ngā yōkkū."*

nāng	=tè	ngā	yōk	=kū	.
2SG	=A.AG	1SG	eat	=IRLS	
ခင်ဗျား	ကို	ငါ	စား	မယ်	

"I will eat you."

27. *àngnaíkmà ngaúkà paíngtaí ngaúkà zàkhángpángták.*

àng	=naík	mà	ngaúkà	pángtaí	ngaúkà	zàk	-háng	=páng	=ták .
that	=only	time	as.for	rabbit	as.for	afraid	-back	=DIR1:COS	=HS
အဲဒီ	မှၤပဲသမျှ	အချိန်	ဆိုရင်	ယုန်	ဆိုရင်	ကြောက်	ပြန်	လိုက်ပြီ	တဲ့

'Then, the rabbit became afraid again, it is said.'

28. *zàkhángàngkà “ā mànīng leīngtahángtháqkūzán ngākà hīngtèkáyeù”.*

zàk	-háng	-àng	=ká	ā	mà	=nīng						
afraid	-back	-DIR1	=TOP	oh	WH	=manner						
ကြောက်	ပြန်	လိုက်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အာ	ဘာၤဘယ်	လို						
lēng	-ta	-háng	-thà	=kū	=zán	ngā	=ká	hīng	=tè	=ká	=yeù	.
lie	L.SUFF	-back	-must	=IRLS	=Q	1SG	=TOP	3SG	=A.AG	=TOP	=SAP	
လိမ်	—	ပြန်	ရ	မယ်	လဲ	ငါ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	သူ	ကို	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	လို့	

‘Becoming afraid again, (the rabbit thought), “Well, how should I trick him again?”’

29. *àngnīngyeùzáng àngpàpè tazáqzáq pīk taká eútnàngthāmpáqpè chíntàngmatákseùé.*

àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	àng	=pà	=pè	tazáqtazáq	àng	=pè	taká		
that	=manner	=EMPH	that	=ALL	=LOC	bit.by.bit	that	=LOC	bridge		
အဲဒီ	လိုၤသလို	ပဲလှ	အဲဒီ	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	တစစ	အဲဒီ	မှာ	တံတား		
eút	-àng	thām	=pà	=pè	chín	-ta	-àng	=mā	=ták	=seùé	.
drop	-DIR1	near	=ALL	=LOC	come.near	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS	=SAP	
ကျ	လိုက်	နီး	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	ချည်းကပ်	—	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့	လေ	

‘And then, (the rabbit) slowly came closer toward to the bridge that was about to fall, it is said.’

30. *chíntàngká àngnīngyeùzáng àngpè taká ātnímpàpè thōkàngmátè ngaúkà kasàyítá tazáqtazáq káttìngmā ngaúlakàé.*

chín	-ta	-àng	=ká	àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	àng	=pè	taká			
come.near	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=TOP	that	=manner	=EMPH	that	=LOC	bridge			
ချည်းကပ်	—	လိုက်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အဲဒီ	လိုၤသလို	ပဲလှ	အဲဒီ	မှာ	တံတား			
āt	ním	=pà	=pè	thōk	-àng	má	=tè	ngaúkà	kasà	=yí	=tá	
broken	stay	=ALL	=LOC	arrive	-DIR1	time	=A.AG	as.for	tiger	=also	=EMPH	
ကျိုး	နေ	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	ရောက်	လိုက်	အချိန်	ကို	ဆိုရင်	ကျား	လည်း	ပဲ	
tazáqtazáq	kát	-ta	-ìng	=mā	ngaú	=lakà	=é	.				
bit.by.bit	run	L.SUFF	-DIR2	=RLS	say	=MIR	=SAP					
တစစ	ပြေး	—	ခဲ့	တယ်	ဆိုၤပြော	တာကိုး	အေး					

‘As he got closer to the broken bridge, the tiger also came closer bit by bit, it is said.’

31. *àngnīngzáng káttaìngká kasà ngaúkà eúthángpángták àngpè.*

àng	=nīng	=záng	kát	-ta	-ìng	=ká	kasà	ngaúkà
that	=manner	=EMPH	come.close	L.SUFF	-DIR2	=TOP	tiger	as.for
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	ကပ်	—	ခဲ့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ကျား	ဆိုရင်

eút -háng =páng =ták àng =pè .
drop -back =DIR1:COS =HS that =LOC
ကျ ပြန် လိုက်ပြီ တဲ့ အဲဒီ မှာ
'When (it) came closer, the tiger fell down there, it is said.'

32. *eúthángká haíkmākà paíngtaí ngaúkà kátteúphángpángták.*

eút -háng =ká haíkmākà pángtaí ngaúkà kát teúp -háng =páng =ták .
drop -back =TOP as.for.that.time rabbit as.for run throw -back =DIR1:COS =HS
ကျ ပြန် ကၤတော့ၤတာ ဒီအခါမှာ ယုန် ဆိုရင် ပြေး ပစ် ပြန် လိုက်ပြီ တဲ့
'When (it) fell down that time, the rabbit ran away again, it is said.'

33. *á káthángpíng yàkká laúktahángpányeù.*

ā kát -háng =píng yàk =ká laúk -ta -háng =pán =yeù .
oh run -back =DIR2:COS now =TOP release L.SUFF -back =COS =SAP
အာ ပြေး ပြန် လာပြီ အခု ကၤတော့ၤတာ လွတ် — ပြန် ပြီးပြီး လို့
'Now, the rabbit ran (away) again, and escaped again.'

34. *ā līphángzík anáq kasà ngaúkàyeù zūn yahùngpè teúpán nímhángpánták*

ā lī -pháng =zík anáq kasà ngaúkà =yeù zūn yahùng =pè teú =pán
oh come -prior =finally this tiger as.for =SAP salt well =LOC wait =COS
အာ လာ နှင့် တော့ ဒီ ကျား ဆိုရင် လို့ ဆား ရေတွင်း မှာ စောင့် ပြီးပြီး
ním -háng =pán =ták
stay -back =COS =HS
နေ ပြန် ပြီးပြီး တဲ့
'(The rabbit said), "Let (the tiger) come" and he waited at the salt well, it is said.'

35. *zūn yahùngpè teúpán nímhākà àngnīngyeùzáng kasàyítá shīyeúpán yák pánnù ngāhángpán hīngyeù shíyeúpánnaà zaúntahángpángták.*

zūn yahùng =pè teú =pán ním hā =ká àng =nīngyeù =záng
salt well =LOC wait =COS stay walk =TOP that =manner =EMPH
ဆား ရေတွင်း မှာ စောင့် ပြီးပြီး နေ သွား ကၤတော့ၤတာ အဲဒီ လိုၤသလို ပဲၤလှ
kasà =yí =tá shīyeú =pán yàk pán nù ngā -háng =pán hīng =yeù
tiger =also =EMPH angry =COS now CLF.times one exist -back =COS 3SG =SAP
ကျား လည်း ပဲ စိတ်ဆိုး ပြီးပြီး အခု ကြိမ် တစ် ရှိ ပြန် ပြီးပြီး သူ လို့
shīyeú =pán =naà zaún -ta -háng =páng =ták .
angry =COS =only follow.after L.SUFF -back =DIR1:COS =HS
စိတ်ဆိုး ပြီးပြီး မှ လိုက် — ပြန် လိုက်ပြီ တဲ့
'While he waited at the salt well like that, the tiger got angry and (said) "He did (it) once again". (The tiger) got angry and followed (the rabbit), it is said.'

36. *aswē kachīn maléq òk heúpeúpínnáq pōng.*

aswē	kachīn	maléq	òk	heú	peú	=panáq	pōng	.
friend	Kachin	1PL	grandfather	tell	keep	=NOM	story	
အဆွေ	ကချင်	တို့	အဖိုး	ပြောပြ	ထား	တဲ့၊တာ	ပုံပြင်	

'(My) friend Kachin, (it is) the story our forefathers told (us).'

37. *eù mayūngyīn pōngpyīn mát yōngyīnleú pōngpáq.* (Burmese)

eù	mayūngyīn	pōngpyīn	mát	yōngyīnleú	pōng	=páq	.
yes!	no.believe.if	story	note	believe.if.also	story	=SAP	
အေး	မယုံရင်	ပုံပြင်	မှတ်	ယုံရင်လည်း	ပုံပြင်	ပါ့	

'If you don't believe it, take it as a story. Even if you believe it, it is (still) a story.'

38. *àngnīngyeùzáng zūn yahùngpè teúnímká lāpmákhángpángták.*

àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	zūn	yahùng	=pè	teú	ním	=ká
that	=manner	=EMPH	salt	well	=LOC	wait	stay	=TOP
အဲဒီ	လိုၤသလို	ပဲလှ	ဆား	ရေတွင်း	မှာ	စောင့်	နေ	ကၤတော့၊တာ

lāp	-à	-háng	=páng	=ták .
catch	-EUPH	-back	=DIR1:COS	=HS
မိ	ချေ	ပြန်	လိုက်ပြီ	တဲ့

'Like that, while (he) waited at the salt well, (the tiger) caught up to (the rabbit) again, it is said.'

39. *kasàyítá lāpmákhángàngká "á lāphángpíngtalé".*

kasà	=yí	=tá	lāp	-à	-háng	-àng	=ká	ā
tiger	=also	=EMPH	catch	-EUPH	-back	-DIR1	=TOP	oh
ကျား	လည်း	ပဲ	မိ	ချေ	ပြန်	လိုက်	ကၤတော့၊တာ	အော

lāp	-háng	=píng	=talé
catch	-back	=DIR2:COS	=SAP
မိ	ပြန်	လာပြီ	တယ်လေး

'When the tiger reached/caught (to the rabbit), "Well, I caught the rabbit again".'

40. *kasà wānhūhalák ngaúkà "lāphángpíngtáyeù".*

kasà	wān	hū	-halák	ngaúkà	lāp	-háng	=píng	=tá	=yeù	.
tiger	fire	burn	-roughly	as.for	catch	-back	=DIR2:COS	=EMPH	=SAP	
ကျား	မီး	လောင်	တစ်ဝက်တစ်ပျက်	ဆိုရင်	မိ	ပြန်	လာပြီ	ပဲ	လို့	

'The wounded tiger (said) "(I) now got you".'

41. *àngnīngzáng hīngyítá mànīngyeù acān thúkthàkūzányeù àngnīng acān thúktapántàk.*

àng	=nīng	=záng	hīng	=yí	=tá	mà	=nīngyeù	acān					
that	=manner	=EMPH	3SG	=also	=EMPH	WH	=manner	plan					
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	သူ	လည်း	ပဲ	ဘာဘယ်	လိုသလို	အကြံ					
thúk	-thà	=kū	zán	=yeù	àng	=nīng	acān	thúk	-ta	=pán	=ták		
take.out	-must	=IRLS	=Q	=SAP	that	=manner	plan	take.out	L.SUFF	=COS	=HS		
ထုတ်	ရ	မယ်	လဲ	လို့လို့	အဲဒီ	လို	အကြံ	ထုတ်	—	ပြီပြီး	တဲ့		

'Like that, the rabbit, as well, (said) "how should I make another plan?". Thus he made another plan, it is said.'

42. *paíngtaí ngaúkà nyān ngāmā ngaúlakàé.*

pángtaí	ngaúkà	nyān	ngā	=mā	ngaú	=lakà	=é
rabbit	as.for	brain	exist	=RLS	say	=MIR	=SAP
ယုန်	ဆိုရင်	ဉာဏ်	ရှိ	တယ်	ဆို့ပြော	တာကိုး	အေး

'The rabbit is wise, it is said.' (Lit. The rabbit got a brain.)

43. *nyān ácí ngāmā ngaúlakà.*

nyān	ácí	ngā	=mā	ngaú	=lakà	.
brain	extremely	exist	=RLS	say	=MIR	
ဉာဏ်	အားကြီး	ရှိ	တယ်	ဆို့ပြော	တာကိုး	

'The rabbit is really wise.'

44. *àngnīngyeùzáng "taúk achīyá"*

àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	taúk	a=	chī	=á
that	=manner	=EMPH	ONMT	NEG=	true	=NEG
အဲဒီ	လိုသလို	ပဲလှ	တောက်	မ	ဟုတ်	ဘူး

'Like that, "Thauk (clicking sound)! It's not good."'

45. *hīngtèká panáq zūn yahùngpèà weúkúpánnàkà meúhàmā heúyàngmanaík hīngtè anyeù.*

hīng	=tè	=ká	=panáq	zūn	yahùng	=pè	weúkú	pánnàkà		
3SG	=A.AG	=TOP	=DEM	salt	well	=LOC	bathe	if		
သူ	ကို	ကဲ့တော့ဲတာ	ဪဒီ	ဆား	ရေတွင်း	မှာ	ရေချိုး	ရင်		
meú	-hà	=mā	heú	-àng	=manaík	hīng	=tè	an	=yeù	.
good	-know.how	=RLS	tell	-DIR1	=only.if	3SG	=A.AG	DEM	=manner	
ကောင်း	တတ်	တယ်	ပြောပြ	လိုက်	မှ	သူ	ကို	ဒီ	လို့လို့	

'(I) will tell him that (he) will recover if (he) takes a bath in this salt well.'

46. *zāppán shízàng thàmāyeù.*

zāp	=pán	shí	záng	=thāmā	=yeù	.
stinging	=COS	die	JUSS:DIR1	=HORT	=SAP	
စပ်	ပြီးပြီး	သေ	စေလိုက်	ရအောင်	လို့လို့	

"So that (the tiger) will get burned and die."

47. *àngnīngyeùzáng "ateú lāphángpán nāng ngātè saūngpán ngāpán nāng peúttaúkà".*

àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	ateú	lāp	-háng	=pán	nāng	ngā	=tè	saūng	pán
that	=manner	=EMPH	oh!.you	catch	-back	=COS	2SG	1SG	=A.AG	two	CLF.times
အဲဒီ	လို့သလို	ပဲလှ	အသင်	မိ	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	ခင်ဗျား	ငါ	ကို	နှစ်	ကြိမ်

ngā	=pán	nāng	peùt	-ta	=ká	.
exist	=COS	2SG	lie	L.SUFF	=TOP	
ရှိ	ပြီးပြီး	ခင်ဗျား	လိမ်	—	ကတော့တာ	

'Like that, "Alas! (I)'ve got you again, You tricked me two times".'

48. *"saūngpán ngāpán kalìngpán ngāpán."*

saūng	pán	ngā	=pán	kalìng	pán	ngā	=pán
two	CLF.times	exist	=COS	two	CLF.times	exist	=COS
နှစ်	ကြိမ်	ရှိ	ပြီးပြီး	နှစ်	ကြိမ်	ရှိ	ပြီးပြီး

"For the second time (you) tricked (me)."

49. *"kalìngpán ngaúpánkaú yák pánnùká nāngtè ínpeúyeūnpán."*

kalìng	pán	ngaú	=pánkaú	yàk	pán	nù	=ká	nāng	=tè
two	CLF.times	say	=as.it.is.the.case	now	CLF.times	one	=TOP	2SG	=A.AG
နှစ်	ကြိမ်	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	အခု	ကြိမ်	တစ်	ကတော့တာ	ခင်ဗျား	ကို

ín=	peú	-yeūn	=pán	.
NEG=	keep	-can	=COS	
မ	ထား	နိုင်	ပြီးပြီး	

'"Having (tricked me) two times, this time, I can't let you go".'

50. *ínpeúyeūnpán ngaúpánkaú àngnīngzáng àngpè zūn yahùnghaík "ínyōkkaìshók aswē kasàyeù".*

ín=	peú	-yeūn	=pán	ngaú	=pánkaú	àng	=nīng	=záng	àng	=pè	zūn	
NEG=	keep	-can	=COS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	that	=manner	=EMPH	that	=LOC	salt	
မ	ထား	နိုင်	ပြီးပြီး	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	အဲဒီ	မှာ	ဆား	

yahùng	=haík	ín=	yōk	kā	-ìng	=shók	aswē	kasà	=yeù .
well	=ABL	NEG=	eat	show	-DIR2	=NEG.IMP-INTRUSIVE	friend	tiger	=SAP
ရေတွင်း	ကမှ	မ	စား	ပြ	ခဲ့	နဲ့အုံး	အဆွေ	ကျား	လို့လို့

'Having not let (the rabbit) go, like that, (the rabbit) from the salt well (said) "My friend tiger, don't eat me yet".'

51. *“nāngyaúk ngayaúk ngaúkà satēngkānpè nímcímàhayaúk mékswē thàcímā.”*

nāng	=yaúk	ngā	=yaúk	ngaúkà	satēng	kān	=pè	ním	-cí	mà	=hayaúk
2SG	=COM	1SG	=COM	as.for	thatch	CLT.field	=LOC	stay	-PL	time	=since
ခင်ဗျား	နဲ့	ငါ	နဲ့	ဆိုရင်	သက်ငယ်	ခင်း	မှာ	နေ	ကြ	အချိန်	ကတည်းက

mékswē	thà	-cí	=mā	.
friend	be	-PL	=RLS	
မိတ်ဆွေ	ဖြစ်	ကြ	တယ်	

“You and I have been friends since we lived in the thatch field.”

52. *“ngāká zōtzīnpánnáqà sútzàk ngāàngmáq nāngtèyeù.”*

ngā	=ká	zōtzīn	=pán	=naà	sút	=zàk	ngā	-àng	=mā
1SG	=TOP	do.inadvertently	=COS	=only	start.fire	=while	exist	-DIR1	=RLS
ငါ	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	ဆတ်ဆော့	ပြီၠပြီး	မှ	ရှို့	တုန်းလျက်	ရှိ	လိုက်	တယ်

nāng	=tè	=yeù	.
go	=A.AG	=SAP	
သွား	ကို	လိုၠလို့	

“It inadvertently caught fire and you got burned.”

53. *“zōtzīnpán sútzàk ngāpánlakaù.”*

zōtzīn	=pán	sút	=zàk	ngā	=pán	=lakaú
do.inadvertently	=COS	start.fire	=while	exist	=COS	=MIR
ဆတ်ဆော့	ပြီၠပြီး	ရှို့	တုန်းလျက်	ရှိ	ပြီၠပြီး	ကိုးတာကိုး

“I inadvertently burned you.”

54. *“àngpè nāng wānhūàngmā atínhaútnàngsà.”*

àng	=pè	nāng	wān	hū	-àng	=mā	a=	tínhaút	-àng	=sà	.
that	=LOC	2SG	fire	burn	-DIR1	=RLS	NEG=	angry	-DIR1	=NEG.IMP	
အဲဒီ	မှာ	ခင်ဗျား	မီး	လောင်	လိုက်	တယ်	မ	စိတ်ဆိုး	လိုက်	နဲ့	

“You got burned there. Don't get angry.”

55. *“yákyítá nāngtè meúhángzángkákmā ngākáyeù.”*

yàk	=yí	=tá	nāng	=tè	meú	-háng	=záng	-kák	=mā
now	=also	=EMPH	2SG	=A.AG	good	-back	=EMPH	-want	=RLS
အခု	လည်း	ပဲ	ခင်ဗျား	ကို	ကောင်း	ပြန်	ပဲလှ	ချင်	တယ်

ngā	=ká	=yeù	.
1SG	=TOP	=SAP	
ငါ	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	လိုၠလို့	

“Even now, I want you to recover/get well.”

56. *“nāng yàkká wānhūhalákpanáq meúzàngkákpánnàkà anáq zūn yahùngpè kúpánnàkà meúkūták.”*

nāng	yàk	=ká	wān	hū	-halák	=panáq
2SG	now	=TOP	fire	burn	-roughly	=NOM
ခင်ဗျား	အခု	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	မီး	လောင်	တစ်ဝက်တစ်ပျက်	တဲ့ၠတာ

meú	záng	-kák	pánnàkà	anáq	zūn	yahùng	=pè	kú	pánnàkà
good	JUSS:DIR1	-want	if	this	salt	well	=LOC	bath	if
ကောင်း	စေလိုက်	ချင်	ရင်	ဒီ	ဆား	ရေတွင်း	မှာ	ချိုး	ရင်

meú	=kū	=ták .
good	=IRLS	=HS
ကောင်း	မယ်	တဲ့

“If you want to heal your (wound).., if you take a bath in this salt well, (you) will recover, it is said.”

57. *“é àngpè zūn yahùngpè nāngzeútá kúwàng.”*

é	àng	=pè	zūn	yahùng	=pè	nāng	=nāngzeù	=tá	kú	-àng .
yes	that	=LOC	salt	well	=LOC	go	=only/merely	=EMPH	bath	-DIR1
အေး	အဲဒီ	မှာ	ဆား	ရေတွင်း	မှာ	သွား	မှၠသာ	ပဲ	ချိုး	လိုက်

“Just go and bathe in that salt water.”

58. *“meúyàngkaláyeù” hīng zūn yahùng sátnàngmā weúkúàmátèà paíngtaíká káthángpángták.*

meú	-àng	=kū	=lá	=yeù	hīng	zūn	yahùng	sàt	-àng	=mā
good	-DIR1	IRLS	=Q	=SAP	3SG	salt	well	descend	-DIR1	=RLS
ကောင်း	လိုက်	မယ်	လဲၠလား	လို့ၠလို့	သူ	ဆား	ရေတွင်း	ဆင်း	လိုက်	တယ်

weúkú	-à	mà	=tè	pángtaí	=ká	kát	-háng	=páng	=ták .
bathe	-EUPH	time	=A.AG	rabbit	=TOP	run	-back	=DIR1:COS	=HS
ရေချိုး	ချေ	အချိန်	ကို	ယုန်	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	ပြေး	ပြန်	လိုက်ပြီ	တဲ့

‘(The tiger asked), “Will I recover?” and he went down into the salt well. While the tiger was taking a bath, the rabbit ran away again, it is said.’

59. *káthángàngká àngnīngyeùzáng mahángtóng úng thōkhángpángták haíkmā ngaúkà.*

kát	-háng	-àng	=ká	àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	maháng	tóng úng
run	-back	-DIR1	=TOP	that	=manner	=EMPH	that.thing	big that
ပြေး	ပြန်	လိုက်	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	အဲဒီ	လို့ၠသလို	ပဲၠလှ	ဟိုဟာ	ကြီး ဟို

thōk	-háng	=páng	=ták	haíkmà	ngaúkà .
arrive	-back	=DIR1:COS	=HS	that.time	as.for
ရောက်	ပြန်	လိုက်ပြီ	တဲ့	ဒီအခါမှာ	ဆိုရင်

‘When he ran away, like that, (the rabbit) found another place, it is said.’

60. *káthángàngká “ā panáq paíngtaí ngatè peúttaúlakàyeù.”*

kát	-háng	-àng	=ká	ā	panáq	pángtaí	ngā	=tè	peùt	-ta	=lakà	=yeù
run	-back	-DIR1	=TOP	oh	DEM	rabbit	1SG	=A.AG	lie	L.SUFF	=MIR	=SAP
ပြေး	ပြန်	လိုက်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အာ	ဒီ	ယုန်	ငါ	ကို	လိမ်	—	တာကိုး	လို့လို့

‘When he ran away, (the tiger said), “This rabbit lied to me”.’

61. *“sāmpán ngāpán hīng ngatè peúttaúkàyeù.”*

sām	pán	ngā	=pán	hīng	ngā	=tè	peùt	-ta	=ká	=yeù	.
three	CLF.times	exist	=COS	3SG	1SG	=A.AG	lie	L.SUFF	=TOP	=SAP	
သုံး	ကြိမ်	ရှိ	ပြီပြီး	သူ	ငါ	ကို	လိမ်	—	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	လို့လို့	

“The rabbit has lied to me three times.”

62. *“anyeùká achīyá yák pánnùká hīngtè yōkkūnaík yōkmātkūnaík ínthà hīngtè.”*

an	=yeù	=ká	a=	chī	=á	yàk	pán	nù	=ká	hīng	=tè
DEM	=manner	=TOP	NEG=	true	=NEG	now	CLF.times	one	=TOP	3SG	=A.AG
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	မ	ဟုတ်	ဘူး	အခု	ကြိမ်	တစ်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	သူ	ကို

yōk	=kū	=naík	yōk	-māt	=kū	=naík	ín=	thà	=á	hīng	=tè	.
eat	=IRLS	=only	eat	truly	=IRLS	=only	NEG=	be	=NEG	3SG	=A.AG	
စား	မယ်	မှၤပဲၤသမျှ	စား	အမှန်	မယ်	မှၤပဲၤသမျှ	မ	ဖြစ်	ဘူး	သူ	ကို	

‘“This is bad”. “(I) will eat him(the rabbit).”, “I will certainly eat him(the rabbit).” “I can’t help it”.’

63. *“tú yōngtaūká achīyá ácí peúttamā hīng.”*

tú	yōng	-ta	=ká	a=	chī	=á	ácí	peùt	-ta	=mā	hīng
language	trust	L.SUFF	=TOP	NEG=	true	=NEG	extremely	lie	L.SUFF	=RLS	3SG
စကား	ယုံ	—	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	မ	ဟုတ်	ဘူး	အားကြီး	လိမ်	—	တယ်	သူ

“(His) words can't be trusted.(The rabbit) lied so many times.”

64. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú kaphútóng ngaúkà khweūtaūpán nímkà ngāmataák.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	kaphú	tóng	ngaúkà	khweū	-ta	=pán
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	snake	big	as.for	coil	L.SUFF	=COS
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	မြွေ	ကြီး	ဆိုရင်	ခွေ	—	ပြီပြီး

ním	=ká	ngā	=mā	=ták	.
stay	=TOP	exist	=RLS	=HS	
နေ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ရှိ	တယ်	တဲ့	

‘Having said that, there was a snake coiling, it is said.’

65. *{thōkhángpánták} àngpè saúngtaúnímhángpánták paíngtaí ngaúkà haíkmā ngaúkà.*

{ thōk	-háng	=pán	=ták }	àng	=pè	saúng	-ta	ním	-háng	=pán	=ták
arrive	-back	=COS	=HS	that	=LOC	wait	L.SUFF	stay	-back	=COS	=HS
ရောက်	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	အဲဒီ	မှာ	စောင့်	—	နေ	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

pángtaí	ngaúkà	haíkmà	ngaúkà	.
rabbit	as.for	that.time	as.for	
ယုန်	ဆိုရင်	ဒီအခါမှာ	ဆိုရင်	

'{The tiger arrived} while the rabbit waited there, it is said.'

66. *anyeù ngaúpánnàkà àngpanáq zūn yahùngpè kúwàngpanáq ngaúkà {zāppánká} hīngká zāppánnaà àngnīngyeùzáng shíyeúpánnaà zaúntaháng pánták.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pán	=naà	àng	=panáq	zūn	yahùng	=pè
DEM	=manner	say	=COS	=only	that	=NOM	salt	well	=LOC
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	ဆား	ရေတွင်း	မှာ

kú	-àng	=panáq	ngaúkà	zāp	=pán	=ká	hīng	=ká
bath	-DIR1	=NOM	as.for	stinging	=COS	=TOP	3SG	=TOP
ချိုး	လိုက်	တဲ့တာ	ဆိုရင်	စပ်	ပြီးပြီး	ကဲတော့တာ	သူ	ကဲတော့တာ

zāp	=pán	=naà	àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	shīyeú	=pán	=naà
stinging	=COS	=only	that	=manner	=EMPH	angry	=COS	=only
စပ်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	အဲဒီ	လိုသလို	ပဲလှ	စိတ်ဆိုး	ပြီးပြီး	မှ

zaún	-ta	-háng	=pán	=ták .
follow.after	L.SUFF	-back	=COS	=HS
လိုက်	—	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

'If that is the case, (the tiger), having bathed in the salt well, got burned, got mad, and followed (the rabbit), it is said.'

67. *zaúntaúpánnaà haíkmākà àngnīngzáng hīng thóngnímpè kaphúyí khweūtaúnímmaták.*

zaún	-ta	=pán	=naà	haíkmākà	àng	=nīng	=záng	hīng
follow.after	L.SUFF	=COS	=only	as.for.that.time	that	=manner	=EMPH	3SG
လိုက်	—	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ဒီအခါမှာ	အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	သူ

thóng	ním	=pè	kaphú	=yí	khweū	-ta	ním	=mā	=ták .
sit	stay	=LOC	snake	=also	coil	L.SUFF	stay	=RLS	=HS
ထိုင်	နေ	မှာ	မြွေ	လည်း	ခွေ	—	နေ	တယ်	တဲ့

'The tiger followed the rabbit again but there was a snake coiling at the place where (the rabbit) was waiting, it is said.'

68. *nímpánkaú àngnīngzáng àngpanáq peùttahángkū acān ōmhángpánták.*

ním	=pánkaú	àng	=nīng	=záng	àng	=panáq	peùt	-ta	-háng	=kū	acān
stay	=as.it.is.the.case	that	=manner	=EMPH	that	=NOM	lie	L.SUFF	-back	=IRLS	plan
နေ	ရင်တော့	အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	လိမ်	—	ပြန်	မယ်	အကြံ

ōm	-háng	=pán	=ták .
make	-back	=COS	=HS
လုပ်	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

'Having stayed like that, the rabbit made a plan to trick (the tiger) again, it is said.'

69. *ā ngatè yōkkūnaíkták anáq achákkálakà.*

ā	ngā	=tè	yōk	=kū	=naík	=ták	anáq	achák	=ká	=lakà
oh	1SG	=A.AG	eat	=IRLS	=only	=HS	this	time	=TOP	=MIR
အာ	ငါ	ကို	စား	မယ်	မှပဲသမျှ	တဲ့	ဒီ	အချက်	ကတော့ဟာ	တာကိုး

"Well, this time, (the tiger) will eat me."

70. *"anáq achákká apeúyeūnpán" ngaúmāyeù.*

anáq	achák	=ká	a=	peú	-yeūn	=pán	ngaú	=mā	=yeù .
this	time	=TOP	NEG=	keep	-can	=COS	say	=RLS	=SAP
ဒီ	အချက်	ကတော့ဟာ	မ	ထား	နိုင်	ပြီးပြီး	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	လို့လို့

(The tiger) said "This time,(I) won't let him (get away)", it is said.'

71. *"yōkmātkūnaík ngatèyeù" acān thúktahángmanaík ngaká.*

yōk	-māt	=kū	=naík	ngā	=tè	=yeù	acān	thúk	-ta	-háng	=manaík
eat	truly	=IRLS	=only	1SG	=A.AG	=SAP	plan	take.out	L.SUFF	-back	=only.if
စား	အမှန်	မယ်	မှပဲသမျှ	ငါ	ကို	လို့လို့	အကြံ	ထုတ်	—	ပြန်	မှ

ngā	=ká
1SG	=TOP
ငါ	ကတော့ဟာ

'"(He) surely will eat me", The rabbit make a plan again.'

72. *acān thúktahángpánták haíkmākà.*

acān	thúk	-ta	-háng	=pán	=ták	haíkmākà	.
plan	take.out	L.SUFF	-back	=COS	=HS	as.for.that.time	
အကြံ	ထုတ်	—	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဒီအခါမှာ	

'Then (the rabbit) made a plan again, it is said.'

73. *acān thúktahángká àngnīngzáng “ā panáq kaphútèà ómzíngyōkàngmanaík hīngtè”.*

acān	thōk	-ta	-háng	=ká	àng	=nīng	=záng	ā	panáq	kaphú	=tè
plan	arrive	L.SUFF	-back	=TOP	that	=manner	=EMPH	oh	DEM	snake	=A.AG
အကြံ	ရောက်	—	ပြန်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလ့	အာ	ဒီ	မြွေ	ကို

óm	zíngyōk	-àng	=manaík	hīng	=tè
hold	order	-DIR1	=only.if	3SG	=A.AG
ကိုင်	ခိုင်းစား	လိုက်	မှ	သူ	ကို

‘Having made a plan, like this, “Well, (I) will order/ask (the tiger) to hold this snake”.’

74. *“kaphú ómpánnàkà hīngtè haūshíyàngkaláyeù.”*

kaphú	óm	pánnàkà	hīng	=tè	haū	shí	-àng	=kū	=lá	=yeù	.
snake	hold	if	3SG	=A.AG	CLF.implement	die	-DIR1	IRLS	=Q	=SAP	
မြွေ	ကိုင်	ရင်	သူ	ကို	လက်	သေ	လိုက်	မယ်	လဲလား	လို့	

“If (he) holds the snake, (will the snake) kill (bite to dead) him?”

75. *àngnīngzáng athà nāngtè yōkkūnaík yàkká.*

àng	=nīng	=záng	a=	thà	=á	nāng	=tè	yōk	=kū	=naík
that	=manner	=EMPH	NEG=	be	=NEG	2SG	=A.AG	eat	=IRLS	=only
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလ့	မ	ဖြစ်	ဘူး	ခင်ဗျား	ကို	စား	မယ်	မှၤပဲသမျှ

yàk	=ká
now	=TOP
အခု	ကၤတော့ၤတာ

“Like that, I can’t stop now. (I) am going to eat you”

76. *“yōkkūnaík ínalùwá.”*

yōk	=kū	=naík	ín=	a=	lū	=á	.
eat	=IRLS	=only	NEG=	NEG=	get	=NEG	
စား	မယ်	မှၤပဲသမျှ	မ	မ	ရ	ဘူး	

“(I) will eat (you), no matter what”

77. *“achīlé ínyōkshóklé.”*

a=	chī	=lé	ín=	yōk	=shók	=lé	.
NEG=	true	=SAP	NEG=	eat	=NEG.IMP-INTRUSIVE	=SAP	
မ	ဟုတ်	လေး	မ	စား	နဲ့အုံး	လေး	

“No!, don't eat me yet.”

78. *“aúpè nāng meúhàpanáq shī ngaká aúpè taūngmwé khweūtaúpeúmā {ngaká}.”*

aú	=pè	nāng	meú	-hà	=panáq	shī	ngā	=ká	aú	=pè	taūngmwé
here	=LOC	2SG	good	-know.how	=NOM	medicine	1SG	=TOP	here	=LOC	rod
ဒီ	မှာ	ခင်ဗျား	ကောင်း	တတ်	တဲ့ဟာ	ဆေး	ငါ	ကဟာ့ဟာ	ဒီ	မှာ	တောင်ဝှေး

khweū	-ta	peú	=mā	(ngā	=ká	).
coil	L.SUFF	keep	=RLS	1SG	=TOP	
ခွေ	—	ထား	တယ်	ငါ	ကဟာ့ဟာ	

“Here, (I) have coiled a rod, the medicine to heal you.”

79. *“taūngmwé ómpán túpánnàkà nāng meúyàngkū.”*

taūngmwé	óm	=pán	tú	pánnàkà	nāng	meú	-àng	=kū	.
rod	hold	=COS	prop.up	if	2SG	good	-DIR1	=IRLS	
တောင်ဝှေး	ကိုင်	ပြီးပြီး	ထောက်	ရင်	ခင်ဗျား	ကောင်း	လိုက်	မယ်	

“If (you) hold this rod and prop it up, (you) will be cured.”

80. *“nāngyaúk ngayaúk yàkká mahángpè nímhālūkū.”*

nāng	=yaúk	ngā	=yaúk	yàk	=ká	maháng	=pè	ním	hā	lū	=kū	.
2SG	=COM	1SG	=COM	now	=TOP	that.thing	=LOC	stay	walk	get	=IRLS	
ခင်ဗျား	နဲ့	ငါ	နဲ့	အခု	ကဟာ့ဟာ	ဟိုဟာ	မှာ	နေ	သွား	ရ	မယ်	

“Then we both can live at that place.”

81. *“pyaūpyaūpápásà satēngkānpè nímhángcànglūkū aswē kasà” chaúqtahángpánták.*

pyaūpyaūpápá	-sà	satēng	kān	=pè	ním	-háng	-cí	-àng	lū	=kū	aswē	kasà
happily	-DIM	thatch	CLT.field	=LOC	stay	-back	-PL	-DIR1	get	=IRLS	friend	tiger
ပျော်ပျော်ပါးပါး	လေး	သက်ငယ်	ခင်း	မှာ	နေ	ပြန်	ကြ	လိုက်	ရ	မယ်	အဆွေ	ကျား

chaúq	-ta	-háng	=pán	=ták .
soothe	L.SUFF	-back	=COS	=HS
ချော့	—	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

‘(The rabbit) soothed (the tiger) “My friend tiger, (we) can live happily in the thatch field again”, it is said.’

82. *àngnīngzáng á achīyá mahángyí nyángtamaták kasàyítá.*

àng	=nīng	=záng	ā	a=	chī	=á	maháng	=yí	nyáng	-ta	=mā	=ták
that	=manner	=EMPH	oh	NEG=	true	=NEG	that.thing	=also	quarrel	L.SUFF	=RLS	=HS
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	အာ	မ	ဟုတ်	ဘူး	ဟိုဟာ	လည်း	ငြင်းခုံ	—	တယ်	တဲ့

kasà	=yí	=tá	.
tiger	=also	=EMPH	
ကျား	လည်း	ပဲ	

‘Like that, “No!”, (the tiger), as well, argue, it is said.’

83. *“achīyá nāng sāmpán ngāpán anáqpā shìpán ngāpán.”*

a=	chī	=á	nāng	sām	pán	ngā	=pán	anáq	pā	shì	pán
NEG=	true	=NEG	2SG	three	CLF.times	exist	=COS	this	include	four	CLF.times
မ	ဟုတ်	ဘူး	ခင်ဗျား	သုံး	ကြိမ်	ရှိ	ပြီးပြီး	ဒီ	ပါ	လေး	ကြိမ်

ngā	=pán	.
exist	=COS	
ရှိ	ပြီးပြီး	

“No, you (tricked me) three times,including this (it’s) four times.”

84. *“tamì ngaúcíkà tóngcēng tóngkhā ngaúmā anyeù.”*

tamì	ngaú	-cí	=ká	tóng	cēng	tóngkhā	ngaú	=mā	an	=yeù	.
other.people	say	-PL	=TOP	three	time	three.times	say	=RLS	DEM	=manner	
သူများ	ဆို၊ပြော	ကြ	က၊တော့၊တာ	သုံး	ကြိမ်	သုံးခါ	ဆို၊ပြော	တယ်	ဒီ	လို၊လို့	

‘Some people say, (It is) up to three times. (You can forgive up to three times)’

85. *“yàkká nāng shìpán seú ngāpáng nāngká.”*

yàk	=ká	nāng	shì	pán	=seú	ngā	=páng	nāng	=ká	.
now	=TOP	2SG	four	CLF.times	=SAP	exist	=DIR1:COS	2SG	=TOP	
အခု	က၊တော့၊တာ	ခင်ဗျား	လေး	ကြိမ်	လေ	ရှိ	လိုက်ပြီ	ခင်ဗျား	က၊တော့၊တာ	

“Now, for you, (it is) four times.”

86. *“anáqpā shìpán ngāpán nāng peúttaúkà yaà peúttahángpán nāng ngatèyeù.”*

anáq	pā	shì	pán	ngā	=pán	nāng	peùt	-ta	=ká	yaà
this	include	four	CLF.times	exist	=COS	2SG	lie	L.SUFF	=TOP	now
ဒီ	ပါ	လေး	ကြိမ်	ရှိ	ပြီးပြီး	ခင်ဗျား	လိမ်	—	က၊တော့၊တာ	အခု

peùt	-ta	-háng	=pán	nāng	ngā	=tè	=yeù	.
lie	L.SUFF	-back	=COS	2SG	1SG	=A.AG	=SAP	
လိမ်	—	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	ခင်ဗျား	ငါ	ကို	လို၊လို့	

“Including this, it's already four times you tricked (me). Now, you are tricking me again.”

87. *“ínpeúttawá ínpeúttawáyeù.”*

ín=	peùt	-ta	=á	ín=	peùt	-ta	=á	=yeù	.
NEG=	lie	L.SUFF	=NEG	NEG=	lie	L.SUFF	=NEG	=SAP	
မ	လိမ်	—	ဘူး	မ	လိမ်	—	ဘူး	လို၊လို့	

“I am not tricking (you). I am not tricking (you).”

88. *àngnīngzáng á “achīlé nāng.”*

àng	=nīng	=záng	ā	a=	chī	=lé	nāng
that	=manner	=EMPH	oh	NEG=	true	=SAP	2SG
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	အာ	မ	ဟုတ်	လေး	ခင်ဗျား

‘Like that, “Oh, it is not like that”.’

89. *“aúpè anáq taūngmwézáng zántaphángàng ngatè yōkkūpanáq ínngaúwàngsàyeù.”*

aú	=pè	anáq	taūngmwé	=záng	zán	-ta	-pháng	-àng	ngā	=tè
here	=LOC	this	rod	=EMPH	test	L.SUFF	-prior	-DIR1	1SG	=A.AG
ဒီ	မှာ	ဒီ	တောင်ဝှေး	ပဲလှ	စမ်း	—	နှင့်	လိုက်	ငါ	ကို

yōk	=kū	=panáq	ín=	ngaú	-àng	=sà	=yeù .
eat	=IRLS	=NOM	NEG=	say	-DIR1	=NEG.IMP	=SAP
စား	မယ်	တဲ့ဟာ	မ	ဆိုပြော	လိုက်	နဲ့	လို့

“Don't say that you will eat me, just hold this rod first.”

90. *“anáqtèzáng taūngmwé ómpán zántaphángàngyókyeù.”*

anáq	=tè	=záng	taūngmwé	óm	=pán	zán	-ta	-pháng	-àng	=yók	=yeù.
this	=A.AG	=EMPH	rod	hold	=COS	test	L.SUFF	-prior	-DIR1	=intrusive	=SAP
ဒီ	ကို	ပဲလှ	တောင်ဝှေး	ကိုင်	ပြီးပြီး	စမ်း	—	နှင့်	လိုက်	အုံး	လို့

“Hold the rod and try it out first.”

91. *àngnīngyeùzáng “chīmātlá nāng.”*

àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	chī	-māt	=lá	nāng	.
that	=manner	=EMPH	true	truly	=Q	2SG	
အဲဒီ	လို၊သလို	ပဲလှ	ဟုတ်	အမှန်	လဲလား	ခင်ဗျား	

‘Like that, “Are you sure?”

92. *“chīmātnāyeù.”*

chī	-māt	=mā	=yeù	.
true	truly	=RLS	=SAP	
ဟုတ်	အမှန်	တယ်	လို့	

“Yes, it is really true.”

93. *“chīmātnā ngaípánkaú chīmātnā naú”.*

chī	-māt	=mā	ngaú	=pánkaú	chī	-māt	=mā	=ná	.
true	truly	=RLS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	true	truly	=RLS	=SAP	
ဟုတ်	အမှန်	တယ်	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်တော့	ဟုတ်	အမှန်	တယ်	နော်	

“If you say, it's true, it is really true, right?”

94. *“é chīmātnā.”*

é	chī	-māt	=mā	.
yes	true	truly	=RLS	
အေး	ဟုတ်	အမှန်	တယ်	

“Yes, it is true.”

95. *“aswē kasàyeù nāngtè ngā lakò nímmaūkìngpanáq maeú neútalá chīpán seú maūng maíkmà peúttalá.”*

aswē	kasà	=yeù	nāng	=tè	ngā	=lakò	ním	-maūk	-ìng	=panáq	maeú
friend	tiger	=SAP	2SG	=A.AG	1SG	=SAP	stay	-together	-DIR2	=NOM	long.ago
အဆွေ	ကျား	လို၊လို့	ခင်ဗျား	ကို	ငါ	ကို၊တာကို	နေ	အတူ	ခဲ့	တဲ့၊တာ	ရှေး

neú	-ta	=lá	chī	=pán	=seú	maūng	mà	=naík	mà	peùt	-ta	=lá	.
few	L.SUFF	=Q	true	=COS	=SAP	boy	WH	=many	time	lie	L.SUFF	=Q	
နည်း	—	လဲ၊လား	ဟုတ်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	လေ	မောင်	ဘာ၊ဘယ်	နှစ်	အချိန်	လိမ်	—	လဲ၊လား	

“My friend tiger, you and I have been living (together) for a long time, when did (I) trick you?”

96. *“yaū nāng sāmpán ngāpán seú anáqpā shìpán ngāpán seú.”*

yaū	nāng	sām	pán	ngā	=pán	=seú	anáq	pā	shì	pán	ngā	=pán	=seú
EXCL	2SG	three	CLF.times	exist	=COS	=SAP	this	include	four	CLF.times	exist	=COS	=SAP
ရော်	ခင်ဗျား	သုံး	ကြိမ်	ရှိ	ပြီ၊ပြီး	လေ	ဒီ	ပါ	လေး	ကြိမ်	ရှိ	ပြီ၊ပြီး	လေ

.

“Well, you (already tricked me) three times. Including this, it is now the fourth times.”

97. *“ā àngpè tamyó lētā àngpínkà hīnkàlé.”*

ā	àng	=pè	tamyó	=lētā	àng	=panáq	=ká	hīn	=ká	=lé	.
oh	that	=LOC	one.kind	=I know!	that	=NOM	=TOP	tease	=TOP	=SAP	
အာ	အဲဒီ	မှာ	တစ်မျိုး	ပါကွာ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	က၊တော့၊တာ	စ၊နောက်	က၊တော့၊တာ	လေး	

“Oh, that's one thing, (I) was just teasing (you).”

98. *“manīng hīnlá ngāká shíkū ōmpán seúyeù.”*

mà	=nīng	hīn	=lá	ngā	=ká	shí	=kū	ōm	=pán	=seú	=yeù	.
WH	=manner	tease	=Q	1SG	=TOP	die	=IRLS	make	=COS	=SAP	=SAP	
ဘာဘယ်	လို	စနောက်	လဲလား	ငါ	ကတော့တော	သေ	မယ်	လုပ်	ပြီပြီး	လေ	လို့လို့	

“What kind of teasing was that? I nearly died.”

99. *“kaí anyeù ngaúpánnàkà chīmātnā ngaúpánnàkà yák pánnùkà naú ínchīyá ngaúpán nāngtè ngā yōkkūyeù.”*

kaí	an	=yeù	ngaú	pánnàkà	chī	-māt	=mā	ngaú	pánnàkà	yàk		
well!	DEM	=manner	say	if	true	truly	=RLS	say	if	now		
ကိုင်း	ဒီ	လို့လို့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်	ဟုတ်	အမှန်	တယ်	ဆိုပြော	ရင်	အခု		
pán	nù	=ká	=ná	ín=	chī	=á	ngaú	=pán	nāng	=tè	ngā	
CLF.times	one	=TOP	=SAP	NEG=	true	=NEG	say	=if	2SG	=A.AG	1SG	
ကြိမ်	တစ်	ကတော့တော	နော်	မ	ဟုတ်	ဘူး	ဆိုပြော	ရင်	ခင်ဗျား	ကို	ငါ	
yōk	=kū	=yeù	.									
eat	=IRLS	=SAP										
စား	မယ်	လို့										

“Well, if so, if it is the case, “this time, if it is not the case, I will eat you”

100. *“keù zántàngkū yàkká” kaphútè ómàngmaták.*

keù	zán	-ta	-àng	=kū	yàk	=ká	kaphú	=tè	óm	-àng	=mā	=ták
right!	test	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=IRLS	now	=TOP	snake	=A.AG	hold	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS
ကဲ	စမ်း	—	လိုက်	မယ်	အခု	ကတော့တော	မြွေ	ကို	ကိုင်	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့

“Well, (I) will try (it) out.” (The tiger) holds the snake, it is said.’

101. *haíkmā kaphú haūshíyàngmaták.*

haíkmà	kaphú	haū	shí	-àng	=mā	=ták	.
that.time	snake	strike	die	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS	
ဒီအခါမှာ	မြွေ	လက်	သေ	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့	

‘That time, the snake killed/strike to death (the tiger), it is said.’

102. *é àngpanáqpè taúpmā.*

é	àng	=panáq	=pè	taúp	=mā	.
yes	that	=NOM	=LOC	end	=RLS	
အေး	အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	မှာ	ဆုံး	တယ်	

‘Well, it ends here.’

103. *aswē hàháng anáq mayūngyīn pūngpyīnmát.*

aswē	hàháng	anáq	mayūngyīn	pōngpyīn	mát	.
friend	Kachin	this	no.believe.if	story	note	
အဆွေ	ကချင်	ဒီ	မယုံရင်	ပုံပြင်	မှတ်	

'My friend Kachin, if (you) don't believe (it), take (it) as a mere story.'

Text15: ‘A jealous king’

1. *maeúeútóngták àngpanáq halawà ngaúkà ēktóng shíyàngká ēkshì lāhángmaták hīngká.*

maeúeútóng	=ták àng	=panáq	halawà	ngaúkà	ēk	tóng shí	-àng	=ká
long.long.ago	=HS that	=NOM	man/husband	as.for	wife	big die	-DIR1	=TOP
ရှေးရှေးတုန်း	တဲ့ အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	ယောကျ်ား	ဆိုရင်	ဇနီး	ကြီး သေ	လိုက်	ကဟော့ဟာ

ēk	-shì	lā	-háng	=mā	=ták hīng	=ká	.
wife	-DIM	take	-back	=RLS	=HS 3SG	=TOP	
ဇနီး	လေး	ယူ	ပြန်	တယ်	တဲ့ သူ	ကဟော့ဟာ	

‘Long ago, a man took/married a second wife when (his) first wife died, it is said.’

2. *ēkshì lāhángká phákhūlū phúlùthaū ngaúpanáq amúnashì eútpeúmaták sā.*

ēk	-shì	lā	-háng	=ká	phákhūlū	phúlūthaū	ngaú	=panáq	amúnashī
wife	-DIM	take	-back	=TOP	PN	PN	say	=NOM	sibling
ဇနီး	လေး	ယူ	ပြန်	ကဟော့ဟာ	ဖါးခူလူ	ဖူးလူထော်	ဆို၊ပြော	တဲ့ဟာ	ညီအစ်ကို

eút	peú	=mā	=ták sā	.
drop	keep	=RLS	=HS son	
ကျ	ထား	တယ်	တဲ့ သား	

‘When (he) took/married the second wife, two brothers, Phakhulu and Phaluthau (sons of the first wife), were left behind, it is said.’

3. *sā kalìnghú eútpeúká naúkthát lāpanáq ēkshìká àngnáq sātàktè alākákáták hīngká.*

sā	kalìng	hú	eút	peú	=ká	naúkthát	lā	=panáq	ēk	-shì	=ká
son	two	CLF.person	drop	keep	=TOP	again	take	=NOM	wife	-DIM	=TOP
သား	နှစ်	ယောက်	ကျ	ထား	ကဟော့ဟာ	နောက်ထပ်	ယူ	တဲ့ဟာ	ဇနီး	လေး	ကဟော့ဟာ

àng	=panáq	sā	-tàk	=tè	a=	lā	-kák	=á	=ták hīng	=ká	.
that	=NOM	son	-PL	=A.AG	NEG=	take	-want	=NEG	=HS 3SG	=TOP	
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	သား	တို့	ကို	မ	ယူ	ချင်	ဘူး	တဲ့ သူ	ကဟော့ဟာ	

‘When left the two sons, the second wife, the one that was taken later, didn't like those sons, it is said.’

4. *ínlākákpánták ngaúpánkaú “nāng sātàktè tánshíkū ngaúpán tánshí tachápà sátkákyí sátà”.*

ín=	lā	-kák	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	nāng	sā	-tàk	=tè	
NEG=	take	-want	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	2SG	son	-PL	=A.AG	
မ	ယူ	ချင်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	ခင်ဗျား	သား	တို့	ကို	
tán	shí	=kū	ngaú	=pán	tán	shí	tachá	=pà	sàt	-kák	=yí
beat	die	=IRLS	say	=if	beat	die	other.place	=ALL	descend	-want	=also
တီးရိုက်	သေ	မယ်	ဆိုပြော	ရင်	တီးရိုက်	သေ	တခြား	သို့ဖက်	ဆင်း	ချင်	လည်း
sàt	-à	.									
descend	-EUPH										
ဆင်း	ချေ										

‘As it is the case that (she) didn't want those sons, (she) said (to her husband), “If you are going to kill your sons, kill them. (If not), send them to another place. Send (them) away.”’

