

# THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

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## 1. FOREWORD

Arakanese, Intha and Tavoyan are three regional dialects of Burmese. Speakers of Standard Burmese find them hard to follow at first, but after living in a dialect region for a week or two they find they are adjusting to the alternative phonology and the regional vocabulary, and after that spoken communication presents few problems.

Although the dialects are so close to the standard language, there are insights to be gained from the study both of their relationship to it, and of the relationship of the dialects and the standard to Written Burmese, the spelling of which (developed in the twelfth century and standardised in the eighteenth) offers clues to the nature of the language in earlier times. These various manifestations, taken together, throw light on problems of phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary in both Written Burmese and Standard Burmese, and all contribute to the reconstruction of Proto Burmish.

Most studies of the dialects (see bibliography) have focussed on differences in phonology, with some observations on vocabulary. The foundation of each of the present papers is a set of recordings of natural unscripted speech, transcribed extracts from which are included in the papers. These recordings not only were the starting point for the further investigation of phonology and vocabulary, but also provided numerous examples of the way syntactic markers in the dialects differ from those of standard Burmese. The transcribed extracts also convey the flavour of each dialect, revealing the frequency of deviations from standard spoken Burmese, in a way which does not emerge from lists of sounds and words.

The three sets of notes which follow, on Arakanese, Intha and Tavoyan, have essentially the same format as my notes on the Yaw dialect (Okell 1989). Each has a section on the dialect region, a section on phonology, grammar and vocabulary, comparing features of the dialect with Written Burmese and Standard (spoken) Burmese, and a section containing the extracts from the recordings. For a description of Spoken Burmese see Okell (1969), and for Written Burmese forms see any standard dictionary, for example *Myanma-za əphwé* (1978-80), *Myanma-za əphwé* (1991), Judson (1921 and later editions), and Hoke Sein (1981).

### 1.1 SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

#### A. Abbreviations for dialects

AR	Arakanese dialect	TV	Tavoyan dialect
IT	Intha dialect	WB	Written Burmese
SB	Standard Burmese (spoken language)	YW	Yaw dialect

## B. Abbreviations for references

BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
Census	1911 (see also Webb 1912, Grantham 1923 and Bennison 1933).
Gaz.B	Gazetteer of Burma (see Lowis 1908)
Gaz.LB	Gazetteer of Lower Burma (see Spearman 1879 & 1880)
Gaz.UB	Gazetteer of Upper Burma (see Spearman 1879 & 1880)
JBRs	Journal of the Burma Research Society
LSB	Linguistic Survey of Burma (see Webb 1917)
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India (see Grierson 1903-1928)
MSTK	<i>Myan-ma sa-lòun-bàun tha'-poun càn</i> [Burmese spelling book]

All references are collected and listed at the end of the paper.

## C. Abbreviations for form classes and syntactic functions

ACC	accusative marker	POL	polite suffix
ADV	adverb formative	PT	past time
CLF	classifier	Q	question marker
EMP	emphatic postposition	QUO	quoted
EUPH	euphonic suffix	REL	relative clause marker
EXCL	exclamatory suffix	SUBJ	subject marker
OB	Old Burmese	VSMK	verb-sentence marker
PL	plural marker		

Entries in the lists of grammatical markers in §2.33, §3.3.3 and §4.3.3 are listed alphabetically, and each entry includes a grammatical classification, one or more SB equivalents, some examples, and occasionally a note on other points of interest. Most examples are taken from the texts in §2.4, §3.4 and §4.4. These examples are given references: for example 2.13 = text 2, sentence 13 of the appropriate language text. Other examples are from transcriptions of recordings not reproduced here, referred to as 'rec'; or from examples offered by informants or encountered in conversation, referred to as 'inf'.

In the transcriptions of texts in §2.4, §3.4 and §4.4, where the speakers correct themselves, false starts are transcribed within [-].

## 2. ARAKANESE

## 2.1 INTRODUCTION

'Pín-yi' mənain, Yəkhain mè/' goes the saying: 'If you don't know whether to spell it with a y or an r, ask an Arakanese'. The dialect enjoys some renown among speakers of Standard Burmese (SB), if only because it preserves the /r/, which, though still distinguished in Burmese spelling, is merged in speech with /y/.

## 2.1.1 LOCATION AND NUMBERS

Arakan (AR /Rɔ'-khain/, SB /Yəkhain/; the English romanisation was officially altered to 'Rakhine' in 1989) is a narrow coastal strip on the west of Burma, some 300 miles long and 50 to 20 miles wide. It is much intersected by steep and thickly wooded mountain spurs, and by rivers, which provide the best means of communication; and it is separated from the

central plains by a range of mountains, the Arakan Yò-má, along which the administrative boundary runs today.

It is hardly surprising that in this sort of terrain there should be variations in the dialect. Most informants recognise three main varieties, corresponding to the three administrative Districts of the Arakan Division: 'Arakanese proper' in Sit-twe (Akyab) District in the north; the dialect of Kyauk-hpyu and Yàn-byè (Ramree) in the centre; and the Than-dwè (Sandoway) in the south. The further south one goes, they say, the closer to Standard Burmese the dialect becomes. This observation is in fact borne out by some published notes on the Kyauk-hpyu variety (Ono 1969a): though in other respects the same as the Sit-twe dialect, it has the SB rhymes for Written Burmese (WB) *ak*, *aŋ*, and for *at*, *an* and *ap*, *am*.

There are also said to be three minor varieties: that of Man-aung (Cheduba) Island, opposite the boundary between Kyauk-hpyu and Than-dwè Districts; that of the northern part of Sit-twe District, also spoken beyond the border of Bangladesh; and Marma, in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh. These varieties are here called 'minor' because the scraps of information I was given indicated that each one differs very little from one or other of the 'main' varieties. Marma, for example, the only one that has been documented (D. Bernot 1957), seems to be phonologically identical with Sit-twe Arakanese except for the use of /gy, ky, khy/ for Sit-twe /j, c, ch/. They are worth mentioning separately, however, as informants recognise them as distinct groups.

One of the Arakanese returns for the *Linguistic survey of Burma* (LSB) went so far as to distinguish different dialects in Sit-twe and nearby Yathéi-daung and Pon-nagyùn (Webb 1917:32). I have no information on these distinctions, which, if they exist at all, are probably very fine.

'Chàung-thà' is a term of various applications. The LSB (Webb 1917:55) lists it as a separate dialect, not a sub-dialect of Arakanese. L. Bernot (1967b:71) inclines to regard it as applying originally to valley dwellers, whether linguistically Arakanese or not, who were some distance from the political and administrative centre; but other authors (quoted by L. Bernot 1967b:73) agree with my informants in treating Chàung-thà as the minor variety of Arakanese spoken north of Sit-twe.

The 'Mugs' have on occasion been listed as a separate race or tribe (Mason, quoted in Forbes 1878:211) but in fact the term is only a name used in former times for the Arakanese by their neighbours to the west and by Europeans (see e.g. Buchanan 1798:223, Leyden 1808:222, Forbes 1878:212, LSI (Grierson 1904:379), L. Bernot 1960b:19).

The available early population figures are as follows:

	LSB (1917:55)	Census 1921 (1933:198)	Census 1931 (1933:198)	L. Bernot (1960:19)
Arakanese	50,163	247,691	221,945	-
Yàn-byè	59,024	250,018	326,642	-
Chàung-thà	64,531	9,052	34,625	-
unspecified	149,547	-	-	-
Kaman [?]	1,211	-	-	-
Marma	-	-	-	c.100,000
total	324,386	506,761	583,212	

The divergences indicate the unreliability of the early figures, but when these are compared with those for other dialects of Burmese, one point that does emerge clearly is that, next to SB, AR has the largest number of speakers in the group. The 1983 Census of Burma enumerated 1,536,725 'Rakhine'; a current estimate would be over two million speakers including the 'Mogh' in India and Bangladesh and the Marma in Bangladesh.

### 2.1.2 BACKGROUND

The first Arakanese are said to have entered their present area in the mid tenth century (San Shwe Bu 1960:488). In the fifteenth century they let the mountains cut their connections with their Burmese relatives in the central plains, and turned to the west. They used the support of the Sultan of Bengal, accessible up the coast, and of the Portuguese, who came by sea, to establish a great empire. With its capital at Myauk-ù (now Myó-hàung), this flourished for 200 years. After a period of decline in Arakan the Burmese finally conquered it (in 1784) and made it part of their dominion. It was one of the first regions of Burma to be annexed by the British (in 1826), who subsequently administered it as a Division within Burma, a status which it retained in independent Burma until 1974, when it was made a separate state within the Union. For a more detailed survey see Bradley (1985).

In spite of their early ties with central Burma, including the Buddhist religion, and nearly two centuries of administration as part of Burma, the Arakanese, assisted by their geography, have preserved a strong sense of separateness. They point with pride to the differences between the lettering of their early inscriptions and that of the inscriptions of central Burma, to their different way of reciting the alphabet and to their musical instruments, song forms, and separate calendar; and they send a separate cultural mission to perform their own regional songs and dances at the festivities of Union Day.

### 2.1.3 THE 'PURITY' OF ARAKANESE

Throughout the literature there runs a recurrent theme that Arakanese is a 'more ancient' or 'purer' form of the language than Standard Burmese (e.g. Leyden 1808:233, Forbes 1881:57, Houghton 1897:455, Taylor 1921:91, L. Bernot 1967b:36ff.). This claim generally means that Arakanese pronunciation corresponds more closely to Written Burmese than does that of Standard Burmese.

In fact, both forms of speech have developed since the language achieved its present written form, each one further in some directions than the other. AR certainly maintains its well-known distinction between WB *r* and *y*, and between *aŋ* and *añ*, which SB has merged; it rhymes *at*, *an* with *wat*, *wan*, which SB has split; and its use of voicing is less widespread. On the other hand SB distinguishes *ac*, *añ* from *uik*, *uiŋ*; *wa* from *o*; *e* from *i*; and *i,u* from *in,un* – which are wholly or partly merged in AR; and it uses weakening much less freely. It is not easy to quantify these points (AR has three mergers, one part-merger, and more weakening; SB has two mergers, one split, and more voicing), but it is clear that the AR claim to be 'more ancient' or 'purer' than SB is by no means so obvious as has been assumed.



## 2.1.4 'ARAKANES LITERATURE'

Claims are sometimes heard for a distinct tradition of Arakanese writing, with talk of 'Arakanese script' and 'Arakanese literature', often linked with the alleged antiquity of the dialect. This is not an appropriate place to discuss such claims, but it is perhaps relevant to sound a note of caution, since pride of race can generate an enthusiasm not justified by the evidence so far available, and unwary students of the dialect may be misled.

As regards script, the position tends to be confused by the presence in Arakan of a good dozen inscriptions in Sanskrit and Pali, written in Indian scripts dating from periods between the fifth and eleventh centuries AD (Thàn Thùn 1964 ch.1; Johnston 1943, Pamela Gutman pers.comm.). Inscriptions in the 'Arakanese language' and 'Arakanese script' on the other hand seem to be no older than the fifteenth century (Forchhammer 1891:39). The probability is that the earlier inscriptions were written by a people who had no ethnic or linguistic connection with the Arakanese (San Shwe Bu 1960:488).

Nonetheless the existence of the earlier inscriptions has led Arakanese enthusiasts to trace a direct descent from the Brahmi, Kushan and Gupta scripts to Arakanese Rakkhavanna (e.g. Û Tha Thùn 1959:41; Aun Tha Û 1966:8), ignoring the alternative, and on the face of it more likely, hypothesis that the Arakanese acquired their script much later from central Burma – a hypothesis which would remove the aura of age from the culture. On the other hand, some of the letters shown as fifteenth to eighteenth century Rakkhavanna (È C 1958:3) do differ from inscriptional Burmese – particularly the letters *bh*, *r* and *s*; and the formulae used for reciting the alphabet and syllabary are certainly not all the same as those of SB (Bá Thèin 1968).

As regards 'Arakanese literature', apart from a considerable body of folk songs (e.g. Bá San 1966:20ff.), which are presumably an oral tradition later committed to writing, there seem to be no works primarily intended for reading which are entirely in the Arakanese dialect.

Texts written before the modern period contain some Arakanisms of spelling and vocabulary. For example:

<i>shyac-che</i>	for WB	<i>hrac-chay</i>	(1521 inscription: Forchhammer 1891:38)
<i>pī</i>		<i>pe:</i>	(1594 inscription: Forchhammer 1891:39 and Ou'-ka Mīn-ñō 1968:9)
<i>cuiṇ</i>		<i>cañ</i>	(Forchhammer 1891:39)
<i>jā-kui lā:</i>		<i>bhay-kui swā:</i>	(c.1800 poem: Rəwein-dá 1959:254)

These features however are not consistent, and are used alongside forms regarded as Standard Burmese rather than Arakanese. For example:

<i>kampay</i>	not	<i>*kampe</i>	(the 1521 inscription)
<i>hrwe</i>		<i>*hrwi</i>	(the 1594 inscription)
<i>swā:</i>		<i>*lā:</i>	(1800 poem: 256)
<i>bhay</i>		<i>*jā</i>	(1800 poem: 256)

The inconsistency makes it difficult to appreciate fervent exclamations such as: "In this poem the Kīn Hsaya writes *paññā-hi* [instead of *paññāhyi*], so unmistakably revealing his Arakanese origins. He deserves high praise for this unswerving loyalty and love for his race" (Rəwein-dá 1959:251).

Articles written since the war in a spirit of linguistic revivalism come nearer to reproducing the Arakanese dialect in writing. They use some spellings designed to show AR pronunciations (mainly *ī* for *e*), and AR forms (e.g. *hi*, *kha*, *pain*, *rā* for WB *hri/hyi*, *khai*., *lui*, *sā*), but unfortunately these are often interspersed throughout (e.g. Bá ðèin 1968) with suffixes appropriate to formal Burmese and not used in colloquial AR (e.g. *saññ*, *so*, *sui*., *eññ*., *so-laññ*.), which destroys the authenticity of the text. Even where this difficulty is largely avoided (e.g. Aun Myá 1968), Burmese script is an unsuitable medium for the purpose and inconsistencies occur. For example: if *te* for AR /te/ = WB *tay*, why not *le* for AR /le/ = WB *lay*? And why keep the two spellings *ac* and *uik* for the one rhyme AR /ai'/? This approach is hardly better than the 'eh ba goom' style of writing for northern English.

Despite the existence therefore of many Arakanese writers whose works are rightly held in high esteem by Arakanese and central Burmese alike, the language of 'Arakanese literature' is unreliable material for serious linguistic research.

### 2.1.5 SOURCE OF MATERIAL

The material given in the following pages is in the dialect of the Sit-twe District, which has high prestige and tends to be regarded as the standard for Arakan. Most of the notes and recordings were made in 1969 in Sit-twe, the administrative centre for the whole Arakan Division; in Myó-hàung, formerly Myauk-ù, the old cultural capital of the Arakanese; and in Kyauk-taw, 30 miles up the Kaladan river north of Sit-twe, near the Maha Mú-ní pagoda which used to house the famous image of the Buddha so much coveted by the kings east of the mountains. Material collected on this visit is supplemented by notes made on a shorter stay, without a tape-recorder, in 1961.

I made two usable recordings of unprepared speech: one in Sit-twe by Û ða Hnìn, a native of Myó-hàung but resident in Sit-twe for some years, in which he tells his younger colleagues in the Health Department about the work of the Red Cross; and the other in Myó-hàung by Dó Má ða Sein, a lady who had been living in Myó-hàung for 15 years, but had spent her early childhood in Cox's Bazaar. She recounts some of the legends of Cox to her children.

These recordings, when transcribed, provided texts on which most of the analysis is based. Additional material was acquired by directly questioning informants on points not adequately covered by the texts, and by noting down remarks made by friends and hosts talking among themselves.

### 2.1.6 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express here my deep gratitude to Û ða Hnìn, who recorded so clearly for me in Sit-twe, and to Dó Má ða Sein, who recorded in Myó-hàung; to Û Òun Tin and Û Bá ðèin of Sit-twe, who helped with the transcription and patiently answered questions; to Dr Hlá Myín, who housed, fed and looked after me in Sit-twe, and Dó ðàn ðàn for her hospitality and helpful suggestions; to Dr È, who not only fed me throughout my stay in Kyauk-taw, but found time, in spite of a dauntingly heavy professional load, to arrange accommodation, show me round, find suitable informants, entertain me and look after my every need; to Û Thùn Hlain, also of Kyauk-taw, for advice and encouragement; to Û Û ða Thùn who kindly gave up time to be my guide and counsellor in Myó-hàung; to Û Aun Pyé

Zoun, attendant at the Myó-hàung circuit house, whose generosity took him far beyond the bounds of duty in helping me in innumerable ways, and finally to all the others, not least the committee of the Arakanese Culture Association, who put themselves out to give me advice and see that I found what I was looking for.

## 2.2 OUTLINE PHONOLOGY

### 2.2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

#### 2.2.1.1 TONES

heavy	/ṵ/
creaky	/ṵ̰/
low	/+ /
stop	/+ ' /
weak	/ə /

#### 2.2.1.2 RHYMES

Open syllables:	weak						
	full	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	( <i>ε</i> )	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>
Closed syllables:	nasal	<i>ein</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>ain</i>	<i>aun</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>oun</i>
	stop	<i>ei'</i>	<i>ε'</i>	<i>ai'</i>	<i>au'</i>	<i>o'</i>	<i>ou'</i>

#### 2.2.1.3 HEADS

					with medial /y/	with medial /r/	with medial /w/
<i>g</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>by</i>	<i>gr</i>	<i>br</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>py</i>	<i>kr</i>	<i>pr</i>
<i>kh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>sh θ</i>	<i>phy</i>	<i>chr</i>	<i>phr</i>
<i>ŋ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ñ</i>		<i>my</i>	<i>ŋr</i>	<i>mr</i>
<i>hŋ</i>	<i>hn</i>	<i>hm</i>	<i>hñ</i>		<i>hmy</i>	( <i>?hgr</i> )	<i>hmr</i>
( <i>'</i> )	<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	( <i>ly</i> )		
<i>h</i>	<i>hl</i>	<i>hw</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>hr</i>	( <i>hly</i> )		

Medial /w/ occurs  
with all initials except:  
/w/ itself  
' (since /'w/ would be  
equivalent to initial /w-/)  
h (since /hw/ is already  
listed among the initials)

### 2.2.2 PHONEME DESCRIPTION

Phonemes are as for SB except as set out below:

/ein, ei'; oun, ou'/: the vowels here are sometimes less diphthongal than in SB – sometimes close enough for open-syllable /i, u/ to be mistaken for them in rapid speech. Some speakers use the non-diphthongal pronunciation more than others, and some use both.

/ɛn, ɛ'/: vowel as in SB /ɛ'/

/ɔn, ɔ'/: open back rounded vowel; more open than the vowel in RP English *John*

/r, hr/: apical flapped or rolled; voiced and breathed

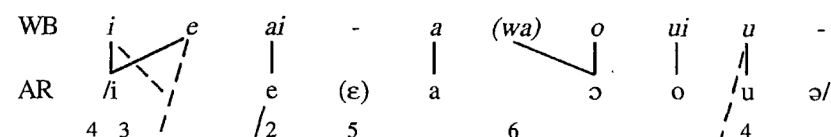
## 2.2.3 COMPARISON WITH WB (NUMBERS REFER TO NOTES IN 2.3 BELOW)

### 2.2.3.1 TONES

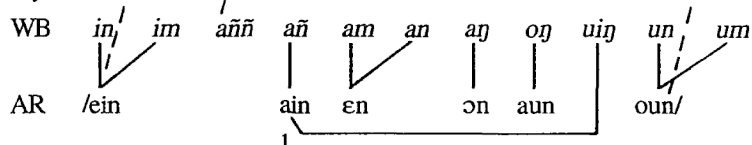
These are generally as for SB (see note 13 in §2.3.1 below).

### 2.2.3.2 RHYMES

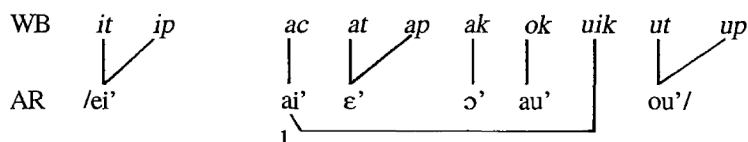
Open syllables



Closed nasal syllables

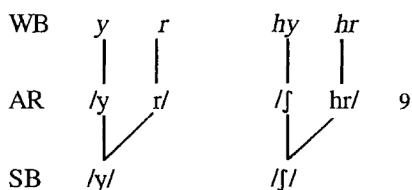


Closed stop syllables



### 2.2.3.3 HEADS

These are generally as for SB except:



## 2.3 NOTES

## 2.3.1 PHONEMES

(1) WB Rhymes in *ac*, *uik* and *añ*, *uiṇ* merge in AR:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>cac</i>	/sai'/	/si'/	be genuine
<i>cuik</i>	/sai'/	/sai'/	implant
<i>pyañ</i>	/pyain/	/pyin/	timber
<i>pruiṇ</i>	/prain/	/pyain/	compete

There are however a few words in *ac*, *añ* for which informants used an SB pronunciation. They said some elderly people still used pronunciations showing the regular correspondences:

WB	obsolescent AR	modern AR = SB	
<i>paccaññi</i>	/pai'-sè/	/pyi'-sì/	thing
<i>saññā</i>	/θain-ñā/	/θin-ñā/	mark
<i>paññā</i>	/pain-ñā/	/pyin-ñā/	learning

These words clearly have loan pronunciations since the rhymes /i', in/ do not otherwise exist in the AR inventory.

Another small group of words in *-ñ* are pronounced with AR /ɛn/ instead of the /ain/ one would expect:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>wiññāñ</i>	/wí-ñɛn/	/wí-ñin/	soul
<i>paṭiññāñ</i>	/pədein-ñɛn/	/pədein-ñin/	undertaking

The AR rhyme suggests WB *ān* (*an*) which would in fact be closer to the original Pali: *wiññāṇa*, *paṭiññāṇa*; however, *uyyāñ* (from Pali *uyyāna*) conforms to type:

<i>uyyāñ</i>	/wəyain/	/ú-yin/	garden
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Two other words in *añ* exhibited an irregular correspondence:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>ñañ.</i>	/ñé, ñí/	/ñín/	night
<i>hñañ:</i>	/hñè, hñì/	/hñìn/	oppress

(2) Words in WB *aññ*, which vary between /i/, /e/ and /ɛ/ in SB, correspond as a rule with AR /e/:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>kraññ.</i>	/kré/	/cí/	look
<i>praññ.</i>	/pré/	/pyé/	be full
<i>thaññ.</i>	/thé/	/thé/	put in

Some words however are pronounced AR /ain/, suggesting WB *añ*:

<i>kraññ</i>	/krain/	/ci/	be clear
<i>khyaññ</i>	/chain/	/chì/	tie

<i>caññ:cim</i>	/sain-zein/	/sì-zein/	luxury
<i>laññ-parj:</i>	/lain-phòn/	/lɛ-bìn/	neck

Another word pronounced with the AR /ain/ rhyme is written WB *āy* – perhaps it was once *aññ*:

<i>alampāy</i>	/əlen-pain/	/əlan-bɛ/	snake-bite healing
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(3) AR merges WB *i* and *e* in /i/. For example:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>khyī</i>	/chi/	/chi/	carry
<i>khye</i>	/chi/	/che/	cancel

Some words however escape this merger:

WB	AR = SB	
<i>cetanā</i>	/se-dəna/	goodwill
<i>wedana</i>	/we-dəna/	suffering
<i>kywe:</i>	/cwè/	feed
<i>le:</i>	/lè/	bow, four
<i>te:</i>	/tè/	song
<i>pe</i>	/pɛ/	foot (measure)
<i>khywe:</i>	/chwe/	sweat

There is probably a variety of explanations for these anomalies. *Cetanā* and *wedanā* are loans from Pali, which may not be subject to the same rules of correspondence in this respect as native words. *Kywe:* is spelt *klwaññ* in Pagan inscriptions, and may be regarded as conforming to the rule WB *aññ* = AR /e/. *Le:*, if pronounced AR /li/ in conformity with other *e* rhymes, would be homophonous with the obscene word /li/ 'penis'. It is true that *le:* 'be heavy' is pronounced AR /li/, but this is a verb, which greatly reduces the opportunities for misunderstanding. *Te:* and *pe*, informants thought, may be comparatively recent loans from SB, imported complete with pronunciation. *Khywe:* is unlikely to fall into this category: perhaps the SB pronunciation has been adopted because the now obsolescent pronunciation AR /khwi/ is homophonous with the AR for 'dog'.

(4) Words with the rhymes *i* (or *e*) and *u*, which normally correspond with AR /i/ and /u/, are regularly pronounced /ein/ and /oun/ if they have a nasal initial. For example:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>nī</i>	/nein/	/ni/	be red
<i>ne</i>	/nein/	/ne/	stay
<i>mī:</i>	/mèin/	/mì/	fire
<i>me:</i>	/mèin/	/mè/	ask
<i>ṇri</i>	/ṇréin/	/ṇi/	be caught
<i>ṇe:</i>	/ṇèin/	/ṇè/	gaze vacantly
<i>hñī</i>	/hñein/	/hñi/	smell raw
<i>nwe:</i>	/nwèin/	/nwè/	be warm
<i>ṇū</i>	/ṇoun/	/ṇu/	promontory
<i>nu</i>	/nóun/	/nú/	be tender
<i>nū</i>	/noun/	/nu/	be leprous

Some speakers were not consistent in applying this extended nasality, and there were certain words for which informants said both nasalised and unnasalised pronunciations were used:

<i>mre</i>	/mrein, mri/	/mye/	earth
<i>'ami</i>	/əméin, əmí/	/əmí/	mother
<i>ḡwe</i>	/ḡwein, ḡwe/ (sic)	/ḡwe/	silver
<i>nū:</i>	/nòun, nù/	/nù/	be soft
<i>mū</i>	/moun, mu/	/mu/	behave
<i>'ahmū:</i>	/əhmòun, əhmù/	/əhmù/	leader

The following words were said to have no extended nasality at all:

<i>'aḡwe.</i>	/aḡwé, aḡwí/	/aḡwé/	vapour
<i>mwe.</i>	/mwé/ (sic)	/mwé/	sleep
<i>ḡrū-cū</i>	/ḡru-zu/	/ḡu-zu/	grumble

The following words have nasal rhymes in AR even though they do not have nasal initials:

<i>chī:</i>	/shein/	/shì/	stop
<i>sī</i>	/θein/	/θi/	thread
<i>hyi, hri</i>	/fí, hí, héin/	/fí/	exist
<i>paḡ.-kū</i>	/pón-khoun/	/pín-gu/	spider

Three further words show irregular features:

<i>hmī</i>	/hme, hmwein, hmi/	/hmi/	catch
<i>nwe</i>	/nein, nwein/	/nwe/	hot season
<i>'ahmu</i>	/əhmóun, əhmú, əhmou'/	/əhmú/	deed

(5) The AR /ɛ/ rhyme occurs in few words, though one of them is of frequent occurrence. The only words I found were:

#### AR

/pyɛ/	(particle)	(emphasis)
/lɛ/	(interjection)	Here! Come!
/hɛ/	(appended interjection)	Hey!

In written texts attempting to show AR pronunciation /pyɛ/ is written *pyāy* – an SB spelling *pyay* would of course give AR /pyɛ/. I found no written examples of the other two, and informants were doubtful about how they should be written.

/pyɛ/ has no exact counterpart in SB: it is used as a verb-sentence marker like SB /pi/ and as a sentence-final postposition like SB /pɛ/; and it sometimes suggests an appended appellative like SB /bya/. Examples are given in §2.3.3. Informants said there was a northern variant /pya/.

/lɛ/ seems to be used like SB /la/ or /kɛ/. For example:

AR	SB	
/lɛ – lai' -la-khá/	/la – lai' -la-gɛ́/	Come along then.
/lɛ – sà-lai'/	/kɛ – sà-lai'/	Right: eat up.

/Hɛ/ seems very like the SB appended interjection of the same form, and my sole example is perhaps a loan (see text at §2.4.2 (44)).

(6) The rhyme *a* following *w* sometimes corresponds to AR /ɔ/, as in WB *wā* = AR /wɔ̃/ 'bamboo'; and if the *w* is medial it may not occur in the AR pronunciation at all, as in WB *nwā* = AR /nɔ̃/ 'cow'. Informants were not consistent on this point: in one recording *rwa* is pronounced /rɔ̃/, /rwɔ̃/ and /rwa/ in the space of a few words.

The opposite merger also occurs occasionally. That is:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>bho.</i>	/phwá/	/phó/	cork
<i>-tō</i>	/-twɔ̃/	/-tɔ̃/	(honorific)

In spite of inconsistencies there seems to be no systematic distinction in AR between WB *wa* and *o*, and it is simplest to treat these two rhymes as having merged.

(7) There is a tendency sometimes to pronounce WB *khy* not as /ch/ but as /ʃ/:

<i>khyan</i>	/chɔ̃n, ʃɔ̃n/	/chin/	want to
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This tendency however is not sufficiently consistent or widespread to warrant merging the two heads in AR.

(8) Two forms show the correspondence AR /r/ = SB /d/ when preceded by close juncture; after a stop the correspondence is regular: AR /t/ = SB /t/:

<i>tay</i>	/te, re/	/tɛ, dɛ/	(verb-sentence marker)
<i>tui.</i>	/tó, ró/	/tó, dó/	(plural)

These two /r/s probably began as fast-tempo variants of /d/, but now they are pronounced /r/ even in slow tempo, and are written with *r* in texts attempting to reproduce AR pronunciation.

(9) The correspondences below are generally well observed:

WB	AR	SB
<i>hy, hly, shy</i>	/ʃ/	/ʃ/
<i>hr</i>	/hr/	/ʃ/

However, there are some discrepancies. These may arise because a WB spelling has become altered at some point in history, or because AR speakers who hear much SB have changed from /hr/ to /ʃ/. The latter is evidently the case for example with WB *hrwe* 'gold' = SB and AR /ʃwe/. Informants reported that the pronunciation AR /hrwi/, which is what one would expect from the usual correspondences, does exist but is obsolescent. In a list of 35 words with initial SB /ʃ/ the following discrepancies emerged (WB spellings are taken from the spelling book MSTK 1986):

WB	AR	SB	
<i>hrū</i>	/ʃu/	/ʃu/	breathe
<i>hrañ.</i>	/ʃáin/	/ʃín/	squirrel
<i>hruik</i>	/ʃai'/	/ʃai'/	sob
<i>hron</i>	/ʃaun/	/ʃaun/	avoid
<i>hraŋ:</i>	/ʃɔ̃n/	/ʃín/	be clear
<i>hrup</i>	/ʃou'/	/ʃou'/	be confused
<i>coŋ.hrok</i>	/-ʃau'/	/-ʃau'/	look after



The remaining words, in which AR pronunciation agreed with WB spelling, are the following:

<i>hri-khui:</i>	do obeisance	<i>tahri</i>	equal to
<i>rhe.</i>	front	<i>hre:</i>	former time
<i>rhwe.</i>	move	<i>hraññ</i>	be long
<i>thaŋ-hrā:</i>	be conspicuous	<i>hru</i>	look
<i>hrwam.</i>	mud	<i>hrwam:</i>	be wet, juicy
<i>hyac</i>	eight	<i>hyañ</i>	compare
<i>ahyañ:</i>	yoke	<i>hrwaŋ</i>	be joyful
<i>hrum.</i>	wrinkle	<i>hlyo.</i>	slacken
<i>hlyō</i>	wash	<i>hlyo</i>	slide
<i>hlyui</i>	insert	<i>hlyap</i>	flash
<i>shyam:</i>	Shan	<i>hlyok</i>	proceed, address
<i>hyum:</i>	lose	<i>'ashyaŋ</i>	master
<i>'ahraŋ</i>	alive	<i>hlyā</i>	tongue
<i>hrā</i>	seek	<i>hrā:</i>	be scarce

The following SB words were said not to have counterparts in AR:

<i>/ʃwè/</i>	be soaked	<i>/ʃan/</i>	overflow
<i>/ʃá/</i>	nick	<i>/ʃó/</i>	set on fire
<i>/kàin -jàin/</i>	be devoted to		

The following AR words appear not to have counterparts in SB:

<i>/əʃe/</i>	child, little	<i>/ʃon/</i>	thing
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The following two words have forms with AR /h/ for SB /ʃ/:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>hyi, hri</i>	<i>/ʃí, hí/</i>	<i>/ʃí/</i>	exist
<i>'ahrin</i>	<i>/əhein/</i>	<i>/əʃein/</i>	force

(10) The following words with medial *r* are sometimes misspelt in WB. The MSTK spelling agrees with AR pronunciation in the following words:

<i>'akyaŋ:khyaŋ:</i>	<i>/əchòŋ-chòŋ/</i>	<i>/əchìn-jìn/</i>	reciprocally
<i>khyoŋ:</i>	<i>/chàun/</i>	<i>/chàun/</i>	stream

It disagrees in the following:

<i>sī-khyaŋ:</i>	<i>/θəkhòŋ/</i>	<i>/θəchìn/</i>	song
<i>khyup</i>	<i>/khrou'/</i>	<i>/chou'/</i>	sew
<i>khyoŋ:</i>	<i>/khraun/</i>	<i>/chàun/</i>	throat
<i>hṇak-pyo</i>	<i>/ṇəprò/</i>	<i>/ṇəpyò/</i>	banana
<i>praŋ</i>	<i>/pyon/</i>	<i>/pyin/</i>	prepare

The last example, */pyon/*, could be an SB pronunciation that slipped into my recordings.

(11) Medial AR /r/ and /w/ occur together in some words where SB rarely or never has medial /yw/:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>mrwe</i>	/mrwein/	/mwe (mywe)/	snake
<i>'amrwak</i>	/əmrwə'/	/əmwɛ' (əmywɛ')/	utterance
<i>'akrwe:</i>	/əkɾwì/	/əcwè/	debt
<i>krwak</i>	/krwə'/	/cwɛ'/	mouse

(12) A few words have voiceless nasal initials in AR but not in WB or SB:

<i>nā-maññ</i>	/hna-me/	/nan-mɛ/	name
<i>myañ:</i>	/hmyàin/	/myìn/	line
<i>man-kyaññ:</i>	/hmən-jò/	/məjì/	amarind

(13) Some words show differences of tone between AR and SB or WB:

<i>ku</i>	/kù/	/kú/	give medical treatment
<i>nwam:</i>	/nwɛn/	/nùn/	wilt
<i>se:</i>	/θí/	/θè/	yet
<i>laññ:</i>	/lɛ́/	/lɛ̀/	also
<i>twe</i>	/tí/	/tɛ/	(plural)

SB also has a few words that are often spoken with a voiceless nasal not present in WB. For example:

WB	SB	
<i>-nuɪŋ-</i>	/-nain-, -hnain-/	be able to
<i>-mi-</i>	/-mí-, -hmí-/	inadvertently
<i>mrā:</i>	/hmyà/	arrow

The AR aspiration is probably an example of the same phenomenon, and may not be reliable evidence for reconstruction.

## 2.3.2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

### 2.3.2.1 VOICING

Voicing occurs in AR only with plain initials, not with both plain and aspirate as in SB; nor does it occur with /θ/. For example:

AR	SB	
/kàun-gàun/	/kàun-gàun/	well
/shì-phò wò-khá/	/shè-bò wà-gá/	cost of medicine
/θɔn-dɛn/	/θin-dàn/	class
/hmaun-thè/	/əhmaun-dè/	in the dark
/θu-na-brú/	/θu-na-byú/	nurse
/θɔn-phù-re/	/θin-bù-dɛ/	once studied
/wa-jwɛ'/	/wa-ju'/	end of Lent
/əchɔn-chɔn/	/əchìn-jìn/	reciprocally
/swɛn-zwɛn sà-zà/	/sún-zún sà-zà/	at personal sacrifice
/ləphɔ'-re-shain/	/ləphɛ'-ye-zain/	tea-shop
/rɔ-ga-θɛ/	/yɔ-ga-ðɛ/	invalid

This pattern of voicing is matched in SB after weakened syllables, where, like all voicing in AR, plain initials are voiced and aspirate initials exempt. For example:

SB /ti'/ + /əkaun/	=	/təgaun/	one animal
SB /ti'/ + /əkha/	=	/təkha/	one time

This feature of AR throws light on the etymology of some SB words. In an SB word containing a syllable with a voiced initial it is impossible to tell whether the syllable would be plain, aspirate or voiced in an unvoiced environment. The AR pronunciation, with its non-voicing of aspirates, shows whether it is aspirate or not. For example:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>paŋ.kū</i>	/pón-khoun/	/pín-gu/	spider
<i>koŋ:kaŋ</i>	/kàun-khɔn/	/kàun-gin/	sky
<i>laññ-paŋ:</i>	/lain-phɔn/	/lɛ-bìn/	neck
<i>wam:puik</i>	/wèn-phai'/	/wùn-bai'/	stomach
<i>tan-tā:</i>	/tèn-thà/	/tədà/	bridge

The AR voicing pattern also applies to some Pali loanwords in which WB shows a voiced aspirate:

<i>saṅghā</i>	/θɔn-kha/	/θin-ga/	the monkhood
<i>Māgadha</i>	/Ma-gəthá/	/Ma-gədá/	Māgadha
<i>khandhā</i>	/khen-tha/	/khan-da/	body
<i>adhika</i>	/əthí-ká/	/ədí-ká/	central
<i>Bodhi</i>	/Bò-thí/	/Bò-dí/	Bodhi (tree)
<i>lobha</i>	/lò-phá/	/lò-bá/	greed
<i>sabho</i>	/θəphò/	/θəbò/	nature
<i>bhaya</i>	/phəyá/	/bəyá/	danger

This pattern does not however apply to all such words. WB voiced aspirate consonants in the following words are pronounced as voiced consonants, as in SB:

<i>Māgha</i>	Sakka	<i>dhamma</i>	law
<i>adhamma</i>	lawless	<i>adhippāy</i>	meaning
<i>adhipati</i>	dictator	<i>saddhā</i>	faith
<i>Buddha</i>	Buddha	<i>dullabha</i>	temporary (monkhood)
<i>bhāwanā</i>	meditation	<i>sambhāra</i>	accumulated merit
<i>sabhāwa</i>	natural	<i>kambhā</i>	world

The following two words also, though spelt with WB voiced aspirates, and pronounced with aspirate initials in IT, are pronounced in AR, as in SB, with voiced initials:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>dhā:</i>	/dà/	/dà/	knife
<i>jhe:</i>	/zì/	/zè/	market

The following voiced AR initials for WB aspirates are perhaps loan pronunciations from SB:

<i>khu</i>	/gú/	/gú/	now
<i>khoy:</i>	/gàun/	/gàun/	head
<i>thok</i>	/dau'/	/dau'/	prop
<i>khoyŋ</i>	/jaun/	/jaun/	cranny

<i>khruì</i>	/əgrɔ/	/jɔ/	horn
<i>thu-thaṇṇ</i>	/dú-de/	/dú-dɛ/	thickness

## 2.3.2.2 WEAKENING

Weakening in AR occurs in the same way, and with the same voicing pattern, as in SB. For example:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>ṇā:kro</i>	/ṇəgrɔ/	/ṇəjɔ/	fried fish
<i>ṇā:khrok</i>	/ṇəkhrau'/	/ṇəchau'/	dried fish

AR however makes more extensive use of weakening than SB. For example:

<i>la-kha</i>	/ləkhá/	/lá-gá/	salary
<i>min:ma</i>	/məmá/	/meìn-má/	woman
<i>mrwe-hok</i>	/məhau'/	/mwe-hau'/	cobra
<i>chī-mī:</i>	/shəmèin/	/shi-mì/	oil lamp
<i>re-nam</i>	/rənɛn/	/ye-nan/	oil
<i>Ū: Sā Thwan:</i>	/Ū ʰəThwèn/	/Ū ʰə Thùn/	Ū ʰə Thùn
<i>nerā</i>	/nəra/	/ne-ya/	place
<i>ū:rī:</i>	/wəri/	/ù-yì/	uncle
<i>re-khai</i>	/rəkhè/	/ye-gè/	ice
<i>che:líp</i>	/shəlei'/	/shè-lei'/	cigarette
<i>jhī:sī:</i>	/zəθi/	/zi-ṭī/	wild plum
<i>bū:sī:</i>	/bəθi/	/bù-ṭi/	gourd
<i>lū-pyui</i>	/ləbyo/	/lu-byo/	bachelor
<i>ññī-ma</i>	/ñəmá/	/ñi-má/	younger sister
<i>pru-cu-kat-ra-re</i>	/prúzu-ge'-rə-re/	/pyúzu-já-yá-dɛ/	had to tend

The following AR words and expressions have no morpheme-to-morpheme equivalent in SB, but are further illustrations of the prevalence of weakening in AR. The WB forms are not attested in writing: they are reconstructed on the basis of what the AR pronunciation suggests.

WB	weakened AR	unweakened AR	
<i>ye-ke</i>	/yə-ge/	/ye-ge/	that being so
<i>re-sum:</i>	/rə-θòun/	/re-θòun/	bathroom
<i>kay-nuiṇ-phui.-lā:</i>	/ke-hnain-phə-là/	/ke-hnain-phó-là/	whether I could save
<i>pyok-lā:-kha-re</i>	/pyau'-lə-khá-re/	/pyau'-là-khá-re/	disappeared
<i>charā-bā:-ka</i>	/shəra-bə-gá/	/shəra-bà-gá/	from the teacher

AR also has weakening in the following words, which, though not compounds, have full syllables in SB:

WB	AR	SB	
<i>watthu</i>	/wəthú/	/wu'thú/	novel
<i>uyyāñ</i>	/wəyain/	/ú-yin/	garden
<i>pinnai-sī:</i>	/pənè-ṭi/	/peìn-nè-ṭi/	jackfruit

Weakening is also used regularly by some speakers with what in SB is the formative [repetition]:

<i>co-co</i>	/səzò/	/sò-zò/	early
<i>koŋ:koŋ:</i>	/kəgàun/	/kàun-gàun/	well
<i>tit-tit</i>	/tədei'/	/tei'tei'/	quietly
<i>pup-pup</i>	/pəbou'/	/pou'pou'/	rotten
<i>pwa-pwa</i>	/pəbwá/	/pwá-bwá/	unkempt
<i>lway-lway</i>	/ləlwɛ/	/lwɛ-lwɛ/	easily
<i>phrū-phrū</i>	/phəphru/	/phyu-byu/	white
<i>myā:myā:</i>	/məmyà/	/myà-myà/	many
<i>mran-mran</i>	/məmɾen/	/myan-myan/	quickly
<i>rui-rui se-se</i>	/rəro θəθe/	/yo-yo θe-ðe/	respectfully
<i>cut-cut pai.pai</i>	/səzou' pəbé/	/sou'sou' pé-bé/	squalid
<i>ce.ce. cum-cum</i>	/səzí səzoun/	/sí-zí soun-zoun/	fully

In spite of AR's more extensive use of weakening compared with SB, there are some words with weak syllables in SB which are full syllables in AR:

<i>khu-nac-khu</i>	/khənai'-khú/	/khun-nəkhú/	seven items
<i>krāsapate:</i>	/kra-θɔ'-pədi/	/ca-ðəbədè/	Thursday
or	/kra-θɛ'-pədi/		
<i>tam-khā:</i>	/tən-khà/	/təgà/	door
<i>tan-tā:</i>	/tən-thà/	/tədà/	bridge
<i>tan-khui:</i>	/tən-khò/	/təgò/	greatness
<i>tan-khū:</i>	/tən-khù/	/təgù/	Təgù (month)
<i>tan-choŋ-mum:</i>	/tən-shaun-bòun/	/təzaun-mòun/	Təzaung-mòun (month)
<i>tan-cak</i>	/tən-zɔ'/	/təzɛ'/	eaves
<i>tan-toŋ</i>	/tən-daun/	/tədaun/	elbow
<i>tan-tuiŋ:</i>	/tən-dàin/	/tədàin/	wall

### 2.3.2.3 INDUCED CREAKY TONE

Induced creaky tone occurs in AR as in SB:

AR	/ŋa/	+	/ko/	=	/ŋá-go/	to me
AR	/hnəshe/	+	/hnai'/	=	/hnəshé-hnai'/	twenty-two

There is one interesting difference: AR does not use creaky tone for verb-sentence attributes as SB does:

AR	/dou'khá rau'-nein-re lu-dí/
SB	/dou'khá yau'-ne-dé lu-de/
	trouble reach-be-REL person-PL
	people who are in trouble
AR	/thà-re sei'de'/
SB	/thà-dé sei'da'/
	place-REL attitude
	the attitude (they) adopt

AR	/ko lou'-nein-re əlou'/
SB	/ko lou'-ne-dé əlou'/
	one do-be-REL work
	the work one is doing
AR	/mrwein kai'-te wedəna/
SB	/mwe kai'-té wedəna/
	snake bite-REL injury
	injury from a snakebite

## 2.3.3 GRAMMAR

The following notes cover some of the particles and common words found in AR but used differently or not at all in SB. The grammatical classifications are the same as those in Okell (1969), and are abbreviated as indicated in the foreword to these three Burmese dialect papers. Many examples are taken from the texts of which transcriptions are given in §2.4 below. The locations of the examples in the texts are shown as indicated in the foreword.

(1) /ci/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /chì/; voiceable. AR has voicing, suggesting a plain initial where SB has an aspirate.

AR	/wedəna-fən-go-jì	θɔ'-θɔ'	mə-hou'-θi/	rec
SB	/wedəna-f'in-go-jì	θe'-θe'	mə-hou'-θè-bù/	
	injury-victim-ACC-only simple-simple not-be.so-yet-VSMK			
	It is not only the patient (who needs encouragement).			

(2) /krà/ aV adv = SB /chà/; voiceable. Note AR plain for SB aspirate initial, as for /ci/ above.

AR	/khrau'-nari-grà	tə-kha/	inf
SB	/chau'-nayi-jà	tə-kha/	
	six-hour-between one-time		
	every six hours		

(3) /kha/ common location noun and special head noun = SB /tɔ́, yin/. Note AR plain for SB aspirate initial, as above.

AR	/rɔ̌-tə-rɔ̌	chá-re.	Chá-kha	...	sekà-ló	la-kha/ 3.6-7
SB	/ywa-tə-ywa	chá-dɛ.	Chá-dɔ́	...	sigà-ló	la-dɔ́/
	village-one-village found-VSMK found-time increase-ing come-time					
	(He) founded a village. Afterwards, when it grew bigger					
AR	/əchein cá-kha/ 3.19					
SB	/əchein cá-yin/					
	time	fall-when				
	when the time comes round					
AR	/lu-lé	mə-fí	sho-kha/ 3.6			
SB	/lu-lɛ̌	mə-fí-bù	sho-dɔ́/			
	person-also	not-live	say-when			
	as nobody lived there					

Also used not as special head noun:

- AR /wedəna-ʃən-ró-go prúzú-re əkha-ma/ rec  
 SB /wedəna-ʃin-dó-go pyúzú-dé əkha-hma/  
 injury-victim-PL-ACC tend-REL time-at  
 when (one) is looking after a patient

(4) /khá/ auxiliary verb = SB /khé/

- AR /lou'ŋən-go thà-khá-prì-ge/ 1.16  
 SB /lou'ŋàn-go thà-gé-pì-dó/  
 work-ACC set-there-finish-when  
 setting (his) work aside
- AR /zì-go là-khá-re/ 2.11  
 SB /zè-go θwà-gé-dɛ/  
 market-ACC go-there-VSMK  
 (Her sister) had gone out shopping.

AR /khá/ is frequent after auxiliary verb /là/, which weakens to /ləkhá/, q.v. See also auxiliary verb /lə'./

(5) /hnòn/ sentence final postposition = SB /nɔ, pɔ/

- AR /mə-ʃən-mə-lòn-zɔ hí-gələ mèin-ge'-hnòn/ 1.33  
 SB /mə-ʃin-mə-lin-da fí-yin-lè mè-já-nɔ/  
 not-clear-not-light-thing be-also ask-PL-won't.you  
 Now if there's anything that's not quite clear, please ask me about it.
- AR /cèzù tounprən-chən-re-hnònra/ 1.23  
 SB /cèzù tounbyan-jin-da-bó/  
 gratitude return-want-VSMK-of.course  
 It is only natural that (he) should want to make some recompense.

(6) /phó/ subordinate marker with verb for complement and attribute = SB /phó/

- AR /chìhmwèn-phó mə-kàun-là/ 1.8  
 SB /chìmùn-bó mə-kàun-là/  
 praise-for not-be.good-Q  
 Isn't (that) an admirable thing?
- AR /pai'-phó thà-zɔ-ba/ 2.17  
 SB /pyi'-phó thà-da-ba/  
 throw.out-for put-VSMK-POL  
 (I) put (it) there to be thrown away.

This is often used marking attributes where SB would use /mé/:

- AR /θən-phó pou'go/ 1.12  
 SB /θin-mé pou'go/  
 learn-for person  
 the prospective student
- AR /lou'-rá-phó sɔ-tí/ 1.1  
 SB /lou'-yá-mé ha-de/  
 do-must-to thing-PL  
 the things that have to be done

In addition to these uses, which are close to SB, AR /phó/ is used frequently enough in incomplete sentences to warrant a further classification as a verb-sentence marker = SB /mε, yá-mε, mǎló/:

AR /phyɔ̌-thé-lai'-pain fí-ne-phó/ 2.26  
 SB /phyɔ̌-thé-lai'-θəlo fí-ne-mε/  
 warm-put.in-just-as if be-be-for  
 It would be as if (they) were all warmed up together.

AR /kε-hnain-phə-là cəno kù-θá-bə-rá-zi/ 1.20  
 SB /kε-hnain-mə-là cəno kù-θá-bə-yá-ze/  
 save-can-will-Q I treat-treat-POL-may-let  
 Please may I treat (him) and try and save his life?

AR /-phəlà/ is weakened from /-phó-là/.

AR /prə-phó-là/ inf  
 SB /pyɔ̌-yá-məlà/  
 speak-for-Q  
 Should I speak now? (preparing to record)

AR /fí-phó/ inf  
 SB /fí-yámε/  
 be-for  
 (He) must be (at home). (answer to 'Will he be there?')

AR /ri chò-phó-là/ inf  
 SB /ye chò-mǎló-là/  
 water wash-for-Q  
 Are you going to wash?

AR /phó/ is also used with /pyε/ = SB /tɔ̌-mε/: for examples see under /pyε/ below.

(7) /kε'/ auxiliary verb = SB /cá/; voiceable

AR /θəun-yau' nein-ge'-te-le'/ 2.2  
 SB /θəun-yau' ne-já-dε-dé/  
 three-person live-PL-VSMK-it.says  
 The three (of them) lived there together, the story goes.

AR /kε'/ has a variant /krε'/ used in written texts but not in my spoken material; it is perhaps a regional variant.

(8) /kε/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yin, dé/; voiceable

AR /yɔ̌n-pain θai'sa sho-prì-ge/ 1.16  
 SB /ɛ̌di-lo θi'sa sho-pì-yin/  
 that-way promise say-finish-when  
 after taking this oath

AR /pə-zaun sei'dε'-myò thà-brì lou'-rá-re-lè sho-ge/ 1.2  
 SB /bε-lo sei'da'-myò thà-bì lou'-yá-ðə-lè sho-yin/  
 what-like attitude-kind put-finish act-must-VSMK-Q say-if  
 the kind of attitude one ought to adopt is ...



- AR /dù thau'-prì-ge/ 1.4  
 SB /dù thau'-pì-dó/  
 knee support-finish-ing  
 kneeling down

Weakened before AR /lé/ = SB /è/

- AR /Kɾɔ'-Khri-ni lou'ɲèn əne-nén sho-ló jí-gə-lé/ 1.28  
 SB /Cɛ'-Che-ni lou'ɲàn əne-né sho-ló jí-yin-lè/  
 fowl-foot-red work status-with say-ing be-if-and  
 turning now to our work in the Red Cross

Like SB /dó/, AR /ke/ is also suffixed to a limited number of nouns, sometimes with weakening of the noun.

- AR /ye-ge/ 2.4  
 or /yɔge/ rec  
 SB /èdi-dó/  
 that-since  
 that being so

(9) /ké/ verb-sentence marker = SB /né/; voiceable

- AR /mə-phyo'-ké/ 3.21  
 SB /mə-phye'-né/  
 not-destroy-VSMK  
 Don't destroy (it).

(10) /ləkhá/ auxiliary verb = SB /θwà, lai'/. (cf. SB /la-gé/)

- AR /nu:n-ləkhá-re/ 1.7  
 SB /nu-ðwà-dɛ/  
 be.leprous-go-VSMK  
 (They) become lepers.  
 AR /pyau'-ləkhá-re-byɛ/ 2.49  
 SB /pyau'-θwà-da-bè/  
 disappear-go-VSMK-VSMK  
 (The symptoms) disappeared.  
 AR /krà-ləkhá-sɔ-nén/ rec  
 SB /cà-lai'-ta-né/  
 hear-go-thing-with  
 on hearing

(11) /le'/ auxiliary verb = SB /la, khé, θwà/

- AR /tɔ'-le'-te-byɛ/  
 SB /te'-la-da-bè/  
 ascend-come-VSMK-VSMK  
 (She) came up (into the house).

- AR /ñáza la-le'/ inf  
 SB /ñáne la-gé/  
 evening come-here  
 Come this evening.
- AR /ñòpa-le'-te/ 2.34  
 SB /myò-ðwà-dε/  
 float-go-VSMK  
 (She) felt faint.

The SB counterpart would be /la'/ (WB *lat*) which is now used in SB only in formal styles, and is generally described as 'euphonic'.

(12) /le'/ unclassified particle = SB /té/

- AR /nó tə-khwə'-si θau'-te-le'/ 2.4  
 SB /nó tə-khwε'-si θau'-tε-dé/  
 milk one-cup-each drink-VSMK-they.say  
 (They) used to drink a glass of milk each, so the story goes.

(13) /lé/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /lè, hmá/

- AR /ein-bré'lòun-lé cì-ló-pà-ló phrai'-ne-byε/ 2.39  
 SB /təein-lòun-lè Jou'-ló-thwè-lò phyi'-ne-da-bè/  
 house-all.over-also be.dirty-ing-be.dirty-ing be-be-VSMK  
 And the whole house was in a mess.
- AR /tə-yau'-lé mə-fí/ inf  
 SB /tə-yau'-hmá mə-fí-bù/  
 one-person-also not-be  
 Not a single person was there.
- AR /za-lé mə-fí/-inf  
 SB /ba-hmá mə-fí-bù/  
 what-even not-have  
 (I) haven't got anything.

(14) /lè/ sentence-final postposition = SB /lè/

- AR /za phrai'-ló-lè/ 2.16  
 SB /ba phyi'-ló-lè/  
 what happen-because-Q  
 Why?

(15) /ló/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /ló, pì/. In addition to occurring in most of the places where SB /ló/ is used (= 'because, -ing'), AR /ló/ is used before more auxiliary verbs than in SB, and after pre-verbs (= SB /pì, pì-dó/,) and frequently before /fí/ (cf. SB /sho-ló fí-yin, pha'-ló ne-ba-dε/).

- AR /sekà-ló la-kha/ 3.7  
 SB /sigà-ló la-dó/  
 be.populous-ing come-time  
 when (it) became populous

- AR /prúpɹɔn-ló thà-re/ 3.23  
 SB /pyúpyin-thà-dɛ/  
 repair-ing put-VSMK  
 (They) repaired (it).
- AR /we-ló chɔ'-pə-khá-sɔ/ 2.49  
 SB /wɛ-bì chɛ'-pyi'-khé-da/  
 buy-ing cook-throw-away-thing  
 (I) bought (some) and warmed (it).
- AR /la-ló khɔ-ge/ 1.15  
 SB /la-bì khɔ-yin/  
 come-ing fetch-if  
 if (they) come and fetch (him)
- AR /əθɔ' prɛn-ló hrɔn-la-re/ 1.22  
 SB /əθɛ' pyan-bì jin-la-dɛ/  
 life return-ing live-come-VSMK  
 (He) is saved from death.
- AR /po-ló hnáunhnè-zì-re/ rec  
 SB /po-bì hnáunhnè-ze-dɛ/  
 exceed-ing delay-cause-VSMK  
 (It) holds up (the dispersion) even more.
- AR /cá-ló θi-re/ 2.21 (adapted)  
 SB /cá-bì θe-dɛ/  
 fall-ing die-VSMK  
 (It) fell in and died.
- AR /wɔn-rau'-ló θɔn-re-kha/ rec  
 SB /win-yau'-ló θin-dé-əkha/  
 enter-arrive-ing study-REL-time  
 when (he) comes in and studies
- AR /zì là-ló jí-re/ 2.38  
 SB /zè θwà-ló ne-dɛ/  
 market go-ing be-VSMK  
 (She) had gone out shopping.
- AR /phyɔ-ló jí-re/ 2.25  
 SB /phyɔ-ne-dɛ/  
 infuse-ing be-VSMK  
 (It) is warmed up.
- AR /gú-thɔ'-thí ... kòkwe-ló jí-re/ 3.11  
 SB /gú-dɛ'-thí ... kòkwe-ló ne-dɛ/  
 now-period-up.to worship-ing be-VSMK  
 And even now (they) still worship (his image).

(16) /mɛ/ verb-sentence marker = SB /mɛ/

- AR /prɔ̀-prá-mɛ/ 1.1  
 SB /pyɔ̀-pyá-mɛ/  
 say-show-will  
 (I) will tell (you).

(17) /nén/ or /ná/ subordinate marker with noun for complement and attribute, co-ordinate marker = SB /né/

- AR /ŋə-ró əne-nén/ 1.3  
 SB /ŋə-dó əne-né/  
 1PL status-with  
 as regards ourselves
- AR /sáunfau'-yònpòn-nén/ 1.5  
 SB /sáunfau'-yìn-né/  
 look.after-while-with  
 while looking after (them)
- AR /e ətə'pyinña-nén θu-ró-re sìpwà mə-hra-ba/  
 SB /di əta'pyinña-né θu-dó-ha sìpwà mə-ʃa-ba-bù/  
 this skill-with they-PL-SUBJ profit not-look-POL  
 (They) do not use (their) skill for profit.
- AR /tagò-θe'tí-ná prézoun-khá-re/ 3.11  
 SB /tagò-θa'tí-né pyézoun-gé-dɛ/  
 power-majesty-with be full-there-VSMK  
 (He) had great powers.
- AR /e θeindo-ná zedido/ 3.21  
 SB /di θeindo-né zedido/  
 this ordination.hall-and pagoda  
 this ordination hall and pagoda

The difference between the two forms is regional: both forms are to be heard in the central area, but informants said /ná/ is used in the north and /nén/ in the south. Neither form is used with the function of SB /-né/ verb-sentence marker: see AR /ke/.

(18) /pa-yón/ verb-sentence marker = SB /dɛ, yé/

- AR /hlu-ba-yón/ 1.5  
 SB /hlu-ba-dɛ/  
 dedicate-POL-VSMK  
 (I) dedicate (myself).
- AR /hou'-pa-yón/ inf  
 SB /hou'-ké/  
 be.so-POL-VSMK  
 Yes.

(19) /pà/ common location noun = SB /shi/; voiceable

- AR /shəra-bə-gá/ (weakened from /-bà-gá/)  
 SB /shəyá-shi-gá/ 1.19  
 teacher-place-from  
 from the teacher
- AR /phərà-bà-ma/ 1.4  
 SB /phəyà-shi-hma/  
 God-place-at  
 before God

(20) /pain/ special head noun and subordinate noun for complement and attribute = SB /lo/; not voiced

- AR /phyɔ-thé-lai'-pain jí-ne-phó/ 2.26  
 SB /phyɔ-thé-lai'-θəlo jí-ne-mɛ/  
 warm-put.in-just-like be-be-for  
 It's as if it had all been warmed up together.
- AR /za ərò-gá za-pain khɔ-re sho-pain / rec  
 SB /ba əyò-gá bɛ-lo khɔ-dɛ sho-ðəlo/  
 what bone-SUBJ what-like call-VSMK say-like  
 like saying what bone is called what
- AR /ɔŋgəlei' əhme'əθà-dí-ná θɔn-pì-rá-re/ rec  
 SB /ɪŋgəlei' əhma'əθà-de-né θin-pè-yá-dɛ/  
 English term-PL-with teach-give-must-VSMK  
 (They) had to teach using the English terms.
- AR /mrwein-shei' tɔ'-te lu-pain/ rec  
 SB /mwe-zei' tɛ'-té lu-lo/  
 snake-poison invade-REL person-like  
 like a man with a snake's venom spreading through his system
- AR /yɔn-pain sei'dɛ'-myò/ 1.10  
 SB /ɛdi-lo sei'da'-myò/  
 that-like attitude-kind  
 that kind of attitude

Also used not as a special head noun

- AR /prò-re-pain/ inf  
 SB /pyò-ðə-lo/  
 say-VSMK-like  
 as (he) said

(21) /pɔn/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /pè/; voiceable (cf. SB /pin/ used in formal styles)

- AR /θu-ró khenthako-hma-bon yòn rəga swèkɛ'-pì-ge/ 1.7  
 SB /θu-dó khandako-hma-bè ɛdi yòga swèka'-pì-dó/  
 they-PL body-in-EMP that disease infect-finish-ing  
 the disease spreading to their own bodies

- AR /əshei' fí-re mrwein-bon phrai'-ðun-θí/ rec  
 SB /əshei' fí-dé mwe-bè phyi'-ðun-dó/  
 poison have-REL snake-actual be-further-when  
 even if it was a venomous snake

(22) /pyɛ/ sentence-final postposition and verb-sentence marker = SB /pè, pi/; after /phó/ = SB /tó-mɛ/; with negated verb = SB /məV-tó-bù/; voiceable

- AR /ŋa-dó dou'khá-byɛ/ 2.22  
 SB /ŋa-dó dou'khá-bɛ/  
 I-as for trouble-EMP  
 I am in trouble.
- AR /mrwein-byɛ-là/ rec  
 SB /mwe-bɛ-là/  
 snake-EMP-Q  
 Was it a snake?
- AR /sei'-kráun-byɛ/ 2.51  
 SB /sei'-cáun-bɛ/  
 mind-because.of-EMP  
 (It was) psychological.
- AR /θau'-pəlai'-te-byɛ/ 2.10  
 SB /θau'-pəlai'-ta-bɛ/  
 drink-through-VSMK-EMP  
 (They) used to drink (it) down.
- AR /θau'-pə-lai'-pyɛ/ 2.16  
 SB /θau'-pə-lai'-pi/  
 drink-throw-just-VSMK  
 (I)'ve drunk it.
- AR /əθɔ' hnə-hnai' fí-byɛ/ inf  
 SB /əθɛ' hnə-hni' fí-bi/  
 age two-year be-VSMK  
 (He) is two years old.
- AR /ŋá-go mrwein kai'-pyɛ/ rec  
 SB /ŋá-go mwei kai'-pi/  
 I-ACC snake bite-VSMK  
 I've been bitten by a snake.
- AR /pri-ba-byɛ/ inf  
 SB /pì-ba-bi/  
 finish-POL-VSMK  
 (It)'s all over.
- AR /θi-phó-byɛ-ló phrai'-ne-re lu/ 1.22  
 SB /θe-dó-mə-ló phyi'-ne-dé lu/  
 die-for-VSMK-QUO be-be-REL person  
 a man on the point of dying

- AR /prən-phó-byə/ inf  
 SB /pyan-dó-mə/  
 return-for-VSMK  
 (I)'m going home.
- AR /mə'te' mə-ne-hnain-byə/ 2.35  
 SB /ma'ta' mə-ne-hnain-dó-bù/  
 upright not-stay-can-VSMK  
 (She) couldn't stand up any longer.
- AR /əgú-kha-dó yòn-pain mə-hou'-pyə/ rec  
 SB /əgú-əkha-hma-dó è-di-lo mə-hou'-tó-bù/  
 now-time-however that-like not-be.so-VSMK  
 But it's not like that any longer.

(23) /ra/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /θa/

- AR /mə-rá-roun-ra mə-ká-θi/ 1.26  
 SB /mə-yá-youn-ḏa mə-ká-ḏè/  
 not-get-thing-only not-be.so.little-yet  
 not only does (he) get no (fee)
- AR /le-ra ən-re-byə/ 2.33  
 SB /le-ḏa an-da-bè/  
 air-only vomit-VSMK-VSMK  
 (She) was just retching.
- AR /ye-hmá-ra shì kùṭhà-hnain-re/ rec  
 SB /da-hmá-ḏa shè kúṭhà-hnain-də/  
 that-only-only medicine treat-can-VSMK  
 Only in that way can (one) give medical treatment.

(24) /re/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /ha, le, pè/

- AR /pyinñā-jon tə-yau'-re/ 1.16  
 SB /pyinñā-jin tə-yau'-ha/  
 learning-master one-person-EMP  
 a skilled person
- AR /cwəndə-re/ 1.18  
 SB /cundə-ha/  
 I-EMP  
 I
- AR /e jón-re/ 1.9  
 SB /di ou'-sa-ha/  
 that thing-EMP  
 this thing
- AR /ṭhí-go-re/ 1.24  
 SB /ṭhí-go-bè/  
 he-ACC-EMP  
 to him

(25) /rɔ/ auxiliary noun = SB /dɔ/

AR /ŋə-rɔ/ 1.3

SB /ŋə-dɔ/

I-PL

we

AR /θu-rɔ/ 1.6

SB /θu-dɔ/

he-PL

they

AR /θeindɔ-rɔ/ 3.16

SB /θeindɔ-dɔ/

ordination.hall-PL

the ordination hall and so on

(26) /sɔ/ special head noun = SB /ta/; voiceable, but not always voiced

AR /phrai'-sɔ-tí fí-re/ 2.1

SB /phyi'-ta-de fí-de/

happen-thing-PL be-VSMK

There are cases (of psychosomatic illness).

AR /pai'-phó thà-zɔ-ba/ 2.17

SB /pyi'-phó thà-da-ba/

throw-for put-thing-POL

(I) put (it) there to be thrown away.

AR /yɔn-nén sei'-ko ədíká thà-ló prɔ-sɔ/ 2.52

SB /ɛ-da-né sei'-ko ədíká thà-ló pyɔ-da/

that-with mind-ACC main put-QUO say-thing

That's why we are told to give first place to the patient's state of mind.

Also found = SB /ha/

AR /de fɔn θú-sɔ/ inf

SB /ho ou'-sa θú-ha/

that thing his-thing

That's his.

AR /kó-sɔ ko rì/ inf

SB /kó-ha ko yè/

one's-thing one write

One writes one's own (language).

AR /sɔ/ is spelt *cwā* in texts attempting to reproduce AR pronunciation, but it is difficult to see a connection between this and the auxiliary verb and subordinate marker *cwā* of formal SB.

(27) /te/ in voiceable positions /re/ verb-sentence marker = SB /te, tɛ/



- AR /kɰ' -la-dɛ' -tɛ/ rec  
 SB /kɰɛ' -la-da' -tɛ/  
 be.difficult-come-tend-VSMK  
 (It) tends to become difficult.
- AR /θəun-myò ʃí-re/ rec  
 SB /θəun-myò ʃí-dɛ/  
 three-kind be-VSMK  
 There are three kinds.
- AR /mrwein kai' -te wedəna/ 1.23  
 SB /mwe kai' -tɛ wedəna/  
 snake bite-REL suffering  
 the suffering caused by snakebite
- AR /tɛ' -thà-re pyinñā/ 1.30  
 SB /ta' -thà-dé pyinñā/  
 study-put-REL skill  
 the skill (one) has learnt

(28) /tè/ auxiliary noun = B /thè/; voiceable. Note that AR has a plain initial for SB's aspirate, WB *taññ*:

- AR /tə-brainnɔ' -tè/ rec  
 SB /tə-byainnɛ' -thè/  
 one-compete-only  
 at the same time
- AR /Mɾɛnma-za tə-khú-dè/ rec  
 SB /Myanma-za tə-khú-dè/  
 Burmese-literature one-item-only  
 Burmese alone

(29) /θí/ auxiliary verb = SB /θè/

- AR /rwen-gráunthəmèn phrai' -roun-ra mə-ká-θí/ 2.40  
 SB /yun-zəyaji phyi' -youn-ðā mə-ká-ðè/  
 disgusting-ness be-merely-only not-be.so.little-yet  
 not only was the place in a mess

(30) /tí/ auxiliary noun = SB /tɛ/; voiceable, but not always voiced

- AR /əsa-dí pa-re/ 2.31  
 SB /əsa-de pa-dɛ/  
 food-PL be.included-VSMK  
 There were some solids.
- AR /lou' -nein-re əlou' -tí/ 1.26  
 SB /lou' -ne-dé əlou' -tɛ/  
 do-be-REL work-PL  
 the work (he) is doing

(31) /yòn-pòn/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yìn/

AR	/prúzú-yònpòn prúzú-yònpòn-nén ... nu:n-lə-khá-re/ 1.7
SB	/pyúzá-yìn pyúzá-yìn-nə ... nu-ðwà-də/ tend-ing tend-ing-with be.leprous-come-there-VSMK (They) went on and on looking after (them) and became lepers themselves.

AR /yòn/ also occurs without /pòn/

AR	/twè-yòn, ... rwen-yòn, ən-yòn/ 2.29
SB	/twè-yìn, ... yun-yìn, an-yìn/ think-ing be.disgusted-ing vomit-ing dwelling on it, feeling disgusted by it, and vomiting

(32) [zero] (absence of suffix after negated verb) verb-sentence marker = SB /phù/. Literary style Burmese here matches AR.

AR	/yòn nəra-ma mə-fí/ 2.12
SB	/èdi ne-ya-hma mə-fí-bù/ that place-in not-be (She) was not there.
AR	/sìpwà mə-hra-ba/ 1.13
SB	/sìpwà mə-fa-ba-bù/ profit not-seek-POL (They) do not seek to profit.
AR	/yòn-pain sei'de'-myò mə-thà-hnain-là/ 1.11
SB	/èdi-lo sei'da'-myò mə-thà-hnain-bù-là/ that-like attitude-kind not-keep-can-Q Can (they) not adopt that kind of attitude?

## 2.3.4 VOCABULARY

### 2.3.4.1 FORMS WHICH APPEAR NOT TO HAVE COGNATES IN SB

#### 2.3.4.1.1 UTENSILS AND ARTIFACTS

AR	SB	
/yàin/	/pəkhə'/	cradle
/pèn-tu/	/shè-dan/	(tobacco) pipe
/tə-yò/	/loun-ji/	longyi
/tən-dau'/	/ye-ðəyau'/	gutter
/phaun-θa/	/ein-ða/	lavatory
/chei'/	/myó/	town

#### 2.3.4.1.2 FAUNA AND FLORA

/pədəga-θi/	/θin-bò-ði/	paw-paw
/nən-tə-ra-θi/	/na-na'-θi/	pineapple

## 2.3.4.1.3 PERSONAL STATUS

/əbú-je/	/kəlè-gəlè/	infant
/bú-bú-grì/	/kəlè-gəlè/	infant
/əsei'-kəje/	/kaun-gəlè/	child
/kəli-je/	/kaun-gəlè/	child
/kəli-me/	/əpyo/	unmarried girl
/kəli/	/lu-byo/	bachelor
/əmɔn/	/əme/	mother

## 2.3.4.1.4 FORMS THAT ARE EVIDENTLY LOANS

Source languages are indicated thus:

B = Bengali, E = English, H = Hindi, P = Portuguese

AR	SB		source
/kɛ'-tɔn/	/ya-zəwu'-ou'/	police superintendent	E <i>captain</i>
/lau'-khou'-θi/	/θɔkhəlau'/	padlock	E <i>lock</i>
/θei'-hlain/	/shè-youn/	hospital	E <i>sick-lines</i>
& /shei'-hlain/			
/gau'-ri/	/kəlè-má/	young girl	H <i>gauri</i>
/dɔ'/	/sa-dai'/	post office	H <i>ḍak</i>
/ga-ri/	/hlè/	cart	H <i>gāṛī</i>
/ga-ra/	/yè-tha-ná/	police station	H <i>gārad</i> (E <i>guard</i> )
/əphei'/	/yoùn/	office	B <i>aphis</i> , <i>āpis</i> (E <i>office</i> )
/tɔ-li-ya/	/mye'-hnəθou'	towel	H <i>tauliyā</i>
	pəwa/		(P <i>toalha</i> )
/θəboun/	/sha'-pya/	soap	H <i>sāpun</i> (P <i>sabão</i> )
/phələun/	/mye'-hnəphyu/	European	cf. <i>feringi</i> , <i>farang</i> , <i>frank</i> , etc.

(AR /phələun/ has also been equated with the word for 'tadpole'.)

/-θɛ'/	-	Sahib
e.g. /Ka-θɛ'/	-	Sir (Hiram) Cox
/Pya-θɛ'/	-	Sir (Arthur) Phayre
/Ra-bəθein-θɛ'/	-	Sir Robertson [sic]

## 2.3.4.1.5 MISCELLANEOUS

AR	SB	
/əje/	/kəlè/	small
/əŋe-je/	/əŋe-lè/	little
/səke-je/	/nè-nè/	a little
/mo/	-	time (counted in months)
e.g. /mo kò-lá/		nine months
/kɛ'-tə-rein/	-	south wind
/-məθe/	/sá-ḍəphyín/	et cetera
e.g. /myɔ'-hna-məθe/		face and so on

/ʃɔ̃n/	/ou'-sa/	thingummy, thing
/twèn-shì/	/sədwè/	saliva
/kəràun/	/θò-mwè/	wool

## 2.3.4.2 FORMS WITH IRREGULAR REFLEXES

AR	SB		AR form requires *SB
/hmən-jò/	/məji/	tamarind	/hmin-jò/
/phei'-ja/	/pai'-shan/	money	/phei'-ja/
& /phei-θa/			cf. Hindi <i>paisā</i>
/khənɔ̃n/	/khədwin/	mouth	/khanin/

## 2.3.4.3 FORMS WITH DIFFERENT MEANING OR USE IN SB

## 2.3.4.3.1 WHOLE WORDS AND PHRASES

AR	SB	compare SB
/tén/	/ya/ 'stop, stand'	/tán/ (rare alone) 'slow down, stop'
/a-gen-dú/	/é-ðé/ 'visitor'	/a-gan-dú/ 'visiting monk'
/prà/	/ca/ 'kyat, pyà'	/pyà/ 'pyà'
/yɔ̃n/	/myan/ 'be quick'	/yin, yin/ 'be nimble, speedy'
/so/	/su/ 'be damp'	/so/ 'be wet'
/swɛ'/	/so/ 'be wet'	/su/ 'be damp'
/khə̀dàun/	/loun-ji/ 'lon-gyi'	/khə̀dàun cai/ 'tuck up lon-gyi'
/əhñéin/	/ji/ 'dirt'	/əhñí/ 'verdigris, mould'
/là/	/θwà/ 'go'	/là/ 'proceed'
		(in legal phrases, and the compound /ə̀là-ə̀la/)
/hrwèn/	/wɛ/ 'get wet'	/fùn/ 'be juicy'
/hwèn/	/an/ 'overflow'	/hun/ 'ascend'
/phə̀rà/	/(khin)-bya/ 'yes?' (answering call)	/phə̀yà/ 'yes?' (to monks only)
/(thì) tə-shaun/	/(thì) tale/ 'one (umbrella)'	/(ein) tə-shaun/ 'one (house)'
/hmyàin/	/hnè/ 'be slow'	/hmyin/ 'be feeble' (in breathing)
/kɛn/	/shán/ 'fit in'	/mənain məkan/ 'familiarily'
/khrwèn/	/jei/ 'hook'	/chùn/ 'elephant goad'
/chau'/	/jáin/ 'pot-hole'	/jau/ 'chasm'
/doun/	/jáin/ 'can' (e.g. for milk)	/in-doun/ 'cooking pan'
/ci-byɛ/	/pì-da-bɛ/	/ce-bi/ '(it) is cancelled out'
	'there's an end of it'	
/khə̀yau/	/loun-ji/ 'lon-gyi'	/khà/ 'waist'; /yau/ 'wrap round'
/ñá-za/	/mənɛ-gá/ 'yesterday'	/ñá-za/ 'evening meal'
/wa-ji/	/əphò-ji/ 'old man'	/θɛ'-cì wa-ji/ 'elderly people'
/pə̀shò/	/saun/ 'blanket'	/pə̀shò/ '(long) long-gyi'
/soun-li/	– 'north wind'	/soun/ 'go downwind'; /le/ 'wind'
/rèn-bau/	– 'west wind'	/yàn/ 'be wild'; /pau/ 'arise'
/shən-khàun/	– 'south-west wind'	?/shin/ 'elephant'; /gàun/ 'head'

/cou'/	/ʃún/ 'mud'	/-cou'/ 'be dark, dirty'
/əcwɛn/	/cun-dɔ/ 'I'	/cun/ 'slave'
/əV-θɛn/	/əV-ci/ 'very (adj.)'	/θan/ 'be strong'
e.g.		
/əkri-θɛn/	/əci-jì/ 'very big'	
/əmɾɛn-θɛn/	/əmyan-jì/ 'very fast'	
/ənè-θɛn/	– 'very few'	
/lərá-dɛ'/	/θəthè/ 'rich man'	/lu-yá-da'/ '(rich man: obsolete)'

## 2.3.4.3.2 PARTS OF WORDS AND PHRASES

AR	SB	compare SB
/ù krɛn/	/gàun kai'/ 'head aches'	/càn/ 'be rough'
/rəθòun/	/ye-chò-gàn/ 'bathroom'	/ye/ 'water'; /θòun/ 'use'
/ñá-za/	/ñá-ne/ 'afternoon'	/əsa/ 'portion'
/sɔ'-θì/	/sɛ'bein/ 'bicycle'	/sɛ'/ 'wheel'; /əθì/ 'fruit, lock'
/kəlà nɔprə/	/yəkhaɪn nɔpyɔ/ '(kind of) banana'	/kəlà/ 'Indian'
/ein-brɛ'-lòun/	/təein-lòun/ 'all over the house'	/ʔpya/ 'be low, squat'
/ein hlè/	/təbye'-sì hlè/ 'sweep'	/ein/ 'house'; /hlè/ 'sweep'

## 2.3.4.4 SELECTIVES

## 2.3.4.4.1 DEMONSTRATIVES

(1) AR /e/ = SB /di, è-di, ho/ (cf. formal WB ၵ). For example:

AR	SB	
/e-pain/ 1.18	/di-lo/	this way
/e-lau'/ 3.11	/di-lau'/	this much
/e-ge/ 3.13	/di-dɔ́/	this being so
/e θein-dɔ/ 3.21	/di θein-dɔ/	this ordination hall
/e ətɛ'-pyin-ñá/ 1.13	/di əta'-pyin-ñá/	this skill
/e-ma/ 3.6	/è-di-hma/	here
/e ʃón/ 1.9	/ho ou'-sa/	this thing

(2) AR /ye, yə/ = SB /di, è-di, da, ho/. For example:

/yəpain/ 1.21	/è-di-lo/	this way
/ye-ge/ 2.4	/è-di-dɔ́/	this being so
/ye kha/ 1.25	/è-di əkha/	this time
/ye ʃón/ 3.7	/ho ou'-sa/	this thing
/ye khəri'-yen θa-θəna-brú/ 1.10	/di khəri'-yan θa-θəna-byú/	this Christian missionary
/ye-hmá-ra/ rec	/da-hmá-ða/	only here
/ye-pri-ge/ 2.2	/da-pì-yin/	after this

(3) AR /de/ = SB /di/ (cf. formal WB သူနာ). For example:

/de dou'-khí-tá-dí/ 1.5	/di dou'-khí-tá-de/	these unfortunate people
/de ... pyin-ñá/ rec	/di ... pyin-ñá/	this knowledge

/de sei'-de'-cáun/ 2.1	/di sei'-da'-cáun/	because of this psychological cause
/de nəra/ 2.39	/di ne-ya/	this place to live
(4) AR /tho/ = SB /ho/ cf formal WB <i>thui</i>		
/tho nəra/ 2.39	/ho ne-ya/	that place to live
(5) AR /yòn/ = SB /è-di/ (cf. formal WB <i>yaŋ</i> ). For example:		
/yòn rɔ̃-ga/ 1.7	/è-di yɔ̃-ga/	this disease
/yòn ʃón/ 2.27	/è-di ou'-sa/	this thing
/yòn θu/ 1.20	/è-di lu/	this person
/yòn pain/ 1.16	/è-di-lo/	this way
/yòn-lau'/ 1.8	/è-di-lau'/	this much

## 2.3.4.4.2 INTERROGATIVES

(1) AR /za/ = SB /ba, bɛ/. For example:

AR	SB	
/za ərò-gá za-pain khɔ-re/ rec	/ba əyò-gá bɛ-lo khɔ-dɛ/	What the bones are called
/za nó-lè/ 2.45	/ba nó-lè/	What milk?
/za phrai'-ló-lè/ 2.16	/ba phyi'-ló-lè/	Why?
/za-kha-myò məsho/ 1.15	/bɛ əkha-myò məsho/	at whatever time
/sì-pwà-rì-ma phrai'-sì za phrai'-sì/ 1.29	/sì-pwà-yè-hma phyi'-se ba phyi'-se/	whatever advantage may arise
/za là-lè/ inf	/bɛ θwà-mələ/	Where are you going?