5. *“anyeù achīyá ngaúpán nāng sātàkyaúk ngaúpán ngā ínanímmaūkkáká” anyeù ngaúmataák.*

an	=yeù	a=	chī	=á	ngaú	=pán	nāng	sā	-tàk	=yaúk	ngaú	=pán	ngā
DEM	=manner	NEG=	true	=NEG	say	=if	2SG	son	-PL	=COM	say	=if	1SG
ဒီ	လိုလို့	မ	ဟုတ်	ဘူး	ဆိုပြော	ရင်	ခင်ဗျား	သား	တို့	နဲ့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်	ငါ

ín=	a=	ním	-maūk	-kák	=á	an	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
NEG=	NEG=	stay	-together	-want	=NEG	DEM	=manner	say	=RLS	=HS
မ	မ	နေ	အတူ	ချင်	ဘူး	ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(The wife) said, like that, “If not (the case), I don't want to live together with your sons”, it is said.’

6. *“anyeù ngaúpánták ngaúpánkaú {àntákká} ā anímmaūkkáká nga nāng sātàktè tachápà sákkákpán sákà” anyeù ngaúmataák.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	{	àntàk	=ká	}	ā			
DEM	=manner	say	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case		3PL	=TOP		oh			
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့		သူတို့	ကတော့	တာ	အာ			
a=	ním	-maūk	-kák	=á	ngā	nāng	sā	-tàk	=tè	tachá	=pà			
NEG=	stay	-together	-want	=NEG	1SG	2SG	son	-PL	=A.AG	other.place	=ALL			
မ	နေ	အတူ	ချင်	ဘူး	ငါ	ခင်ဗျား	သား	တို့	ကို	တခြား	သို့ဖက်			
sák	-kák	=pán	sák	-à	an	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták .					
send	-want	=if	send	-EUPH	DEM	=manner	say	=RLS	=HS					
ပို့	ချင်	ရင်	ပို့	ချေ	ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့					

‘As it is the case, (the wife) said it like this, “As for them, Oh! I don't want to live together with your sons. Send them to other places”.’

7. *anyeù ngaúzípká “é maūng manīng ngā sātàklakà manīng sátàkalá” anyeù ngaúmataák.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	-zíp	=ká	é	maūng	mà	=nīng	ngā
DEM	=manner	say	-always	=TOP	yes	boy	WH	=manner	1SG
ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ဆိုၤပြော	အမြဲ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အေး	မောင်	ဘာၤဘယ်	လို	ငါ

sā	-tàk	=lakà	mà	=nīng	sák	-à	=kū	=lá	an	=yeù
son	-PL	=MIR	WH	=manner	send	-EUPH	IRLS	=Q	DEM	=manner
သား	တို့	တာကိုး	ဘာၤဘယ်	လို	ပို့	ချေ	မယ်	လဲလား	ဒီ	လိုၤလို့

ngaú	=mā	=ták .
say	=RLS	=HS
ဆိုၤပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘When the wife told this very often,(the man) said, this manner, “Well, my dear, of course, they are my sons. How could I send them away?”.’

8. *“á achīyá anyeù ngaúpánnàkà nāng sātàkyaúk nāngyaúk atūtū nímmaūkkákmā ngaúpánnàkà ngatè phákhángīpàngkaú” anyeù ngaúmataák.*

ā	a=	chī	=á	an	=yeù	ngaú	pánnàkà	nāng	sā	-tàk	=yaúk	nāng	=yaúk
oh	NEG=	true	=NEG	DEM	=manner	say	if	2SG	son	-PL	=COM	2SG	=COM
အာ	မ	ဟုတ်	ဘူး	ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်	ခင်ဗျား	သား	တို့	နဲ့	ခင်ဗျား	နဲ့

atūtū	ním	-maūk	-kák	=mā	ngaú	pánnàkà	ngā	=tè
together	stay	-together	-want	=RLS	say	if	1SG	=A.AG
အတူတူ	နေ	အတူ	ချင်	တယ်	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်	ငါ	ကို

phák	-háng	ī	=páng	=kaú	an	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
divorce	-back	give	=DIR1:COS	=TOP	DEM	=manner	say	=RLS	=HS
ကွဲကွာ	ပြန်	ပေး	လိုက်ပြီ	တော့	ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ဆိုၤပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘“No!” the wife said, “If it is like this-if you want to live together with your sons, divorce me first.”, it is said.’

9. *“aū meúpán meúpán nāng anyeùtóng ngāzípmàngpanáqkáyeù” {ēktèká aphákáták} sātàktè àngnáq sā halawà kalìnghútè àngnáq phákhūlū phúlùthaū ngaúpanáq amúnashì kalìnghútè sákàmataák àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà pòkhápàpè.*

aū	meú	=pán	meú	=pán	nāng	an	=yeù	tóng
well!	good	=COS	good	=COS	2SG	DEM	=manner	big
အော်	ကောင်း	ပြီးပြီး	ကောင်း	ပြီးပြီး	ခင်ဗျား	ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ကြီး

ngā	-zíp	-àng	=panáq	=ká	=yeù	{ ēk	=tè	=ká	
exist	-always	-DIR1	=NOM	=TOP	=SAP	wife	=A.AG	=TOP	
ရှိ	အမြဲ	လိုက်	တဲ့ၤတာ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	လိုၤလို့	ဇနီး	ကို	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	

a=	phák	=á	=ták }	sā	-tàk	=tè	àng	=panáq	sā	halawà
NEG=	divorce	=NEG	=HS	son	-PL	=A.AG	that	=NOM	son	man/husband
မ	ကွဲကွာ	ဘူး	တဲ့	သား	တို့	ကို	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ၤတာ	သား	ယောကျ်ား

kalìng	hú	=tè	àng	=panáq	phákhūlū	phúlūthaū	ngaú	=panáq	amúnashī	
two	CLF.person	=A.AG	that	=NOM	PN	PN	say	=NOM	sibling	
နှစ်	ယောက်	ကို	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	ဖါးခူလူ	ဖူးလူထော်	ဆိုပြော	တဲ့ဟာ	ညီအစ်ကို	
kalìng	hú	=tè	sák	-à	=mā	=ták	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà
two	CLF.person	=A.AG	send	-EUPH	=RLS	=HS	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for
နှစ်	ယောက်	ကို	ပို့	ချေ	တယ်	တဲ့	အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်
pòkhá	=pà	=pè	.								
forest	=ALL	=LOC									
တော	သို့ဖက်	မှာ									

'"Well, all right, if you are being like that." {He didn't divorce his wife, it is said}.(The husband) at that time, sent (his) two sons, who are called Phakhulu and Phuluthaw, to the forest, it is said.'

10. *"awàyaúk nāngcíthāmā pòkhápàpè nāngcíthāmā úng pòkhápàpè nāngcíthāmā" ngaúpánnaà shīshātàktè anyeù mók chaúqtaúpánnaà "atá tīp atá tīp" ngaúmataák.*

awà	=yaúk	nāng	-cí	=thāmā	pòkhá	=pà	=pè	nāng	-cí	=thāmā	úng	
father	=COM	go	-PL	=HORT	forest	=ALL	=LOC	go	-PL	=HORT	that	
အဖေ	နဲ့	သွား	ကြ	ရအောင်	တော	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	သွား	ကြ	ရအောင်	ဟို	
pòkhá	=pà	=pè	nāng	-cí	=thāmā	ngaú	=pán	=naà	shīshā	-tàk	=tè	
forest	=ALL	=LOC	go	-PL	=HORT	say	=COS	=only	child	-PL	=A.AG	
တော	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	သွား	ကြ	ရအောင်	ဆိုပြော	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ကလေး	တို့	ကို	
an	=yeù	mók	chaúq	-ta	=pán	=naà	atá	tīp	atá	tīp		
DEM	=manner	light.food	soothe	L.SUFF	=COS	=only	rice	pack	rice	pack		
ဒီ	လိုလို့	မှုန့်	ချော့	—	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ထမင်း	ထုတ်	ထမင်း	ထုတ်		
ngaú	=mā	=ták	.									
say	=RLS	=HS										
ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့										

'(The father) persuaded (the sons) with snack/light food and said "Pack the rice. Pack the rice. Let's go to the forest with Daddy".'

11. *atásà tīppánnaà kaūpán lānāngmataák pòkhápàpè.*

atá	-sà	tīp	=pán	=naà	kaū	=pán	lā	nāng	=mā	=ták	pòkhá	=pà	=pè .
rice	-DIM	pack	=COS	=only	call	=COS	take	go	=RLS	=HS	forest	=ALL	=LOC
ထမင်း	လေး	ထုတ်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ခေါ်	ပြီးပြီး	ယူ	သွား	တယ်	တဲ့	တော	သို့ဖက်	မှာ

'After packing the rice, (he) called (them) and took them to the forest, it is said.'

12. *pòkhápà kaūpán lānāngká àngnaíkmákhàtè pòkhápè thúkká á atá yōkcízík atá yōkcízík ngaúmataák.*

pòkhá	=pà	kaū	=pán	lā	nāng	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè
forest	=ALL	call	=COS	take	go	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG
တော	သို့ဖက်	ခေါ်	ပြီးပြီး	ယူ	သွား	ကာတော့ကာ	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို
pòkhá	=pè	thōk	=ká	ā	atá	yōk	-cí	=zík	atá	yōk	-cí	=zík
forest	=LOC	arrive	=TOP	oh	rice	eat	-PL	=finally	rice	eat	-PL	=finally
တော	မှာ	ရောက်	ကာတော့ကာ	အာ	ထမင်း	စား	ကြ	တော့	ထမင်း	စား	ကြ	တော့
ngaú	=mā	=ták .										
say	=RLS	=HS										
ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့										

'Then (he) called them and took them to the forest. When they reached the forest, (the father) said "Well, eat the rice, eat the rice.", it is said.'

13. *hīng sātàk yàkká atá yōknímcímā zátcátè hīngká útpeúpán līhángpeúpán seùé.*

hīng	sā	-tàk	yàk	=ká	atá	yōk	ním	-cí	=mā	zátcá	=tè
3SG	son	-PL	now	=TOP	rice	eat	stay	-PL	=RLS	between.edge	=A.AG
သူ	သား	တို့	အခု	ကာတော့ကာ	ထမင်း	စား	နေ	ကြ	တယ်	စပ်ကြား	ကို
hīng	=ká	út	peú	=pán	lī	-háng	peú	=pán	=seùé .		
3SG	=TOP	abandon	keep	=COS	come	-back	keep	=COS	=SAP		
သူ	ကာတော့ကာ	စွန့်ပစ်	ထား	ပြီးပြီး	လာ	ပြန်	ထား	ပြီးပြီး	လေ		

'(While) his sons were eating, he left them and returned home.'

14. *"awà yák chínìkphángkūná" ngaúpánnaà peúttaūpánnaà līhángpeúpántáak hīngká.*

awà	yàk	chīnīk	-pháng	=kū	=ná	ngaú	=pán	=naà		
father	now	defecate	-prior	=IRLS	=SAP	say	=COS	=only		
အဖေ	အခု	ချီးပါ	နှင့်	မယ်	နော်	ဆိုပြော	ပြီးပြီး	မှ		
peùt	-ta	=pán	=naà	lī	-háng	peú	=pán	=ták	hīng	=ká .
lie	L.SUFF	=COS	=only	come	-back	keep	=COS	=HS	3SG	=TOP
လိမ်	—	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	လာ	ပြန်	ထား	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	သူ	ကာတော့ကာ

'He lied to them (saying) "Daddy will go and defecate" and came home, it is said.'

15. *címpàpè līhángpeúká ínmákhàtèká sātàk ngaúkà yàkká pòkhápè seùé halángnákìng halángkà nák awàká alīhánghà "héwà līhángzík halángnāksōmpìng, héwà līhángzík" àngnaíkmàkà màhameúzeútá alīhángá seùé.*

cím	=pà	=pè	lī	-háng	peú	=ká	ín	mákhà	=tè	=ká
house	=ALL	=LOC	come	-back	keep	=TOP	um.yes!	time	=A.AG	=TOP
အိမ်	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	လာ	ပြန်	ထား	ကာတော့ကာ	အင်း	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကာတော့ကာ

sā	-tàk	ngaúkà	yàk	=ká	pòkhá	=pè	=seùé	halángnāk	-ìng
son	-PL	as.for	now	=TOP	forest	=LOC	=SAP	dark	-DIR2
သား	တို့	ဆိုရင်	အခု	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	တော	မှာ	လေ	မိုးချုပ်	ခဲ့

haláng	=ká	nāk	awà	=ká	a=	lī	-háng	-hà	=á
head	=TOP	dark	father	=TOP	NEG=	come	-back	-know.how	=NEG
ခေါင်း	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ချုပ်	အဖေ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	မ	လာ	ပြန်	တတ်	ဘူး

hé-	awà	lī	-háng	=zík	haláng	nāk	sōm	=píng	hé-	awà
part	father	come	-back	=finally	sky	dark	used.up	=DIR2:COS	part	father
—	အဖေ	လာ	ပြန်	တော့	မိုးကောင်းကင်	ချုပ်	ကုန်	လာပြီ	—	အဖေ

lī	-háng	=zík	àng	=naík	mà	=ká	mà	=hameú	=zeú	=tá
come	-back	=finally	that	=only	time	=TOP	WH	=person	=even	=EMPH
လာ	ပြန်	တော့	အဲဒီ	မှၤပဲၤသမျှ	အချိန်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ဘာၤဘယ်	သူ	တောင်မှ	ပဲ

a=	lī	-háng	=á	=seùé	.
NEG=	come	-back	=NEG	=SAP	
မ	လာ	ပြန်	ဘူး	လေ	

'When (he) came back home, that time, his sons were (left) in the forest (and) (it) became dark. "It's dark. Daddy, come back. Daddy, come back", Then nobody came.'

16. *ínlīhángká pòkhápè nímmákcàngthàmaták īpmákcàngthàmaták.*

ín=	lī	-háng	=ká	pòkhá	=pè	ním	-à	-càng	-thà	=mā	=ták
NEG=	come	-back	=TOP	forest	=LOC	stay	-EUPH	-PL:DIR1	-must	=RLS	=HS
မ	လာ	ပြန်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	တော	မှာ	နေ	ချေ	ကြလိုက်	ရ	တယ်	တဲ့

īp	-à	-càng	-thà	=mā	=ták	.
sleep	-EUPH	-PL:DIR1	-must	=RLS	=HS	
အိပ်	ချေ	ကြလိုက်	ရ	တယ်	တဲ့	

'When (the father) did not come back, they had to stay and sleep in the forest, it is said.'

17. *īpmákcángthàká zák zák īpmákcípánták.*

īp	-à	-càng	-thà	=ká	zàk	zàk	īp	-à	-cí	=pán	=ták	.
sleep	-EUPH	-PL:DIR1	-must	=TOP	afraid	afraid	sleep	-EUPH	-PL	=COS	=HS	
အိပ်	ချေ	ကြလိုက်	ရ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ကြောက်	ကြောက်	အိပ်	ချေ	ကြ	ပြီၤပြီး	တဲ့	

'When they slept (by themselves), (they) slept (there) very afraid, it is said.'

18. *īpmákcángká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà hamántàkhaík phānsíntaúpánnaà īmaták.*

īp	-à	-càng	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà
sleep	-EUPH	-PL:DIR1	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for
အိပ်	ချေ	ကြလိုက်	က၊တော့၊တာ	အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်

hamán	-tàk	=haík	phānsín	-ta	=pán	=naà	ī	=mā	=ták .
spirit	-PL	=ABL	create	L.SUFF	=COS	=only	give	=RLS	=HS
နတ်	တို့	က၊မှ	ဖန်ဆင်း	—	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မှ	ပေး	တယ်	တဲ့

'When (they) slept, that time, (the) Nat created (something) and gave (it to them), it is said.'

19. *eú panáq maták ōmyōktìng {anyeù seùé} tāngkaūtóng haūwà ìngmaták.*

eú	panáq	àntàk	ōm	yōk	=tìng	{ an	=yeù	=seùé }	tāngkaū	tóng	
that	DEM	3PL	make	eat	=NOM	DEM	=manner	=SAP	sword	big	
အဲဒီ	ဒီ	သူတို့	လုပ်	စား	ဖို့၊စရာ	ဒီ	လို၊လို့	လေ	ဓါး၌ည်	ကြီး	

haū	-à	ī	-ìng	=mā	=ták .
CLF.implement	-one	give	-DIR2	=RLS	=HS
လက်	တစ်	ပေး	ခဲ့	တယ်	တဲ့

'For their livelihood, (the Nats) gave (them) a big sword, it is said.'

20. *alōlōyeù teūzák ngāzák nímzák ngāzák {sàyeù} āntalīp sàttalīpsà anyeù amyósà úngpè maták ām téngpán yōkàngtìngsàyítá paūtìngmaták alōlōyeù.*

alōlō	=yeù	teūzák	ngāzák	nímzák	ngāzák	{ -sà	=yeù }	ān	talīp				
by.itself	=SAP	while.going		while.living		-DIM	=SAP	paddy	package				
အလိုလို	လို၊လို့	သွား၊ရင်း	လာ၊ရင်း	နေ၊ရင်း	ထိုင်၊ရင်း	လေး	လို၊လို့	စပါး	အထုတ်				

sàt	talīp	-sà	an	=yeù	amyó	-sà	úng	=pè	àntàk	ān	téng	=pán
husked.rice	package	-DIM	DEM	=manner	kind	-DIM	that	=LOC	3PL	paddy	plant	=COS
ဆန်	အထုတ်	လေး	ဒီ	လို၊လို့	အမျိုး	လေး	ဟို	မှာ	သူတို့	စပါး	စိုက်	ပြီ၊ပြီး

yōk	-àng	=tìng	-sà	=yí	=tá	paū	-ta	-ìng	=mā	=ták
eat	-DIR1	=NOM	-DIM	=also	=EMPH	show.up	L.SUFF	-DIR2	=RLS	=HS
စား	လိုက်	ဖို့၊စရာ	လေး	လည်း	ပဲ	ပေါ်	—	ခဲ့	တယ်	တဲ့

alōlō	=yeù	.
by.itself	=SAP	
အလိုလို	လို၊လို့	

'When they were staying there (Lit. while going and staying,) small packages of paddy and husked rice, like that, (paddy to grow and to eat as well) appeared, it is said.'

21. *paūtìngká teúshāyítá alōlōsà {anyeùsà} ngāzāngzeúká àngnáq tāngkaūtóngyaúksà maháng ōmpánnaà teúshāpè nímmákcímaták àngnaíkmákhàtè amúnashì.*

paū	-ta	-ìng	=ká	teú	shā	=yí	=tá	alōlō	-sà	{
show.up	L.SUFF	-DIR2	=TOP	hut	small	=also	=EMPH	by.itself	-DIM	
ပေါ်	—	ခဲ့	ကတော့တာ	တဲ	ငယ်ခလေး	လည်း	ပဲ	အလိုလို	လေး	

an	=yeù	-sà	} ngā	-zāngzeú	=ká	àng	=panáq	
DEM	=manner	-DIM	exist	-might	=TOP	that	=NOM	
ဒီ	လိုလို	လေး	ရှိ	ခဲ့	ကတော့တာ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	

tāngkaū	tóng	=yaúk	-sà	maháng	ōm	=pán	=naà	teú	shā	=pè
sword	big	=COM	-DIM	that.thing	make	=COS	=only	hut	small	=LOC
ဓါးရှည်	ကြီး	နဲ့	လေး	ဟိုဟာ	လုပ်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	တဲ	ငယ်ခလေး	မှာ

ním	-à	-cí	=mā	=ták	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	amúnashī .
stay	-EUPH	-PL	=RLS	=HS	that	=only	time	=A.AG	sibling
နေ	ချေ	ကြ	တယ်	တဲ့	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ညီအစ်ကို

'After (these) appeared, a small hut also appeared on its own accord. Then the two brothers (cultivated) with the sword and lived in the small hut, it is said.'

22. *nímmákcíká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaú àng teúshāpè àngnáq hamántàk īpeúpanáq alōlōsà paūzíngpanáq tāngkaūtóngyaúk yēk wányōkmaták.*

ním	-à	-cí	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaú	àng
stay	-EUPH	-PL	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	say	that
နေ	ချေ	ကြ	ကတော့တာ	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုပြော	အဲဒီ

teú	shā	=pè	àng	=panáq	hamán	-tàk ī	peú	=panáq	alōlō	-sà
hut	small	=LOC	that	=NOM	spirit	-PL give	keep	=NOM	by.itself	-DIM
တဲ	ငယ်ခလေး	မှာ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	နတ်	တို့ ပေး	ထား	တဲ့တာ	အလိုလို	လေး

paū	zíng	=panáq	tāngkaū	tóng	=yaúk	yēk	wán	yōk	=mā	=ták .
show.up	JUSS	=NOM	sword	big	=COM	hill.field	chop	eat	=RLS	=HS
ပေါ်	စေ	တဲ့တာ	ဓါးရှည်	ကြီး	နဲ့	တောင်ယာ	ခုတ်	စား	တယ်	တဲ့

'During that time, (they) cleared the hill field (for their livelihood) with the sword given by the Nats and which had appeared of its own accord, it is said.'

23. *yēk wánpánnaà àngpè téngmaták.*

yēk	wán	=pán	=naà	àng	=pè	téng	=mā	=ták .
hill.field	chop	=COS	=only	that	=LOC	plant	=RLS	=HS
တောင်ယာ	ခုတ်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	အဲဒီ	မှာ	စိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့

'They cleared the field and planted (paddy), it is said.'

24. *āntē téngpánnaà àngnáq āntē yōkpán nímmákcímaták.*

ān	-tē	téng	=pán	=naà	àng	=panáq	ān	-tē	yōk	=pán
paddy	-PL	plant	=COS	=only	that	=NOM	paddy	-PL	eat	=COS
စပါး	တွေ	စိုက်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	စပါး	တွေ	စား	ပြီးပြီး

ním	-à	-cí	=mā	=ták .
stay	-EUPH	-PL	=RLS	=HS
နေ	ချေ	ကြ	တယ်	တဲ့

'(They) planted paddy, ate it and lived (there), it is said.'

25. *anyeù nímmákcíká tanéq tanaík cáqtaùká yēk wányōkákcímaták.*

an	=yeù	ním	-à	-cí	=ká	tanéq tanaík	cáqtaù	=ká	yēk
DEM	=manner	stay	-EUPH	-PL	=TOP	at.one.time	as.for	=TOP	hill.field
ဒီ	လိုလို	နေ	ချေ	ကြ	ကာတော့ဟာ	တစ်နေ့ တစ်၌	ကြတော့	ကာတော့ဟာ	တောင်ယာ

wán	yōk	-à	-cí	=mā	=ták .
chop	eat	-EUPH	-PL	=RLS	=HS
ခုတ်	စား	ချေ	ကြ	တယ်	တဲ့

'When (they) lived like that, one day (they) cultivated a hill field (for their livelihood), it is said.'

26. *amúnashì kalìnghú yēk wánpánnaà yōkákcímaták.*

amúnashī	kalìng	hú	yēk	wán	=pán	=naà	yōk	-à	-cí	=mā	=ták .
sibling	two	CLF.person	hill.field	chop	=COS	=only	eat	-EUPH	-PL	=RLS	=HS
ညီအစ်ကို	နှစ်	ယောက်	တောင်ယာ	ခုတ်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	စား	ချေ	ကြ	တယ်	တဲ့

'The two brothers cultivated (rice) field (for their livelihood), it is said.'

27. *yōkákcíká āntān màkmákhàtè ngaúkà {yàk ngaúnīngyeù} hīng amú ngaúkà hīng nashītè hīng amúká phákhūlūlakaúé hīng nashīká phúlùthaūlakaúé.*

yōk	-à	-cí	=ká	āntān	màk	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	{ yàk
eat	-EUPH	-PL	=TOP	quite	be.a.long.time	time	=A.AG	as.for	now
စား	ချေ	ကြ	ကာတော့ဟာ	တော်တော်	ကြာ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	အခု

ngaú	=nīngyeù }	hīng	amú	ngaúkà	hīng	nashī	=tè	hīng	amú	=ká
say	=manner	3SG	brother	as.for	3SG	younger.sibling	=A.AG	3SG	brother	=TOP
ဆို၊ပြော	လို၊သလို	သူ	အစ်ကို	ဆိုရင်	သူ	မောင်ညီ၊နှမ	ကို	သူ	အစ်ကို	ကာတော့၊တာ

phákhūlū	=lakaú	=é	hīng	nashī	=ká	phúlūthaū	=lakaú	=é	.
PN	=MIR	=SAP	3SG	younger.sibling	=TOP	PN	=MIR	=SAP	
ဖါးခူလူ	ကိုး၊တာကိုး	အေး	သူ	မောင်ညီ၊နှမ	ကာတော့၊တာ	ဖူးလူထော်	ကိုး၊တာကိုး	အေး	

'When ate/cultivated for themselves, after sometimes, {like this manner} the older brother (said) to the younger brother... the older brother was Phakhulu and his younger brother was Phuluthau.'

28. *anyeù ngaúpánlakaú hīng amú phákhūlū ngaúkà yákà mákhàtè ngaúkà “maūng ngā úngpàpèà nāngphángkūná nāngká nímphángnáyeù” ngaúmataák.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	hīng	amú	phákhūlū	ngaúkà	yàk	-à
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	3SG	brother	PN	as.for	day	-one
ဒီ	လိုးလို့	ဆိုးပြော	ရင်တော့	သူ	အစ်ကို	ဖါးခူလူ	ဆိုရင်	ရက်	တစ်

mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	maūng	ngā	úng	=pà	=pè	nāng	-pháng	=kū	=ná
time	=A.AG	as.for	boy	1SG	that	=ALL	=LOC	go	-prior	=IRLS	=SAP
အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	မောင်	ငါ	ဟို	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	သွား	နှင့်	မယ်	နော်

nāng	=ká	ním	-pháng	=ná	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
2SG	=TOP	stay	-prior	=SAP	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS
ခင်ဗျား	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	နေ	နှင့်	နော်	လို့	ဆိုးပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘As it is the case, like that, one day the older brother, Phakhulu, said “(My brother) I will go away and you stay back here.”, it is said.’

29. *“nímphángná” ngaúpánnaà hīngká pòkhápà nāngmataák.*

ním	-pháng	=ná	ngaú	=pán	=naà	hīng	=ká	pòkhá	=pà
stay	-prior	=SAP	say	=COS	=only	3SG	=TOP	forest	=ALL
နေ	နှင့်	နော်	ဆိုးပြော	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	သူ	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	တော	သို့ဖက်

nāng	=mā	=ták .
go	=RLS	=HS
သွား	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(He said) “Stay here, my dear” and (he) went into the forest, it is said.’

30. *àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà {yàknīngyeù} taítapátàk ngaúkà “sāngpaláng ōmkūkáq apòwá” ngaúpánnaà úng thīngpàpanáq sèktàk ngaúkà sāngpaláng tāmìngyaúk hīngyítá pòkhápè nāngìngyaúk “hīngtè sāngpaláng ōmzíngthām”ā ngaúpánnaà sāngpaláng ōm pheúpán lāpánták àngnaíkmákhàtèká hīngká.*

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	{	yàk	=nīngyeù	}	taítapá	-tàk	ngaúkà
that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for		now	=manner		other.country	-PL	as.for
အဲဒီ	မှၠပဲၠသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်		အခု	လိုၠသလို		တိုင်းတစ်ပါး	တို့	ဆိုရင်

sāngpaláng	ōm	=kū	=ká	a=	pò	=á	ngaú	=pán	=naà	úng
king	make	=IRLS	=TOP	NEG=	exist	=NEG	say	=COS	=only	that
ရှင်ဘုရင်	လုပ်	မယ်	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	မ	ရှိ	ဘူး	ဆိုးပြော	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ဟို

thīng	=pà	=panáq	sèk	-tàk	ngaúkà	sāngpaláng	tām	-ìng	=yaúk
village	=ALL	=NOM	person	-PL	as.for	king	search	-DIR2	=COM
ရွာ	သို့ဖက်	တဲ့ၠတာ	သူလူ	တို့	ဆိုရင်	ရှင်ဘုရင်	ရှာဖွေ	ခဲ့	နဲ့

hīng	=yí	=tá	pòkhá	=pè	nāng	-ìng	=yaúk	hīng	=tè	sāngpaláng
3SG	=also	=EMPH	forest	=LOC	go	-DIR2	=COM	3SG	=A.AG	king
သူ	လည်း	ပဲ	တော	မှာ	သွား	ခဲ့	နဲ့	သူ	ကို	ရှင်ဘုရင်

ōm	zíng	=thāmā	ngaú	=pán	=naà	sāngpaláng	ōm	pheú	=pán	
make	JUSS	=HORT	say	=COS	=only	king	make	carry	=COS	
လုပ်	စေ	ရအောင်	ဆိုပြော	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ရှင်ဘုရင်	လုပ်	ထမ်း	ပြီးပြီး	
lā	=pán	=ták	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	hīng	=ká	.
take	=COS	=HS	that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP	3SG	=TOP	
ယူ	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကတော့တာ	သူ	ကတော့တာ	

'Then people from another country said "There is no one to be a king". While the people from other villages came out in search of a king, (the older brother) was on his way to the forest and they met him there. They said "Let's make him the king". Then they made (him) a king and carried and took (him) away, it is said.'

31. *pheúpánnaà làngká àngnaíkmátè ngaúkà teúpè ngaúkà àngpanáq hīng nashī phúlùthaū eútpeúyákmaták.*

pheú	=pán	=naà	làng	=ká	àng	=naík	mátè	ngaúkà	teú	=pè	ngaúkà
carry	=COS	=only	take.dir1	=TOP	that	=only	when	as.for	hut	=LOC	as.for
ထမ်း	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ယူလိုက်	ကတော့တာ	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အခါမှာ	ဆိုရင်	တဲ	မှာ	ဆိုရင်
àng	=panáq	hīng	nashī		phúlūthaū	eút	peú	-à	=mā	=ták	.
that	=NOM	3SG	younger.sibling		PN	drop	keep	-EUPH	=RLS	=HS	
အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	သူ	မောင်ညီနှမ		ဖူးလူထော်	ကျ	ထား	ချေ	တယ်	တဲ့	

'When (they) carried him away, (he) left his younger brother Phuluthau in the hut, it is said.'

32. *eútpeúyákká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà anyeù ngaúmaták.*

eút	peú	-à	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	an	=yeù
drop	keep	-EUPH	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for	DEM	=manner
ကျ	ထား	ချေ	ကတော့တာ	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	ဒီ	လိုလို့
ngaú	=mā	=ták	.							
say	=RLS	=HS								
ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့								

'Having left there left (there), that time, (he) said like this, it is said.'

33. *"aū léq amúká maíkmà līhángkalá, léq amúká maíkmà līhángkaláyeù" ngaúpánnaà myaūtaúpánnaà halángnákàngmaták {hīngyítá}.*

aū	maléq	amú	=ká	mà	=naík	mà	lī	-háng	=kū	=lá	maléq
well!	1PL	brother	=TOP	WH	=many	time	come	-back	IRLS	=Q	1PL
အော်	တို့	အစ်ကို	ကတော့တာ	ဘာတာယ်	နှစ်	အချိန်	လာ	ပြန်	မယ်	လဲလား	တို့
amú	=ká	mà	=naík	mà	lī	-háng	=kū	=lá	=yeù		
brother	=TOP	WH	=many	time	come	-back	IRLS	=Q	=SAP		
အစ်ကို	ကတော့တာ	ဘာတာယ်	နှစ်	အချိန်	လာ	ပြန်	မယ်	လဲလား	လိုလို့		

ngaú	=pán	=naà	myaū	-ta	=pán	=naà	haláng	nāk	-àng	=mā	=ták
say	=COS	=only	wait.for	L.SUFF	=COS	=only	sky	dark	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS
ဆိုပြော	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	မြော်	—	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	မိုးကောင်းကင်	ချုပ်	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့

hīng	=yí	=tá	.
3SG	=also	=EMPH	
သူ	လည်း	ပဲ	

'He (the younger brother) said, "When will my brother come back?" and (while) waiting (him), (it) became dark, it is said.'

34. *halángnákàngká hīng amútèká tamì kaūlāpánlakà úngpè sāngpaláng ōm sèktàk kaūlāpánlakà hīngká ínalīpán seú àngnaíkmákhàtèká.*

halángnāk	-àng	=ká	hīng	amú	=tè	=ká	tamì
dark	-DIR1	=TOP	3SG	brother	=A.AG	=TOP	other.people
မိုးချုပ်	လိုက်	ကတော့ပါတာ	သူ	အစ်ကို	ကို	ကတော့ပါတာ	သူများ

kaū	lā	=pán	=lakà	úng	=pè	sāngpaláng	ōm	sèk	-tàk
call	take	=COS	=MIR	that	=LOC	king	make	person	-PL
ခေါ်	ယူ	ပြီးပြီး	တာကိုး	ဟို	မှာ	ရှင်ဘုရင်	လုပ်	သူလူ	တို့

kaū	lā	=pán	=lakà	hīng	=ká	ín=	a=	lī	=pán	=seú
call	take	=COS	=MIR	3SG	=TOP	NEG=	NEG=	come	=COS	=SAP
ခေါ်	ယူ	ပြီးပြီး	တာကိုး	သူ	ကတော့ပါတာ	မ	မ	လာ	ပြီးပြီး	လေ

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	.
that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP	
အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကတော့ပါတာ	

'When (it became) dark, the people who appointed the king had taken his brother and that time, he was not coming back.'

35. *ínalīhángká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà aū léq amúká halángnāktítá ínalīhángpán yákmákká ngāhaìngsànaík ngapánlá ngaúpánnaà līhángmaták hīngká.*

ín=	a=	lī	-háng	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	aū	maléq
NEG=	NEG=	come	-back	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for	well!	1PL
မ	မ	လာ	ပြန်	ကတော့ပါတာ	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	အော်	တို့

amú	=ká	halángnāk	=tí	=tá	ín=	a=	lī	-háng	=pán
brother	=TOP	dark	=also	=EMPH	NEG=	NEG=	come	-back	=COS
အစ်ကို	ကတော့ပါတာ	မိုးချုပ်	ရင်လည်း	ပဲ	မ	မ	လာ	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး

yàkmák	=ká	ngā	=haìng	-sà	=naík	ngā	=pán	=lá
today	=TOP	exist	=exclusive	-DIM	=only	1SG	=COS	=NOM
ဒီနေ့	ကတော့ပါတာ	ရှိ	ချည်းပဲ	လေး	မှပဲသမျှ	ငါ	ပြီးပြီး	တာ

ngaú	=pán	=naà	lī	-háng	=mā	=ták	hīng	=ká	.
say	=COS	=only	come	-back	=RLS	=HS	3SG	=TOP	
ဆိုပြော	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	လာ	ပြန်	တယ်	တဲ့	သူ	ကတော့တာ	

'When he had not returned, then (the younger brother) said "Though it is dark, my older brother has not returned. Today, I am left by myself." and came back (home), it is said.'

36. *līhángká lámpè ngaúkà acísweū lūwìngmaták.*

lī	-háng	=ká	lám	=pè	ngaúkà	ací	sweū	lū	-ìng	=mā	=ták	.
come	-back	=TOP	dry	=LOC	as.for	elephant	tusk	get	-DIR2	=RLS	=HS	
လာ	ပြန်	ကတော့တာ	လှမ်း	မှာ	ဆိုရင်	ဆင်	စွယ်	ရ	ခဲ့	တယ်	တဲ့	

'As (he) returned, on the way he found/got an elephant's tusk, it is said.'

37. *acísweū lūwìngká acísweūsà pheúpán līhángmaták.*

acísweū	lū	-ìng	=ká	acísweū	-sà	pheú	=pán	lī	-háng	=mā	=ták	.
tusk	get	-DIR2	=TOP	tusk	-DIM	carry	=COS	come	-back	=RLS	=HS	
ဆင်ဆွယ်	ရ	ခဲ့	ကတော့တာ	ဆင်ဆွယ်	လေး	ထမ်း	ပြီးပြီး	လာ	ပြန်	တယ်	တဲ့	

'When (he) found/got a tusk, (he) carried the tusk (on his shoulder) and came back, it is said.'

38. *"yákmákká léq amúká alīhángpán léq awà útpeúmā ngaúpín atheúpè léq amúyítá útpeúyákhángpán ngatèkáyeù yákmákká ngaká màhameúyaúk nímkalá pòkhápè ngāhaìngsàká" ngaúpánnaà acísweūsà pheúpán līhángmaták.*

yàkmák	=ká	maléq	amú	=ká	a=	lī	-háng	=pán	maléq	awà
today	=TOP	1PL	brother	=TOP	NEG=	come	-again	=COS	1PL	father
ဒီနေ့	ကတော့တာ	တို့	အစ်ကို	ကတော့တာ	မ	လာ	နောက်တဖန်	ပြီးပြီး	တို့	အဖေ

út	peú	=mā	ngaú	=panáq	atheú	=pè	maléq	amú	=yí	=tá
abandon	keep	=RLS	say	=NOM	inside	=LOC	1PL	brother	=also	=EMPH
စွန့်ပစ်	ထား	တယ်	ဆိုပြော	တဲ့ဟာ	အထဲ	မှာ	တို့	အစ်ကို	လည်း	ပဲ

út	peú	-à	-háng	=pán	ngā	=tè	=ká	=yeù	yàkmák	=ká
abandon	keep	-EUPH	-back	=COS	1SG	=A.AG	=TOP	=SAP	today	=TOP
စွန့်ပစ်	ထား	ချေ	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	ငါ	ကို	ကတော့တာ	လို့လို့	ဒီနေ့	ကတော့တာ

ngā	=ká	mà	=hameú	=yaúk	ním	=kū	=lá	pòkhá	=pè
1SG	=TOP	WH	=person	=COM	stay	IRLS	=Q	forest	=LOC
ငါ	ကတော့တာ	ဘာဘယ်	သူ	နဲ့	နေ	မယ်	လဲလား	တော	မှာ

ngā	=haìng	-sà	=ká	ngaú	=pán	=naà	ací	sweū	-sà
exist	=exclusive	-DIM	=TOP	say	=COS	=only	elephant	tusk	-DIM
ရှိ	ချည်းပဲ	လေး	ကတော့တာ	ဆိုပြော	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ဆင်	စွယ်	လေး

pheú	=pán	lī	-háng	=mā	=ták .
carry	=COS	come	-back	=RLS	=HS
ထမ်း	ပြီးပြီး	လာ	ပြန်	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(The younger brother) said, “Today, my brother is not coming back. In addition to our father abandoning us, now my older brother has also abandoned me. With whom should I live in this forest? I am now by myself.”, and he came home carrying the elephant’s tusk, it is said.’

39. *acísweūsà pheúpánnaà līhángká àngnáq hīng heūtìng kaūngtìngpèà cháqtaúpánnaà peúhángìngmaták àngnáq acísweūtè.*

ací	sweū	-sà	pheú	=pán	=naà	lī	-háng	=ká	àng	=panáq	hīng
elephant	tusk	-DIM	carry	=COS	=only	come	-back	=TOP	that	=NOM	3SG
ဆင်	စွယ်	လေး	ထမ်း	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	လာ	ပြန်	ကတော့တာ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	သူ

heū	=tìng	kaūng	=tìng	=pè	cháq	-ta	=pán	=naà
climb	=nom	step.on	=nom	=LOC	put.down	L.SUFF	=COS	=only
တက်	ဖို့စရာ	နင်း	ဖို့စရာ	မှာ	ချ	-	ပြီးပြီး	မှ

peú	-háng	-ìng	=mā	=ták	àng	=panáq	acísweū	=tè .
keep	-back	-DIR2	=RLS	=HS	that	=NOM	tusk	=A.AG
ထား	ပြန်	ခဲ့	တယ်	တဲ့	အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	ဆင်ဆွယ်	ကို

‘When (he) came back carrying the elephant’s tusk, (he) put the elephant’s tusk down at the steps, it is said.’

40. *àngnáq acísweūtè cháqtaúpánnaà hīng heūtìng sàttìngpè*

àng	=panáq	ací	sweū	=tè	cháq	-ta	=pán	=naà	hīng	heū	=tìng
that	=NOM	elephant	tusk	=A.AG	put.down	L.SUFF	=COS	=only	3SG	climb	=nom
အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	ဆင်	စွယ်	ကို	ချ	—	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	သူ	တက်	ဖို့စရာ

sàt	=tìng	=pè	
descend	=NOM	=LOC	
ဆင်း	ဖို့စရာ	မှာ	

‘Having put the tusk down at the ladder,’

41. *àngnaíkmátè ngaúkà sīnsweūsà cháqtaúpeúhángìngká àngnáqpè hīngká kaūng kaūngpán heū hamàng ōm ōmká anáqsà cháqtaúpán peúpánnaà hīngká yēk wánmyeútaí wányōkmaták.*

àng	=naík	mátè	ngaúkà	sīn	sweū	-sà
that	=only	when	as.for	elephant	tusk	-DIM
အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အခါမှာ	ဆိုရင်	ဆင်	စွယ်	လေး

cháq	-ta	peú	-háng	-ìng	=ká	àng	=panáq	=pè	hīng	=ká	
put.down	L.SUFF	keep	-back	-DIR2	=TOP	that	=NOM	=LOC	3SG	=TOP	
ချ	–	ထား	ပြန်	ခဲ့	ကတော့တာ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	မှာ	သူ	ကတော့တာ	

kaūng	kaūng	=pán	heū	hà	=màng	ōm	ōm	=ká	anáq	-sà
step.on	step.on	=COS	climb	WH	=thing	make	make	=TOP	this	-DIM
နင်း	နင်း	ပြီ၊ပြီး	တတ်	ဘယ်	ဟာ	လုပ်	လုပ်	က၊တော့၊တာ	ဒီ	လေး

cháq	-ta	=pán	peú	=pán	=naà	hīng	=ká	yēk	wán	myeútaí
put.down	L.SUFF	=COS	keep	=COS	=only	3SG	=TOP	hill.field	chop	as.usual
ချ	—	ပြီ၊ပြီး	ထား	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မှ	သူ	က၊တော့၊တာ	တောင်ယာ	ခုတ်	မြဲတိုင်း

wán	yōk	=mā	=ták .
chop	eat	=RLS	=HS
ခုတ်	စား	တယ်	တဲ့

'Then he put the elephant's tusk down (at the steps), and he often steps on it (when he goes out and it) and (continue) to do/cultivate the hill field as usual, it is said.'

42. *phàkmáknīngyeù yēkpàpè nānghángmaták.*

phàkmák	=nīngyeù	yēk	=pà	=pè	nāng	-háng	=mā	=ták .
tomorrow	=manner	hill.field	=ALL	=LOC	go	-back	=RLS	=HS
မနက်ဖြန်	လို၊သလို	တောင်ယာ	သို့၊ဖက်	မှာ	သွား	ပြန်	တယ်	တဲ့

'The next day, he went back to the fields, it is said.'

43. *yēkpáqpè nahángká anáq acísweūheúqyeù anáq {sīnphyūmeū īshíqshā} acílúng pūngpūngshà īshíqshà pūpánnaà hīngyeún atá sapáksà mōkákmaták.*

yēk	=pà	=pè	nāng	-háng	=ká	anáq	acísweū	=haík	=yeù	anáq
hill.field	=ALL	=LOC	go	-back	=TOP	this	tusk	=ABL	=SAP	this
တောင်ယာ	သို့၊ဖက်	မှာ	သွား	ပြန်	က၊တော့၊တာ	ဒီ	ဆင်ဆွယ်	က၊မှ	လို၊လို့	ဒီ

sīnphyū	meū	īshíq	shā	ací	lúng	lúng	pūngpūng	shā
white.elephant	CLT.female	girl	small	elephant	white	white	ATTW	small
ဆင်ဖြူ	မယ်	အမျိုးသမီး	ငယ်၊ခလေး	ဆင်	ဖြူ	ဖြူဖြူ		ငယ်၊ခလေး

īshíq	shā	pū	=pán	=naà	hīng	=yeún	atá	sapáksà
girl	small	emerge	=COS	=only	3SG	=BEN	rice	dish
အမျိုးသမီး	ငယ်၊ခလေး	ထွက်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မှ	သူ	အတွက်	ထမင်း	ဟင်း

mōk	-à	=mā	=ták .
cook	-EUPH	=RLS	=HS
ချက်	ချေ	တယ်	တဲ့

'When (he) had gone to the field, a white elephant came out of the tusk and cooked food for him, it is said.'

44. *mōkpán īmaták.*

mōk	=pán	ī	=mā	=ták .
cook	=COS	give	=RLS	=HS
ချက်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	ပေး	တယ်	တဲ့

'(S/he) cooked (for him), it is said.'

45. *{àngnáq acísweūhaík pūpánnaà} àngnáq īshíqshà cíceū katàmmaták katàmyítá katàmshīshísà ták.*

{àng	=panáq	acísweū	=haík	pū	=pán	=naà}	àng	=panáq	īshíq	shā
that	=NOM	tusk	=ABL	emerge	=COS	=only	that	=NOM	girl	small
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ကာ	ဆင်ဆွယ်	ကမှ	ထွက်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ကာ	အမျိုးသမီး	ငယ်ခလေး

cíceū	katàm	=mā	=ták	katàm	=yí	=tá	katàm	shīshí	-sà	=ták .
extremely	beautiful	=RLS	=HS	beautiful	=also	=EMPH	beautiful	ATTW	-DIM	=HS
ကြီးကျယ်	လှ	တယ်	တဲ့	လှ	လည်း	ပဲ	လှ	မြည်သံစွဲ	လေး	တဲ့

‘ This girl was very beautiful, it is said. (She was) extremely beautiful, it is said.’

46. *àngnaíkmátè ngaúkà pūpánnaà atá sapáksà mōkákkánaà hīngká “aū yàkmákká màhameú mōkīzeúlá ngātèká anáq atá sapáksàká màhameú mōkpán īzeúláyeù” {phàkmáknīng ngāyítá} yōkyí cíceū yōkmeúmaták.*

àng	=naík	mátè	ngaúkà	pū	=pán	=naà	atá	sapáksà
that	=only	when	as.for	emerge	=COS	=only	rice	dish
အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အခါမှာ	ဆိုရင်	ထွက်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ထမင်း	ဟင်း

mōk	-à	=ká	=naà	hīng	=ká	aū	yàkmák	=ká
cook	-EUPH	=TOP	=only	3SG	=TOP	well!	today	=TOP
ချက်	ချေ	ကတော့ကတော	မှ	သူ	ကတော့ကတော	အော်	ဒီနေ့	ကတော့ကတော

mà	=hameú	mōk	ī	=nāngzeù	=lá	ngā	=tè	=ká	anáq	atá
WH	=person	cook	give	=only/merely	=Q	exist	=A.AG	=TOP	this	rice
ဘာဘယ်	သူ	ချက်	ပေး	မှသာ	လဲလား	ရှိ	ကို	ကတော့ကတော	ဒီ	ထမင်း

sapáksà	=ká	mà	=hameú	mōk	=pán	ī	zeú	=lá	=yeù	{
dish	=TOP	WH	=person	cook	=COS	give	might	=Q	=SAP	
ဟင်း	ကတော့ကတော	ဘာဘယ်	သူ	ချက်	ပြီးပြီး	ပေး	ခဲ့	လဲလား	လို့လို့	

phàkmák	=nīng	ngā	=yí	=tá	}	yōk	=yí	cíceū	yōk	meú	=mā	=ták .
tomorrow	=manner	exist	=also	=EMPH		eat	=also	extremely	eat	good	=RLS	=HS
မနက်ဖြန်	လို	ရှိ	လည်း	ပဲ		စား	လည်း	ကြီးကျယ်	စား	ကောင်း	တယ်	တဲ့

‘When (she) came out, she cooked. (The man) said “Today, who came and cooked this food for me? Who cooked this rice and curry for me?”. {And it happened the next day}. (It) was so delicious, it is said.’

47. *phàkmáknīngyeù ngāyítá túmpaūngpaūngsà yōkmeúmaták.*

phàkmák	=nīngyeù	ngā	=yí	=tá	túm	paūngpaūng	-sà
tomorrow	=manner	exist	=also	=EMPH	fragrant	ATTW	-DIM
မနက်ဖြန်	လိုသလို	ရှိ	လည်း	ပဲ	မွှေး	မွှေးမွှေး	လေး

yōk	meú	=mā	=ták .
eat	good	=RLS	=HS
စား	ကောင်း	တယ်	တဲ့

‘And the next day, as well, (the food was) fragrant and delicious to eat, it is said.’

48. *naúktèká phàkmáknīngyeìyítá nahángpánták hīngká yēk wánhángàká līhángpánták {àngnaíkmàtè ngaúkà līhángpánták}.*

naúk	=tè	=ká	phàkmák	=nīngyeù	=yí	=tá	nāng	-háng	=pán	=ták
later	=A.AG	=TOP	tomorrow	=manner	=also	=EMPH	go	-back	=COS	=HS
နောက်	ကို	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	မနက်ဖြန်	လိုၤသလို	လည်း	ပဲ	်သွား	ပြန်	ပြီၤပြီး	တဲ့

hīng	=ká	yēk	wán	-háng	-à	=ká	lī	-háng	=pán	=ták {
3SG	=TOP	hill.field	chop	-back	-EUPH	=TOP	come	-back	=COS	=HS
သူ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	တောင်ယာ	ခုတ်	ပြန်	ချေ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	လာ	ပြန်	ပြီၤပြီး	တဲ့

-àng	=naík	mátè	ngaúkà	lī	-háng	=pán	=ták }.
-DIR1	=only	when	as.for	come	-back	=COS	=HS
လိုက်	မ့ၤပဲၤသမ့ၤ	အခါမှာ	ဆိုရင်	လာ	ပြန်	ပြီၤပြီး	တဲ့

'The next day, as well, he went back (to cultivate the field), it is said. (He) went to cultivate and (he) came back, it is said. {Then he came back, it is said}'

49. *hīng līhángpán ngaúpánnàkà sāngpán nímhángpán ngaúlakàé.*

hīng	lī	-háng	=pán	ngaú	pánnàkà	sāng	=pán	ním	-háng	=pán
3SG	come	-back	=COS	say	if	enter	=COS	stay	-back	=COS
သူ	လာ	ပြန်	ပြီၤပြီး	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်	ဝင်	ပြီၤပြီး	နေ	ပြန်	ပြီၤပြီး

ngaú	=lakà	=é	.
say	=MIR	=SAP	
ဆိုၤပြော	တာကိုး	အေး	

'When he came back, (she) entered (into the tusk), it is said.'

50. *anáq īshíqshākà hīng līhángpán sāngpán nímhángpánták eú asweùnaúpè.*

anáq	īshíq	shā	=ká	hīng	lī	-háng	=pán	sāng	=pán
this	girl	small	=TOP	3SG	come	-back	=if	enter	=COS
ဒီ	အမျိုးသမီး	ငယ်ခလေး	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	သူ	လာ	ပြန်	ရင်	ဝင်	ပြီၤပြီး

ním	-háng	=pán	=ták	eú	asweù	naú	=pè	.
stay	-back	=COS	=HS	that	tusk	inside	=LOC	
နေ	ပြန်	ပြီၤပြီး	တဲ့	အဲဒီ	အဆွယ်	ထဲ	မှာ	

'When he comes back, the girl enters into the tusk and stays (there), it is said.'