(2) AR /pə/ (with /zaun, lau'/ only) = SB /bɛ/

/pəzaun sei'-de'-myò/ 1.2	/bɛ-lo sei'-da'-myò/	what kind of attitude
/pəzaun twí-khá-phù-lè/ 1.3	/bɛ-lo twé-gé-bù-lè/	what (I)'ve seen
/pəlau'-thí təgò ʃí-re/ 3.8	/bɛ-lau'-əthí təgò ʃí-dɛ/	how sacred it is

(3) AR /ə/ (with /θu/ only) = SB /bɛ/; cf. old formal WB *asū*, *asui*.

/əθu-lè/ inf	/bɛ-θu-lɛ/	Who?
/əθu məsho/ rec	/bɛ-θu məsho/	whoever

## 2.4 TEXTS

The following three texts are from the recordings mentioned at the beginning of this paper. The first two are by Û θa Hnìn, talking about the work of the Red Cross, and the third is by Dɔ Má θa Sein, who was telling her children about Cox of Cox's Bazaar.

The transcription is phonemic except in three respects: the following features, in which neither speaker is entirely consistent, are given alternative transcriptions to allow a narrower approximation to the actual pronunciation.

1. AR /ɔ/ is written /ɔ, wɔ, wa/ (see §2.3.1(6)).
2. AR /ein, oun/ are written /ein, i:n/ and /oun, u:n/ (see §2.2.2).

3. Syllables with extended nasality are written /i, i:n, ein/ and /u, u:n, oun/ (see §2.3.1(4)).

There are some Burmanisms, particularly in the first two texts; for example, /cáun/ for AR /kráun/, /fè/ for AR /hrì/, /wè/ for AR /wì/, /le/ for AR /li/. These are transcribed as heard. The modern AR counterpart of SB /pyin-ñā/, which contains a loan rhyme from SB (§2.3.1(1)), is transcribed AR /pyin-ñā/.

The transcription of the AR original is accompanied by its SB equivalent. In places the SB version sounds unnatural. This is because I have chosen SB words and expressions that correspond more closely with the AR than a natural rendering would have done.

#### 2.4.1 ARAKANESE TEXT NO.1 – THE LEPER COLONY AND THE SNAKEBITE DOCTORS: THE VOCATIONAL ASPECT OF RED CROSS WORK

1. Krɔ'-Khri-Ni lou'ngèn-ma sedəna-thà-pri-ge  
Ce'-Che-Ni lou'ngàn-hma sedəna-thà-pi-dó  
fowl-foot-red work-in good.will-place-finish-ing  
  
lou'-rá-phó-sɔ-tí-go prɔ-prá-me.  
lou'-yá-mé-ha-de-go pyɔ-pyá-mɛ.  
do-must-for-thing-PL-DO say-show-will
2. Krɔ'-Khri-Ni lou'ngèn-ma əmyà-àphrɔn-re pə-zaun-sei'de'-myò  
Ce'-Che-Ni lou'ngàn-hma əmyà-àphyín bɛ-lo-sei'da'-myò  
fowl-foot-red work-in most-as.regards-EMP what-like-attitude-kind  
  
thà-brì lou'-rá-re-lè sho-ge, θaθəna-brú sei'de'-ló kho-re.  
thà-bì lou'-yá-ðəlè sho-yin, θaðəna-byú sei'da'-ló kho-dɛ.  
place-ing do-must-VSMK-Q say-if religion-make attitude-QUO call-VSMK
3. θaθəna-brú sei'de'-sho-zo-gá ŋəró-əne-nén lo'-twí-gá  
θaðəna-byú sei'da'-sho-da-gá ŋəðó-əne-né lɛ'-twé-gá  
religion-make attitude-say-thing-SUBJ we-status-with hand-find-SUBJ  
  
pə-zaun twí-khá-phù-lè-ló sho-ge, Hənθawədi-ma ənu-roun  
bɛ-lo twé-gé-bù-lè-ló sho-yin, Hanðawədi-hma ənu-youn  
which-like find-there-ever-Q-QUO say-if Hanthawaddy-in leper-hospital  
  
jí-re – yau'cà-ənu-roun məmá-ənu-roun-ló.  
jí-de – yau'cà-ənu-youn məinmə-ənu-youn-ló.  
be-VSMK man-leper-hospital woman-leper-hospital-QUO
4. Yɔn-ənu-roun-ma θaθəna-brú-phɔ'-ká əmyðθəmì-fe-dí  
ɛdi-ənu-youn-hma θaðəna-byú-bɛ'-ká əmyððəmì-lè-de  
that-leper-hospital-in religion-make-side-from lady-young-PL  
  
phərà-bà-ma dù-thau'-pri-ge –  
phəyà-shi-hma dù-thau'-pi-dó –  
God-presence-in knee-support-finish-ing
5. “əcwɛn tə-θɔ'-ta-loùn de-dou'khítá-dí-go  
“Cəmə tə-θɛ'-ta-loùn di-dou'khítá-de-go  
I one-life-period-all this-sufferer-PL-ACC

- prúsú-saúnfau'-yònpòn-nén    ̩i-aun-əthí    əhmú-thèn-bəli-phó-byə.  
 pyúzá-saúnfau'-yìn-né    ̩e-aun-əthí    əhmú-thàn-ba-dó-me.  
 tend-care-while-with    die-up.to-up.to    service-bear-POL-for-VSMK
- əcwén-khenthako-go    phərə-ma    hlu-ba-yón,"    sho-re.  
 Cəmə-khandako-go    phəyà-hma    hlu-ba-də,"    sho-də.  
 my-body-ACC    God-to    dedicate-POL-VSMK    say-VSMK
6. Sho-pri-ge,    ̩u-ró    phərə-bà-ma    ədei'thèn-prú-pri-ge,  
 Sho-pi-dó,    ̩u-dó    phəya-shi-hma    ədei'than-pyú-pi-dó,  
 say-finish-when    s/he-PL    God-presence-in    resolve-make-finish-when
- yòn-ənu:n-dí-go    prúzú-re.  
 ̩di-ənu-de-go    pyúzá-də.  
 that-leper-PL-ACC    tend-VSMK
7. Prúzú-yònpòn    prúzú-yònpòn-nén (yòn-kha-dó    kra-byə-le,  
 Pyúzá-yìn    pyúzá-yìn-né    (̩di-əkha-dó    ca-bi-le,  
 tend-ing    tend-ing-with    that-time-as.for    be.long-VSMK-you see
- yòn-khai')    ̩uró-khenthako-hma-bòn    yòn-ròga    swèkə'-pri-ge,  
 ̩di-dòun)    ̩udó-khandako-hma-bè    ̩di-yòga    swèka'-pi-dó,  
 that-time    their-body-in-EMP    that-disease    catch-finish-ing
- nu:n-ləkhá-re.  
 nu-̩wà-də.  
 be.leprous-go-VSMK
8. Yòn-lau'-thí    de    [dou'khítá-rau'-ne-re - ]    dou'khá  
 ̩di-lau'-thí    di    [dou'khítá-yau'-ne-dé - ]    dou'khá  
 that-much-up.to    this    [sufferer-reach-stay-REL]    suffering
- rau'-ne-re    lu-dí    luθà-əchòncòn-go    gərúna-ʃɔn-tə-ù  
 yau'-ne-dé    lu-de    luðà-əchìnjìn-go    gəyúna-ʃin-tə-ù  
 reach-stay-REL    person-PL    person-mutually-EMP    pity-master-one-person
- əne-nén    [prúzú-pri-ge -]    prúzú-hnain-gə'-sə-re  
 əne-né    [pyúzá-pi-dó -]    pyúzá-hnain-já-da-ha  
 status-with    [tend-finish-when]    tend-can-PL-thing-SUBJ
- chihmwèn-phó    mə-kàun-là?  
 chīmùn-bó    mə-kàun-là?  
 praise-to    not-be.good-Q
9. E-ʃɔn-re    əmyà-àphrɔ́n-dókha    khəríyən-θaθəna-brú-əne-nén  
 Di-ou'sa-ha    əmyà-àphyín-dóga    khəri'yan-θaðəna-byú-əne-né  
 this-thing-SUBJ    most-as.regards-as.for    Christian-religion-make-status-with
- θaθəna-brú-pou'go-dí-ma    thà-re    sei'də'.  
 - θaðəna-byú-pou'go-de-hma    thà-dé    sei'da'.  
       religion-make-person-PL-at    place-REL    attitude
10. Ye-khəríyən-θaθəna-brú-əne-nén    yòn-pain-sei'də'-myò    thà-hnain-re:  
 Di-khəri'yən-θaðəna-byú-əne-né    ̩di-lo-sei'da'-myò    thà-hnain-də:  
 this-Christian-religion-make-status-with    that-like-attitude-kind    place-can-VSMK



11. ṇəró-Rɔ'khain-θà-thè-hma yɔ̀n-pain-sei'de'-myð mə-thà-hnain-là?  
ṇədó-Yəkhain-ðà-dè-hma èdi-lo-sei'da'-myð mə-thà-hnain-bù-là?  
we-Arakan-person-among-in that-like-attitude-kind not-keep-can-Q
12. ṇəró-Rɔ'khain-θà-thè-hma-lé jí-re: úbəma-sho-ló-jí-ge,  
ṇədó-Yəkhain-ðà-dè-hma-lè jí-dé: úbəma-sho-ló-jí-yin,  
we-Arakan-person-among-in-also exist-VSMK example-say-ing-be-if  
mrwein-ələnpain-pyinña-go θɔn-phó pou'go-ró-hma  
mwe-ələnbe-pyinña-go θin-mé pou'go-dó-ha  
snake-doctor-skill-ACC learn-REL person-PL-SUBJ  
θɔn-pì-phó mrwein-shəra-bà-ma θu-ró θai'sa-sho-rá-re.  
θin-pè-mé mwe-shəya-shi-hma θu-dó θi'sa-sho-yá-dé.  
teach-give-REL snake-teacher-presence-in he-PL promise-say-must-VSMK
13. θai'sa [sho - ] sho-rá-re sho-zɔ-gá, pə-zaun-θai'sa-myð-lè  
θi'sa [sho - ] sho-yá-dé sho-da-gá, bə-lo-θi'sa-myð-lè  
promise [say] say-must-VSMK say-thing-SUBJ what-like-promise-kind-Q  
sho-ge, e-ətə'pyinña-nén θu-ró-re sìpwà-mə-hra-ba.  
sho-yin, di-əta'pyinña-né θu-dó-ha sìpwà-mə-ʃa-ba-bù.  
say-if this-skill-with he-PL-SUBJ profit-not-seek-POL
14. È-ətə'pyinña-nén kùθá[pì - ]-pì-pri-ge, əkhá-cɪŋwe mə-yu-ba.  
Di-əta'pyinña-né kùθá[pè - ]-pè-pi-yin, əkhá-cèŋwe mə-yu-ba-bù.  
this-skill-with treat[give]-give-finish-when fee-money not-take-POL
15. tə-zoun-tə-yau'-θɔ̀-θu mrwein-kai'-te-ló θədɔ̀n-krà-ge phrai'-si,  
tə-zoun-tə-yau'-θɔ̀-ðu mwe-kai'-tə-ló θədɪn-cà-yin phyi'-se,  
one-any-one-person-REL-person snake-bite-VSMK-QUO report-hear-if be-let  
la-ló kho-ge phrai'-si, za-kha-myð-mə-sho, ko-lou'-nein-re  
la-bì kho-yin phyi'-se, bə-əkha-myð-mə-sho, ko-lou'-ne-dé  
come-ing fetch-if be-let which-time-kind-not-say one-do-be-REL  
əlou'-ko swén-pri-ge, la-ló kù-bá-mə-ló  
əlou'-ko sún-pì-dó, la-bì kù-bá-mə-ló  
work-ACC abandon-finish-ing come-ing treat-POL-VSMK-QUO  
θai'sa-sho-rá-re.  
θi'sa-sho-yá-dé.  
promise-make-must-VSMK
16. Yɔ̀n-pain θai'sa-sho-pri-ge, θɔn-thà-re ələnəbain  
èdi-lo θi'sa-sho-pi-yin, θin-thà-dé əlanbe  
that-like promise-say-finish-when learn-set-REL snake.doctor  
pyinña-sho-re mrwein-kai'-te wedəna-go kùθá-hnain-re  
pyinña-sho-dé mwe-kai'-té wedəna-go kùθá-hnain-dé  
skill-call-REL snake-bite-REL injury-ACC cure-can-REL  
pyinña-ʃɔn-tə-yau'-re, θu-nén nə-main-lau' wè-re  
pyinña-ʃin-tə-yau'-ha, θu-né nə-main-lau' wè-dé  
skill-master-one-person-SUBJ he-with five-mile-about be.far-REL

- rɔ-tə-rɔ-ma            lu-tə-yau'            mrwein-kai'-te-ló            θədɔn  
 ywa-tə-ywa-hma       lu-tə-yau'            mwe-kai'-te-ló            θədɪn  
 village-one-village-in person-one-person snake-bite-VSMK-QUO report
- krà-gələ́, [yɔ̀n-mrwein - ]    θu-lou'-ne-re    lou'ɲən-go  
 cà-yin-lè, [ɛ̀di mwe - ]       θu-lou'-ne-dé    lou'ɲàn-go  
 hear-if    [that-snake]       he-do-stay-REL work-ACC
- thà-khá-pri-ge            là-rá-re.  
 thà-gé-pi-dó            θwà-yá-dɛ.  
 leave-there-finish-ing go-must-VSMK
17. Là-brì-kha-hmá,    yɔ̀n-mrwein-kai'    khən-rá-re            lu-í  
       θwà-pi-dó-hmá,    ɛ̀di-mwe-kai'       khan-yá-dé            lu-yé  
       go-finish-time-only that-snake-bite    suffer-must-REL person-'s  
       shwemyð-ñatəka-dí-go -  
       shwemyð-ñatəka-de-go -  
       relative-kin-PL-ACC
18. "Cwendɔ-re e-pain-e-pain    pyinña-go    θɔn-phù-ba-re.  
       "Cundɔ-ha    di-lo-di-lo       pyinña-go    θin-bù-ba-dɛ.  
       I-SUBJ       this-like-this-like skill-ACC learn-ever-POL-VSMK
19. Mrwein-kai'-te    wedəna-ʃɔn-dí    əθɔ'-ko-ke-phó-dó  
       Mwe-kai'-té       wedəna-ʃin-de    əθɛ'-ko-ke-bó-dó  
       snake-bite-REL injury-owner-PL life-ACC-save-for-as.for  
       cwendɔ-re e-pain-e-pain-pyinña    shəra-bə-gá            θɔn-thà-ba-re.  
       cundɔ-ha    di-lo-di-lo-pyinña       shəyá-shi-gá            θin-thà-ba-dɛ.  
       I-SUBJ       this-like-this-like-skill teacher-presence-from learn-place-POL-VSMK
20. Yɔ̀n-cəno-tɛ'-te    pyinña-nén tə-cho'    yɔ̀n-θu  
       ɛ̀di-cəno-ta'-té    pyinña-né tə-shei'    ɛ̀-di-lu  
       that-I-know-REL skill-with one-blow that-person  
       əθɔ'-ke-hnain-phə-là cəno kùθá-bərá-zi."  
       əθɛ'-ke-hnain-mə-là cəno kùθá-bəyá-ze."  
       life-save-can-for-Q I treat-may-let
21. Yə-pain-ló            au'cá-khən-brì-gei,            [əkù-θá - ]  
       ɛ̀di-lo-shobì       au'cá-khan-pi-dó,            [əkú-θá - ]  
       that-like-QUO low.status-accept-finish-ing [treat]  
       kùθá-khwón       tàun-rá-re.  
       kùθá-gwín       tàun-yá-dɛ.  
       treat-permission ask-must-VSMK
22. Kùθá-khwón       tàun-ló            kùθá-khwón       prú-ge,    yɔ̀n-lu-re,  
       Kùθá-gwín       tàun-ló            kùθá-gwín       pyú-yin,    ɛ̀di-lu-ha,  
       treat-permission ask-because treat-permission give-if    that-man-SUBJ  
       θi-phó-byɛ-ló       phrai'-ne-re    lu       tə-yau'-re            əθɔ' prən-ló  
       θɛ-dó-mə-ló       phyi'-ne-dé    lu       tə-yau'-ha            əθɛ' pyan-bì  
       die-for-VSMK-QUO be-stay-REL person one-person-SUBJ life return-ing

hrøn-la-re.

jin-la-dé.

revive-come-VSMK

23. Hrøn-la-kha, əθu-mə-sho-byə-le, ko-ró-ma θi-phó-byə-ló  
 jin-la-dé-əkha, bəðu mə-sho-le, ko-dó-hma θe-dó-mə-ló  
 revive-come-time who-not-say-VSMK-EMP self-PL-in die-for-VSMK-QUO

[wedəna khenzà-nein-rá-re lu-tə-yau' - ] mrwein-kai'-te

[wedəna khan-zà-ne-yá-dé lu-tə-yau' - ] mwe-kai'-té

[injury suffer-be-must-REL person-one-person] snake-bite-REL

wedəna khenzà-nein-rá-re lu-tə-yau'-re, prən-prì-ge

wedəna khanzà-ne-yá-dé lu-tə-yau'-ha, pyan-pì-dó

suffering suffer-stay-must-REL person-one-person-SUBJ return-finish-ing

əθo'-hrøn-la-re sho-ge, cèzù tounprən-chøn-re-hnònra.

əθe'-jin-la-dé sho-yin, cèzù tounpyan-jin-da-bó.

life-revive-come-VSMK say-when favour return-want-VSMK-EMP

24. Yòn-pain cèzù-tounprən-phó-atwə' θú-go-re,  
 èdi-lo cèzù-tounpyan-bó-atwe' θú-go-bè,  
 that-like favour-return-for-for he-ACC-EMP

lɔ'shaun-əne-nén phrai'-si, shìphò-wòkhá-əne-nén

lɛ'shaun-əne-né phyi'-se, shèbò-wàgá-əne-né

present-status-with be-let medicine-cost-status-with

phrai'-si, pì-ge, θú-hma-gá gədíθai'sa-khen-prì-θà:

phyi'-se, pè-yin, θú-hma-gá gədíθi'sa-khan-bì-ḏà:

be-let give-if he-at-EMP promise-give-finish-already

lɔ'-mə-khen-rá.

lɛ'-mə-khan-yá-bù.

hand-not-take-must

25. Ye-kha, θú-ma pə-zaun nai'na-lè sho-ge,  
 èdi-dó, θú-hma be-lo ni'na-lè sho-yin,  
 that-time he-at which-like lose-Q say-if

yòn-pyinñā-go tɛ'-khròn-àphrón, θú-hma-re

èdi-pyinñā-go ta'-chìn-àphyín, θú-hma-gá

that-skill-ACC study-matter-by.means.of he-at-EMP

əkhá-cìŋwe mə-rá.

əkhá-cèŋwe mə-yá-bù.

fee-money not-get

26. Wòn-ŋwe mə-rá-roun-ra mə-ká-θí:  
 Win-ŋwe mə-yá-youn-ḏa mə-ká-ḏè:  
 enter-money not-get-thing-only not-be.so.little-yet

yòn-pyinñā-go tɛ'-thà-khròn-àphrón, méinméin-ma

èdi-pyinñā-go ta'-thà-jìn-àphyín, mími'-hma

that-skill-ACC study-place-thing-by.means.of self-at

lou'-nein-já əlou'-tí,  
 lou'-ne-já əlou'-te,  
 do-stay-usual work-PL

ko-sìpwàrì lou'-nein-rei əlou'-tí-daunhmá, pyɔ'kwɔ'-te.  
 ko-sìpwàyè lou'-ne-dé əlou'-te-daunhmá, pyɛ'kwe'-te.  
 self-profit do-stay-REL work-PL-even spoil-VSMK

27. Yòn-ətwɔ'-nén, e-pain-sei'də'-myò-nén pyinñā-nén,  
 èdi-ətwɛ'-né, èdi-lo-sei'da'-myò-né pyinñā-né,  
 that-for-with that-like-attitude-kind-and skill-with

θu-tə-bà əθɔ'-ko ke-phó-kei'sá,  
 θu-tə-bà əθɛ'-ko ke-bó-kei'sá,  
 person-one-other life-ACC save-for-matter

[dou'khí - ] dou'khá-shai'rau'-nein-re lu-tə-yau'-ko ke-phó  
 [dou'khí - ] dou'khá-shai'yau'-ne-dé lu-tə-yau'-ko ke-bó  
 [sufferer] suffering-reach-stay-REL person-one-person-ACC save-for

kei'sá-dí-hma, swénzwén-sàzà θɔn-khá-ge'-te  
 kei'sá-de-hma, súnzún-sàzà θin-gé-já-dé  
 matter-PL-in sacrificing-ADV learn-there-PL-REL

ŋɔ́-ŋɔ́-Rɔ'khain lu-myò-dí-lé fí-khá-ge'-te.  
 ŋɔ́-ŋɔ́-Yəkhain lu-myò-de-lè fí-gé-já-de.  
 we-Arakanese person-kind-PL-also be-there-PL-VSMK

28. əgú-Krɔ'-Khri-Ni lou'ŋən-əne-nén sho-ló-fí-gələ́,  
 əgú-Cɛ'-Che-Ni lou'ŋən-əne-né sho-ló-fí-yin-lè,  
 present-fowl-foot-red work-status-with say-ing-be-if-also

yòn-pain-sei'-thà-myò tə-zei'-tə-deθá-go thà-phó lo-zɔ-byɛ.  
 èdi-lo-sei'-thà-myò tə-zei'-tə-deθá-go thà-bó lo-da-bè.  
 that-like-mind-set-kind one-quarter-one-area-ACC keep-to need-thing-EMP

29. Za-phrai'-lò-lè sho-ge, Krɔ'-Khri-Ni fèù-θuna-brú  
 Ba-phyi'-lò-lè sho-yin, Cɛ'-Che-Ni fèù-θuna-byú  
 what-happen-because-Q say-if fowl-foot-red first-patient-care

pyinñā sá-re pyinñā-dí-go tɛ'-thà-re lu-tə-yau'  
 pyinñā sá-dé pyinñā-de-go ta'-thà-dé lu-tə-yau'  
 skill begin-REL skill-PL-ACC learn-keep-REL person-one-person

əne-nén-gá, θú-ətwɔ', sìpwàrì-ma phrai'-si, za-phrai'-si,  
 əne-né-gá, θú-ətwɛ', sìpwàyè-hma phyi'-se, ba-phyi'-se,  
 status-with-SUBJ he-for profit-in be-let what-be-let

tə-khú-lé [əku - ] əkuəñi mə-rá.  
 tə-khú-hmá [əku - ] əkuəñi mə-yá-bù.  
 one-thing-even [help] help not-get

30. əkuəñi-mə-rá, θu-tə-thù-atwɔ' sho-ló-fí-ló-phrai'-ke, θu-re,  
 əkuəñi-mə-yá-bù, θu-tə-thù-ətwɛ' sho-ló-fí-ló-fí-yin, θu-ha,  
 help-not-get person-one-other-for say-ing-be-ing-be-if he-SUBJ

əcheinəkha-mə-rwì, ɛndəre [tə-] təkʰúkhú thíkhai'-dənra-rá-re  
 əcheinəkha-mə-ywè, andəyɛ [tə-] təkʰúgú thíkhai'-danya-yá-dé  
 time-not-choose danger [one] something injure-injury-receive-REL

lu-tə-yau'-yau' twí-ló-ǰí-ge, tɛ'-thà-re pyinñā-nén  
 lu-tə-yau'-yau' twé-ló-ǰí-yin, ta'-thà-dé pyinñā-né  
 person-one-person-person find-ing-be-if learn-keep-REL skill-with

kuñi-hnain-aun-sho-re sedəna-nén, θɔn-thà-rá-re sho-phó.  
 kuñi-hnain-aun-sho-dé sedəna-né, θin-thà-yá-də sho-da.  
 help-can-so.that-say-REL goodwill-with learn-keep-must-VSMK say-for

31. E-yòn-pain θɔn-ge'-ra-hma-lé, ɲəró-re  
 Di-èdi-lo θin-já-ya-hma-lè, ɲadó-ha  
 this-that-like learn-PL-must-thing-also we-SUBJ

ǰèù-θuna-brú-pyinñā-go tɛ'-thà-pì-ge, khútəgá ələnəbain  
 ǰèù-θuna-byú-pyinñā-go ta'-thà-pì-yin, khúnəgá əlanbə  
 first-patient-care-skill-ACC learn-keep-finish-if just.now snake.doctor

pyinñā-go θɔn-re lu-dí-hma-pain, ɲəró-go kho-la-hmá-ra  
 pyinñā-go θin-dé lu-de-hma-lo, ɲədó-go kho-la-hmá-ḍa  
 skill-ACC learn-REL person-PL-at-like we-ACC fetch-come-only-only

mə-hou':  
 mə-hou'-phù:  
 not-be.so

32. krà-sɔ-nén twí-sɔ-nén, tɛ'-thà-re pyinñā-nén  
 cà-da-né twé-da-né, ta'-thà-dé pyinñā-né  
 hear-thing-with see-thing-with learn-keep-REL skill-with

la-la-pì-ge, θu-tə-thù əθɔ'-mə-θi-rá-aun,  
 la-la-pì-dó, θu-tə-thù əθɛ'-mə-θe-yá-aun,  
 come-come-finish-ing person-one-other life-not-die-must-so.that

wedəna-khenzà-hmú nèpà-lau'-aun, sho-re sei'dé'-myò-nén  
 wedəna-khanzà-hmú nèpà-lau'-aun, sho-dé sei'da'-myò-né  
 pain-suffer-thing be.little-be.enough-so that say-REL attitude-kind-with

là-pì-ge, tɛ'-thà-re pyinñā-nén là-ló prúzú-ge'-rə-re.  
 θwà-pì-dó, ta'-thà-dé pyinñā-né θwà-bì pyúzú-já-yá-də.  
 come-finish-ing learn-keep-REL skill-with come-and treat-PL-must-VSMK

33. Mə-ǰòn-mə-lòn-zɔ hí-gə-lé meìn-ge'-hnòn.  
 Mə-ǰin-mə-lìn-da ǰí-yin-lè mè-já-bó.  
 Not-clear-not-light-thing be-if-also ask-PL-EMP

#### 2.4.2 ARAKANESE TEXT NO.2 – THE MOUSE IN THE MILK: A PSYCHOSOMATIC ILLNESS

1. Nau'-sho-ge, de-sei'dé'-cáun wedəna-phrai'-sɔ-tí ǰí-re.  
 Nau'-sho-yin, di-sei'da'-cáun wedəna-phyi'-ta-də ǰí-də.  
 more-say-if this-mind-because.of illness-occur-thing-PL exist-VSMK

2. əyɔn-tə-kha-gá ein-tə-shaun-ma ein-ʃɔn-má-tə-yau', θú-ma  
 əyin-tə-kha-gá ein-tə-ein-hma ein-ʃin-má-tə-yau', θú-hma  
 former-one-time-PT house-one-house-in house-owner-one-person she-at  
 ñə́má-tə-yau', ye-pri-ge əkhàinəsi wajl-má-tə-yau',  
 ñimá-tə-yau', da-pì-yin əkhàinəse əphwàjì-tə-yau',  
 sister-one-person that-finish-when servant old-female-one-person  
 θòun-yau' nein-ge'-te-le'.  
 θòun-yau' ne-já-de-dé.  
 three-person live-PL-VSMK-it.says
3. Ein-ʃɔn-má-dó kàungàun-phei'θa-ʃí-re – lu-chènθa-má.  
 Ein-ʃin-má-dó kàungàun-pai'shan-ʃí-de – lu-chànθa-má.  
 house-owner-female-as.for well-money-have-VSMK person-rich-female
4. Ye-ge, néin-dàin mò-lòn-ge, nó-tə-khwə'-si θau'-te-le'  
 èdi-dó né-dàin mò-lìn-dó, nó-tə-khwe'-si θau'-tə-dé  
 that-when day-every sky-light-when milk-one-cup-each drink-VSMK-it.says  
 – [yòn-wajì –] yòn-ein-ʃɔn-má – [yòn –] yòn-ləráde'má.  
 – [èdi-əphwà –] èdi-ein-ʃin-má – [è-di –] èdi-θəthémá.  
 [that-old.lady] that-house-owner-female [that] that-rich.lady
5. Yòn-lərá-de'má-re néin-dàin mò-lòn-ge nó-tə-khwə'-si  
 èdi-θəthémá-ha né-dàin mò-lìn-dó nó-tə-khwe'-si  
 that-rich.lady-SUBJ day-every sky-light-when milk-one-cup-each  
 [θau' –] θau'-nein-já ʃí-re.  
 [θau' –] θau'-ne-já phyi'-te.  
 [drink] drink-stay-habit be-VSMK
6. Myə'hna-məθe θai'-pri, nó-tə-khwə' θau'-pəlai'-te-byə.  
 Myə'hna-debade θi'-pì, nó-tə-khwe' θau'-pəlai'-ta-bè.  
 face-and.such wash-finish milk-one-cup drink-through-VSMK-EMP
7. θú-ətwo' əmrèdèn əshonθón-zi pyon-thà-ge'-te.  
 θú-ətwe' əmyèdán əshinθín pyin-thà-já-de.  
 she-for always ready-each prepare-place-PL-VSMK
8. Nó θau'-pəlai'-pri-ge yòn-mə́má-re  
 Nó θau'-pəlai'-pì-yin èdi-mèinmá-ha  
 milk drink-through-finish-when that-woman-SUBJ  
 mrèn-ló-shèn-ló twí-re-byə.  
 làn-ló-shàn-ló phyi'la-da-bè.  
 refresh-ing-refresh-ing find-VSMK-EMP
9. tə-rɔ'néin-kha-lé yòn-pain-ləgàun θu-ei'-ra-gá [myə'hna –]  
 tə-né-hma-lè èdi-lo-bè θu-ei'-ya-gá [myə'hna –]  
 one-day-time-also that-way-same she-sleep-place-from [face]  
 thá-pri-ge, myə'hna-məθe θai'-te.  
 thá-pì-dó, myə'hna-debade θi'-te.  
 rise-finish-when face-and.such wash-VSMK

10.  $\theta wà-tai'-te$        $myə'hna-\theta ai'-te$      $lou'-p\grave{r}i-ge$ ,       $\theta\acute{u}-ətwə' \quad əshən\theta\acute{o}n$   
 $\theta wà-tai'-ta$        $mye'hna-\theta i'-ta$      $lou'-p\grave{i}-d\acute{o}$ ,       $\theta\acute{u}-ətwə' \quad əshin\theta\acute{o}n$   
teeth-brush-thing    face-wash-thing    do-finish-when    she-for    ready  
  
 $py\acute{o}n-thà-re$        $nó-go$        $yu-p\grave{r}i-ge$        $\theta au'-p\acute{e}lai'-te-by\acute{e}$ .  
 $pyin\ thà-dé$        $nó-go$        $yu-p\grave{i}-d\acute{o}$        $\theta au'-p\acute{e}lai'-ta-b\grave{e}$ .  
prepare-place-REL    milk-ACC    take-finish-when    drink-through-VSMK-EMP
11.  $Y\acute{o}n \quad \theta u \quad [\theta au' - ]$      $nó \quad \theta au'-p\acute{e}lai'-te$        $əchein-ma$ ,  
 $èdi \quad \theta u \quad [\theta au' - ]$      $nó \quad \theta au'-p\acute{e}lai'-té$        $əchein-hma$ ,  
that    she [drink]    milk    drink-through-REL    time-at  
  
 $\theta\acute{u}-\tilde{n}ə má-gá-lé$        $zì-go$        $là-khá-re$ ;  
 $\theta\acute{u}-\tilde{n}imá-gá-lè$        $zè-go$        $\theta wà-ne-d\acute{e}$ ;  
her-sister-SUBJ-also    market-to    go-there-VSMK
12.  $əsekhen-má-lé$        $y\acute{o}n-nəra-ma$      $mə-jí$ .  
 $əsegan-má-lè$        $èdi-neya-hma$      $mə-jí-bù$ .  
servant-female-also    that-place-in    not-be
13.  $Nó-mə\theta e$        $\theta au'-l\acute{o}-p\grave{r}i-kha$ ,       $\theta u-mr\acute{e}n-l\acute{o}-sh\acute{e}n-l\acute{o}$        $[twí-kha - ]$   
 $Nó-debade$        $\theta au'-l\acute{o}-p\grave{i}-d\acute{e}-akha$ ,     $\theta u-làn-l\acute{o}-shàn-l\acute{o}$        $[phyi'-té akha - ]$   
milk.and-such    drink-ing-finish-time    she-refresh-ing-refresh-ing    [find-time]  
  
 $twí-p\grave{r}i-ge$        $\theta u$      $nein-d\acute{o}un-ma$ ,     $\theta\acute{u}-əkhainəsi-wajimá$   
 $phyi'-p\grave{i}-d\acute{o}$        $\theta u$      $ne-d\acute{o}un-hma$ ,     $\theta\acute{u}-əkhainəse-əphwàjì$   
see-finish-when    she    be-while-in    her-servant-old.lady  
  
 $l\acute{o}'-ma$      $doun-tə-doun-nén$      $t\acute{o}'-l\acute{e}'-te-by\acute{e}$ .  
 $l\acute{e}'-hma$      $jáin-tə-jáin-né$        $t\acute{e}'-la-da-b\grave{e}$ .  
hand-in    can-one-can-with    ascend-come-VSMK-VSMK.
14.  $L\acute{o}'-ma$      $doun-tə-doun-nén$      $[t\acute{o}'-l\acute{e}'-ke - ]$        $t\acute{o}'-l\acute{e}'-p\grave{r}i-ge -$   
 $L\acute{e}'-hma$      $jáin-tə-jáin-né$        $[t\acute{e}'-la-d\acute{o} - ]$        $t\acute{e}'-la-p\grave{i}-d\acute{o} -$   
hand-in    can-one-can-with    [ascend-come-when]    ascend-come-finish-when
15. "Hn.  $Mámá$      $nó \quad [ \theta au'-kwe' - ]$      $\theta au'-p\acute{e}lai'-pa-bə-là$ ,"  
"Hn.  $Mámá$      $nó \quad [ \theta au'-ku' - ]$      $\theta au'-p\acute{e}lai'-pa-bə-là$ ,"  
what    sister    milk [drink-edge]    drink-up-POL-VSMK-Q  
  
 $yəpain-l\acute{o}$        $m\acute{e}in-re$ .  
 $èdi-lo-shobì$      $m\acute{e}-d\acute{e}$ .  
thus-QUO    ask-VSMK
16.  $M\acute{e}in-ge -$  "È.  $\theta au'-p\acute{e}lai'-py\acute{e}$ .  $Za-phrai'-l\acute{o}-l\acute{e}''$ "  
 $M\acute{e}-d\acute{o} -$  "È.  $\theta au'-p\acute{e}lai'-pi$ .  $Ba-phyi'-l\acute{o}-l\acute{e}''$ "  
ask-when    mm    drink-up-VSMK    what-happen-because-Q
17. "Y\acute{o}n-nó-go     $əcw\acute{e}n$      $pai'-ph\acute{o}$      $thà-z\acute{o}-ba$ .  
"èdi-nó-go     $cə má$      $pyi'-ph\acute{o}$      $thà-da-ba$ .  
that-milk-ACC I      throw-for    set-thing-POL
18.  $Krw\acute{o}'-tə-gaun$        $cá-\theta i-ləkhá-ba-l\acute{o}$ ."       $Yə-pain$      $sho-re$ .  
 $Cw\acute{e}'-tə-gaun$        $cá-\theta e-\acute{o}wà-l\acute{o}$ ."       $èdi-lo$      $sho-d\acute{e}$ .  
mouse-one-creature    fall-die-go-POL-because      this-way    say-VSMK