51. *àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà nímhángàká àngnaíkmákhàtèká hīng nahángpán ngaúpánnàkà pūpánnaà mōkīhángpìngták.*

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	ním	-háng	-à	=ká
that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for	stay	-back	-EUPH	=TOP
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	နေ	ပြန်	ချေ	က၊တော့၊တာ

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	hīng	nāng	-háng	=pán	ngaú	pánnàkà
that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP	3SG	go	-back	=COS	say	if
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	က၊တော့၊တာ	သူ	သွား	ပြန်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်

pū	=pán	=naà	mōk	ī	-háng	=píng	=ták .
emerge	=COS	=only	cook	give	-back	=DIR2:COS	=HS
ထွက်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မှ	ချက်	ပေး	ပြန်	လာပြီ	တဲ့

'(She) stayed inside, that time, when he went back. (She) came out and cooked food (for him), it is said.'

52. *hīng apòmákhà pūpán mōktalé.*

hīng	a=	pò	mákhà	pū	=pán	mōk	=talé	.
3SG	NEG=	exist	time	emerge	=COS	cook	=SAP	
သူ	မ	ရှိ	အချိန်အခါ	ထွက်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	ချက်	တယ်လေး	

'(She) came out and cooked in his absence.'

53. *īká phàkmáknīng ngātí anyeù shīnátnīng ngātí anyeù kalìngyák sómyák màkàngmákhàtè ngaúkà "aū ngā chaúngzáng chaúngtayókkū anáq īshíqshàtè" ngaúmaták.*

ī	=ká	phàkmák	=nīng	ngā	=tí	an	=yeù
give	=TOP	tomorrow	=manner	exist	=also	DEM	=manner
ပေး	က၊တော့၊တာ	မနက်ဖြန်	လို	ရှိ	ရင်လည်း	ဒီ	လို၊လို့

shīnát	=nīng	ngā	=tí	an	=yeù	kalìng	yàk	sóm	-à
the.day.after.tomorrow	=manner	exist	=also	DEM	=manner	two	day	three	-EUPH
တဘက်ခါ	လို	ရှိ	ရင်လည်း	ဒီ	လို၊လို့	နှစ်	ရက်	သုံး	ချေ

màk	-àng	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	aū	ngā	chaúng	=záng
be.a.long.time	-DIR1	time	=A.AG	as.for	well!	1SG	spy	=EMPH
ကြာ	လိုက်	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	အော်	ငါ	ချောင်းကြည့်	ပဲလေ

chaúng	-ta	=yók	=kū	anáq	īshíq	shā	=tè	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
spy	L.SUFF	=intrusive	=IRLS	this	girl	small	=A.AG	say	=RLS	=HS
ချောင်းကြည့်	—	အုံး	မယ်	ဒီ	အမျိုးသမီး	ငယ်၊ခလေး	ကို	ဆို၊ပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

'Then she cooked (for him) and the same thing happened on the next day and the next two days. After two or three days, (he) said, "I will spy on this girl", it is said.'

54. *“ngāyeún atá sapáksà mōkīpín sèktè chaúngtayókkū” ngaúmaták.*

ngā	=yeún	atá	sapáksà	mōk	ī	=panáq	sèk	=tè
1SG	=BEN	rice	dish	cook	give	=NOM	person	=A.AG
ငါ	အတွက်	ထမင်း	ဟင်း	ချက်	ပေး	တဲ့ဟာ	သူ၊လူ	ကို

chaúng	-ta	=yók	=kū	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
spy	L.SUFF	=intrusive	=IRLS	say	=RLS	=HS
ချောင်းကြည့်	—	အုံး	မယ်	ဆို၊ပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(He) said “I will spy on the one who cooked food for me.”, it is said.’

55. *“lāpkón chaúngtayókkū ngā” kalìngyàk súmyàk màkàngmákhàtè ngaúkà chaúngtapánták àngnaíkmákhàtè.*

lāp	=kón	chaúng	-ta	=yók	=kū	ngā	kalìng	yàk	sóm	yàk
catch	=so.as.to	spy	L.SUFF	=intrusive	=IRLS	1SG	two	day	three	day
မိ	အောင်	ချောင်းကြည့်	—	အုံး	မယ်	ငါ	နှစ်	ရက်	သုံး	ရက်

màk	-àng	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	chaúng	-ta	=pán	=ták
be.a.long.time	-DIR1	time	=A.AG	as.for	spy	L.SUFF	=COS	=HS
ကြာ	လိုက်	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	ချောင်းကြည့်	—	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	.
that	=only	time	=A.AG	
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	

‘“I will spy (on her) to catch her.” Two or three days (he) spied (on her), it is said.’

56. *chaúngtaúkánaà àngnaíkmákhàtèká mōkpán nímhángpìngták.*

chaúng	-ta	=ká	=naà	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká
spy	L.SUFF	=TOP	=only	that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP
ချောင်းကြည့်	-	က၊တော့၊တာ	မှ	အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	က၊တော့၊တာ

mōk	=pán	ním	-háng	=píng	=ták .
cook	=COS	stay	-back	=DIR2:COS	=HS
ချက်	ပြီးပြီး	နေ	ပြန်	လာပြီ	တဲ့

‘While (he) spied, that time, (she) came and cooked (for him) again, it is said.’

57. *hīng nāngpeúpán ngaúpánnàkà hīng nāngpeúmákhàtè mōkpán nímháng hīngká.*

hīng	nāng	peú	=pán	ngaú	pánnàkà	hīng	nāng	peú	mákhà	=tè	mōk	=pán
3SG	go	keep	=COS	say	if	3SG	go	keep	time	=A.AG	cook	=COS
သူ	သွား	ထား	ပြီးပြီး	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်	သူ	သွား	ထား	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ချက်	ပြီးပြီး

ním -háng hīng =ká .

stay -back 3SG =TOP

နေ ပြန် သူ ကၤတော့ၤတာ

'When he's gone, by the time he is gone, she cooked and stayed (in the hut) again.'

58. *àngnaíkmákhàtèká lāpkón "ateú nānglakà aúpè atá sāng sāngpánnaà mōkkà nānglakáyeù".*

àng =naík mákhà =tè =ká lāp =kón ateú nāng =lakà aú =pè

that =only time =A.AG =TOP catch =so.as.to oh!.you go =MIR here =LOC

အဲဒီ မှၤပဲသမျှ အချိန်အခါ ကို ကၤတော့ၤတာ မိ အောင် အသင် သွား တာကိုး ဒီ မှာ

atá sāng sāng =pán =naà mōk =ká nāng =lakà =yeù .

rice enter enter =COS =only cook =TOP 2SG =MIR =SAP

ထမင်း ဝင် ဝင် ပြီးပြီး မှ ချက် ကၤတော့ၤတာ ခင်ဗျား တာကိုး လိုၤလို့

'This time, (he shouted) to catch (her) , "Oh, you!, You are the one who often came in and cooked the food."'

59. *àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà é chīmāyeù àngnáq shīshāyítá seùé.*

àng =naík mákhà =tè ngaúkà é chī =mā =yeù àng =panáq

that =only time =A.AG as.for yes true =RLS =SAP that =NOM

အဲဒီ မှၤပဲသမျှ အချိန်အခါ ကို ဆိုရင် အေး ဟုတ် တယ် လိုၤလို့ အဲဒီ တဲ့ၤတာ

shīshā =yí =tá =seùé .

child =also =EMPH =SAP

ကလေး လည်း ပဲ လေ

'Then the girl (said), "Yes, it's true."'

60. *"é chīmāyeù nāng hawàsà anyeù ngāním lamàyeù yūpánnaà nāngyeún ngā kūnyītaūīyákmā" {anyeù seùé naú pōngzānká}.*

é chī =mā =yeù nāng hú -à -sà an =yeù ngā ním

yes true =RLS =SAP 2SG CLF.person -one -mere DEM =manner exist stay

အေး ဟုတ် တယ် လိုၤလို့ ခင်ဗျား ယောက် တစ် သာ ဒီ လိုၤလို့ ရှိ နေ

=lamà =yeù yū =pán =naà nāng =yeún ngā kūnyī -ta ī -à =mā {

=MIR =SAP look =COS =only 2SG =BEN 1SG help L.SUFF give -EUPH =RLS

ကိုး လိုၤလို့ ကြည့် ပြီးပြီး မှ ခင်ဗျား အတွက် ငါ ကူညီ - ပေး ချေ တယ်

an =yeù =seùé =ná pōngzān =ká }.

DEM =manner =SAP =SAP pattern =TOP

ဒီ လိုၤလို့ လေ နော် ပုံစံ ကၤတော့ၤတာ

"Yes, it's true. I helped you, as I looked/noticed you living by yourself." {It is the manner/pattern (it was said)}

61. *“nāngtè ngā azànká mítpánnaà ōmpókákmā” {anyeù seùé} “ngātè atánshíshók”, “íntánshíyáyeù” naúktèká.*

nāng	=tè	ngā	azàn	=ká	mít	=pán	=naà	ōm	pók	-à	=mā	{
2SG	=A.AG	1SG	pity	=TOP	love	=COS	=only	make	help	-EUPH	=RLS	
ခင်ဗျား	ကို	ငါ	သနား	ကာတော့ဟာ	ချစ်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	လုပ်	ကူညီ	ချေ	တယ်	

an	=yeù	=seùé	}	ngā	=tè	a=	tán	shí	=shók
DEM	=manner	=SAP		1SG	=A.AG	NEG=	beat	die	=NEG.IMP-INTRUSIVE
ဒီ	လိုလို	လေ		ငါ	ကို	မ	တီးရိုက်	သေ	နဲ့အုံး

ín=	tánshí	=á	=yeù	naúk	=tè	=ká .
NEG=	kill	=NEG	=SAP	later	=A.AG	=TOP
မ	သတ်	ဘူး	လို့လို့	နောက်	ကို	ကာတော့ဟာ

“I helped cook for you because I loved you, as I felt pity on you.”. “Do not kill me yet,” “No, I won't.”

62. *àngnáqhaík lāpán nímcàngmaták àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà.*

àng	=panáq	=haík	lā	=pán	ním	-càng	=mā	=ták
that	=NOM	=ABL	take	=COS	stay	-PL:DIR1	=RLS	=HS
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	ကမှ	ယူ	ပြီးပြီး	နေ	ကြလိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà .
that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for
အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်

‘From then on, (they) took (married) and lived (together), it is said.’

63. *lāpán nímcàngká àngnaíkmàtè ngaúkà {àngpanáq meútnátóng} hīng amú phákhūlū tamì taípīpàpè sāngpaláng ōmàpanáq sèk ngaúkà.*

lā	=pán	ním	-càng	=ká	àng	=naík	mátè	ngaúkà	{	àng	=panáq
take	=COS	stay	-PL:DIR1	=TOP	that	=only	when	as.for		that	=NOM
ယူ	ပြီးပြီး	နေ	ကြလိုက်	ကာတော့ဟာ	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အခါမှာ	ဆိုရင်		အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ

meútnátóng	}	hīng	amú	phákhūlū	tamì	taípī	=pà	=pè	sāngpaláng
a.moment.ago		3SG	brother	PN	other.people	country	=ALL	=LOC	king
ခုဏတုန်းက		သူ	အစ်ကို	ဖါးခူလူ	သူများ	တိုင်းပြည်	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	ရှင်ဘုရင်

ōm	-à	=panáq	sèk	ngaúkà .	
make	-EUPH	=NOM	person	as.for	
လုပ်	ချေ	တဲ့ဟာ	သူလူ	ဆိုရင်	

‘When (they) got married, that time, his older brother, Phakhulu, the one who was a king in another country,’

64. *àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà {àngnáqtàk ngaúkà} mōksótàk ngaúkà katùngìngmaták àngnáq taípīpanáq tamìsātàk taúkōleūtìngkánaà ànták ēksāhalánáqà katàmshīshísà lakò.*

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	{	àng	=panáq	-tàk ngaúkà	}	mōksó	-tàk ngaúkà		
that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for		that	=NOM	-PL as.for		hunter	-PL as.for		
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်		အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	တို့ ဆိုရင်		မုဆိုး	တို့ ဆိုရင်		
katùng	-ìng	=mā	=ták	àng	=panáq	taípī	=panáq	tamìsā	-tàk				
see	-DIR2	=RLS	=HS	that	=NOM	country	=ABL	human	-PL				
မြင်	ခဲ့	တယ်	တဲ့	အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	တိုင်းပြည်	မှ	လူ	တို့				
taú	=kō	leū	-ta	-ìng	=ká	=naà	àntàk	ēksāhalá	=naà				
jungle	=ALL	visit	L.SUFF	-DIR2	=TOP	=only	3PL	husband.wife	=only				
တော	ကို	လည်	—	ခဲ့	ကၠတော့၊တာ	မှ	သူတို့	လင်မယား	မှ				
katàm	shīshí	-sà	=lakò	.									
beautiful	ATTW	-DIM	=SAP										
လှ	မြည်သံစွဲ	လေး	ကို၊တာကို										

'Then when the people from that other country came hunting, (they) saw (them), it is said. (They were) extremely beautiful.'

65. *“àngnáq acíshà sīnphyūmeūshà ngaúpanáq cíceū katàmmā” ngaúlakàé.*

àng	=panáq	ací	shā	sīnphyū	meū	shā	ngaú	=panáq	
that	=NOM	elephant	small	white.elephant	CLT.female	small	say	=NOM	
အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	ဆင်	ငယ်၊ခလေး	ဆင်ဖြူ	မယ်	ငယ်၊ခလေး	ဆို၊ပြော	တဲ့၊တာ	
cíceū	katàm	=mā	ngaú	=lakà	=é	.			
extremely	beautiful	=RLS	say	=MIR	=SAP				
ကြီးကျယ်	လှ	တယ်	ဆို၊ပြော	တာကိုး	အေး				

'“The elephant girl was extremely beautiful”, it is said.'

66. *katàmpánták ngaúpánkaú àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà “ā àngnáq àngnáqyópè” {anyeù seùé naú pōngzānká} sāngpaláng yeún heúhángàtalé.*

katàm	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú		àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	ā			
beautiful	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case		that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for	oh			
လှ	ပြီ၊ပြီး	တဲ့	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်တော့		အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	အာ			
àng	=panáq	àng	=panáq	yó	=pè	{	an	=yeù	=seùé	=ná				
that	=NOM	that	=NOM	CLT.ridge	=LOC		DEM	=manner	=SAP	=SAP				
အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	ရိုး	မှာ		ဒီ	လို၊လို့	လေ	နော်				
pōngzān	=ká	}	sāngpaláng	=yeún	heú	-háng	-à	=talé	.					
pattern	=TOP		king	=BEN	tell	-back	-EUPH	=SAP						
ပုံစံ	ကၠတော့၊တာ		ရှင်ဘုရင်	အတွက်	ပြော၊ပြ	ပြန်	ချေ	တယ်လေး						

'As it is the case that (they) are beautiful, that time, (the hunters) told the king “(the couple live) there, on the ridge.” {in that manner/pattern it was said.)'

67. *“àngnáqyópè seùé” ngaúmataák.*

àngnáq	yó	=pè	=seùé	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
that.one	CLT.ridge	=LOC	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS
အဲဒါ	ရိုး	မှာ	လေ	ဆိုၤပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(They) said “On that ridge.”, it is said.’

68. *“àngnáq sīnphyūmeūshàyí cíceū katàmmā àngnáq ēksāhalá nímcímā” {anyeù seùé naú}.*

àng	=panáq	sīnphyū	meū	shā	=yí	cíceū	katàm	=mā	
that	=NOM	white.elephant	CLT.female	small	=also	extremely	beautiful	=RLS	
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ၤတာ	ဆင်ဖြူ	မယ်	ငယ်ၤခလေး	လည်း	ကြီးကျယ်	လှ	တယ်	
àng	=panáq	ēksāhalá	ním	-cí	=mā	{ an	=yeù	=seùé	=ná }.
that	=NOM	husband.wife	stay	-PL	=RLS	DEM	=manner	=SAP	=SAP
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ၤတာ	လင်မယားး	နေ	ကြ	တယ်	ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	လေ	နော်

‘“The elephant girl is extremely beautiful. The couple lives at that place” {the manner (it was told)}.’

69. *katùngìngmā īshíshàyaúk àntàk ēksāhalá nímcímā katùngìngmā anyeù heúhángpántàk.*

katùng	-ìng	=mā	īshíq	shā	=yaúk	àntàk	ēksāhalá	ním	-cí	=mā
see	-DIR2	=RLS	girl	small	=COM	3PL	husband.wife	stay	-PL	=RLS
မြင်	ခဲ့	တယ်	အမျိုးသမီး	ငယ်ၤခလေး	နဲ့	သူတို့	လင်မယားး	နေ	ကြ	တယ်
katùng	-ìng	=mā	an	=yeù	heú	-háng	=pán	=ták .		
see	-DIR2	=RLS	DEM	=manner	tell	-back	=COS	=HS		
မြင်	ခဲ့	တယ်	ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ပြောပြ	ပြန်	ပြီၤပြီး	တဲ့		

‘(They) told the king, this manner, “(We) saw a young girl. (We) saw a couple.”, it is said.’

70. *sāngpaláng tàkká {nāngyítá} maeú thóngzānshíqtíqataí tamì ēk katàmshīshísà ngaúpán lākákmā seùé.*

sāngpaláng	-tàk	=ká	{ nāng	=yí	=tá	} maeú	thóngzānshíqtíq	ataí		
king	-PL	=TOP	2SG	=also	=EMPH	long.ago	as.the.custom	pattern		
ရှင်ဘုရင်	တို့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ခင်ဗျား	လည်း	ပဲ	ရှေး	ထုံးစံရှိသည့်	အတိုင်း		
tamì	ēk	katàm	shīshí	-sà	ngaú	=pán	lā	-kák	=mā	=seùé .
other.people	wife	beautiful	ATTW	-DIM	say	=if	take	-want	=RLS	=SAP
သူများ	ဇနီး	လှ	မြည်သံစွဲ	လေး	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်	ယူ	ချင်	တယ်	လေ

‘It is an old regular practice with kings, (they) want someone's wife who is beautiful.’

71. *lākákpántàk ngaúpánkaú àngnaíkmàtè ngaúkà “ā kaūwàthàkūyeù” ngaúmatàk.*

lā	-kák	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	àng	=naík	mátè	ngaúkà	ā
take	-want	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	that	=only	when	as.for	oh
ယူ	ချင်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အခါမှာ	ဆိုရင်	အာ

kaū	-à	-thà	=kū	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
call	-EUPH	-must	=IRLS	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS
ခေါ်	ချေ	ရ	မယ်	လို့လို့	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘As it is the case with kings, that time, (the king) said “Well, (you) must go and call (her).”, it is said.’

72. *{é kaūzíngákkákmā} “àngnáq ēksāhalá nímpanáqtè kaūzíngákkákmāyeù” ngaúmatàk.*

{é	kaū	zíng	-à	-kák	=mā}	àng	=panáq	ēksāhalá	ním	=panáq	=tè
yes	call	JUSS	-EUPH	-want	=RLS	that	=NOM	husband.wife	stay	=NOM	=A.AG
အေး	ခေါ်	စေ	ချေ	ချင်	တယ်	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ပေါ	လင်မယား	နေ	တဲ့ပေါ	ကို

kaū	zíng	-à	-kák	=mā	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
call	JUSS	-EUPH	-want	=RLS	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS
ခေါ်	စေ	ချေ	ချင်	တယ်	လို့လို့	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(The king) said, “As the couple lives, (I) want (you) to bring the couple.”, it is said.’

73. *àngnaíkmàká kaūcípìngták kaūcíká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà úngpè thōkpántàk.*

àng	=naík	mà	=ká	kaū	-cí	=píng	=ták	kaū	-cí	=ká
that	=only	time	=TOP	call	-PL	=DIR2:COS	=HS	call	-PL	=TOP
အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်	ကတော့ပေါ	ခေါ်	ကြ	လာပြီ	တဲ့	ခေါ်	ကြ	ကတော့ပေါ

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	úng	=pè	thōk	=pán	=ták .
that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for	that	=LOC	arrive	=COS	=HS
အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	ဟို	မှာ	ရောက်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

‘Then they called them, it is said. When (they were called), they came (there), it is said.’

74. *thōkàngká àngnaíkmákhàtè “aū màhameúzáng māntáklakaú” ngaúmatàk.*

thōk	-àng	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	aū	mà	=hameú	=záng
arrive	-DIR1	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	well!	WH	=person	=EMPH
ရောက်	လိုက်	ကတော့ပေါ	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	အော်	ဘာဘယ်	သူ	ပဲလှ

mānták	=lakaú	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
think	=MIR	say	=RLS	=HS
ထင်စဉ်းစား	ကိုးတာကိုး	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘When (they) arrived, that time, (the king) said, “Well, who do (I) think (he) is?”, it is said.’

75. *“ngā nashī lamàé”.*

ngā	nashī	=lamà	=é	.
1SG	younger.sibling	=MIR	=SAP	
ငါ	မောင်/ညီ၊နှမ	ကိုး	အေး	

“(It's) my younger brother.”

76. *{ēksāhalátóng kaūwàngmāé.}*

ēksāhalá	tóng	kaū	-àng	=mā	é .
husband.wife	big	call	-DIR1	=RLS	yes
လင်မယား	ကြီး	ခေါ်	လိုက်	တယ်	အေး

‘(The king) called the couple.’

77. *{ēksāhalátóng kaūpánnaà àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà “aū màhameúzáng māntáklakaú” hīng maháng lamàyeù àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà.}*

ēksāhalá	tóng	kaū	=pán	=naà	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	aū
husband.wife	big	call	=COS	=only	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for	well!
လင်မယား	ကြီး	ခေါ်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	အော်

mà	=hameú	=záng	mānták	=lakaú	hīng	maháng	=lamà	=yeù
WH	=person	=EMPH	think	=MIR	3SG	that.thing	=MIR	=manner
ဘာ၊ဘယ်	သူ	ပဲလှ	ထင်၊စဉ်းစား	ကိုး၊တာကိုး	သူ	ဟိုဟာ	ကိုး	လို၊လို့

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà .
that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်

‘When (the couple) was called, then (the king said), “Who do (I) think (he) is. It’s him.”

78. *àngnaíkmàtè ngaúkà é hīng ēktè lākákpán seú {àngnaíkmàtè}.*

àng	=naík	mátè	ngaúkà	é	hīng	ēk	=tè	lā	-kák	=pán	=seú	{
that	=only	when	as.for	yes	3SG	wife	=A.AG	take	-want	=COS	=SAP	
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲသမျှ	အခါမှာ	ဆိုရင်	အေး	သူ	ဇနီး	ကို	ယူ	ချင်	ပြီးပြီး	လေ	

àng	=naík	mátè	}.
that	=only	when	
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲသမျှ	အခါမှာ	

‘Then (he) wanted to get his wife.’

79. *hīng ēktè lākákpánták ngaúpánkaú hīngtè tēcaúng cāntamaták.*

hīng	ēk	=tè	lā	-kák	=pán	=ták ngaú	=pánkaú	hīng	=tè	tēcaúng
3SG	wife	=A.AG	take	-want	=COS	=HS say	=as.it.is.the.case	3SG	=A.AG	way.to.die
သူ	ဇနီး	ကို	ယူ	ချင်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့ ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်တော့	သူ	ကို	သေကြောင်း

cān	-ta	=mā	=ták .
plan	L.SUFF	=RLS	=HS
ကြံစည်	—	တယ်	တဲ့

'As it is the case that the king wants his wife, (he) made a plan to kill him, it is said.'

80. *nashītè ayé aōmyeūnpán àngnaíkmákhàtèká ayé aōmyeūnká hīng ēktè lākákpánták ngaú anyeùyaúkzáng tēcaúng cāntamaták àngnaíkmákhàtèká.*

nashī	=tè	ayé	a=	ōm	-yeūn	=pán
younger.sibling	=A.AG	matter	NEG=	make	-can	=COS
မောင်/ညီ၊နှမ	ကို	အရေး	မ	လုပ်	နိုင်	ပြီးပြီး

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	ayé	a=	ōm	-yeūn	=ká	hīng
that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP	matter	NEG=	make	-can	=TOP	3SG
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကၠတော့၊တာ	အရေး	မ	လုပ်	နိုင်	ကၠတော့၊တာ	သူ

ēk	=tè	lā	-kák	=pán	=ták ngaú	an	=yeù	=yaúk	=záng	tēcaúng
wife	=A.AG	take	-want	=COS	=HS say	DEM	=manner	=COM	=EMPH	way.to.die
ဇနီး	ကို	ယူ	ချင်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့ ဆို၊ပြော	ဒီ	လို၊လို့	နဲ့	ပဲ၊လှ	သေကြောင်း

cān	-ta	=mā	=ták àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	.
plan	L.SUFF	=RLS	=HS that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP	
ကြံစည်	—	တယ်	တဲ့ အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကၠတော့၊တာ	

'Then, (he) can no longer cared for his younger brother. When he no longer cared for his younger brother and wanted his wife, then (the king) made a plan to kill his brother, it is said.'

81. *hīng shímásà hīng ēktè lālūkū {anyeù seùé naú}.*

hīng	shí	=másà	hīng	ēk	=tè	lā	lū	=kū	{ an	=yeù	=seùé	=ná	}.
3SG	die	=only.if	3SG	wife	=A.AG	take	get	=IRLS	DEM	=manner	=SAP	=SAP	
သူ	သေ	မှ	သူ	ဇနီး	ကို	ယူ	ရ	မယ်	ဒီ	လို၊လို့	လေ	နော်	

'(He) can only get his wife if he dies {this manner (it has been told)}.'

82. *“lālūkū” anyeù ngaúkà àngnaíkmátèká ngaúkà “úngnáq nakátàk nímpanáq weúaīngpè naká zōkshī lāthàkū” ngaúmataák.*

lā	lū	=kū	an	=yeù	ngaúkà	àng	=naík	mátè	=ká	ngaúkà
take	get	=IRLS	DEM	=manner	as.for	that	=only	when	=TOP	as.for
ယူ	ရ	မယ်	ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုရင်	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အခါမှာ	ကတော့တာ	ဆိုရင်
úng	=panáq	naká	-tàk	ním	=panáq	weú	aīng	=pè	naká	zōkshī
that	=NOM	dragon	-PL	stay	=NOM	water	lake	=LOC	dragon	breast
ဟို	တဲ့တာ	နဂါး	တို့	နေ	တဲ့တာ	ရေ	အိုင်	မှာ	နဂါး	နို့
lā	-thà	=kū	ngaú	=mā	=ták .					
take	-must	=IRLS	say	=RLS	=HS					
ယူ	ရ	မယ်	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့					

“I must get (his wife).” Then the king said, “Bring (me) dragon’s milk from the pond where dragons live.”’

83. *naká yōkshíyànghayák {shíyànghayák} cāntamā.*

naká	yōk	shí	-àng	=hayák	{	shí	-àng	=hayák	}	cān	-ta	=mā	.
dragon	eat	die	-DIR1	=so.as.to		die	-DIR1	=so.as.to		plan	L.SUFF	=RLS	
နဂါး	စား	သေ	လိုက်	တတ်အောင်		သေ	လိုက်	တတ်အောင်		ကြံစည်	—	တယ်	

‘(He) planned for the dragon to kill (Lit. eat to death) (him).’

84. *“àngnáq nakátàk nímpeúpanáq nēyāpè naká zōkshīwaleú lāthàkūyeù” ngaúmataák.*

àng	=panáq	naká	-tàk	ním	peú	=panáq	nēyā	=pè	naká	zōkshī	waleú
that	=NOM	dragon	-PL	stay	keep	=NOM	place	=LOC	dragon	breast	liquid
အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	နဂါး	တို့	နေ	ထား	တဲ့တာ	နေရာ	မှာ	နဂါး	နို့	အရည်
lā	-thà	=kū	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták .					
take	-must	=IRLS	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS					
ယူ	ရ	မယ်	လို့	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့					

‘(The king) said, “Bring (me) dragon's milk from the place where dragons live.”, it is said.’

85. *anyeù ngaúmataák “nāngtèlē sāngpaláng kaūmā”.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták	nāng	=tè	=lé	sāngpaláng	kaū	=mā	.
DEM	=manner	say	=RLS	=HS	2SG	=A.AG	=SAP	king	call	=RLS	
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့	ခင်ဗျား	ကို	လေး	ရှင်ဘုရင်	ခေါ်	တယ်	

‘(The king’s officials said this manner to the man), “The king called you.”, it is said.’

86. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú nāngákmaták.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	nāng	-à	=mā	=ták .
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	go	-EUPH	=RLS	=HS
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	သွား	ချေ	တယ်	တဲ့

'As it is the case, (he) went, it is said.'

87. *sàngpaláng kaūmā ngaúkà nāngákká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà sàngpaláng ngaúkà anyeù ngaúwaìngmaták {yàk nāngtè ngaú ngaú ngaúnīngyeù}.*

sāngpaláng	kaū	=mā	ngaúkà	nāng	-à	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè
king	call	=RLS	as.for	go	-EUPH	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG
ရှင်ဘုရင်	ခေါ်	တယ်	ဆိုရင်	သွား	ချေ	ကပြောတာ	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို

ngaúkà	sāngpaláng	ngaúkà	an	=yeù	ngaú	-à	-ìng	=mā	=ták {	yàk
as.for	king	as.for	DEM	=manner	say	-EUPH	-DIR2	=RLS	=HS	now
ဆိုရင်	ရှင်ဘုရင်	ဆိုရင်	ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	ချေ	ခဲ့	တယ်	တဲ့	အခု

nāng	=tè	ngaú	ngaú	ngaú	=nīngyeù }.
2SG	=A.AG	say	say	say	=manner
ခင်ဗျား	ကို	ဆိုပြော	ဆိုပြော	ဆိုပြော	လိုသလို

'When (I) went as the king called (me). Then the king told me like this, it is said.' {Just like what (I) have been just telling you}

88. *“àngnáq nakápanáq zōkshīwaleú lāthàkū nāng, {anyeù seùé} ínalūpánnàkà tánshíkū” ngaúwaìngmaták.*

àng	=panáq	naká	=panáq	zōkshī	waleú	lā	-thà	=kū	nāng {
that	=NOM	dragon	=NOM	breast	liquid	take	-must	=IRLS	2SG
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	နဂါး	တဲ့ဟာ	နို့	အရည်	ယူ	ရ	မယ်	ခင်ဗျား

an	=yeù	=seùé }	ín=	a=	lū	pánnàkà	tán	shí	=kū
DEM	=manner	=SAP	NEG=	NEG=	get	if	beat	die	=IRLS
ဒီ	လိုလို့	လေ	မ	မ	ရ	ရင်	တီးရိုက်	သေ	မယ်

ngaú	-à	-ìng	=mā	=ták .
say	-EUPH	-DIR2	=RLS	=HS
ဆိုပြော	ချေ	ခဲ့	တယ်	တဲ့

'(The king) said, “(You) must bring (me) dragon's milk. If not, (I) will kill (you)”, it is said.'

89. *“àngnáq khūnnayétmyaúkpèká anáq nāng alūwìngá ngaúpánnàkà nāngtè tánshíkū” anyeù ngaúmataák.*

àng	=panáq	khūnnayét	myaúk	=pè	=ká	anáq	nāng	a=	lū	-ìng	=á	
that	=NOM	seven.day	north	=LOC	=TOP	this	2SG	NEG=	get	-DIR2	=NEG	
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	ခုနှစ်ရက်	မြောက်	မှာ	ကဟော့တာ	ဒီ	ခင်ဗျား	မ	ရ	ခဲ့	ဘူး	

ngaú	pánnàkà	nāng	=tè	tánshí	=kū	an	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
say	if	2SG	=A.AG	kill	=IRLS	DEM	=manner	say	=RLS	=HS
ဆိုဟြော	ရင်	ခင်ဗျား	ကို	သတ်	မယ်	ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုဟြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(The king) said, “On the seventh day, if you cannot bring (it), (I) will kill you.”, it is said.’

90. *ngaúpánták ngaúpánkaú àngmákhàtèká hīngká {līhángpán} mánsà nyóngeūtaúpán myétnangeūsà ōmpánnaà līhángmataák.*

ngaú	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú		àng	mákhà	=tè	=ká			
say	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case		that	time	=A.AG	=TOP			
ဆိုဟြော	ပြီပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုဟြော	ရင်တော့		အဲဒီ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကဟော့တာ			
hīng	=ká	{	lī	-háng	=pán	}	mán	-sà	nyóngeū	-ta	=pán	
3SG	=TOP		come	-back	=COS		face	-DIM	sad	L.SUFF	=COS	
သူ	ကဟော့တာ		လာ	ပြန်	ပြီပြီး		မျက်နှာ	လေး	ညှိုးငယ်	—	ပြီပြီး	

myétnangeū	-sà	ōm	=pán	=naà	lī	-háng	=mā	=ták .
dejected	-DIM	make	=COS	=only	come	-back	=RLS	=HS
မျက်နှာငယ်	လေး	လုပ်	ပြီပြီး	မှ	လာ	ပြန်	တယ်	တဲ့

‘As it is the case that it was said, that time, he came (home) with a gloomy and dejected face, it is said.’

91. *līhángkánaà hīng ēk ngaúkà {àngnáq amú ngaúmataák hamàngkà} “hamàngkà ngaúwaìnglá” ngaúmataák.*

lī	-háng	=ká	=naà	hīng	ēk	ngaúkà	{	àng	=panáq	amú	
come	-back	=TOP	=only	3SG	wife	as.for		that	=NOM	brother	
လာ	ပြန်	ကဟော့တာ	မှ	သူ	ဇနီး	ဆိုရင်		အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	အစ်ကို	

ngaú	=mā	=ták	hà	=màng	=kà	}	hà	=màng	=kà
say	=RLS	=HS	WH	=thing	=Q		WH	=thing	=Q
ဆိုဟြော	တယ်	တဲ့	ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား		ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား

ngaú	-à	-ìng	=lá	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
say	-EUPH	-DIR2	=Q	say	=RLS	=HS
ဆိုဟြော	ချေ	ခဲ့	လဲလား	ဆိုဟြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘When (he) returned, his wife asked, “What did (the king) tell you?”, it is said.’

92. *“ā ngā aheúkákálē”, “aū heúyàng heúyàng amú, hamàngkà ngaúwaìnglá sàngpaláng naú nāngtè naú” anyeù ngaúmataák.*

ā	ngā	a=	heú	-kák	=á	=lé	aū	heú	-àng	heú	-àng	amú
oh	1SG	NEG=	tell	-want	=NEG	=SAP	well!	tell	-DIR1	tell	-DIR1	brother
အာ	ငါ	မ	ပြောပြ	ချင်	ဘူး	လေး	အော်	ပြောပြ	လိုက်	ပြောပြ	လိုက်	အစ်ကို

hà	=màng	=kà	ngaú	-à	-ìng	=lá	sāngpaláng	=ná	nāng	=tè	=ná
WH	=thing	=Q	say	-EUPH	-DIR2	=Q	king	=SAP	2SG	=A.AG	=SAP
ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား	ဆိုပြော	ချေ	ခဲ့	လဲလား	ရှင်ဘုရင်	နော်	ခင်ဗျား	ကို	နော်

an	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=táak .
DEM	=manner	say	=RLS	=HS
ဒီ	လိုးလို့	ဆိုးပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(He) said “I don't want to tell you.” (The wife) said, like this “Husband, just tell (me). What did the king tell you?”, it is said.’

93. *“aū ngatèá” ngaúmataák “àngnáq nakápīpèà naká zōkshīwaleú lāthàkūtáak ngatè maūng”.*

aū	ngā	=tè	ngaú	=mā	=táak	àng	=panáq	naká	pī	=pè	naká
well!	1SG	=A.AG	say	=RLS	=HS	that	=NOM	dragon	country	=LOC	dragon
အော်	ငါ	ကို	ဆိုးပြော	တယ်	တဲ့	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	နဂါး	ပြည်	မှာ	နဂါး

zōkshī	waleú	lā	-thà	=kū	=táak	ngā	=tè	maūng .
breast	liquid	take	-must	=IRLS	=HS	1SG	=A.AG	boy
နို့	အရည်	ယူ	ရ	မယ်	တဲ့	ငါ	ကို	မောင်

“Well, (the king) told me that I have to bring dragon's milk from the dragon’s country.”, it is said.’

94. *“àngnáq ínlūpánnàkà tánshíkūtáak seùé ngatè” anyeù heúyàngmataák hīng ēk zīngyūkánaà.*

àng	=panáq	ín=	lū	pánnàkà	tán	shí	=kū	=táak	=seùé	ngā	=tè
that	=NOM	NEG=	get	if	beat	die	=IRLS	=HS	=SAP	1SG	=A.AG
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	မ	ရ	ရင်	တီးရိုက်	သေ	မယ်	တဲ့	လေ	ငါ	ကို

an	=yeù	heú	-àng	=mā	=táak	hīng	ēk	zīng	yū	=ká	=naà .
DEM	=manner	tell	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS	3SG	wife	ask	take	=TOP	=only
ဒီ	လိုးလို့	ပြောပြ	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့	သူ	ဇနီး	မေးတောင်း	ယူ	ကဟော့ဟာ	မှ

‘When his wife asked, (he) told (her), like this, “If I cannot get (the milk), (he) will kill me, it is said”.’

95. *heúyàngká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà hīng ēkhaíkà ngaúmataák.*

heú	-àng	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	hīng	ēk	=haík	-à
tell	-DIR1	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for	3SG	wife	=ABL	-EUPH
ပြောပြ	လိုက်	ကဟော့ဟာ	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	သူ	ဇနီး	ကမှ	ချေ

ngaú =mā =ták .
say =RLS =HS
ဆိုၤပြော် တယ် တဲ့

'When he told (her,) then his wife told (him)…, it is said.'

96. *"aū hamàngkazeú apútàngsà {hamàngkazeú apútàngsà}" ngaúmaták.*

aū hà =màng =kà =zeú a= pū -ta -àng =sà {
well! WH =thing =Q =even NEG= worry L.SUFF -DIR1 =NEG.IMP
အော် ဘယ် ဟာ လဲလား တောင်မှ မ ပူ — လိုက် နဲ့

hà =màng =kà =zeú a= pū -ta -àng =sà }
WH =thing =Q =even NEG= emerge L.SUFF -DIR1 =NEG.IMP
ဘယ် ဟာ လဲလား တောင်မှ မ ထွက် - လိုက် နဲ့

ngaú =mā =ták .
say =RLS =HS
ဆိုၤပြော် တယ် တဲ့

'(The wife) said, "Well, don't worry, don't worry.", it is said.'

97. *"ngā heúyàngkū" ngaúmaták.*

ngā heú -àng =kū ngaú =mā =ták .
1SG tell -DIR1 =IRLS say =RLS =HS
ငါ ပြောပြ လိုက် မယ် ဆိုၤပြော် တယ် တဲ့

'(The wife) said, "I will tell you (what to do).", it is said.'

98. *"pháktaìnīng ngaúkà halángyákánaà ngā heúyàngpanáq ataí nāngzeù nāngnáyeù" ngaúmaták.*

phàktaì =nīng ngaúkà haláng yá =ká =naà ngā
tomorrow.morning =manner as.for sky bright =TOP =only 1SG
မနက်ဖြန်မနက် လို ဆိုရင် မိုးကောင်းကင် လင်း ကၤတော့ၤတာ မှ ငါ

heú -àng =panáq ataí nāng =zeú nāng =ná =yeù ngaú =mā =ták .
tell -DIR1 =NOM pattern go =even go =SAP =SAP say =RLS =HS
ပြောပြ လိုက် တဲ့ၤတာ အဝိုင်း သွား တောင်မှ သွား နော် လို့ ဆိုၤပြော် တယ် တဲ့

'(The wife) said, "Tomorrow, when it is bright, just go where I tell you to go.", it is said.'

99. *hīng halátèá àngnaíkmà ngaúkà “ngā heúyàngpín ataínāngzeù nāng nāng” anyeù ngaúmataák naúktè àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà atá tīppán īmataák hīngyeún*

hīng	halá	=tè	àng	=naík	mà	ngaúkà	ngā heú	-àng	=panáq
3SG	husband	=A.AG	that	=only	time	as.for	1SG tell	-DIR1	=NOM
သူ	လင်ယောကျ်ား	ကို	အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်	ဆိုရင်	ငါ ပြောပြ	လိုက်	တဲ့၊တာ

ataí	=nāngzeù	nāng nāng	an	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták naúk	=tè
pattern	=only/merely	go 2SG	DEM	=manner	say	=RLS	=HS later	=A.AG
အတိုင်း	မှ၊သာ	သွား ခင်ဗျား	ဒီ	လို၊လို့	ဆို၊ပြော	တယ်	တဲ့ နောက်	ကို

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	atá	tīp	=pán	ī	=mā	=ták	hīng	=yeún
that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for	rice	pack	=COS	give	=RLS	=HS	3SG	=BEN
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	ထမင်း	ထုတ်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	ပေး	တယ်	တဲ့	သူ	အတွက်

‘Then (the wife) said to her husband, like this, “Just simply go as I told you.”, it is said. Then (she) packed food for him and gave (it to him), it is said.’

100. *atá tīppán īpánnaà “anáq atátè” ngaúmataák “tawákká weúpè naútnàngná” ngaúmataák.*

atá	tīp	=pán	ī	=pán	=naà	anáq	atá	=tè	ngaú	=mā	=ták
rice	pack	=COS	give	=COS	=only	this	rice	=A.AG	say	=RLS	=HS
ထမင်း	ထုတ်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	ပေး	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မှ	ဒီ	ထမင်း	ကို	ဆို၊ပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

tawák	=ká	weú	=pè	naút	-àng	=ná	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
half	=TOP	water	=LOC	feed	-DIR1	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS
တစ်ဝက်	က၊တော့၊တာ	ရေ	မှာ	ကျွေး	လိုက်	နော်	ဆို၊ပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘Having packed and given it to (him), (the wife) said, “Feed half of this food into the water.”, it is said.’

101. *“tawákká kóngpaūpènaà zúntceútàng īyàngnáyeù” ngaúmataák.*

tawák	=ká	kóng	paū	=pè	=naà	zúnqceú	-ta	-àng
half	=TOP	hill	on	=LOC	=only	give.away	L.SUFF	-DIR1
တစ်ဝက်	က၊တော့၊တာ	ကုန်း	ပေါ်	မှာ	မှ	စွန့်ကြဲ	—	လိုက်

ī	-àng	=ná	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
give	-DIR1	=SAP	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS
ပေး	လိုက်	နော်	လို့	ဆို၊ပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘And (the wife) said, like this, “Feed the other half onto the land.”, it is said.’

102. *hīng ēk ngaúwàngpanáqnīngyeù nāngákmaták hīngyítá “anáq ataí nāngnáyeù” ngaúmaták.*

hīng	ēk	ngaú	-àng	=panáq	=nīngyeù	nāng	-à	=mā	=ták
3SG	wife	say	-DIR1	=NOM	=manner	go	-EUPH	=RLS	=HS
သူ	ဇနီး	ဆို၊ပြော	လိုက်	တဲ့၊တာ	လို၊သလို	သွား	ချေ	တယ်	တဲ့

hīng	=yí	=tá	anáq	ataí	nāng	=ná	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
3SG	=also	=EMPH	this	pattern	go	=SAP	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS
သူ	လည်း	ပဲ	ဒီ	အတိုင်း	သွား	နော်	လို့	ဆို၊ပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘He went in the direction that his wife instructed him. (The wife) said, “Go this way.”, it is said.’

103. *anáq ataí nāngpánnaà àngnáqpè thōkmákhàtè àngnáq atá hīng ēk ngaúnīngyeù ōmīyàngmaták hīngyítá.*

anáq	ataí	nāng	=pán	=naà	àng	=panáq	=pè	thōk	mákhà	=tè
this	pattern	go	=COS	=only	that	=NOM	=LOC	arrive	time	=A.AG
ဒီ	အတိုင်း	သွား	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မှ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	မှာ	ရောက်	အချိန်အခါ	ကို

àng	=panáq	atá	hīng	ēk	ngaú	=nīngyeù	ōm	ī	-àng	=mā	=ták
that	=NOM	rice	3SG	wife	say	=manner	make	give	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS
အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	ထမင်း	သူ	ဇနီး	ဆို၊ပြော	လို၊သလို	လုပ်	ပေး	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့

hīng	=yí	=tá	.
3SG	=also	=EMPH	
သူ	လည်း	ပဲ	

‘He, as well, having gone went that way and when (he) reached the place he did as his wife told him to do, it is said.’

104. *ōmīyàngká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà hīng ēk {ngaúwàng} ngaúnīngyeù ngaúwákpánták hīngyítá.*

ōm	ī	-àng	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	{	hīng
make	give	-DIR1	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for		3SG
လုပ်	ပေး	လိုက်	က၊တော့၊တာ	အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်		သူ

ōm	ī	-àng	=nīngyeù	}	hīng	ēk	{	ngaú	-àng	}	ngaú	=nīngyeù
make	give	-DIR1	=manner		3SG	wife		say	-DIR1		say	=manner
လုပ်	ပေး	လိုက်	လို၊သလို		သူ	ဇနီး		ဆို၊ပြော	လိုက်		ဆို၊ပြော	လို၊သလို

ngaú	-à	=pán	=ták	hīng	=yí	=tá	.
say	-EUPH	=COS	=HS	3SG	=also	=EMPH	
ဆို၊ပြော	ချေ	ပြီ၊ပြီး	တဲ့	သူ	လည်း	ပဲ	

‘When given/fed (the food), that time,he spoke as his wife instructed him to speak, it is said.’

105. *ngaúwàngká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà {hīng naútnàngpanáq ín} “yákmákhaík záqtaúpán anáq atátèà yōkákcàngyók” manīngyeù manángyeù anyeù tapaúkàng ngaúwànglakaúé.*

ngaú	-àng	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	{	hīng					
say	-DIR1	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for		3SG					
ဆိုပြော	လိုက်	ကတော့တာ	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်		သူ					
naút	-àng	=panáq	ín	}	yàkmák	=haík	záq	-ta	=pán	anáq	atá	=tè		
feed	-DIR1	=NOM	um.yes!		today	=ABL	begin	L.SUFF	=COS	this	rice	=A.AG		
ကျွေး	လိုက်	တဲ့တာ	အင်း		ဒီနေ့	ကမှ	စ	—	ပြီးပြီး	ဒီ	ထမင်း	ကို		
yōk	-à	-càng	=yók	mà	=nīngyeù	manáng	=yeù	an	=yeù					
eat	-EUPH	-PL:DIR1	=intrusive	WH	=manner	ATTW	=manner	DEM	=manner					
စား	ချေ	ကြလိုက်	အုံး	ဘာဘယ်	လိုသလို	ညာလို	လိုလို့	ဒီ	လိုလို့					
tapaúk	-àng	ngaú	-àng	=lakaú	=é	.								
speak	-DIR1	say	-DIR1	=MIR	=SAP									
ပြော	လိုက်	ဆိုပြော	လိုက်	ကိုးတာကိုး	အေး									

‘When spoken (as his wife told to), that time, (He) told (them)in such manner, “From today on, eat this food.”, it is said.’

106. *nakátàk ngaúkà hīng atátè yōkànglūpánnaà pūsōmìngmaták pyaūpásōmìngmaták.*

naká	-tàk	ngaúkà	hīng	atá	=tè	yōk	-àng	lū	=pán	=naà				
dragon	-PL	as.for	3SG	rice	=A.AG	eat	-DIR1	get	=COS	=only				
နဂါး	တို့	ဆိုရင်	သူ	ထမင်း	ကို	စား	လိုက်	ရ	ပြီးပြီး	မှ				
pū	sōm	-ìng	=mā	=ták	pyaūpá	sōm	-ìng	=mā	=ták	.				
emerge	used.up	-DIR2	=RLS	=HS	happy	used.up	-DIR2	=RLS	=HS					
ထွက်	ကုန်	ခဲ့	တယ်	တဲ့	ပျော်ပါး	ကုန်	ခဲ့	တယ်	တဲ့					

‘The dragons, after eating the food he offered, came out, it is said. (They) were happy, it is said.’

107. *pyaūpásōmìngkánaà “aū yákmákpè mángyákká léqtèà zúntceútìngpanáq atátè ngaúkà maléqká yōkpápmákàngká mapanáq amaūngsàkàyeù”.*

pyaūpá	sōm	-ìng	=ká	=naà	aū	yàkmák	=pè	mángyák	=ká					
happy	used.up	-DIR2	=TOP	=only	well!	today	=LOC	day	=TOP					
ပျော်ပါး	ကုန်	ခဲ့	ကတော့တာ	မှ	အော်	ဒီနေ့	မှာ	နေ့ရက်	ကတော့တာ					
maléq	=tè	zúnqceú	-ta	-ìng	=panáq	atá	=tè	ngaúkà	maléq	=ká				
1PL	=A.AG	give.away	L.SUFF	-DIR2	=NOM	rice	=A.AG	as.for	1PL	=TOP				
တို့	ကို	စွန့်ကြဲ	—	ခဲ့	တဲ့တာ	ထမင်း	ကို	ဆိုရင်	တို့	ကတော့တာ				
yōk	-páp	-à	-àng	=ká	mà	=panáq	maūng	-sà	=kà	=yeù	.			
eat	-been	-EUPH	-DIR1	=TOP	WH	=NOM	boy	-DIM	=Q	=SAP				
စား	ဖူးမိ	ချေ	လိုက်	ကတော့တာ	ဘာဘယ်	တဲ့တာ	မောင်	လေး	လဲလား	လိုလို့				

‘When (they were) happy, (the dragons said) “Well, today as we happened to eat the food that was offered to us, who is this young man?”

108. *“aū ngā ngā” ngaúmatàk “ngātè ngaúkà” ngaúmatàk.*

aū	ngā	ngā	ngaú	=mā	=ták	ngā	=tè	ngaúkà	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
well!	1SG	1SG	say	=RLS	=HS	1SG	=A.AG	as.for	say	=RLS	=HS
အော်	ငါ	ငါ	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့	ငါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(He) said “Well, (it's) me.”, it is said. “(The king) has instructed me.” it is said.’

109. *“sàngpaláng yaà seùé anáq zōkshīwaleú laīngthàkūtákyeù ngaúmā anáq ínlūpínnàkà ngātèká tánshíkūták anáq tóngyeútmyaúkpèyeù”.*

sāngpaláng	=yaà	=seùé	anáq	zōkshī	waleú	laīng	-thà	=kū	=ták	=yeù
king	=euph	=SAP	this	breast	liquid	take.dir2	-must	=IRLS	=HS	=SAP
ရှင်ဘုရင်	ဖြင့်လေ၊ပဲ	လေ	ဒီ	နို့	အရည်	ယူခဲ့	ရ	မယ်	တဲ့	လို၊လို့

ngaú	=mā	anáq	ín=	lū	pánnàkà	ngā	=tè	=ká	tánshí	=kū	=ták	anáq
say	=RLS	this	NEG=	get	if	exist	=A.AG	=TOP	kill	=IRLS	=HS	this
ဆိုပြော	တယ်	ဒီ	မ	ရ	ရင်	ရှိ	ကို	က၊တော့၊တာ	သတ်	မယ်	တဲ့	ဒီ

tóng	yeút	myaúk	=pè	=yeù .
three	day	north	=LOC	=SAP
သုံး	ရက်	မြောက်	မှာ	လို့

‘‘(The king) said “Bring (me) dragon's milk. On the third day, if I cannot get (it), (he) will kill me, it is said”.’

110. *nakámáqtàkyítá hīng zúntceútàngpanáq atá yōkpápmákpáng ngaúpánkaú zōkshīwaleú nyíttaūpányí ìingmatàk.*

naká	máq	-tàk	=yí	=tá	hīng	zúnqceú	-ta	-àng	=panáq	atá
dragon	female	-PL	=also	=EMPH	3SG	give.away	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=NOM	rice
နဂါး	မ	တို့	လည်း	ပဲ	သူ	စွန့်ကြဲ	—	လိုက်	တဲ့၊တာ	ထမင်း

yōk	-páp	-à	=páng	ngaú	=pánkaú	zōkshī	waleú
eat	-been	-EUPH	=DIR1:COS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	breast	liquid
စား	ဖူး၊မိ	ချေ	လိုက်ပြီ	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	နို့	အရည်

nyít	-ta	=pán	=yí	ī	-ìng	=mā	=ták .
squeeze	L.SUFF	=COS	=also	give	-DIR2	=RLS	=HS
ညစ်	—	ပြီ၊ပြီး	လည်း	ပေး	ခဲ့	တယ်	တဲ့

‘As it is the case that the dragons had already eaten the food he offered, (they) milked the milk and gave it to (him), it is said.’

111. *zōkshīwaleú nyíttaūpán īpanáqhaík apyīn lakò saēk hawà īyákhángìngtúnták {hīngyítá}.*

zōkshī	waleú	nyít	-ta	=pán	ī	=panáq	=haík	apyīn	=lakò	saēk
breast	liquid	squeeze	L.SUFF	=COS	give	=NOM	=ABL	in.addition	=SAP	daughter
နို့	အရည်	ညစ်	—	ပြီးပြီး	ပေး	တဲ့ဟာ	ကမှ	အပြင်	ကိုဟာကို	သမီး

hú	-à	ī	-à	-háng	-ìng	=tún	=ták {	hīng	=yí	=tá	}.
CLF.person	-one	give	-EUPH	-back	-DIR2	=still	=HS	3SG	=also	=EMPH	
ယောက်	တစ်	ပေး	ချေ	ပြန်	ခဲ့	သေးတယ်	တဲ့	သူ	လည်း	ပဲ	

'In addition to giving milk, (they) also gave (him) one (of their) daughters, it is said.'

112. *létsaūng īyákheúqtúnták.*

leútsaūng	ī	-à	-heúq	=tún	=ták .
gift	give	-EUPH	-back:DIR2	=still	=HS
လက်ဆောင်	ပေး	ချေ	ပြန်ခဲ့	သေးတယ်	တဲ့

'(They) gave her as a gift in return, it is said.'

113. *àngnaíkmátèká ēk kalìnghú ngāpántak {àngnaíkmákhàtèká}.*

àng	=naík	mátè	=ká	ēk	kalìng	hú	ngā	=pán	=ták
that	=only	when	=TOP	wife	two	CLF.person	exist	=COS	=HS
အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အခါမှာ	ကတော့ဟာ	ဇနီး	နှစ်	ယောက်	ရှိ	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	.
that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP	
အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကတော့ဟာ	

'That time, (He) has two wives, it is said.'

114. *ēk kalìnghú ngāngká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà àngnáq nakámáqyeū acímáqyeū seùé kalìnghú ngāpán seú hīngkáé.*

ēk	kalìng	hú	ngāng	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà
wife	two	CLF.person	exist:dir1	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for
ဇနီး	နှစ်	ယောက်	ရှိလိုက်	ကတော့ဟာ	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်

àng	=panáq	naká	máq	=yeū	ací	=mā	=yeū	=seùé	kalìng	hú
that	=NOM	dragon	female	=and	elephant	=RLS	=and	=SAP	two	CLF.person
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	နဂါး	မ	ရယ်	ဆင်	တယ်	ရယ်	လေ	နှစ်	ယောက်

ngā	=pán	=seú	hīng	=ká	=é	.
exist	=COS	=SAP	3SG	=TOP	=SAP	
ရှိ	ပြီးပြီး	လေ	သူ	ကတော့ဟာ	အေး	

'Since, (He) got two wives, that time, (he) got two (wives), a dragon lady and an elephant lady.'

115. *àngnaíkmàtè ngaúkà anyeù ngāpánnàkà naúktèká khūnnayétmyaúktèká séttáqtahángpán seú naú hīngká sàngpalángyeún.*

àng	=naík	mátè	ngaúkà	an	=yeù	ngā	pánnàkà	naúk	=tè	=ká	
that	=only	when	as.for	DEM	=manner	exist	if	later	=A.AG	=TOP	
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အခါမှာ	ဆိုရင်	ဒီ	လို၊လို့	ရှိ	ရင်	နောက်	ကို	က၊တော့၊တာ	
khūnnayét	myaúk	=tè	=ká	seúttáq	-ta	-háng	=pán	=seú	=ná		
seven.day	north	=A.AG	=TOP	offer	L.SUFF	-back	=COS	=SAP	=SAP		
ခုနှစ်ရက်	မြောက်	ကို	က၊တော့၊တာ	ဆက်သ	—	ပြန်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	လေ	နော်		
hīng	=ká	sāngpaláng	=yeún	.							
3SG	=TOP	king	=BEN								
သူ	က၊တော့၊တာ	ရှင်ဘုရင်	အတွက်								

'Then, later on the seventh day, he offered (the milk) to the king, it is said.'

116. *zōkshīwaleú īhángpán seúé naká zōkshīwaleútè.*

zōkshī	waleú	ī	-háng	=pán	=seùé	naká	zōkshī	waleú	=tè	.
breast	liquid	give	-back	=COS	=SAP	dragon	breast	liquid	=A.AG	
နို့	အရည်	ပေး	ပြန်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	လေ	နဂါး	နို့	အရည်	ကို	

'The dragon's milk was given (to the king).'

117. *īháng ngāká àngnaíkmàtè ngaúkà sàngpalángká "yaú hīngtèká ngā shízíngàngthāmāyeù [nakátàk yōkshíyàngthāmā ōmlakà hīngká] ngayeún anyeù naká zōkshīwaleú séttáqtahángpìngseú ínshíyàngá seú" anyeù ngaúnímmataák.*

ī	-háng	ngā	=ká	àng	=naík	mátè	ngaúkà	sāngpaláng	=ká	yaū												
give	-back	1SG	=TOP	that	=only	when	as.for	king	=TOP	EXCL												
ပေး	ပြန်	ငါ	က၊တော့၊တာ	အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အခါမှာ	ဆိုရင်	ရှင်ဘုရင်	က၊တော့၊တာ	ရော်												
hīng	=tè	=ká	ngā	shí	zíng	-àng	=thāmā	=yeù	[	naká	-tàk											
3SG	=A.AG	=TOP	1SG	die	JUSS	-DIR1	=HORT	=SAP		dragon	-PL											
သူ	ကို	က၊တော့၊တာ	ငါ	သေ	စေ	လိုက်	ရအောင်	လို၊လို့		နဂါး	တို့											
yōk	shí	-àng	=thāmā	ōm	=lakà	hīng	=ká	]	ngā	=yeún	an	=yeù										
eat	die	-DIR1	=HORT	make	=MIR	3SG	=TOP		1SG	=BEN	DEM	=manner										
စား	သေ	လိုက်	ရအောင်	လုပ်	တာကိုး	သူ	က၊တော့၊တာ		ငါ	အတွက်	ဒီ	လို၊လို့										
naká	zōkshī	waleú	seúttáq	-ta	-háng	=píng	=seú	ín=	shí	-àng	=á	=seú										
dragon	breast	liquid	offer	L.SUFF	-back	=DIR2:COS	=SAP	NEG=	die	-DIR1	=NEG	=SAP										
နဂါး	နို့	အရည်	ဆက်သ	—	ပြန်	လာပြီ	လေ	မ	သေ	လိုက်	ဘူး	လေ										
an	=yeù	ngaú	ním	=mā	=ták	.																
DEM	=manner	say	stay	=RLS	=HS																	
ဒီ	လို၊လို့	ဆို၊ပြော	နေ	တယ်	တဲ့																	

'When given (the milk), that time,Then the king said, "Well, I sent him so that the dragons would kill him. He didn't die and even brought the dragon's milk for me.", it is said.'

118. *“naká zōkshīwaleú séttáqtahángpìng ngayeún ínshíyàngá seú” anyeù ngaúnímmaták.*

naká	zōkshī	waleú	seúttáq	-ta	-háng	=píng	ngā	=yeún	
dragon	breast	liquid	offer	L.SUFF	-back	=DIR2:COS	1SG	=BEN	
နဂါး	နို့	အရည်	ဆက်သ	—	ပြန်	လာပြီ	ငါ	အတွက်	
ín=	shí	-àng	=á	=seú	an	=yeù	ngaú	ním	=mā	=ták .
NEG=	die	-DIR1	=NEG	=SAP	DEM	=manner	say	stay	=RLS	=HS
မ	သေ	လိုက်	ဘူး	လေ	ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	နေ	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(The king) said, like this, “He didn't die and (instead) offered me the dragon's milk.”, it is said.’

119. *naúktèká nímhángpánták kalìngyàk sómyàk.*

naúk	=tè	=ká	ním	-háng	=pán	=ták	kalìng	yàk	sóm	yàk .
later	=A.AG	=TOP	stay	-back	=COS	=HS	two	now	three	day
နောက်	ကို	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	နေ	ပြန်	ပြီၠပြီး	တဲ့	နှစ်	အခု	သုံး	ရက်

‘Later, they stayed there for (another) two or three days.’

120. *nímháng ngāngkánaà naúktè yūzíngyōkhángpánták hīng múcímátyàtáktè.*

ním	-háng	ngāng	=ká	=naà	naúk	=tè	yū	zíngyōk	-háng	=pán	=ták
stay	-back	exist:dir1	=TOP	=only	later	=A.AG	take	order	-back	=COS	=HS
နေ	ပြန်	ရှိလိုက်	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	မှ	နောက်	ကို	ယူ	ခိုင်းစား	ပြန်	ပြီၠပြီး	တဲ့

hīng	múcímátyà	-tàk	=tè	.
3SG	official	-PL	=A.AG	
သူ	မှူးကြီးမတ်ရာ	တို့	ကို	

‘While (they) stayed, later, the king ordered his officials to go and spy (on them), it is said.’

121. *“yūhángàyók àngnáq amaūngsàtè” ngaúmaták “shípànglá hamàng ōmpángláyeù”.*

yū	-háng	-à	=yók	àng	=panáq	maūng	-sà	=tè	ngaú	=mā	=ták
look	-back	-EUPH	=intrusive	that	=NOM	boy	-DIM	=A.AG	say	=RLS	=HS
ကြည့်	ပြန်	ချေ	အုံး	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ၠတာ	မောင်	လေး	ကို	ဆိုၠပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

shí	=páng	=lá	hà	=màng	ōm	=páng	=lá	=yeù .
die	=DIR1:COS	=Q	WH	=thing	make	=DIR1:COS	=Q	=SAP
သေ	လိုက်ပြီ	လဲၠလား	ဘယ်	ဟာ	လုပ်	လိုက်ပြီ	လဲၠလား	လိုၠလို့

‘(The king) said, “Go and see about this boy. Has he already died or what happened to him?”, it is said.’

122. *yūzíngyōkàngká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà “yaū shíkūpanáqhaík apyīn lakò lápmà lakò īshíqshà hawà tótaúnímhángpányeù” ngaúmataák.*

yū	zíngyōk	-àng	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	yaū
look	order	-DIR1	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for	EXCL
ကြည့်	ခိုင်းစား	လိုက်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အဲဒီ	မ့ၤပဲၤသမ့	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	ရော့

shí	=kū	=panáq	=haík	apyīn	=lakò	láp	-à	=lakò	īshíq	shā
die	=IRLS	=NOM	=ABL	in.addition	=SAP	CLF.times	-one	=SAP	girl	small
သေ	မယ်	တဲ့ၤတာ	ကၤမ့	အပြင်	ကို့ၤတာကို	ကြိမ်	တစ်	ကို့ၤတာကို	အမျိုးသမီး	ငယ်ၤခလေး

hú	-à	tó	-ta	ním	-háng	=pán	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
CLF.person	-one	increase	L.SUFF	stay	-back	=COS	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS
ယောက်	တစ်	တိုး	—	နေ	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	လို့လို့	ဆိုၤပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘When ordered to check, the officials said, “Well, instead of (him) being dead, this time, one more has been added.”, it is said.’

123. *“katàmshīshísà àngnáqyítá” ngaúmataák “lápmà lakò īshíqshà hawà tótaháng pìngyeù” ngaúmataák.*

katàm	shīshí	-sà	àng	=panáq	=yí	=tá	ngaú	=mā	=ták	láp	-à
beautiful	ATTW	-DIM	that	=NOM	=also	=EMPH	say	=RLS	=HS	CLF.times	-one
လှ	မြည့်သံစွဲ	လေး	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ၤတာ	လည်း	ပဲ	ဆိုၤပြော	တယ်	တဲ့	ကြိမ်	တစ်

=lakò	īshíq	shā	hú	-à	tó	-ta	-háng	=píng	=yeù
=SAP	girl	small	CLF.person	-one	increase	L.SUFF	-back	=DIR2:COS	=SAP
ကို့ၤတာကို	အမျိုးသမီး	ငယ်ၤခလေး	ယောက်	တစ်	တိုး	—	ပြန်	လာပြီ	လို့လို့

ngaú	=mā	=ták .
say	=RLS	=HS
ဆိုၤပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(The officials) said, “(This girl), as well, is extremely beautiful, this time, one more girl has been added.”, it is said.’

124. *ngaúká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà kalìnghú ngapìng yàkká ēk {anyeù seùé naú pōngzānká}.*

ngaú	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	kalìng	hú	ngā	=píng
say	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for	two	CLF.person	exist	=DIR2:COS
ဆိုၤပြော	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အဲဒီ	မ့ၤပဲၤသမ့	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	နှစ်	ယောက်	ရှိ	လာပြီ

yàk	=ká	ēk	{ an	=yeù	=seùé	=ná	pōngzān	=ká	}.
now	=TOP	wife	DEM	=manner	=SAP	=SAP	pattern	=TOP	
အခု	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ဇနီး	ဒီ	လို့လို့	လေ	နော်	ပုံစံ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	

‘When told that (he now has two wives), that time, now (he) has two wives.’ {it is the manner it was tolds manner, right?}

125. *“yaú anyeù ngaúpánnàkà hīng nashītè shíhayákká hīngká manīng cānzīthàkalá” anyeù seùé hīngká.*

yaū	an	=yeù	ngaú	pánnàkà	hīng	nashī	=tè	shí	=hayák	=ká
EXCL	DEM	=manner	say	if	3SG	younger.sibling	=A.AG	die	=so.as.to	=TOP
ရော်	ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်	သူ	မောင်ညီနှမ	ကို	သေ	တတ်အောင်	ကတော့တာ

hīng	=ká	mà	=nīng	cānzī	-thà	=kū	=lá	an	=yeù	=seùé
3SG	=TOP	WH	=manner	plan	-must	IRLS	=Q	DEM	=manner	=SAP
သူ	ကတော့တာ	ဘာဘယ်	လို	ကြံစည်	ရ	မယ်	လဲလား	ဒီ	လိုလို့	လေ

hīng	=ká	.
3SG	=TOP	
သူ	ကတော့တာ	

‘“If so”, (the king) thought, “How can (I) plan to kill my younger brother?”’

126. *“manīngyeù cānzīthàkalá” àngnaíkmàtè ngaúkà “palú zōkshīwaleú lāthàkū” ngaúmataák àngnaíkmákhàtèká.*

mà	=nīngyeù	cānzī	-thà	=kū	=lá	àng	=naík	mátè	ngaúkà	palú
WH	=manner	plan	-must	IRLS	=Q	that	=only	when	as.for	ogre
ဘာဘယ်	လို	ကြံစည်	ရ	မယ်	လဲလား	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အခါမှာ	ဆိုရင်	ဘီလူး

zōkshī	waleú	lā	-thà	=kū	ngaú	=mā	=ták	{
breast	liquid	take	-must	=IRLS	say	=RLS	=HS	
နို့	အရည်	ယူ	ရ	မယ်	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့	

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	}.
that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP	
အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကတော့တာ	

‘(The king) thought, “What should I plan?”, then. (The king) said, “You have to bring (me) ogre's milk.”, it is said.’

127. *“àngnáq palú nímpanáq cúnpè thōkkón nāngpánnaà palú zōkshīwaleú lāthàkū” zíngyōkmataák {àngnaíkmákhàtèká}.*

àng	=panáq	palú	ním	=panáq	cún	=pè	thōk	=kón	nāng	=pán	=naà	palú
that	=NOM	ogre	stay	=NOM	island	=LOC	arrive	=so.as.to	go	=COS	=only	ogre
အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	ဘီလူး	နေ	တဲ့တာ	ကျွန်း	မှာ	ရောက်	အောင်	သွား	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ဘီလူး

zōkshī	waleú	lā	-thà	=kū	zíngyōk	=mā	=ták
breast	liquid	take	-must	=IRLS	order	=RLS	=HS
နို့	အရည်	ယူ	ရ	မယ်	ခိုင်းစား	တယ်	တဲ့

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	.
that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP	
အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကတော့တာ	

‘Then (the king) ordered (him), “Go until you have reached the ogre's island and bring (me) ogre's milk.”, it is said.’

128. *kaūzíngyōkhángpánták àngnáq halawàtè “kaūhángàyūyeù” ngaúmaták “àngnáq amaūngsàtè”.*

kaū	zíngyōk	-háng	=pán	=ták àng		=panáq	halawà	=tè
call	order	-back	=COS	=HS	that	=NOM	man/husband	=A.AG
ခေါ်	ခိုင်းစား	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	ယောကျ်ား	ကို

kaū	-háng	-à	yū	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták àng	=panáq	maūng	-sà	=tè	.
call	-back	-one	look	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS that	=NOM	boy	-DIM	=A.AG	
ခေါ်	ပြန်	တစ်	ကြည့်	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့ အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	မောင်	လေး	ကို	

‘(The king) ordered (them) to bring him. He said, “Go and call this boy.”, it is said.’

129. *kaūhángàyū ngaúká nāngákhángpánták.*

kaū	-háng	-à	yū	ngaú	=ká	nāng	-à	-háng	=pán	=ták .
call	-back	-one	look	say	=TOP	go	-EUPH	-back	=COS	=HS
ခေါ်	ပြန်	တစ်	ကြည့်	ဆိုပြော	ကဖတော့ဟာ	သွား	ချေ	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

‘When ordered to bring (him), (the officials) went again, it is said.’

130. *nāngákhángká “àngnáq taípīpè thōkkón àngnáq palú zōkshīwaleútè lāthàkūyeù” ngaúmaták.*

nāng	-à	-háng	=ká	àng	=panáq	taípī	=pè	thōk	=kón	àng	=panáq
go	-EUPH	-back	=TOP	that	=NOM	country	=LOC	arrive	=so.as.to	that	=NOM
သွား	ချေ	ပြန်	ကဖတော့ဟာ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	တိုင်းပြည်	မှာ	ရောက်	အောင်	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ

palú	zōkshī	waleú	=tè	lā	-thà	=kū	=yeù ngaú	=mā	=ták .
ogre	breast	liquid	=A.AG	take	-must	=IRLS	=SAP say	=RLS	=HS
ဘီလူး	နို့	အရည်	ကို	ယူ	ရ	မယ်	လိုလို့ ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘When (he) returned, (they) said (to him), “(Go) until you reach that country and bring ogre's milk.”, it is said.’

131. *anyeù ngaúká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà nyóngeūtaūpán līyákhángpánták hīngká “àngpanáq ínalūwìngá ngaúpán nāngtè tánshíkūyeù” ngaúmaták.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà
DEM	=manner	say	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	ကဖတော့ဟာ	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်

nyóngeū	-ta	=pán	lī	-à	-háng	=pán	=ták	hīng	=ká	àng	=panáq
sad	L.SUFF	=COS	come	-EUPH	-back	=COS	=HS	3SG	=TOP	that	=NOM
ညှဉ်းငယ်	—	ပြီးပြီး	လာ	ချေ	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	သူ	ကဖတော့ဟာ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ

ín=	a=	lū	-ìng	=á	ngaú	=pán	nāng	=tè	tánshí	=kū	=yeù
NEG=	NEG=	get	-DIR2	=NEG	say	=if	2SG	=A.AG	kill	=IRLS	=SAP
မ	မ	ရ	ခဲ့	ဘူး	ဆိုပြော	ရင်	ခင်ဗျား	ကို	သတ်	မယ်	လိုလို့

ngaú =mā =ták .
say =RLS =HS
ဆိုျပော တယ် တဲ့

'As it is the case, that time, he came home with sadness. (The officials) told (him), "If you can't get it, (the king) will kill you.", it is said.'

132. *ngaúkánaà mán chīpókhalúksà ōmpánnaà mánsà myétnangeīyaúksà ōmpán līyákhángpánták àngnaíkmákhàtèká.*

ngaú =ká =naà mán chīpókhalúk -sà ōm =pán =naà mán -sà
say =TOP =only face worriedly -DIM make =COS =only face -DIM
ဆိုျပော ကၠတော့ၠတာ မ့ မ်ကၠန့ာ ဝိုင်တိုင်တိုင် လေး လုပ် ပြီးပြီး မ့ မ်ကၠန့ာ လေး

myétnangeū =yaúk -sà ōm =pán līī -à -háng =pán =ták
dejected =COM -DIM make =COS come -EUPH -back =COS =HS
မ်ကၠန့ငယ် နဲ့ လေး လုပ် ပြီးပြီး လာ ချ ပြန် ပြီးပြီး တဲ့

àng =naík mákhà =tè =ká .
that =only time =A.AG =TOP
အဲဒီ မ့ၠပဲသမ့ အချိန်အခါ ကို ကၠတော့ၠတာ

'When (he had been) told, that time, he came home with a worried and dejected face, it is said.'

133. *līyákhángká ēktàkká zīngyūwákhángcípánták "amú amú hànīng ngaúwaìnglá naú nāngtè" {hànīngyeù ngaúwaìnglá} ngaúmaták.*

līī -à -háng =ká ēk -tàk =ká
come -EUPH -back =TOP wife -PL =TOP
လာ ချ ပြန် ကၠတော့ၠတာ ဇနီး တို့ ကၠတော့ၠတာ

zīng yū -à -háng -cí =pán =ták amú amú hà =nīng
ask take -EUPH -back -PL =COS =HS brother brother WH =manner
မေးတောင်း ယူ ချ ပြန် ကြ ပြီးပြီး တဲ့ အစ်ကို အစ်ကို ဘယ် လို

ngaú -à -ìng =lá =ná nāng =tè { hà =nīngyeù
say -EUPH -DIR2 =Q =SAP 2SG =A.AG WH =manner
ဆိုျပော ချ ခဲ့ လဲလား နော် ခင်ဗျား ကို ဘယ် လိုသလို

ngaú -à -ìng =lá ngaú =mā =ták }.
say -EUPH -DIR2 =Q say =RLS =HS
ဆိုျပော ချ ခဲ့ လဲလား ဆိုျပော တယ် တဲ့

'When (he) returned, his wives asked (him) again, "Husband (lit. big brother), what did (they) tell you?", it is said.'

134. *“sàngpaláng hànīngyeù ngaúwaìnglá naú nāngtè” manīngyeù manángyeù zīngyūwákhángcílakaúé ēktàkká takháwáqsà nímpánnaà zīngyūmataák.*

sāngpaláng	hà	=nīngyeù	ngaú	-à	-ìng	=lá	=ná	nāng	=tè
king	WH	=manner	say	-EUPH	-DIR2	=Q	=SAP	2SG	=A.AG
ရှင်ဘုရင်	ဘယ်	လိုဃလို	ဆို၊ပြော	ချေ	ခဲ့	လဲ၊လား	နော်	ခင်ဗျား	ကို

manīngyeù manángyeù	zīng	yū	-à	-háng	-cí	=lakaú	=é
in what manner	ask	take	-EUPH	-back	-PL	=MIR	=SAP
ဘယ်လို ညာလို	မေး၊တောင်း	ယူ	ချေ	ပြန်	ကြ	ကိုး၊တာကိုး	အေး

ēk	-tàk	=ká	takháwáq	-sà	ním	=pán	=naà	zīng	yū	=mā	=ták .
wife	-PL	=TOP	at.door.step	-DIM	stay	=COS	=only	ask	look	=RLS	=HS
ဇနီး	တို့	က၊တော့၊တာ	တံခါး၀	လေး	နေ	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မှ	မေး၊တောင်း	ကြည့်	တယ်	တဲ့

‘The wives stayed by the door and asked in such manner, “What did the king tell you?” it is said.’

135. *zīngyūká “aū ngā angaúkáká maūng” ngaúmataák.*

zīng	yū	=ká	aū	ngā	a=	ngaú	-kák	=á	maūng	ngaú	=mā	=ták.
ask	take	=TOP	well!	1SG	NEG=	say	-want	=NEG	boy	say	=RLS	=HS
မေး၊တောင်း	ယူ	က၊တော့၊တာ	အော်	ငါ	မ	ဆို၊ပြော	ချင်	ဘူး	မောင်	ဆို၊ပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘When (the wives) asked, (he) said “Well, I don't want to tell you, my dears.”, it is said.’

136. *“àngnáq khūnnayét myaúkpèà palú zōkshīwaleú lāthàkūták seùé” ngaúmataák.*

àng	=panáq	khūnnayét	myaúk	=pè	palú	zōkshī	waleú
that	=NOM	seven.day	north	=LOC	ogre	breast	liquid
အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	ခုနှစ်ရက်	မြောက်	မှာ	ဘီလူး	နို့	အရည်

lā	-thà	=kū	=ták	=seùé	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
take	-must	=IRLS	=HS	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS
ယူ	ရ	မယ်	တဲ့	လေ	ဆို၊ပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘“(The king) told me to bring ogre’s milk on/within the seventh day.”, it is said.’

137. *“àngnáq palú zōkshīwaleú ínalūpánnàkà ngatèká tánshíkūtákyeù” ngaúmataák.*

àng	=panáq	palú	zōkshī	waleú	ín=	a=	lū	pánnàkà	ngā	=tè	=ká
that	=NOM	ogre	breast	liquid	NEG=	NEG=	get	if	1SG	=A.AG	=TOP
အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	ဘီလူး	နို့	အရည်	မ	မ	ရ	ရင်	ငါ	ကို	က၊တော့၊တာ

tán	shí	=kū	=ták	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
beat	die	=IRLS	=HS	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS
တီး၊ရိုက်	သေ	မယ်	တဲ့	လို့လို့	ဆို၊ပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(The king) said that, “If I can't get ogre's milk, (he) will kill me.”, it is said.’

138. *anyeù ngaúká “aū hamàngkazeú apūtàngsà hamàngkazeú apūtàngsà” ngaúmaták.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=ká	aū	hà	=màng	=kà	=zeú
DEM	=manner	say	=TOP	well!	WH	=thing	=Q	=even
ဒီ	လိုးလို့	ဆိုးပြော	ကးတော့းတာ	အော်	ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား	တောင်မှ
a=	pū	-ta	-àng	=sà	hà	=màng	=kà	=zeú
NEG=	worry	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=NEG.IMP	WH	=thing	=Q	=even
မ	ပူ	—	လိုက်	နဲ့	ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား	တောင်မှ
a=	pū	-ta	-àng	=sà	ngaú	=mā	=ták .	
NEG=	emerge	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=NEG.IMP	say	=RLS	=HS	
မ	ထွက်	—	လိုက်	နဲ့	ဆိုးပြော	တယ်	တဲ့	

‘If that is the case, the wives said, “Well, don't worry, don't worry.”, it is said.’

139. *“maléq heúkākūseúé” ngaúmaták.*

maléq	heú	kā	=kū	=seùé	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
1PL	tell	show	=IRLS	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS
တို့	ပြောပြ	ပြ	မယ်	လေ	ဆိုးပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(The wives) said, “We will instruct you how to do.”, it is said.’

140. *àngnaíkmàtè ngaúkà taì halángyákánaà àngnáq nakámáqpā àngnáq sīnphyūmáqpā atá tīppán īyákcímaták seùé.*

àng	=naík	mátè	ngaúkà	taì	haláng	yá	=ká	=naà	àng	=panáq
that	=only	when	as.for	morning	sky	bright	=TOP	=only	that	=NOM
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အခါမှာ	ဆိုရင်	နံနက်	မိုးကောင်းကင်	လင်း	ကးတော့းတာ	မှ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ

naká	=mā	pā	àng	=panáq	sīnphyū	=mā	pā	atá	tīp	=pán
dragon	=RLS	include	that	=NOM	white.elephant	=RLS	include	rice	pack	=COS
နဂါး	တယ်	ပါ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	ဆင်ဖြူ	တယ်	ပါ	ထမင်း	ထုတ်	ပြီးပြီး

ī	-à	-cí	=mā	=ták	=seùé .
give	-EUPH	-PL	=RLS	=HS	=SAP
ပေး	ချ	ကြ	တယ်	တဲ့	လေ

‘Then, when the dawn came, both the dragon lady and elephant lady packed the food and gave it to him, it is said.’

141. *“anáq ayátpè thōkkón nāngná amúná”.*

anáq	ayát	=pè	thōk	=kón	nāng	=ná	amú	=ná .
this	place	=LOC	arrive	=so.as.to	go	=SAP	brother	=SAP
ဒီ	အရပ်	မှာ	ရောက်	အောင်	သွား	နော်	အစ်ကို	နော်

“Husband (lit. older brother), go until you reach that place.”

142. *“anáq ayátpè thōkpánnàkà meútnátóng ngaúwàngnīngyeù kóng tatawā yē tatawā zúnqceútaháng {anyeù seùé} myíttāpóqtaūīhángàng” {anyeù seú} ngaúmataák.*

anáq	ayát	=pè	thōk	pánnàkà	meútnátóng	ngaú	-àng	=nīngyeù	kóng	tatawā	yē
this	place	=LOC	arrive	if	a.moment.ago	say	-DIR1	=manner	hill	animal	water
ဒီ	အရပ်	မှာ	ရောက်	ရင်	ခုဏတုန်းက	ဆိုပြော	လိုက်	လိုသလို	ကုန်း	သတ္တဝါ	ရေ

tatawā	zúnqceú	-ta	-háng {	an	=yeù	=seùé }
animal	give.away	L.SUFF	-back	DEM	=manner	=SAP
သတ္တဝါ	စွန့်ကြဲ	—	ပြန်	ဒီ	လိုလို	လေ

myíttāpóq	-ta	ī	-háng	-àng {	an	=yeù	=seú }	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
good.wishes	L.SUFF	give	-back	-DIR1	DEM	=manner	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS
မေတ္တာပို့	—	ပေး	ပြန်	လိုက်	ဒီ	လိုလို	လေ	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘(They) said, {this manner} “When you reach the place, as (I) have just said. Offer (food) to the land and water creatures (and) make good wishes (for them).”, it is said.’

143. *àngnáq ngaúnīngyeù hīng ēktàk tīpīnīngyeù àngnáq atátīpsà lāpánnaà hīng ēktàk ngaúnīngyeù ōmànghángàmatákseúé hīngyítá.*

àng	=panáq	ngaú	=nīngyeù	hīng	ēk	-tàk	tīp	ī	=nīngyeù	àng	=panáq
that	=NOM	say	=manner	3SG	wife	-PL	pack	give	=manner	that	=NOM
အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	ဆိုပြော	လိုသလို	သူ	ဇနီး	တို့	ထုတ်	ပေး	လိုသလို	အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ

atá	tīp	-sà	lā	=pán	=naà	hīng	ēk	-tàk	ngaú	=nīngyeù
rice	pack	-DIM	take	=COS	=only	3SG	wife	-PL	say	=manner
ထမင်း	ထုတ်	လေး	ယူ	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	သူ	ဇနီး	တို့	ဆိုပြော	လိုသလို

ōm	-àng	-háng	-à	=mā	=ták	=seùé	hīng	=yí	=tá	.
make	-DIR1	-back	-EUPH	=RLS	=HS	=SAP	3SG	=also	=EMPH	
လုပ်	လိုက်	ပြန်	ချေ	တယ်	တဲ့	လေ	သူ	လည်း	ပဲ	

‘He did as his wives told him and packed (the rice). He took the rice and did what he had been told to, it is said.’

144. *ōmànghángàká àngnaíkmákhà palúyìtà {àngnaíkmà} àngnáq hīng atátè yōkànglūpántáak ngaúpánkaú “aū nāngtè ngā cíceū cézútīntàngmā maūngyeù” ngaúmataák seùé.*

ōm	-àng	-háng	-à	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	palú	=yí	=tá	{
make	-DIR1	-back	-EUPH	=TOP	that	=only	time	ogre	=also	=EMPH	
လုပ်	လိုက်	ပြန်	ချေ	ကတော့၊တာ	အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ဘီလူး	လည်း	ပဲ	

àng	=naík	mà }	àng	=panáq	hīng	atá	=tè	yōk	-àng	lū	=pán	=ták
that	=only	time	that	=NOM	3SG	rice	=A.AG	eat	-DIR1	get	=COS	=HS
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်	အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	သူ	ထမင်း	ကို	စား	လိုက်	ရ	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

ngaú	=pánkaú	aū	nāng	=tè	ngā cíceū	cézútīn	-ta	-àng	=mā	
say	=as.it.is.the.case	well!	2SG	=A.AG	1SG extremely	thankful	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=RLS	
ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	အော်	ခင်ဗျား	ကို	ငါ ကြီးကျယ်	ကျေးဇူးတင်	—	လိုက်	တယ်	
maūng	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	=ták	=seùé	.				
boy	=SAP	say	=RLS	=HS	=SAP					
မောင်	လို့လို့	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့	လေ					

'When he had done that, that time, the ogre (having eaten his food) said, "Well, I am so very thankful to you.", it is said.'

145. *"cézútīntàngmā" anyeù "nāngyeún ngā hamàng cézúsáttathàkaláyeù" ngaúká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà "yaū ngāká àngpanáq sàngpaláng yaà ngātèká zōkshīwaleú laīngthàkū" ngaúmā "àngnáq ínalūpínnàkà ngatèká tánshíkū ngaúmāyeù" ngaúmā.*

cézútīn	-ta	-àng	=mā	an	=yeù	nāng	=yeún	ngā	hà	=màng
thankful	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=RLS	DEM	=manner	2SG	=BEN	1SG	WH	=thing
ကျေးဇူးတင်	—	လိုက်	တယ်	ဒီ	လို့လို့	ခင်ဗျား	အတွက်	ငါ	ဘယ်	ဟာ
cézú	sát	-ta	-thà	=kū	=lá	=yeù	ngaú	=ká		
gratitude	pay.back	L.SUFF	-must	IRLS	=Q	=SAP	say	=TOP		
ကျေးဇူး	ဆပ်	—	ရ	မယ်	လဲလား	လို့လို့	ဆိုပြော	ကာတော့ဘာ		
àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà	yaū	ngā	=ká	àng	=panáq	
that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for	EXCL	1SG	=TOP	that	=NOM	
အဲဒီ	မှာပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်	ရော့	ငါ	ကာတော့ဘာ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	
sāngpaláng	=yaà	ngā	=tè	=ká	zōkshī	waleú	lā	-ìng	-thà	=kū
king	=euph	exist	=A.AG	=TOP	breast	liquid	take	-DIR2	-must	=IRLS
ရှင်ဘုရင်	ဖြင့်လေပဲ	ရှိ	ကို	ကာတော့ဘာ	နို့	အရည်	ယူ	ခဲ့	ရ	မယ်
ngaú	=mā	àng	=panáq	ín=	a=	lū	pánnàkà	ngā	=tè	=ká
say	=RLS	that	=NOM	NEG=	NEG=	get	if	1SG	=A.AG	=TOP
ဆိုပြော	တယ်	အဲဒီ	တဲ့တာ	မ	မ	ရ	ရင်	ငါ	ကို	ကာတော့ဘာ
tán	shí	=kū	ngaú	=mā	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	.		
beat	die	=IRLS	say	=RLS	=SAP	say	=RLS			
တီးရိုက်	သေ	မယ်	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	လို့လို့	ဆိုပြော	တယ်			

'When asked, "I am thankful, how can I pay back the gratitude I owe you?", he told the ogre, "I must bring back milk. If I cannot get it, the king said that he will kill me." '

146. *"éé" ngaúpánnaà palúmáqyí nyíttaúpán ìingmaták.*

éé	ngaú	=pán	=naà	palú	máq	=yí	nyít	-ta	=pán
yes	say	=COS	=only	ogre	female	=also	squeeze	L.SUFF	=COS
အေးအေး	ဆိုပြော	ပြီပြီး	မှ	ဘီလူး	မ	လည်း	ညစ်	—	ပြီပြီး

ī -ìng =mā =ták .
give -DIR2 =RLS =HS
ပေး ခဲ့ တယ် တဲ့

'The ogre said "yes" and (she) squeezed out some milk and gave it to (him), it is said.'

147. *nyíttaūpán īpínták ngaúpánkaú hīngká àngnáq nyíttaúpán īheúq apyīn lakò ēk palúmáqshà lakò ēkshā īngīngsà {ēkshā lakò} hawà létsaūng īhángìngmaták hīngyeún.*

nyít -ta =pán ī =pán =ták ngaú =pánkaú hīng =ká
squeeze L.SUFF =COS give =COS =HS say =as.it.is.the.case 3SG =TOP
ညစ် — ပြီးပြီး ပေး ပြီးပြီး တဲ့ ဆိုပြော ရင်တော့ သူ ကတော့တာ

àng =panáq nyít -ta =pán ī -heúq apyīn =lakò ēk
that =NOM squeeze L.SUFF =COS give -back:DIR2 in.addition =SAP wife
အဲဒီ တဲ့တာ ညစ် — ပြီးပြီး ပေး ပြန်ခဲ့ အပြင် ကိုးတာကို ဇနီး

palú máq shā =lakò ēk shā īngīng -sà { ēk shā =lakò }
ogre female small =SAP wife small tiny -DIM wife small =SAP
ဘီလူး မ ငယ်ခလေး ကိုးတာကို ဇနီး ငယ်ခလေး သေးသေး လေး ဇနီး ငယ်ခလေး ကိုးတာကို

hú -à leútsaūng ī -háng -ìng =mā =ták hīng =yeún .
CLF.person -one gift give -back -DIR2 =RLS =HS 3SG =BEN
ယောက် တစ် လက်ဆောင် ပေး ပြန် ခဲ့ တယ် တဲ့ သူ အတွက်

'As it is the case, in addition to the milk, (they) gave him a wife, a young ogre, as a gift, it is said.'

148. *īhángìngká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà katàmshīshísà īhángìngmaták.*

ī -háng -ìng =ká àng =naík mákhà =tè ngaúkà
give -back -DIR2 =TOP that =only time =A.AG as.for
ပေး ပြန် ခဲ့ ကတော့တာ အဲဒီ မှပဲသမျှ အချိန်အခါ ကို ဆိုရင်

katàm shīshí -sà ī -háng -ìng =mā =ták .
beautiful ATTW -DIM give -back -DIR2 =RLS =HS
လှ မြည်သံစွဲ လေး ပေး ပြန် ခဲ့ တယ် တဲ့

'When given a daughter, that time, (They) gave (him) an extremely beautiful one, it is said.'

149. *īhángìngká ín tamìsāathá ahānáseùé katàmmā seú {nāngyítá cíceū é anyeù ngaúpánkaú sàngpalángká caíktamā seùé}.*

ī	-háng	-ìng	=ká	ín	tamìsā	=athá	a=	hān	=á	=seùé		
give	-back	-DIR2	=TOP	um.yes!	human	=more	NEG=	lessen	=NEG	=SAP		
ပေး	ပြန်	ခဲ့	ကတော့တာ	အင်း	လူ	ထက်	မ	လျော့	ဘူး	လေ		
katàm	=mā	=seú	{	nāng	=yí	=tá	}	cíceū	é	an	=yeù	
beautiful	=RLS	=SAP		2SG	=also	=EMPH		extremely	yes	DEM	=manner	
လှ	တယ်	လေ		ခင်ဗျား	လည်း	ပဲ		ကြီးကျယ်	အေး	ဒီ	လိုလို့	
ngaú	=pánkaú	sāngpaláng	=ká	caík	-ta	=mā	=seùé	.				
say	=as.it.is.the.case	king	=TOP	like	L.SUFF	=RLS	=SAP					
ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	ရှင်ဘုရင်	ကတော့တာ	ကြိုက်	—	တယ်	လေ					

'When given, (she) was as beautiful as human. {You know}, (she) was extremely beautiful. (Therefore) the king liked (her).'

150. *hīng ēktàktè lākákkánaà tánshízíngyōkmā seùé hīngtè amyómyó anyeùé.*

hīng	ēk	-tàk	=tè	lā	-kák	=ká		=naà				
3SG	wife	-PL	=A.AG	take	-want	=TOP		=only				
သူ	ဇနီး	တို့	ကို	ယူ	ချင်	ကတော့တာ		မှ				
tán	shí	zíngyōk	=mā	=seùé	hīng	=tè	amyómyó	an	=yeù	=é	.	
beat	die	order	=RLS	=SAP	3SG	=A.AG	various.way	DEM	=manner	=SAP		
တီးရိုက်	သေ	ခိုင်းစား	တယ်	လေ	သူ	ကို	အမျိုးမျိုး	ဒီ	လိုလို့	အေး		

'Since (the king) wanted his wives, (he) ordered/planned to kill (him) in various ways.'

151. *àngnaíkmàkà ngaúkà yàk ngaúnīngyeù nahángpánták ēk sómhú ngāpánták àngnaíkmátèká yūzíngyōkhángpínták ínmàkà sàngpalángká.*

àng	=naík	mà	=ká	ngaúkà	yàk	ngaú	=nīngyeù	nāng	-háng	=pán	=ták	
that	=only	time	=TOP	as.for	now	say	=manner	go	-back	=COS	=HS	
အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အချိန်	ကတော့တာ	ဆိုရင်	အခု	ဆိုပြော	လိုသလို	သွား	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	
ēk	sóm	hú	ngā	=pán	=ták	àng	=naík	mátè	=ká			
wife	three	CLF.person	exist	=COS	=HS	that	=only	when	=TOP			
ဇနီး	သုံး	ယောက်	ရှိ	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	အခါမှာ	ကတော့တာ			
yū	zíngyōk	-háng	=pán	=ták	ín	mà	=ká	sāngpaláng	=ká	.		
look	order	-back	=COS	=HS	that	time	=TOP	king	=TOP			
ကြည့်	ခိုင်းစား	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	အဲ	အချိန်	ကတော့တာ	ရှင်ဘုရင်	ကတော့တာ			

'That time, as it is said, (he) went back, it is said. (He) now had three wives, it is said. Then the king ordered (his officials) to spy on him again, it is said.'

152. *yūzíngyōkhángìngkánaà ínmàkà aū hīng ngeūtū ngeūtá tàkká yūhángpíntàk.*

yū	zíngyōk	-háng	-ìng	=ká	=naà	ín	mà	=ká	aū	hīng
look	order	-back	-DIR2	=TOP	=only	that	time	=TOP	well!	3SG
ကြည့်	ခိုင်းစား	ပြန်	ခဲ့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	မှ	အဲ	အချိန်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အော်	သူ

ngeūtū	ngeūtá	-tàk	=ká	yū	-háng	=pán	=ták .
followers		-PL	=TOP	take	-back	=COS	=HS
ငယ်သူငယ်သား		တို့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ယူ	ပြန်	ပြီ	တဲ့

'When ordered to spy (on them), that time, his followers went to see/spy on him again, it is said.'

153. *yūhángìngkánaà "yaū shípánglá àngpanáq halawà yūhángàyū" "hamàngkà shíhàkalá shíkūpanáqhaík apyīnhaík ēk lakò sómhú ngāpín" ngaúmaták.*

yū	-háng	-ìng	=ká	=naà	yaū	shí	=páng	=lá	àng	=panáq
take	-back	-DIR2	=TOP	=only	EXCL	die	=DIR1:COS	=Q	that	=NOM
ယူ	ပြန်	ခဲ့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	မှ	ရော်	သေ	လိုက်ပြီ	လဲၤလား	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ၤတာ

halawà	yū	-háng	-à	yū	hà	=màng	=kà	shí	-hà	=kū	=lá
man/husband	take	-back	-EUPH	look	WH	=thing	=Q	die	-know.how	IRLS	=Q
ယောကျ်ား	ယူ	ပြန်	ချေ	ကြည့်	ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲၤလား	သေ	တတ်	မယ်	လဲၤလား

shí	=kū	=panáq	=haík	apyīn	=haík	ēk	=lakò	sóm	hú	ngā	=pán
die	=IRLS	=NOM	=ABL	in.addition	=ABL	wife	=SAP	three	CLF.person	exist	=COS
သေ	မယ်	တဲ့ၤတာ	ကၤမှ	အပြင်	ကၤမှ	ဇနီး	ကိုၤတာကို	သုံး	ယောက်	ရှိ	ပြီၤပြီး

ngaú	=mā	=ták .
say	=RLS	=HS
ဆိုၤပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

'When returned and looked, (the king) ordered, "Go and see whether the person is dead or not." (The officials) told the king, "He is not dead; instead he now has three wives.", it is said.'

154. *"anáq ēkyí katàm shīshísà" ngaúmaták.*

anáq	ēk	=yí	katàm	shīshí	-sà	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
this	wife	=also	beautiful	ATTW	-DIM	say	=RLS	=HS
ဒီ	ဇနီး	လည်း	လှ	မြည်သံစွဲ	လေး	ဆိုၤပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

'(They) said, "His new wife is also extremely beautiful.", it is said.'

155. *“ā anyeùtóng ashíhàpanáqká hīngtèká aséng látlát ashīn látlát ōmpánnaàyeù tóngpaí paítàngkūyeù” ngaúmataák àngnaíkmákhàtèká.*

ā	an	=yeù	tóng	a=	shí	-hà	=panáq	=ká	
oh	DEM	=manner	big	NEG=	die	-know.how	=NOM	=TOP	
အာ	ဒီ	လိုလို့	ကြီး	မ	သေ	တတ်	တဲ့တာ	ကတော့တာ	
pán	-à	=kaú	=yeù	hīng	=tè	=ká	aséng látlát	ashīn látlát	
CLF.times	-one	=TOP	=SAP	3SG	=A.AG	=TOP	raw.still	alive.still	
ကြိမ်	တစ်	တော့	လိုလို့	သူ	ကို	ကတော့တာ	အစိမ်းလတ်လတ်	အရှင်လတ်လတ်	
ōm	=pán	=naà	=yeù	tóng	paí	paí	-ta	-àng	=kū	=yeù
make	=COS	=only	=SAP	three	chop	chop	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=IRLS	=SAP
လုပ်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	လိုလို့	သုံး	ပိုင်း	ပိုင်း	—	လိုက်	မယ်	လိုလို့
ngaú	=mā	=ták àng	=naík		mákhà	=tè	=ká	.	
say	=RLS	=HS	that	=only		time	=A.AG	=TOP	
ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့	အဲဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ		အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကတော့တာ	

‘Then the king said, as it is the case that he is not dead, “this time, (we) will chop (him) alive into three pieces”, it is said.’

156. *anyeù panyāshíqyaúk tātpanáq ínshíhà ashíhàpanáq amyókáyeù múcímátyàtáktè kaūzíngyōkpánnaà tóngpaí paítàngmataák àngmákhàtèká tāngkaūtóngyaúk tóngpaí paítàngmataák tānlyeútyaúkyeù sāmtaùn ōmàngmataák.*

an	=yeù	panyāshíq	=yaúk	tāt	=panáq	ín=	shí	-hà	=á	
DEM	=manner	wise.man	=COM	release	=NOM	NEG=	die	-know.how	=NEG	
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ပညာရှိ	နဲ့	လွတ်	တဲ့တာ	မ	သေ	တတ်	ဘူး	
a=	shí	-hà	=panáq	amyó	=ká	=yeù	múcímátyà	-tàk	=tè	
NEG=	die	-know.how	=NOM	kind	=TOP	=SAP	official	-PL	=A.AG	
မ	သေ	တတ်	တဲ့တာ	အမျိုး	ကတော့တာ	လိုလို့	မှူးကြီးမတ်ရာ	တို့	ကို	
kaū	zíngyōk	=pán	=naà	tóng	paí	paí	-ta	-àng	=mā	=ták
call	order	=COS	=only	three	chop	chop	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS
ခေါ်	ခိုင်းစား	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	သုံး	ပိုင်း	ပိုင်း	—	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့
àng	mákhà	=tè	=ká	tāngkaū	tóng	=yaúk	tóng	paí		
that	time	=A.AG	=TOP	sword	big	=COM	three	chop		
အဲဒီ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကတော့တာ	ဓါးရှည်	ကြီး	နဲ့	သုံး	ပိုင်း		
paí	-ta	-àng	=mā	=ták	tānlyeút	=yaúk	=yeù	sām	taùn	
chop	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS	regalia	=COM	=SAP	three	portion	
ပိုင်း	—	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့	သန်လျက်	နဲ့	လိုလို့	သုံး	ပိုင်း	
ōm	-àng	=mā	=ták .							
make	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS							
လုပ်	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့							

‘So, regarding the one who did not die from all these cunning tricks, the king ordered his officials to bring him in and cut him into three pieces with a big knife, it is said.’

157. *sāmtaùn paítàngká àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà wánshípán {àngnaíkmákhàtèká} wánshípán nōppán peúpàngták.*

sām	taùn	paí	-ta	-àng	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà
three	portion	chop	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for
သုံး	ပိုင်း	ပိုင်း	—	လိုက်	ကာတော့ဟာ	အဲဒီ	မှာပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်

wán	shí	=pán	{	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	}	wán	shí	=pán
chop	die	=COS		that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP		chop	die	=COS
ခုတ်	သေ	ပြီးပြီး		အဲဒီ	မှာပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကာတော့ဟာ		ခုတ်	သေ	ပြီးပြီး

nōp	=pán	peú	=páng	=ták .
bury	=COS	keep	=DIR1:COS	=HS
မြှုပ်	ပြီးပြီး	ထား	လိုက်ပြီ	တဲ့

'Since he was cut into three pieces, that time, (they) killed (him) (Lit. chop to dead), buried (him), and left (him) (there), it is said.'

158. *àngnáq sāngpaláng tàkhaík wánshípán nōppán peúyàngká àngnaíkmákhàtèká ēk sómhúhaíkyeù keūtacímaták.*

àng	=panáq	sāngpaláng	-tàk	=haík	wán	shí	=pán	nōp	=pán	
that	=NOM	king	-PL	=ABL	chop	die	=COS	bury	=COS	
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	ရှင်ဘုရင်	တို့	ကမှ	ခုတ်	သေ	ပြီးပြီး	မြှုပ်	ပြီးပြီး	

peú	-àng	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	ēk
keep	-DIR1	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP	wife
ထား	လိုက်	ကာတော့ဟာ	အဲဒီ	မှာပဲသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကာတော့ဟာ	ဇနီး

sóm	hú	=haík	=yeù	keū	-ta	-cí	=mā	=ták .
three	CLF.person	=ABL	=SAP	save	L.SUFF	-PL	=RLS	=HS
သုံး	ယောက်	ကမှ	လို့လို့	ကယ်	—	ကြ	တယ်	တဲ့

'When the king and others had killed (him) (lit. chop to dead), buried (him), and left (him), that time the three wives rescued (him), it is said.'