19. Sho-ge, "əcwen nó-əθai' we-ba-khigà – māmá-θau'-phó-ló.  
Sho-dó, "Cəmə nó-əθi' wə-la-da-bè – māmá-θau'-phó-ló.  
say-when I milk-new buy-POL-EXCL sister-drink-for-because
20. Ỳon-nó pai'-pəlai'-phó-ló," sho-ge, ỳon-məmə-re –  
èdi-nó pyi'-pəlai'-phó-ló," sho-dó, èdi-mèinmə-ha –  
that-milk throw-out-for-because say-when that-sister-EMP
21. "Hn! Krwɔ' cá-ló θi-re nó-go ɲa θau'-mí-byɛ.  
"Hn! Cwɛ' cá-bì θe-dé nó-go ɲa θau'-mí-bi.  
ha mouse fall-ing die-REL milk-ACC I drink-happen-VSMK
22. ɲa-dó dou'khá-byɛ.  
ɲa-dó dou'khá-bè.  
I-as.for trouble-EMP
23. Krwɔ' sho-zɔ-myò-gá phaunθa-mə-lé ỳon-krwɔ'  
Cwɛ' sho-da-myò-gá einðə-mə-lè èdi-cwɛ'  
mouse say-thing-kind-SUBJ lavatory-in-also that-mouse  
rau'-ləkhá-re-byɛ;  
yau'-θwà-da-bè;  
get-go-VSMK-VSMK
24. rəθòun-mə-lé ỳon-krwɔ' rau'-ləkhá-re-byɛ. Nn.  
yechògàn-mə-lè èdi-cwɛ' yau'-θwà-da-bè. Nn.  
bathroom-in-also that-mouse get-go-VSMK-VSMK oh.dear
25. Sou'pé-re nəra-hu-θə-hmyá-ma ỳon-krwɔ'-re là-nein-zɔ  
Sou'pé-dé neya-hu-ðə-hmyá-hma èdi-cwɛ'-ha θwà-ne-da  
be.dirty-REL place-say-REL-all-in that-mouse-EMP go-be-VSMK  
jaungrojaungrà-go – ỳon-krwɔ'  
jaunjojaunjà-go – èdi-cwɛ'  
nook.and.cranny-ACC that-mouse  
nó-thè-go cá-lə-khá sho-brì nau'-ko ỳon-əñai'əkɾè  
nó-dè-go cá-ðwà-bi sho-dó nau'-ko èdi-əñi'əcè  
milk-inside-ACC fall-go-time say-finish after-ACC that-dirt  
səzou'pəbé-dí-àlòun nó-thè-ma phyɔ-ló-jí-re –  
sou'sou'pəbé-de-àlòun nó-dè-hma phyɔ-ne-de –  
dirt-PL-all milk-inside-in infuse-ing-be-VSMK
26. phyɔ-thé-lai'-pain jí-ne-phó.  
phyɔ-thé-lai'-θəlo jí-ne-me.  
infuse-add-just-like be-stay-for
27. Ỳon-jón ɲa θau'-mí mə-là – gú," sho-pɾi-ge,  
èdi-ou'sa ɲa θau'-mí(bi) məhou'-là – gú," sho-pì-dó,  
that-thing I drink-happen not.so-Q now say-finish-ing  
θu-re twè-ỳon, rwɛn-ỳon,  
θu-ha twè-ỳin, yun-ỳin,  
she-SUBJ ponder-ing revolt-ing



- en-chon-yòn, phrai'-la-pri-ge, en-byε.  
 an-jin-yìn, phyi'-la-pì-dó, an-yò.  
 vomit-want-ing be-come-finish-when vomit-VSMK
28. en-sɔ, en-sɔ, en-sɔ-re – mə-shòun-dèn.  
 An-da, an-da, an-da-ha – mə-shòun-dàn.  
 vomit-thing vomit-thing vomit-thing-EMP not-end-thing
29. Nau'-sho-ge, – θú-ma-gá sei'-cau' pa-nein-zo-gò –  
 Nau'-sho-yìn, – θú-hma-gá cau'-sei' pa-ne-da-gò –  
 after-say-if she-at-SUBJ mind-fear have-stay-thing-EMP
- twè-yòn, rwen-zəra-dí-go θədírá-yòn, rwen-yòn, en-yòn –  
 twè-yìn, yun-zəya-de-go θədíyá-yìn, yun-yìn, an-yìn –  
 ponder-ing disgusting-things-PL-ACC remember-ing revolt-ing vomit-ing
- yòn-pain-en-ge, pəthəmə-kha-dó əsa-pa-re-byε-le.  
 èdi-lo-an-dó, pəthəmə-dó əsa-pa-da-bè-le.  
 that-like-vomit-when first-time-as.for food-contain-VSMK-EMP-you.know
30. θau'-thà-re nó-dí thwɔ'-cá-re.  
 θau'-thà-dé nó-de thwε'-cá-dε.  
 drink-keep-REL milk-PL emerge-fall-VSMK
31. Yəpain-hnòn-bon – əsa-dí pa-re.  
 èdi-lo-bè – əsa-de pa-dε.  
 that-way-EMP food-PL contain-VSMK
32. en-phen myà-ge, əsa mə-pa-byε.  
 An-ban myà-dó, əsa mə-pa-dó-bù.  
 vomit-time be.numerous-when food not-contain-VSMK
33. Le-ra en-re-byε.  
 Le-ḍa an-da-bè.  
 air-only vomit-VSMK-EMP
34. Sho-ge, en-phen myà-ge, lu-re ñòpa-le'-te-hnònra.  
 Sho-dó, an-ban myà-dó, lu-ha myò-ḍwà-da-bó.  
 say-when vomit-time be.numerous-when person-EMP float-go-VSMK-EMP
35. Mə'te' mə-ne-hnain-byε.  
 Ma'ta' mə-ne-hnain-dó-bù.  
 upright not-stay-can-VSMK
36. Nwən-nwən-pri-ge θu ei'-ra-hma-ra pò'lo' lè-pri-ge,  
 Nùn-nùn-pì-dó θu ei'-ya-hma-ḍa pe'le' hlè-pì-dó,  
 weaken-weaken-finish-when she sleep-place-in-only on.her.back lie-finish-ing
- rògaθe-tə-yau' phrai'-ləkhá-re-byε.  
 yògaḍe-tə-yau' phyi'-θwà-da-bè.  
 invalid-one-person be-go-VSMK-EMP
37. Phrai'-lə-ge, ñəməḥe zì-gá prən-la-re.  
 Phyi'-θwà-dó, ñimáḍe zè-gà pyan-la-dε.  
 be-go-when sister market-from return-come-VSMK

38. ñəməθe-gá zì-là-ló-ʃí-re sho-gò.  
 ñimáðe-gá zè-θwà-ne-də sho-gò.  
 sister-SUBJ market-go-ing-be-VSMK say-indeed
39. ñəməθe zì-gá prən-la-ge,  
 ñimáðe zè-gá pyan-la-dó,  
 sister market-from return-come-when  
 tə-cho'-kré-ma tho-nəra-ma-lé ɛnphe' shì-thà-zə,  
 tə-che' cí-lai'-tó ho-neya-hma-lè anba' shè-thà-da,  
 one-glance-look-in that-place-in-also vomit wash-put-thing  
 de-nəra-ma-lé ɛnphe' shì-thà-zə; ein-bre'lòun-lé cì-ló  
 di-neya-hma-lè anba' shè-thà-da; təein-lòun-lè jou'-ló  
 this-place-in-also vomit wash-put-thing house-all.over-also be.dirty-ing  
 pà-ló phrai'-ne-byə.  
 thwè-ló phyi'-ne-da-bè.  
 be.dirty-ing be-stay-VSMK
40. Ein-bre'lòun-lé cì-ló-pà-ló rwen-gráunthəmèn  
 Təein-lòun-lè jou'-ló-thwè-ló yun-zəyaji  
 house-all.over-also be.dirty-ing-be.dirty-ing disgust-ing  
 phrai'-roun-ra mə-ká-θí:  
 phyi'-youn-ða mə-ká-ðè:  
 be-thing-only not-be.so.little-yet
41. tə-cho'-kré-lai'-te-ma èməθe-lé ei'-ra-ma sòn-ló.  
 tə-che'-cí-lai'-té əkha-hma əməðe-lè ei'-ya-hma sìn-ló.  
 one-glance-look-just-REL-at sister-also sleep-place-in stretch-ing
42. “əbá-lè! əmí:n-lè!”-ló, ñi:n-ló-ñu-ló phrai'-ne-byə.  
 “əbá-lè! əmí-lè!”-ló, ñi-ló-ñu-ló phyi'-ne-da-bè.  
 father-little mother-little-QUO moan-ing-groan-ing be-stay-VSMK
43. Phrai'-nein-ge, “Za-phrai'-pa-lè-məmə?”  
 Phyi'-ne-dó, “Ba-phyi'-pa-lè-má-má?”  
 be-stay-ing what-happen-POL-Q-sister
44. Yə-pain-ló mèn-ge – “Za-phrai'-ló sho-ga-he – ɲa  
 èdi-lo-shobì mè-dó – “Ba-phyi'-ló sho-dó-he – ɲa  
 this-like-QUO ask-when what-happen-ing say-when-hey I  
 krwə'-cá-ló θi-re nó-go θau'-mí-byə,” sho-re.  
 cwe'-cá-bì θe-dé nó-go θau'-mí-bi,” sho-dé.  
 mouse-fall-ing die-REL milk-ACC drink-inadvertently-VSMK say-VSMK
45. Sho-ge, ñəməθe-gá – “Za-nó-lè.  
 Sho-dó, ñimáðe-gá – “Ba-nó-lè.  
 say-when sister-SUBJ what-milk-Q
46. Krwə' cá-ló θi-zə – [nó – ] yèn-nó-go əcwen  
 Cwe' cá-bì θe-da – [nó – ] èdi-nó-go cəmə  
 mouse fall-ing die-thing [milk]-that-milk-ACC I

wè-pəlai'-při-ge, ò-daunhmá-əθai'-nén cho'-při-ge,  
 θun-pəlai'-při-dó, ò-daunhmá-əθi'-né che'-při-dó,  
 throw-out-finish-ing pot-even-new-with cook-finish-and

əθai' thà-khá-zo-ra mə-là."  
 əθi' thà-gé-da-đa mə-hou'-là."  
 new put-there-thing-EMP not.be.so-Q

47. Yə-pain-ló prò-kha – "O. Yòn-krwə' cá-ló θi-re  
 èdi-lo-shobì pyò-dé-əkha – "O. èdi-cwə' cá-bì θe-dé  
 that-way-QUO say-time oh that-mouse fall-ing die-REL

nó pai'-lai'-pələ."  
 nó pyi'-lai'-pələ."  
 milk throw-out-VSMK-Q

48. "Gú pai'-pə-khá-byə – əcwən.  
 "Gú pyi'-pyi'-khé-bi – cəmə.  
 now throw-out-there-VSMK I

49. Ye-při-ge ò-daunhmá əθai' – ò-əθai'-sə-nén  
 Da-pì-yin ò-daunhmá əθi' – ò-əθi'-ha-né  
 that-finish-when pot-even new pot-new-thing-with

[sə' – ] cho'-při-ge, əθai'-nó we-ló cho'-pə-khá-sə-re-ʃón,"  
 [sə' – ] che'-při-dó, nó-əθi' wə-bì che'-pyi'-khé-da-bè-ou'sa,"  
 [sook] cook-finish-when new-milk buy-ing cook-throw-away-thing-EMP-thing

sho-ge, khenzà-ne-rá-re wedəna-àldun pyau'-ləkhá-re-bye.  
 sho-dó, khanzà-ne-yá-dé wedəna-àldun pyau'-θwà-da-bè.  
 say-when suffer-be-must-REL illness-all vanish-go-VSMK-EMP

50. Yòn-pain phrai'-sə-re, wedəna, ən-re-ó-re  
 èdi-lo phyi'-ta-ha, wedəna, an-dé-ó-dé  
 that-like happen-thing-EMP illness vomit-REL-vomit-REL

phrai'-la-rá-sə-le tə-khú-shì-jaún,  
 phyi'-la-yá-da-lè shè-tə-khú-jaún,  
 become-come-must-thing-also one-thing-drug-because.of

[əprən – ] əprən-pəyògá-jaún-lé mə-hou': sei'-cáun-bye.  
 [əpyin – ] əpyin-pəyògá-jaún-lé mə-hou'-phù: sei'-cáun-bè.  
 [ext] external-influence-because.of-also not-be.so mind-because.of-EMP

51. Prən-brì yòn-wedəna-gá pyau'kòn-ləkhá-rá-sə-lé  
 Pyan-bì èdi-wedəna-gá pyau'kìn-θwà-yá-da-lè  
 return-ing that-illness-SUBJ vanish-go-must-thing-also

sei'-kraún-byə.  
 sei'-cáun-bè.  
 mind-because.of-EMP

52. Yòn-nén sei'-ko ədíká-thà-ló prò-sə.  
 èda-né sei'-ko ədíká-thà-ló pyò-da.  
 that-with mind-ACC main-place-QUO say-thing

## 2.4.3 ARAKANESE TEXT NO.3 – THE BANYAN TREE AND THE INDIAN PLOT: MIRACULOUS POWERS OF COX’S ORDINATION HALL

Note: Cox’s Bazaar was founded by Sir Hiram Cox for war refugees. Hence the Arakanese name Phələun-chei’: ‘the Westerner’s city’.

1. θəmí-ró      θà-ró.  
θəmì-dó      θà-dó.  
daughter-PL son-PL
2. [Ka-θe’-fɔn θe’tí – ] Kaθe’-əfɔn te-khá-zo  
[Ka-θəkhin θa’tí – ] Ka-θəkhin tɛ-gé-da  
[Cox-master power] Cox-master found-there-thing  
mróto θe’tí-əkrəun-go prò-prá-me.  
myódó θa’tí-əcəun-go pyò-pyá-me.  
city power-about-ACC tell-show-VSMK
3. È. Prò-prá-me. əpoun-prò-prá-khá-zo fí-re.  
È. Pyò-pyá-me. əpoun-pyò-pyá-gé-da fí-dɛ.  
yes tell-show-VSMK much-tell-show-there-thing be-VSMK
4. È. [θe’tí – ] gu:n-θe’tí-ná fí-khá-re.  
È. [θa’tí – ] gown-θa’tí-né fí-gé-dɛ.  
yes [power] honour-power-with be-there-VSMK
5. fí-khá-kha-re yòn-mróto-re əyɔn-khau’-kha tò-rwa.  
fí-gé-dó-ga èdi-myódó-ha əyin-khi’-hma tò-ywa.  
be-there-time-EMP that-city-SUBJ former-period-in country-village
6. Tò-rwə-kha-re lu-lé mə-fí sho-kha, e-ma  
Tò-ywa-dòun-gá lu-lè mə-fí-bù sho-dó, èdi-hma  
country-village-when-EMP person-also not-be say-time that-in  
Rəkhain-θà-ró-go mró-tə-mró chá-re –  
Yəkhain-ðà-dó-go myó-tə-myó chá-dɛ –  
Arakanese-son-PL-ACC town-one-town found-VSMK  
rə-tə-rə chá-re.  
ywa-tə-ywa chá-dɛ.  
village-one-village found-VSMK
7. Chá-kha, ye-fón-re tə-ní:n-tho’-tə-rə’ sekà-ló  
Chá-dó, èdi-ou’sa-ha tə-né-dɛ’-tə-né sigà-ló  
found-when that-thing-SUBJ one-night-over-one-day be.populous-ing  
la-kha, yòn-fón-ma θeindo-grì-tə-khú-gá  
la-dó, èdi-ou’sa-hma θeindo-jì-tə-khú-gá  
come-when that-thing-SUBJ hall-big-one-item-SUBJ  
əthwə’təmre’ Kaθe’-fɔn te-khá-re.  
əthu’əmya’ Ka-θəkhin tɛ-gé-dɛ.  
most.noble Cox-master set.up-there-VSMK
8. Te-khá-kha-re e-fón pəlau’-thí təgò-fí-re  
Tɛ-gé-dó-ga èdi-ou’sa bəlau’-thí təgò-fí-dɛ  
found-there-time-EMP that-thing how.much-up.to power-have-VSMK

- sho-zo-go,      ñaun-bon-gələ-tə-bon      sai'-te.  
 sho-da-go,      ñaun-bin-gələ-tə-bin      sai'-te.  
 say-thing-ACC    banyan-tree-small-one-tree    plant-VSMK
9.    Yòn-ñaun-bon-grì-re      yòn-θeindo-go-re      əkho'ələ'-mə-thò-bè,  
      èdi-ñaun-bin-jì-ha      èdi-θeindo-go      əkhe'ələ'-mə-thò-bè,  
      that-banyan-tree-big-SUBJ    that-hall-ACC-EMP    branch-not-touch-without  
      əmrai'-mə-thò-bè,      gú-tho'-thí      fí-re.  
      əmyi'-mə-thò-bè,      gú-de'-thí      fí-de.  
      root-not-touch-without    now-time-up.to    be-VSMK
10. [Mm. fí - ] fí-re.    əgú-lé      θà-θəmì-ró-go      əmən-re  
      [Mm. fí - ] fí-de.    əgú-lè      θà-θəmì-dó-go      əme-ha  
      [mm be] be-VSMK    now-also    son-daughter-PL-ACC    mother-SUBJ  
      kho-ló      prá-chon-re.  
      kho-bì      pyá-jin-de.  
      take-and    show-want-VSMK
11. È. E-lau'-thí      təgò-θe'tí-ná      prézoun-khá-re  
      È. è-di-lau'-athí    təgò-θa'tí-né      pyézoun-gé-dé  
      yes that-much-up.to    glory-power-with    be.full-there-REL  
      Kaθe'-fɔn-ló      gú-tho'-thí-lé      rou'thúdwə-ná  
      Ka-θəkhin-ló      gú-de'-thí-lè      you'thúdwə-né  
      Cox-master-QUO    now-time-up.to-also    statue-with  
      kòkwe-ló      fí-re.  
      kòkwe-ló      ne-de.  
      worship-ing    be-VSMK
12. È. Rəkhain-ma    kho-re    Phəlàun-chei' -  
      È. Yəkhain-hma    kho-de    Phəlàun-chei' -  
      yes Arakan-in      call-REL    Westerner-city  
      è: Rəkhain-ma    kho-re    Phəlàun-chei';  
      è: Yəkhain-hma    kho-de    Phəlàun-chei';  
      yes Arakan-in      call-REL    Westerner-city
13. e-ge      Kəlà-ma    kho-re    Kɔ'səBaza-ló      kho-re.  
      di-dó      Kəlà-hma    kho-de    Kɔ'səBaza-ló      kho-de.  
      this-when    Indian-in    call-REL    Cox's.Bazaar-QUO    call-VSMK
14. Hnai'-təin-hnai'-təin    θongrən-Wa-jwə'      sho-ge,  
      Hni'-təin-hni'-təin    θinjan-Wa-ju'      sho-yin,  
      year-every-year-every    Thingyan-Lent-release    say-when  
      təθàunshalou'    pwè-cá-re.  
      cijiceje      pwè-cá-de.  
      lavishly      feast-fall-VSMK

15. Pyɔ-phó-lé əlwən kàun-re.  
Pyɔ-bó-lè əlun kàun-dɛ.  
enjoy-for-also much be.good-VSMK
16. È. [Nau' - ] nau'-kha-lé zedi-ròn-θeindo-ró-ma  
È. [Nau' - ] nau'-tó-lè zedi-yìn-θeindo-dó-hma  
yes [late] late-time-also pagoda-base-hall-PL-in  
[shəmìn - ] shəmìn: n thwèn-ge'-te, shwèndo-grì làun-ge'-te.  
[shimì - ] shi-mì thùn-já-dɛ, shùndo-jì làun-já-dɛ.  
[oil.fire] oil.fire light-PL-VSMK alms.rice-great offer-PL-VSMK
17. È. Wa-jwɛ'-kha sho-ge, θònbou'-shwèn tòn-ge'-te.  
È. Wa-ju'-kha sho-yìn, θinbou'-shùn tin-já-dɛ.  
yes Lent-release-time say-when thinbok-rice place-PL-VSMK
18. Yòn-ǰón-tí-go-re kəgàun pyɔ-phó kàun-dɛ.  
èdi-ou'sa-de-go-gá kàun-gàun pyɔ-bó kàun-dɛ.  
that-thing-PL-EMP-SUBJ well enjoy-for be.good-VSMK
19. E-ǰón-re [əmɔn - ] əmɔn-ró-lé hnai'-tàin yòn-ǰón  
èdi-ou'sa-ha [əme - ] əme-dó-lè hni'-tàin èdi-ou'sa  
that-thing-SUBJ [mother] mother-PL-also year-every that-thing  
pwè cá-kha, əchein cá-kha, kó-tàinpre-go aúnméin-re.  
pwè cá-yin, əchein cá-yin, kó-tàinpye-go au'mé-dɛ.  
festival come-time time come-when self-country-ACC recall-VSMK
20. Nau'-re pə-lau'-thí təgò-hí-re sho-zo-go, Kəlà-tí  
Nau'-tó bə-lau'-athí təgò-jí-dɛ sho-da-go, Kəlà-de  
later-when how-much-up.to power-have-VSMK say-thing-ACC Indian-PL  
phyɔ'shì-phó pyɔn-kha, i:nmɔ'-tɔ-lé pì-re.  
phyɛ'shì-bó pyin-dó, einme'-tɔ-lè pè-dɛ.  
destroy-to prepare-time dream-holy-also give-VSMK
21. È. "Mə-phyɔ'-ké! E-θeindo-ná zedidɔ-go phyɔ'-te  
È. "Mə-phyɛ'-né! Di-θeindo-né zedidɔ-go phyɛ'-tɛ  
yes not-destroy-VSMK that-hall-and pagoda-ACC destroy-VSMK  
sho-ge, lɔ'-thí-ló ǰí-ge, [θɔ' - mm - ] nɔn-ró-re  
sho-yin, lɛ'-thí-ló ǰí-yin, [θɛ' - mm - ] nin-dó-ha  
say-if hand-touch-ing be-if [life mm] you-PL-SUBJ  
dou'khá twí-lí:n-me."  
dou'khá twé-léin-me."  
trouble find-surely-VSMK
22. I:nmɔ' θòun-kha pì-re-lɛ'.  
Einme' θòun-ga pè-dɛ-dɛ.  
dream three-time give-VSMK-reported
23. Mm. Pì-kha-re yòn-ǰón-tí Kəlà-tí-gá krau'-ló  
Mm. Pì-dó èdi-ou'sa-de Kəlà-de-gá cau'-ló  
mm finish-time-SUBJ that-thing-PL Indian-PL-SUBJ fear-because

gú-tho'-thí      rəro-θəθe –      è – e-ʃón-go-re  
 gú-də'-thí      yoyo-θeðe –      è – di-ou'sa-go-bè  
 now-time-up.to    respectful-ADV    yes    this-thing-ACC-EMP

prúprən-ló-thà-re-le'.  
 pyúpyin-thà-də-dé.  
 repair-ing-set-VSMK-reported

24. E-ʃón-re              nən-ró-go              prò-prá-chən-re.  
 Di-ou'sa-bè            nin-dó-go              pyð-pyá-jin-də.  
 that-thing-SUBJ    you-PL-ACC    tell-show-want-VSMK

#### 2.4.4 TRANSLATIONS

##### 2.4.4.1 THE LEPER COLONY AND THE SNAKEBITE DOCTORS: THE VOCATIONAL ASPECT OF RED CROSS WORK

1. I'm going to tell you about those aspects of our work in the Red Cross which call for unselfishness. 2. In general the kind of attitude that is needed could be called the 'missionaries' attitude'. 3. I've seen this missionaries' attitude in practice. There's a leper institution in Han-tha-wadi – one for men and one for women.

4. The girls at the mission there used to kneel down in chapel and say, 5. "I am resolved to devote my life to looking after these unfortunate people until I die. I dedicate my body to God". 6. They made this vow before God, and they looked after the lepers. 7. They went on and on looking after the lepers, and after some time, they caught the disease themselves: they too became lepers.

8. The fact that they were able, out of compassion for their fellow men, to go such lengths to look after those people in trouble, is a pretty fine thing, isn't it? 9. Now that is the kind of attitude adopted, on the whole, by Christian missionaries – by the people in the missions.

10. Now if these Christian missionaries can have that kind of attitude, 11. can't any of us Arakanese have it too? 12. In fact it does exist among us. For example, people who are going to learn to treat snakebite have to take an oath in the presence of their teacher. 13. The oath is that they will not use their skill for profit. 14. They will accept no fee for their treatment. 15. They have to swear that if they hear someone has been bitten, or if they are called for, whatever time of day or night it may be, they will abandon what they are doing and go and give treatment.

16. This means that when a person has learnt the skills that enable him to cure snakebite, if he hears that someone has been bitten, in, say, a village five miles away, he must lay aside his work and go. 17. When he gets there he must say to the relatives of the man who has been bitten,

18. "I have studied such and such skills. 19. I have learnt these skills from a teacher in order to save the lives of persons suffering from snakebite. 20. Please may I use these skills I have acquired to treat this person and try and save his life?" 21. He has to request permission in this humble way. 22. If his request is granted, then suppose he saves the life of a man on the brink of death. 23. When a man suffering from a snakebite that could have been fatal is saved from death, it is only natural that he should want to make some recompense. 24.

Should he then offer something, either as a present, or to meet the cost of the drugs, the doctor is under oath, and he must not accept it.

25. The doctor loses by this, in that he gets no fee for the skills he has learnt. 26. Not only does he get no income from it, but as a result of having learnt his skills, his normal work, the work he does for a living, suffers. 27. So there have been some of us Arakanese who have had this attitude and these skills, and who have studied at personal sacrifice in order to save the lives of others and to bring relief to those in trouble.

28. And something of that kind of attitude is needed for work in the Red Cross now; 29. because a person who has learnt First Aid and other skills with the Red Cross gains no material reward from it, financial or otherwise. 30. He does it for the sake of others and without reward, which means that he must pursue his studies with the sole intention of being able to give help, by means of the skills he has learnt, if at any time he comes across a person who has been injured.

31. When we have studied First Aid and learnt it, then, like the snakebite doctors just now, we mustn't wait to be fetched: 32. if we hear of an accident, or see one, then we must come with the intention of saving a life with our skill, or easing pain, and must treat the patient with the skills we have learnt. 33. Now if there's anything that's not quite clear, please ask me about it.

#### 2.4.4.2 THE MOUSE IN THE MILK: A PSYCHOSOMATIC ILLNESS

1. Another thing is that there are cases of illness brought about by psychological causes. 2. Once there was a house where there lived the mistress of the house, her younger sister, and an old woman who worked for them – the three of them lived there together. 3. The old lady had plenty of money – she was a rich woman.

4. Every day at dawn she used to drink a glass of milk – this mistress of the house, the rich one. 5. It was her habit to drink a glass of milk at dawn every day. 6. She used to drink it after washing her face and so on. 7. They always used to have it ready for her. 8. After drinking the milk she used to feel refreshed.

9. One day she got up and washed her face in the usual way – 10. brushed her teeth and washed her face; and then she drank the milk that had been left ready for her. 11. At the time her sister had gone out shopping 12. and the servant wasn't there. 13. After drinking the milk and so on she was feeling all refreshed, when the old servant woman came in with a can in her hand. 14. In she came with this can in her hand, and she said,

15. "What? Did you drink that milk?"

16. "Yes, I drank it. What of it?"

17. "I put that milk there to be thrown away. 18. Because a mouse fell in and drowned in it", she said. 19. "I've just bought some fresh milk for you to drink. 20. That lot was to be thrown out". So the mistress said,

21. "What? You mean I've drunk the milk the mouse drowned in? 22. Oh dear dear. 23. A mouse is the kind of thing that's in and out of the lavatory 24. and in and out of the bathroom. Oh dear. 25. It gets into every dirty place there is, all the out-of-the-way corners, and if that mouse fell into my milk all that dirt and filth must have got into the milk. 26. It's as if it had all been warmed up together. 27. And now I've gone and drunk it have I?", she



said, and with dwelling on it, and being revolted by it, she began to feel sick, and then she vomited. 28. She went on and on and on vomiting – she couldn't stop. 29. And then – she was thoroughly frightened you see – she went on thinking about it, and how disgusting it was, and feeling revolted, and vomiting, and at first there was something to bring up: 30. all the milk she'd drunk came up, 31. so there was something there. 32. But as she went on there was nothing more to come – 33. she was just retching. 34. After all this, inevitably, she felt faint. 35. She couldn't stand up any longer. 36. She got weaker and weaker, and finally lay flat out on her bed: she was really ill.

37. At that point, her sister came back from the shops – 38. she'd been out shopping, you remember. 39. When she came back she took a quick look round and saw the traces of vomit cleared up in several places, and found the whole house in a mess. 40. Not only was the whole place in a shocking mess, 41. but glancing round she found her sister laid out in bed.

42. "Goodness gracious me", she cried, all upset, 43. "Whatever has been going on?" 44. To which her sister replied –

"What's been going on, my dear, is that I drank the milk a mouse drowned in". 45. So her sister said,

"What milk? 46. I threw out that milk the mouse drowned in. I even used a different pan to warm the fresh lot I left for you, didn't you know?" 47. At that, he sister said,

"Oh? You mean you threw out the milk the mouse drowned in?"

48. "I threw it out just now, I did. 49. And even the pan – I got a fresh pan and bought fresh milk and warmed it for you". And with that, all the symptoms she'd been suffering from vanished.

50. Now all that happened to her, all the illness, the vomiting, was not brought about by some drug, some external agency: it was entirely psychological. 51. And her complete recovery from all the symptoms, that was psychological too. 52. That's why we are told to give first place to the patient's state of mind.

#### 2.4.4.3 THE BANYAN TREE AND THE INDIAN PLOT: THE MIRACULOUS POWERS OF COX'S ORDINATION HALL

1. Listen children: 2. I'm going to tell you about the greatness of the city that Lord Cox founded. 3. Yes. I'm going to tell you. There's a lot they tell about it.

4. Well. It's a great city. 5. In early times that great city was just a little village. 6. In those days there was hardly anyone in it, and he founded a town there for the Arakanese – or really a village to start with. 7. Day by day it got bigger and bigger, and then Lord Cox built a holy ordination hall there. 8. His ordination hall was so sacred that when he planted a little banyan tree there, 9. and the tree grew, it never spread its branches over the hall, and never thrust its roots under it. It's still there, 10. still there. I'd like to take you children along and show it to you.

11. Well. And as for that Lord Cox who had such great powers, there's a statue of him there still which people worship. 12. Yes. The Arakanese call the town Phalaùn-cheik. Yes: the Arakanese call it Phalaùn-cheik, 13. and the Indians call it Cox's Bazaar.

14. Every year when Thìn gyan and the end of Lent come round, there's a huge festival. 15. Everyone has tremendous fun. 16. Yes, and then, at that hall by the pagoda, they light oil lamps and make offerings of holy rice. 17. Yes. And at the end of Lent they make the thinbok rice-offering. 18. It's all tremendous fun. 19. Every year when the festival comes round, when the time comes round, I feel a great longing for my own country.

20. Another thing about its sacredness was that once the Indians planned to demolish it, and they were sent a dream. 21. Yes. "Don't destroy it!", it said. "If you destroy that hall and pagoda, if you lay a hand on it, you will suffer for it". 22. The dream came three times, they say. 23. And after that the Indians were so afraid, they treated it with great respect – yes: they actually repaired it, people say. 24. That's what I wanted to tell you about.

### 3. INTHA

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Ìn-θà ('lake dwellers') have perhaps achieved greater fame outside Burma in modern times than any of the other Burmese dialect groups. This is due not to any peculiarity of their dialect, but partly to the scenic beauty of the lake, Ìn-lè, on and about which they live, and partly to unusual features of their way of life like their 'floating islands' and their so-called 'leg rowing'.

Ìn-lè Lake is about 14 miles long and some 4 miles wide, and is flanked on either side by ranges of hills. The villages of the Ìn-θà are built on stilts, with some of the houses on shore and some over the water, and, except in the dry season when the water is low, journeys from village to village, and even from house to house, are made by boat.

As well as short paddles wielded from a sitting position the Ìn-θà use long ones, the height of a man and more. The paddler stands on one leg at the stern of his dugout and twists the other leg round the paddle, which enables him to drive the boat over the water with the full force of his leg, back and shoulders. It is a spectacular sight, and achieves high speeds.

The floating islands are made by piling weeds and earth on lengths of floating vegetation and planting crops on top. Plots made in this way can actually be towed from one place to another (for details see Bernot & Bernot 1972).

These curiosities, and the idyllic appearance of the village houses, with their thatched roofs and bamboo-mat or timber walls, the rich monasteries, the fertile land and impressive scenery, have put Ìn-lè high on the list of places for showing to foreign tourists and state visitors. Visitors are no new phenomenon for the Ìn-θà: their famous Hpaung-daw-ù Pagoda has been drawing pilgrims from the rest of the country for many years.

#### 3.1.1 LOCATION AND NUMBERS

The LSB (Webb 1917:32) records Ìn-θà speakers in the Southern Shan States, mainly at Yawnghwe, Samka, Mong Pai and Mawngang, with further small groups in Karenni and the Salween District, and around Loikaw. This suggests a rather bunched distribution, but my impression was that the Ìn-θà villages were more evenly scattered along the edges of the lake. This is also implied by Tin È (1961:2), who lists some 20 lakeside villages, most of which, if not all, are presumably inhabited by Ìn-θà.

Ìn-θà speakers must have numbered between 50,000 and 60,000 before World War II, as the figures recorded in the censuses (except for 1901) are comparatively uniform:

1931 census:	c.57,000
1921 census:	c.55,000
1917 LSB:	c.61,000
1911 census:	c.56,000
1901 census:	c. 6,000

The low number for 1901 was perhaps due to inadequate coverage or a badly phrased question. There are no more recent census figures; but Bradley (1994) estimates some 90,000 current speakers.

The physical map of the area shows how the Ìn-θà might easily lose touch with the main body of Burmese speakers: they are cut off from the west by a long north-south range of hills with peaks of over 5,000 feet, towering 4,000 feet above the plains below. Even by modern bus and train the journey up and down the escarpment seems quite a feat. In addition to their geographical isolation, the Ìn-θà are linguistically isolated, as the hills to the west of them are peopled by Taung-thu and Shan, as well as speakers of the related dialects Taun-yò and Dənú (Tin È 1961:61, and see LSB (Webb 1917:19)).

There are some dialect differences within the Ìn-θà area itself. My informants spoke of some lexical differences between the east and the west banks of the lake, and Tin È (1961:72) mentions the influence of neighbouring Shans and visiting Burmese in the north of the lake, as against Pa-o influence in the west, and the effects of an ability to speak SB acquired by Ìn-θà who have occasion to travel outside the area.

Much greater differences characterise the speech of Ke-la, Mǎing-thauk-ìn, and Kyè-zà-myauk-ywa. Many of the inhabitants of these villages pursue low-prestige occupations such as fishing, pig-breeding and fowl-breeding, and this perhaps keeps them from close contact with the rest of the Ìn-θà. I did pay a visit to Ke-la, with the idea of recording a sample of their sub-dialect, but unfortunately our party chose a time when almost everyone seemed to be busy, and the few poor recordings we did get proved to be so indistinct that they were unintelligible to my Ywa-má informants. This was regrettable, as Tin È (1961:72) suggests that these dialects are the least subject to alien influence.

### 3.1.2 BACKGROUND

Most speakers of SB now take the name Ìn-lè to mean 'the little lake', and some use the alternative form of the 'little' part of the name, saying Ìn-galè. There is however another interpretation, which takes /lè/ to mean 'four'. According to this view there was an earlier form of the name, Ìn-lè-ywa, 'the four villages of the lake' – the form which is in fact used in a sit-tàn dated 1609 (printed in Zabú-di-pà (sic) ok-hsàung kyàn, ed. J.S. Furnivall and Pe Maung Tin, 1960:40, line 4). I have not seen any earlier occurrence of the name.

The form Ìn-lè-ywa is associated with a legend that the Ìn-θà are descended from Tavoyans who came to the lake and settled there. Û θə-bí-tá's version of the story (1955:95) has the first Tavoyan immigrants, Nga Naung and Nga Htaung, in the service of the saw-bwà of Nyaung-shwe (Yaung-hwe). As Tavoy is disturbed at the time, owing to attacks by the Siamese, Nga Naung and Nga Htaung bring up 36 families of friends and relations who soon multiply and spread, from one initial village, to the four villages of the name.

Another version was recorded by F.H. Giles (quoted in Spearman 1879-1880:566). In this one a prince of Pagan travels around the country in a miraculous barge, bearing on its bows five images of the Buddha. Before returning to Pagan he visits Ìn-lè and leaves there the five images – hence the name of the Hpaung-daw-ù Pagoda: ‘the bows (front) of the royal barge’. Û θ̃-bí-tá has much the same story, but does not connect it with the Tavoyans: they come into the Giles story as ‘artificers’, taken aboard at an earlier stop in the prince’s travels, and left at Ìn-lè with the Buddha images.

The Tavoyan connection is supported by Taylor (1921:91, and in LSI (Grierson 1.2:29)), but is questioned on linguistic grounds by Mìn Nain (1960:5).

The details of names and numbers given in the legends are impressive, but in the absence of other hard evidence one must fall back on the language: are Ìn-θà and Tavoyan really so close? As in the case of the alleged similarity between Tavoyan and Arakanese, one has to conclude that the differences are more striking than the resemblances. Consider the examples below.

1. TV has a distinction corresponding to that between WB *ut*, *un* and *up*, *um*; but IT, like SB and the other dialects, merges these two pairs of rhymes, so *ut* = *up*, and *un* = *um*.
2. TV merges WB *aññ* with *aí*; IT merges it with *i* and *e*.
3. TV merges WB *ak*, *aŋ* with other rhymes, whereas IT, like AR and YW, keeps them distinct (WB *Y* is a cover symbol for palatal initial):

TV	/i'		a'			in		an/		
WB	<i>ac</i>	<i>Yak</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>ap</i>	<i>añ</i>	<i>Yaŋ</i>	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>am</i>
IT	/i'	ε'	a'			in	ɛn	an/		

4. IT merges WB *it*, *ip* with *uik*, and WB *uiŋ* with *in*, *im*; but TV keeps these rhymes distinct.
5. IT merges WB *ch* and *s*; but TV keeps them distinct.