159. *matàkkaú matàkkā taīpāngtacímaták.*

matàkkaú matàkkā	taīpāng	-ta	-cí	=mā	=ták .	
by.themselves	discuss	L.SUFF	-PL	=RLS	=HS	
သူ့တို့ဘာသာသူ့တို့	တိုင်ပင်	—	ကြ	တယ်	တဲ့	

'They discussed (it) among themselves, it is said.'

160. *"nāngká phaūtaú" ngaúmaták.*

nāng	=ká	phaū	-ta	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
2SG	=TOP	dig.up	L.SUFF	say	=RLS	=HS
ခင်ဗျား	ကာတော့ဟာ	ဖော်	—	ဆိုပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

'"You dig (him) up.", it is said.'

161. *“nāngká phaūtaúzípánnaà nāngká seúttahayákyeù tapīté ngāhayákyeù nāngká ōm” ngaúmataák.*

nāng	=ká	phaū	-ta	zí	=pán	=naà	nāng	=ká
2SG	=TOP	dig.up	L.SUFF	finish	=COS	=only	2SG	=TOP
ခင်ဗျား	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	ဖော်	—	ပြီး	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ခင်ဗျား	ကၠတော့ၠတာ

seút	-ta	-hà	=yák	=yeù	tapīté	ngā	=hayák	=yeù
join	L.SUFF	-know.how	=so.as.to	=SAP	level	exist	=so.as.to	=SAP
ဆက်	—	တတ်	အောင်	လိုလို့	တပြေတည်း	ရှိ	တတ်အောင်	လိုလို့

nāng	=ká	ōm	ngaú	=mā	=ták .
2SG	=TOP	make	say	=RLS	=HS
ခင်ဗျား	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	လုပ်	ဆိုၠပြော	တယ်	တဲ့

‘“You dig him up. You reconnect those parts and make them even.”, it is said.’

162. *“ngāká asák swángtahàyákyeù ōmkūyeù” ngaúmataák àngnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà.*

ngā	=ká	asák	swáng	-ta	-hà	=yák	=yeù	ōm	=kū	=yeù
1SG	=TOP	life	put	L.SUFF	-know.how	=so.as.to	=SAP	make	=IRLS	=SAP
ငါ	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	အသက်	သွင်း	—	တတ်	အောင်	လိုလို့	လုပ်	မယ်	လိုလို့

ngaú	=mā	=ták	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	ngaúkà .
say	=RLS	=HS	that	=only	time	=A.AG	as.for
ဆိုၠပြော	တယ်	တဲ့	အဲဒီ	မှၠပဲၠသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုရင်

‘Then, “I will made him breathe.”, it is said.’

163. *àngnaíkmákhàtèká tánshípán nōppeúpanáqtè sāmpaí paítaúpán nōppán peúpanáqtè sīnphyūmáqhaíkà anáq acísweūheúq lūpanáq īshíqshàhaíkà ayāng phaūtaúmataák hīngká.*

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	tán	shí	=pán
that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP	beat	die	=COS
အဲဒီ	မှၠပဲၠသမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	တီးရိုက်	သေ	ပြီးပြီး

nōp	peú	=panáq	=tè	sām	paí	paí	-ta	=pán	nōp	=pán
bury	keep	=NOM	=A.AG	three	chop	chop	L.SUFF	=COS	bury	=COS
မြုပ်	ထား	တဲ့ၠတာ	ကို	သုံး	ပိုင်း	ပိုင်း	—	ပြီးပြီး	မြုပ်	ပြီးပြီး

peú	=panáq	=tè	sīnphyū	máq	=haík	anáq	acísweū	=haík	lū	=panáq
keep	=NOM	=A.AG	white.elephant	female	=ABL	this	tusk	=ABL	get	=NOM
ထား	တဲ့ၠတာ	ကို	ဆင်ဖြူ	မ	ကၠမှ	ဒီ	ဆင်ဆွယ်	ကၠမှ	ရ	တဲ့ၠတာ

īshíq	shā	=haík	ayāng	phaū	-ta	=mā	=ták	hīng	=ká	.
girl	small	=ABL	prior	dig.up	L.SUFF	=RLS	=HS	3SG	=TOP	
အမျိုးသမီး	ငယ်ၠလေး	ကၠမှ	အရင်	ဖော်	—	တယ်	တဲ့	သူ	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	

‘Then, first the elephant lady who came out from the tusk dig up the husband who got killed, cut into three pieces and buried, it is said.’

164. *phaūtaúpánnaà hīng halá mákkūtè hīngkaú hīngkā títántsà ōmpán peúmaták.*

phaū	taú	=pán	=naà	hīng	halá	mákkū	=tè	hīngkaú hīngkā	títánq	-sà
dig.up	jungle	=COS	=only	3SG	husband	bone	=A.AG	himself	separately	-DIM
ဖော်	တော	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မှ	သူ	လင်ယောကျ်ား	အရိုး	ကို	သူ့ဘာသာသူ	သီးသန့်	လေး
ōm	=pán	peú	=mā	=ták .						
make	=COS	keep	=RLS	=HS						
လုပ်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	ထား	တယ်	တဲ့						

'After digging (him) up, (she) placed her husband's bones by themselves, it is said.'

165. *naúktèká àngnáq nakámáqhaíkà lūwákpanáq nakámáq sèkká maháng ōmpánnaà hīngkaú hīngkā seúttapán malā phénghángìnghayák ōmàngmaták.*

naúk	=tè	=ká	àng	=panáq	naká	máq	=haík	lū	-à	=panáq
later	=A.AG	=TOP	that	=NOM	dragon	female	=ABL	get	-EUPH	=NOM
နောက်	ကို	က၊တော့၊တာ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	နဂါး	မ	က၊မှ	ရ	ချေ	တဲ့၊တာ
naká	máq	sèk	=ká	maháng	ōm	=pán	=naà	hīngkaú hīngkā		
dragon	female	person	=TOP	that.thing	make	=COS	=only	himself		
နဂါး	မ	သူ၊လူ	က၊တော့၊တာ	ဟိုဟာ	လုပ်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မှ	သူ့ဘာသာသူ		
seút	-ta	=pán	malā	phéng	-háng	-ìng	-hà	=yák		
join	L.SUFF	=COS	flesh	full	-back	-DIR2	-know.how	=so.as.to		
ဆက်	—	ပြီ၊ပြီး	အသား	ပြည့်	ပြန်	ခဲ့	တတ်	အောင်		
ōm	-àng	=mā	=ták .							
make	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS							
လုပ်	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့							

'Later, the wife that was from the dragons , a dragon girl, did that, also, so that the flesh filled up the bones by itself, it is said.'

166. *àngnáq táttayáq lūpanáq sèk palúmáq sèkká asák zátaháng̀ìnghayák ōmàngmaták àngnaíkmákhàtèká záháng̀ìngmaták àngnaíkmákhàtèká.*

àng	=panáq	táttayáq	lū	=panáq	sèk	palú	máq	sèk	=ká	asák
that	=NOM	third	get	=NOM	person	ogre	female	person	=TOP	life
အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	တတိယ	ရ	တဲ့၊တာ	သူ၊လူ	ဘီလူး	မ	သူ၊လူ	က၊တော့၊တာ	အသက်
zá	-ta	-háng	-ìng	-hà	=yák	ōm	-àng	=mā	=ták	
alive	L.SUFF	-back	-DIR2	-know.how	=so.as.to	make	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS	
ရှင်သန်	—	ပြန်	ခဲ့	တတ်	အောင်	လုပ်	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့	
àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	zá	-háng	-ìng	=mā	=ták	
that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP	alive	-back	-DIR2	=RLS	=HS	
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	က၊တော့၊တာ	ရှင်သန်	ပြန်	ခဲ့	တယ်	တဲ့	

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	.
that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP	
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	က၊တော့၊တာ	

'Then the third wife, the ogre, made (him) breathe again, it is said. Then (he) became alive, it is said.'

167. *àngnaíkmákhàtèká úngpè nakáhaík lūpanáq nakápanáq tamìsātè kaūsōmìng úngpè síttū pītátē kaūsōmìngmāseùé naú.*

àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká	úng	=pè	naká	=haík	lū	=panáq	
that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP	that	=LOC	dragon	=ABL	get	=NOM	
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	က၊တော့၊တာ	ဟို	မှာ	နဂါး	က၊မှ	ရ	တဲ့၊တာ	
naká	=panáq	tamìsā	=tè	kaū	sōm	-ìng	úng	=pè	síttū	pītá	-tē
dragon	=ABL	human	=A.AG	call	used.up	-DIR2	that	=LOC	soldier	civilian	-PL
နဂါး	မှ	လူ	ကို	ခေါ်	ကုန်	ခဲ့	ဟို	မှာ	စစ်သူ	ပြည်သား	တွေ
kaū	sōm	-ìng	=mā	=seùé	=ná	.					
call	used.up	-DIR2	=RLS	=SAP	=SAP						
ခေါ်	ကုန်	ခဲ့	တယ်	လေ	နော်						

'Then the wife who came from the dragon (family) called the people, the soldiers, and civilians together.'

168. *haíkmàkà úngpanáq ací sèktàkyí acítwē acítwē kaūteúpsōmìng.*

haíkmākà	úng	=panáq	ací	sèk	-tàk	=yí	ací	-tē	ací	-tē
as.for.that.time	that	=NOM	elephant	person	-PL	=also	elephant	-PL	elephant	-PL
ဒီအခါမှာ	ဟို	တဲ့၊တာ	ဆင်	သူ၊လူ	တို့	လည်း	ဆင်	တွေ	ဆင်	တွေ
kaū	teúp	sōm	-ìng	.						
call	throw	used.up	-DIR2							
ခေါ်	ပစ်	ကုန်	ခဲ့							

'Then the elephant people also brought the elephants.'

169. *nakátwē nakátwē kaūteúpsōmìng palútwē palútwē kaūteúpsōmìng kaūsōmìngmaták.*

naká	-tē	naká	-tē	kaū	teúp	sōm	-ìng	palú	-tē	palú	-tē
dragon	-PL	dragon	-PL	call	throw	used.up	-DIR2	ogre	-PL	ogre	-PL
နဂါး	တွေ	နဂါး	တွေ	ခေါ်	ပစ်	ကုန်	ခဲ့	ဘီလူး	တွေ	ဘီလူး	တွေ
kaū	teúp	sōm	-ìng	kaū	sōm	-ìng	=mā	=ták	.		
call	throw	used.up	-DIR2	call	used.up	-DIR2	=RLS	=HS			
ခေါ်	ပစ်	ကုန်	ခဲ့	ခေါ်	ကုန်	ခဲ့	တယ်	တဲ့			

'(They) called lots and lots of dragons and ogres, it is said.'

170. *kaūsūmpánnaà àngnaíkmákhàtè sāngpalángtè {taíktaú} taíktàngmaták àngnaíkmákhàtè.*

kaū	sōm	=pán	=naà	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	sāngpaláng	=tè	{
call	used.up	=COS	=only	that	=only	time	=A.AG	king	=A.AG	
ခေါ်	ကုန်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ရှင်ဘုရင်	ကို	

taík	-ta	}	taík	-ta	-àng	=mā	=ták	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	.
battle	L.SUFF		battle	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS	that	=only	time	=A.AG	
တိုက်	—		တိုက်	—	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့	အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	

'After calling (them), that time, (they) battled the king, it is said.'

171. *taíktàngmákhàkà sāngpalángtàkká shúngtaúpánnaà matákká àngnaíkmákhàtèká àngnáq sèk sāngpaláng ōmpánnaà míqphyátákyaúk sānzátaú nímàngmaták.*

taík	-ta	-àng	mákhà	=ká	sāngpaláng	-tàk	=ká
battle	L.SUFF	-DIR1	time	=TOP	king	-PL	=TOP
တိုက်	—	လိုက်	အချိန်အခါ	ကၢတော့၊တာ	ရှင်ဘုရင်	တို့	ကၢတော့၊တာ

shúng	-ta	=pán	=naà	àntàk	=ká	àng	=naík	mákhà	=tè	=ká
loose	L.SUFF	=COS	=only	3PL	=TOP	that	=only	time	=A.AG	=TOP
ရှုံး	—	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မှ	သူတို့	ကၢတော့၊တာ	အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကၢတော့၊တာ

àng	=panáq	sèk	sāngpaláng	ōm	=pán	=naà	míqphyá	-tàk	=yaúk	sānzá	-ta
that	=NOM	person	king	make	=COS	=only	queen	-PL	=COM	reign	L.SUFF
အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	သူ၊လူ	ရှင်ဘုရင်	လုပ်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မှ	မိဘုရား	တို့	နဲ့	စံစား	-

ním	-àng	=mā	=ták .
stay	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS
နေ	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့

'When battled, the king and others were defeated. Then, that time, (they) made the person (their husband) a new king and (the king) with the queens reigns (the country), it is said.'

Text17: ‘My family’

1. *nga cím sèk aú heúthàkū ngaúpánnàkà ngapèká címsèk peútkaú ngālakúqé.*

ngā	cím	sèk	acaúng	heú	-thà	=kū	ngaú	pánnàkà	ngā	=pè	=ká
1SG	house	person	about	tell	-must	=IRLS	say	if	1SG	=LOC	=TOP
ငါ	အိမ်	သူ၊လူ	အကြောင်း	ပြော	ရ	မယ်	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်	ငါ	မှာ	က၊တော့၊တာ

cím	sèk	peút	kaú	ngā	=lakò	=é	.
house	person	eight	CLF.person	exist	=SAP	=SAP	
အိမ်	သူ၊လူ	ရှစ်	ယောက်	ရှိ	ကို၊တာကို	အေး	

‘If I have to tell about my family, I've got eight people (in my family).’

2. *amúnashì hàkaú ameūpā awàpā nūklánpā ngaúpánnàkà peútkaútalé*

amúnashī	hà	kaú	ameū	=pā	awà	=pā	nūklán	=pā	ngaú	pánnàkà
sibling	five	CLF.person	mother	=and	father	=and	nephew	=and	say	if
ညီအစ်ကို	ငါး	ယောက်	အမေ	ရော	အဖေ	ရော	တူ၊တူမ	ရော	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်

peút	kaú	=talé
eight	CLF.person	=SAP
ရှစ်	ယောက်	တယ်လေး

‘Five siblings, plus a mother, a father, and a nephew, (we are altogether) eight people.’

3. *amútóng hawà ngāmā ngapèká ēklāzípán*

amú	tóng	hú	-à	ngā	=mā	ngā	=pè	=ká	ēklā	zí	=pán	.
brother	big	CLF.person	-one	exist	=RLS	1SG	=LOC	=TOP	marry	finish	=COS	
အစ်ကို	ကြီး	ယောက်	တစ်	ရှိ	တယ်	ငါ	မှာ	က၊တော့၊တာ	မိန်းမယူ	ပြီး	ပြီပြီး	

‘(I) have one older brother (and) (he is) married. (Lit. he has taken a woman).’

4. *maléq atétóng kalìnghú ngātalé atétóng hawà atéshà hawà atétóngká halánāngzípán*

maléq	até	tóng	kalìng	hú	ngā	=talé	até	tóng	hú	-à
1PL	older.sister	big	two	CLF.person	1SG	=SAP	older.sister	big	CLF.person	-one
တို့	အမ	ကြီး	နှစ်	ယောက်	ငါ	တယ်လေး	အမ	ကြီး	ယောက်	တစ်

até	shā	hú	-à	até	tóng	=ká
older.sister	small	CLF.person	-one	older.sister	big	=TOP
အမ	ငယ်ခလေး	ယောက်	တစ်	အမ	ကြီး	က၊တော့၊တာ

halá	nāng	zí	=pán .
husband	go	finish	=COS
လင်ယောကျ်ား	သွား	ပြီး	ပြီပြီး

'(I've got) two older sisters - the oldest and the second oldest. The oldest was married.'

5. *hīng halá shíyàngkànaà címpè nímhángyūmā seùé.*

hīng	halá	shí	-àng	=ká	=naà	cím	=pè
3SG	husband	die	-DIR1	=TOP	=only	house	=LOC
သူ	လင်ယောကျ်ား	သေ	လိုက်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	မှ	အိမ်	မှာ

ním	-háng	yū	=mā	=seùé .
stay	-back	look	=RLS	=SAP
နေ	ပြန်	ကြည့်	တယ်	လေ

'When her husband passed away, (she) came back home to stay (with us).'

6. *nūklán īshíq hawà pātìngmā seùé*

nūklán	īshíq	hú	-à	pā	-ta	-ìng	=mā	=seùé .
nephew	girl	CLF.person	-one	include	L.SUFF	-DIR2	=RLS	=SAP
တူၤတူမ	အမျိုးသမီး	ယောက်	တစ်	ပါ	—	ခဲ့	တယ်	လေ

'(She) brought along a nephew (her son/daughter).'

7. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú anáq nūklánpā ngaúpánkaú yaà maléq amú ēkpā ngā ashítalé sā kalìnghú ngāpán*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	anáq	nūklán	=pā	ngaú	=pánkaú	yaà	maléq
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	this	nephew	=and	say	=as.it.is.the.case	now	1PL
ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့	ဒီ	တူၤတူမ	ရော	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့	အခု	တို့

amú	ēk	=pā	ngā	ashì	=talé	sā	kalìng	hú	ngā	=pán
brother	wife	=and	1SG	sister-in-law	=SAP	son	two	CLF.person	exist	=COS
အစ်ကို	ဇနီး	ရော	ငါ	မရီး		တယ်လေး	သား	နှစ်	ယောက်	ရှိ	ပြီပြီး

'In addition to this nephew, now, my older brother's wife, my sister-in-law, has two children.'

8. *álóng shípnúpán hawà ngāpán ngānaíkngá ngaúpánnàkàlé*

álóng	shípnú	=pán	hú	-à	ngā	=pán	ngānaíkngá	ngaú	pánnàkà	=lé .
all	ten	=COS	CLF.person	-one	exist	=COS	all	say	if	=SAP
အားလုံး	ဆယ်	ပြီပြီး	ယောက်	တစ်	ရှိ	ပြီပြီး	အားလုံး	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်	လေး

'So, (it's) altogether eleven people.' (Lit. ten after one)

9. *maléq ameūtàk maléq awàtàk āntān thaùngtapán*

maléq	ameū	-tàk	maléq	awà	-tàk	āntān	thaùng	-ta	=pán	.
1PL	mother	-PL	1PL	father	-PL	quite	old	L.SUFF	=COS	
တို့	အမေ	တို့	တို့	အဖေ	တို့	တော်တော်	အို	—	ပြီ၊ပြီး	

'Our parents are quite old.'

10. *maléqká maeúshaúk lapā ōmcílakàé*

maléq	=ká	maeú	=shaúk	lapā	ōm	-cí	=lakà	=é	.
1PL	=TOP	long.ago	=DIM:COM	field	make	-PL	=MIR	=SAP	
တို့	က၊တော့၊တာ	ရှေး	လေးနဲ့	လယ်	လုပ်	ကြ	တာကိုး	အေး	

'We've done wet-rice field cultivation since a long time ago.'

11. *maléqpàpèká maléqsà achīyá maléq azáktákká lapā ōmyōkkà myátamā lé*

maléq	=pà	=pè	=ká	maléq	-sà	a=	chī	=á	maléq
1PL	=ALL	=LOC	=TOP	1PL	-mere	NEG=	true	=NEG	1PL
တို့	သို့၊ဖက်	မှာ	က၊တော့၊တာ	တို့	သာ	မ	ဟုတ်	ဘူး	တို့

azàk	-tàk	=ká	lapā	ōm	yōk	=ká	myá	-ta	=mā	=lé	.
PN	-PL	=TOP	field	make	eat	=TOP	plenty	L.SUFF	=RLS	=SAP	
ကတူး	တို့	က၊တော့၊တာ	လယ်	လုပ်	စား	က၊တော့၊တာ	များ	—	တယ်	လေး	

'In our area, it is not only us, we, most Kadu, practice wet-rice field cultivation.'

12. *lapā ōmyōkcí mánghá ngaúpánnàkà ām kámàkà tén zí ngāzípán ngaúpánnàkà phú tāmhācí {anyeù kámàkà seùé}*

lapā	ōm	yōk	-cí	mánghá	ngaú	pánnàkà	ān	kámàkà	tén	zí
field	make	eat	-PL	summer	say	if	paddy	sort.of.things	gather	finish
လယ်	လုပ်	စား	ကြ	နွေရာသီ	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်	စပါး	စသည်	သိမ်း	ပြီး

ngā	zí	=pán	ngaú	pánnàkà	phú	tām	hā	-cí	{ an	=yeù
exist	finish	=COS	say	if	silver	search	walk	-PL	DEM	=manner
ရှိ	ပြီး	ပြီ၊ပြီး	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်	ငွေ	ရှာဖွေ	သွား	ကြ	ဒီ	လို၊လို့

kámàkà	=seùé }
sort.of.things	=SAP
စသည်	လေ

'We cultivate wet-rice fields in the summer. After gathering the paddy and so on, (we) go out to earn money.'

13. *maléqyítá asák tóngákpìng ngaúpánkaú {maléqpènīng} maléq khítmákhàtèká ngón ōmhācímā*

maléq	=yí	=tá	asák	tóng	-à	=píng	ngaú	=pánkaú	{
1PL	=also	=EMPH	life	big	-EUPH	=DIR2:COS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	
တို့	လည်း	ပဲ	အသက်	ကြီး	ချေ	လာပြီ	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	

maléq	=pè	=nīng	}	maléq	khít	mákhà	=tè	=ká	ngón
1PL	=LOC	=manner		1PL	era	time	=A.AG	=TOP	gold
တို့	မှာ	လို		တို့	ခေတ်	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကတော့တာ	ရွှေ

ōm	hā	-cí	=mā	.
make	walk	-PL	=RLS	
လုပ်	သွား	ကြ	တယ်	

'Since we have grown up, in our generation/era (we) mine gold.'

14. *ngón kámàkà thūcí láksamá ōmhà sèk láksamá ōm anyeù hācímā seùé*

ngón	kámàkà	thū	-cí	láksamá	ōm	-hà	sèk	láksamá	ōm	an	=yeù
gold	sort.of.things	pound	-PL	carpenter	make	-know.how	person	carpenter	make	DEM	=manner
ရွှေ	စသည်	ထောင်း	ကြ	လက်သမား	လုပ်	တတ်	သူလူ	လက်သမား	လုပ်	ဒီ	လိုလို့

hā	-cí	=mā	=seùé
walk	-PL	=RLS	=SAP
သွား	ကြ	တယ်	လေ

'(We) mine gold and so on and the people who can work in carpentry, work as carpenters. Like that, we go out (to make money).'

15. *ngayítá ōmákpáptalé*

ngā	=yí	=tá	ōm	-à	-páp	=talé
1SG	=also	=EMPH	make	-EUPH	-been	=SAP
ငါ	လည်း	ပဲ	လုပ်	ချေ	ဖူးမိ	တယ်လေး

'I have also done that.'

16. *cíceū náttamā pīnpántamā héq ngón alúk ngaúpanáq amyóká*

cíceū	-pīnpán	-ta	=mā	héq	ngón	alúk	ngaú	=panáq	amyó	=ká
extremely	tire	L.SUFF	=RLS	EXCL	gold	work	say	=NOM	kind	=TOP
ကြီးကျယ်	ပင်ပန်း	—	တယ်	ဟေ့	ရွှေ	အလုပ်	ဆိုပြော	တဲ့တာ	အမျိုး	ကတော့တာ

'This kind of work-to mine gold-is extremely tiring.'

17. *caúng nímìngkàyítá kōyeún shípnútè aūngtakónyítá kōká anímìngyeūná seùé*

caúng	ním	-ìng	=ká	=yí	=tá	kō	=yeún	shípnú	=tè	
school	stay	-DIR2	=TOP	=also	=EMPH	body/self	=BEN	ten	=A.AG	
ကျောင်း	နေ	ခဲ့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	လည်း	ပဲ	ကိုယ်	အတွက်	ဆယ်	ကို	
aūng	-ta	=kón	=yí	=tá	kō	=ká				
pass	L.SUFF	=so.as.to	=also	=EMPH	body/self	=TOP				
အောင်	—	အောင်	လည်း	ပဲ	ကိုယ်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ				
a=	ním	-ìng	-yeūn	=á	=seùé	.				
NEG=	stay	-DIR2	-can	=NEG	=SAP					
မ	နေ	ခဲ့	နိုင်	ဘူး	လေ					

'Though I went to school, I couldn't study (well enough) in order to pass the ten standard for myself.'

18. *nímká nímìngtalé aaūngtìngálē*

ním	=ká	ním	-ìng	=talé	a=	aūng	-ta	-ìng	=á	=lé .
stay	=TOP	stay	-DIR2	=SAP	NEG=	pass	L.SUFF	-DIR2	=NEG	=SAP
နေ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	နေ	ခဲ့	တယ်လေး	မ	အောင်	—	ခဲ့	ဘူး	လေး

'Of course, I went to school but didn't pass the exam.'

19. *ameū awàtàkká {àntákká} mítpánták ngaúpánkaú kōsātè céng paùtzíngkákpánták ngaúpánkaú peúīyákmā àntákká*

ameū	awà	-tàk	=ká	{	àntàk	=ká	}	mít	=pán	=ták		
mother	father	-PL	=TOP		3PL	=TOP		love	=COS	=HS		
အမေ	အဖေ	တို့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ		သူတို့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ		ချစ်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့		
ngaú	=pánkaú	kō	sā	=tè	céng	paút	zíng	-kák	=pán	=ták		
say	=as.it.is.the.case	body/self	son	=A.AG	letter	skill	JUSS	-want	=COS	=HS		
ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့	ကိုယ်	သား	ကို	စာ	လိမ္မာ	စေ	ချင်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့		
ngaú	=pánkaú	peú	ī	-à	=mā	àntàk	=ká	.				
say	=as.it.is.the.case	keep	give	-EUPH	=RLS	3PL	=TOP					
ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့	ထား	ပေး	ချေ	တယ်	သူတို့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ					

'Since our parents love us and (they) want their children to be educated, (they) sent us to school (Lit. kept us in school).'

20. *anyeùzáng pīnpántapanáq ayànnāzáng ngaútìtà àntákká kōsātàk céng paútzánghàyák ngaúpánnaà peúīyákmā*

an	=yeù	=záng	pīnpán	-ta	=panáq	ayàn	=mā	=záng
DEM	=manner	=EMPH	tire	L.SUFF	=NOM	poor	=RLS	=EMPH
ဒီ	လိုးလို့	ပဲလှ	ပင်ပန်း	—	တဲ့ဟာ	ဆင်းရဲ	တယ်	ပဲလှ

ngaú	=tí	=tá	àntàk	=ká	kō	sā	-tàk céng
say	=also	=EMPH	3PL	=TOP	body/self	son	-PL letter
ဆိုးပြော	ရင်လည်း	ပဲ	သူတို့	ကဟော့ဟာ	ကိုယ်	သား	တို့ စာ

paút	záng	-hà	=yák	ngaú	=pán	=naà	peú	ī	-à	=mā	.
skill	JUSS:DIR1	-know.how	=so.as.to	say	=COS	=only	keep	give	-EUPH	=RLS	
လိမ္မာ	စေလိုက်	တတ်	အောင်	ဆိုးပြော	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ထား	ပေး	ချေ	တယ်	

'In spite of poverty and hardship, they sent us to school so their children would be educated.'

21. *maléqká shípnútè aaūngtíngá seùé*

maléq	=ká	shípnú	=tè	a=	aūng	-ta	-ìng	=á	=seùé	.
1PL	=TOP	ten	=A.AG	NEG=	pass	L.SUFF	-DIR2	=NEG	=SAP	
တို့	ကဟော့ဟာ	ဆယ်	ကို	မ	အောင်	—	ခဲ့	ဘူး	လေ	

'We didn't pass the ten standard exam.'

22. *yaà nga zán hawà nga zányítá shípnú thōkákmā*

yaà	ngā	zán	hú	-à	ngā	zán	=yí	=tá	shípnú	thōk	-à	=mā	.
now	1SG	sister	CLF.person	-one	1SG	sister	=also	=EMPH	ten	arrive	-EUPH	=RLS	
အခု	ငါ	နှမ	ယောက်	တစ်	ငါ	နှမ	လည်း	ပဲ	ဆယ်	ရောက်	ချေ	တယ်	

'One of my younger sisters also reached the tenth standard.'

23. *hīngká pínùnaík phyeūtáklà aaūngtawà hīngyítá*

hīng	=ká	pí	nù	=naík	phyeū	-ta	-à	=lá
3SG	=TOP	year	one	=only	answer	L.SUFF	-EUPH	=NOM
သူ	ကဟော့ဟာ	နှစ်	တစ်	မှပဲသမျှ	ဖြေ	—	ချေ	တာ

a=	aūng	-ta	=á	hīng	=yí	=tá	.
NEG=	pass	L.SUFF	=NEG	3SG	=also	=EMPH	
မ	အောင်	—	ဘူး	သူ	လည်း	ပဲ	

'She took the exam only once, (but) she, also, didn't pass.'

24. *yàkká hīngyítá maūpàpè atá mōknāngákkákmā ngaúpánnakaú atá mōknāngmā yàkká phúyaúk seùé*

yàk	=ká	hīng	=yí	=tá	maū	=pà	=pè	atá
now	=TOP	3SG	=also	=EMPH	mining.area	=ALL	=LOC	rice
အခု	ကၠတော့ကာ	သူ	လည်း	ပဲ	မော်	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	ထမင်း

mōk	nāng	-à	-kák	=mā	ngaú	=pánkaú	atá	mōk	nāng	=mā
cook	go	-EUPH	-want	=RLS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	rice	cook	go	=RLS
ချက်	သွား	ချေ	ချင်	တယ်	ဆို့ပြော	ရင်တော့	ထမင်း	ချက်	သွား	တယ်

yàk	=ká	phú	=yaúk	=seùé	.
now	=TOP	silver	=COM	=SAP	
အခု	ကၠတော့ကာ	ငွေ	နဲ့	လေ	

'Since she wanted to go to the gold mining area as a cook, (she) went (there) to cook and earn money (Lit. to cook with money).'

25. *maléq atétóngtàk ameūsāsāyeū atá mōkàmā matákyítá pyúng ngón ōmpáqpè nāngmā*

maléq	até	tóng	-tàk	ameūsāsā	=yeū	atá	mōk	-à	=mā
1PL	older.sister	big	-PL	mother.and.son	=and	rice	cook	-EUPH	=RLS
တို့	အမ	ကြီး	တို့	သားအမိ	ရယ်	ထမင်း	ချက်	ချေ	တယ်

àntàk	=yí	=tá	pyúng	ngón	ōm	=pà	=pè	nāng	=mā	.
3PL	=also	=EMPH	gems.soil	gold	make	=ALL	=LOC	go	=RLS	
သူတို့	လည်း	ပဲ	ဗြုန်း	ရွှေ	လုပ်	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	သွား	တယ်	

'She went to cook together with my older sister and her child. They also went to the muddy gold mining area.'

26. *kalìngsatá sómsatázeútá ngāpán*

kalìng	satá	sóm	satá	=zeú	=tá	ngā	=pán	.
two	month	three	month	=even	=EMPH	exist	=COS	
နှစ်	လ	သုံး	လ	တောင်မှ	ပဲ	ရှိ	ပြီပြီး	

'It's already been two or three months.'

27. *léq amúyítá ngón thūàmā paúkmaípè*

maléq	amú	=yí	=tá	ngón	thū	-à	=mā	paúkmaí	=pè	.
1PL	brother	=also	=EMPH	gold	dig	-one	=RLS	PN	=LOC	
တို့	အစ်ကို	လည်း	ပဲ	ရွှေ	တူး	တစ်	တယ်	ပေါက်မှိုင်း	မှာ	

'My older brother also went to mine gold at Paukmai.'

28. *maleú achīyànghà hākūká tamìká chīcíhàmā ngaúlakaù*

maleú	a=	chī	-àng	-hà	=á	hākū	=ká	tamì	=ká
good	NEG=	true	-DIR1	-know.how	=NEG	reckon	=TOP	other.people	=TOP
ကောင်း	မ	ဟုတ်	လိုက်	တတ်	ဘူး	ထင်တယ်	ကဖော့ဖော	သူများ	ကဖော့ဖော

chī	-cí	-hà	=mā	ngaú	=lakaú	.
true	-PL	-know.how	=RLS	say	=MIR	
ဟုတ်	ကြ	တတ်	တယ်	ဆိုပြော	ကိုးတာကိုး	

'We are not doing well. I think other people are doing well.' (lit. we are not knowing to be true, and other people know to be true).

29. *ngāká ngón aōmá maū ngāmāsà ngaúlá ngāká thōkzeú athōkzángsà*

ngā	=ká	ngón	a=	ōm	=á	maū	ngā	=mā	-sà	ngaú	=lá
1SG	=TOP	gold	NEG=	make	=NEG	mining.area	exist	=RLS	-mere	say	=NOM
ငါ	ကဖော့ဖော	ရွှေ	မ	လုပ်	ဘူး	မော်	ရှိ	တယ်	သာ	ဆိုပြော	တာ

ngā	=ká	thōk	=zeú	a=	thōk	=záng	=sà
1SG	=TOP	arrive	=even	NEG=	arrive	=EMPH	=NEG.IMP
ငါ	ကဖော့ဖော	ရောက်	တောင်မှ	မ	ရောက်	ပဲလှ	နဲ့

'I don't mine gold. Though it is said that there is a gold mining area, (I) have never been there.'

30. *anyeù ngaúpánták ngaúpánkaú yaà maléq azàktàk acaúngtèà léqlātamā zúqzítamā ngaúpánnaà aúpè ōmnímákmā ngaká*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	yaà	maléq	azàk	-tàk	
DEM	=manner	say	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	now	1PL	PN	-PL	
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	အခု	တို့	ကတူး	တို့	

acaúng	=tè	léqlā	-ta	=mā	zúqzí	-ta	=mā	ngaú	=pán	=naà
about	=A.AG	research	L.SUFF	=RLS	compile	L.SUFF	=RLS	say	=COS	=only
အကြောင်း	ကို	လေ့လာ	—	တယ်	စုစည်း	—	တယ်	ဆိုပြော	ပြီးပြီး	မှ

aú	=pè	ōm	ním	-à	=mā	ngā	=ká	.
here	=LOC	make	stay	-EUPH	=RLS	1SG	=TOP	
ဒီ	မှာ	လုပ်	နေ	ချေ	တယ်	ငါ	ကဖော့ဖော	

'As it happens, now I am working here (as someone) who is studying and compiling about us, the Kadu.'

31. *hīngyítá phúyaúk ōmnímáktalé kwā*

hīng	=yí	=tá	phú	=yaúk	ōm	ním	-à	=talé	=kwā	.
3SG	=also	=EMPH	silver	=COM	make	stay	-EUPH	=SAP	=manly	
သူ	လည်း	ပဲ	ငွေ	နဲ့	လုပ်	နေ	ချေ	တယ်လေး	ဩကွာ	

'He also gave us money.' (Lit. he works with money)

32. *phú ínlūyeùká aōmyeūná seùé maléq ayànpín sèktàkká*

phú	ín=	lū	=yeù	=ká	a=	ōm	-yeūn	=á	=seùé	maléq
silver	NEG=	get	=manner	=TOP	NEG=	make	-can	=NEG	=SAP	1PL
ငွေ	မ	ရ	လို့လို့	ကၠတော့်တာ	မ	လုပ်	နိုင်	ဘူး	လေ	တို့

ayàn	=pín	sèk	-tàk	=ká
poor	=NOM	person	-PL	=TOP
ဆင်းရဲ	တဲ့်တာ	သူလူ	တို့	ကၠတော့်တာ

'We, the poor, can't work without getting money.'

33. *címpèká maléq ameūtàk maléq awàtàk nímcí lakòé*

cím	=pè	=ká	maléq	ameū	-tàk	maléq	awà	-tàk	ním	-cí	=lakò	=é	.
house	=LOC	=TOP	1PL	mother	-PL	1PL	father	-PL	stay	-PL	=SAP	=SAP	
အိမ်	မှာ	ကၠတော့်တာ	တို့	အမေ	တို့	တို့	အဖေ	တို့	နေ	ကြ	ကို်တာကို	အေး	

'Our parents live at home.'

34. *maléq atéshàká mōkpūthàmā hīngká kūmángyák mōkpū*

maléq	até	shā	=ká	mōkpū	-thà	=mā	hīng	=ká	kūmángyák
1PL	older.sister	small	=TOP	tend.cow	-must	=RLS	3SG	=TOP	every.day
တို့	အမ	ငယ်ခလေး	ကၠတော့်တာ	နွားကျောင်း	ရ	တယ်	သူ	ကၠတော့်တာ	နေ့တိုင်း

mōkpū
tend.cow
နွားကျောင်း

'Our older sister tends the cows.' 'She tends the cows everyday.'

35. *ngayítá mōkpūkáq athàseù maūng*

ngā	=yí	=tá	mōkpū	=káq	a=	thà	=á	=seú	maūng	.
1SG	=also	=EMPH	tend.cow	=TOP	NEG=	be	=NEG	=SAP	boy	
ငါ	လည်း	ပဲ	နွားကျောင်း	က	မ	ဖြစ်	ဘူး	လေ	မောင်	

'It is not possible for me to tend the cows.'

36. *mōkpūpánnàkà cāntapanáq alúk mōkpūpín sèk aōmhà seùé*

mōk	pū	pánnàkà	cān	-ta	=panáq	alúk	mōkpū	=panáq	sèk
cook	emerge	if	remain	L.SUFF	=NOM	work	tend.cow	=NOM	person
ချက်	ထွက်	ရင်	ကျန်	—	တဲ့်တာ	အလုပ်	နွားကျောင်း	တဲ့်တာ	သူလူ

a=	ōm	-hà	=á	=seùé	.
NEG=	make	-know.how	=NEG	=SAP	
မ	လုပ်	တတ်	ဘူး	လေ	

'If I tend the cows, the cowherd (my sister) can't do the remaining tasks.'

37. *anyeù ngaúpántàk ngaúpánkaú hāthàmā seú*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	hā	-thà	=mā	=seú	.
DEM	=manner	say	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	walk	-must	=RLS	=SAP	
ဒီ	လိုးလို့	ဆိုးပြော	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုးပြော	ရင်တော့	သွား	ရ	တယ်	လေ	

'Therefore, (she) has to go (tend the cows).'

38. *ā míqtázúq tāwūn ngaúpanáq cíceū tóngmā azeūzángá héq*

ā	míqtázúq	tāwūn	ngaú	=panáq	cíceū	tóng	=mā	a=	zeū	=záng	=á	
oh	family	responsibility	say	=NOM	extremely	big	=RLS	NEG=	easy	=EMPH	=NEG	
အာ	မိသားစု	တာဝန်	ဆိုးပြော	တဲ့ဟာ	ကြီးကျယ်	ကြီး	တယ်	မ	လွယ်	ပဲလှ	ဘူး	

héq .

EXCL

ဟေ့

'Oh! Family responsibilities are extremely big. (It is) not easy.'

39. *àngyaūngpáng tamì ngaúcípanáq céngshìyítá paútnákhàmanaík yàk khékkáq {anyeùmásà múnggángkūmeúlá} anyeù ngaúcímā seùé*

àng	yaūngpáng	tamì	ngaú	-cí	=panáq	céng	shì	=yí	=tá	
that	because.of	other.people	say	-PL	=NOM	letter	four	=also	=EMPH	
အဲဒီ	ကြောင့်	သူများ	ဆိုးပြော	ကြ	တဲ့ဟာ	စာ	လေး	လည်း	ပဲ	

paút	-à	-hà	=másà	=naík	yàk	khék	=káq	an	=yeù	=másà
skill	-EUPH	-know.how	=only.if	=only	now	this.era	=TOP	DEM	=manner	=only.if
လိမ္မာ	ချေ	တတ်	မှ	မှပဲသမျှ	အခု	ဒီခေတ်	က	ဒီ	လိုးလို့	မှ

múnggángkū	meú	=lá	an	=yeù	ngaú	-cí	=mā	=seùé	.
fortunate	good	=NOM	DEM	=manner	say	-PL	=RLS	=SAP	
လူဖြစ်ရကြိုးနပ်	ကောင်း	တာ	ဒီ	လိုးလို့	ဆိုးပြော	ကြ	တယ်	လေ	

'Therefore, other people said, "It is important/helpful to get educated in this era. {Only then will you have a good/comfortable life}."

40. *céng paútnáktìtà maūng maléqpàpèká phúnāngzeù apòwákkà alúk zánù lūkū ngaúpanáq amyóyítá phú cíceù sòtthàmā*

céng	paút	-à	=tí	=tá	maūng	maléq	=pà	=pè	=ká	
letter	skill	-EUPH	=also	=EMPH	boy	1PL	=ALL	=LOC	=TOP	
စာ	လိမ္မာ	ချေ	ရင်လည်း	ပဲ	မောင်	တို့	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	ကတော့ဟာ	

phú	=nāngzeù	a=	pò	-à	=ká	alúk	zá	nù	lū	=kū
silver	=only/merely	NEG=	exist	-EUPH	=TOP	work	CLF.kind	one	get	=IRLS
ငွေ	မှသာ	မ	ရှိ	ချေ	ကတော့ဟာ	အလုပ်	မျိုးမယ်	တစ်	ရ	မယ်

ngaú	=panáq	amyó	=yí	=tá	phú	cíceū	sòt	-thà	=mā	.
say	=NOM	kind	=also	=EMPH	silver	extremely	bribe	-must	=RLS	
ဆို၊ပြော	တဲ့၊တာ	အမျိုး	လည်း	ပဲ	ငွေ	ကြီးကျယ်	လာဘ်ထိုး	ရ	တယ်	

'In our areas, even though (you are) educated, you have to bribe (in spite of having no income/money) a great deal of money to get a job.'

41. *alùyeūná seùé*

a=	lū	-yeūn	=á	=seùé	.
NEG=	get	-can	=NEG	=SAP	
မ	ရ	နိုင်	ဘူး	လေ	

'(It's) impossible to get one.'

42. *kōká lakò alúktwē maneúqzáng nàttamā ngaútìtà tamì phú lūcípanáq phú nátcípanáqtè katùngmā seú*

kō	=ká	=lakò	alúk	-tē	mà	=neúq	=záng	nàt	-ta	=mā
body/self	=TOP	=SAP	work	-PL	WH	=as.much.as	=EMPH	tire	L.SUFF	=RLS
ကိုယ်	က၊တော့၊တာ	ကို၊တာကို	အလုပ်	တွေ	ဘာ၊ဘယ်	ခန့်၊လောက်	ပဲ၊လှ	မော	—	တယ်

ngaú	=tí	=tá	tamì	phú	lū	-cí	=panáq	phú
say	=also	=EMPH	other.people	silver	get	-PL	=NOM	silver
ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်လည်း	ပဲ	သူများ	ငွေ	ရ	ကြ	တဲ့၊တာ	ငွေ

nát	-cí	=panáq	=tè	katùng	=mā	=seú	.
use	-PL	=NOM	=A.AG	see	=RLS	=SAP	
သုံး၊တွယ်	ကြ	တဲ့၊တာ	ကို	မြင်	တယ်	လေ	

'How tiresome the work may be!. I can see other people making money and using the money.'

43. *ōmàngkákmā seú taúktàngkákmā seú*

ōm	-àng	-kák	=mā	=seú	taúk	-ta	-àng	-kák	=mā	=seú	.
make	-DIR1	-want	=RLS	=SAP	do/hit	L.SUFF	-DIR1	-want	=RLS	=SAP	
လုပ်	လိုက်	ချင်	တယ်	လေ	တွယ်ပစ်	-	လိုက်	ချင်	တယ်	လေ	

'I want to do it. I want to beat it.'

44. *hamàngkà myó náttamā zàkthák meúmā pīnpántamáqzáng ngaúkák ngaú kōká shīshā ngaúpántták ngaúpánkaú maléq ōmtún hātún yōktún ayweù ngaúpánkaú taúktàngkákmā*

hà	=màng	=kà	myó	nàt	-ta	=mā	zàk	=thák	meú	=mā
WH	=thing	=Q	CLT.kind	tire	L.SUFF	=RLS	afraid	=in.order.to	good	=RLS
ဘယ်	ဟာ	□လဲ၊လား	အမျိုး	မော	—	တယ်	ကြောက်	ဖို့၊စရာ	ကောင်း	တယ်

pīnpán	-ta	=mā	=záng	ngaú	-kák	ngaú	kō	=ká	shīshā
tire	L.SUFF	=RLS	=EMPH	say	-want	say	body/self	=TOP	child
ပင်ပန်း	—	တယ်	ပဲ၊လှ	ဆို၊ပြော	ချင်	ဆို၊ပြော	ကိုယ်	က၊တော့၊တာ	ကလေး

ngaú	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	maléq	ōm	=tún	hā	=tún
say	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	1PL	make	=still	walk	=still
ဆို၊ပြော	ပြီ၊ပြီး	တဲ့	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်တော့	တို့	လုပ်	သေးတယ်	သွား	သေးတယ်

yōk	=tún	ayweù	ngaú	=pánkaú	taúk	-ta	-àng	-kák	=mā	.
eat	=still	age	say	=as.it.is.the.case	do/hit	L.SUFF	-DIR1	-want	=RLS	
စား	သေးတယ်	အရွယ်	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်တော့	တွယ်ပစ်	—	လိုက်	ချင်	တယ်	

'What kind of work would be tiresome or fearful? In any case, we are young and energetic (lit. still able to do/work, walk, and eat), therefore, I want to do it!'

45. *tamì lācí nátcípanáq kámàkà katùngmā seùé*

tamì	lā	-cí	nát	-cí	=panáq	kámàkà	katùng	=mā	=seùé
other.people	take	-PL	use	-PL	=NOM	sort.of.things	see	=RLS	=SAP
သူများ	ယူ	ကြ	သုံး၊တွယ်	ကြ	တဲ့၊တာ	စသည်	မြင်	တယ်	လေ

'We see other people making and spending (money) and so on.'

46. *tamìyeù yaà hátnàngkákmā seùé*

tamì	=yeù	yaà	hát	-àng	-kák	=mā	=seùé	.
other.people	=SAP	now	make	-DIR1	-want	=RLS	=SAP	
သူများ	လို၊လို့	အခု	ပြုလုပ်	လိုက်	ချင်	တယ်	လေ	

'We want to do it like other people do.'

47. *lapāyítá ameúhà ngaúpánták ngaúpánkaú anésóng maléqká ngā címsèkyaúk ngaúpánnàkà shípnúpán hawà ngaúpánták ngaúpánkaú páknùpaí saūngpák ngāmásà yōkkómmā seùé*

lapā	=yí	=tá	a=	meú	-hà	=á	ngaú	=pán	=ták
field	=also	=EMPH	NEG=	good	-know.how	=NEG	say	=COS	=HS
လယ်	လည်း	ပဲ	မ	ကောင်း	တတ်	ဘူး	ဆို၊ပြော	ပြီ၊ပြီး	တဲ့

ngaú	=pánkaú	aneúsóng	maléq	=ká	ngā	cím	sèk	=yaúk
say	=as.it.is.the.case	at.least	1PL	=TOP	1SG	house	person	=COM
ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်တော့	အနည်းဆုံး	တို့	က၊တော့၊တာ	ငါ	အိမ်	သူ၊လူ	နဲ့

ngaú	pánnàkà	shípnú	=pán	hú	-à	ngaú	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú
say	if	ten	=COS	CLF.person	-one	say	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case
ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်	ဆယ်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	ယောက်	တစ်	ဆို၊ပြော	ပြီ၊ပြီး	တဲ့	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်တော့

pák	nù	paí	saūng	pák	ngā	=másà	yōk	kóm	=mā	=seùé	.
hundred	one	over	two	hundred	exist	=only.if	eat	enough	=RLS	=SAP	
ရာ	တစ်	ကျော်	နှစ်	ရာ	ရှိ	မှ	စား	လောက်၊တော်	တယ်	လေ	

'Since rice fields are not (producing) well, with my eleven family members, it will only be enough when we get over 100 or 200 (tins of) paddy.'

48. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú kōká tāmàng àngpè yōktìngpè sōmàng ānkā sàtkā míyōkhángthàmā ngaúpántàk ngaúpánkaú címsèk tóngpántàk ngaúpánkaú màngkazeú athàhà seùé*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	kō	=ká	tām	-àng	àng	=pè
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	body/self	=TOP	search	-DIR1	that	=LOC
ဒီ	လိုးလို့	ဆိုးပြော	ရင်တော့	ကိုယ်	ကးတော့ၤတာ	ရှာဖွေ	လိုက်	အဲဒီ	မှာ

yōk	=tìng	=pè	sōm	-àng	ān	=kā	sàt	=kā
eat	=NOM	=LOC	used.up	-DIR1	paddy	=so.on	husked.rice	=so.on
စား	ဖို့စရာ	မှာ	ကုန်	လိုက်	စပါး	စသည်	ဆန်	စသည်

mí	yōk	-háng	-thà	=mā	ngaú	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	cím	sèk
buy	eat	-back	-must	=RLS	say	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	house	person
ဝယ်	စား	ပြန်	ရ	တယ်	ဆိုးပြော	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုးပြော	ရင်တော့	အိမ်	သူးလူ

tóng	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	mà	=màng	=kà	=zeú
big	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	WH	=thing	=Q	=even
ကြီး	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုးပြော	ရင်တော့	ဘာၤဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား	တောင်မှ

a=	thà	-hà	=á	=seùé	.
NEG=	be	-know.how	=NEG	=SAP	
မ	ဖြစ်	တတ်	ဘူး	လေ	

'Having said that, it goes on and on like this. We will earn money and spend it for food and so on. Since we have to buy rice again, as the family is big, nothing is enough! We can't save anything.'

49. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú kōká mánpàpè manīngyeù ōmyōkàngthàkū ngaúpanáqtè lakò nacá hīngkaú hīngkā pūngmān phúlūhàkūpanáqtè swángzáng aswángìngtìtà kōyeún yōkzāngyeún ūzāngyeún ngāpanáqtè kōká tāmthàmā seùé*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	kō	=ká	mán	=pà	=pè
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	self	=TOP	face	=ALL	=LOC
ဒီ	လိုးလို့	ဆိုးပြော	ရင်တော့	ကိုယ်	ကးတော့ၤတာ	မျက်နှာ	သို့ၤဖက်	မှာ

mà	=nīngyeù	ōm	yōk	-àng	-thà	=kū	ngaú	=panáq	=tè	=lakò
WH	=manner	make	eat	-DIR1	-must	=IRLS	say	=NOM	=A.AG	=SAP
ဘာၤဘယ်	လိုးသလို	လုပ်	စား	လိုက်	ရ	မယ်	ဆိုးပြော	တဲ့ၤတာ	ကို	ကို့ၤတာကို

nacá	hīngkaú	hīngkā	pōngmān	phú	lū	-hà	=kū	=panáq	=tè
carefully	himself		regular	silver	get	-know.how	=IRLS	=NOM	=A.AG
သေချာ	သူ့ဘာသာသူ		ပုံမှန်	ငွေ	ရ	တတ်	မယ်	တဲ့ၤတာ	ကို

swáng	=záng	a=	swáng	-ìng	=tí	=tá	kō	=yeún	yōk	zāngyeún
rich	=EMPH	NEG=	rich	-DIR2	=also	=EMPH	self	=BEN	eat	barely
ချမ်းသာ	ပဲလှ	မ	ချမ်းသာ	ခဲ့	ရင်လည်း	ပဲ	ကိုယ်	အတွက်	စား	နိုင်ရုံ

ū	zāngyeún	ngā	=panáq	=tè	kō	=ká	tām	-thà	=mā	=seùé .
drink	barely	exist	=NOM	=A.AG	body/self	=TOP	search	-must	=RLS	=SAP
သောက်	နိုင်ရုံ	ရှိ	တဲ့ဟာ	ကို	ကိုယ်	ကဟာ့ဟာ	ရှာဖွေ	ရ	တယ်	လေ

'Having said that, one has to decide, "How will we work and feed the family in the future? The business /thing that will run by itself. Though we can't become rich, (we) have to look for something/business which will provide enough food and drink."'

50. *anáqnīngyeù pīnpīnpánpán ōmyōkthàkū ngaúpánnàkà ínzeūyá seùé*

anáq	=nīngyeù	pīnpīnpánpán	ōm	yōk	-thà	=kū	ngaú	pánnàkà
this	=manner	be.wearily	make	eat	-must	=IRLS	say	if
ဒီ	လိုသလို	ပင်ပင်ပန်းပန်း	လုပ်	စား	ရ	မယ်	ဆိုပြော	ရင်

ín=	zeū	=á	=seùé .	
NEG=	easy	=NEG	=SAP	
မ	လွယ်	ဘူး	လေ	

'Like this, it is not easy to make a living with hard work.'

51. *maléqká shīshātún ngaúpánnakaú yàknīngyeù zútzútzázá kámàkà ōmàngkákmā seú*

maléq	=ká	shīshā	=tún	ngaú	=pánkaú	yàk	=nīngyeù	zútzútzázá
1PL	=TOP	child	=still	say	=as.it.is.the.case	now	=manner	venturously
တို့	ကဟာ့ဟာ	ကလေး	သေးတယ်	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	အခု	လိုသလို	စွန့်စွန့်စားစား

kámàkà	ōm	-àng	-kák	=mā	=seú .
sort.of.things	make	-DIR1	-want	=RLS	=SAP
စသည်	လုပ်	လိုက်	ချင်	တယ်	လေ

'As we are still young, we want to do work that involves risks.'

52. *lapā ōmpánnaà shíthàkūpanáqtèá aphyítpè athōkkáká seú maléqyítá*

lapā	ōm	=pán	=naà	shí	-thà	=kū	=panáq	=tè	aphyít	=pè
field	make	=COS	=only	die	-must	=IRLS	=NOM	=A.AG	state	=LOC
လယ်	လုပ်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	သေ	ရ	မယ်	တဲ့ဟာ	ကို	အဖြစ်	မှာ

a=	thōk	-kák	=á	=seú	maléq	=yí	=tá	.
NEG=	arrive	-want	=NEG	=SAP	1PL	=also	=EMPH	
မ	ရောက်	ချင်	ဘူး	လေ	တို့	လည်း	ပဲ	

'We don't want to end up our lives by working in the wet-rice field.'

53. *anyeù ngaúpántàk ngaúpánkaú úngpáq hāàng teūyààng tāmààng kōyeún alúk ínpīnpántakūpanáq nacá yōklūkūpanáq nímlūkūpanáq pūngmān phúlūkūpanáq anáq myótè tāmthà ōmthàmā seùé*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	úng	=pà	hā	-àng	
DEM	=manner	say	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	that	=ALL	walk	-DIR1	
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆို၊ပြော	ပြီး၊ပြီး	တဲ့	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်တော့	ဟို	သို့၊ဖက်	သွား	လိုက်	
teū	-à	-àng	tām	-à	-àng	kō	=yeún	alúk			
walk	-EUPH	-DIR1	search	-EUPH	-DIR1	body/self	=BEN	work			
လျှောက်	ချေ	လိုက်	ရှာဖွေ	ချေ	လိုက်	ကိုယ်	အတွက်	အလုပ်			
ín=	pīnpán	-ta	=kū	=panáq	nacá	yōk	lū	=kū	=panáq		
NEG=	tire	L.SUFF	=IRLS	=NOM	carefully	eat	get	=IRLS	=NOM		
မ	ပင်ပန်း	—	မယ်	တဲ့၊တာ	သေချာ	စား	ရ	မယ်	တဲ့၊တာ		
ním	lū	=kū	=panáq	pōngmān	phú	lū	=kū	=panáq	anáq	myó	=tè
stay	get	=IRLS	=NOM	regular	silver	get	=IRLS	=NOM	this	CLT.kind	=A.AG
နေ	ရ	မယ်	တဲ့၊တာ	ပုံမှန်	ငွေ	ရ	မယ်	တဲ့၊တာ	ဒီ	အမျိုး	ကို
tām	-thà	ōm	-thà	=mā	=seùé	.					
search	-must	make	-must	=RLS	=SAP						
ရှာဖွေ	ရ	လုပ်	ရ	တယ်	လေ						

'Having said that, (we) look for a job everywhere (lit.go to and fro) - a kind of job that is easy and makes a lot of profit, a kind of job that will provide (us) with regular income/benefits.'

54. *ameūawàtàkyí thaùngtapán aōmyeūnpán címmátzeútá {címmáthaìngkà màngkazeú} aōmyeūnpánseùé*

ameūawà	-tàk	=yí	thaùng	-ta	=pán	a=	ōm	-yeūn	=pán	
parent	-PL	=also	old	L.SUFF	=COS	NEG=	make	-can	=COS	
မိဘ	တို့	လည်း	အို	—	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မ	လုပ်	နိုင်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	
címmát	=zeú	=tá	{	címmát	=haìng	=ká				
look.after.house	=even	=EMPH		look.after.house	=exclusive	=TOP				
အိမ်စောင့်	တောင်မှ	ပဲ		အိမ်စောင့်	ချည်းပဲ	ကၤတော့၊တာ				
mà	=màng	=kà	=zeú	}	a=	ōm	-yeūn	=pán	=seùé	.
WH	=thing	=Q	=even		NEG=	make	-can	=COS	=SAP	
ဘာ၊ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲ၊လား	တောင်မှ		မ	လုပ်	နိုင်	ပြီ၊ပြီး	လေ	

'Our parents are too old to do anything. They cannot even look after the house.'

55. *anáqyítá maléq sángyeúsátàkká ōmthàlakaùé*

anáq	=yí	=tá	maléq	sángyeúsá	-tàk	=ká	ōm	-thà	=lakaú	é .
this	=also	=EMPH	1PL	poor.people	-PL	=TOP	make	-must	=MIR	yes
ဒီ	လည်း	ပဲ	တို့	ဆင်းရဲသား	တို့	ကၤတော့၊တာ	လုပ်	ရ	ကိုးတာကိုး	အေး

'This (looking after the house) we, the poor, have to do,as well.'

56. *thaungtaútìtà thaungtapínalaík satóngsàzáng ngaútìtà pūthàmā.*

thaùng	-ta	=tí	=tá	thaùng	-ta	=panáq	alaík
old	L.SUFF	=also	=EMPH	old	L.SUFF	=NOM	accordingly
အို	—	ရင်လည်း	ပဲ	အို	—	တဲ့ဟာ	အလိုက်

satóng	-sà	=záng	ngaú	=tí	=tá	pū	-thà	=mā	.
grandchild	-DIM	=EMPH	say	=also	=EMPH	look.after	-must	=RLS	
မြေး	လေး	ပဲလှ	ဆို့ပြော	ရင်လည်း	ပဲ	ထိန်းကျောင်း	ရ	တယ်	

'The old, in accordance with their age, have to look after the grandchildren.'

57. *címpè mīháksàzáng ngaútì mítthàmā*

cím	=pè	mīhàk	-sà	=záng	ngaú	=tí	mīt	-thà	=mā
house	=LOC	bamboo.ties	-DIM	=EMPH	say	=also	strips	-must	=RLS
အိမ်	မှာ	ဝါးနှီး	လေး	ပဲလှ	ဆို့ပြော	ရင်လည်း	ဖြာ	ရ	တယ်

'(They) also have to strip bamboo ties at home.'

58. *paúngká paúngtùsàzáng ngaútì wāthàmā.*

paúngká	paúngká paúngtù	-sà	=záng	ngaú	=tí	wā	-thà	=mā	.
basket	various.baskets	-DIM	=EMPH	say	=also	knit	-must	=RLS	
ခြင်းတောင်း	တောင်းပလောင်း	လေး	ပဲလှ	ဆို့ပြော	ရင်လည်း	ယက်	ရ	တယ်	

'(They) also have to knit/weave baskets.'

59. *yàkká satēng pyíttapín achēng seùé sétkeùtān wánnā ōmthàmā thaungtaútìtà*

yàk	=ká	satēng	pyít	-ta	=panáq	achēng	=seùé	seútkeù	tān
now	=TOP	thatch	thatching	L.SUFF	=NOM	time	=SAP	thatch	stick
အခု	ကတော့ဟာ	သက်ငယ်	ပျစ်	—	တဲ့ဟာ	အချိန်	လေ	သက်ငယ်	တံ

wán	=mā	ōm	-thà	=mā	thaùng	-ta	=tí	=tá
chop	=RLS	make	-must	=RLS	old	L.SUFF	=also	=EMPH
ခုတ်	တယ်	လုပ်	ရ	တယ်	အို	—	ရင်လည်း	ပဲ

'Now, it is time for patching the thatch. Though old,(they) have to cut thatch-sticks.'

60. *ameū tháqsèkyítá satēng yáppín achēngká satēng yápthàtá.*

ameū	thà	sèk	=yí	=tá	satēng	yáp	=panáq	achēng	=ká	satēng
mother	be	person	=also	=EMPH	thatch	reap	=NOM	time	=TOP	thatch
အမေ	ဖြစ်	သူလူ	လည်း	ပဲ	သက်ငယ်	ရိတ်	တဲ့ဟာ	အချိန်	ကတော့ဟာ	သက်ငယ်

yáp	-thà	=tá	satēng	yáp	.
reap	-must	=EMPH	thatch	reap	
ရိတ်	ရ	ပဲ	သက်ငယ်	ရိတ်	

'In this thatch reaping season, even mother has to go and reap the thatch.'

61. *àngnaíkmákhàká satēng pyíttaú ngāhángkūnaík seùé*

àng	=naík	mákhà	=ká	satēng	pyít	-ta
that	=only	time	=TOP	thatch	thatching	L.SUFF
အဲဒီ	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	အချိန်အခါ	က၊တော့၊တာ	သက်ငယ်	ပျစ်	—

ngā	-háng	=kū	=naík	=seùé	.
exist	-back	=IRLS	=only	=SAP	
ရှိ	ပြန်	မယ်	မှ၊ပဲ၊သမျှ	လေ	

'And then, (after that) weave the thatch again.'

62. *mángmú mángtà maléqpèká paútàngyaúk yàkyítá ók ōmnímmaták shípnú taká seùé*

mángmú mángtà	maléq	=pè	=ká	paú	-ta	-àng	=yaúk
public.work	1PL	=LOC	=TOP	plenty	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=COM
မင်းမှု မင်းသာ	တို့	မှာ	က၊တော့၊တာ	ပေါ	—	လိုက်	နဲ့

yàk	=yí	=tá	ók	ōm	ním	=mā	=ták	shípnú	taká	=seùé .
now	=also	=EMPH	brick	make	stay	=RLS	=HS	ten	one.car	=SAP
အခု	လည်း	ပဲ	အုတ်	လုပ်	နေ	တယ်	တဲ့	ဆယ်	တစ်ကား	လေ

'(There are) lots of community work projects for us. Even now, people are making bricks, the amount of one full carful each for ten families, it is said.'

63. *àngnáqtèà kalìngyàk hāthàmā seùé*

àng	=panáq	=tè	kalìng	yàk	hā	-thà	=mā	=seùé .
that	=NOM	=A.AG	two	now	walk	-must	=RLS	=SAP
အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	ကို	နှစ်	အခု	သွား	ရ	တယ်	လေ

'(We) have to go there for two days.'

64. *samón caúngyeún zalaúk kámàkà tamāyūng kámàkà zākū seùé*

samón	caúng	=yeún	zalaùk	kámàkà	tamāyūng	kámàkà	zā	=kū	=seùé .
monk	school	=BEN	resthouse	sort.of.things	community.hall	sort.of.things	build	=IRLS	=SAP
ဘုန်းကြီး	ကျောင်း	အတွက်	ဇရပ်	စသည်	ဓမ္မရုံ	စသည်	ဆောက်	မယ်	လေ

'(We) will build a resthouse, a community hall, and so on for the Monastery.'

65. *yàkká pòkhápàpè pyīn túktaú ngaúlá pyīn pheú ngaúlá hāthàmā seùé*

yàk	=ká	pòkhá	=pà	=pè	pyīn	túk	-ta	ngaú	=lá	pyīn	pheù
now	=TOP	forest	=ALL	=LOC	timber	transport	L.SUFF	say	=Q	timber	suppose
အခု	က၊တော့၊တာ	တော	သို့၊ဖက်	မှာ	ပျဉ်	တိုက်	—	ဆို၊ပြော	လဲ၊လား	ပျဉ်	ထင်

ngaú	=lá	hā	-thà	=mā	=seùé .
say	=Q	walk	-must	=RLS	=SAP
ဆို၊ပြော	လဲ၊လား	သွား	ရ	တယ်	လေ

'Nowadays, (we) have to go to either transport or carry timbers.'

66. *anímlūhà sángyeúsá ngaúpanáq amyóká kō címpèzáng alúk apòtìtà thīngpè alúk ngāmā*

a=	ním	lū	-hà	=á	sángyeúsá	ngaú	=panáq	amyó	=ká	kō
NEG=	stay	get	-know.how	=NEG	poor.people	say	=NOM	kind	=TOP	body/self
မ	နေ	ရ	တတ်	ဘူး	ဆင်းရဲသား	ဆိုပြော	တဲ့ဟာ	အမျိုး	ကဟော့ဟာ	ကိုယ်

cím	=pè	=záng	alúk	a=	pò	=tí	=tá	thīng	=pè	alúk	ngā	=mā	.
house	=LOC	=EMPH	work	NEG=	exist	=also	=EMPH	village	=LOC	work	exist	=RLS	
အိမ်	မှာ	ပဲလှ	အလုပ်	မ	ရှိ	ရင်လည်း	ပဲ	ရွာ	မှာ	အလုပ်	ရှိ	တယ်	

'The poor people can't rest. If there is no work at home, there is work to do in the village.'

67. *thīngpèzáng ínpòtìtà címká alúk ngaúpín amyó ínkùntahà*

thīng	=pè	=záng	ín=	pò	=tí	=tá	cím	=ká	alúk	ngaú	=panáq
village	=LOC	=EMPH	NEG=	exist	=also	=EMPH	house	=TOP	work	say	=NOM
ရွာ	မှာ	ပဲလှ	မ	ရှိ	ရင်လည်း	ပဲ	အိမ်	ကဟော့ဟာ	အလုပ်	ဆိုပြော	တဲ့ဟာ

amyó	ín=	kùn	-ta	-hà	=á	.
kind	NEG=	finish	L.SUFF	-know.how	=NEG	
အမျိုး	မ	ပြီး	—	တတ်	ဘူး	

'Even if there is no work in the village, the household work is never ending.'

68. *anyeù ngaúpánták ngaúpánkaú màhameúzeútá anímlūhà seùé*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú
DEM	=manner	say	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့

mà	=hameú	=zeú	=tá	a=	ním	lū	-hà	=seùé	.
WH	=person	=even	=EMPH	NEG=	stay	get	-know.how	=SAP	
ဘာဘယ်	သူ	တောင်မှ	ပဲ	မ	နေ	ရ	တတ်	လေ	

'Having said that, nobody can rest.'

69. *meútnátóng ngā ngaúwàngnīngyeù shīshāyí shīshāalaík pāláyí pāláalaík anyeù īshíq īshíqalaík ngaúnīngyeù ōmcítháq hācítháq {haìng seùé}*

meútnátóng	ngā	ngaú	-àng	=nīngyeù	shīshā	=yí	shīshā	alaík	pālá	=yí
a.moment.ago	1SG	say	-DIR1	=manner	child	=also	child	accordingly	elder	=also
ခုဏတုန်းက	ငါ	ဆိုပြော	လိုက်	လိုသလို	ကလေး	လည်း	ကလေး	အလိုက်	လူကြီး	လည်း

pālá	alaík	an	=yeù	īshíq	īshíq	alaík	ngaú	=nīngyeù
elder	accordingly	DEM	=manner	girl	girl	accordingly	say	=manner
လူကြီး	အလိုက်	ဒီ	လိုလို့	အမျိုးသမီး	အမျိုးသမီး	အလိုက်	ဆိုပြော	လိုသလို

ōm	-cí	-thà	hā	-cí	-thà	{	=haìng	=seùé	}.
make	-PL	-must	walk	-PL	-must		=exclusive	=SAP	
လုပ်	ကြ	ရ	သွား	ကြ	ရ		ချည်းပဲ	လေ	

'As I have said earlier, (we) have to do something - in the capability of a child as a child, an older person as an older person, or a girl as a girl.'

70. *hīng ōmhà ōm ngā ōmhà ōm ōmcíthàqtalé*

hīng	ōm	-hà	ōm	ngā	ōm	-hà	ōm	ōm	-cí	-thà	=talé .
3SG	make	-know.how	make	1SG	make	-know.how	make	make	-PL	-must	=SAP
သူ	လုပ်	တတ်	လုပ်	ငါ	လုပ်	တတ်	လုပ်	လုပ်	ကြ	ရ	တယ်လေး

'Everybody participates in household work.' (Lit. s/he does what s/he can, I do what I can)

71. *anyeù lakò alúkyaúk tahúyaúk lakò ínalaúktapanáq lakò swángteúpmàngmā ngaúpínmyó ínpòhà seùé*

an	=yeù	=lakò	alúk	=yaúk	tahú	=yaúk	=lakò			
DEM	=manner	=SAP	work	=COM	hand	=COM	=SAP			
ဒီ	လိုလို	ကိုတာကို	အလုပ်	နဲ့	လက်	နဲ့	ကိုတာကို			
ín=	a=	laúk	-ta	=panáq	=lakò	swáng	teúp	-àng	=mā	
NEG=	NEG=	release	L.SUFF	=NOM	=SAP	rich	throw	-DIR1	=RLS	
မ	မ	လွတ်	—	တဲ့တာ	ကိုတာကို	ချမ်းသာ	ပစ်	လိုက်	တယ်	

ngaú	=panáq	myó	ín=	pò	-hà	=á	=seùé .	
say	=NOM	CLT.kind	NEG=	exist	-know.how	=NEG	=SAP	
ဆိုပြော	တဲ့တာ	အမျိုး	မ	ရှိ	တတ်	ဘူး	လေ	

'Even though (I am) always working hard, (Lit. work never escaping from hands), there is no way to say that we become rich.'

72. *zayàká lakò yōkzāngyeún ūzāngyeúnsàzeútá ínpòhà {ayé pātamáq}*

zayà	=ká	=lakò	yōk	zāngyeún	ū	zāngyeún	-sà	=zeú	=tá
some	=TOP	=SAP	eat	barely	drink	barely	-DIM	=even	=EMPH
တစ်ချို့	ကတော့တာ	ကိုတာကို	စား	နိုင်ရုံ	သောက်	နိုင်ရုံ	လေး	တောင်မှ	ပဲ

ín=	pò	-hà	=á	{ ayé	pā	-ta	=mā }.
NEG=	exist	-know.how	=NEG	matter	include	L.SUFF	=RLS
မ	ရှိ	တတ်	ဘူး	အရေး	ပါ	—	တယ်

'Some people don't even have enough food (to meet their basic/minimum needs).' {That's important.}

73. *anyeù ngaúpántàk ngaúpánkaú maléqká halawà ngaúpánkaú {móngkáng (maleú maleúsà) kū pánnáqà} kō címsèktàktè maleú yōklū maleú nímlūhàyák nátzánglū ngāzánglūhàyák anyeù kōkáq tāmnaútthàkū seùé*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	maléq	=ká	halawà
DEM	=manner	say	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	1PL	=TOP	man/husband
ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ဆိုၤပြော	ပြီၤပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့	တို့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ယောကျ်ားး

ngaú	=pánkaú	{ móngkángkū	maleú	maleú	-sà	? =pán	=naà }	kō
say	=as.it.is.the.case	fortune	good	good	-DIM	=COS	=only	body/self
ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့	ကံ	ကောင်း	ကောင်း	လေး	ပြီၤပြီး	မှ	ကိုယ်

cím	sèk	-tàk	=tè	maleú	yōk	lū	maleú	ním	lū	-hà	=yák
house	person	-PL	=A.AG	good	eat	get	good	stay	get	-know.how	=so.as.to
အိမ်	သူၤလူ	တို့	ကို	ကောင်း	စား	ရ	ကောင်း	နေ	ရ	တတ်	အောင်

nát	=záng	lū	ngā	=záng	lū	-hà	-à	an	=yeù	kō	=káq
use	=EMPH	get	exist	=EMPH	get	-know.how	-EUPH	DEM	=manner	body/self	=TOP
သုံးတွယ်	ပဲလှ	ရ	ရှိ	ပဲလှ	ရ	တတ်	ချေ	ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ကိုယ်	က

tām	naút	-thà	=kū	=seùé	.
search	feed	-must	=IRLS	=SAP	
ရှာဖွေ	ကျွေး	ရ	မယ်	လေ	

'Having said that, as we are men {fortunate people}, we need to work to feed our family members so that they will be able to eat good food, live a good life, and spend money.'

74. *halawà ngaúpántàk ngaúpánkaú yàknīngyeù ameūawàtàktèká ayànpanáq anèyaúkká ashízàngkákyún seú*

halawà	ngaú	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	yàk	=nīngyeù	
man/husband	say	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	now	=manner	
ယောကျ်ားး	ဆိုၤပြော	ပြီၤပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့	အခု	လိုၤသလို	

ameūawà	-tàk	=tè	=ká	ayàn	=panáq	anè	=yaúk	=ká
parent	-PL	=A.AG	=TOP	poor	=NOM	condition	=COM	=TOP
မိဘ	တို့	ကို	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ဆင်းရဲ	တဲ့ၤတာ	အနေ	နဲ့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ

a=	shí	zàng	-kák	=yún	=seú	
NEG=	die	part	-want	=still	=SAP	
မ	သေ	စေလိုက်	ချင်	သေးဘူး	လေ	

'Since I am a young man, I don't want my parents to die in this current poor condition.'

75. *kōyítá maleú malàsà ōmnaútnàngkákmā seùé*

kō	=yí	=tá	maleú	malà	-sà	ōm	naút	-àng	-kák	=mā	=seùé	.
body/self	=also	=EMPH	good	ATTW	-DIM	make	feed	-DIR1	-want	=RLS	=SAP	
ကိုယ်	လည်း	ပဲ	ကောင်း	မွန်မွန်	လေး	လုပ်	ကျွေး	လိုက်	ချင်	တယ်	လေ	

'I want to look after them well.'

76. *anyeù ngā asìnnaúpè ngāpanáqtalé*

an	=yeù	ngā	asìn	naú	=pè	ngā	=panáq	=talé	.
DEM	=manner	1SG	mind	inside	=LOC	exist	=NOM	=SAP	
ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ငါ	အသဲ	ထဲ	မှာ	ရှိ	တဲ့ၤတာ	တယ်လေး	

'That's what I have in mind.'

77. *thàyítá thàthàkūyeù kō sìnnaúpèyítá amyeútán kōlángtèkō yōngtamā seùé*

thà	=yí	=tá	thà	-thà	=kū	=yeù	kō	sìn	naú	=pè	=yí	=tá
be	=also	=EMPH	be	-must	=IRLS	=SAP	body/self	mind	inside	=LOC	=also	=EMPH
ဖြစ်	လည်း	ပဲ	ဖြစ်	ရ	မယ်	လိုၤလို့	ကိုယ်	စိတ်	ထဲ	မှာ	လည်း	ပဲ

amyeútán	kōlángtèkō	yōng	-ta	=mā	=seùé	.
always	one.self	trust	L.SUFF	=RLS	=SAP	
အမြဲတန်း	ကိုယ့်ကိုယ်ကို	ယုံ	-	တယ်	လေ	

'I also believe, myself, that it might as well happen.'

78. *ōmyítá ōmnímmā ngaká anyeù*

ōm	=yí	=tá	ōm	ním	=mā	ngā	=ká	an	=yeù
make	=also	=EMPH	make	stay	=RLS	1SG	=TOP	DEM	=manner
လုပ်	လည်း	ပဲ	လုပ်	နေ	တယ်	ငါ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ဒီ	လိုၤလို့

'Like this, I am also continuing to work.'

79. *anáqnīngyeù pīnpīnpánpán ōmyōkkūpanáq pawáqpèká ngāká ínataúpzíngkáká ngāká*

anáq	=nīngyeù	pīnpīnpánpán	ōm	yōk	=kū	=panáq	pawáq	=pè	=ká
this	=manner	be.wearily	make	eat	=IRLS	=NOM	life	=LOC	=TOP
ဒီ	လိုၤသလို	ပင်ပင်ပန်းပန်း	လုပ်	စား	မယ်	တဲ့ၤတာ	ဘဝ	မှာ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ

ngā	=ká	ín=	a=	taúp	zíng	-kák	=á	ngā	=ká	.
1SG	=TOP	NEG=	NEG=	end	JUSS	-want	=NEG	1SG	=TOP	
ငါ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	မ	မ	ဆုံး	စေ	ချင်	ဘူး	ငါ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	

'I don't want my life to end up in this kind of hard life/struggling life.'

80. *nga lakò zánù zánùsakā pyaúngtaháng̀naík nga pawáq seùé*

ngā	=lakò	zá	nù	zá	nù	sakā	pyaúng	-ta	-háng	=naík	ngā
1SG	=SAP	CLF.kind	one	CLF.kind	one	-DIM	change	L.SUFF	-back	=only	1SG
ငါ	ကိုၤတာကို	မျိုးမယ်	တစ်	မျိုးမယ်	တစ်	လေး	ပြောင်း	—	ပြန်	မှၤပဲၤသမျှ	ငါ

pawáq	=seùé	.
life	=SAP	
ဘဝ	လေ	

'I will change from one kind/job to the other (looking for the best apportunity). Oh my (poor) life!'

81. *àngnáq achēngtè maíkmà thōkkalá ngaúpanáqyaúk yàk cózátaúnímtā ōmnímtā hānímtā anyeù*

àng	=panáq	achēng	=tè	mà	=naík	mà	thōk	=kū	=lá	
that	=NOM	time	=A.AG	WH	=many	time	arrive	=IRLS	=Q	
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	အချိန်	ကို	ဘာဘယ်	နှစ်	အချိန်	ရောက်	မယ်	လဲလား	
ngaú	=panáq	=yaúk	yàk	cózá	-ta	ním	=tā	ōm	ním	=tā
say	=NOM	=COM	now	try.hard	L.SUFF	stay	=NOM.RLS	make	stay	=NOM.RLS
ဆိုပြော	တဲ့ဟာ	နဲ့	အခု	ကြိုးစား	—	နေ	တာ	လုပ်	နေ	တာ
hā	ním	=tā	an	=yeù						
walk	stay	=NOM.RLS	DEM	=manner						
သွား	နေ	တာ	ဒီ	လိုလို့						

'With the anticipation of when that good time will come, I am trying and working hard.'

82. *tamìsā hànīngzáng ngaúkákngaú héq ngayítá nga nōknākchīyaúk nga nōknākchī seùé*

tamìsā	hà	=nīng	=záng	ngaú	-kák	ngaú	héq	ngā	=yí	=tá	ngā
human	WH	=manner	=EMPH	say	-want	say	EXCL	1SG	=also	=EMPH	1SG
လူ	ဘယ်	လို	ပဲလှ	ဆိုပြော	ချင်	ဆိုပြော	ဟေ့	ငါ	လည်း	ပဲ	ငါ
nōknākchī	=yaúk	ngā	nōknākchī	=seùé	.						
brain	=COM	1SG	brain	=SAP							
ဦးနှောက်	နဲ့	ငါ	ဦးနှောက်	လေ							

'Whatever people may say, I have my own reasoning (Lit. I've got my own brain).'

83. *ín anyeù nga nōknākchīyaúk nátpánnáqà hànīng ōmpán meúkū hànīng ōmpán yōklūkū ngaúpanáq hamàngkà myó alúkká kōyeún meúmā ngaúpanáqtè kōyítá kōyaúk kōkā twétaúpánnaà ōmmā seùé*

ín	an	=yeù	ngā	nōknākchī	=yaúk	nát	=pán	=naà	hà	=nīng	
um.yes!	DEM	=manner	1SG	brain	=COM	use	=COS	=only	WH	=manner	
အင်း	ဒီ	လိုလို့	ငါ	ဦးနှောက်	နဲ့	သုံးတွယ်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ဘယ်	လို	
ōm	=pán	meú	=kū	hà	=nīng	ōm	=pán	yōk	lū	=kū	ngaú	=panáq
make	=if	good	=IRLS	WH	=manner	make	=if	eat	get	=IRLS	say	=NOM
လုပ်	ရင်	ကောင်း	မယ်	ဘယ်	လို	လုပ်	ရင်	စား	ရ	မယ်	ဆိုပြော	တဲ့ဟာ
hà	=màng	=kà	myó	alúk	=ká	kō	=yeún	meú	=mā		
WH	=thing	=Q	CLT.kind	work	=TOP	body/self	=BEN	good	=RLS		
ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား	အမျိုး	အလုပ်	ကတော့ဟာ	ကိုယ်	အတွက်	ကောင်း	တယ်		
ngaú	=panáq	=tè	kō	=yí	=tá	kōyaúk	kōkā				
say	=NOM	=A.AG	body/self	=also	=EMPH	oneself					
ဆိုပြော	တဲ့ဟာ	ကို	ကိုယ်	လည်း	ပဲ	ကိုယ့်ဖါသာကို					

twé -ta =pán =naà ōm =mā =seùé .
think L.SUFF =COS =only make =RLS =SAP
တွေး — ပြီးပြီး မှ လုပ် တယ် လေ

'Like this, I use my own brain and am thinking/reasoning about what is good and profitable for me to do.'

84. *anyeù kōyítá lakò ōmhaútpanáq asìnyítá ngātháqlakà*

an =yeù kō =yí =tá =lakò ōm -haút =panáq
DEM =manner body/self =also =EMPH =SAP make -want =NOM
ဒီ လိုးလို့ ကိုယ် လည်း ပဲ ကိုးတာကို လုပ် ချင် တဲ့ဟာ

asìn =yí =tá ngā -thà =lakà .
mind =also =EMPH exist -must =MIR
အသဲ လည်း ပဲ ရှိ ရ တာကိုး

'Like this, I also have a mind/heart to work hard.'

85. *anyeù ngapèká nga asìnnaúpèká ōmhaútpanáqká phéngkón ngānímmā seùé azáktúyaúk ngaúthàkū ngaúpánnàkà*

an =yeù ngā =pè =ká ngā asìn naú =pè =ká
DEM =manner 1SG =LOC =TOP 1SG mind inside =LOC =TOP
ဒီ လိုးလို့ ငါ မှာ ကဖော့တာ ငါ အသဲ ထဲ မှာ ကဖော့တာ

ōm -haút =panáq =ká phéng =kón ngā ním =mā =seùé
make -want =NOM =TOP full =so.as.to exist stay =RLS =SAP
လုပ် ချင် တဲ့ဟာ ကတော့တာ ပြည့် အောင် ရှိ နေ တယ် လေ

azàk tú =yaúk ngaú -thà =kū ngaú pánnàkà .
PN language =COM say -must =IRLS say if
ကတူး စကား နဲ့ ဆိုပြော ရ မယ် ဆိုပြော ရင်

'Like this, If I have to say it in Kadu, "In my mind, I am full of desire/willingness to work."'

86. *ínyeù anyeù ngaúpánták ngaúpánkaú ngā címsèktàktè ngā tāwūn kínmeúqtàngnīng ngākū zàkmā*

ín =yeù an =yeù ngaú =pán =ták ngaú =pánkaú ngā
that =manner DEM =manner say =COS =HS say =as.it.is.the.case 1SG
အဲဒီ လိုးလို့ ဒီ လိုးလို့ ဆိုပြော ပြီးပြီး တဲ့ ဆိုပြော ရင်တော့ ငါ

cím sèk -tàk =tè ngā tāwūn kínmeúq -ta -àng =nīng ngā =kū
house person -PL =A.AG 1SG responsibility be.free.from L.SUFF -DIR1 =manner exist =IRLS
အိမ် သူလူ တို့ ကို ငါ တာဝန် ကင်းမဲ့ — လိုက် လို ရှိ မယ်

zàk =mā .
afraid =RLS
ကြောက် တယ်

'Having said that, I am afraid to be an irresponsible person for my family.'

87. *tāwūn apònīng ngāngkū zàkmā ngāká*

tāwūn	a=	pò	=nīng	ngāng	=kū	zàk	=mā	ngā	=ká	.
responsibility	NEG=	exist	=manner	exist:DIR1	=IRLS	afraid	=RLS	1SG	=TOP	
တာဝန်	မ	ရှိ	လို	ရှိလိုက်	မယ်	ကြောက်	တယ်	ငါ	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	

'I am afraid that I may be like (the one) who is irresponsible.'

88. *àngyaūngpáng nga címsèktàktèà ngāká nacá anyeù peúyeūnkón ōmkū seùé*

àng	yaūngpáng	ngā	cím	sèk	-tàk	=tè	ngā	=ká	nacá	an	=yeù
that	because.of	1SG	house	person	-PL	=A.AG	1SG	=TOP	carefully	DEM	=manner
အဲဒီ	ကြောင့်	ငါ	အိမ်	သူၠလူ	တို့	ကို	ငါ	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	သေချာ	ဒီ	လိုၠလို့

peú	-yeūn	=kón	ōm	=kū	=seùé	.
keep	-can	=so.as.to	make	=IRLS	=SAP	
ထား	နိုင်	အောင်	လုပ်	မယ်	လေ	

'Therefore, I want to really work in order to keep my family members like that.'

89. *nacá peúyeūnkón amútàkpā atétàkpā ameūtàk awàtàk nūklántàk ngānaíkngátè màhameúzeútá úngnáq apeúyá*

nacá	peú	-yeūn	=kón	amú	-tàk	pā	até	-tàk	pā	ameū	-tàk	
carefully	keep	-can	=so.as.to	brother	-PL	include	older.sister	-PL	include	mother	-PL	
သေချာ	ထား	နိုင်	အောင်	အစ်ကို	တို့	ပါ	အမ	တို့	ပါ	အမေ	တို့	

awà	-tàk	nūklán	-tàk	ngānaíkngá	=tè	mà	=hameú	=zeú	=tá
father	-PL	nephew	-PL	all	=A.AG	WH	=person	=even	=EMPH
အဖေ	တို့	တူၠတူမ	တို့	အားလုံး	ကို	ဘာၠဘယ်	သူ	တောင်မှ	ပဲ

úng	=panáq	a=	peú	=á	.
that	=NOM	NEG=	keep	=NEG	
ဟို	တဲ့ၠတာ	မ	ထား	ဘူး	

'In order to really help everyone, including my older brother, mother, father, and nephew and others, (I am) not going to keep (them in that laborious/difficult life).'

90. *kōyaúk lakò maleú ním maleú yōkmaūk nacázáng nímlūhàyákyeù pyíqpyíq zūngzūng nímlūhayákyeù amyeútán cózátaúnímkū ngaká*

kō	=yaúk	=lakò	maleú	ním	maleú	yōk	-maūk	nacá	=záng
body/self	=COM	=SAP	good	stay	good	eat	-together	carefully	=EMPH
ကိုယ်	နဲ့	ကို့ၠတာကို	ကောင်း	နေ	ကောင်း	စား	အတူ	သေချာ	ပဲၠလှ

ním	lū	-hà	=yák	=yeù	pyíqpyíq	zūngzūng
stay	get	-know.how	=so.as.to	=SAP	adequately	
နေ	ရ	တတ်	အောင်	လို့ၠလို့	ပြည့်ပြည့်စုံစုံ	

ním	lū	-hà	=yák	=yeù	amyeútán	cózá	-ta	ním	=kū
stay	get	-know.how	=so.as.to	=SAP	always	try.hard	L.SUFF	stay	=IRLS
နေ	ရ	တတ်	အောင်	လို့လို့	အမြဲတန်း	ကြိုးစား	—	နေ	မယ်

ngā	=ká	.
1SG	=TOP	
ငါ	ကျတော့တာ	

'I am working hard so that they - together with me - will have a good life, a life lacking nothing.'

91. *ngā címsèk acaúngtè ngaúthàkū ngaúpán anáqnaíktá maūngyē*

ngā	cím	sèk	acaúng	=tè	ngaú	-thà	=kū	ngaú	=pán
1SG	house	person	about	=A.AG	say	-must	=IRLS	say	=if
ငါ	အိမ်	သူလူ	အကြောင်း	ကို	ဆိုပြော	ရ	မယ်	ဆိုပြော	ပရင်

anáq	=naík	=tá	maūng	=yē .
this	=only	=EMPH	boy	=PART
ဒီ	မှပဲသမျှ	ပဲ	မောင်	ရေ

'Since I have to tell about my family, that's all, my dear.'

92. *ngayítá amyeútán yàk ngaúnīngyeù maíkmàzeú ashóqtawá*

ngā	=yí	=tá	amyeútán	yàk	ngaú	=nīngyeù	mà	=naík	mà	=zeú
1SG	=also	=EMPH	always	now	say	=manner	WH	=many	time	=even
ငါ	လည်း	ပဲ	အမြဲတန်း	အခု	ဆိုပြော	လိုသလို	ဘာဘယ်	နှစ်	အချိန်	တောင်မှ

a=	shóq	-ta	=á	.
NEG=	decrease	L.SUFF	=NEG	
မ	လျော့	—	ဘူး	

'As I said , this manner, I will never give up.'

93. *nga címsèktàk meúyōkkónká amyeútán ōmnímkūyeù ngaúpánnaà anáqpè taúpcàngmák seùé.*

ngā	cím	sèk	-tàk	meú	yōk	=kón	=ká	amyeútán
1SG	house	person	-PL	good	eat	=so.as.to	=TOP	always
ငါ	အိမ်	သူလူ	တို့	ကောင်း	စား	အောင်	ကျတော့တာ	အမြဲတန်း

ōm	ním	=kū	=yeù	ngaú	=pán	=naà	anáq	=pè
make	stay	=IRLS	=SAP	say	=COS	=only	this	=LOC
လုပ်	နေ	မယ်	လို့	ဆိုပြော	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ဒီ	မှာ

taúp	-càng	=mák	=seùé .	
end	-PL:DIR1	=HORT	=SAP	
ဆုံး	ကြလိုက်	စို့	လေ	

'Let me stop here by saying that I will always work (hard) for the good of my family.'

Text18: ‘Hunting a tiger’

1. *maeútóng ashéq katā títthúkyé khayí pūwàngmákhàtè pínkhánneū cwēúqtaūngcówaítaú atwéqacūng àngpè katùngpápmìngpanáq.*

maeútóng	ashéq	katā	títthúkyé	khayí	pū	-àng	mákhà	=tè	pínkhánneū
long.ago	east	PN	logging	journey	emerge	-DIR1	time	=A.AG	PN
ရှေးတုန်း	အရှေ့	ကသာ	သစ်ထုတ်ရေး	ခရီး	ထွက်	လိုက်	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ပင်းခန်းနယ်

cwēúqtaūng	cówaítaú	atwéqacūng	àng	=pè	katùng	-páp	-ìng	=panáq	.
PN	PN	experience	that	=LOC	see	-been	-DIR2	=NOM	
ကြွေဥတောင်	ကြိုးဝိုင်းတော	အတွေ့အကြုံ	အဲဒီ	မှာ	မြင်	ဖူးမိ	ခဲ့	တဲ့ဟာ	

‘(I will tell)about the experience from long ago-the things (I) saw, when (I) took a journey to see the logging industry of east Katha, Kywe Taung forest reservation in Pinkan region.’

2. *manīngyeùkà ngaúkaú pòkhá nāngcímā.*

mà	=nīngyeù	=kà	ngaú	=kaú	pòkhá	nāng	-cí	=mā	.
WH	=manner	=Q	say	=TOP	forest	go	-PL	=RLS	
ဘာဘယ်	လိုသလို	လဲလား	ဆိုပြော	တော့	တော	သွား	ကြ	တယ်	

‘What happened was that, we went hunting.’

3. *pòkhá nāngcíká tamìsā kalìnghúsà phóténgaūngyaúk ngayaúk.*

pòkhá	nāng	-cí	=ká	tamìsā	kalìng	hú	-sà	phóténgaūng	=yaúk
forest	go	-PL	=TOP	human	two	CLF.person	-mere	PN	=COM
တော	သွား	ကြ	ကဖော့ဖော	လူ	နှစ်	ယောက်	သာ	ဖိုးသိန်းအောင်	နဲ့

ngā	=yaúk.
1SG	=COM
ငါ	နဲ့

‘When gone to the forest, (there were) only two people-Photeingaung and me.’

4. *maneúq pòkhátóngtèlakà nanùtēká nùwà zípán nùwà kápshíyàngkūyeù*

mà	=neúq	pòkhá	tóng	=tè	=lakà	nanù	-tē	=ká	nù	-à
WH	=as.much.as	forest	big	=A.AG	=MIR	animal	-PL	=TOP	CLF.animal	-one
ဘာဘယ်	ခန့်လောက်	တော	ကြီး	ကို	တာကိုး	သားကောင်	တွေ	ကဖော့ဖော	ကောင်	တစ်

zí	=pán	nù	-à	káp	shí	-àng	=kū	=yeù
finish	=if	CLF.animal	-one	shoot	die	-DIR1	=IRLS	=SAP
ပြီး	ရင်	ကောင်	တစ်	ပစ်	သေ	လိုက်	မယ်	လို့လို့

‘It's such a big forest, we would shoot animals one after another.’

5. *hawàtè thōmpòk pòkàzī lāpánnaà takhāteú hācàngmā {akhātóngtè} shwēúqtaūngcówaínaútóngpè.*

hú	-à	=tè	thōmpòk	pòk	-à	zī	lā	=pán	=naà	takhāteú
CLF.person	-EUPH	=A.AG	gun	CLT.bamboo	-one	drum	take	=COS	=only	at.once
ယောက်	ချေ	ကို	သေနတ်	ချောင်း	တစ်	စည်	ယူ	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	တစ်ခါတည်း

hā	-càng	=mā	{ akhā	tóng	=tè }	shwēúqtaūngcówaí	naú	tóng	=pè .
walk	-PL:DIR1	=RLS	time	big	=A.AG	PN	inside	big	=LOC
သွား	ကြလိုက်	တယ်	အခါ	ကြီး	ကို	ရွှေဥတောင်ကြိုးဝိုင်း	ထဲ	ကြီး	မှာ

'We each carried a gun and we went into the Shwe U Taung forest reserve.'

6. *hācàngká yáktánwán hāàngkáq hamàngkazeú ínkatùngá.*

hā	-càng	=ká	yáktánwán	hā	-àng	=ká
walk	-PL:DIR1	=TOP	whole.day	walk	-DIR1	=TOP
သွား	ကြလိုက်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	တနေကုန်	သွား	လိုက်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ

hà	=màng	=kà	=zeú	ín=	katùng	=á .
WH	=thing	=Q	=even	NEG=	see	=NEG
ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား	တောင်မှ	မ	မြင်	ဘူး

'Having gone (to the forest), We walked the whole day. (We) didn't see anything.'

7. *lénāyī thúkmákhàtèká phóténgaūngtè atá yōkhaútpìng maūng ngaká atá mōkyōkcímák ngaúká àngpè weúpaìkpè atá mōkpán yōkcímā.*

lé	nāyī	thōk	mákhà	=tè	=ká	phóténgaūng	=tè	atá
four	o'clock	arrive	time	=A.AG	=TOP	PN	=A.AG	rice
လေး	နာရီ	ရောက်	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ဖိုးသိန်းအောင်	ကို	ထမင်း

yōk	-haút	=píng	maūng	ngā	=ká	atá	mōk	yōk	-cí	=mák
eat	-want	=DIR2:COS	boy	1SG	=TOP	rice	cook	eat	-PL	=HORT
စား	ချင်	လာပြီ	မောင်	ငါ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ထမင်း	ချက်	စား	ကြ	စို့

ngaú	=ká	àng	=pè	weú	paìk	=pè	atá	mōk	=pán	yōk	-cí	=mā .
say	=TOP	that	=LOC	water	beside	=LOC	rice	cook	=COS	eat	-PL	=RLS
ဆိုပြော	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အဲဒီ	မှာ	ရေ	နဘေး	မှာ	ထမင်း	ချက်	ပြီးပြီး	စား	ကြ	တယ်

'At four o'clock, (I) said to Photeingaung, "I am hungry, let's cook rice and eat.". We cooked and ate rice near the river.'

8. *atá mōkpán yōkcíká yōkzípánnaà hàpè īpmàkaláyeù yàkká {hàpè īpmàkalá} īpkūpanáq nayā kámàkàtè tāmcímák ngaúcílakà maléqkáé.*

atá	mōk	=pán	yōk	-cí	=ká	yōk	zí	=pán	=naà	hà	=pè
rice	cook	=COS	eat	-PL	=TOP	eat	finish	=COS	=only	WH	=LOC
ထမင်း	ချက်	ပြီးပြီး	စား	ကြ	ကာတော့ဘာ	စား	ပြီး	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ဘယ်	မှာ

īp	-à	=kū	=lá	=yeù	yàk	=ká	{	hà	=pè
sleep	-EUPH	IRLS	=Q	=SAP	now	=TOP		WH	=LOC
အိပ်	ချေ	မယ်	လဲလား	လို့လို့	အခု	ကာတော့ဘာ		ဘယ်	မှာ

īp	-à	=kū	=lá	}	īp	=kū	=panáq	nēyā	kámàkà	=tè
sleep	-one	IRLS	=Q		sleep	=IRLS	=NOM	place	sort.of.things	=A.AG
အိပ်	တစ်	မယ်	လဲလား		အိပ်	မယ်	တဲ့ဘာ	နေရာ	စသည်	ကို

tām	-cí	=mák	ngaú	-cí	=lakà	maléq	=ká	=é	.
search	-PL	=HORT	say	-PL	=MIR	1PL	=TOP	=SAP	
ရှာဖွေ	ကြ	စို့	ဆိုပြော	ကြ	တာကိုး	တို့	ကာတော့ဘာ	အေး	

‘After (we) cooked and ate rice, we asked, “Where shall we sleep now?” “(We) will look for a place to sleep.”’

9. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú ngaúpántak ngaúpánkaú phóténgaūngká hā seúé kayāpè īpmàthàmā kayāpè heūpánnaà īphángcílakà kayāthékpè.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	ngaú	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	say	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case
ဒီ	လို့လို့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	ဆိုပြော	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့

phóténgaūng	=ká	hā	=seùé	kayā	=pè	īp	-à	=thāmā
PN	=TOP	walk	=SAP	mountain	=LOC	sleep	-EUPH	=HORT
ဖိုးသိန်းအောင်	ကာတော့ဘာ	သွား	လေ	တောင်	မှာ	အိပ်	ချေ	ရအောင်

kayā	=pè	heū	=pán	=naà	īp	-háng	-cí	=lakà	kayā	thék	=pè	.
mountain	=LOC	climb	=COS	=only	sleep	-back	-PL	=MIR	mountain	tip	=LOC	
တောင်	မှာ	တက်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	အိပ်	ပြန်	ကြ	တာကိုး	တောင်	ထိပ်	မှာ	

‘As it is the case, Photeingaung said, “Let's go up the mountain and sleep (there)”. We went up the mountain and slept on the top of the mountain.’

10. *līpánnaà īphángcípìngták ngaúpánkaú àngnīngzáng ngaká kāpalákpè phónkalùntóng paūpánnaà takhāteú hamàngkà phónkalùntóng lamà aheúhà*

lī	=pán	=naà	īp	-háng	-cí	=píng	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú
come	=COS	=only	sleep	-back	-PL	=DIR2:COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case
လာ	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	အိပ်	ပြန်	ကြ	လာပြီ	တဲ့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့

àng	=nīng	=záng	ngā	=ká	kā	palák	=pè	phón	kalùn	tóng
that	=manner	=EMPH	exist	=TOP	soil	flat	=LOC	wood	tree	big
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	ရှိ	ကာတော့ဘာ	မြေ	ပြင်	မှာ	ထင်းသစ်	ပင်	ကြီး

paū	=pán	=naà	takhāteú	hà	=màng	=kà	phón	kalùn	tóng	=lamà	
be.fall	=COS	=only	at.once	WH	=thing	=Q	wood	tree	big	=MIR	
လဲ့	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	တစ်ခါတည်း	ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား	ထင်းသစ်	ပင်	ကြီး	ကိုး	
a=	heú	-hà	=á								
NEG=	tell	-know.how	=NEG								
မ	ပြောပြ	တတ်	ဘူး								

'As it is the case that (we) came up to sleep on the mountain, like that, (there was) a big tree fallen on the ground. I don't know what kind of tree it was.'

11. *phónkalùntóng ēlātóng chaúktè tányátzàkyeù paūpánnímmā.*

phón	kalùn	tóng ēlā		tóng chaúk	=tè	tányát	=zàk	=yeù	
wood	tree	big	giant	big	cliff	=A.AG	be.cross.over	=while	=manner
ထင်းသစ်	ပင်	ကြီး	ဧရာမ	ကြီး	ချောက်	ကို	တန်းလန်း	တုန်းလျက်	လို့လို့
paū	=pán	ním	=mā	.					
be.fall	=COS	stay	=RLS						
လဲ့	ပြီးပြီး	နေ	တယ်						

'The big tree was fallen over across the big cliff.'

12. *aū zaūkpàpèká manīng thànímlá ngaú zaūkpàpèká takhāteú kātwē ōppán nímmā seúé.*

aū	zaūk	=pà	=pè	=ká	mà	=nīng	thà	ním	=lá	ngaú
well!	on.top	=ALL	=LOC	=TOP	WH	=manner	be	stay	=Q	say
အော်	အပေါ်	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	ကတော့တာ	ဘာဘယ်	လို	ဖြစ်	နေ	လဲလား	ဆိုပြော

zaūk	=pà	=pè	=ká	takhāteú	kā	-tē	ōp	=pán
on.top	=ALL	=LOC	=TOP	at.once	soil	-PL	close	=COS
အပေါ်	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	ကတော့တာ	တစ်ခါတည်း	မြေ	တွေ	ပိတ်	ပြီးပြီး

ním	=mā	=seú	=é	.
stay	=RLS	=SAP	=SAP	
နေ	တယ်	လေ	အေး	

'What was on the top of that (the log) was that, the mud covered the top part of the fallen tree.'

13. *zaūkpàpèká kātwē ōppán nímpánkaú é phóténgaūngká ā aīpsàlé àngpèlé*

zaūk	=pà	=pè	=ká	kā	-tē	ōp	=pán	ním	=pánkaú	é	
on.top	=ALL	=LOC	=TOP	soil	-PL	close	=COS	stay	=as.it.is.the.case	yes	
အပေါ်	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	ကတော့တာ	မြေ	တွေ	ပိတ်	ပြီးပြီး	နေ	ရင်တော့	အေး	

phóténgaūng	=ká	ā	a=	īp	=sà	=lé	àng	=pè	=lé	
PN	=TOP	oh	NEG=	sleep	=NEG.IMP	=SAP	that	=LOC	=SAP	
ဖိုးသိန်းအောင်	ကတော့တာ	အာ	မ	အိပ်	နဲ့	လေး	အဲဒီ	မှာ	လေး	

'As it is the caseTherefore, Photeingaung said, "Don't sleep there."'