It cannot be said, then, that IT and TV resemble each other closely. So how to explain the claims for similarity? The best I can suggest for the present is the preservation in both dialects of medial /-l-/. Sequences like /kl-/ and /pl-/ are quite foreign to speakers of SB and might serve, given no closer inspection, to link the two dialects in the minds of casual observers. Once the idea of their closeness gained currency, the field would be open for speculating on migration and devising explanations for it. Both the Siamese attacks and the miracle barge tour would offer themselves as suitable causes.

In the less speculative present the Ìn-θà are one of the several language groups of the administrative area of Nyaung-shwe, under the Southern Shan States. Scott’s (1906:70) prediction that “it does not seem probable that they will drop out of future census tables” has been fulfilled up to the present, but, like all the Burmese dialect groups, the Ìn-θà are subject to conformist pressures, through travelling outside their dialect area, and receiving into their villages SB-speaking doctors, teachers and administrators. The Ìn-θà I met seemed to accept the differences between their dialect and SB with equanimity, even amusement; but they

were not protective about it, and their speech will no doubt approximate more and more closely to SB as communications improve.

### 3.1.3 SOURCE OF MATERIAL

The material that follows was collected during two delightful visits to Ìn-lè, in 1961 and 1969, each lasting two to three weeks. On both occasions I was based in Ywa-má, a large village (about 640 houses) on the west bank, and made a few visits to their neighbouring villages of Ìn-chan, Ìn-pàw-khon, Ngà-phe-chàung, Nàn-pan, and (briefly) Ke-la.

My chief informants were Ò Myín Maun and Ò Hlá Phù. Ò Myín Maun was born and bred in Ywa-má, and though now resident in Mandalay makes annual visits to his home village. Ò Hlá Phù is better known in the lake as Pwè-sà Phù, an ironic name, acquired not because he is a wealthy broker (IT /pwè-sà/), but because he used to make a precarious living by working occasionally at gambling festivals (SB /pwè/). He is a native of Thalè-ù on the east bank, but has lived for many years in Ywa-má.

Pwè-sà Phù can speak a kind of SB with an effort, but normally speaks IT, and is sensitive to small differences between his adopted Ywa-má and his native east bank dialects. He is a lively and engaging talker, and seemed to be welcome company in every home in Ywa-má. It was Pwè-sà Phù who made most of my recordings, which are episodes from Ìn-lè folklore retold to his friends. These recordings, and one or two made by other informants, form the bulk of my material, and were the starting point for further enquiries.

Ò Myín Maun acted mainly as interpreter, going over the recordings with me to explain the parts I could not follow, and answering questions about points raised by the text or encountered outside in numerous conversations with his numerous friends and relations – most of whom seemed devoted to conversation and storytelling. Ò Myín Maun is a professional musician, with a sensitive ear for speech as well as music, and was very particular about my attempts to identify one sound with another. Pwè-sà Phù also helped with explanations and in providing IT forms for SB words, as did several other friends and neighbours from time to time.

### 3.1.4 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My greatest indebtedness is to Ò Myín Maun, who welcomed me into his family and home in 1961 on the strength of a brief note from A. L. Becker, and has been a firm friend ever since, as well as a source of much information about Ìn-θà and music and other aspects of Burmese life.

I would also like to record my gratitude to his wife, Dò Khin Me, for her calmness and gentleness, and for appearing unfailingly, just as one began to feel peckish, with delicious things to eat; to Pwè-sà Phù, for his recording and explanations; to Ò-lè Phe and Dò-dò Ngwe for housing and feeding me on my second visit; to Ko Sò Maun, of Ìn-chan village, for taking me to his home and to other villages; to Ko θa Nú of Nyaung-shwe and his family for providing food and shelter and even clothing when one passed through; and to Atin Pan-cha, Dò-dò Me, Ko Ci Sò, Ci Ci Myín, and all the other friends and neighbours who were so generous in taking me about to see Ywa-má and meet its people, and in answering my questions about their dialect.

## 3.2 OUTLINE PHONOLOGY

## 3.2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

## 3.2.1.1 TONES

high plain	/ḥ/
high creaky	/ḥ̣/
low	/+̣/
high stop	/+̣'/
weak	/ə/

For /ḥ/, the 'Īn-θà mid', see §3.2.2.

## 3.2.1.2 RHYMES

Open syllables:	weak							
	full	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>
Closed syllables:	nasal	<i>in</i>	<i>ein</i>	<i>εn</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>ɔn</i>	<i>oun</i>	<i>un</i>
	stop	<i>i'</i>	<i>ai'</i>	<i>ε'</i>	<i>a'</i>	<i>ɔ'</i>	<i>ou'</i>	<i>u'</i>

## 3.2.1.3 HEADS

					with medial /y/	with medial /I/	with medial /w/	
<i>k</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>py</i>	<i>kl</i>	<i>pl</i>	Medial /w/ occurs with all initials except:
<i>kh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>sh</i>	<i>phy</i>	<i>khl</i>	<i>phl</i>	/w/ itself
<i>ŋ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>ñ</i>		<i>my</i>		<i>ml</i>	' (since /'w/ would be equivalent to initial /w-/)
<i>hŋ</i>	<i>hn</i>	<i>hm</i>	<i>hñ</i>		<i>hmy</i>		<i>hml</i>	<i>h</i> (since /hw/ is already listed among the initials)
(')	<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>				<i>ñ</i> and <i>hñ</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>hl</i>	<i>hw</i>	<i>f</i>					

## 3.2.2 PHONEME DESCRIPTION

These are as in SB except as set out below:

Tones are on the whole similar to SB tones, but there are differences between the intonation patterns of IT and those of SB, which are of course matched by differences in the realisation of syllable tone, especially at the end of a sentence, and sometimes at the end of a clause. The difference is so marked in the case of a small number of sentence-final and clause-final particles (curiously, not all are so affected), that it proved impossible to assign any of the usual phonemic tones to them.

These particles are therefore marked in the texts and examples with a macron: /ḥ/. This is to be understood as representing the pitch and voice-quality features associated with SB /+̣/ or /ḥ̣/ (cf. SB sentence-final variations such as in /fín-fín/, /kwa-kwá/, etc.); also, though perhaps less often, like SB /ḥ̣/, and sometimes with the held level mid pitch so characteristic of Īn-θà speech. The particles so marked are IT /wā (wṽ), mā (mṽ), shṽ, lṽ, lē/.

The situation regarding rhymes is:

/e, ε, ɔ, o/: all usually closer than the corresponding vowels in SB

/ein/: starts from a rather closer /e/ than SB /ein/

/εn/: same vowel quality as SB and IT /ε'/

/ɔ', ɔn/: vowel more open than SB open syllable /ɔ/, approaching [ɒ]

/u', un/: vowel more open than in SB, and often with closer lip-rounding at the start than at the finish, almost [ʊo], [ʊon]

/ai'/: starts from a rather closer /a/ than SB /ai'/

Heads

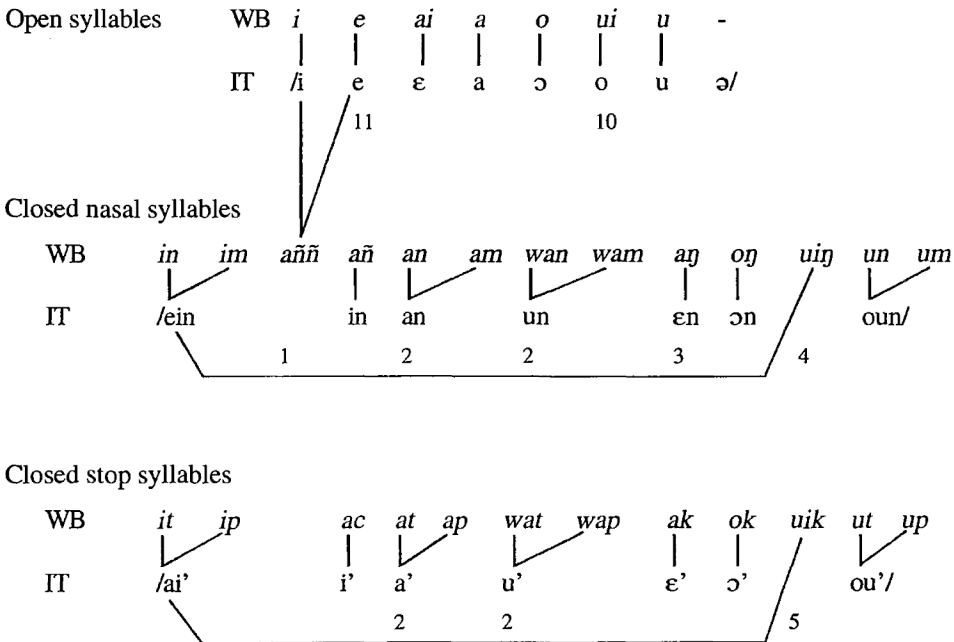
/-l-/: medial realised as a lateral [l] or flapped apical [r]; not in SB.

### 3.2.3 COMPARISON WITH WB (FIGURES REFER TO NOTES IN §3.3.1 BELOW)

#### 3.2.3.1 TONES

These are as for SB, but see §3.2.2.

#### 3.2.3.2 RHYMES



## 3.2.3.3 HEADS

These are as for SB except:

there are no voiced initials (SB /g d b j z ð/); also

WB	ch <sup>6</sup> s	ky <sup>8</sup> kr	khy <sup>8</sup> khr <sup>7</sup>	hy hr <sup>7</sup>
IT	/sh	kl  c	khl  ch  f	f  ch/
SB	/sh θ	c	ch	f/

WB	py <sup>9</sup> pr	phy <sup>9</sup> phr	my <sup>9</sup> mr	hmy <sup>9</sup> hmr
IT	/py  pl	phy  phl	my  ml	hmy  hml/
SB	/py	phy	my	hmy/

## 3.3 NOTES

## 3.3.1 PHONEMES

(1) WB *aññ*, which gives SB /i/ or /e/ or /ɛ/, corresponds generally with IT /i/ if the initial is palatal, and with IT /e/ otherwise. The full list of words checked is given below.

WB	IT	SB	
<i>kraññ.</i>	/cí/	/cí/	look
<i>kraññ</i>	/ci/	/ci/	be clear
<i>khraññ</i>	/chi/	/chi/	thread
<i>caññ</i>	/si/	/si/	drum
<i>caññ</i>	/si/	/si/	be crowded
<i>caññ:</i>	/sì/	/sì/	bind
<i>chaññ</i>	/shi/	/shɛ/	dam
<i>chaññ:</i>	/shì/	/shì/	collect
<i>ñaññ:</i>	/ñi/	/ñi/	grumble
<i>taññ</i>	/te/	/ti/	be stable
<i>taññ:</i>	/tè/	/tè/	stay
<i>thaññ</i>	/the/	/the/	cloth
<i>praññ</i>	/ple/	/pye/	pus
<i>praññ</i>	/ple/	/pyi/	pyi (measure)
<i>phraññ.</i>	/phlé/	/phyé/	fill
<i>praññ.</i>	/plé/	/pyé/	be full
<i>maññ</i>	/me/	/myi/	name
<i>hmaññ.</i>	/hmé, hmí/	/hmé/	be ripe
<i>maññ:</i>	/mè/	/mè/	be black
<i>hlaññ.</i>	/hlé/	/hlé/	turn
<i>laññ</i>	/le/	/le/	go round
<i>hlaññ:</i>	/hlè/	/hlè/	cart
<i>taññ.</i>	/té/	/té/	be straight
<i>eññ.saññ</i>	/é-she/	/é-ðɛ/	visitor



There were some exceptions to this correspondence. First, some words had IT /-i/ without a palatal initial:

<i>naññ:</i>	/nì/	/nì/	method
<i>wi-naññ:</i>	/wí-nì/	/wí-nì/	Vinaya
<i>-taññ:</i>	/-tì/	/-thè/	only
<i>naññ:</i>	/nì/	/nè/	be little
<i>laññ</i>	/li, le/	/lè/	go round

The first two in this list, which are loans from Pali, could perhaps be SB pronunciations. The form for 'only' is not clear-cut: it has possible connections with another form, WB *athī:thī:*, 'alone' so there may be some kind of conflation here. The remaining two forms, which are at variance with SB, are so far inexplicable.

Secondly, a few words have IT /ε/:

<i>naññ</i>	/nε/	/nε/	dregs
<i>mraññ:</i>	/mlè, mlè/	/myì/	taste
<i>man-kyaññ:</i>	/man-kè, -cì/	/mājì/	tamarind

There is no obvious way of accounting for these, except perhaps /nε/, which could be an SB loan pronunciation.

Three forms have nasal finals:

<i>saññ:</i>	/shèn/	/θè/	nail
<i>laññ:</i>	/lèin/	/lè/	fall
<i>hlaññ:</i>	/hlèin/	/hlè/	fell

Some of the other dialects have forms for WB *aññ* which suggest a variant in WB *añ*, but the IT reflexes here would require WB *aŋ* (for 'nail'), and WB *in*, *im* or *uiŋ* (for 'fall').

There is one final form worth noting:

<i>hmai.</i>	/hmé/	/hmé/	mole
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The WB spelling above is MSTK's. Judson has *hmaññ.*, which the IT reflex supports, suggesting that MSTK is wrong in this case.

(2) As in SB, WB *an*, *am* and *at*, *ap* merge in IT to give /an/ and /a'/ (or /un/ and /u'/ if preceded by *w*). For example:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>mran</i>	/mlan/	/myan/	be fast
<i>khyam:</i>	/jàn/	/chàn/	be cold
<i>mrat</i>	/mla'/	/mya'/	be noble
<i>khyap</i>	/ja'/	/cha'/	flat object
<i>prwan</i>	/pyun/	/pyun/	pipe
<i>hrwam.</i>	/chún/	/jún/	mud
<i>prwat</i>	/plu'/	/pyu'/	cluster

(3) WB *aŋ* corresponds to IT /εn/, matching WB *ak* = IT /ε'/, unlike SB, which merges the nasal rhyme with WB *añ* to SB /in/:

<i>khyañ</i>	/chin/	/chin/	be acid
<i>khyañ</i>	/jεn/	/chin/	want to

<i>khyac</i>	/ʃi'/	/chi'/	love
<i>khyak</i>	/ʃɛ'/	/chɛ'/	cook

(4) All the dialects considered in these notes – Arakanese, Tavoyan and SB as well as Intha – merge WB *in* and *im*, but IT, curiously, adds WB *uiŋ* to this merger:

<i>tim</i>	/tein/	/tein/	be shallow
<i>thin:</i>	/thèin/	/thèin/	control
<i>tuŋ</i>	/tein/	/tain/	post
<i>thuŋ</i>	/thein/	/thain/	sit

See further the remarks under note (5) below.

(5) IT matches the nasal rhyme merger of WB *in*, *im*, and *uiŋ* by merging WB *it*, *ip*, and *uik*, but in this case has the rhyme that corresponds in SB to the last of the three, not, as in the case of the nasals, the rhyme corresponding to the first two:

<i>tit</i>	/tai'/	/tei'/	be quiet
<i>thip</i>	/thai'/	/thei'/	top
<i>tuik</i>	/tai'/	/tai'/	bump
<i>kuik</i>	/kai'/	/kai'/	bite

There are some irregularities in connection with this merger and that of note (4) above which are perhaps worth noting. The correspondences presented here are:

WB	<i>uik</i>	<i>it-ip</i>	<i>uiŋ</i>	<i>in-im</i>
SB	<i>ai'</i>	<i>ei'</i>	<i>ain</i>	<i>ein</i>
IT	<i>ai'</i>	= <i>ai'</i>	<i>ein</i>	= <i>ein</i>

However, this picture is not completely confirmed by the findings of other observers, which are as follows:

IT Taylor	<i>ai'</i>	<i>ai'</i>	<i>ein</i>	<i>ein</i>
IT Jones	<i>ai'</i>	( <i>ei'</i> )	[both]	<i>ein</i>
IT Ono	[both]	[both]	<i>ein</i>	[both]
IT Tin È	( <i>ei'</i> )	( <i>ei'</i> )	<i>ein</i>	<i>ein</i>

'Both' here means that both possibilities are reported, that is both /ai'/ and /ei'/, or both /ain/ and /ein/. Brackets show rhymes that differ from my material.

It will be seen that Jones and Ono between them found 'both' for the reflexes of all four SB rhymes. This is quite plausibly attributable to SB influence in the case of columns 2 and 3, and to hypercorrection in columns 1 and 4; cf. the hypercorrect IT /ch/ for SB /ʃ/ = WB *hr*, *hy*, *hly*; see (7) below. My informants too used occasional SB or hyper-SB pronunciations in conversation.

Tin È's consistent /ei'/ however may indicate that his IT is a different sub-dialect from the others. His representation of (Jones's and my) IT /ɛ', we'/ as (his) IT /a', wa'/ points in the same direction. This sub-dialect is perhaps partly reflected in my own data: when going through a list of words in these rhymes, informants were unanimous about IT /ein/ for the nasal rhymes, but one informant offered IT /ei'/ as an alternative for a few of the stop rhymes of both column 1 and column 2.

It seems then that, with the variants provided by SB, hyper-SB, and (at least) two sub-dialects of IT, either diphthong may be expected in any of the four columns above. It only

remains to add that there were also half-way pronunciations, around [æʔ] and [æʔ], in order to complete the picture of IT's effective loss of contrast between the two stop rhymes of SB and between its two nasal rhymes.

(6) One of the most striking features of IT is its merger of WB *ch* and *s* in IT /sh/:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>sū</i>	/shu/	/θu/	he
<i>sarak-sī:</i>	/shəre'shì/	/θəye'θì/	mango

Some observers have been tempted to see this as a preservation of an older value of WB *s*, the reflex of which in other dialects is /θ/.

Against this view is (a) the fact that the supposed IT reflex of WB *s* is aspirate: one would expect IT /s/ rather than IT /sh/; and (b) the fact that all the chain shift that affects the other dialects has taken place in IT except, on this hypothesis, one link:

WB	<i>ky</i>	<i>khy</i>			
	<i>kr</i>	<i>khr</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>s</i>
SB, AR, TV, YW	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>sh</i>	θ
IT	<i>kl</i>	(/)	<i>s</i>	<i>sh</i>	
	<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>			

A more likely explanation for this correspondence lies in the contact IT has had with Shan. Geographically the In-θà are surrounded by Shan speakers, and the Shan loanwords in IT are evidence of language contact. Shan has no /θ/, and there are indications of a correspondence in loanwords between Shan /sh/ and SB /θ/: for example the placenames Hsen-wi = SB /θein-ni/, Hsi-paw = SB /θi-bò/, and the symbol used for WB *s* which represents /sh/ in the Shan alphabet and /θ/ in SB (see Egerod 1957:125).

It seems likely then that IT once had /θ/ for WB *s*, like the other dialects, and that it changed to /sh/ under Shan influence, thereby merging with the IT reflex for WB *ch*. This history avoids both the aspiration problem and the chain-shift problem.

(7) SB distinguishes /j/, which is a merger of WB *hr*, *hy*, and *hly*, from /ch/, which is a merger of WB *khy* and *khr*.

This distinction appears not to be maintained in IT. Both initials are used, and though they seem not to be in free variation for all forms, there are some forms that have IT /ch/ for one informant and IT /j/ for another, and sometimes the same speaker will offer both alternatives for a single form. In the latter case the pronunciation with IT /ch/ was said to be more vivid or emphatic than that with IT /j/. There appears to be no correspondence between the incidence of IT /ch/ vs /j/ and the OB antecedents of the forms concerned (see note (8) below).

OB	WB	IT	SB	
-	<i>hyañ</i>	/j'in/	/j'in/	compare
-	<i>hra</i>	/ch'á/	/j'á/	graze
-	<i>hre.</i>	/j'é/	/j'é/	front

<i>syā</i>	<i>hrā:</i>	/ʃà, chà/	/ʃà/	be scarce
-	<i>hlyo</i>	/chò/	/ʃò/	slide
-	<i>hlyo.</i>	/ʃó, chó/	/ʃó/	reduce
<i>khyam</i>	<i>khyam:</i>	/ʃàn, chà/	/chàn/	be cold
<i>khyak</i>	<i>khyak</i>	/ʃe', che'/	/che'/	cook
<i>khrok</i>	<i>khrok</i>	/ʃó', cho'/	/chau'/	six
<i>khruy</i>	<i>khruwe:</i>	/chwè/	/chwè/	sweat
<i>khrum</i>	<i>khrum</i>	/ʃoun/	/choun/	bush
<i>khluḡ</i>	<i>khyup</i>	/ʃou', chou'/	/chou'/	restrict
<i>khluw</i>	<i>khyui:</i>	/ʃò/	/chò/	wash
<i>khloḡ</i>	<i>khyoḡ:</i>	/chòn/	/chàun/	stream

It seems likely that in the case of the WB velar clusters IT speakers have been moving from the /ch/ pronunciation to /ʃ/. This is suggested by the observation that in several cases the earlier records (Grierson, Taylor, Shafer) show a /ch/ where more recent records (Jones and myself) have /ʃ/, while in no case is the reverse true, that is there is no case where a /ʃ/ recorded earlier is later recorded as /ch/. With increasing contact with SB, however, IT is now perhaps under pressure to reverse the move from /ch/ to /ʃ/. It could be this that accounts for the hypercorrect /ch/ in words with WB *hr*, *hy* and *hly*.

(8) IT differs from SB in having a medial /-l-/ and /-r-/. They do not however contrast with each other: informants said (and this was to some extent confirmed by observation) that the /-r-/ allophone is used for greater strength and vividness, and so is more common in male than in female speech. In the examples below both [-r-] and [-l-] are transcribed /-l-/.

Regularly IT /kl/ and /khl/ correspond with WB *ky* and *khy*, but the position is complicated by a factor extending back in history beyond WB: OB had three velar clusters, *kr*, *ky* and *kl*, and the corresponding aspirates *khṛ*, *khy* and *khl*. IT merges the first pair of these three, while WB merges the second pair:

IT	<i>c</i>		<i>kl</i>		<i>ch-f</i>		<i>khl</i>
OB	<i>kr</i>	<i>ky</i>	<i>kl</i>		<i>khr</i>	<i>khy</i>	<i>khl</i>
WB	<i>kr</i>	<i>ky</i>			<i>khr</i>	<i>khy</i>	
SB	<i>c</i>				<i>ch</i>		

There are however cases in which forms for which IT /kl, khl/ is expected are found to have IT /c, ch-f/. This is presumably an effect of contact with SB speakers. The following sets illustrate these correspondences.

OB	WB	IT	SB	
<i>krak</i>	<i>krak</i>	/ce'/	/ce'/	fowl
<i>khraññ</i>	<i>khraññ</i>	/chi/	/chi/	thread
<i>kyak</i>	<i>kyak</i>	/ce'/	/ce'/	be cooked
<i>khyat</i>	<i>khyac</i>	/chi', ji'/	/chi'/	love
<i>klī</i>	<i>kyī:</i>	/klī/	/cī/	crow
<i>khliy</i>	<i>khye:</i>	/khlī/	/chī/	dung
<i>kluiw</i>	<i>kyui:</i>	/cò/	/cò/	outcome
<i>khloḡ</i>	<i>khyoḡ:</i>	/chòn/	/chàun/	stream

IT also has a number of exceptions to these correspondences:

- (a) In some cases there is an unexpected IT /-l-/:

OB	WB	IT	SB	
<i>kriy</i>	<i>kre</i>	/kle, ce/	/ce/	be crumbled
<i>krā</i>	<i>krā:</i>	/klà/	/cà/	between
<i>khrun</i>	<i>khyn:</i> (sic)	/khlòun/	/chòun/	thunder
-	<i>khrok</i>	/khlɔ'/	/chau'/	frighten
(cf. <i>krok</i>	<i>krok</i>	/cɔ'/	/cau'/	be frightened)
-	<i>kruig</i>	/klein/	/cain/	be fragrant
<i>kyan</i>	<i>kyan</i>	/klan/	/can/	be left out
-	<i>kyan</i>	/khan/	/chan/	leave out

Some of these anomalous /-l-/s are matched in TV, which adds a few more cases of its own. No explanation is at present available.

- (b) In five cases IT has a simple velar with various OB antecedents:

OB	WB	IT	SB	
<i>man-klaññ</i>	<i>man-kyaññ:</i>	/man-kè/	/mɔji/	tamarind
<i>klwai</i>	<i>kywai</i>	/kwè, cwè/	/cwè/	water buffalo
<i>khlwat</i>	<i>kywat</i>	/khwu'/	/chu'/	take off
<i>khiy</i>	<i>khye:</i>	/khè/	/chì/	lend
<i>khriy</i>	<i>khre</i>	/khe/	/che, chi/	foot

The first two of these forms are probably loans: for IT /kwè/ see Shan /kwai/, Thai /khwaaj/ 'water buffalo', and Karen /gwé/ (from Luce n.d., and see Matisoff 1969:196). The IT forms for 'take off' and 'be taken off' have an unparalleled IT /-wu-/, but my record is confirmed by Jones's /khwu'/. IT's simple velar in /khè/ 'lend' is paralleled by plain velars in TV in forms corresponding to OB words in *ki*, *khi*. IT /khe/ 'foot' is matched in TV, but what happened to the -r- is a mystery.

(9) IT /-l-/ after initial IT /p, ph, m, hm/ matches IT /-l-/ after initial /k, kh/ in that it has the same two allophones [-l-] and [-r-], which are contrastive stylistically but not phonemically (note (8) above). Again as in the case of the velar clusters, OB has three clusters with labials, but here IT has the same merger as WB. In the chart P is used as a cover symbol for orthographic *p, ph, m, mh* and phonemic /p, ph, m, hm/.

IT	<i>Pl</i> or <i>Py</i>		<i>Py</i>
OB	<i>Pl</i>	<i>Pr</i>	<i>Py</i>
WB	<i>Pr</i>		<i>Py</i>
SB	<i>Py</i>		

Examples:

OB	WB	IT	SB	
<i>plaññ</i>	<i>praññ.</i>	/plé/	/pyé/	be full
<i>mliy</i>	<i>mre</i>	/mle/	/mye/	earth
<i>phrat</i>	<i>phrat</i>	/phla'/	/phya'/	cut

<i>mraññ</i>	<i>mraññ:</i>	/mlè, mlè/	/myì/	taste
<i>pyañ</i>	<i>pyañ</i>	/pyin/	/pyin/	timber
<i>myak</i>	<i>myak</i>	/mye'/	/mye'/	eye

As in the case of the K clusters, the data contain some pronunciations that presumably stem from SB, with IT /Py/=OB *Pl*. For example:

<i>aplac</i>	<i>aprac</i>	/əpyi'/	/əpyi'/	fault
<i>mlyuiw</i>	<i>myui:</i>	/myò/	/myò/	kind
<i>phriy</i>	<i>phre</i>	/phye, phyi/	/phye/	undo
<i>mraŋ</i>	<i>mraŋ</i>	/myɛn/	/myin/	see

In the following sets IT has neither /-l-/ nor /-y-/ , and these pronunciations too can be attributed to SB contact:

<i>pri</i>	<i>pri:</i>	/pi/	/pi/	finish
-	<i>hmre:</i>	/hmè/	/hmè/	film

More serious are the exceptions in which IT has /Pl/ for OB-WB *Py*:

OB	WB	IT	SB	
<i>pyam</i>	<i>pyam</i>	/plan/	/pyan/	fly
<i>myok</i>	<i>myok</i>	/mlɔ'/	/myau'/	monkey
-	<i>pyā</i>	/pla/	/pya/	be in a hurry

The IT /-l-/ in /plan/ 'fly' is supported by TV /plan/, which makes it difficult to attribute this form to misrecording or informant confusion.

(10) In three forms occurring in my material, but not in every occurrence of them, the open-syllable vowel IT /o/ sounded identical with open-syllable IT /ɔ/. This was confirmed by one informant, who said that the /ɔ/ of the /ɔ~o/ variants rhymed with other forms in unvarying /ɔ/. The forms are:

IT	SB	
/tó, tɔ'/	/tó/	(noun plural suffix)
/ló, lɔ'/	/ló/	because, (quoted)
/phó, phɔ'/	/phó/	for, to

Unfortunately the material is not sufficient to determine how far this variation extends. It may be limited, for example, to grammatical suffixes, or to creaky-tone syllables.

(11) The material also points to a corresponding feature on the front side of the vowel triangle. This again is limited to certain forms, but it is a matter of merging, not of variation: open-syllable IT /ɛ/, in some words and some utterances, is given the same pronunciation as open-syllable IT /e/. One informant distinguished the following:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>che:</i>	/shè/	/shè/	wash
<i>chai</i>	/shè/	/shè/	abuse

but merged these pairs:

<i>we:</i>	/wè/	/wè/	be distant
<i>wai</i>	/wè/	/wè/	have an accent
<i>kre</i>	/ce/	/ce/	be crumbled
<i>kray</i>	/ce/	/cɛ/	star

(12) IT /r/ for SB /y/ is found in a few words where it follows a weak syllable:

<i>tarā:</i>	/tərà/	/təyà/	law
<i>sā:re</i>	/shəre/	/θəye/	leather
<i>charā</i>	/shəra/	/shəya/	teacher
<i>phurā</i>	/phərà/	/phəyà/	lord
<i>bhuran</i>	/phəren/	/bəyin/	king
<i>sarak</i>	/shəre'/	/θəye'/	mango
<i>pharai</i>	/phəre/	/phəyè/	watermelon

IT /r/ occurred initially in only one word in my material:

<i>ruik</i>	/rai'/	/yai'/	strike
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(13) IT has aspirate nasals corresponding to plain nasals in WB and SB in a few forms:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>me:</i>	/hmè/	/mè/	ask
<i>myañ:</i>	/hmyìn/	/myìn/	line
<i>mrwe</i>	/hmwe/	/mwe/	snake
<i>anan.</i>	/əhnán/	/ənán/	smell
<i>nwā:</i>	/hnwà/	/nwà/	cow
<i>mrak</i>	/hmye'/	/mye'/	grass
<i>amī:</i>	/əhmi/	/əmi/	tail

There are also, surprisingly, some forms with aspirate obstruent initials corresponding to plain obstruents in WB and SB:

<i>krō</i>	/cho, ʃɔ/	/cɔ/	fry
<i>krai</i>	/chè/	/cè/	scatter
<i>kywat</i>	/chu'/	/cu'/	be brittle
<i>tīm</i>	/thein/	/tein/	cloud
<i>koŋ:kaŋ</i>	/khòŋ-kɔŋ/ (sic)	/kàun-gin/	sky
<i>pun:</i>	/phòun/	/pòun/	hide

(14) For some forms, apparently, WB *rw* = IT /w/: the material has only two examples of this correspondence:

<i>rwā</i>	/wa/	/ywa/	rain, village
<i>nā:rwak</i> (but cf.)	/nà-we'/	/nəywe'/	ear
<i>rwak-hle</i>	/ywe'hle/	/ywe'hle/	sailing boat

## 3.3.2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

## 3.3.2.1 VOICING

Voicing does not occur in IT, even for plain initials:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>co-co</i>	/sò-sò/	/sò-zò/	early
<i>laṇ:kḥā</i>	/lèn-kha/	/lìn-ga/	daybreak

The absence of voiced consonants also extends of course to Pali loans, written with voiced consonants in WB and so pronounced in SB. For example:

<i>Sam-ghā</i>	/shan-kha/	/than-ga/	Sangha
<i>kyam:gan</i>	/càn-kan/	/càn-gan/	treatise
<i>dhāt-tō</i>	/tha'tò/	/da'tò/	relic
<i>Buddha</i>	/Pou'thá/	/Bou'dá/	Buddha
<i>do-sa</i>	/tò-shá/	/dò-ḍá/	anger
<i>bhā-sā</i>	/pha-sha/	/ba-ḍa/	religion
<i>jō-gyī</i>	/sò-ci/	/zò-ji/	magician
<i>jhān</i>	/san/ (sic)	/zan/	trance

In the same way, words for which SB has voiced initials have no voice in IT. For example:

<i>khoṇ:</i>	/khòñ/	/gàun/	head
<i>khai</i>	/khè/	/gè/	stone
<i>gwam:</i>	/kùn/	/gùn/	cotton
<i>gui:</i>	/kò/	/gò/	goal
<i>dhā:</i>	/thà/	/dà/	knife
<i>doṇ:</i>	/tòn/	/dàun/	peacock
<i>dut</i>	/tou'/	/dou'/	stick
<i>buik</i>	/phai'/	/bai'/	belly
<i>boṇ:bī</i>	/pòn-phi/	/bàun-bi/	trousers
<i>bhī:</i>	/pèin/	/bèin/	wheel
<i>bhin:</i>	/phèin/	/bèin/	opium
<i>Bamā</i>	/Phəma/	/Bəma/	Burmese
<i>bhaṇ</i>	/phan/	/ban/	bank
<i>Bi-lat</i>	/Phí-la'/	/Bí-la'/	England
<i>khye:</i>	/khlè/	/jì/	dirt
<i>khyit</i>	/chai'/	/jei'/	hook
<i>gyac</i>	/ci'/	/ji'/	jeep
<i>khyuiṇ.</i>	/chéin/	/jáin/	pot-hole
<i>jhe:</i>	/shè/	/zè/	market
<i>chī:sī:</i>	/shì-shì/	/zì-ḍì/	wild plum
<i>tan-tā:</i>	/təthà/	/təḍà/	bridge
<i>laññ-pan:</i>	/le-phèn/	/le-bìn/	neck
<i>tapak</i>	/təñ-pe'/	/təbe'/	scarf
<i>bū:</i>	/phù/	/bù/	gourd
<i>wam:pai</i>	/ɔñ-pè/	/wùn-bè/	duck
<i>san:khoṇ</i>	/shəkɔñ/	/θəgaun/	midnight
<i>Tan-khū:</i>	/Təkù/	/Təgù/	Təgù (month)



It is tempting to suppose that IT is a more reliable source than WB for evidence that certain words had aspirate or plain initials at some stage before SB developed voicing (assuming that SB voicing is a later development). IT evidence however should be used with caution. Some of the plain initials may well be approximations to modern SB voiced initials by a dialect deficient in voiced initials: compare IT /ci'/ for SB /ji'/ 'jeep'; and some of the aspirates could be due to the IT tendency to aspirate initials that are plain in all other dialects, for example IT /thein/ for SB /tein/ 'cloud': see note (13) above.

### 3.3.2.2 WEAKENING

Weakening occurs in IT much as in SB, though there are indications that it is less used. For example:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>nā:rwak</i>	/nà-we'/	/nəywe'/	ear
<i>sa-nap-khā:</i>	/shəne'khà/	/θənəkha/	sandalwood
<i>cha-nwan:</i>	/shi-hnwèn/	/shənwìn/	turmeric
<i>hnac-thoŋ</i>	/hni-thon/	/hnəthaun/	two thousand
<i>se-nat</i>	/shi-na'/	/θəna'/	gun
<i>man-kyaññi:</i>	/man-kè/	/məj/	tamarind
<i>tam-khā:</i>	/tan-khà/	/təgà/	door
<i>wā:lum:</i>	/wà-loùn/	/wəlòun/	bamboo pole

In a few words the weak vowel has apparently been dropped, leaving a fusion of the initials on either side of it:

<i>kha-ram:</i>	/chàn/	/khəyàn/	aubergine
<i>re-kara:</i>	/ye-cà/	/ye-kəyà/	kettle
<i>sam-pa-rā:</i>	/shan-pya/	/θan-bəya/	lime
<i>khre-pha-wā:</i>	/khe-phwà/	/chi-phəwà/	sole

And in other words the entire weak syllable is omitted:

<i>tha-maŋ:</i>	/mèn/	/thəmìn/	cooked rice
<i>sa-khwā:</i>	/khwà/	/θəkhwà/	cucumber
<i>ca-pā:</i>	/pà/	/səbà/	paddy
<i>ŋā:pi</i>	/pí/	/ŋəpí/	fish paste
<i>kyoŋ:a-ma</i>	/còn-má/	/càun-əmə/	monastery-supporter (female)
<i>kyoŋ:da-kā</i>	/còn-ka/	/càun-dəga/	monastery-supporter (male)
<i>lak-sa-mā:</i>	/le'-mà/	/le'-θəmə/	carpenter
<i>pu-cwan-chit</i>	/sun-shai'/	/pəzun-zei'/	shrimp

### 3.3.2.3 INDUCED CREAKY TONE

Induced creaky tone occurs as in SB. For example:

WB	IT	SB	
<i>sū-hā</i>	/shu-a/	/θu-ha/	she (subject)
<i>sū.pha</i>	/shú-phá/	/θú-əphe/	her father

## 3.3.3 GRAMMAR

The following syntactic markers differ from SB. For details of the abbreviations, see the foreword to this paper. Numbers following examples indicate the text and sentence in §3.4 from which they are taken. The abbreviation ‘inf’ indicates examples offered by informants or encountered in conversation.

(1) /a/ see /ha/ verb-sentence marker for attribute

(2) /a/ verb-sentence marker and special head noun = SB /ta/

IT /yu-tɛ'-a/ 1.17  
 SB /yu-tɛ'-ta/  
 take-ascend-VSMK  
 (He) took (it) up.

IT /la-hmè-a/ 1.25  
 SB /la-mè-da/  
 come-ask-VSMK  
 (He) came and asked.

(3) /à/ auxiliary verb = SB /θwà/, /thà/

IT /thò-thé-à-a/ 2.19  
 SB /thò-thé-thà-da/  
 spear-put.in-place-VSMK  
 what (they) had caught and landed

IT /klɔ'-khənè mi-à-ɛ/ 1.31  
 SB /kəlau'khənè myi-ðwà-dɛ/  
 clonk-ADV sound-go-VSMK  
 (It) went clonk.

(4) /à/ see /là/ sentence-final postposition

(5) /còn/ subordinate marker with sentences for complement = SB /ló/ with (stated or understood) /sìn-zà-ne-dɛ/ and so on.

IT /ca-ʃɛn ca-mɛ-còn/ inf  
 SB /ca-jinyin ca-mɛ-ló/  
 last-want last-VSMK-QUO  
 (I was thinking) it could take a long time.

(6) /ɛ/ see /tɛ/

(7) /ha/ or /a/ verb-sentence marker attribute = SB /tɛ'/

IT /còn-pó-a poun/ 1.6  
 SB /càun-pó-dé poun/  
 monastery-send-REL story  
 story about sending to the monastery

IT /la-a lu/ inf  
 SB /la-dé lu/  
 come-REL person  
 the man who came

(8) /kha/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /tɔ́, tɛ̀-əkha/

IT	/maná	cì-lùn-kha,	shu-a	hèn-khlò-chen-ε/ 1.14
SB	/ma-ná	cì-lùn-dó,	θu-ha	èda-chò-jin-dε/
		arrogance	be.great-excess-time	he-SUBJ that-break-want-VSMK
		As (she) was so arrogant (he) wanted to bring (it) down.		

(9) /khá/ auxiliary verb = SB /khé/

IT	/thà-khá-kha/
SB	/thà-gé-dó/
	leave-there-as
	leaving (him) behind

(10) /khənàn/ special head noun = SB /səya/ (cf. SB /verb-phənàn/)

IT	/ʃe'-khənàn-wā/ inf
SB	/ʃe'-səya-jì/
	be.shameful-thing-EMP
	How humiliating!
IT	/chi'-khənàn kòn-ε/ inf
SB	/chi'-səya kàun-dε/
	love-thing be.good-VSMK
	(She) is charming.