14. *á aúpènaík meúlá anáqpèká lómyí lómmā.*

ā	aú	=pè	=naík	meú	=lá	anáq	=pè	=ká	lóm	=yí	lóm	=mā	.
oh	here	=LOC	=only	good	=NOM	this	=LOC	=TOP	warm	=also	warm	=RLS	
အာ	ဒီ	မှာ	မှပဲသမျှ	ကောင်း	တာ	ဒီ	မှာ	ကတော့	နွေး	လည်း	နွေး	တယ်	

"Only here is good. It is warm as well."

15. *àngnīngzáng hīngká nāngká hàpè īpkalá*

àng	=nīng	=záng	hīng	=ká	nāng	=ká	hà	=pè	īp	=kū	=lá
that	=manner	=EMPH	3SG	=TOP	2SG	=TOP	WH	=LOC	sleep	IRLS	=Q
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	သူ	ကတော့	ခင်ဗျား	ကတော့	ဘယ်	မှာ	အိပ်	မယ်	လဲလား

'Like that, (He) said, "Where will you sleep?"'

16. *ngaká aúpèzáng phónshā kámpánnaà phónshā wánpánnaà kámpánnaà ngaká aúpèzáng īpkūnaík*

ngā	=ká	aú	=pè	=záng	phón	shā	kám	=pán	=naà
1SG	=TOP	here	=LOC	=EMPH	wood	small	lay	=COS	=only
ငါ	ကတော့	ဒီ	မှာ	ပဲလှ	ထင်းသစ်	ငယ်ခလေး	ခင်း	ပြီးပြီး	မှ

phón	shā	wán	=pán	=naà	kám	=pán	=naà	ngā	=ká
wood	small	chop	=COS	=only	lay	=COS	=only	1SG	=TOP
ထင်းသစ်	ငယ်ခလေး	ခုတ်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ခင်း	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ငါ	ကတော့

aú	=pè	=záng	īp	=kū	=naík
here	=LOC	=EMPH	sleep	=IRLS	=only
ဒီ	မှာ	ပဲလှ	အိပ်	မယ်	မှပဲသမျှ

'As for me, (I) will cut small trees and lay/floor (them) down and sleep here."'

17. *ngaká phónshā wánpán kámpán īplakáé.*

ngā	=ká	phón	shā	wán	=pán	kám	=pán	īp	=lakà	=é	.
1SG	=TOP	wood	small	chop	=COS	lay	=COS	sleep	=MIR	=SAP	
ငါ	ကတော့	ထင်းသစ်	ငယ်ခလေး	ခုတ်	ပြီးပြီး	ခင်း	ပြီးပြီး	အိပ်	တာကိုး	အေး	

'I cut the small tress, laid/floor (them) down and slept (there).'

18. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú àngpè neūkā ayátká pòkweúsúttè ínwánlūwá.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	àng	=pè	neūkā	ayát	=ká	pòkweúsút	=tè	
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	that	=LOC	land	place	=TOP	tree	=A.AG	
ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့	အဲဒီ	မှာ	နယ်မြေ	အရပ်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ကြက်မအုံ့ပင်	ကို	
ín=	wán	lū	=á	.							
NEG=	chop	get	=NEG								
မ	ခုတ်	ရ	ဘူး								

'Having said that, in that forest, one should not cut Pukweusut tree.'

19. *pòkweúsútkalùnyítá lakò mīngzákthák meúmā àngpanáq pòkhápè.*

pòkweúsút	kalùn	=yí	=tá	=lakò	mīngzák	=thák	meú	=mā
tree	tree	=also	=EMPH	=SAP	loose.sense	=in.order.to	good	=RLS
ကြက်မအုံ့ပင်	ပင်	လည်း	ပဲ	ကိုၤတာကို	မျက်စိလည်	ဩဖို့စရာ	ကောင်း	တယ်
àng	=panáq	pòkhá	=pè	.				
that	=NOM	forest	=LOC					
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ၤတာ	တော	မှာ					

'Pukweusut trees are fearful in that forest. (Cutting it, one can lose their senses.)'

20. *kayāhúkà lúnglúng pòkweúsútkalùnhaàng thànímmā.*

kayā	húk	-à	lúnglúng	pòkweúsút	kalùn	=haàng	thà	ním	=mā .
mountain	CLF.round	-one	throughout	tree	tree	=exclusive	be	stay	=RLS
တောင်	လုံး	တစ်	လုံးလုံး	ကြက်မအုံ့ပင်	ပင်	ချည်းပဲ	ဖြစ်	နေ	တယ်

'The whole mountain was filled with Pukweusut trees.'

21. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú àngpanáqtè manīng tháqlá ngaúkaú īpcíká ngaká nūshēklakà hīngká tóngpánkaú kanàchíq nyónpeúmā seú hīngká é.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	àng	=panáq	=tè	mà	=nīng	thà	=lá
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	that	=NOM	=A.AG	WH	=manner	be	=Q
ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ၤတာ	ကို	ဘာၤဘယ်	လို	ဖြစ်	လဲၤလား

ngaú	=kaú	īp	-cí	=ká	ngā	=ká	nūshēk	=lakà	hīng	=ká
say	=TOP	sleep	-PL	=TOP	1SG	=TOP	small	=MIR	3SG	=TOP
ဆိုၤပြော	တော့	အိပ်	ကြ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ငါ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ငယ်သူ	တာကိုး	သူ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ

tóng	=pánkaú	kanàchíq	nyón	peú	=mā	=seú	hīng	=ká	é	.
big	=as.it.is.the.case	opium	swallow	keep	=RLS	=SAP	3SG	=TOP	yes	
ကြီး	ရင်တော့	ဘိန်း	မြို	ထား	တယ်	လေ	သူ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အေး	

'As it is the case, what happened while we slept. I was young (at the time). As he was big/mature, he swallowed/ate opium.'

22. *kanàchíqyìtà nyónpán nímpánkaú hīngká méngtaúpán nímmā seú kanàchíq nyúnpán nímpántáknga úpánkaú.*

kanàchíq	=yí	=tá	nyón	=pán	ním	=pánkaú	hīng	=ká
opium	=also	=EMPH	swallow	=COS	stay	=as.it.is.the.case	3SG	=TOP
ဘိန်း	လည်း	ပဲ	မြို	ပြီးပြီး	နေ	ရင်တော့	သူ	ကတော့တာ

méng	-ta	=pán	ním	=mā	=seú	kanàchíq	nyón	=pán	ním	=pán	=ták
relish	L.SUFF	=COS	stay	=RLS	=SAP	opium	swallow	=COS	stay	=COS	=HS
မိန်း	—	ပြီးပြီး	နေ	တယ်	လေ	ဘိန်း	မြို	ပြီးပြီး	နေ	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့

ngaú	=pánkaú	.
say	=as.it.is.the.case	
ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	

'Having swallowed the opium, he was hallucinating because he swallowed the opium.'

23. *anyeù ngaú ngaká kanàchíqyítá anyónákhà*

an	=yeù	ngaú	ngā	=ká	kanàchíq	=yí	=tá
DEM	=manner	say	1SG	=TOP	opium	=also	=EMPH
ဒီ	လိုလို	ဆိုပြော	ငါ	ကတော့တာ	ဘိန်း	လည်း	ပဲ

a=	nyón	-à	-hà	=á
NEG=	swallow	-EUPH	-know.how	=NEG
မ	မြို	ချေ	တတ်	ဘူး

'Having said that, I don't know how to swallow opium.'

24. *yáktánwán hānàttapántáknga úpánkaú ngaká shīshā ngaúpánkaú īppán seúé.*

yáktánwán	hā	nàt	-ta	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	ngā	=ká	shīshā
whole.day	walk	tire	L.SUFF	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	1SG	=TOP	child
တနေကုန်	သွား	မော	—	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	ငါ	ကတော့တာ	ကလေး

ngaú	=pánkaú	īp	=pán	=seùé	.
say	=as.it.is.the.case	sleep	=COS	=SAP	
ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	အိပ်	ပြီးပြီး	လေ	

'Having travelled the whole day and being tired, as I was young, (I) was asleep.'

25. *īpmàngká àngnīngzáng nākceū kónāyī ínthōkcītè pánnù mīnhángìnglakà {kónāyī athōkcītè}.*

īp	-àng	=ká	àng	=nīng	=záng	manākceū	kó	nāyī					
sleep	-DIR1	=TOP	that	=manner	=EMPH	last.night	nine	o'clock					
အိပ်	လိုက်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲၤလှ	ညတုန်း	ကိုး	နာရီ					
ín=	thōk	=cī	=tè	pán	nù	mīn	-háng	-ìng	=lakà	{	kó	nāyī	
NEG=	arrive	=before	=A.AG	CLF.times	one	awake	-back	-DIR2	=MIR		nine	o'clock	
မ	ရောက်	ခင်	ကို	ကြိမ်	တစ်	နိုး	ပြန်	ခဲ့	တာကိုး		ကိုး	နာရီ	
a=	thōk	=cī	=tè	}.									
NEG=	arrive	=before	=A.AG										
မ	ရောက်	ခင်	ကို										

'After sleeping awhile, that manner, I woke up one time before o'clock.'

26. *kónāyī ínthúkcītè pánnù mīnhángìngká ā aneúq pòkhátóngká ngayí zàkmā*

kó	nāyī	ín=	thōk	=cī	=tè	pán	nù	mīn	-háng	-ìng	=ká
nine	o'clock	NEG=	arrive	=before	=A.AG	CLF.times	one	awake	-back	-DIR2	=TOP
ကိုး	နာရီ	မ	ရောက်	ခင်	ကို	ကြိမ်	တစ်	နိုး	ပြန်	ခဲ့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ

ā	an	=neúq	pòkhá	tóng	=ká	ngā	=yí	zàk	=mā
oh	DEM	=as.much.as	forest	big	=TOP	1SG	=also	afraid	=RLS
အာ	ဒီ	ခန့်လောက်	တော	ကြီး	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ငါ	လည်း	ကြောက်	တယ်

'When I woke up before o'clock, I was afraid, as it was such a big forest.'

27. *ngā thōmpòktè ómpán ngāpán yū ā hamàngkazeú ínpòwá seú ínpòwánaúyeù.*

ngā	thōmpòk	=tè	óm	=pán	ngā	=pán	yū	ā	hà	=màng	=kà	=zeú	
1SG	gun	=A.AG	hold	=COS	exist	=COS	look	oh	WH	=thing	=Q	=even	
ငါ	သေနတ်	ကို	ကိုင်	ပြီးပြီး	ရှိ	ပြီးပြီး	ကြည့်	အာ	ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား	တောင်မှ	
ín=	pò	=á	=seú	{	ín=	pò	=á	=ná	=yeù	}.			
NEG=	exist	=NEG	=SAP		NEG=	exist	=NEG	=SAP	=SAP				
မ	ရှိ	ဘူး	လေ		မ	ရှိ	ဘူး	နော်	လို့				

'I held the gun and looked. Nothing was there.' {Nothing was there, right?"

28. *àngnīngyeùzáng naúkpaítèká kónāyī khweútèká ngaká īppátpōthángpán.*

àng	=nīngyeù	=záng	naúkpaí	=tè	=ká	kó	nāyī	
that	=manner	=EMPH	later.part	=A.AG	=TOP	nine	o'clock	
အဲဒီ	လို့ဒလို	ပဲၤလှ	နောက်ပိုင်း	ကို	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ကိုး	နာရီ	

khweú	=tè	=ká	ngā	=ká	īp	pát	pōt	-háng	=pán .
split	=A.AG	=TOP	1SG	=TOP	sleep	asleep	exceed	-back	=COS
ခွဲ	ကို	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ငါ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အိပ်	ပျော်	လွန်လွန်ကျူးကျူး	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး

'Like that, later at 9:30 I was asleep again.'

29. *īppátpōthángpánták ngaúpánkaú kasàká sàtpíng kayāpàhaík shalát shalát shalátyeù ngāká īppátpōtnímtún.*

īp	pát	pōt	-háng	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	kasà	=ká
sleep	asleep	exceed	-back	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	tiger	=TOP
အိပ်	ပျော်	လွန်လွန်ကျူးကျူး	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	ကျား	ကတော့တာ

sàt	=píng	kayā	=pà	=haík	shalát	shalát	shalát	=yeù	ngā	=ká
descend	=DIR2:COS	mountain	=ALL	=ABL	ONMT	ONMT	ONMT	=manner	1SG	=TOP
ဆင်း	လာပြီ	တောင်	သို့ဖက်	ကမှ	ရှလတ်	ရှလတ်	ရှလတ်	လိုလို့	ငါ	ကတော့တာ

īp	pát	pōt	ním	=tún	.
sleep	asleep	exceed	stay	=still	
အိပ်	ပျော်	လွန်လွန်ကျူးကျူး	နေ	သေးတယ်	

'As I was sleeping, a tiger came down from the mountain like this, "shalat, shalat, shalat.", while I was asleep.'

30. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú phóténgaūng ngaúkà hīngká àngmàkà wāntōpmàngmā.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	phóténgaūng	ngaúkà	hīng	=ká
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	PN	as.for	3SG	=TOP
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	ဖိုးသိန်းအောင်	ဆိုရင်	သူ	ကတော့တာ

àng	mà	=ká	wān	tōp	-àng	=mā .
that	time	=TOP	fire	stab/beam	-DIR1	=RLS
အဲဒီ	အချိန်	ကတော့တာ	မီး	ထိုး	လိုက်	တယ်

'As it is the case, suddenly, that time, Photeingaung turned on the torch.'

31. *wāntōpmàngká wān ngaúkà tōpmàngnīngyeù ínnúkànghà*

wān	tōp	-àng	=ká	wān	ngaúkà	tōp	-àng	=nīngyeù
fire	stab/beam	-DIR1	=TOP	fire	as.for	stab/beam	-DIR1	=manner
မီး	ထိုး	လိုက်	ကတော့တာ	မီး	ဆိုရင်	ထိုး	လိုက်	လိုသလို

ín=	núk	-àng	-hà	=á
NEG=	flame	-DIR1	-know.how	=NEG
မ	မီးလျှံမီးတောက်	လိုက်	တတ်	ဘူး

'When (he) turned on the torch, the torch did not work, as it was supposed to.'

32. *wān ngaúkà tātmí ngaúkà ínnúkànghàpántàk ngaúpánkaú anyeù thók thókyeù ōmànglakà hīngká tātmítè*

wān	ngaúkà	tātmí	ngaúkà	ín=	núk	-àng	-hà	=pán	=ták
fire	as.for	torch	as.for	NEG=	flame	-DIR1	-know.how	=COS	=HS
မီး	ဆိုရင်	ဓါတ်မီး	ဆိုရင်	မ	မီးလျှံမီးတောက်	လိုက်	တတ်	ပြီပြီး	တဲ့

ngaú	=pánkaú	an	=yeù	thók	thók	=yeù	ōm	-àng	=lakà
say	=as.it.is.the.case	DEM	=manner	ONMT	ONMT	=SAP	make	-DIR1	=MIR
ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	ဒီ	လိုလို့	ထုတ်	ထုတ်	လိုလို့	လုပ်	လိုက်	တာကိုး

hīng	=ká	tātmí	=tè
3SG	=TOP	torch	=A.AG
သူ	ကတော့တာ	ဓါတ်မီး	ကို

'Since the torch didn't shine, "thok, thok", he shook the torch like this.'

33. *àngmàkà shalátyeù wānyí núkìng kasàyí wúng kasàyítá takhāteú wúng waíngmā.*

àng	mà	=ká	shalát	=yeù	wān	=yí	núk	-ìng	kasà	=yí	wúng
that	time	=TOP	ONMT	=SAP	fire	=also	flame	-DIR2	tiger	=also	ONMT
အဲဒီ	အချိန်	ကတော့တာ	ရှလတ်	လိုလို့	မီး	လည်း	မီးလျှံမီးတောက်	ခဲ့	ကျား	လည်း	ဝုန်း

kasà	=yí	=tá	takhāteú	wúng	waíng	=mā	.
tiger	=also	=EMPH	at.once	ONMT	jump.DIR2	=RLS	
ကျား	လည်း	ပဲ	တစ်ခါတည်း	ဝုန်း	ခုန်ခဲ့	တယ်	

'Then "Shalat". When the torch suddenly flashed out, all at once the tiger, also, jumped out.'

34. *kasà wápínták ngaú àngpè kasà {ngāpanáq nēyāpè} hàpè nímìnglá ngaúkà ngā īpnímpanáq phónzaūkpè hīngká ahà tāngpánnaà phóténgaūngtè anyeù yūnímmā.*

kasà	wá	=pán	=ták	ngaú	àng	=pè	kasà	{	ngā	=panáq	nēyā	=pè	}
tiger	jump.down	=COS	=HS	say	that	=LOC	tiger		exist	=NOM	place	=LOC	
ကျား	ခုန်ချ	ပြီပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုပြော	အဲဒီ	မှာ	ကျား		ရှိ	တဲ့တာ	နေရာ	မှာ	

hà	=pè	ním	-ìng	=lá	ngaúkà	ngā	īp	ním	=panáq	phón	zaūk	=pè
WH	=LOC	stay	-DIR2	=Q	as.for	1SG	sleep	stay	=NOM	wood	on.top	=LOC
ဘယ်	မှာ	နေ	ခဲ့	လဲလား	ဆိုရင်	ငါ	အိပ်	နေ	တဲ့တာ	ထင်းသစ်	အပေါ်	မှာ

hīng	=ká	ahà	tāng	=pán	=naà	phóténgaūng	=tè	an	=yeù
3SG	=TOP	chin	put.onto	=COS	=only	PN	=A.AG	DEM	=manner
သူ	ကတော့တာ	မေးစေ့	တင်	ပြီပြီး	မှ	ဖိုးသိန်းအောင်	ကို	ဒီ	လိုလို့

yū	ním	=mā	.
look	stay	=RLS	
ကြည့်	နေ	တယ်	

'Just then the tiger jumped down and landed/staying on the =TOP of the tree (where I was sleeping). He(the tiger) was looking at Photeingaung laying with its chin over its hands.'

35. *anyeù ngaú phóténgaūngyítá manīng ngānglá ngaú àngnáqtè ahákànghàták seúé hē hē hē hē anyeù ngānímàngmaták.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	phóténgaūng	=yí	=tá	mà	=nīng	ngāng	=lá	ngaú	
DEM	=manner	say	PN	=also	=EMPH	WH	=manner	exist:DIR1	=Q	say	
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	ဖိုးသိန်းအောင်	လည်း	ပဲ	ဘာဘယ်	လို	ရှိလိုက်	လဲလား	ဆိုပြော	
àng	=panáq	=tè	a=	hák	-àng	-hà	=á	=ták	=seú	=é	hē
that	=NOM	=A.AG	NEG=	shout	-DIR1	-know.how	=NEG	=HS	=SAP	=SAP	ONMT
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	ကို	မ	အော်	လိုက်	တတ်	ဘူး	တဲ့	လေ	အေး	ဟေ
hē	hē	hē	an	=yeù	ngā	ním	-àng	=mā	=ták .		
ONMT	ONMT	ONMT	DEM	=manner	exist	stay	-DIR1	=RLS	=HS		
ဟေ	ဟေ	ဟေ	ဒီ	လိုလို့	ရှိ	နေ	လိုက်	တယ်	တဲ့		

'What happened to Photeingaung was he became almost speechless, and murmured "Heu Heu Heu", it is said.'

36. *zàkpánnaà ngānímàngmā hīngká kasà kasà kasà ahákànghà hīngyí.*

zàk	=pán	=naà	ngā	ním	-àng	=mā	hīng	=ká	kasà	kasà	kasà
afraid	=COS	=only	exist	stay	-DIR1	=RLS	3SG	=TOP	tiger	tiger	tiger
ကြောက်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ရှိ	နေ	လိုက်	တယ်	သူ	ကတော့ဘာ	ကျား	ကျား	ကျား
a=	hák	-àng	-hà	=á	hīng	=yí	.				
NEG=	shout	-DIR1	-know.how	=NEG	3SG	=also					
မ	အော်	လိုက်	တတ်	ဘူး	သူ	လည်း					

'(He) was afraid and it happened that way. (He) couldn't even shout, "tiger, tiger."'

37. *anyeù ngaú ngāyítá īppátpōtnímtún hē hē hē ngāpanáqtè ngāyítá amíngsàhà amíngsàhà īppátpōtnímtún.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	ngā	=yí	=tá	īp	pát	pōt	ním	=tún	
DEM	=manner	say	exist	=also	=EMPH	sleep	asleep?	exceed	stay	=still	
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ဆိုပြော	ရှိ	လည်း	ပဲ	အိပ်	ပျော်	လွန်လွန်ကျူးကျူး	နေ	သေးတယ်	
hē	hē	hē	ngā	=panáq	=tè	ngā	=yí	=tá	a=	míngsàhà	=á
ONMT	ONMT	ONMT	exist	=NOM	=A.AG	exist	=also	=EMPH	NEG=	know	=NEG
ဟေ	ဟေ	ဟေ	ရှိ	တဲ့ဟာ	ကို	ရှိ	လည်း	ပဲ	မ	သိ	ဘူး
a=	míngsàhà	=á	īp	pát	pōt	ním	=tún	.			
NEG=	know	=NEG	sleep	asleep?	exceed	stay	=still				
မ	သိ	ဘူး	အိပ်	ပျော်	လွန်လွန်ကျူးကျူး	နေ	သေးတယ်				

'As it is the case, I was still sleeping and didn't know/hear the murmuring, "heu heu heu".

38. *thōmpòk chátnù kápmàngká eú àngmákhàtè ngaúkaú kasà ngaúkaú néné hāhalákpàngták ngaúpánkaú panáq kasángyópè hāhalákpángták ngaúpánkaú {halíngtàm phaúkàngká} halíngtàm phaúkpánnaà takhāteú hīngtè anyeù yūnímhánglakà.*

thōmpòk	chát	nù	káp	-àng	=ká	eú	àng	mákhà	=tè	ngaú	=kaú	
gun	CLF.shot	one	shoot	-DIR1	=TOP	that	that	time	=A.AG	say	=TOP	
သေနတ်	ချက်	တစ်	ပစ်	လိုက်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အဲဒီ	အဲဒီ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ဆိုၤပြော	တော့	
kasà	ngaú	=kaú	neúneú	hā	-halák	=páng	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú			
tiger	say	=TOP	little	be.hit	-roughly	=DIR1:COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case			
ကျား	ဆိုၤပြော	တော့	နဲနဲ	ထိမှန်	တစ်ဝက်တစ်ပျက်	လိုက်ပြီ	တဲ့	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့			
panáq	kasáng	yó	=pè	hā	-halák	=páng	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú			
DEM	back	CLT.ridge	=LOC	walk	-roughly	=DIR1:COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case			
ဒီ	ကျောပြင်	ရိုး	မှာ	သွား	တစ်ဝက်တစ်ပျက်	လိုက်ပြီ	တဲ့	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့			
halíngtàm	phaúk	-àng	=ká	halíngtàm	phaúk	=pán	=naà	takhāteú				
backward	jump.up	-DIR1	=TOP	backward	jump.up	=COS	=only	at.once				
နောက်ပြန်	ခုန်	လိုက်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	နောက်ပြန်	ခုန်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	တစ်ခါတည်း				
hīng	=tè	an	=yeù	yū	ním	-háng	=lakà	.				
3SG	=A.AG	DEM	=manner	take	stay	-back	=MIR					
သူ	ကို	ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ယူ	နေ	ပြန်	တာကိုး					

'When shot one time, the tiger was hit slightly and got wounded a bit. That is, he got hit slightly in the back and the tiger jumped backward and was looking at him, in this manner.'

39. *yūnímpán pánnù káphángmàsà ngāká mīnlakà saūngpánmàsà mīnnā saūngpánmàsà.*

yū	ním	=pán	pán	nù	káp	-háng	=másà	ngā	=ká	mīn	=lakà
take	stay	=COS	CLF.times	one	shoot	-back	=only.if	1SG	=TOP	awake	=MIR
ယူ	နေ	ပြီးပြီး	ကြိမ်	တစ်	ပစ်	ပြန်	မှ	ငါ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	နိုး	တာကိုး
saūng	pán	=másà	mīn	=mā	saūng	pán	=másà	.			
two	CLF.times	=only.if	awake	=RLS	two	CLF.times	=only.if				
နှစ်	ကြိမ်	မှ	နိုး	တယ်	နှစ်	ကြိမ်	မှ				

'(The tiger) was looking (at him). I became awake only when (he) shot one more time. I became awake only when (he) shot the second time.'

40. *saūngpánmàsà mīnpántàk ngaúpánkaú àngmákhàtèká àngpanáq phónkalùntóng hamúktóngheúq kaúpūpánnaà hamàngkà héq*

saūng	pán	=másà	mīn	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú
two	CLF.times	=only.if	awake	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case
နှစ်	ကြိမ်	မှ	နိုး	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်တော့

àng	mákhà	=tè	=ká	àng	=panáq	phón	kalùn	tóng	hamúk	tóng	=haík
that	time	=A.AG	=TOP	that	=NOM	wood	tree	big	under	big	=ABL
အဲဒီ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကတော့၊တာ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	ထင်းသစ်	ပင်	ကြီး	အောက်	ကြီး	ကမှ

kaú	pū	=pán	=naà	hà	=màng	=kà	héq
curlup	emerge	=COS	=only	WH	=thing	=Q	EXCL
ကုန်းကော့	ထွက်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား	ဟေ့

‘Since (I) woke up only when (he) shot twice, (I) came out, crouching, from the tree (and) yelled, “Hey! What's happening?”

41. *anyeùká ngaúpanáqkà tákshītè héq anyeù ōmpán kālakà.*

an	=yeù	=ká	ngaú	=panáq	=ká	tākshī	=tè	héq
DEM	=manner	=TOP	say	=NOM	=TOP	finger	=A.AG	EXCL
ဒီ	လို၊လို့	ကတော့၊တာ	ဆို၊ပြော	တဲ့၊တာ	ကတော့၊တာ	လက်ချောင်း	ကို	ဟေ့

an	=yeù	ōm	=pán	kā	=lakà	.
DEM	=manner	make	=COS	show	=MIR	
ဒီ	လို၊လို့	လုပ်	ပြီးပြီး	ပြ	တာကိုး	

‘‘“What that's mean?” (He) showed me his fingers like this.’

42. *anyeù panáq ngaúpanáqká hīngká ceú mōk tameū anyeùpanáqká kasà kasà kasà hákteúpmìnglakà hīngká.*

an	=yeù	panáq	ngaú	=panáq	=ká	hīng	=ká	ceú	mōk	tameū
DEM	=manner	DEM	say	=NOM	=TOP	3SG	=TOP	buffalo	cow	deer
ဒီ	လို၊လို့	ဒီ	ဆို၊ပြော	တဲ့၊တာ	ကတော့၊တာ	သူ	ကတော့၊တာ	ကျဲ	နွား	သမင်

an	=yeù	panáq	=ká	kasà	kasà	kasà	hák	teúp	-ìng	=lakà
DEM	=manner	DEM	=TOP	tiger	tiger	tiger	shout	throw	-DIR2	=MIR
ဒီ	လို၊လို့	ဒီ	ကတော့၊တာ	ကျား	ကျား	ကျား	အော်	ပစ်	ခဲ့	တာကိုး

hīng	=ká	.
3SG	=TOP	
သူ	ကတော့၊တာ	

‘As for him, (He was showing signs like this means buffalo, cow, deer) he shouted, “This means tiger, tiger, tiger.”’

43. *àngmákhàtèká ngayítá pāpūzaūng phūnpeúpanáqtè takhāteú pāpūzaūngpā àngpanáq wānpōttóng zūpeúmā wásà waínglá.*

àng	mákhà	=tè	=ká	ngā	=yí	=tá	pāpūzaūng					
that	time	=A.AG	=TOP	1SG	=also	=EMPH	blanket					
အဲဒီ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	ငါ	လည်း	ပဲ	ပါဘူးစောင်					
phūn	peú	=panáq	=tè	takhāteú	pāpūzaūng	pā	àng	=panáq	wānpōt	tóng		
wrap	keep	=NOM	=A.AG	at.once	blanket	include	that	=NOM	fire.place	big		
ခြုံ	ထား	တဲ့ၠတာ	ကို	တစ်ခါတည်း	ပါဘူးစောင်	ပါ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ၠတာ	မီးဖို	ကြီး		
zū	peú	=mā	wá	-sà	waíng	=lá	.					
burn	keep	=RLS	jump.down	-mere	jump.DIR2	=NOM						
မွေးထည့်	ထား	တယ်	ခုန်ချ	သာ	ခုန်ခဲ့	တာ						

'At that time, I was putting on a blanket, and at once (I) jumped into the burning fireplace.'

44. *àng wānpōt halúng halúngtóng zūnímpanáqtè lakò àngpanáq sàtnìngmā kasà.*

àng	wānpōt	halúng	halúng	tóng	zū	ním	=panáq	=tè	=lakò	àng	=panáq	
that	fire.place	ONMT	ONMT	big	burn	stay	=NOM	=A.AG	=SAP	that	=NOM	
အဲဒီ	မီးဖို	--	--	ကြီး	မွေးထည့်	နေ	တဲ့ၠတာ	ကို	ကို့ၠတာကို	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ၠတာ	
sàt	-ìng	=mā	kasà	.								
descend	-DIR2	=RLS	tiger									
ဆင်း	ခဲ့	တယ်	ကျား									

'In spite of the fire burning/flaming, the (tiger) came down.'

45. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú àngpanáqtè pāpūzaūngtóng phūnpánnaà ngayítá takhāteú wáteúppán hīngpàpè tátmíká hīng ómpeúpánták ngaúpánkaú.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	àng	=panáq	=tè	pāpūzaūng	tóng	
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	that	=NOM	=A.AG	blanket	big	
ဒီ	လိုၠလို့	ဆိုၠပြော	ရင်တော့	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ၠတာ	ကို	ပါဘူးစောင်	ကြီး	
phūn	=pán	=naà	ngā	=yí	=tá	takhāteú	wá	teúp	=pán
wrap	=COS	=only	1SG	=also	=EMPH	at.once	jump.down	throw	=COS
ခြုံ	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ငါ	လည်း	ပဲ	တစ်ခါတည်း	ခုန်ချ	ပစ်	ပြီးပြီး
hīng	=pà	=pè	tātmí	=ká	hīng	óm	peú	=pán	=ták ngaú	=pánkaú .
3SG	=ALL	=LOC	torch	=TOP	3SG	hold	keep	=COS	=HS say	=as.it.is.the.case
သူ	သို့ၠဖက်	မှာ	ဓါတ်မီး	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	သူ	ကိုင်	ထား	ပြီးပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုၠပြော	ရင်တော့

'Since he had a torch, I, with a blanket on, jumped at once to his side.'

46. *tátmíká hīng ómpeúpántàk ngaúkaú manīng ngaúlá ngaúkaú ā nāngtèká kasà azèkàngzeú kānmeú yákmákká maūng.*

tātmí	=ká	hīng	óm	peú	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=kaú	mà	=nīng
torch	=TOP	3SG	hold	keep	=COS	=HS	say	=TOP	WH	=manner
ခါတ်မီး	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	သူ	ကိုင်	ထား	ပြီၤပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုၤပြော	တော့	ဘၤဘယ်	လို

ngaú	=lá	ngaú	=kaú	ā	nāng	=tè	=ká	kasà
say	=Q	say	=TOP	oh	2SG	=A.AG	=TOP	tiger
ဆိုၤပြော	လဲလား	ဆိုၤပြော	တော့	အာ	ခင်ဗျား	ကို	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ကျား

a=	zèk	-àng	=zeú	kān	meú	yàkmák	=ká	maūng	.
NEG=	bite	-DIR1	=even	fortune	good	today	=TOP	boy	
မ	ကိုက်	လိုက်	တောင်မှ	ကံ	ကောင်း	ဒီနေ့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	မောင်	

'Since he had the torch, what (he) said was, "Well, today, you are lucky not to be bitten by the tiger."'

47. *manīngngatéq kasà azèkàngzeú kānmeúkà maūng ā manīng nāng làngzaūkpè kasà pínímnīngyeù nāngká phónhamúkpè kasàká zaūkpè ngānímpán.*

mà	=nīng	ngā	=téq	kasà	a=	zèk	-àng	=zeú	kān	meú	=ká
WH	=manner	1SG	=reason	tiger	NEG=	bite	-DIR1	=even	fortune	good	=TOP
ဘၤဘယ်	လို	ငါ	လို့	ကျား	မ	ကိုက်	လိုက်	တောင်မှ	ကံ	ကောင်း	ကၤတော့ၤတာ

maūng	ā	mà	=nīng	nāng	làng	zaūk	=pè	kasà	pí	ním	=nīngyeù
boy	oh	WH	=manner	2SG	body	on.top	=LOC	tiger	ride	stay	=manner
မောင်	အာ	ဘၤဘယ်	လို	ခင်ဗျား	ကိုယ်	အပေါ်	မှာ	ကျား	စီး	နေ	လို့သလို

nāng	=ká	phón	hamúk	=pè	kasà	=ká	zaūk	=pè	ngā	ním	=pán	.
2SG	=TOP	wood	under	=LOC	tiger	=TOP	on.top	=LOC	exist	stay	=COS	
ခင်ဗျား	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ထင်းသစ်	အောက်	မှာ	ကျား	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အပေါ်	မှာ	ရှိ	နေ	ပြီၤပြီး	

'"Why didn't the tiger bite you?" "You are lucky." "Well, it was like the tiger was riding on you. You were right under the log and the tiger was on =TOP of it".'

48. *anyeù ngaúpánnàkà hàpà nāngpeúlá àngpà nāngpeúpán.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	pánnàkà	hà	=pà	nāng	peú	=lá	àng	=pà
DEM	=manner	say	if	WH	=ALL	go	keep	=Q	that	=ALL
ဒီ	လို့လို	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်	ဘယ်	သို့ဖက်	သွား	ထား	လဲလား	အဲဒီ	သို့ဖက်

nāng	peú	=pán	.
go	keep	=COS	
သွား	ထား	ပြီၤပြီး	

'"As it is the case, anyway, where did it go?" "It went to that side."'

49. *àngpà nāngpeúpán ngaúmákhàtèká hákìnglakáé.*

àng	=pà	nāng	peú	=pán	ngaú	mákhà	=tè	=ká
that	=ALL	go	keep	=COS	say	time	=A.AG	=TOP
အဲဒီ	သို့ဖက်	သွား	ထား	ပြီးပြီး	ဆို၊ပြော	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	က၊တော့၊တာ

hák	-ìng	=lakà	=é .
shout	-DIR2	=MIR	=SAP
အော်	ခဲ့	တာကိုး	အေး

'"(It) has gone to that side, that time., then?"'

50. *maléq nāngpánnaà phón tāmpán hīng kápmàngpanáqpè yūwà àngmákhàtèká naúkhátē ngaúkà phátphúng phátyà ngāsōmpán lakò.*

maléq	nāng	=pán	=naà	phón	tām	=pán	hīng	káp	-àng	=panáq	=pè
1PL	go	=COS	=only	wood	search	=COS	3SG	shoot	-DIR1	=NOM	=LOC
တို့	သွား	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ထင်းသစ်	ရှာဖွေ	ပြီးပြီး	သူ	ပစ်	လိုက်	တဲ့၊တာ	မှာ

yū	-à	àng	mákhà	=tè	=ká	naúkhá	-tē	ngaúkà	phátphúng phátyá
look	-EUPH	that	time	=A.AG	=TOP	blood	-PL	as.for	disorderly.scattering.around
ကြည့်	ချေ	အဲဒီ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	က၊တော့၊တာ	သွေး	တွေ	ဆိုရင်	ပြန့်တိပြန့်ကျဲ

ngā	sōm	=pán	=lakò .
exist	used.up	=COS	=SAP
ရှိ	ကုန်	ပြီးပြီး	ကို၊တာကို

'After gathering firewood, when we went and looked (at the spot) where the tiger was shot,(there) was blood splattered all over the place.'

51. *naúkhátē phátphúng phátyà ngaúká àngnīngzáng ín phóténgaūng maūng kasà ngaúkà ínazeùyá.*

naúkhá	-tē	phátphúng phátyá	ngaú	=ká	àng	=nīng	=záng	ín
blood	-PL	disorderly.scattering.around	say	=TOP	that	=manner	=EMPH	um.yes!
သွေး	တွေ	ပြန့်တိပြန့်ကျဲ	ဆို၊ပြော	က၊တော့၊တာ	အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	အင်း

phóténgaūng	maūng	kasà	ngaúkà	ín=	a=	zeū	=á	.
PN	boy	tiger	as.for	NEG=	NEG=	easy	=NEG	
ဖိုးသိန်းအောင်	မောင်	ကျား	ဆိုရင်	မ	မ	လွယ်	ဘူး	

'When he saw the blood scattered all over like that, my friend, Photeingaung, said, "The tiger is not easy."'

52. *kasàkanà lūthàpán kasà maleú ínchīpán kaí anyeù ngāmā kátcíkalá.*

kasà	kanà	lū	-thà	=pán	kasà	maleú	ín=	chī	=pán	kaí	an	=yeù
tiger	hurt	get	-must	=COS	tiger	good	NEG=	true	=if	well!	DEM	=manner
ကျား	နာ	ရ	ရ	ပြီးပြီး	ကျား	ကောင်း	မ	ဟုတ်	ရင်	ကိုင်း	ဒီ	လို၊လို့

ngā	=mā	kát	-cí	=kū	=lá	.
exist	=RLS	run	-PL	IRLS	=Q	
ရှိ	တယ်	ပြေး	ကြ	မယ်	လဲလား	

"The tiger is wounded, it is not normal any more, so let's getaway/run."

53. *phónkalùn heūpánnaà phónkalùnzaūkpè kasé tūngkwán hítpánnaà lakò kasé tíntān tíntānyeù phónkalùnzaūkpè īpkalá.*

phón	kalùn	heū	=pán	=naà	phón	kalùn	zaūk	=pè	kasé	tōngkwán
wood	tree	climb	=COS	=only	wood	tree	on.top	=LOC	sarong	loop
ထင်းသစ်	ပင်	တတ်	ပြီပြီး	မှ	ထင်းသစ်	ပင်	အပေါ်	မှာ	ပုဆိုး	ကွင်းလိုက်

hīt	=pán	=naà	=lakò	kasé	tíntān	tíntān	=yeù
hang	=COS	=only	=SAP	sarong	hanging	hanging	=manner
ချိတ်	ပြီပြီး	မှ	ကိုးတာကို	ပုဆိုး	တွဲလောင်း	တွဲလောင်း	လိုးလို့

phón	kalùn	zaūk	=pè	īp	=kū	=lá .
wood	tree	on.top	=LOC	sleep	IRLS	=Q
ထင်းသစ်	ပင်	အပေါ်	မှာ	အိပ်	မယ်	လဲလား

"Shall we climb up in the tree and hang our longyi (on the tree) and sleep in it?"

54. *á ngāká maūng phónkalùn aheūhà.*

ā	ngā	=ká	maūng	phón	kalùn	a=	heū	-hà	=á .
oh	1SG	=TOP	boy	wood	tree	NEG=	climb	-know.how	=NEG
အာ	ငါ	ကၠတော့ၠတာ	မောင်	ထင်းသစ်	ပင်	မ	တတ်	တတ်	ဘူး

"Well, I cannot climb the tree."

55. *anyeù ngaúpánnàkà kátthngnaík lakaúé kátcíthāmā*

an	=yeù	ngaú	pánnàkà	kát	=tìng	=naík	=lakaú	=é	kát	-cí	=thāmā
DEM	=manner	say	if	run	=NOM	=only	=MIR	=SAP	run	-PL	=HORT
ဒီ	လိုးလို့	ဆိုးပြော	ရင်	ပြေး	ဖို့စရာ	မှၠပဲသမျှ	ကိုးတာကိုး	အေး	ပြေး	ကြ	ရအောင်

"If that the case, it is a matter of running away. Let's go."

56. *anyeù ngaúnímcímā zátcá anyeù ngaúnímcímā apaítè manīngtháqlá ngaúkaú àngmákhàtèká kasà ngaúkà shalát halíngpàhaík wáhángpìng.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	ním	-cí	=mā	zátcá	an	=yeù	
DEM	=manner	say	stay	-PL	=RLS	between.edge	DEM	=manner	
ဒီ	လိုးလို့	ဆိုးပြော	နေ	ကြ	တယ်	စပ်ကြား	ဒီ	လိုးလို့	

ngaú	ním	-cí	=mā	apaí	=tè	mà	=nīng	thà	=lá	ngaú	=kaú
say	stay	-PL	=RLS	portion	=A.AG	WH	=manner	be	=Q	say	=TOP
ဆိုးပြော	နေ	ကြ	တယ်	အပိုင်း	ကို	ဘာၠဘယ်	လို	ဖြစ်	လဲလား	ဆိုးပြော	တော့

àng	mákhà	=tè	=ká	kasà	ngaúkà	shalát	halíng	=pà	=haík
that	time	=A.AG	=TOP	tiger	as.for	ONMT	behind	=ALL	=ABL
အဲဒီ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ကျား	ဆိုရင်	ရှုလတ်	နောက်	သို့ဖက်	ကၤမှ

wá	-háng	=píng	.
jump.down	-back	=DIR2:COS	
ခုန်ချ	ပြန်	လာပြီ	

'While we were talking, what happen during that time (Lit. in that sense/portion)the tiger from behind 'shalat' jumped up again.'

57. *wáheúqká "ā nāng tátmísà īyóklé maūngyeù nāng tátmíyaúksà tōppán yūwàngkákmā lé maūng" ngaúmā.*

wá	-heúq	=ká	ā	nāng	tātmí	-sà	ī	=yók	=lé		
jump.down	-back:DIR2	=TOP	oh	2SG	torch	-DIM	give	=intrusive	=SAP		
ခုန်ချ	ပြန်ခဲ့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အာ	ခင်ဗျား	ဓါတ်မီး	လေး	ပေး	အုံး	လေး		
maūng	=yeù	nāng	tātmí	=yaúk	-sà	tōp	=pán	yū	-àng	-kák	=mā
boy	=manner	2SG	torch	=COM	-DIM	stab/beam	=COS	look	-DIR1	-want	=RLS
မောင်	လိုၤလို့	ခင်ဗျား	ဓါတ်မီး	နဲ့	လေး	ထိုး	ပြီးပြီး	ကြည့်	လိုက်	ချင်	တယ်

=lé	maūng	ngaú	=mā	.
=SAP	boy	say	=RLS	
လေး	မောင်	ဆိုၤပြော	တယ်	

'When he jumped down, (I) said, "Well, give me your torch.(I) want to have a look with your torch."'

58. *"á nāng kasàzeú achīyá aheúhàlé"*

ā	nāng	kasà	=zeú	a=	chī	=á	a=	heú	-hà	=á	=lé
oh	2SG	tiger	=even	NEG=	true	=NEG	NEG=	tell	-know.how	=NEG	=SAP
အာ	ခင်ဗျား	ကျား	တောင်မှ	မ	ဟုတ်	ဘူး	မ	ပြောပြ	တတ်	ဘူး	လေး

"Well, I can't tell whether it is a tiger."

59. *"ànghalíngpàlé nāngpánlétá kasàkálé" anyeù ngaúmā.*

àng	halíng	=pà	=lé	nāng	=pán	=lé	=tá	kasà	=ká	=lé
that	behind	=ALL	=SAP	go	=COS	=SAP	=EMPH	tiger	=TOP	=SAP
အဲဒီ	နောက်	သို့ဖက်	လေး	သွား	ပြီးပြီး	လေး	ပဲ	ကျား	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	လေး

an	=yeù	ngaú	=mā	.
DEM	=manner	say	=RLS	
ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ဆိုၤပြော	တယ်	

'(He) said, "The tiger (went) behind."

60. *àngnīngzáng “achīyá tátmízáng īphángìngyók” ngaúpánnaà hīngpè tátmí sanàmpánnaà halíngpà anyeù tōpmànglakáé.*

àng	=nīng	=záng	a=	chī	=á	tātmí	=záng	ī	-pháng	-ìng	=yók
that	=manner	=EMPH	NEG=	true	=NEG	torch	=EMPH	give	-prior	-DIR2	=intrusive
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလျှ	မ	ဟုတ်	ဘူး	ဓါတ်မီး	ပဲလျှ	ပေး	နှင့်	ခဲ့	◌အုံး
ngaú	=pán	=naà	hīng	=pè	tātmí	sanàn	=pán	=naà	halíng	=pà	
say	=COS	=only	3SG	=LOC	torch	snatch	=COS	=only	behind	=ALL	
ဆိုပြော	ပြီပြီး	မှ	သူ	မှာ	ဓါတ်မီး	လု	ပြီပြီး	မှ	နောက်	သို့ဖက်	
an	=yeù	tōp	-àng	=lakà	=é	.					
DEM	=manner	stab/beam	-DIR1	=MIR	=SAP						
ဒီ	လိုလို့	ထိုး	လိုက်	တာကိုး	အေး						

‘So (I) said, “That's not good, give me the torch first.”, (and) I snatched the torch from him and shined it towards the back.’

61. *halíngpà tōppánták ngaúpánkaú àngmátè kasà ngaúkà páktékhaléttóng nímpánnaà lakò láng lakò páktékhaléttóng nímpánnaà mūngkū weú halángmūnpánnaà laíngtháqtaúnīngyeù heūhān heūhān phyārārátrát phyārārátrát phyārārátrát kasà mūngkū kasà mūngkū páktékhaléttóng.*

halíng	=pà	tōp	=pán	=ták	ngaú	=pánkaú	àng	mátè	kasà	ngaúkà	
behind	=ALL	stab/beam	=COS	=HS	say	=as.it.is.the.case	that	when	tiger	as.for	
နောက်	သို့ဖက်	ထိုး	ပြီပြီး	တဲ့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	အဲဒီ	အခါမှာ	ကျား	ဆိုရင်	
páktékhalét	tóng	ním	=pán	=naà	=lakò	làng	=lakò	páktékhalét	tóng		
prostrate	big	stay	=COS	=only	=SAP	body	=SAP	prostrate	big		
ပြားပြား	ကြီး	နေ	ပြီပြီး	မှ	ကိုဟောကို	ကိုယ်	ကိုဟောကို	ပြားပြား	ကြီး		
ním	=pán	=naà	mūngkū	weú	halángmūn	=pán	=naà				
stay	=COS	=only	hair, feather	water	wind	=COS	=only				
နေ	ပြီပြီး	မှ	အမွေး (ငှက်)	ရေ	လေတိုက်	ပြီပြီး	မှ				
laíngtháq	-ta	=nīngyeù	heūhān	heūhān	phyārārátrát	phyārārátrát	phyārārátrát	kasà			
wave	L.SUFF	=manner	ONMT	ONMT	ONMT	ONMT	ONMT	tiger			
လှိုင်းထ	—	လိုသလို	ဟဲဟဲ	ဟဲဟဲ	ရှလတ်လတ်	ရှလတ်လတ်	ရှလတ်လတ်	ကျား			
mūngkū	kasà	mūngkū	páktékhalét	tóng	.						
hair, feather	tiger	hair, feather	prostrate	big							
အမွေး (ငှက်)	ကျား	အမွေး (ငှက်)	ပြားပြား	ကြီး							

‘As it is the case, When (I) shined it to the back, the tiger was lying flat (there). Its hair was swaying back and forth with the (sounds of wind), “phararararat, phararararat”, like a wave.’

62. *ngāyítá hákteúppán àngmàkà “hē hē hē aúpè kasàtónglē aúpèlē kasàtónglē” anyeù ngānímpàng seùé.*

ngā	=yí	=tá	hák	teúp	=pán	àng	mà	=ká	hē	hē	hē
exist	=also	=EMPH	shout	throw	=COS	that	time	=TOP	ONMT	ONMT	ONMT
ရှိ	လည်း	ပဲ	အော်	ပစ်	ပြီးပြီး	အဲဒီ	အချိန်	ကာတော့တာ	ဟေ	ဟေ	ဟေ

aú	=pè	kasà	tóng	=lé	aú	=pè	=lé	kasà	tóng	=lé	an	=yeù
here	=LOC	tiger	big	=SAP	here	=LOC	=SAP	tiger	big	=SAP	DEM	=manner
ဒီ	မှာ	ကျား	ကြီး	လေး	ဒီ	မှာ	လေး	ကျား	ကြီး	လေး	ဒီ	လိုလို့

ngā	ním	=páng	=seùé	.
exist	stay	=DIR1:COS	=SAP	
ရှိ	နေ	လိုက်ပြီ	လေ	

‘Then, I shouted as well, “Hey, hey, hey, tiger! Tiger!, it is here.”, It happened like that.’

63. *“hàpèkà hàpèkà” hīngyítá lakò kápchaūtaúwaìngpán*

hà	=pè	=kà	hà	=pè	=kà	hīng	=yí	=tá	=lakò
WH	=LOC	=Q	WH	=LOC	=Q	3SG	=also	=EMPH	=SAP
ဘယ်	မှာ	လဲလား	ဘယ်	မှာ	လဲလား	သူ	လည်း	ပဲ	ကိုးတာကို

káp	chaū	-ta	-à	-ìng	=pán
shoot	miss	L.SUFF	-EUPH	-DIR2	=COS
ပစ်	ချော်	—	ချေ	ခဲ့	ပြီးပြီး

“Where is it? Where is it?” He again shot and missed it.’

64. *àngmàkà “phyét” phaúkhángpán “shalát” anyeù eútnàngmā pánnù tōphángpán katùnghángpán.*

àng	mà	=ká	phyét	phaúk	-háng	=pán	shalát	an	=yeù	eút	-àng	=mā
that	time	=TOP	ONMT	jump.up	-back	=COS	ONMT	DEM	=manner	drop	-DIR1	=RLS
အဲဒီ	အချိန်	ကာတော့တာ	ဖြပ်	ခုန်	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	ရှလတ်	ဒီ	လိုလို့	ကျ	လိုက်	တယ်

pán	nù	tōp	-háng	=pán	katùng	-háng	=pán	.
CLF.times	one	beam	-back	=COS	see	-back	=COS	
ကြိမ်	တစ်	ထိုး (မီး)	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	မြင်	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	

‘Then, “Phyet, phauk”, (sounds of a tiger jumping.) like that, the tiger came down. (We) lit (the torch) again and saw (the tiger) again.’

65. *àngnīngzáng kápchaūtahángpáng ahāhánghàpán kasàtè kápkà maléqká*

àng	=nīng	=záng	káp	chaū	-ta	-háng	=páng
that	=manner	=EMPH	shoot	miss	L.SUFF	-back	=DIR1:COS
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	ပစ်	ချော်	—	ပြန်	လိုက်ပြီ

a=	hā	-háng	-hà	=pán	kasà	=tè	káp	=ká	maléq	=ká
NEG=	be.hit	-back	-know.how	=COS	tiger	=A.AG	shoot	=TOP	1PL	=TOP
မ	ထိမှန်	ပြန်	တတ်	ပြီးပြီး	ကျား	ကို	ပစ်	ကာတော့တာ	တို့	ကာတော့တာ

‘Similarly, (we) missed the shot again. (We) shot and were not able to hit the tiger.’