(11) /khè/ auxiliary noun = SB /tó/

IT	/è lu-khè/ inf
SB	/hé lu-dó/
	hey person-PL
	Hi you lot!
IT	/shan-pou'ti-khè klìkàn-khè/ inf
SB	/sa-gələ̀-dó cìgàn-dó/
	sparrow-small-PL crow-PL
	sparrows and crows and so on

(12) /khèn/ special head noun = SB /səya/ (cf. WB *khaŋ:*)

IT	/shwà-khèn ʃí-ù/ inf
SB	/θwà-zəya mə-ʃí-bù/
	go-thing be-VSMK
	(I) don't have to go anywhere.

(13) /khlè/ sentence-final postposition = SB /chì/

IT	/tha lou'-ta-khlè/ inf
SB	/da lou'-ta-jì/
	that do-VSMK-only
	(He) does nothing but that.

(14) /hmàn/ ?noun = SB /ba-hmá, əcàun/

IT	/hmàn shí-ù/ inf
SB	/ba-hmá mə-θí-bù/
	something know-VSMK
	(You) don't understand at all.

IT	/ŋa nì-nì hmàn shí-ε/ inf
SB	/ŋa nè-nè di-əcàun θí-dε/
	I little something know-VSMK
	I know a little bit about this.

(15) /shəmà/ special head noun = SB /θəmà/ but used more freely

IT	/le'-wà kù-shəmà/ 2.19
SB	/le'-wà cì-θəmà/
	hand-palm be.big-person
	man with big hands
IT	/yɔ'-phù-shəmà/ inf
SB	/yau'phù-θəmà/
	reach-ever-person
	person who has been there before
IT	/pai'shan thé-shəmà/ inf
SB	/pai'shan thé-θəmà/
	money put.in-person
	person who donates (to a beggar)

(16) /shō/ sentence-final postposition = SB /pó, phè/, also frequent with /wā/ and weakened to /shəwā/ = SB /pó, phè, kò/

IT	/èinmá-pyo le-ε-shō/ 1.13
SB	/mèinmá-byo le-dε-bó/
	girl-maid visit-VSMK-EMP
	(They) used to go courting.
IT	/thá-òun-mā thò-lai'-shō/ 1.29
SB	/thá-pì-dó thò-lai'-kò/
	rise-further-when strike-through-EMP
	(He) upped and hit him.
IT	/mè-mè-wá-wá-ù shəwā/ 1.16
SB	/mè-mè-wá-wá-jì-bó/
	black-ADV-fat-ADV-big-EMP
	(It) was big and black.
IT	/fí-mε-shəwā/ inf
SB	/fí-mε-bó/
	be-will-EMP
	(He)'ll be there.

(17) /i/ sentence-final postposition = SB /phè/

IT	/wε-la-tε-ì/ inf
SB	/wε-la-da-bè/
	buy-come-VSMK-EMP
	Indeed (I) bought (it).
IT	/ətutu-ì/ inf
SB	/ətudu-bè/
	same-EMP
	(It)'s just the same.

- IT /mə-ŋí-ù-ì/ inf  
 SB /mə-ŋí-bù-bè/  
 not-be-VSMK-EMP  
 There isn't any at all.

(18) /kəŋə/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB (repetition), /ló/

- IT /mlan-kəŋə shwè-ε/ inf  
 SB /myan-myan shwè-dε/  
 be.quick-ADV pull-VSMK  
 (He) pulled (it) quickly.
- IT /ye-kəŋə yá – təkha-ì/ inf  
 SB /θei' yi-yá-dε – təkha-dè/  
 laugh-ADV get one-time-only  
 It was such a laugh.

(19) /kà/ ?subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /tòun, shè/

- IT /mèn sà-ne-kà/ inf  
 SB /thəmìn sà-ne-dòun/  
 rice eat-be-still  
 (I)'m still eating.

(20) /là/ often /à/ sentence-final postposition = SB /là, lè/

- IT /ŋá-shəmì-nà la-le-là/ 1.26  
 SB /ŋá-θəmì-shi la-le-da-là/  
 my-daughter-near come-visit-Q  
 Have you come to court my daughter?
- IT /phəshu-à/ inf  
 SB /bəðu-lè/  
 who-Q  
 who?
- IT /phε-kha yɔ'-à/ inf  
 SB /bε-dòungá yau'thəlè/  
 which-time arrive-Q  
 When did (you) arrive?

(21) /lè/ sentence-final postposition = SB /le/

- IT /əyɛn-tòuná-lè/ 1.11  
 SB /əyin-dòungá-le/  
 former-while-you.know  
 I mean in the old days
- IT /còn-pó-a poun-lè/ 1.11  
 SB /càun-pó-dé poun-le/  
 monastery-send-REL story-you.know  
 you know, the story about sending to the monastery

(22) /lè/ ?subordinate marker with noun for complement or attribute = SB /lo/

IT /hèn-lè/ 1.23

SB /èdi-lo/  
that-like  
in that way

IT /phə-lè-myò/ 1.44

SB /bɛ-lo-myò/  
what-like-kind  
In what way?

(23) /lɛ'/ unclassified particle = SB /tɛ/. This particle was overheard in conversation, but the examples were not noted.

(24) /lè/ sentence-final postposition = SB /phè/

IT /to-to-né-lè/ 1.7

SB /to-do-né-bè/  
short-ADV-with-EMP  
nice and short

IT /you' tə-myò pyòñ-à-lè/ inf

SB /əyou' tə-myò pyàun-ðwà-bi-bè/  
looks one-kind change-go-EMP  
How different (you) look!

IT /khe'-ne-ð-lè/ 1.35

SB /khe'-θwà-bi-bè/  
be.difficult-be-go-EMP  
Now we're in trouble.

(25) /lō/ appended appellative = SB /kwa, bya/

IT /Yè-lō/ 1.44

SB /Hé-kwa/  
Hey-man  
Hi there.

IT /hmàn shí-shè-ù-lō/ 1.5

SB /ba-hmàn mə-θí-ðè-bù-bya/  
something know-yet-VSMK-man  
(You) don't know yet.

(26) /lɔ/ sometimes /lɔ/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /lɔ/, also with quotation = SB /lɔ/

IT /hmè-lɔ mə-pyò-pè-ha/ 1.22

SB /mè-lɔ mə-pyò-bè-ha/  
ask-ing not-speak-without-thing  
not replying to questions

IT /sa lou'-lɔ/ 2.23

SB /ba lou'-θəlè-lɔ/  
what do-QUO  
(I wonder) what (he) did.

- IT /wùn-sha-ló-kò/ inf  
 SB /wùn-sha-ló-gò/  
 stomach-be.hungry-ing-what  
 And what if (I) am hungry?

(27) /loun/ ?sentence-final postposition = SB /pa-gələ, phè, pó, kò/

- IT /kù-ló-loun/ inf  
 SB /tɛ ci-ba-gələ/  
 be.big-ing-EXCL  
 how enormous
- IT /hèn-mō-loun/ 2.16  
 SB /èda-pidó-gò/  
 that-then-what  
 What then?
- IT /khú yó'-la-wəloun/ inf  
 SB /gú-bè yau'la-bi-bó/  
 now arrive-come-EXCL  
 So you've just arrived.
- IT /Phíla'-ko-loun/ inf  
 SB /Bíla'-ko-gò/  
 England-to-what  
 What about England (when will you go back)?
- IT /chí-ne-wəloun/ inf  
 SB /fí-ne-da-bó/  
 be-be-EXCL  
 So there is some then.
- IT /əyən-ətèintèin-wəloun/ inf  
 SB /əyin-ətàin-bè/  
 before-like-EXCL  
 just as before

(28) /mā/, varying to /mō/, also /òun-mā, òun-mō/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /pì, tó/, also perhaps SB /pì-dó/

- IT /thá-mō khlá-kha/ 1.33  
 SB /thá-bì chá-dó/  
 rise-and hit-time  
 (He) got up and struck (him).
- IT / "..." sho-mā, hèn-lu-ù-o thà-khá-lō/ 1.19  
 SB / "..." sho-bì, èdi-lu-jì-go thà-gé-dɛ-bya/  
 say-and that-man-big-ACC leave-there-man  
 Saying "...", he left the fellow there.
- IT /sən-ná ou'-òun-mā tɔ-kha-ì yu-tɛ'-a/ 1.17  
 SB /saun-né ou'-pì tɔ-kha-dè yu-tɛ'-ta/  
 blanket-with cover-more-and one-time-only take-ascend-VSMK  
 (He) covered (it) with a blanket and took (it) straight up.

- IT /kɔ'-òun-mā lòn-pəlai'-kha/ 2.19  
 SB /kau'pì-dó làun-pəlai'-tɔ'/  
 gather-further-and pour-through-time  
 snatched (them) up and offered the lot

(29) /mā/ may also occur with bases other than verbs. The material has only one example:

- IT /Tɛn-fwe-ná-òun-mɔ pəshu can-shè-à/ inf  
 SB /Tin-fwe-pì-dó bəðu can-ðèi-ðəlè/  
 Tin-Shwe-with-more-and who be.left-yet-Q  
 After counting Tin Shwe, who else is left?

(30) /mò-a/ ? sentence linker, or sentence-medial postposition = SB /taun-hmá/

- IT /mò-a-Myén-Mɔn-tɔn sà-nein-ù/ inf  
 SB /Myín-Maun-daun-hmá mə-sà-hnain-dó-bù/  
 even-Myint-Maung-even eat-can-VSMK  
 Even Myint Maung can't eat any more.

- IT /ŋa-mò-a kùn-i'-phòun-ná khan-shì-ì/ 1.32  
 SB /ŋá-go-daun kùn-i'-phòun-né khan-ðè-da-bè/  
 I-ACC-even betel-box-lid-with defend-yet-VSMK  
 So! (He dares to) protect himself against me with the betel box lid!

(31) /mòn-shɔ/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yin, tɛ-əkha/

- IT /la-mònshɔ/ inf  
 SB /la-dɛ-əkha/  
 come-when  
 when (he) comes

(32) /nà/ common location noun = SB /shi, go/

- IT /ŋá-shəmì-nà la-le-là/ 1.26  
 SB /ŋá-θəmì-shi la-lɛ-da-là/  
 my-daughter-ACC come-visit-Q  
 Have you come to court my daughter?

- IT /shú-nà pè-ɛ/ inf  
 SB /θú-go pè-dɛ/  
 he-ACC give-VSMK  
 gave (it) to him

(33) /ná/ occasional variant for /né/ subordinate marker with noun for complement and attribute = SB /né/, also verb-sentence marker = SB /né/

- IT /hle-ná/ inf  
 SB /hle-né/  
 boat-with  
 by boat

- IT /mə-sà-ná/ inf  
 SB /mə-sà-né/  
 not-eat-VSMK  
 Don't eat (it).



(34) /nɛ'/ auxiliary verb = SB /leín, yò-bó/

IT	/ʃwè-shù-shù-ná	pu-nɛ'-mɛ/ inf
SB	/chwè-tədì-dì-né	pu-ne-yò-bó/
	sweat-drip-ADV-with	be.hot-surely-will
	(You) must be hot – (you)'re sweating a lot.	

(35) /ɔ̃/ auxiliary verb = SB /θwà/

IT	/khe'-ne-ɔ̃-lè/ 1.35
SB	/khe'-ne-bi-bè/
	be.difficult-stay-go-EMP
	Now we're in trouble.
IT	/kòn-ɔ̃-wɔ̃/ inf
SB	/kàun-θwà-bi-bè/
	be.good-go-EMP
	(It)'s all right now.

(36) /òun-mā/ see /mā/

(37) /pè/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /phè/

IT	/ne-kòn-pè/ inf
SB	/ne-mə-kàun-bè/
	live-be.good-without
	being unwell
IT	/mə-pyò-pè/ 1.22
SB	/mə-pyò-bè/
	not-speak-without
	not replying

(38) /pù/, usually /ù/, verb-sentence marker = SB /phù/

IT	/sà-ù/ inf
SB	/mə-sà-bù/
	eat-VSMK
	(I) didn't eat.
IT	/mə-yá-pù/ inf
SB	/mə-yá-bù/
	not-get-VSMK
	(It)'s impossible.

(39) /tɛ/, usually /ɛ/, verb-sentence marker = SB /tɛ/; cf. IT [zero]

IT	/thá-hnò-ɛ/ 1.23
SB	/thá-hnò-dɛ/
	rise-wake-VSMK
	(She) got up and woke (him).
IT	/shí-ne-tɛ/ inf
SB	/θí-ne-dɛ/
	know-be-VSMK
	(He) knows (them).

(40) /wā/, varying to /wō/, sentence-final postposition = SB /pó, pa, phè, pa-gəlà/; frequent also after IT /shō/ q.v., and in IT /ləwā/ which is perhaps /lē/ and /wā/

- |    |                                                                                 |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| IT | /è-wā/ inf                                                                      |
| SB | /è-ba/<br>yes-EMP<br>Yes.                                                       |
| IT | /sà-wā/ inf                                                                     |
| SB | /sàpibi-bè/<br>eat-EMP<br>(I) have eaten.                                       |
| IT | /la-wā/ inf                                                                     |
| SB | /labi-bè/<br>come-EMP<br>(He)'s here.                                           |
| IT | /khú-sənà-poun-wō-là/ 2.1                                                       |
| SB | /khú-dingá-poun-bè-là/<br>now-just-story-EMP-Q<br>Is that your only story then? |
| IT | /əpho-lè-yo'-wā/ 2.7                                                            |
| SB | /əpho-lè-yau'-phè/<br>friend-four-person-EMP<br>"The four friends" of course    |
| IT | /mə-nei-nein-ləwā/ 1.22                                                         |
| SB | /mə-nei-hnain-dó-bù/<br>not-stay-can-EMP<br>(She) couldn't bear it.             |
| IT | /hèn-lè hmè-ləwā/ 1.26                                                          |
| SB | /èdi-lo mè-yò/<br>that-way ask-EMP<br>That's how (he) asked.                    |

(41) [zero] verb-sentence marker = SB /tə/

- |    |                                                                                   |
|----|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| IT | /phərà-wu' tə'/ 1.24                                                              |
| SB | /phəyà-wu' tə'tə/<br>lord-duty attend<br>(He) said his prayers.                   |
| IT | /səkà-kho-pyò-cí/ 1.20                                                            |
| SB | /səgà-kho-pyò-cí-də/<br>word-call-say-try<br>(She) tried to start a conversation. |

(42) [repetition] is occasionally used in ways that strike the SB speaker's ear as strange. For example:

IT	/còn-ma-ətèintèin/ inf	
SB	/càun-hma-lo/	
	school-at-like	
	just as (if they were) at school	
IT	/shè-khà-pen	chàchà fí-ε/ inf
SB	/shè-gà-bin	θa'θa' fí-dε/
	medicine-bitter-plant	separate be-VSMK
	There is an actual (plant called) bitter-medicine plant.	
IT	/tə-lá-po-po/ inf	
SB	/tə-lá-cə-jə/	
	one-month-exceed-ADV	
	a bit more than a month	
IT	/shu-fí-fí	pyḁ-ne-a/ inf
SB	/θu-jì-bè	pyḁ-ne-da/
	he-only-ADV	speak-be-VSMK
	No-one talked but he.	
IT	/móun-móun	kre-ε/ inf
SB	/ñe'-ñe'	ce-dε/
	powder-ADV	be.crushed-VSMK
	It was crushed to death.	

### 3.3.4 VOCABULARY

#### 3.3.4.1 FORMS WHICH APPEAR NOT TO HAVE COGNATES IN SB

##### 3.3.4.1.1 UTENSILS AND ARTIFACTS

IT	SB	
/əpɛ'/	/ɔwu'/	clothes
/pɛ'-tu/	/təgà/	door cf. Shan <i>phák-tǔ</i> 'door'
/pein/	/càn-byin/	floor cf. Shan <i>pýn</i> 'floor'
/pəsɛn-kù/	/thùn-bòun/, /saun/	quilt
/kàn-yɛ'/	—	veranda
/khwɛ'-pələ'-kù/	/səlaun-bòun/	pan lid
/khəma/	/dəmá/	large knife
/khun/	—	waterproofed basket (large)
/pai'/	—	waterproofed basket (small)
/tɔn-pèn/	/thəyan/	mat walling
/pəlɔn/	/pədàin/	glass lamp shade
/pɔ-sɔ/	/phələ/	bowl
/khəpà-sɔ'/	/yùn-dɛ-gwɛ'/	lacquer bowl
/mì-chai'/	/mì-jì'/	match, lighter
/ye-pwé/	/ye-hmou'/	water-dipper, ladle
/phyù/	/bì/	comb

## 3.3.4.1.2 FAUNA AND FLORA

IT	SB	
/shan-pou'ti/	/sa-gəlè/	sparrow
/kəta'/	/ye-jɛ'/	waterfowl
/hnɛn-i/	/zin-yɔ/	seagull
/ɔn-pɛ/	/wùn-bè/	duck
/kəlein/	/pəywe'-shei'/	ant
/pò-sí-hmèin/	/pò-sòun-jù/	glow-worm
/pá-khe/	/phəyoun/	(kind of) pumpkin
/chí-chin/	/khəyàn-jin/	tomato
/tan-pu/	/phəyoun/	(kind of) pumpkin
		cf. Shan <i>tɛŋ-sàm-pù</i> 'watermelon'
/phoun/	/phəyoun/	(kind of) pumpkin
/khɔ/	/pyàun-bù/	maize cf. Shan <i>khaw</i> 'rice' and
		<i>khaw-kàab</i> 'maize' (< 'rice' + 'husk, sheath')
/shi-pò katɔ/	/be-da/	water hyacinth
/an-pyɔ/	/ŋəpyɔ/	banana

## 3.3.4.1.3 DERIVED WORDS

IT	SB	
/kəti-kəlai'/	/kəbya-kəya/	hurriedly
/kəthu'-kəlu'/	/bo-ði-ba'θi/	unkempt
/tù-yà-tù-yà/	/bo-ði-ba'θi/	unkempt
/kəsə'-kəla'/	/məhou'məhman/	irrelevant, outrageous
/li-li-le'-le'/	/wìn-wìn/	bright, shining

## 3.3.4.1.4 MISCELLANEOUS

IT	SB	
/kù/	/cì/	be big
/khe-phɛ khli'/	/chi-dau'né hɔ/	paddle (boat) with leg
/kɔ'/	/chi-dau'né hɔ/	paddle (boat) with leg
/phyi'/	/kan/	kick cf. Shan <i>pīt</i> 'kick'
/pli'/	/ɔ-shɛ/	abuse
/à-phɛ' wɛ/	/à pyain/	compete in strength
/phou'/	/ñā/	trick, deceive
/kwè/	/khɔ/	cry out, call
/í-kəne/	/əcì-əce/	greatly
/hñāun/	/hnəkhāun/	nose
/hlún/	/che'/	cook ?cf. Shan <i>hŭŋ</i> 'cook'
/ein-təma/	/θəye-za/	snacks
/mwé/	/əɔ/ (etc.)	aunt (paternal, older maternal)
/kwɛn/	/ù-lè/	uncle (younger maternal)

/tɔ̌-pò̃n/	/yau'khəmə/	mother-in-law
/ɛ/	/maun/	brother (girl's younger)
		?cf. Shan <i>é</i> (appellation for females)
/ɛ/	/əye'/	alcoholic drink
/khe-shèn/	/chi-jìn/	anklet

## 3.3.4.2 FORMS WITH IRREGULAR REFLEXES

IT	SB		IT form requires *SB
/lu-shəne/	/lu-ŋɛ, thəŋɛ/	child	/lu-shəne, lu-θəne/
/thàn-phò-shì/	/θin-bò-ðì/	paw-paw	/thàn-bò-ðì/
/khò̃n-kò̃n/	/kàun-gin/	sky	/khàun-gin/
/chin-pyò̃n/	/chin-baun/	roselle	/chin-byaun/
/sha'kɛ/	/θɛ'-kɛ/	thatch	/θa'kɛ/
/pəhe'/	/pò̃-ha'/	cockroach	/pəhe'/
/tɔ̃n-pɛ'/	/təbe'/	towel	/taun-be'/
/hni/	/hni', hnə/	two	/hni/
/hni-lò̃un/	/hnəlò̃un/	heart	/hni-lò̃un/
/phwì/	/bì/	comb	/bwì/
/kəlein-thein/	/kələthain/	chair	/kəlein-, kəlain-/
/kəlèn/	/gəlán/	bolt	/gəlín/
/ye-khlɔ̃'/	/ye-təyau'/	gutter	/ye-jau'/
/ñó̃un/	/ŋó̃un/	bow (head)	/ñó̃un/
/hñà/	/hmyà/	catch (fish)	/hñà/
/thàn-phi/	/thəmein/	longyi	/thàn-bi/
/lè̃in, hlè̃in/	/lè̃, hlè̃/	fall, fell	/lè̃in, hlè̃in (or -à̃in)/

## 3.3.4.3 FORMS WITH DIFFERENT MEANING OR USE IN SB

## 3.3.4.3.1 WHOLE WORDS AND PHRASES

IT	SB		SB meaning of IT form
/yè-tèn/	/pau'shein/	axe	cf. <i>yè-dìn</i> 'battle-axe'
/əsá-əná/	/əcín/	habit	cf. <i>əsá-əná</i> 'piece, clue'
/ɛ/	/chou/	be sweet	cf. <i>è</i> 'be cold'
/sɛ'/	/ɛ/	be cold	cf. <i>sɛ'</i> 'drip, cross over' etc.
/əwun/	/pyi'sì/	thing, object	cf. <i>wun</i> 'load, baggage'
/pyà/	/pəzín/	dragonfly	cf. <i>pyà</i> 'bee'
/mó̃un-shè̃in/	/təbye'-sì/	broom	cf. <i>əhmó̃un; θè̃in</i> 'powder, dust; clear up'
/à klá/	/sei' shò̃/	be angry	cf. <i>à cá</i> 'admire, envy'
/ɛn-doun/	/sədwe-gwe'/	spittoon	cf. <i>in-doun</i> 'cooking pot'
/kəlèn fo/	/gəlán thò̃, chá/	bolt (door, etc.)	
/shan-phyu/	/θu'/	corrugated iron	cf. <i>θan-byu</i> 'tin'
/mu'/	/sha/	be hungry	cf. <i>mu'</i> 'be hungry' (restricted)
/lén/	/sáun-ne/	wait	cf. <i>lín</i> 'wait' (restricted)
/lwen/	/pyɔ̃-fwin/	be happy	cf. <i>lwin</i> 'be bright'

/mɛ/	/əme/	mother	cf. <i>mɛ</i> 'mother' (restricted)
/kəɬə'-kəte'/	/à-jì/, /θei'/	very, very much	cf. <i>kədaʊ'-kəde</i> 'confusedly'
/pəɬón-pəte/	/θe-ðe cha-ja/	surely, definitely	cf. <i>pədaʊn-pəde</i> 'strange'
/ya-su/	/chein-gwìn/	scales, balance	cf. <i>ya-zu</i> 'scales' (restricted)

## 3.3.4.3.2 PARTS OF WORDS AND PHRASES

IT	SB		SB meaning of IT form
/khe-thou'/	/chi-nìn/	shoe	cf. <i>thou</i> 'wrap up'
/san-pòn/	/pai'kun/	fishing net	cf. <i>san-dà</i> 'fish trap'
/cɛ'-khà/	/cɛ'-hìn-gà/	momordica	
/ei'hmwé/	/ei'pyɔ/	sleep	cf. <i>mwé-ya</i> 'mattress'
/sa'shì/	/ɣəyou'θi/	chillie	cf. <i>sa</i> 'be hot'
/ein-khe le/	/əɛ θwà/	go visiting	cf. <i>ein-je</i> 'number of houses'
/khoun-nèn/	/khoun-phəna'/	wooden sandals	cf. <i>nìn</i> 'tread'
/təthà khòn-sèn/		pier (for washing from)	cf. <i>gàun</i> 'head'; <i>sìn</i> 'stretch out'
/pəti-shì/	/cɛ-ði/	button	cf. <i>pədi</i> 'bead'
/myɛ'-pye/	/myɛ'-ye/	tears	cf. <i>pye</i> 'pus'
/təná/	/khəná/, /təáun/	a moment	cf. <i>nà</i> 'rest, pause'
/si-shən/	/si-zin/	arrange	cf. <i>shin</i> 'set up, set out'

## 3.3.4.4 SELECTIVES

IT	SB	
/i/ (often [ɪ])	/è-di/	this, that
/hèn/, /èn/	/è-di/	this, that
/tha/	/ho-ha/	that
/ho/ (~ [hò])	/ho/	that
/phɛ/	/bɛ/	which?

## 3.4 TEXTS

The following two texts are from the recordings mentioned in the introduction. One tells of a practical joke played by ɛ-Poun Ta-Te, who – if he ever existed – lived in the village of Ywa-má 'in the old days', and has become a byword for outrageous pranks. The other is a humorous anecdote, evidently in the youn-dàn sagà tradition, when friends vie with each other to tell the most implausible tale.

There are two speakers: 'P' is Pwè-sà Phù, who tells the story, and 'M' is Myén Mòn, his interlocutor. M's interventions are omitted when he is only saying things like 'yes' and 'really?' which do not elicit specific responses from P.

The transcription is phonemic, except for the following points:

1. The particles /wa/ and /ma/ are written /wə/ and /mə/ when the latter representation seems closer to their actual realisation.
2. Medial /-l-/ is written /-l-/ or /-r-/ according to its realisation.

3. The word corresponding to SB /ho/ 'that', when used in IT as a hesitation-word, is often pronounced, by P at any rate, with distorted vowel and tone. There is little rounding, the whole diphthong is centralised [əi], and its pitch falls from high to mid, sometimes rising to the high from a low start. Often, too, it has no initial /h/. This word, when so pronounced, is transcribed /hau/ or /au/.

3.4.1 INTA TEXT NO.1 – IF YOUR SON-IN-LAW IS NO USE, SEND HIM TO THE MONASTERY

1. M: Nən səha-poun pyò-mə-là – kè.  
Nin ba-poun pyò-mə-lè – kè.  
you what-story tell-will-Q come
2. P: Au – əyən-tòuná ε-Poun-Ta-Te-əcòn-wā  
Ho – əyin-dòungá ε-Poun-Ta-Te-əcàun-ba  
that past-while E-Pon-Ta-Te-about-EMP
3. M: è – ε-Poun-Ta-Te. P: è.  
è – ε-Poun-Ta-Te. è.  
right E-Pon-Ta-Te yes.
4. M: ε-Poun-Ta-Te-əpoun myà-ləwā: nən [sa – sa – ]  
ε-Poun-Ta-Te-əpoun myà-da-bè: nin [ba – ba – ]  
E-Pon-Ta-Te-story be.many-EMP you [what what]  
  
sa-poun pyò-mə-ló-à.  
ba-poun pyò-mə-ló-lè.  
what-story tell-will-QUO-Q
5. P: A – nən hmàn shí-shè-ù-lō.  
A – nin ba-hmàn mə-θí-ðè-bù-byà.  
ah – you something know-yet-VSMK-man
6. Hèn-poun-a – au – shəmə'-mə-kòn còn pó-a  
Ho-poun-ha – hou – θəmə'-mə-kàun càun pó-dé  
that-story-SUBJ that son.in.law-not-be.good monastery-send-REL  
  
poun-lē.  
poun-le.  
story-you.know
7. M: A – ε – hou'pi: to-to-né-lè. P: ε – to-to-né.  
A – ε – hou'pi: to-do-né-bè. ε – to-do-né.  
ah yes right short-ADV-with-EMP yes short-ADV-with
8. M: ε – kè: sàñ-cí-òun-shəwā. Nì-nì əsá-ló'.  
ε – kè: sàñ-cí-òun-bó. Nè-nè əsá-lau'.  
right come.on try-see-more-EMP little-ADV start-about
9. P: əsá-ló'-là. M: ε.  
əsá-lau'-là. ε.  
start-about-Q yes

10. P: Au – kəɔ'kəɛ'-fu' kəɔ'kəɛ'-nɔ' ɛ-Poun-Ta-Te  
 Ho – inmətan-fou' inmətan-nau' ɛ-Poun-Ta-Te  
 that very-disruptive very-prankish E-Pon-Ta-Te  
 sho-a fí-ɛ-wā. M: ɛ.  
 sho-da fí-dɛ-bó. ɛ.  
 say-thing be-VSMK-EMP yes
11. P: tó-i-Hèya-Ywamá-ma, – a – ɔyɛn-tòuná-lɛ.  
 dó-di-Hèya-Ywamá-hma, – a – ɔyin-dòungá-le.  
 our-this-Heya Ywama-in er past-while-you.know
12. [Hèn – shu-á – au – ] Kəlɪŋɛ-nà-ma  
 [Da – ʈu-gá – ho – ] Kəlɪŋɛ-nà-hma  
 [that he-SUBJ – that – ] Kalinge-near-at  
 mèinmá-əchò-tə-yɔ' fí-ɛ – mèinmá kəɔ'kəɛ'-hlá.  
 mèinmá-əchò-tə-yau' fí-dɛ – mèinmá inmətan-hlā-dɛ.  
 woman-beautiful-one-person be-VSMK woman very-pretty
13. [Hèn-kha shu-a – au – ] shú-ó khi'-tòuná-nɔ  
 [èdi-dó ʈu-ha – ho – ] ʈu-dó khi'-tòungá-nɔ  
 [that-since he-SUBJ that] they-PL time-while-you.know  
 sɔn-khòn-ou'-le-ɛ-shɔ – èinmá-pyo le-ɛ-shɔ-lɛ.  
 saun-gàun-ou'-pì le-dɛ-bó – mèinmá-byo le-dɛ-bó-le.  
 blanket-head-cover-visit-VSMK-EMP woman-maid visit-VSMK-EMP-see
14. Sɔn-khòn-ou'-le-ɛ khi'-ma, hèn-mèinmá-ká  
 Saun-gàun-ou'pì-le-dé khi'-hma, èdi-mèinmá-gá  
 blanket-head-cover-visit-REL time.in that-woman-SUBJ  
 maná-cì-lùn-kha, shu-a hèn khò-dɛn-ɛ –  
 maná-cì-lùn-dó, ʈu-ha èda chò-jin-dɛ –  
 pride-be.great-exceed-time he-SUBJ that break-want-VSMK  
 hèn-maná-o – ɛ-Poun-á.  
 èdi-maná-go – ɛ-Poun-gá.  
 that-pride-ACC E-Pon-SUBJ
15. Hèn-ná [shu-a – au – ] Sanya-còn-ma  
 èda-ne [ʈu-gá – ho – ] Sanya-jàun-hma  
 that-with [he-SUBJ that] Sanya-monastery-at  
 tó-əyou'-ù-tə-you' fí-ɛ –  
 dó-əyou'-cì-tə-you' fí-dɛ –  
 our-image-big-one-image be-VSMK
16. [ho – ] tó-əyou'-wɔ – mè-mè-wá-wá-ù-shəwā.  
 [ho – ] dó-əyou'-pó – mè-mè-wá-wá-jì-bó.  
 [that] our-image-you.know black-ADV-fat-ADV-big-EMP
17. È – hèn-myò-wā, shu-a shon-wā –  
 È – èdi-myò-bó, ʈu-ha shaun-da –  
 yes that-kind-you.know he-SUBJ carry-EMP



sən-ná      ou'-òun-mā      tə-kha-lì      yu-tə'-a –      shu-á  
 saun-né      ou'-pì      tə-kha-dè      yu-tə'-ta –      ʈu-gá  
 blanket-with cover-yet-and one-time-only take-ascend-VSMK he-SUBJ

– hèn-mèinmá-pyo-hlá-hlá-ein-o.  
 – èdi-mèinmá-byo-hlá-hlá-ein-go.  
 that-woman-maid-pretty-ADV-house-ACC

18. Há – yu-tə'-kha      “ε-l̥ɔ –      nɛn [ŋa – ]      ì-ma  
 Há – yu-tə'-tɔ      “Kè-kwa –      nin [ŋa – ]      di-hma  
 ha      take-ascend-time      right-man      you [I]      here-at  
 tənà      lɛ-ne-òun-nɔ.  
 khənà      lɛ-ne-òun-nɔ.  
 moment visit-stay-more-right?

19. ŋa-á      au-ko      tənà      lɛ-òun-ma”      sho-mā,  
 ŋa-gá      ho-go      khənà      lɛ-òun-hma”      sho-bì,  
 I-SUBJ there-to moment visit-further-VSMK say-and  
 hèn-lu-ù-o      thà-khá-l̥ɔ.  
 èdi-lu-jì-go      thà-gé-dɛ-bya.  
 that-man-big-ACC leave-there-man

20. Hèn thà-khá-kha,      mèinmá-ká      səkà-kho-pyò-cí:      mə-pyò.  
 èdilo thà-gè-dó,      mèinmá-gá      səgà-kho-pyò-cí-dɛ:      mə-pyò-bù.  
 thus leave-there-time woman-SUBJ word-call-say-try      not-speak

21. tə-ñá-lòun-á-lè      lou'òun-mɔ,      tɛ-òun-mɔ,  
 tə-ñá-lòun-gá-lè      lou'pì,      ne-dó,  
 one-night-all-SUBJ-also do-and      stay-more-when

22. thein-é-əkha,      lèn-nà-nì-la-kha,      shu      mə-ne-nein-ləwā –  
 thain-dé-əkha,      lìn-ga-nì-la-dó,      ʈu      mə-ne-nain-dó-bù –  
 sit-REL-time      light-near-near-come-time      she      not-stay-can-EMP  
 mèinmá-á –      hmè-ló      mə-pyò-pè-ha.  
 mèinmá-gá –      mè-ló      mə-pyò-bè-ha.  
 woman-SUBJ ask-ing not-speak-without-thing

23. Hèn-lè      shú-phá-o      thá-hnò-ε.  
 èdi-lo      ʈú-əphe-go      thá-hnò-dɛ.  
 this-way her-father-ACC rise-wake-VSMK

24. Shú-phá-á      “È – lèn-kha      nì-ne-wɔ”  
 ʈú-əphe-gá      “È – lìn-ga      nì-ne-bi-bè”  
 her-father-SUBJ      yes      light-time      be.near-stay-EMP  
 sho-mā,      phərà-wu'-tɛ'.  
 sho-bì,      phəyà-wu'-tɛ'-tɛ.  
 say-and      lord-duty-attend

25. È – shu-a      hèn-lè      lou'òun-mā      tə-kha-tì  
 È – ʈu-ha      èdi-lo      lou'pì-dó      tə-kha-dè  
 yes he-SUBJ this-way do-more-when one-time-only

- hèn-lu-ù-o            la-hmè-a:  
 èdi-lu-jì-go          la-mè-da:  
 that-man-big-ACC come-ask-VSMK
26. “È-mən: nən-a      ɲá-shəmì-nà    la-le-là” –    hèn-lè    hmè-ləwā  
 “È-maun: nin-ha    ɲá-θəmì-shi    la-le-da-là” –    èdi-lo    mè-yò.  
 hey-man you-SUBJ my-daughter-to come-visit-Q that-way ask-EMP
27. Hèn-lu-ká          mə-pyò-la-ù.  
 èdi-lu-gá          mə-pyò-la-bù.  
 that-man-SUBJ not-speak-come-VSMK
28. Hèn-mō [myò-la – ]    pyò-la-pè-kha,  
 èdi-dó [myò-la – ]    mə-pyò-la-dó,  
 that-then [neak-come] speak-come-without-time  
 tòshá-ká    thwè'-la-ε –            èn-lu-a.  
 dòđá-gá    thwè'-la-de –           èdi-lu-ha.  
 anger-SUBJ emerge-come-VSMK that-man-SUBJ
29. M: È – hèn-pì    sa    lou'-à.  
          È – èdi-dó    ba    lou'θə-lè.  
          yes that-finish what do-Q  
 P: [Hèn tòshá thwè'-la-òun-mā – ]      tòshá thwè'-kha  
      [èdilo dòđá thwè'-la-dó – ]          dòđá thwè'-pì  
      [thus anger emerge-come-more-when] anger emerge-time  
      thá-òun-mā      thò-lai'-shō –          hèn-lu-o.  
      thá-pì-dó        thò-lai'-kō –          èdi-lu-go.  
      rise-further-when strike-through-EMP that-man-ACC
30. Hèn thá-thò-kha,    phe –    au-lu-a            əyou'-wəshō –  
      èdilo thá-thò-dó,    be –    ho-lu-ha            əyou'-phè –  
      thus rise-strike-time what    that-man-SUBJ image-EMP  
      lu    mə-hou'-pè.  
      lu    mə-hou'-phè.  
      man not-be.so-without
31. Khòn-ma    əthò-mí-kha    klɔ'-khənè    mi-à-ε.  
      Gàun-hma    əthò-mí-dó    kəlau'-khənè    myi-ðwà-de.  
      head-on    blow-catch-time clonk-ADV    sound-go-VSMK
32. Hèn shu sai'-to-la-ε:                            “I –    nən    ɲa-mò'a  
      èdidó θu sei'-to-la-de:                        “He –    nin    ɲá-godaun  
      so    he    mind-be.short-come-VSMK hey    you    me-even  
      kùn-i'-phòun-ná    khan-shì-ì”.  
      kùn-i'-phòun-né    khan-ðè-da-bè”.  
      betel-box-lid-with defend-yet-VSMK
33. I-ma    thá-mō    khlá-kha,  
      èdi-hma    thá-bì    chá-dó,  
      there-at    rise-and strike-time

- khe-tho'      thá-phyi'-pəlai'-kha,      lèin-à-shō –      əyou'-wā.  
 chi-dau'      thá-kan-pəlai'-tō,      lè-ōwà-da-bè –      əyou'-le.  
 foot-support      rise-kick-out-time      fall-go-EMP      image-you.see
34.      Hà – əyou'-ù      pə-la.  
          Hà – əyou'-cì      pə-la-yò.  
          ha      image-big      emerge-come-VSMK
35.      “Hò – khe'-ne-ò-lè:  
          “Hò – khe'-ne-bi-bè:  
          ho      be.difficult-stay-go-EMP
- ì-a      ε-Poun-Ta-Te      lou'-à-wā.  
          di-ha      ε-Poun-Ta-Te      lou'thà-da-bè.  
          this-thing      E-Pon-Ta-Te      do-go-EMP
36.      Mə-phyi'-ù, phyi'-ù, phyi'-ù,”      sho-mā,  
          Mə-phyi'-phù, mə-phyi'-phù, mə-phyi'-phù,”      sho-bì,  
          not-work-VSMK not-work-VSMK not-work-VSMK      say-and
37.      [ɛ – ]      “È – ngá-shəmi      la,      la,      la:  
          [ɛ – ]      “È – ngá-θəmi      la,      la,      la:  
          [mm]      right      my-daughter      come      come      come
- tó-məná-shà      ì-a      còn-əpó-myà.”      M:      È –      mənə'sa  
          dó-θà-əphá      di-ha      càun-pó-hmá.”      È –      mənə'  
          we-father-child      this-thing      monastery-send-be.much      right      morning
- sòsòsìsì.  
          sòzòsìzì.  
          early
38. P:      È –      mənə'sa      sòsòsìsì.      Còn-əyu-ma      hlo-a –  
          È –      mənə'      sòzòsìzì.      Càun-yu-ōwà-bó      hlo-da –  
          right morning      early      monastery-take-in      row-VSMK
- hèn-əyou'-ù-wō.  
          èdi-əyou'-cì-bó.  
          that-image-big-I.mean
39.      Còn      əyou'-ù-o      hlo-é-kha,      ε-Poun-á –  
          Càun      əyou'-cì-go      hlo-dé-əkha,      ε-Poun-gá –  
          monastery      image-big-ACC      row-REL-time      E-Pon-SUBJ
- shu-á      ñan-né-shəwā –      èn-si-shen-à      hou'-à.  
          θu-gá      ñan-né-bó –      è-da-si-zin-thà-da      məhou'-là.  
          he-SUBJ      brain-with-EMP      that-arrange-set-VSMK      be.so-Q
40.      Hèn-kha      [shu-a-au – ]      ywa-pyen-phə'-nà-ma  
          èdi-dó      [θu-ha-ho – ]      ywa-əpyin-bə'-nà-hma  
          that-time      [he-SUBJ-that]      village-outside-direction-near-at
- pákhe-sen-tə-sen      jí-ε.  
          phəyoun-zin-tə-zin      jí-dε.  
          pumpkin-frame-one-frame      be-VSMK

41. Ho-pákhe-sen-ɔ'-nà-ma shu-a [au - ]  
 Ho-phəyoun-zin-au'-nà-hma ʈu-ha [ho - ]  
 that-pumpkin-frame-under-near-in he-SUBJ [that]  
 əpyen thwɛ'-lolo sa-lolo lou'-ðun-mā,  
 əpyin thwɛ'-θəlolo ba-lolo lou'-pì-dó,  
 outside emerge-as.if what-as.if do-further-when
42. hèn-ma chòn-cí-ne-ɛ - [èn - ] chòn-cí-ne-ɛ.  
 èdi-hma chàun-cí-ne-dɛ - [èda - ] chàun-cí-ne-dɛ.  
 there-at peer-look-stay-VSMK [that] peer-look-stay-VSMK
43. ɛn ho-ká phá-ná-shà hlo-a myen-kha,  
 èdilo ho-gá ʈà-əphá hlo-da myin-dó,  
 thus there-from father-and-child row-thing see-when
44. “Yè-lɔ - nɛn-a phə-lè-myò-a  
 “Hé-kwa - nin-ha bɛ-lo-myò-lè  
 hey-you you-SUBJ what-like-kind-Q  
 shəmə' mə-kòn-a còn-pó-shə-là-wɔ,” sho-ɛ.  
 ʈəmə' mə-kàun-da càun-pó-ʈə-là-byə,” sho-dɛ.  
 son.in.law not-be.good-thing monastery-send-VSMK-Q-EMP say-VSMK

## 3.4.2 INTA TEXT NO.2 – THE FOUR FRIENDS

1. M: Kè - nɛn khúsənà-poun-wɔ-là.  
 Kè - nin khúdingá-poun-bɛ-là.  
 right you just.now-story-only-Q
2. Səha-poun jí-shè-à - nɛn-a.  
 Ba-poun jí-ðè-ðəlè - nin-ha.  
 what-story have-further-Q you-SUBJ
3. P: ɔ - jɛjɛ-ðun-á poun-ó əmyà-ù-wā.  
 ɔ - jɛjɛ-dòun-gá poun-dó əmyà-jì-ba.  
 oh past-in-from story-as.for many-big-EMP
4. [Səha - ] Nɛn səha nà-thon-chen-è-lɔ.  
 [Ba - ] Nin ba nà-thaun-jin-lè-kwa.  
 [what] you what ear-set.up-want-Q-man
5. M: ɛn - sa-nà-thon-chen-à shəwā  
 In - ba-nà-thaun-jin-ðəlè sho-yin  
 that what-ear-set.up-want-Q say-if  
 [nɛn - au - tó - ɛn - ] əpho-lè-yo' sho-myò-á  
 [nin - ho - dó - in - ] əpho-lè-yau' shodéha-myò-gá  
 [you that our mm] friend-four-person say-kind-SUBJ  
 nì-nì cà-phù - [nɛn - ] ɲa hmàn-shí-lo'-ù.  
 nè-nè cà-bù - [nin - ] ɲa kàungàun-mə-θí-dó-bù.  
 little-ADV hear-ever [you] I what-know-any.more-VSMK

6. P: A – ho-shəŋɛjɛn-lè-yɔ' poun-shɔ̃-là.  
 A – ho-θəŋɛjɛn-lè-yau' poun-sho-da-là.  
 ah that-friend-four-person story-say-thing-Q
7. M: È – hɛ̀-è – əphɔ-lè-yɔ'-wā.  
 È – hɛ̀-è – əphɔ-lè-yau'-phè.  
 yes hey-yes friend-four-person-EMP
8. P: È – əphɔ-lè-yɔ'. Yá-ne-wā – hèn-nó.  
 È – əphɔ-lè-yau'. Yá-da-bó – èda-dó.  
 yes friend-four-person get-thing-of.course that-as.for
9. M: È – kè – tɔʃɛ'-tù lou'-cí-òun – hèn-a.  
 È – kè – nē-nē lou'-cí-òun – èda-gá.  
 right OK little-ADV do-see-more that-SUBJ
10. P: Hèn-əphɔ-lè-yɔ'-a au-əyɛn-tòun-á  
 èdi-əphɔ-lè-yau'-ha ho-əyin-dòun-gá  
 that-friend-four-person-SUBJ that-former-while-from  
 əphɔ-lè-yɔ' ʃí-ɛ.  
 əphɔ-lè-yau' ʃí-dɛ.  
 friend-four-person be-VSMK
11. Hèn-əphɔ-lè-yɔ' ʃí-ɔ́, ɲà-thò shwà-a.  
 èdi-əphɔ-lè-yau' ʃí-dó, ɲà-əthò θwà-da.  
 that-friend-four-person be-when fish-spear go-VSMK
12. ɲà-thò shwà-kha, tɔ-yɔ'-ká nà kətɔ'kətɛ' là;  
 ɲà-əthò θwà-dó, tɔ-yau'-ká nà inmətan cì;  
 fish-spear go-when one-person-SUBJ ear very be.big
13. ... tɔ-yɔ'-ká phen kətɔ'kətɛ' chun;  
 ... tɔ-yau'-ká phin inmətan chun;  
 tone-person-SUBJ buttock very be.pointed
14. tɔ-yɔ'-ká-ɔ́ hna'khìlè kətɔ'kətɛ' thu;  
 tɔ-yau'-ká-dó hna'chì inmətan thu;  
 one-person-SUBJ-however snot very be.think
15. [in – ] in – lè-yɔ': hèn-kha le'-wà-kù-shəmə-tə-yɔ'.  
 [in – ] in – lè-yau': pì-dó le'-wà-cì-ðəmə-tə-yau'.  
 [yes] yes four-person finish-when hand-palm-be.big-person-one-person
16. M: 0 – hou'-pi: le'-wà-kù-shəmə-tə-yɔ'-ná,  
 0 – hou'-pi: le'-wà-cì-ðəmə-tə-yau'-né,  
 oh be.so-VSMK hand-palm-be.big-person-one-person-and  
 nàwɛ'-là-shəmə-tə-yɔ'-ná, phen-chun-shəmə-tə-yɔ'-ná,  
 nàywe'-cì-ðəmə-tə-yau'né, phin-chun-ðəmə-tə-yau'né,  
 ear-be.big-person-one-person-and buttock-be.pointed-person-one-person-and  
 hna'khèrè-thu-shəmə-tə-yɔ'-ná – è, hou'-pi: hèn-mó-loun.  
 hna'chì-thu-ðəmə-tə-yau'né – è, hou'-pi: èda-pìdó-gò.  
 snot-be.thick-person-one-person-and yes be.so-VSMK that-then-what

17. P:     $\eta\grave{a}$ -thò-shwà-kha,    shu-tó  $\eta\grave{a}$ -a       thò-thé-ε:  
           $\eta\grave{a}$ -əthò-θwà-dó,    θu-dó  $\eta\grave{a}$ -ha       thò-thé-dε:  
          fish-spear-go-when   he-PL   fish-SUBJ   spear-catch-VSMK  
           $\eta\grave{a}$ -o       θu-dó yá-ɔ.  
           $\eta\grave{a}$ -go     θu-dó yá-yò.  
          fish-ACC he-PL   get-VSMK
18.        $\eta\grave{a}$ -a       yá-la-kha,    phwàshilá-ká   la-hlu-khan-a.  
           $\eta\grave{a}$ -ha       yá-la-dó,    phwàθilá-gá   la-əhlu-khan-dε.  
          fish-SUBJ   get-come-time   nun-SUBJ    come-alms-request-VSMK
19.       Hèn   la-hlu-khan-kha,       le'-wà-kù-shəmə-á,  
          édilo   la-əhlu-khan-dé-əkha,   le'-wà-ci-ðəmə-gá,  
          thus   come-alms-request-time   hand-palm-be.big-person-SUBJ  
          sha'khənè   sho-a,    kò'-òun-mō       lòn-pəlai'-kha,    $\eta\grave{a}$ -a  
          sha'khənè   sho-bì,   kau'-pì-dó       làun-pəlai'-tɔ,    $\eta\grave{a}$ -ha  
          dashing   say-when   pick.up-further-and   offer-through-time   fish-SUBJ  
          shu-tó   thò-thé-à-a                   koun-à-lɔ.  
          θu-dó   thò-thé-thà-da               koun-ðwà-yò.  
          he-PL   spear-catch-place-thing   be.used.up-go-VSMK
20.       Sai'-to-é-kha               "  $\eta\grave{a}$ -a       tə-ñá-lòun   thò-é-ha-o  
          Sei'-to-dé-əkha           "  $\eta\grave{a}$ -ha       tə-ñá-lòun   thò-dé-ha-go  
          mind-be.short-REL-time   fish-SUBJ   one-night-all   spear-REL-thing-ACC  
          ì-lu-a       le'-wà-kù-ná       lou'-òun-mā  
          di-lu-ha     le'-wà-jì-né       lou'-pì-dó  
          this-man-SUBJ   hand-palm-big-with   do-more-when  
          kha'-lòn-yá-mə-là"       sho-òun-mō,   phen-chun-shəmə-á  
          kha'-làun-yá-mə-là"       sho-pì-dó,   phin-chun-ðəmə-gá  
          scoop-offer-must-VSMK-Q   say-finish-when   buttock-be.pointed-person-SUBJ  
          sai'-to-a                   hle   shón-mā-thein-ε.  
          sei'-to-bì                  hle   sháun-bì-thain-dε.  
          mind-be.short-finish   boat   jolt-and-sit-VSMK
21.       È-   hle-á       pò'-thwε'-a.  
          È-   hle-gá     pau'-θwà-da.  
          yes   boat-SUBJ   be.holed-come-VSMK  
          Hle   pò'-thwε'-kha,    èn-hñɔ-khlè-thu-shəmə   kò'-òun-mā  
          Hle   pau'θwà-dé-əkha,   èdi-hna'chì-thu-ðəmə   kau'-pì-dó  
          boat   be.holed-come-time   that-snot-be.thick-person   grab-further-and  
          pha-ε -       shu-o.  
          pha-dε -     θu-go.  
          patch-VSMK   it-ACC
22. M:   Hé. ε,   è.   Hèn-wɔ-là.   P: È-   ì-ha-wɔ-lɔ.  
          Hé. ε,   è.   Da-bè-là.       È-   da-ha-bè-kwa.  
          hey   yes   yes   that-EMP-Q   yes   this-thing-EMP-man

23. M: Nàwɛ'-là-shəmà-á sa-lou'-lɔ́.  
 Nəywe'-cì-ðəmà-gá ba-lou'-θəlɛ̀-ló.  
 ear-be.big-person-SUBJ what-do-Quo.
24. P: ɛ – nàwɛ'-là-shəmà-á sho-a,  
 ɛ – nəywe'-cì-ðəmà-gá sho-yin,  
 yes ear-be.big-person-SUBJ say-if  
 hau-á sho-wā – hle mə-hlɔ-tàn-ya,  
 həwa-gá sho-badɔ́ – hle mə-hlɔ-nain-dɔ́,  
 that.thing-SUBJ say-EMP boat not-row-can-because
25. shú-nàwɛ' kətɔ́'kətɛ'-ù là-ne-kha,  
 θú-nəywe' inmətan-bè cì-ne-dɔ́,  
 his-ear very-great be.big-stay-time  
 [ho – ɪ – ] ywɛ'-hle thɔn-à-ətèin-nò.  
 [ho – di – ] ywɛ'-hle thaun-thà-dé-ətàin-bɔ́.  
 [that this] sail-boat set.up-go-like-you.see
26. M: Hèn-nəkè. P: È.  
 Dilo-là. È.  
 thus-then yes

### 3.4.3 TRANSLATIONS

#### 3.4.3.1 IF YOUR SON-IN-LAW IS NO USE, SEND HIM TO THE MONASTERY

1. M: Right then, what story are you going to tell us?
2. P: About ɛ-Poun-Ta-Te in the old days.
3. M: Ah – ɛ-Poun-Ta-Te. P: Yes.
4. M: There are lots of stories about ɛ-Poun-Ta-Tei; which one will you tell?
5. P: Ah – you don't know yet.
6. The one – mm – you know, the story about sending your son-in-law to the monastery if he's no use.
7. M: Ah yes, I know. Good and short. P: Yes, good and short.
8. M: Right then, off you go. Come on, make a start.
9. P: A start, eh? M: Yes.
10. P: Well, there was this lad called ɛ-Poun-Ta-Te, a great wag, a great joker.
11. Yes, right here in this village of ours, Hɛ-ya Ywa-má – in the old days, I mean.
12. And there was this beautiful girl near Kalì-nge – tremendously pretty.
13. In those days, you know, they used to wear a blanket over their heads, when they went visiting the girls.
14. Well, in those days of blankets over the head, this girl was much too arrogant and he wanted to humble her – I mean her arrogance, did ɛ-Poun.

15. So, there was this big statue at San-ya monastery.
  16. Hm – this statue, it was a huge black thing.
  17. So that's the thing he took along: covered its head and took it up, he did, up into the pretty girl's house.
  18. Well then, when he got up there he said, "Right. You stay visiting here a while.
  19. I'm going to visit somewhere else for a bit", and he left this "man" there.
  20. After that, the girl tried to make conversation with him, but he said nothing.
  21. They spent the whole night stuck like that, sitting there,
  22. and when it was near dawn, she couldn't take it any more – the girl – because he never answered her questions.
  23. So she got up and woke her father.
  24. Her father said "Oh. Nearly dawn", and went and said his prayers.
  25. Then, when that was over, he came straight over and questioned the "man".
  26. "Look here, are you visiting my daughter?" – that's what he said.
  27. The "man" didn't answer.
  28. Then, when he didn't answer – when he didn't answer after three or four times of asking, he got angry – the father, I mean.
  29. In his anger he upped and hit him – hit this "man".
  30. After that, well, this "man" was a statue after all, not a real person.
  31. The blow landed on his head, and went "clonk".
  32. That made the father lose his temper: "So! You'd defend yourself against me with the betel-box lid, would you?"
  33. and he upped and hit him again, kicked him with his foot, and over he fell – being a statue.
  34. Then they realised it was a statue.
  35. "Ha! Now we're in trouble. This must be ε-Poun's doing.
  36. It's no good, no good at all", he said.
  37. "Daughter, come here quickly. You and I had better take this to the monastery".
- M: That's right, early in the morning.
38. P: Yes, early in the morning. They paddled along with it to the monastery – with the statue.
  39. As they were paddling along, old ε-Poun – he was a cunning fellow, you see – he'd got it all worked out.
  40. Just on the outskirts of the village there was a pumpkin frame.
  41. There he was under this pumpkin frame, half hidden and half in the open,
  42. and he was on the lookout for them, he was, on the lookout.



43. When he saw the father and daughter paddling along,  
 44. he said "Hi there! What's that? Sending a useless son-in-law to the monastery, are you?"

#### 3.4.3.2 THE FOUR FRIENDS

1. M: Well now. Is that the only story you know then?
2. What other stories have you got?
3. P: Oh, there are plenty of stories of the old days.
4. What do you want to hear?
5. M: Well, what I want to hear is – hm – something I once heard before, something about four friends – I can't remember what it was.
6. P: Ah – you mean the story of the four friends?
7. M: Yes, that's it. The four friends.
8. P: I see, the four friends. You can have that, if you like.
9. M: Right then. Give us a go at that one.
10. P: Well, the four friends then. A long time ago there were these four friends.
11. One day the four of them went off to spear fish.
12. Off they went, and one of them had these huge ears;
13. ... another had an incredibly pointed backside;
14. the third had vast quantities of snot.
15. Hm – four of them – oh yes: the fourth had enormous hands.
16. M: I see: one with enormous hands, one with huge ears, one with a sharp backside, and one with quantities of snot. Right. What happened then?
17. P: Off they went, to spear fish, and they landed quite a few – quite a few fish they got.
18. When they'd got quite a few fish, this nun came asking for offerings.
19. When she came along the big-handed man suddenly scooped up a load of fish and gave them to her, and all the fish they'd caught were gone!
20. This was infuriating: "All the fish we'd got by fishing from dusk to dawn, this great oaf, with his enormous hands – why ever did he have to go and make an offering of them?" said the sharp-ended one, mad at him, and he sat down in the boat with a bump.
21. Well, the boat was holed. After that the snotty one grabbed a handful and bunged up the hole – the hole in the boat.
22. M: Is that it then? P: Yes, that's it.
23. M: What did the big-eared man do?
24. P: Oh yes. The one with big ears, he whatsanamed – they couldn't paddle the boat,

25. so, as his ears were so huge, they sailed off as if it was a sailing boat.

26. M: Oh, is that how it was? P: Yes.

#### 4. TAVOYAN

##### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the earliest notices of the Tavoyan dialect was published in 1799, when, under the name of ‘Tanayntharee’ (i.e. modern Tənin-θa-yi or Tenasserim), it was included in a comparative vocabulary alongside Standard Burmese, Arakanese, and Yò (Buchanan 1798:224). Oddly enough, the writer of that article found no instance, in his list of 50 words, in which Tavoyan differed from Standard Burmese. Perhaps one of the dialects (or both) has changed appreciably since then, or maybe he was badly served by his informants, because in fact the differences are quite remarkable. A favourite Tavoyan tongue-twister for speakers of Standard Burmese gives an idea of how striking some of them are:

TV /Klòn-khòn-tha’ma	kli-gàn gòn/
SB /Càun-khaun-bò-hma	cì-gàn tə-gaun/
TV /klò’khè-ná pyi’khlá	- ɔ’ klá-la:/
SB /cau’khè-né pyi’chá	- au’ cá-la:/
TV /klàn-tha’ma θe:	klà kai’shòn./
SB /thun-yè-bò-hma θe:	cà kai’shaun./

Up on the monastery roof, a crow.

Threw a stone and hit him – down he fell.

He died on the plough-ridge: a tiger carried him off.

Another intriguing insight offered by Tavoyan has to do with a curious WB/SB mismatch. WB has the words *Mranmā* ‘Burmese’, *tam-mrak-caññ*: ‘broom’, and *Mrit* ‘Beik’ (the Burmese name of the town known to foreigners as Mergui). By normal rules the SB pronunciation would be /Myan-ma, təmye’si, Myei’/, but in fact the words are pronounced /Bəma, təbye’si, Bei’/. No other words in SB manifest this unlikely match of spelling and pronunciation. The Tavoy dialect, however, reveals that the equation WB *mr* = Tavoyan /by/ is found in many words, so the SB pronunciation is not as bizarre as first appears. Why the /by/ reflex is so common in one dialect and so restricted in the other remains to be discovered.

##### 4.1.1 LOCATION AND NUMBERS

The town of Tavoy (SB /Dəwə/) stands halfway down the ‘tail’ of Burma, a narrow coastal strip some 500 miles long, backed by the Dàw-ná and Tenasserim ranges of mountains which form the boundary between Burma and southern Thailand. In spite of reasonably good communications up and down the coast by both land and sea, the distribution of the TV dialect speakers appears to be curiously limited: at the time when they were recorded for the LSB (Webb 1917:33) they were virtually all in the Tavoy District, which extends 60-70 miles north and south of the town. They were said to be distributed ‘throughout the District’. A comparatively insignificant number were recorded in Yè and Kyaik-khami (Amherst) to the north. Even fewer were recorded south of the District, at

Palaw and Káw-thàung (Victoria Point), but these were probably Merguese anyway, whose dialect, pace Mr Taylor, is quite different from Tavoyan.

My informant told me in 1969 that the population of the Tavoy District then was around 400,000, and “only a few” of these did not speak Tavoyan. Though I have no authentication for this figure, it sounds not implausible: the population of the whole country is generally assumed to have doubled since the last full census in 1931; if Tavoy District has kept pace with this rate of increase it should have moved from 180,000 in 1931 to about 360,000 in 1969, which is not so very far off the figure my informant had heard. Bradley (1994) estimates some 400,000 current speakers of Tavoyan.

For what they are worth, the old figures for TV speakers, rounded to the nearest thousand, are as follows:

1931 census:	159,000
1921 census:	132,000
LSB 1917:	138,000
1911 census:	46,000
1901 census:	nil

#### 4.1.2 BACKGROUND

The legend, apparently related by the Tavoyans themselves, is that they came from Arakan. This alleged origin is often repeated in the literature, for example in Forbes (1878:212) who says the Tavoyans are “only a colony of the Arracanese, as is stated in their traditions and confirmed by their language, which has since become corrupted by Shan and Siamese influence” (see also, to the same effect, Taylor 1921:91, LSI (Grierson 1904:379), Gaz.LB (Spearman 1879/1:151), Gaz.B (Lowis 1908/1:437), Houghton n.d.:1). There is even an ingenious piece of etymologising which makes out that the Arakanese depended on the place for their cutlery, since WB *Thā:way* ‘Tavoy’ is obviously derived from *thā:* ‘knife’ and *way* ‘buy’ (Houghton n.d.:1, Low 1835:253).

Taylor (1921:91) cast doubt on the Siamese influence. One might well add that the supposed similarity between Tavoyan and Arakanese is not convincing either. A few of the more obvious points in the phonology are discussed below.

1. AR, like SB and other dialects, merges WB *ut*, *un* with *up*, *um*, whereas TV keeps them distinct.
2. The splits and mergers of other WB rhymes take quite different directions in the two dialects (in the WB row *Y* is a cover symbol for palatal initials):

AR	<i>ain</i>		<i>on</i>		<i>en</i>	<i>ai'</i>		<i>o'</i>		<i>ε'</i>
WB	<i>uiŋ</i>	<i>añ(ñ)</i>	<i>Yaŋ</i>	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>uik</i>	<i>ac</i>	<i>Yak</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>at</i>
TV	<i>ain</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>an</i>			<i>ai'</i>	<i>i'</i>		<i>a'</i>	

3. The reflexes of Old Burmese initial clusters with *l*, *y* and *r* are again strikingly dissimilar in the two dialects. Simplifying a little, the main patterning is:

AR	<i>c</i>		<i>kr</i>	<i>py</i>	<i>pr</i>	
OB	<i>kl</i>	<i>ky</i>	<i>kr</i>	<i>py</i>	<i>pr</i>	<i>pl</i>
TV	<i>kl</i>	<i>c</i>		<i>py</i>		<i>pl</i>

4. AR has nothing to match TV /by/ for WB *mr*, *hmr*, or TV /í, ú/ for WB *it*, *ut*.

Many of the phonological features that AR and TV do have in common are also shared by other dialects, so it is difficult to point to anything which is peculiar to these two only. The same may be said for items of grammar and lexicon: I am not aware of any, in my limited coverage, that are exclusive to AR and TV. While the legend, then, cannot be disproved, there seems little case for saying it is 'confirmed by their language'.

Tavoy is mentioned in some twelfth- and thirteenth-century inscriptions, which suggest that it was subject to Pagan at the time (Pe Maung Tin 1933:45, Luce 1969:100 n., 1933:296,300). It looks as if the Tavoyans may have reached their area in or around the Pagan period, and subsequently developed the distinctive features of their dialect as a result of being virtually cut off from the main body of Burmese speakers by the Mon centres round the gulf of Martaban (Mok-tamá). It is interesting to note in this connection that the Tavoyans to this day call SB speakers from the central plains /Pəgan-θà/ 'men of Pagan' – but so apparently do the Merguiese (Carapiett, in Luce 1969:46), whose dialect reportedly differs little from SB.

Later on, in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the position of Tavoy made it specially vulnerable to attack in conflicts between the Burmese, the Mon and the Thai. The connection with Siam is immortalised in *The Lusiads* (1572):

Olha Tavai cidade, onde começa  
De Sião largo o imperio  
(Os Lusiadas x.123)

Tavais city, too, observe, where lo!  
Siam's vast empire doth begin, so long  
(Aubertin 1878, vol.2 p.255)

Tavoy was seized by one side after another at frequent intervals (see Gaz.B (Lowis 1908:438) for some details), and even had a brief period of independence from 1752 (Gaz.B 1908:438 and Houghton n.d.:2). The area was brought under British rule when Arakan and Tenasserim were annexed in 1826, and Tenasserim remains a Division within the central administration of independent Burma.

#### 4.1.3 SOURCE OF MATERIAL

The notes on the following pages are drawn from material collected during a stay in Tavoy in 1969. The bulk of it comes from recordings made for me by Û Cò Mìn.

Û Cò Mìn was the son of a practitioner of traditional medicine, a Tavoyan who was distinguished enough to have a street named after him, and who came to be known in Burma as Mì-bòun-byan Û Cò Yin through his skill and daring in flying with home-made hot-air balloons. Though Û Cò Mìn had spent his life in Tavoy and habitually spoke TV with his family and in and around his home town, he had travelled, and was able to speak SB if the occasion demanded. This made me at first wary of his TV, but a comparison of his speech with that of non-SB-speaking informants who also made recordings showed that his TV was unaffected by this ability – except perhaps at two points which are marked in the



(')	<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	( <i>ly</i> )
<i>h</i>	<i>hl</i>	<i>hw</i>	<i>f</i>		( <i>hly</i> )

#### 4.2.2 PHONEME DESCRIPTION

All sounds are realised as in SB except as set out below:

Tones are on the whole similar to SB tones, but there is a difference in clause intonation matched by differences in syllable tone. The study of intonation is not within the scope of these notes, but an obvious feature is the relatively low pitch, compared with SB, of TV syllables in the stop tone.

The situation regarding rhymes is:

/a/: further back than SB /a/, sometimes closer to SB /ɔ/

/i:ɪ/: vowel as in SB and TV open syllable /i/

/an, a'/: vowel closer than SB /an, a'/'

/ɔn, ɔ'/: vowel more open than SB and TV open syllable /ɔ/

/u:ɪ/: vowel as in SB and TV open syllable /u/

/aon, ao'/: diphthong from open front unrounded towards close back rounded

/-ɪ/: nasalisation, often faint, sometimes absent

/ð/: rarely used, and then only by certain speakers; possibly a loan pronunciation from SB

/l-/: lateral medial consonant; not in SB

#### 4.2.3 COMPARISON WITH WB (FIGURES REFER TO NOTES IN §4.3.1 BELOW)

##### 4.2.3.1 TONES

These are as in SB.

##### 4.2.3.2 RHYMES

Open syllables	WB	<i>i</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ui</i>	<i>u</i>	-					
	TV	<i>/i</i>		<i>e</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ə/</i>					
			1		2										
Closed nasal syllables	WB	<i>in</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>aññ</i>	<i>añ</i>	<i>Yaŋ</i>	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>wan</i>	<i>wam</i>	<i>oŋ</i>	<i>uiŋ</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>um</i>
	TV	<i>/i:ɪ</i>		<i>in</i>			<i>an</i>		<i>un</i>	<i>ɔn</i>	<i>ain</i>	<i>u:ɪ</i>	<i>aon</i>		
		7		2		6			5			7	4, 7		

## Closed stop syllables

WB	<i>it ip</i>	<i>ac Yak</i>	<i>ak at ap</i>	<i>wat wap</i>	<i>ok</i>	<i>uik</i>	<i>ut</i>	<i>up</i>
TV	/i/	i'	a'	u'	ɔ'	ai'	ú	ao'/
	3	6		5			3	4

## 4.2.3.3 HEADS

These are as for SB except:

SB	/yw/	/fw/
WB	<i>rw</i> 8	<i>hrw</i> 8
TV	/w/ yw/	/hw/ fw/

SB	/c/	/ch/	/ñ/
WB	<i>ky</i> <i>kr</i> 9	<i>khy</i> <i>khr</i> 9	<i>ŋr</i> 9
TV	/kl/ c/ k/	/j/ 10 khl/ ch/ kh/	/ñ/ ŋ/

SB	/py/	/phy/	/my/	/hmy/
WB	<i>py</i> <i>pr</i> 11	<i>phy</i> <i>phr</i> 11	<i>my</i> <i>mr</i> 12	<i>hmy</i> <i>hmr</i> 12
TV	/py/ pl/	/phy/ phl/	/my/ ml/ by/	/hmy/ hml/ by/

## 4.3 NOTES

## 4.3.1 PHONEMES

(1) Words in WB *e* correspond to TV */e/*, as for SB, but to TV */i/* if preceded by */w/*. For example:

WB	TV	SB	
<i>pe:</i>	/pè/	/pè/	give
<i>re</i>	/ye/	/ye/	water
<i>khwe:</i>	/khwè/	/khwè/	dog
<i>we:</i>	/wì/	/wè/	be far

Two words with *we*, however, were said to have 'old' and 'modern' pronunciations, */wi/* and */we/* respectively, possibly reflecting the influence of SB:

<i>twe:</i>	/twì, twè/	/twè/	ponder
<i>hrwe</i>	/hwi, ʃwe/	/ʃwe/	gold

Four other words emerged which were pronounced as in SB:

<i>kwe.</i>	/kwé/	/kwé/	turn
<i>chwe</i>	/shwe/	/shwe/	relative
<i>ṇwe</i>	/ṇwe/	/ṇwe/	silver
<i>we-lī-we-laṇ:</i>	/we-li-we-làn/	/we-li-we-lìn/	dawn

(2) WB *aññ*, which gives SB /i/, /e/ or /ɛ/, corresponds regularly with TV /ɛ/:

<i>kraññ</i>	/cɛ/	/ci/	be clear
<i>praññ.</i>	/plɛ/	/pyé/	be full
<i>taññ:</i>	/tɛ/	/tɛ/	stay

A few exceptions were found (6 of 37 words checked, of which the last 3 below are Pali loans):

<i>raññ-rway</i>	/yi-ywɛ/	/yi-ywɛ/	intend
<i>chaññ:pū</i>	/shì-phù/	/shì-bù/	amass
<i>saññ:kham</i>	/θì-khan/	/θì-khan/	forgive
<i>naññ:</i>	/nì/	/nì/	method
<i>winaññ:</i>	/wí-nì/	/wí-nì/	Vinaya
<i>paccaññ:</i>	/pyi'sì/	/pyi'sì/	thing

One further word, *praññ* 'country', had the regular TV reflex, /pyɛ/, only in certain phrases (e.g. /pyɛ-jin/ 'nat'); otherwise it was TV /pyi/.

The most likely explanation of these exceptions is of course that they are loan pronunciations from SB. This view is supported by the alternative pronunciations of *praññ*, but it is curious that the three Pali loanwords should be irregular.

(3) WB *it*, *ip* merge with WB *i* in TV /i/.

<i>tit</i>	/tí/	/tei'/	be quiet
<i>ti</i>	/tí/	/tí/	be exact
<i>sip</i>	/θí/	/θei'/	put to bed
<i>si</i>	/θí/	/θí/	know

This correspondence is partly paralleled by the merger of WB *ut* with *u* in TV /ú/ (for WB *up* see note (4) below):

<i>thut</i>	/thú/	/thou'/	take out
<i>ahmut</i>	/əhmú/	/əhmou'/	blowing
<i>ahmu</i>	/əhmú/	/əhmú/	case

In spite of the merging of these rhymes, TV appears still to maintain a distinction in cases of juncture: see §4.3.2.1.

(4) WB *un* and *um* correspond to TV /u:n/ and /aon/ respectively, a distinction not found in SB, AR, IT or YW, all of which merge the two rhymes. It is curious that TV does not have a similar distinction between WB *in* and *im*: they merge in TV /i:n/.

<i>kun:</i>	/kù:n/	/kòun/	land
<i>kum:</i>	/kàon/	/kòun/	string together



<i>phun</i>	/phu:ṇ/	/phoun/	dust
<i>phum:</i>	/phəuṇ/	/phəun/	cover

The corresponding distinction between the stop rhymes, WB *ut* and *up*, though it exists, is partly obscured by TV's merger of WB *ut* and *u* (note (3) above), giving TV /ú, ao'/, not the TV \*/u: ', ao'/ that one would have expected:

<i>thut</i>	/thú/	/thou'/	take out
<i>thup</i>	/thao'/	/thou'/	wrap
<i>ut</i>	/ú/	/ou'/	brick
<i>up</i>	/ao'/	/ou'/	cover

Spellings with irregular finals after WB *u* are pronounced in TV as if written with *p*. For example:

<i>dukkha</i>	/dao'khá/	/dou'khá/	suffering
<i>ucca</i>	/ao'sa/	/ou'sa/	thing
<i>kukkā:</i>	/kao'kà/	/kou'kà/	pennant

In one case, TV accords with formal SB rather than colloquial:

<i>ū:</i> (formal)	/ù/	/ù/	further (auxiliary verb)
<i>um:</i> (colloq)	/ù/	/əun/	further (auxiliary verb)

TV seems to treat the word for 'monk' as having an irregular final nasal:

<i>phun:krī:</i>	/phəuṇ-gì/	/phəun-jì/	monk
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This would be consistent with its derivation from Pali *puñña*, assuming a subsequent adjustment from *ñ* to *n* in WB orthography.

(5) As in SB, WB *an*, *am* and *at*, *ap* merge in TV to give /an/ and /a'/, or /un/ and /u'/ if preceded by *w*. For example:

<i>pran</i>	/plan/	/pyan/	return
<i>lwan</i>	/lun/	/lun/	exceed
<i>kham</i>	/khan/	/khan/	receive
<i>kwam:</i>	/kùn/	/kùn/	betel
<i>kyat</i>	/ca'/	/ca'/	kyat
<i>pwat</i>	/pu'/	/pu'/	rub
<i>khyap</i>	/cha'/	/cha'/	flat
<i>kwap</i>	/ku'/	/ku'/	edge

In TV, however, WB *an*, *am* and *at*, *ap* are joined by *aŋ* and *ak*:

<i>apraŋ</i>	/əplan/	/əpyin/	surface
<i>apran</i>	/əplan/	/əpyan/	return
<i>taŋ</i>	/tan/	/tin/	put on
<i>tam</i>	/tan/	/tan/	shaft
<i>phak</i>	/pha'/	/phe'/	leaf
<i>phat</i>	/pha'/	/pha'/	read
<i>tak</i>	/ta'/	/te'/	ascend
<i>tat</i>	/ta'/	/ta'/	know

There are two restrictions on this merger: first, in syllables containing WB *-w*, the TV reflexes of WB *aŋ* and *ak* are exempt from the vowel change that applies to the reflexes of WB *an*, *am* and *at*, *ap*.

<i>khwaŋ.</i>	/khwán/	/khwín/	opportunity
<i>twag:</i>	/twàn/	/twìn/	hole
<i>khwak</i>	/khwa'/	/khwe'/	bowl

The second restriction is that, after a palatal initial, TV merges WB *aŋ* and *ak* with *añ* and *ac*: see note (6) below.

(6) When WB *aŋ* and *ak* are preceded by a palatal initial, TV merges them with WB *añ* and *ac*. For this purpose palatal initials are:

TV	/j	c	ch	ñ	hñ;	by	py	phy	my	hmy;	z	s	sh;	y	j/
=WB	gy	ky	khy	ññ	hññ	by	py	phy	my	hmy	j	c	ch	y	hy
	gr	kr	chr	ŋr	hŋr	br	pr	phr	mr	hmr				r	hr
<i>pyaŋ:</i>				/pyìn/				/pyìn/						be lazy	
<i>pyañ</i>				/pyin/				/pyin/						timber	
<i>rak</i>				/yi'/				/ye'/						day	
<i>rac</i>				/yi'/				/yi'/						(do) behind (one)	
<i>chaŋ</i>				/shin/				/shin/						elephant	
<i>cak</i>				/si'/				/se'/						machine	

Three words in WB *ac* which have irregular TV reflexes are:

<i>tac</i>	/té/	/ti'/	one
<i>hnac</i>	/hné/	/hni'/	two
<i>khu-nac</i>	/khun-né/	/khun-ni'/	seven

(7) The three rhymes ending in 'variable nasalisation', here shown as /-a/, seem to differ in the extent to which the nasalisation varies. All three were heard on occasion with faint nasalisation, but in words in TV /-u:a/ (e.g. TV /khu:a/ 'jump', /mù:a/ 'hate'), the nasalisation was usually quite audible. In words in TV /-aon/, on the other hand (e.g. /saon/ 'be complete', /laon/ 'be covered'), it was more often absent. Pronunciations in TV /-i:a/ seemed evenly distributed between the two extremes.

Certain words appeared to be pronounced regularly without nasalisation. These were:

<i>im</i>	/i/	/ein/	house
<i>akhyin</i>	/əchi/	/əchein/	time
<i>tun:</i>	/tù/	/tòun/	while
<i>mun.</i>	/mú/	/móun/	pastry

(8) The reflexes of WB *rw*, *hrw* were checked for only nine words. Four of these had TV /w, hw/, and four had TV /yw, jw/:

<i>rwā</i>	/wa/	/ywa/	rain; village
<i>rwak</i>	/wa'/	/ywe'/	leaf; carry
<i>rwe:</i>	/wì/	/ywè/	choose
<i>hrwe.</i>	/hwí/	/jwé/	move
<i>arway</i>	/əywe/	/əywe/	size
<i>hrwaŋ</i>	/jwan/	/jwin/	be joyful
<i>hrwam:</i>	/jùn/	/jùn/	be juicy
<i>hrwai</i>	/jwè/	/jwè/	be soaked

The remaining example, WB *hrwe* 'gold', was said to have a modern TV pronunciation /jwe/, like SB, and an obsolescent TV pronunciation /hwi/.

Only one word with initial WB *yw* was checked: *ywaŋ*: 'go off course', and this was pronounced TV /*ywàn*/.