66. *tamìsā kalìnghú kasàtè kápkà ahāhánghàpàng.*

tamìsā	kalìng	hú	kasà	=tè	káp	=ká
human	two	CLF.person	tiger	=A.AG	shoot	=TOP
လူ	နှစ်	ယောက်	ကျား	ကို	ပစ်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ
a=	hā	-háng	-hà	=páng	.	
NEG=	walk	-back	-know.how	=DIR1:COS		
မ	သွား	ပြန်	တတ်	လိုက်ပြီ		

'Two people shot at the tiger and were not able to hit (it).'

67. *tataítaí kápmàngpanáq ngaúkà hīng káp ngā káp ā anyeùká ínchīpánlē maūng kátcímák lé.*

tataítaí	káp	-àng	=panáq	ngaúkà	hīng	káp	ngā	káp	ā	an	=yeù	=ká
ONMT	shoot	-DIR1	=NOM	as.for	3SG	shoot	1SG	shoot	oh	DEM	=manner	=TOP
တဒိုင်းဒိုင်း	ပစ်	လိုက်	တဲ့ၤတာ	ဆိုရင်	သူ	ပစ်	ငါ	ပစ်	အာ	ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ
ín=	chī	=pán	=lé	maūng	kát	-cí	=mák	=lé	.			
NEG=	true	=COS	=SAP	boy	run	-PL	=HORT	=SAP				
မ	ဟုတ်	ပြီပြီး	လေး	မောင်	ပြေး	ကြ	စို့	လေး				

'We were shooting, "dadai, dai", (gun shot sounds) non-stop alternately. (Lit. He shot, I shot), "Well my dear, it is bad, let's run now."'

68. *anyeùká ínchīpán {úngpanáqyìtà} talùshīyítá sōmkapánlē yeù.*

an	=yeù	=ká	ín=	chī	=pán	úng	=panáq	=yí	=tá
DEM	=manner	=TOP	NEG=	true	=if	that	=NOM	=also	=EMPH
ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	မ	ဟုတ်	ရင်	ဟို	တဲ့ၤတာ	လည်း	ပဲ
talù	shī	=yí	=tá	sōm	=kapán	=lé	=yeù	.	
circle	CLT.fruit	=also	=EMPH	used.up	=immf	=SAP	=manner		
အလုံးအဝိုင်း	သီး	လည်း	ပဲ	ကုန်	တော့မယ်	လေး	လိုၤလို့		

"It is bad now and our bullets (Lit. seeds) are running out, as well."

69. *nāng káp nga káp sōmkapán ínpòpán kátcímákyeù {kátcímák} anyeùká ínchīpán maūng.*

nāng	káp	ngā	káp	sōm	=ka	pán	ín=	pò	=pán	kát	-cí	=mák	=yeù {
2SG	shoot	1SG	shoot	used.up	=IRLS	=COS	NEG=	exist	=COS	run	-PL	=HORT	=SAP
ခင်ဗျား	ပစ်	ငါ	ပစ်	ကုန်	မယ်	ပြီပြီး	မ	ရှိ	ပြီပြီး	ပြေး	ကြ	စို့	လိုၤလို့
kát	-cí	=mák	}	an	=yeù	=ká	ín=	chī	=pán	maūng	.		
run	-PL	=HORT		DEM	=manner	=TOP	NEG=	true	=if	boy			
ပြေး	ကြ	စို့		ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	မ	ဟုတ်	ရင်	မောင်			

"The way we are shooting, (we are) going to run out of (bullets). Let's run. It is bad, my friend"

70. *àngpè nāng kátphángkalá ngā kátphángkalá anyeùlakáé.*

àng	=pè	nāng	kát	-pháng	=kū	=lá	ngā	kát	-pháng	=kū	=lá	
that	=LOC	2SG	run	-prior	IRLS	=Q	1SG	run	-prior	IRLS	=Q	
အဲဒီ	မှာ	ခင်ဗျား	ပြေး	နှင့်	မယ်	လဲလား	ငါ	ပြေး	နှင့်	မယ်	လဲလား	
an	=yeù	=lakà	=é	.								
DEM	=manner	=MIR	=SAP									
ဒီ	လိုလို	တာကိုး	အေး									

'"Do you want to run first or should I?"

71. *ā nāng kátphángkū ngaúpánnàkà ngā wāntōpīkū.*

ā	nāng	kát	-pháng	=kū	ngaú	pánnàkà	ngā	wān	tōp	ī	=kū .
oh	2SG	run	-prior	=IRLS	say	if	1SG	fire	stab/beam	give	=IRLS
အာ	ခင်ဗျား	ပြေး	နှင့်	မယ်	ဆိုပြော	ရင်	ငါ	မီး	ထိုး	ပေး	မယ်

"If you want to run first, I will shine (the torch for you)."

72. *àngpín tátmí ngayeún īìng.*

àng	=panáq	tātmí	ngā	=yeún	ī	-ìng .
that	=NOM	torch	1SG	=BEN	give	-DIR2
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	ဓါတ်မီး	ငါ	အတွက်	ပေး	ခဲ့

"Give that torch to me."

73. *àngpanáq tátmítè sanàmcílakà maūng hīngyí lākák ngāyí lākák kasà ngaúpánkaú seùé.*

àng	=panáq	tātmí	=tè	sanàn	-cí	=lakà	maūng	hīng	=yí	lā	-kák	ngā	=yí
that	=NOM	torch	=A.AG	snatch	-PL	=MIR	boy	3SG	=also	take	-want	1SG	=also
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	ဓါတ်မီး	ကို	လု	ကြ	တာကိုး	မောင်	သူ	လည်း	ယူ	ချင်	ငါ	လည်း
lā	-kák	kasà	ngaú	=pánkaú	=seùé .								
take	-want	tiger	say	=as.it.is.the.case	=SAP								
ယူ	ချင်	ကျား	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့	လေ								

'As it was with the case with the tiger, We were grabbing for the torch. We both wanted the torch.'

74. *kasà ngaúpánkaú hīngyí lākák ngāyí lākák tátmítè sanàmcíkà nāngyítá.*

kasà	ngaú	=pánkaú		hīng	=yí	lā	-kák	ngā	=yí	lā	-kák	tātmí	=tè
tiger	say	=as.it.is.the.case		3SG	=also	take	-want	1SG	=also	take	-want	torch	=A.AG
ကျား	ဆိုပြော	ရင်တော့		သူ	လည်း	ယူ	ချင်	ငါ	လည်း	ယူ	ချင်	ဓါတ်မီး	ကို
sanàn	-cí	=ká	nāng	=yí	=tá	.							
snatch	-PL	=TOP	2SG	=also	=EMPH								
လု	ကြ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ခင်ဗျား	လည်း	ပဲ								

'Since it was a tiger, we both wanted (the torch) and were grabbing for it.'

75. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú kaí nāng akátzákpán ngā kátnàngkū aúpè phónkalùntè wāntōppeú lakò.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	kaí	nāng	a=	kát	zàk	=pán	ngā
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	well!	2SG	NEG=	run	afraid	=COS	1SG
ဒီ	လို့လို့	ဆို့ပြော	ရင်တော့	ကိုင်း	ခင်ဗျား	မ	ပြေး	ကြောက်	ပြီ့ပြီး	ငါ

kát	-àng	=kū	aú	=pè	phón	kalùn	=tè	wān	tōp	peú	=lakò	.
run	-DIR1	=IRLS	here	=LOC	wood	tree	=A.AG	fire	stab/beam	keep	=SAP	
ပြေး	လိုက်	မယ်	ဒီ	မှာ	ထင်းသစ်	ပင်	ကို	မီး	ထိုး	ထား	ကို့တာကို့	

‘As it is the case, “Well, if you don't dare to run, let me run first. Shine the torch onto this tree.”

76. *wāntōpphángàngthàmā keú àngpàpè thōmpòk lakò chátnù saūngchát kalàng kápphángàngthàmā àngpàpè phaúng phaúng anyeù.*

wān	tōp	-pháng	-àng	-thà	=mā	keú	àng	=pà	=pè	thōmpòk	=lakò
fire	stab/beam	-prior	-DIR1	-must	=RLS	well!	that	=ALL	=LOC	gun	=SAP
မီး	ထိုး	နှင့်	လိုက်	ရ	တယ်	ကဲ	အဲဒီ	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	သေနတ်	ကို့တာကို့

chát	nù	saūng	chát	=kalàng	káp	-pháng	-àng	-thà	=mā
CLF.shot	one	two	CLF.shot	=approximate	shoot	-prior	-DIR1	-must	=RLS
ချက်	တစ်	နှစ်	ချက်	ခန့်	ပစ်	နှင့်	လိုက်	ရ	တယ်

àng	=pà	=pè	phaúng	phaúng	an	=yeù	.
that	=ALL	=LOC	ONMT	ONMT	DEM	=manner	
အဲဒီ	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	ဖောင်း	ဖောင်း	ဒီ	လို့လို့	

‘It has to be first shine the torch to one side and made a couple of shots, this manner “Phaung, Phaung”.

77. *kápzímásà àngmásà kátthàlakáé.*

káp	zí	=másà	àng	=másà	kát	-thà	=lakà	=é	.
shoot	finish	=only.if	that	=only.if	run	-must	=MIR	=SAP	
ပစ်	ပြီး	မှ	အဲဒီ	မှ	ပြေး	ရ	တာကိုး	အေး	

‘Only after shooting (one) must run.’

78. *kátpánnaà úngpè phónkalùnpè aúpàpè ngaká hīng wāntōppáng līpáqpè takhāteú hīngpàpè mánpà peúheúqthàlakà ngā thōmpòktèká.*

kát	=pán	=naà	úng	=pè	phón	kalùn	=pè	aú	=pà	=pè	ngā	=ká
run	=COS	=only	that	=LOC	wood	tree	=LOC	here	=ALL	=LOC	1SG	=TOP
ပြေး	ပြီ့ပြီး	မှ	ဟို့	မှာ	ထင်းသစ်	ပင်	မှာ	ဒီ	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	ငါ	ကၫတော့ၫတာ

hīng	wān	tōp	=páng	lī	=pà	=pè	takhāteú	hīng	=pà	=pè
3SG	fire	stab/beam	=DIR1:COS	come	=ALL	=LOC	at.once	3SG	=ALL	=LOC
သူ	မီး	ထိုး	လိုက်ပြီ	လာ	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	တစ်ခါတည်း	သူ	သို့ဖက်	မှာ

mán	=pà	peú	-heúq	-thà	=lakà	ngā	thōmpòk	=tè	=ká	.
in.front.of	=ALL	keep	-back:DIR2	-must	=MIR	1SG	gun	=A.AG	=TOP	
ရှေ့	သို့ဖက်	ထား	ပြန်ခဲ့	ရ	တာကိုး	ငါ	သေနတ်	ကို	ကၠတော့၊တာ	

'Having run to that tree, (I) had to turn back to where he was shining the torch. I had to point my gun off to his side.'

79. *àngnīngzáng hīng thōkpíng ngaúpánnàkà ngā kátpháng̀àng úngpàpè phónkalùntè tōpīháng phónkalùnpè úngpè kātaūpánnaà ín àngmákhàtèká hīng zaúntaháng̀pìng.*

àng	=nīng	=záng	hīng	thōk	=píng	ngaú	pánnàkà	ngā	kát	-pháng	-àng
that	=manner	=EMPH	3SG	arrive	=DIR2:COS	say	if	1SG	run	-prior	-DIR1
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	သူ	ရောက်	လာပြီ	ဆိုပြော	ရင်	ငါ	ပြေး	နှင့်	လိုက်

úng	=pà	=pè	phón	kalùn	=tè	tōp	ī	-háng	phón	kalùn	=pè
that	=ALL	=LOC	wood	tree	=A.AG	stab	give	-back	wood	tree	=LOC
ဟို	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	ထင်းသစ်	ပင်	ကို	ထိုး	ပေး	ပြန်	ထင်းသစ်	ပင်	မှာ

úng	=pè	kā	-ta	=pán	=naà	ín	àng	mákhà	=tè	=ká	hīng
that	=LOC	block	L.SUFF	=COS	=only	um.yes!	that	time	=A.AG	=TOP	3SG
ဟို	မှာ	ကာ	—	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	အင်း	အဲဒီ	အချိန်အခါ	ကို	ကၠတော့၊တာ	သူ

zaún	-ta	-háng	=píng	.
follow.after	L.SUFF	-back	=DIR2:COS	
လိုက်	—	ပြန်	လာပြီ	

'Then, after he arrived, I ran first again, and (he) shined the torch onto the tree. I covered myself in the tree (there) and he followed after.'

80. *é anyeù khayí maneúq kalàng kátnìngthàlá ngaúkaú khayí tóngmaīkalàng kátnìngthàmā tóngmaīkalàng.*

é	an	=yeù	khayí	mà	=neúq	=kalàng	kát	-ìng	-thà	=lá	
yes	DEM	=manner	journey	WH	=as.much.as	=approximate	run	-DIR2	-must	=Q	
အေး	ဒီ	လိုလို့	ခရီး	ဘာဘယ်	ခန့်လောက်	ခန့်	ပြေး	ခဲ့	ရ	လဲလား	

ngaú	=kaú	khayí	tóng	maī	=kalàng	kát	-ìng	-thà	=mā
say	=TOP	journey	three	mile	=approximate	run	-DIR2	-must	=RLS
ဆိုပြော	တော့	ခရီး	သုံး	မိုင်	ခန့်	ပြေး	ခဲ့	ရ	တယ်

tóng	maī	=kalàng	.
three	mile	=approximate	
သုံး	မိုင်	ခန့်	

'Well, this manner, how far we had to run was about 3 miles.'

81. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú kátká àngnīngzáng maléq nímpanáq teúpè thōkhángcípìng.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	kát	=ká	àng	=nīng	=záng	maléq
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	run	=TOP	that	=manner	=EMPH	1PL
ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့	ပြေး	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲၤလှ	တို့

ním	=panáq	teú	=pè	thōk	-háng	-cí	=píng	.
stay	=NOM	hut	=LOC	arrive	-back	-PL	=DIR2:COS	
နေ	တဲ့ၤတာ	တဲ	မှာ	ရောက်	ပြန်	ကြ	လာပြီ	

'As it is the case, having ran, we arrived back at the hut where we were staying.'

82. *maléq nímpanáq teúpè thōkhángcíàngká àngnīngzáng īp seúqnanāyī nāyīpyān tachát achīngtè thōkheúqlaká maléq nímpanáq teúpè.*

maléq	ním	=panáq	teú	=pè	thōk	-háng	-cí	-àng	=ká	
1PL	stay	=NOM	hut	=LOC	arrive	-back	-PL	-DIR1	=TOP	
တို့	နေ	တဲ့ၤတာ	တဲ	မှာ	ရောက်	ပြန်	ကြ	လိုက်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	

àng	=nīng	=záng	īp	seúqnanāyī	nāyī	pyān	tít	chát	achēng	=tè
that	=manner	=EMPH	sleep	12.o'clock	o'clock	return	one	CLF.shot	time	=A.AG
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲၤလှ	အိပ်	၁၂ နာရီ	နာရီ	ပြန်	တစ်	ချက်	အချိန်	ကို

thōk	-heúq	=lakà	maléq	ním	=panáq	teú	=pè	.
arrive	-back:DIR2	=MIR	1PL	stay	=NOM	hut	=LOC	
ရောက်	ပြန်ခဲ့	တာကိုး	တို့	နေ	တဲ့ၤတာ	တဲ	မှာ	

'When we reached the hut where we were staying, like that, (We) reached the hut around 12 o'clock.'

83. *thōkheúqká àngnīngzáng wān ngaúkaú wāncíngyí meúlakà wāncíng kahīng kahīng kahīngyeù shīmhá shīmhátè ngaúpánnakaú àngnīngzáng úngpè wāncíngká kasà míktūshīnīngyeù tūtaūlakáé.*

thōk	-heúq	=ká	àng	=nīng	=záng	wān	ngaú	=kaú	wāncīng	=yí	
arrive	-back:DIR2	=TOP	that	=manner	=EMPH	fire	say	=TOP	charcoal	=also	
ရောက်	ပြန်ခဲ့	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲၤလှ	မီး	ဆိုၤပြော	တော့	မီးသွေး	လည်း	

meú	=lakà	wāncīng	kahīng	kahīng	kahīng	=yeù	shínhá	shínhá	=tè
good	=MIR	charcoal	quite	quite	quite	=SAP	winter	winter	=A.AG
ကောင်း	တာကိုး	မီးသွေး	ခပ်ပူပူ	ခပ်ပူပူ	ခပ်ပူပူ	လိုၤလို့	ဆောင်းရာသီ	ဆောင်းရာသီ	ကို

ngaú	=pánkaú	àng	=nīng	=záng	úng	=pè	wāncīng	=ká	kasà
say	=as.it.is.the.case	that	=manner	=EMPH	that	=LOC	charcoal	=TOP	tiger
ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့	အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲၤလှ	ဟို	မှာ	မီးသွေး	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ကျား

míktūshī	=nīngyeù	tū	-ta	=lakà	=é	.
eyeball	=manner	same	L.SUFF	=MIR	=SAP	
မျက်လုံး	လိုၤသလို	တူ	—	တာကိုး	အေး	

'When we arrived, the charcoal was burning (so hot) because it was in the winter, that the burning charcoal looked like a tiger's eye.'

84. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú kasà míktūshīnīngyeù nímpánták ngaúpánkaú wāncīng há há há há ngāpanáqtè ngāká wānpōtpà mánpán īplaká.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	kasà	míktūshī	=nīngyeù	ním	=pán	=ták	
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	tiger	eyeball	=manner	stay	=COS	=HS	
ဒီ	လိုၤလို့	ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့	ကျား	မျက်လုံး	လိုၤသလို	နေ	ပြီၤပြီး	တဲ့	
ngaú	=pánkaú	wāncīng	há	há	há	há	ngā	=panáq	=tè	ngā	=ká
say	=as.it.is.the.case	charcoal	red	red	red	red	exist	=NOM	=A.AG	1SG	=TOP
ဆိုၤပြော	ရင်တော့	မီးသွေး	အနီ	အနီ	အနီ	အနီ	ရှိ	တဲ့ၤတာ	ကို	ငါ	ကၤတော့ၤတာ
wānpōt	=pà	mán	=pán	īp	=lakà	.					
fire.place	=ALL	face	=COS	sleep	=MIR						
မီးဖို	သို့ၤဖက်	မျက်နှာ	ပြီၤပြီး	အိပ်	တာကိုး						

'As it is the case, as it is the case that burning charcoal was really red and resembles a tiger's eyes. I was sleeping facing the fireplace.'

85. *wānpōtpà mánpán īppánkaú ín àngnīngzáng àngpanáqtèa īpmàngthīpánnaà mīnyí mīnìng īpmàngthīpán phaúkyeúpánnaà takhāteú wāntū ngákpánnaà wānpōttè tánteúpmàngká ngayaúk īpmákcípanáq tamìsāták ngaúkà phaúkyeúpán lakò hamàngkàlá maūng é kasàtónglē kasàtónglē anyeù lakò ngāngthàmā.*

wānpōt	=pà	mán	=pán	īp	=pánkaú	ín	àng	=nīng	=záng	
fire.place	=ALL	COGN	=COS	sleep	=as.it.is.the.case	um.yes!	that	=manner	=EMPH	
မီးဖို	သို့ၤဖက်	မှန်း	ပြီၤပြီး	အိပ်	ရင်တော့	အင်း	အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲၤလှ	
àng	=panáq	=tè	īpmàngthī	=pán	=naà	mīn	=yí	mīn	-ìng	
that	=NOM	=A.AG	dream	=COS	=only	awake	=also	awake	-DIR2	
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ၤတာ	ကို	အိပ်မက်မက်	ပြီၤပြီး	မှ	နိုး	လည်း	နိုး	ခဲ့	
īpmàngthī	=pán	phaúk	yeú	=pán	=naà	takhāteú	wāntū			
dream	=COS	jump.up	get.up	=COS	=only	at.once	burning.faggot			
အိပ်မက်မက်	ပြီၤပြီး	ခုန်	ထ	ပြီၤပြီး	မှ	တစ်ခါတည်း	မီးစ			
ngák	=pán	=naà	wānpōt	=tè	tán	teúp	-àng	=ká	ngā	=yaúk
lift.up	=COS	=only	fire.place	=A.AG	beat	throw	-DIR1	=TOP	1SG	=COM
မ	ပြီၤပြီး	မှ	မီးဖို	ကို	တီးရိုက်	ပစ်	လိုက်	ကၤတော့ၤတာ	ငါ	နဲ့
īp	-à	-cí	=panáq	tamìsā	-ták	ngaúkà	phaúk	yeú	=pán	=lakò	
sleep	-EUPH	-PL	=NOM	human	-PL	as.for	jump.up	get.up	=COS	=SAP	
အိပ်	ချေ	ကြ	တဲ့ၤတာ	လူ	တို့	ဆိုရင်	ခုန်	ထ	ပြီၤပြီး	ကိုၤတာကို	
hà	=màng	=kà	ngā	=lakò	é	kasà	tóng	=lé	kasà	tóng	=lé
WH	=thing	=Q	1SG	=SAP	yes	tiger	big	=SAP	tiger	big	=SAP
ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲၤလား	ငါ	ကိုၤတာကို	အေး	ကျား	ကြီး	လေး	ကျား	ကြီး	လေး

an	=yeù	=lakò	ngāng	-thà	=mā .
DEM	=manner	=SAP	exist:dir1	-must	=RLS
ဒီ	လိုးလို့	ကိုးတာကို	ရှိလိုက်	ရ	တယ်

'While I slept facing the fireplace, (I) was dreaming (talk or act in one's sleep)about (it) and woke up. When (I) jumped up at once and held up the burning stick and beat the fire, the people who were sleeping with me stood up and (asked), "What's the matter?" (I shouted) "Tiger, tiger." It happened just like that.'

86. *ín ànghaíkà taì halángyámàkà ā maléqká manākceūká héq kasà káppeúmā līyákcíkalá ngaúlakà.*

ín	àng	=haík	taì	haláng	yá	mà	=kà	ā	maléq	=ká	
um.yes!	that	=ABL	morning	head	bright	time	=TOP	oh	1PL	=TOP	
အင်း	အဲဒီ	ကမှ	နံနက်	ခေါင်း	လင်း	အချိန်	ကတော့တာ	အာ	တို့	ကတော့တာ	
manākceū	=ká	héq	kasà	káp	peú	=mā	lī	-à	-cí	=kū	=lá
last.night	=TOP	EXCL	tiger	shoot	keep	=RLS	come	-EUPH	-PL	IRLS	=Q
ညတုန်း	ကတော့တာ	ဟေ့	ကျား	ပစ်	ထား	တယ်	လာ	ချေ	ကြ	မယ်	လဲလား
ngaú	=lakà .										
say	=MIR										
ဆိုပြော	တာကိုး										

'In the morning, (we) said, "Well, last night we shot a tiger. Do you want to come (along)?"'

87. *ā nāngákkákmā līyákcí.*

ā	nāng	-à	-kák	=mā	lī	-à	-cí .
oh	go	-EUPH	-want	=RLS	come	-EUPH	-PL
အာ	သွား	ချေ	ချင်	တယ်	လာ	ချေ	ကြ

'"Well, we want to go." "(Then) come."'

88. *maléq pheúyàngpanáq phaíkhū phaíktā kámàkà útpeúpán seú maūng àngpè.*

maléq	pheú	-àng	=panáq	phaíkhū	phaíktā	kámàkà	út	peú	=pán	=seú
1PL	carry	-DIR1	=NOM	carriers	ATTW	sort.of.things	abandon	keep	=COS	=SAP
တို့	ထမ်း	လိုက်	တဲ့တာ	အထမ်း	_	စသည်	စွန့်ပစ်	ထား	ပြီးပြီး	လေ
maūng	àng	=pè .								
boy	that	=LOC								
မောင်	အဲဒီ	မှာ								

'We left all of our stuff we brought there, my friend.'

89. *zaūng kámàkà hamàngkà shíthaúng kámàkà hamàngkazeú alāhángìngá*

zaūng	kámàkà	hà	=màng	=kà	shíthaúng	kámàkà			
blanket	sort.of.things	WH	=thing	=Q	bag	sort.of.things			
စောင်	စသည်	ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား	လွယ်အိတ်	စသည်			
hà	=màng	=kà	=zeú	a=	lā	-háng	-ìng	=á	
WH	=thing	=Q	=even	NEG=	take	-back	-DIR2	=NEG	
ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား	တောင်မှ	မ	ယူ	ပြန်	ခဲ့	ဘူး	

'…blankets, bags, and so on. (We) brought nothing back.'

90. *sàt kámàkà àngpanáq tékshī zalūng kámàkà tékshī kámàkà hamàngkazeú alāhángìngá.*

sàt	kámàkà	àng	=panáq	tékshī	zalūng	kámàkà	tékshī	kámàkà
husked.rice	sort.of.things	that	=NOM	pot	sink	sort.of.things	pot	sort.of.things
ဆန်	စသည်	အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	အိုး	ဇလုံ	စသည်	အိုး	စသည်

hà	=màng	=kà	=zeú	a=	lā	-háng	-ìng	=á	.
WH	=thing	=Q	=even	NEG=	take	-back	-DIR2	=NEG	
ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲလား	တောင်မှ	မ	ယူ	ပြန်	ခဲ့	ဘူး	

'Rice, pot, sink, and so on. (We) brought nothing back.'

91. *àngpè útpeúmā*

àng	=pè	út	peú	=mā
that	=LOC	abandon	keep	=RLS
အဲဒီ	မှာ	စွန့်ပစ်	ထား	တယ်

'We left everything there.'

92. *hamàngkazáng ngaútìtà lāhángcíàngmák*

hà	=màng	=kà	=záng	ngaú	=tí	=tá	lā	-háng	-cí	-àng	=mák
WH	=thing	=Q	=EMPH	say	=also	=EMPH	take	-back	-PL	-DIR1	=HORT
ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲ	ပဲလေ့	ဆိုပြော	ရင်လည်း	ပဲ	ယူ	ပြန်	ကြ	လိုက်	စို့

'"Whatever happen (Lit. whatever people may say), let's go and take them back."'

93. *tamìsā kaūphòtnàngthàmā.*

tamìsā	kaū	-phòt	-àng	=thāmā .
human	call	-add.more	-DIR1	=HORT
လူ	ခေါ်	ထပ်ပို	လိုက်	ရအောင်

'Let's call some more people.'

94. *hamàngkazáng ngaútìtà lāhángcàngmák*

hà	=màng	=kà	=záng	ngaú	=tí	=tá	lā	-háng	-càng	=mák
WH	=thing	=Q	=EMPH	say	=also	=EMPH	take	-back	-PL:DIR1	=HORT
ဘယ်	ဟာ	လဲ	ပဲလှ	ဆိုပြော	ရင်လည်း	ပဲ	ယူ	ပြန်	ကလိုက်	စို့

'Whatever happen (Lit. whatever people may say) says, let's go and take them back.'

95. *tamìsā kaūphòtnàngthàmā.*

tamìsā	kaū	-phòt	-àng	=thāmā	.
human	call	-add.more	-DIR1	=HORT	
လူ	ခေါ်	ထပ်ပို	လိုက်	ရအောင်	

'Let's call some more people.'

96. *àngnīngzáng tamìsā kaūphòtnàngká ā cī kaūwàngmanaík lakaú ngaúcílakàé*

àng	=nīng	=záng	tamìsā	kaū	-phòt	-àng	=ká	ā	cī
that	=manner	=EMPH	human	call	-add.more	-DIR1	=TOP	oh	dog
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	လူ	ခေါ်	ထပ်ပို	လိုက်	ကတော့တာ	အာ	ခွေး

kaū	-àng	=manaík	=lakaú	ngaú	-cí	=lakà	=é
call	-DIR1	=only.if	=MIR	say	-PL	=MIR	=SAP
ခေါ်	လိုက်	မှ	ကိုးတာကိုး	ဆိုပြော	ကြ	တာကိုး	အေး

'When we called some more people, (some) said, "Well, shall we take dogs?"

97. *kaū seú cī meúpánnàkáyeù*

kaū	=seú	cī	meú	pánnàkà	=yeù
call	=SAP	dog	good	if	=SAP
ခေါ်	လေ	ခွေး	ကောင်း	ရင်	လို့လို့

'"Yes, bring them, if they are good."'

98. *cī lé ngá shítkaūng cīwātóngtè lakò lé ngá shítkaūng kaūpánnaà zaúnhángcàngmā.*

cī	lé	ngá	shít	kaūng	cī	wā	tóng	=tē	=lakò	lé	ngá	shít	kaūng
dog	four	five	eight	CLF.animal	dog	male	big	=PL	=SAP	four	five	eight	CLF.animal
ခွေး	လေး	ငါး	ရှစ်	ကောင်	ခွေး	ထီး	ကြီး	တွေ	ကိုးတာကို	လေး	ငါး	ရှစ်	ကောင်

kaū	=pán	=naà	zaún	-háng	-càng	=mā	.
call	=COS	=only	follow.after	-back	-PL:DIR1	=RLS	
ခေါ်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	လိုက်	ပြန်	ကလိုက်	တယ်	

'There were four, five, even eight dogs (only male dogs) and (we) took (them) and followed after (the tiger).'

99. *úngpè thōkká kasà anánqtè túmpáppánlakà cīká aīng aīng aīng aīngyeù ngāpán.*

úng	=pè	thōk	=ká	kasà	anánq	=tè	túm	-páp	=pán	=lakà
that	=LOC	arrive	=TOP	tiger	smell	=A.AG	smell	-been	=COS	=MIR
ဟို	မှာ	ရောက်	က၊တော့၊တာ	ကျား	အနံ့	ကို	နမ်း	ဖူး၊မိ	ပြီ၊ပြီး	တာကိုး

cī	=ká	aīng	aīng	aīng	aīng	=yeù	ngā	=pán .
dog	=TOP	ONMT	ONMT	ONMT	lake	=SAP	exist	=COS
ခွေး	က၊တော့၊တာ	ကိန်	ကိန်	ကိန်	အိုင်	လို၊လို့	ရှိ	ပြီ၊ပြီး

'When we reached there, (the dog) got the scent of the tiger and cried, "Aing! Aing! Aing!"'

100. *úngpè cī nùwà aīng úngpè cī nùwà "aīng aīng aīng" aīngyeù ngāpán.*

úng	=pè	cī	nù	-à	aīng	úng	=pè	cī	nù	-à	aīng	aīng	aīng	
that	=LOC	dog	CLF.animal	-one	ONMT	that	=LOC	dog	CLF.animal	-one	ONMT	ONMT	ONMT	
ဟို	မှာ	ခွေး	ကောင်	တစ်	ကိန်	ဟို	မှာ	ခွေး	ကောင်	တစ်	ကိန်	ကိန်	ကိန်	

aīng	=yeù	ngā	=pán .
lake	=SAP	exist	=COS
အိုင်	လို၊လို့	ရှိ	ပြီ၊ပြီး

'The dogs, one here and one there, cried, "Aing! Aing! Aing!"'

101. *"yaū ā cītàkká maūng nímzàk ngāzàkká maūng manīng ngāsōmànglá"*

yaū	ā	cī	-tàk	=ká	maūng	ním	=zàk	ngā	=zàk	=ká	maūng
EXCL	oh	dog	-PL	=TOP	boy	stay	=while	exist	=while	=TOP	boy
ရော့	အာ	ခွေး	တို့	က၊တော့၊တာ	မောင်	နေ	တုန်း၊လျက်	ရှိ	တုန်း၊လျက်	က၊တော့၊တာ	မောင်

mà	=nīng	ngā	sōm	-àng	=lá	
WH	=manner	exist	used.up	-DIR1	=Q	
ဘာ၊ဘယ်	လို	ရှိ	ကုန်	လိုက်	လဲ၊လား	

"Oh, what's the matter with these dogs, without any treat they are crying (Lit. while simply staying)"

102. *tamìsā paìkhaík lakò ínkhwātapán seú cītàkká hànīng ngāsōmàngláyeù.*

tamìsā	paìk	=haík	=lakò	ín=	khwā	-ta	=pán	=seú	cī	-tàk	=ká	
human	beside	=ABL	=SAP	NEG=	leave	L.SUFF	=COS	=SAP	dog	-PL	=TOP	
လူ	နဘေး	က၊မှ	ကို၊တာကို	မ	ထွက်ခွာ	—	ပြီ၊ပြီး	လေ	ခွေး	တို့	က၊တော့၊တာ	

hà	=nīng	ngā	sōm	-àng	=lá	=yeù .
WH	=manner	exist	used.up	-DIR1	=Q	=manner
ဘယ်	လို	ရှိ	ကုန်	လိုက်	လဲ၊လား	လို၊လို့

'"The dogs won't leave the people. What's the matter with these dogs?"'

103. *àngnīngzáng ā taūpánlē maūngtā maléq eútpeúpín maléq shíthaúng kámàkà lāpánnaà lakò kátcímáklē.*

àng	=nīng	=záng	ā	taū	=pán	=lé	maūng	maléq	eút	peú	=panáq	maléq
that	=manner	=EMPH	oh	enough	=COS	=SAP	boy	1PL	drop	keep	=NOM	1PL
အဲဒီ	လို	ပဲလှ	အာ	တော်	ပြီးပြီး	လေး	မောင်	တို့	ကျ	ထား	တဲ့တာ	တို့

shíthaúng	kámàkà	lā	=pán	=naà	=lakò	kát	-cí	=mák	=lé .
bag	sort.of.things	take	=COS	=only	=SAP	run	-PL	=HORT	=SAP
လွယ်အိတ်	စသည်	ယူ	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ကိုတာကို	ပြေး	ကြ	စို့	လေး

'Finally, "Well, that's enough. Let's take our bags back and so on and run".'

104. *ínnátóngká ngāheúqkūlēyeù*

ínnátóng	=ká	ngā	-heúq	=kū	=lé	=yeù
later	=TOP	exist	-back:DIR2	=IRLS	=SAP	=manner
ခုနနေ	ကတော့တာ	ရှိ	ပြန်ခဲ့	မယ်	လေး	လို့လို့

"Later, (the) tiger may come back (Lit. will exist again).'

105. *"azaúnzónshík {azaúnzónshíkyeù} anáq paìkpè ngāmā."*

a=	zaún	zón	=sà	=zík
NEG=	follow.after	continue	=NEG.IMP	=finally
မ	လိုက်	ဆက်	နဲ့	တော့

a=	zaún	zón	=sà	=zík	=yeù	anáq	paìk	=pè	ngā	=mā	.
NEG=	follow.after	continue	=NEG.IMP	=finally	=SAP	this	beside	=LOC	exist	=RLS	
မ	လိုက်	ဆက်	နဲ့တော့	တော့	လို့လို့	ဒီ	နဘေး	မှာ	ရှိ	တယ်	

"Don't go after it. It is still around."

106. *"lámzā anāngpheùyá anáqpaìkpè ngāmā."*

lámzā	a=	nāng	pheù	=á	anáq	paìk	=pè	ngā	=mā
be.far	NEG=	go	suppose	=NEG	this	beside	=LOC	exist	=RLS
ဝေး	မ	သွား	ထင်	ဘူး	ဒီ	နဘေး	မှာ	ရှိ	တယ်

"(I) suppose (it) didn't go far. It is still around."

107. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú kátcímák kát līhángcíthàmā kátpán līhángcíthàmā.*

an	=yeù	ngaú	=pánkaú	kát	-cí	=mák	kát	lī	-háng	-cí	-thà	=mā
DEM	=manner	say	=as.it.is.the.case	run	-PL	=HORT	run	come	-back	-PL	-must	=RLS
ဒီ	လို့လို့	ဆို့ပြော	ရင်တော့	ပြေး	ကြ	စို့	ပြေး	လာ	ပြန်	ကြ	ရ	တယ်

kát	=pán	lī	-háng	-cí	-thà	=mā .
run	=COS	come	-back	-PL	-must	=RLS
ပြေး	ပြီးပြီး	လာ	ပြန်	ကြ	ရ	တယ်

'As it is the case, "Let's run". We came running.'

Text21: ‘How to make wild yams food’

1. *nwēyék kayāpàpè yàkká cwēúq tāmàngkū.*

nwēyék	kayā	=pà	=pè	yàk	=ká	cwēúq	tām	-àng	=kū
PN	mountain	=ALL	=LOC	now	=TOP	wild.yam	search	-DIR1	=IRLS
နွေရိတ်	တောင်	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	အခု	ကတော့တာ	ကြွေဥ	ရှာဖွေ	လိုက်	မယ်

‘Now, I will go and look for wild yams in the Nweyek mountain area.’

2. *cwēúq katákàngmā nwēyék kayāpáqpè hāyákpheúyàngkū.*

cwēúq	katák	-àng	=mā	nwēyék	kayā	=pà	=pè
wild.yam	rare	-DIR1	RLS	PN	mountain	=ALL	=LOC
ကြွေဥ	ရှား	လိုက်	တယ်	နွေရိတ်	တောင်	သို့ဖက်	မှာ

hā	yákpheú	-àng	=kū	.
walk	indiscriminately	-DIR1	=IRLS	
သွား	လျှောက်	လိုက်	မယ်	

It is very rare/difficult to find wild yams. I will simply go to to Nweyek mountain.’

3. *aūngtánnweūtàk mahángpàpè tāmàngkū yàkká àng aléuqpàpè.*

aūngtánnweū	-tàk	maháng	=pà	=pè	tām	-àng	=kū	yàk	=ká	àng
PN	-PL	that.thing	=ALL	=LOC	search	-DIR1	=IRLS	now	=TOP	that
အောင်သန်းနွယ်	တို့	ဟိုဟာ	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	ရှာဖွေ	လိုက်	မယ်	အခု	ကတော့တာ	အဲဒီ

aléuq	=pà	=pè	.
portion	=ALL	=LOC	
အလှည့်ဖက်ခြမ်း	သို့ဖက်	မှာ	

‘I will go to Aungtannwe's -that (field) side of that area.’

4. *zaúhá ngāmāó cwēúqyítá katákàngmā.*

zaúhá	ngā	=mā	ó	cwēúq	=yí	=tá	katák	-àng	=mā	.
thorn	exist	=RLS	EXCL	wild.yam	=also	=EMPH	rare	-DIR1	=RLS	
ဆူး	ရှိ	တယ်	အို့	ကြွေဥ	လည်း	ပဲ	ရှား	လိုက်	တယ်	

‘Oh there are thorns (in that area). Wild yam, as well, is very rare.’

5. *àngnáqtè thūpánnaà lūpìng kalìngtaút sómtaút kāpmàngthàkū.*

àng	=panáq	=tè	thū	=pán	=naà	lū	=píng	kalìng	taút	sóm	taút
that	=NOM	=A.AG	dig	=COS	=only	get	=DIR2:COS	two	CLF.piece	three	CLF.piece
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	ကို	တူး	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ရ	လာပြီ	နှစ်	တုံး	သုံး	တုံး

kāp	-àng	-thà	=kū	.
peel	-DIR1	-must	=IRLS	
နွာ	လိုက်	ရ	မယ်	

'After digging (it) up, (I) got two or three pieces. (I) will peel the skin.'

6. *kāppánnaà {maháng} weú phaú.*

kāp	=pán	=naà	{	maháng	}	weú	phaú	.
peel	=COS	=only		that.thing		water	wash	
နွာ	ပြီးပြီး	မှ		ဟိုဟာ		ရေ	ဆေးကြော	

'After peeling the skin, wash it with water.'

7. *weú phaúzípánnaà yīp.*

weú	phaú	zí	=pán	=naà	yīp	.
water	wash	finish	=COS	=only	slice	
ရေ	ဆေးကြော	ပြီး	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	လှီး	

'After washing it with water, slice it.'

8. *yīpphángàngkū yàkká yīpzípán weú pám.*

yīp	-pháng	-àng	=kū	yàk	=ká	yīp	zí	=pán	weú	pám	.
slice	-prior	-DIR1	=IRLS	now	=TOP	slice	finish	=COS	water	soak	
လှီး	နှင့်	လိုက်	မယ်	အခု	ကဲတော့ဟာ	လှီး	ပြီး	ပြီးပြီး	ရေ	စိမ်	

'Now, I will first slice (it). After slicing (them), soak them in the water.'

9. *weú pámká yàātè pánnù weú kazeúháng pámháng weú kazeúháng pámháng shì háwàn pám.*

weú	pám	=ká	yàā	=tè	pán	nù	weú	kazeú	-háng	pám	-háng	weú
water	soak	=TOP	one.day	=A.AG	CLF.times	one	water	wash	-back	soak	-back	water
ရေ	စိမ်	ကဲတော့ဟာ	တရက်	ကို	ကြိမ်	တစ်	ရေ	ဆေး	ပြန်	စိမ်	ပြန်	ရေ

kazeú	-háng	pám	-háng	shì	hà	wàn	pám	.
wash	-back	soak	-back	four	five	CLF.day	soak	
ဆေး	ပြန်	စိမ်	ပြန်	လေး	ငါး	ရက်	စိမ်	

'When soaking, wash them once a day and soak in the water again. Do this for four or five days.'

10. *shì háwàn pámzípánnaà lápmà thóng zángpánnaà {maháng} pámhángàngkū.*

shì	hà	wàn	pám	zí	=pán	=naà	láp	-à	thóng	záng	=pán	=naà	{
four	five	CLF.day	soak	finish	=COS	=only	CLF.times	-one	lime	put.in	=COS	=only	
လေး	ငါး	ရက်	စိမ်	ပြီး	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ကြိမ်	တစ်	ထုံး	ထည့်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	

maháng	}	pám	-háng	-àng	=kū	.
that.thing		soak	-back	-DIR1	=IRLS	
ဟိုဟာ		စိမ်	ပြန်	လိုက်	မယ်	

'After soaking in the water for four to five days, add lime and soak in the water one more time.'

11. *thóng zángpán pámzí pámhángpán.*

thóng	záng	=pán	pám	zí	pám	-háng	=pán	.
lime	put.in	=COS	soak	finish	soak	-back	=COS	
ထုံး	ထည့်	ပြီးပြီး	စိမ်	ပြီး	စိမ်	ပြန်	ပြီးပြီး	

'After adding lime, soak in the water. (I) have finished/done that.'

12. *yōkzántàngkū yàkká ayōkmeú yōkmeúyeù weú nyíttaūpánnaà yàkàtè pánnù yàkàtè pánnùká ōmpeúpán hīng.*

yōk	zán	-ta	-àng	=kū	yàk	=ká	a=	yōk	meú	yōk	meú	=yeù
eat	test	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=IRLS	now	=TOP	NEG=	eat	good	eat	good	=SAP
စား	စမ်း	—	လိုက်	မယ်	အခု	ကတော့	မ	စား	ကောင်း	စား	ကောင်း	လို့လို့

weú	nyít	-ta	=pán	=naà	yàk	-à	=tè	pán	nù	yàk	-à	=tè
water	squeeze	L.SUFF	=COS	=only	day	-one	=A.AG	CLF.times	one	day	-one	=A.AG
ရေ	ညစ်	—	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ရက်	တစ်	ကို	ကြိမ်	တစ်	ရက်	တစ်	ကို

pán	nù	=ká	ōm	peú	=pán	hīng	.
CLF.times	one	=TOP	make	keep	=COS	3SG	
ကြိမ်	တစ်	ကတော့	လုပ်	ထား	ပြီးပြီး	သူ	

'Let me try it now, (to see) whether it is good to eat or not, (I) am done sifting water once a day.'

13. *weú caíkpeúpán thóng zángpánnaà weú kazeú weú kazeúháng pámhángká ōmpeúpán.*

weú	caík	peú	=pán	thóng	záng	=pán	=naà	weú	kazeú	weú	kazeú	-háng
water	exchange	keep	=COS	lime	put.in	=COS	=only	water	wash	water	wash	-back
ရေ	လဲလှယ်	ထား	ပြီးပြီး	ထုံး	ထည့်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ရေ	ဆေး	ရေ	ဆေး	ပြန်

pám	-háng	=ká	ōm	peú	=pán	.
soak	-back	=TOP	make	keep	=COS	
စိမ်	ပြန်	ကတော့	လုပ်	ထား	ပြီးပြီး	

'I have changed the water and added lime, washed them many times, and soaked them again.'

14. *weú pámkà aneúq ngaúpán lūthaíkkà cáqtapán {hīng} {ngázán} ngázántàngmanaík.*

weú	pám	=ká	an	=neúq	ngaú	=pán	lū	thaík	=ká
water	soak	=TOP	DEM	=as.much.as	say	=if	get	should	=TOP
ရေ	စိမ်	က၊တော့၊တာ	ဒီ	ခန့်လောက်	ဆို၊ပြော	ရင်	ရ	ထိုက်	က၊တော့၊တာ

cáq	-ta	=pán	{	hīng	}	{	ngá	zán	}	ngá	zán	-ta	-àng	=manaík	.
cost/fall	L.SUFF	=COS		3SG			steam	test		steam	test	L.SUFF	-DIR1	=only.if	
ကျ	—	ပြီ၊ပြီး		သူ			ပေါင်း	စမ်း		ပေါင်း	စမ်း	—	လိုက်	မှ	

'Soaking in the water should be enough. Let me try to steam it.'

15. *ó aceúkū zàkmā léqō āntān hàmzáng ngáàngkūlé phón taúpmàngkónlé.*

ó	aceú	=kū	zàk	=mā	=lèō	āntān	-hàm	=záng	ngá	àng	=kū	=lé
EXCL	vomit	=IRLS	afraid	RLS	=SAP	quite	-be.excess	=EMPH	steam	that	=IRLS	=SAP
အိုံ	အန်	မယ်	ကြောက်	တယ်	ဗျာ	တော်တော်	ပို	ပဲလှ	ပေါင်း	အဲဒီ	မယ်	လေး

phón	taúp	-àng	=kón	=lé	.
wood	end	-DIR1	=so.as.to	=SAP	
ထင်းသစ်	ဆုံး	လိုက်	အောင်	လေး	

'Oh I am afraid of vomitting (if the yam is not boil well, it can make someone sick), (Let me) steam it more until we use all the firewood.'

16. *waték tóngphángàngmanaík waték tóng.*

waték	tóng	-pháng	-àng	=manaík	waték	tóng	.
steam.pot	place	-prior	-DIR1	=only.if	steam.pot	place	
ပေါင်းအိုး	တည်	နှင့်	လိုက်	မှ	ပေါင်းအိုး	တည်	

'Let me place the steamer.'

17. *waték tóngzípánnaà àngnáqtè waleú kazíp*

waték	tóng	zí	=pán	=naà	àng	=panáq	=tè	waleú	kazíp
steam.pot	place	finish	=COS	=only	that	=NOM	=A.AG	liquid	wring
ပေါင်းအိုး	တည်	ပြီး	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မှ	အဲဒီ	တဲ့၊တာ	ကို	အရည်	ညစ်

'After placing the pot, squeeze/sieve (the water out).'

18. *kazít ngāpánnaà yàkká yahùngpè záng wasáp sáp*

kazíp	ngā	=pán	=naà	yàk	=ká	yahùng	=pè	záng	wasáp	sáp
wring	exist	=COS	=only	now	=TOP	steamer	=LOC	put.in	sponge.gourd	spread
ညစ်	ရှိ	ပြီ၊ပြီး	မှ	အခု	က၊တော့၊တာ	ပေါင်းချောင်	မှာ	ထည့်	ပေါင်းကြမ်း	ခင်း

'After squeezing/sieving (the water), now add in the steamer. Spread out the sponge gourd (in the steamer).'

19. *wasáp sáppánnaà cwēúqtè kazíppán záng.*

wasáp	sáp	=pán	=naà	cwēúq	=tè	kazíp	=pán	záng	.
sponge.gourd	spread	=COS	=only	wild.yam	=A.AG	wring	=COS	put.in	
ပေါင်းကြမ်း	ခင်း	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ကြွေဥ	ကို	ညစ်	ပြီးပြီး	ထည့်	

'After spreading out the sponge gourd, squeeze/sieve the water from the wild yam and add (them).'

20. *àngnáqtè zángpánnaà ngá.*

àng	=panáq	=tè	záng	=pán	=naà	ngá	.
that	=NOM	=A.AG	put.in	=COS	=only	steam	
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	ကို	ထည့်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ပေါင်း	

'After adding (the) steam.'

21. *ngáhàneúq ngá {ngámanaík} ngápánnaà maháng ōm.*

ngá	-hà	=neúq	ngá	{	ngá	=manaík	}	ngá	=pán	=naà	maháng
steam	-know.how	=as.much.as	steam		steam	=only.if		steam	=COS	=only	that.thing
ပေါင်း	တတ်	ခန့်လောက်	ပေါင်း		ပေါင်း	မှ		ပေါင်း	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ဟိုဟာ

ōm	.
make	
လုပ်	

'Steam as much as (you can). After that, do that.'

22. *{yōkkūpanáqtè} yàkká óngshī kámàkà wánpaíkpeúpánmanaík ngáphángthàkū àngnáqtè ngá.*

yōk	=kū	=panáq	=tè	yàk	=ká	óng	shī	kámàkà
eat	=IRLS	=NOM	=A.AG	now	=TOP	coconut	CLT.fruit	sort.of.things
စား	မယ်	တဲ့ဟာ	ကို	အခု	ကဟာတော့	အုန်းသီး	သီး	စသည်

wán	paík	peú	=pán	=manaík	ngá	-pháng	-thà	=kū
chop	be.broken	keep	=COS	=only.if	steam	-prior	-must	=IRLS
ခုတ်	ကွဲ	ထား	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	ပေါင်း	နှင့်	ရ	မယ်

àng	=panáq	=tè	ngá	.
that	=NOM	=A.AG	steam	
အဲဒီ	တဲ့ဟာ	ကို	ပေါင်း	

'Now (I) will break the coconut. {(The yam) first needs to be steamed (before you break/cut the coconut}.'

23. *óngshī wánpaík chít salaú zítsá záng.*

óng	shī	wán	paík	chít	salaú	zítsáq	záng	.
coconut	CLT.fruit	chop	be.broken	shred	oil	few	put.in	
အုန်းသီး	သီး	ခုတ်	ကွဲ	ခြစ်	ဆီ	နဲနဲ	ထည့်	

'Break and shred the coconut and add a little bit of oil.'

24. *salaú zítsáq zángpánnaà óngshīshaúk mashaúk zūnshaúk zángpán neūtaūpán yōk.*

salaú	zítsáq	záng	=pán	=naà	óng	shī	=shaúk	mà	=shaúk
oil	few	put.in	=COS	=only	coconut	CLT.fruit	=DIM:COM	WH	=DIM:COM
ဆီ	နဲ့နဲ့	ထည့်	ပြီးပြီး	မှ	အုန်းသီး	သီး	လေးနဲ့	ဘာဘာယ်	လေးနဲ့

zūn	=shaúk	záng	=pán	neū	-ta	=pán	yōk	.
salt	=DIM:COM	put.in	=COS	area	L.SUFF	=COS	eat	
ဆား	လေးနဲ့	ထည့်	ပြီးပြီး	နယ်	—	ပြီးပြီး	စား	

‘After adding some oil, add shredded coconut, salt and so on, and mix (it) and eat (it).’

25. *taúppàng seú maūng yàkká*

taúp	=páng	=seú	maūng	yàk	=ká
end	=DIR1:COS	=SAP	boy	now	=TOP
ဆုံး	လိုက်ပြီ	လေ	မောင်	အခု	ကၢတော့ၢတာ

‘(This is) the end, my dear.’

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