(9) WB *ky*, *khy* correspond in some cases to TV /*c*, *ch*/, as in SB, and in others to TV /*kl*, *khl*/, For example:

<i>kywan</i>	/cun/	/cun/	slave
<i>kywat</i>	/klu'/	/cu'/	be taken off
<i>khyup</i>	/chao'/	/chou'/	sew
<i>khyoŋ</i> :	/khlòn/	/chàun/	stream

For more examples and a fuller treatment of velar clusters see Okell (1971).

This split does not apply generally to WB *kr*, *khr*, which correspond to TV /*c*, *ch*/, not to TV /*kl*, *khl*/, For example:

<i>krum</i>	/caon/	/coun/	meet
<i>khrac</i>	/chi'/	/chi'/	scratch

There were, however, some exceptions (Okell 1971, §13):

<i>krā</i> :	/klà/	/cà/	between
<i>krit</i>	/klí/	/cei'/	grind
<i>krim</i> :	/kli:n, kìa/	/cèin/	smart

Perhaps WB orthography should have *ky* for these words, though 'between' has *kr* attested in AR.

Both pairs of WB clusters (*ky*, *khy* and *kr*, *khr*) also correspond in a few cases to TV /*k*, *kh*/, Among the sets with these correspondences, all but a couple of those with WB *ky*, *khy* can be related to forms with *ki*, *khi* at a stage earlier than WB (Okell 1971, §7). For example:

<i>akhyin</i>	/əkhi:n/	/əchein/	measure
<i>khyī</i>	/khi/	/chi/	carry

There are two cases, however, where WB *khy* = TV /*kh*/ cannot be referred to a following *i* (Okell 1971, §12):

<i>khyaññ</i>	/khe/	/chi/	tie
<i>khyuiŋ</i>	/khain/	/chain/	lop

The correspondence WB *kr*, *khr* = TV /*k*, *kh*/ is found in the following words:

<i>khraññ</i>	/khe/	/chi/	thread
<i>khre</i>	/khe/	/che, chi/	foot
<i>krī</i> :	/kì/	/cì/	be big
<i>krwak</i>	/kwa'/	/cwε'/	rat
<i>kraññ</i> .	/ké/	/cí/	look
<i>akrwe</i> :	/əkwì/	/əcwè/	debt
<i>akrwe</i>	/əkwì/	/əcwe/	small change
<i>krway</i>	/kwe/	/cwε/	be rich
<i>krim</i>	/ki:n/	/cein/	rattan
<i>khroŋ</i> :	/khòn/	/chàun/	throat
<i>khywe</i> :	/khwì/	/chwè/	sweat

(sic MSTK for 'sweat', but the *r* is attested in Old Burmese)

So far, no explanation is available for these sets (Okell 1971, §11).

TV does not have a \*/ŋl, hŋl/ to match the plosive pairs, but it is just possible to suggest a correspondence WB *ŋr* = TV /ñ, ŋ/ to match the plain velar correspondence of the plosives. My material contains only two examples of TV /ŋ/ in this correspondence, one of them dubious.

<i>ŋri</i>	/ŋí/	/ñí/	be caught
<i>ñit</i>	/ŋí/	/ñei'/	nod
(sic MSTK, perhaps for <i>ŋr</i> ?)			
<i>aŋrim.</i>	/əñí:ŋ/	/añéin/	anyeint
<i>ŋrim</i>	/ñi:ŋ/	/ñein/	be still

(10) The correspondence WB *khy* = TV /ch, khl, kh/ has a further complication in that in TV, as in IT and AR, some of these words are pronounced with TV /ʃ/. For example:

<i>khyan</i>	/chan/	/chan/	leave out
<i>khyam:</i>	/ʃàn/	/chàn/	be cold
<i>takhyui.</i>	/təchó/	/təchó/	some
<i>khyui</i>	/ʃo/	/cho/	be sweet

No examples were found of WB *khr* = TV /ʃ/, and fuller investigation (Okell 1971, §6) shows that in fact TV /ʃ/ is reserved for words which have *khy* in Old Burmese, and that the regular correspondences between these languages are as follows:

OB	TV	WB	SB
<i>khr</i>	/ch/	<i>khr</i>	/ch/
<i>khy</i>	/ʃ/ or /ch/	<i>khy</i>	
<i>khi</i>	/kh/ or /ch/		
<i>khl</i>	/kh/ or /ch/		

(11) WB *py*, *phy* correspond regularly with TV /py, phy/. For example:

<i>pyak</i>	/pyi'/	/pye'/	perish
<i>pyō</i>	/pyɔ/	/pyɔ/	melt
<i>phyā:</i>	/phyà/	/phyà/	have a fever
<i>phyō</i>	/phyɔ/	/phyɔ/	dissolve

One exception to this correspondence emerged:

<i>pyam</i>	/plan/	/pyan/	fly
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The TV reflexes of WB *pr*, *phr* are divided between TV /py, phy/ and TV /pl, phl/. For example:

<i>pra</i>	/pyá/	/pyá/	show
<i>prā</i>	/pla/	/pya/	ash
<i>proŋ</i>	/pyɔn/	/pyaun/	be smooth
<i>proŋ:</i>	/plòn/	/pyàun/	change
<i>phre</i>	/phye/	/phye/	undo
<i>phrai</i>	/phlè/	/phyè/	widen

One example was said to have both pronunciations:

<i>prū:</i>	/pyù, plù/	/pyù/	protrude
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Two further examples, the only ones with TV /i/ (long), had no medial in TV:

<i>prī:</i>	/pì/	/pì, pyì/	finish
<i>prin:</i>	/pì:n/	/pèin/	be dull

(12) WB *my*, *hmy* correspond regularly with TV /my, hmy/. For example:

<i>myā:</i>	/myà/	/myà/	be many
<i>hmya</i>	/hmyá/	/hmyá/	be equal

There was one exception to this correspondence:

<i>hmyac</i>	/hmlì'/	/hmyi'/	bamboo shoot
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The TV reflexes of WB *mr*, *hmr*, however, are not twofold as for the plosives, but (startlingly) threefold: TV /my, ml, by/ and TV /hmy, hml, by/. For example:

<i>mrui.</i>	/myó/	/myó/	town
<i>mrac</i>	/mli'/	/myi'/	river
<i>mran</i>	/byan/	/myan/	be fast
<i>hmrā:</i>	/hmyà/	/hmyà/	trap
<i>hmrup</i>	/hmlao'/	/hmyou'/	bury
<i>hmrəŋ.</i>	/byín/	/hmyín/	raise

There were a few exceptions:

(a) two words that had no medial in TV:

<i>amrit</i>	/əmi/	/əmei'/	edge
<i>ahmre:</i>	/əhmè/	/əhmè/	film

(b) one word which was said to be pronounced with either /l/ or no medial:

<i>mrin</i>	/mli:n, mi:n/	/mein/	relish
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(c) one word which could have either /y/ or /l/:

<i>mrat</i>	/mya', mla'/	/mya'/	be noble
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(d) and one which had /bw/:

<i>amrī:</i>	/bwì/	/əmi, əmyì/	tail
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All these exceptions except *mrat* are evidently due to the presence of the vowel *i* in Old Burmese. *Mrat* is probably a case of SB pronunciation ousting an earlier TV one.

In view of the unusual nature of the TV /by/ reflex I list below the remaining words for which it was given.

<i>mraññ:</i>	/byè/	/myì/	taste
<i>mrāi</i>	/byè/	/myè/	be stable
<i>mrwe</i>	/bwi/	/mwe/	snake
<i>mrō</i>	/byɔ/	/myɔ/	behold
<i>mrəŋ</i>	/byin/	/myin/	see
<i>mrəŋ:</i>	/byìn/	/myìn/	horse
<i>mrəŋ.</i>	/byín/	/myín/	be high

<i>mraññ</i>	/bye/	/myi/	sound
<i>mrak</i>	/byi'/	/mye'/	grass

Interestingly, this correspondence is found once in SB:

<i>tam-mrak-caññ:</i>	/təbye'si/	broom
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It is perhaps reflected in two names:

<i>Mrit</i>	/Bei'/	Mergui
<i>Mran-mā</i>	/Bəma/	Burmese

#### 4.3.2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

##### 4.3.2.1 VOICING

Voicing occurs in TV in much the same circumstances as in SB, but only with the plain initials, not with both plain and aspirate as in SB. For example:

<i>apaŋ</i>	/əpan/	/əpin/	plant
<i>kywan:paŋ</i>	/cùn-ban/	/cùn-bin/	teak tree
<i>sac-paŋ</i>	/θi'pan/	/θi'pin/	tree
<i>phre:phre:</i>	/phyè-phyè/	/phyè-byè/	slowly
<i>takhu-khu</i>	/təkhú-khú/	/təkhú-gú/	something
<i>ŋā:choŋ</i>	/ŋà-shon/	/ŋà-zaun/	five buildings
<i>sum:khyap</i>	/θàon-cha'/	/θòun-ja'/	three flat things
<i>sum:thaññ</i>	/θàon-the/	/θòun-dē/	three garments

TV /θ/ appears to be voiced irregularly by some speakers and not at all by others.

The TV voicing pattern reveals some aspirates not indicated by WB orthography:

<i>bon:bī</i>	/pòn-phi/	/bàun-bi/	trousers
<i>wam:puik</i>	/wùn-phai'/	/wùn-bai'/	stomach
<i>chaññ:pī</i>	/shì-phù/	/shì-bù/	amass
<i>rwe-pō</i>	/ye-pho/	/ye-bo/	plane

Some words in SB have voiced initials even when not in close juncture. Most of their counterparts in TV were the same in this respect, but there were some exceptions:

<i>jhe:</i>	/shè/	/zè/	market
<i>jhī:sī:</i>	/shì-θi/	/zì-ðì/	wild plum
<i>dhā:</i>	/thà/	/dà/	knife
<i>khog:</i>	/khòn/	/gàun/	head
<i>khog:bhī:</i>	/khòn-phwì/	/bì/	comb
<i>khyañ:</i>	/jīn/	/jīn/	ginger

An interesting feature concerning voicing is that though WB *ut* and *u* merge in TV /ú/, and WB *it*, *ip* and *i* in TV /i/, the TV reflexes of WB *ut*, *it* and *ip* seem to have the same effect on following voiceable initials as if they were still stop syllables. For example:

<i>arip-kog:</i>	/əyí-kòn/	/əyei'kàun/	good shade
<i>tit-tit</i>	/tí-tí/	/tei'tei'/	quiet
cf. <i>ti-ti</i>	/tí-dí/	/tí-dí/	exact

<i>cut-cut</i>	/sú-sú/	/sou'sou'/	shabby
cf. <i>tacu-cu</i>	/təzú-zú/	/təzú-zú/	some group (/əsu/)

## 4.3.2.2 WEAKENING

Weakening occurs in TV in the same way, and with the same voicing pattern, as in SB. For example:

<i>takoŋ</i>	/təgɔn/	/təgaun/	one animal
<i>takhu</i>	/təkhú/	/təkhú/	one item

Two differences emerged: one is that TV /hné/ 'two', unlike its SB counterpart /hni/, does not weaken in compounds. For example:

<i>hnac-khwak</i>	/hné-khwa'/	/hnəkhwɛ'/	two cups
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The other is that a number of words with weak syllables in SB have counterparts in TV with no matching syllable at all. For example:

<i>wā:phui:</i>	/phò/	/wəbò/	kind of bamboo
<i>kyī:kan:takoŋ</i>	/klì-gàn-gɔn/	/cì-gàn təgaun/	a crow
<i>takhā</i>	/kha/	/təkha/	again
<i>hawā</i>	/wa/	/həwa/	whatsit
<i>capā:</i>	/bà/	/səbà/	paddy
<i>cakā:</i>	/gà/	/səgà/	word
<i>thamaŋ:</i>	/hmàn/	/thəmìn/	cooked rice
<i>pukhak</i>	/kha'/	/pəkhe'/	cradle
<i>hŋak-pyo-sī:</i>	/byò-θì/	/ŋəpyò-ðì/	banana
<i>sī-taŋ:ne.</i>	/dàn-né/	/θəðìn-né/	sabbath day
<i>aphit-ne.</i>	/phì-né/	/əpheì'né/	eve of sabbath
<i>sa-krā:</i>	/jà/	/θəjà/	sugar
<i>sakā</i>	/ga/	/θəga/	hardened crude sugar
<i>tarā:nā</i>	/yà na/	/təyà na/	listen to a sermon

## 4.3.2.3 INDUCED CREAKY TONE

Induced creaky tone occurs in TV as in SB. For example:

<i>sū</i>	/θu/	/θu/	he
<i>sū.raññ:cā:</i>	/θú yè-zà/	/θú yì-zà/	his sweetheart
<i>chay</i>	/she/	/she/	ten
<i>chay.le:</i>	/shé-lè/	/shé-lè/	fourteen

Creaky tone is also induced in TV by the suffix /ló/ 'plural', which corresponds grammatically, and perhaps etymologically, to SB /tó/:

<i>sū</i>	/θu/	/θu/	he
	/θú-ló/	/θu-dó/	they
<i>naŋ</i>	/nan/	/nin/	you (sing.)
	/nán-ló/	/nin-dó/	you (plur.)

There is also an induced heavy tone in TV, which has no counterpart in SB. It occurs in syllables which would otherwise have low tone, in the following three kinds of context:

(a) when verbs are repeated to form a subordinate expression, for example:

<i>grim-grim</i>	/ŋiːŋ-ŋiːŋ/	/ŋein-ŋein/	quiet
<i>mran-mran</i>	/byàn-byan/	/myan-myan/	quickly
<i>phrū-phrū</i>	/phlū-phlu/	/phyu-byu/	white
<i>kroŋ toŋ-toŋ</i>	/cɔŋ tɔŋ-dɔŋ/	/caun taun-daun/	bemused
<i>hman-hman</i>	/hmàn-hman kàn-gan/	/hman-hman kan-gan/	regularly
but <i>tō-tō</i>	/tɔ-dɔ/	/tɔ-dɔ/	quite

(b) when nouns are repeated to form a diminutive, for example:

TV base		TV diminutive	
/phwà-o/	grandmother	/ð-o/	granny
/əʃo/	sweet	/ʃò-ʃo/	sweetie
/mɛ/	mother	/mɛ-mɛ/	mummy
/əʃin/	lord	/ʃin-ʃin/	lordling (i.e. monk)
but /əphe/	father	/phe-phe/	daddy

(c) in some compounds, for example:

WB	TV	SB	
<i>cham</i>	/shan/	/shan/	hair
<i>cham-paŋ</i>	/shàn-ban/	/shəbin/	hair

(This was in fact the only example I came across, but it seems likely that further investigation would throw up some more.)

There is of course no induced heavy tone in syllables which are creaky or heavy in other contexts. For example:

<i>koŋ:koŋ:</i>	/kɔŋ-gɔŋ/	/kàun-gàun/	well
<i>taññ.taññ.</i>	/tɛ-dɛ/	/tɛ-dɛ/	straight

#### 4.3.3 GRAMMAR

The following notes cover some of the particles and common words found in TV but not used, or differently used, in SB. Entries are listed alphabetically, and each entry includes a grammatical classification, one or more SB equivalents, some examples, and occasionally a note on other points of interest.

Some examples are taken from the texts of which transcriptions are given in §4.4 below. These examples are given references: for example 1.27 = text 1, sentence 27. Other examples were suggested by informants, or encountered in conversation, and are labelled 'inf'.

The grammatical classifications are the same as those in Okell (1969), and are abbreviated as indicated in the foreword above.

(1) /a/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yin/; sometimes weakened before TV /lɛ/ to /ə/

TV /sho-a/ 1.27, 1.37, and so on, SB /sho-yin/ 'if'



TV /la'klàonklàon fí-a, kəθe cə'-sá/ 1.62  
 SB /phònməthein fí-yin, təshe cau'-lai'ta  
 camphor be-if demon fear-EXCL  
 Demons are terrified if there's camphor around.

TV /kəθe nain-jin-a-lè/ 1.62  
 SB /təshe nain-jin-yin-lè/  
 demon overcome-want-if-also  
 and if you want to overpower a demon

TV /nan mə-yaon-a-lè/ 1.33  
 SB /nin mə-youn-yin-lè/  
 you not-trust-if-also  
 and if you don't trust me

(2) /á/ verb-sentence marker = SB /phù/; negated sentence-final verbs also occur with Ø marker

TV /sà-dí-lè mə-ku:n-á/ 1.8  
 SB /sà-ló-lè mə-koun-bù/  
 eat-ing-also not-run.out-VSMK  
 and (they) couldn't eat all of it

TV /θə-myò mə-caon-phù-á/ 1.29  
 SB /da-myò mə-coun-bù-bù/  
 that-kind not-meet-ever-VSMK  
 I've never met anything like it.

Apparently also used in verb sentence attributes (one example only):

TV /hlu'-mə-wì-á wa-tə-wa/ 1.11  
 SB /θei'-mə-wè-dé ywa-tə-ywa/  
 much-not-be.far-REL village-one-village  
 a village not far away

Said to be used also with positive verbs on occasion:

TV /pyò-á/ inf  
 SB /pyò-dé/  
 say-VSMK  
 (he) said

(3) /bə-hna-ε/ sentence-final postposition = SB/pó-le/

TV /wa-(ð)à sho-myò-bəhnaε/ 1.4  
 SB /ywa-lè shodé-hamyò-bóle/  
 village-little say-kind-you.know  
 a little kind of village, you know

TV /kha-dàin-myò-bəhnaε/ 1.12  
 SB /kha-dàin-lo-bóle/  
 time-every-kind-you.know  
 just as usual, you see

(4) /cón/ subordinate marker with noun and verb for complement = SB /cáun, ló/; voiceable;  
see also /tí/

TV /phe-ha phyi'-cón/ 1.58  
SB /ba phyi'-ló/  
which-thing happen-because  
why?

TV /chà-jón hmú-á/ 1.65  
SB /təchà-jáun hmou'-phù/  
other-because not.be.so-VSMK  
It is for no other reason.

(5) /cón/ ?sentence-medial postposition, only in /lè-jón-bè/ = SB /lè-bè/; voiceable

TV /θɛ phyi'-lè-jón-bè/ 1.56  
SB /da phyi'ta-né-lè-bè/  
that happen-also-because-EMP  
after that happened

TV /hao-gá-lè-jón-bè mé-bì-dó-a/ 1.55  
SB /ho-gá-lè-bè mé-pì-dó-ga/  
that-SUBJ-also-because-EMP faint-finish-when-time  
and this one fainted away and ...

TV /θɛ ... wa-ðà-á-lè-jón-bè/ 1.64  
SB /di ... ywa-lè-gá-lè-bè/  
this village-little-SUBJ-also-because-EMP  
and this village

(6) /ɛ/ subordinate marker with noun for complement = SB /ha, ká/; possibly from TV \*/θɛ/  
= WB *saññ*

TV /θɛ-wa-á lu-de-ɛ/ 1.5  
SB /di-ywa-gá lu-de-ha/  
this-village-from person-PL-SUBJ  
the people from this village

TV /θu-ɛ shìn-khlá-la-(ð)u-bè/ 1.36  
SB /θu-ha shìn-chá-la-da-bè/  
he-SUBJ descend-drop-come-VSMK-EMP  
He ran down.

(7) /ɛ/ verb-sentence marker = SB /tɛ/; presumably from TV \*/θɛ/ = WB *saññ*

TV /tɔ-dɔ kì-ɛ/ 1.6  
SB /tɔ-dɔ cì-dɛ/  
quite-ADV be.big-VSMK  
(It) was pretty big.

TV /θu la-ɛ/ 1.12  
SB /θu la-dɛ/  
he come-VSMK  
He came.

- TV /khe-pè-lai'-ε/ 1.35  
 SB /chi-pè-lai'-te/  
 tie-give-just-VSMK  
 (She) tied.

(8) /hàn/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yìn/

- TV /pyò-hàn-pyò-hàn/ 1.16  
 SB /pyò-yìn-pyò-yìn/  
 talk-ing-talk-ing  
 talking on and on

(9) /khàn/ special head noun = SB /səya/; presumably as WB *akhaŋ*: (only one example)

- TV /ye-khàn mō-khàn/ 1.16  
 SB /yi-zəya mō-zəya/  
 laugh-thing laugh-thing  
 jokes

(10) /hñin/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /taun/

- TV /θə-hmyá-hñin mə-ca-á/ 1.45 (sole example)  
 SB /di-lau'-taun mə-ca-bù/  
 this-much-even not-last-VSMK  
 (It) shouldn't last as long as this.

(11) /phí/ auxiliary verb = formal SB /phí/: no precise counterpart in the colloquial.

- TV /lao'-phí-mε/ inf  
 SB /lou'-pá-mε/  
 do-EMP-VSMK  
 (I) will do (it).

(12) /ké/ auxiliary verb = SB /cá/, voiceable; apparently no connection with TV /ké/ = SB /cí/ 'look'

- TV /nà-thon-gé/ 1.2  
 SB /nà-thaun-já/  
 ear-set.up-PL  
 listen
- TV /plan-ðwà-gé-be-yo/ 3.2  
 SB /pyan-ðwà-já-be-dó/  
 return-go-PL-EUPH-now  
 Be off home with you!

(13) /le/ sentence-final postposition = SB /le/

- TV /ŋa caonjai'-tù-le/ 1.1  
 SB /ŋa counjai'-tòun-le/  
 I encounter-while-you.know  
 while I have the chance
- TV /Dəwε-á ne-bì-le/ 1.4  
 SB /Dəwε-gá ne-bì-le/  
 Tavoy-from stay-finish-you.know  
 from Tavoy

(14) /le/ auxiliary verb = SB /le/ but used more widely in TV

- TV /θe-à-le-ε/ 1.10  
 SB /θe-ðwà-le-dε/  
 die-go-EUPH-VSMK  
 (They all) died.
- TV /pyi'-khlá-à-le-(ð)u-bè/ 1.24  
 SB /pyi'-chá-ðwà-le-da-bè/  
 throw-drop-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP  
 (He) dropped (it) down.
- TV /bàon-gənè lè-le-ε/ 1.51  
 SB /bòun-gənè lè-le-dε/  
 bump-ADV fall-EUPH-VSMK  
 (He) came down with a thump.
- TV /pyɔ'-θwà-le-(ð)u-bè/ 1.56  
 SB /pyau'-θwà-le-da-bè/  
 disappear-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP  
 (She) disappeared.

(15) /lo/ sentence-final postposition = SB /no/

- TV /pyɔ̌-pyá-mε-lo/ 1.1 (sole example)  
 SB /pyɔ̌-pyá-mε-no/  
 say-show-VSMK-right?  
 (I'll tell you, shall I?)

(16) /lò/ sentence-final postposition = SB /là/ cf. formal SB /lò/; and TV /nù/ = SB /lè/

- TV /cena'-pə-lò/ 1.22  
 SB /cena'-pə-là/  
 be.satisfied-VSMK-Q  
 Are you satisfied?
- TV /kan-kòn-lò phε-lò mə-θí-á/ 1.6  
 SB /kan-kàun-là ba-là mə-θí-bù/  
 fate-be.good-Q what-Q not-know-VSMK  
 (I'm) not sure whether it was good luck or not.
- TV /hmú-lò/ 1.3  
 SB /hmou'-là/  
 not.be.so-Q  
 Isn't it?

(17) /ló/ auxiliary noun = SB /tó/; induces creaky tone in preceding syllable

- TV /nán-ló/ 1.1  
 SB /nin-dó/  
 you-PL  
 you (plural)
- TV /θú-ló/ 1.5  
 SB /θu-dó/

he-PL  
they (plural)

(18) /máalò/ verb-sentence marker = SB /pa-là/

- TV /la'klàoklàon-a kəθe nain-máalò/ (1.60 – sole example)  
SB /phòunməθein-ha təshe nain-balà/  
camphor-SUBJ demon overcome-EXCL  
So demons are afraid of camphor!

(19) /myò/ marker noun, with noun attribute and verb sentence attribute in /(θ)u/, = SB /lo/

- TV /θè pɔ'-(θ)u-myò əθan cà-ɔn/ 1.38  
SB /θè pau'-θə-lo əθan cà-aun/  
urine pass-REL-kind sound hear-so.that  
so as to make a sound like urinating
- TV /phe-myò lao'-nù/ 1.47  
SB /bɛ-lo lou'-lè/  
what-kind do-Q  
What did he do?
- TV /θə-myò kəθe lai'-ɛ/ 1.58  
SB /di-lo təshe lai'-tɛ/  
this-kind demon chase-VSMK  
A demon chased (me) like this.

(20) /ná/ subordinate marker with noun for complement and ?attribute = SB /né/, formal /hnín/

- TV /θɛ-ná-bɛ/ 1.9  
SB /da-né-bɛ/  
that-with-EMP  
with that
- TV /cò-ná khɛ/ 1.33  
SB /cò-né chi/  
rope-with tie  
tie with a rope

(21) /ná/ verb-sentence marker = SB /né/, formal /hnín/

- TV /mə-ŋo-ba-ná/ 2.2.1  
SB /mə-ŋo-ba-né/  
not-cry-POL-VSMK  
Don't cry!

(22) /nù/ sentence-final postposition = SB /lè/, ? cf. formal SB /nì/

- TV /phe-myò lao'-nù/ 1.27, 47  
SB /bɛ-lo lou'-lè/  
what-kind do-Q  
What did (she) do?

TV	/phɛ-ha	phyi'-cɔ̃n ...	yan-ʃa-bì	mə-nain-nù/ 1.58
SB	/ba	phyi'-ló ...	yan-ʃa-bì	mə-nain-ðəlɛ̃/
		which-thing	happen-because	fight-seek-ing
				not-overcame-Q
				Why could (she) not harm (me)?
TV	/phɛ-ha-nù/ inf			
SB	/bɛ-ha-lɛ̃/			
		which-thing-Q		
		what?		

(23) /ɔ̃n-ñɔ̃n/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /θəlɔ̃/

TV	/θwà-ɔ̃nñɔ̃n/ inf (sole example)
SB	/θwà-ðəlɔ̃/
	go-like
	as (he) goes

(24) /pí/ ?verb-sentence marker = SB /ta/; two examples only, both in /V-pí-bɛ̃/; voiceable

TV	/Lu-hmàn-θu-hmàn	mə-θí	ne-bí-bɛ̃/ 1.55
SB	/Lu-hmàn-θu-hmàn	mə-θí-bɛ̃	ne-da-bɛ̃/
	person-that-person-that	not-know-without	lie-VSMK-EMP
	(He) lay there	oblivious.	
TV	/lɛ̃-ne-bí-bɛ̃/ 1.52		
SB	/lɛ̃-ne-da-bɛ̃/		
	fall-stay-VSMK-EMP		
	(He) fell down.		

(25) /θɛ-mà θu/ = SB /θí-ha θu/ = his-thing-he 'of his own accord' (1.43 – sole example)

(26) /θu/ special head noun and attributive verb-sentence marker = SB /ta, té, θə/; voiceable by some speakers; often slurred in pronunciation to TV /u/

TV	/pè-ðu	pyi'sì/ inf	
SB	/pè-dé	pyi'sì/	
	give-REL	thing	
	the things (he) gave (you)		
TV	/pa-la-(ð)u	pəlwi/ 1.24	
SB	/pa-la-dé	pəlwe/	
	bring-come-REL	flute	
	the flute (he) had brought with (him)		
TV	/weliwelàn	phyi'-la-(ð)u	əkha-ma/ 1.56
SB	/weliwelín	phyi'-la-dé	əkha-hma/
	dawn	happen-come-REL	time-at
	when dawn broke		
TV	/pyɔ̀-(ð)u-za/ 1.16		
SB	/pyɔ̀-dé-ha/		
	say-REL-thing		
	what (they) said		

- TV /yu-shɔn-ðwà-(ð)u-bè/ 1.7  
 SB /yu-shaun-ðwà-da-bè/  
 take-carry-go-VSMK-EMP  
 (They) took (it) away.
- TV /sɔ̌-zɔ̌-á wɛ-ðu phe thà-nù/ inf  
 SB /sɔ̌-zɔ̌-gá wɛ-da bɛ-hma thà-lè/  
 early-at buy-thing where put-Q  
 Where did you put the things you bought earlier?

(27) /tí/ and /tí-jón/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /ló, V-té-ətwɛ’/;  
 voiceable

- TV /wan-lai’-tí mɔ-yá-á/ 1.53  
 SB /win-lai’-ló mɔ-yá-bù/  
 enter-through-ing not-succeed-VSMK  
 (She) couldn’t get inside.
- TV /sà-dí-lè mɔ-ku:n-á/ 1.8  
 SB /sà-ló-lè mɔ-koun-bù/  
 eat-ing-also not-exhaust-VSMK  
 and (they) couldn’t eat all of (it)
- TV /θu θí-díjón əcàn plè-ɛ/ 1.43  
 SB /θu θí-déətwɛ’ ətín pyè-dɛ/  
 he know-because forcefully run-VSMK  
 Because (he) knew, (he) ran as fast as (he) could.
- TV /kəθe cɔ’-ɔn sho-díjón/ 1.63  
 SB /təshe cau’-aun sho-ló/  
 demon fear-so.that say-because  
 in the belief that demons would be frightened

(28) /ù/ auxiliary verb = formal SB /ù/, colloquial /oùn/

- TV /ne-ù/ 1.58  
 SB /ne-oùn/  
 stay-yet  
 Wait a minute!
- TV /gà pyɔ̌-ne-yá-ù-mɛ/ 1.20  
 SB /səgà pyɔ̌-ne-yá-òun-mɛ/  
 word talk-stay-must-more-VSMK  
 (You)’ve got to go on talking.
- TV /ŋa shìn-kɔ’-ù-mɛ/ 1.25  
 SB /ŋa shìn-kau’-òun-mɛ/  
 I descend-get-more-VSMK  
 I’ll just pop down and fetch (it).

(29) /za/ semi-bound noun = SB /ha/

TV /θú-ló pyḑ-(ð)u-za-ε/ 1.16

SB /θu-dó pyḑ-dé-ha-ha/  
he-PL talk-REL-thing-SUBJ  
their talk

TV /θwà-bì nà-ðà-phε-ðà hmyà-(ð)u-za-gò/ 1.5

SB /θwà-bì nà-lè-ba-lè hmyà-dé-ha-gò/  
go-and fish-little-what-little catch-REL-thing-EMP  
They'd gone to catch a bit of fish.

TV /θəma-(ð)u-za-ε/ 1.45

SB /di-lo-ha-ha/  
this-like-thing-SUBJ  
this kind of thing

(30) [zero] = SB /phù/; see also TV /á/

TV /mə-phyi'/ 1.29

SB /mə-phyi'-phù/  
not-work  
It's no good.

TV /wan-dí-á-lè mə-yá/ 1.54

SB /win-ló-gá-lè mə-yá-bù/  
enter-ing-SUBJ-also not-succeed  
and (she) couldn't get inside

## 4.3.4 VOCABULARY

## 4.3.4.1 FORMS WHICH APPEAR NOT TO HAVE COGNATES IN SB

## 4.3.4.1.1 UTENSILS AND ARTIFACTS

TV	SB gloss	
/bó/	/phya/	mat
/khwá-bó'/	/təgəbau'/	doorway
/hè-lò/	/ya-win sín-ò/	large glazed jar
/tò'ò/	/sín-ò/	(small) glazed jar
/ka'pá/	/pau'shein/	axe cf. Malay <i>kapak</i> 'axe'

## 4.3.4.1.2 FAUNA AND FLORA

TV	SB gloss	
/ji'θi/	/θəye'θi/	mango
/jú-ban/	/ŋəyou'pin/	chillie plant
/la'klàon-klàon/	/phəun-məθein/	camphor
/pò-ni-gà/	/pəywe'shei'/	ant
/cha-chin/	/kha-jin/	red ant
cf. Malay <i>chaching</i> 'earthworm', or perhaps irregular reflex		



## 4.3.4.1.3 MISCELLANEOUS

TV	SB gloss	
/klàn/	/thun-yè/	ridge (between furrows in hoed field)
/byan/	/ŋwe/	money, cash
/ka'kwi/	/əcwe/	money, cash
/kəθe/	/təshe/	ghost, demon
cf. Thai <i>krasŷy</i> 'ghost, spirit' (female, having head and entrails only, leaves excrement after visit)		

TV	SB gloss	
/si'/	/ce'/	be cooked
/hmwa'/	/phòun/	cover, hang over
/-θà/	/-kəlè/	small
/phá-sú/	/kaun-gəlè/	young boy
/mí-sú/	/kaun-məlè/	young girl
/we-θà/	/kaun-məlè/	young girl
/wí-ná/	/θe'θe'/, /əcàun-mé/	without good reason (as a child in a tantrum)
cf. Malay <i>wenang</i> 'arbitrary'?		

/gan-zà/      /əpo/, /əsi'/      reserve, supernumerary  
(as extra man in football team, bad banana thrown into bargain; cf. Malay *ganti* 'substitute, something exchanged')

/nò/      /maV-phù/, etc.      'no' apparently a loan from English

## 4.3.4.2 FORMS WITH IRREGULAR REFLEXES

TV	SB gloss		TV form requires *SB
/té/	/ti'/	one	/té/
/hné/	/hni'/	two	/hné/
/khun-né/	/khun-ni'/	seven	/khun-né/
/hmàn/	/thəmìn/	cooked rice	/hmìn/, /hmàn/
/hé/ (rural pron.)	/jí/	exist	/hé/
/hmé/	/məjí/, /mé/	not exist	/hmé/
/khə'/	/khou'/	chop, slash	/khau'/

## 4.3.4.3 FORMS WITH DIFFERENT MEANING OR USE IN SB

## 4.3.4.3.1 WHOLE WORDS AND PHRASES

TV	SB	
/pwè/	/pì/	end, finish
	cf. /pwè/	be past season
/tá/	/cin/	ache
	cf. /tá/	long for, call upon
/shì-làon/	/khə̀dàun cai'/	gird loins (with lon-gyi)
	cf. /shì/	wear, tie round
	and /lòun/	be round

/ya'/	/col/, /khɔ/, /pín/ cf. /ya'/	summon, meet stand, stop
/na'kì-pha'hnwè/	/phənwè-ga/ cf. /(mə)ne'/ /(θə)be'(kha)/ /(phə)nwè/	the day after the day after tomorrow morning day after tomorrow day after day after tomorrow
/na'kì-pha'/	/thəbe'kha/	day after tomorrow
/na'kì-tain-kha/	/məne'phan/ cf. /tain/; /kha/	tomorrow come to; time
/na'kì-dù-á/	/məné-gá/ cf. /-təun-gá/	yesterday (past time)
/na'kì-pha'tù-á/	/dəmyan mané-gá/ cf. (as above)	day before yesterday
/(kwè tə)wi/	/(cwè tə)ou'/ cf. /əywe/	herd (of water buffalo) retinue, attendants
/ka'/	/ci/ cf. /ke'/	granary wicker lining for paddy cart
/ye-an/	/ye-ò/ cf. /in(-doun)/	water pot cooking pan
/pla'/	/ñā/ cf. /pye'/	trick, deceive joke
/mò/	/mù/ cf. /mò/	be intoxicated be tired
/byi'sè kha/	/təbye'si hlé/ cf. /kha/	sweep, wield broom shake
/hlè-zè kha/	/təbye'si hlé/	sweep, wield broom
/Pəgan-θà/	/Bəma/ cf. /Pəgan-ðà/	Burmese native of Pagan

## 4.3.4.3.2 PARTS OF WORDS AND PHRASES

TV	SB		SB	
/bɔn pí/		dam up	cf. /baun/; /pei'/	limit; close
/í mwí/	/ei' pyɔ/	sleep	cf. /mwé-ya/	mattress

## 4.3.4.4 SELECTIVES

TV	SB	
/θɛ/	/di/ (cf. WB <i>saññ</i> )	this
/hao/	/ho/	that
/phe/	/be/	which?
/θɛ-ma-θu/ > /θəma-u/	/da/	this (thing)
/hao-ma-θu/ > /hao-ma-u/	/həwa/	that (thing)
/phe-ha/ > /phyā/	/ba, be-ha/	which (thing)?

## 4.4 TEXTS

The following texts are transcriptions of some of the recordings made in Tavoy by Û Cò Mìn. The first is the folktale, told to a couple of young employees, and the remainder are chants and songs.

The transcription is phonemic, except that where the speaker uses a pair of allophones (as in /pao, paon/ or /-dó, -ǝ/), I write the variant which seems closer to the actual pronunciation at that point on the tape. The suffixes /-θu/ and /-θà/ alternate with /-u/ and /-à/, but in these two cases I transcribe the latter /-(θ)u/ and /-(θ)à/ as these forms are not closely paralleled in SB and might otherwise be confusing.

The few brief interventions by the listeners to the folktale are omitted in the transcription, and abandoned phrases, where the speaker corrects himself, are put in square brackets.

## 4.4.1 TAVOYAN TEXT NO.1 – HOW IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT CAMPHOR KEEPS DEMONS AWAY.

1. Má Khe, Má Nú – nán-ló-le                      ṇa-caonjai'-tù-le  
     Má Khe, Má Nú – nin-dó-le                      ṇa-counjai'-tòun-le  
     Ma Khe Ma Nu    you-PL-you.know I-encounter-while-you.know  
     hao-Dəwε – hao-fèfè-á    paon-(ǝ)à-baon pyòpyá-mε-lo.  
     hao-Dəwε – hao-fèfè-gá    poun-lè-təboun pyòpyá-mε-no.  
     that-Tavoy    that-past-from story-little-story tell-VSMK-right?
2. Nà-thon-gé.  
     Nà-thaun-já.  
     ear-set.up-PL
3. èðəma-(ǝ)u pao-á-dóa                      fí,                      hmú-lò.  
     èdi-ha                      poun-gá-dóga                      fí-de,                      hmou'-là.  
     that-thing                      story-SUBJ-as.for be                      not.be.so-Q
4. ε. Dəwε-á                      ne-bì-le                      θàon-main-lo'                      kwa-(ǝ)u-ma  
     ε. Dəwε-gá                      ne-bì-le                      θòun-main-lau'                      əkwa-hma  
     yes Tavoy-from stay-finish-you.know three-mile-about be.far-thing-at  
     wa-(ǝ)à                      sho-myò-bəhnaε –                      i-je                      [həma(ǝ)u –]                      shé-lè-ṇà-shon  
     ywa-lè                      shodé-hamyò-bó-le –                      ein-je                      [hawa –]                      shé-lè-ṇà-zaun  
     village-small say-kind-you.know                      house-count [umm]                      ten-four-five-house  
     wa-(ǝ)à-myò-tə-zú                      fí-ε.  
     ywa-lè-myò-tə-ywa                      fí-de.  
     village-small-kind-one-group be-VSMK
5. è. Tə-né-dóa                      θε-wa-á-lu-de-ε  
     è. Tə-né-dóga                      di-ywa-gá-lu-de-ha  
     yes one-day-as.for this-village-from-person-PL-SUBJ  
     [həma(ǝ)u –]                      kan-kòn-(ǝ)u-bè                      sho-yá-mε-bəhnaε –  
     [həwa –]                      kan-kàun-de-bè                      sho-yá-mε-bóle –  
     [umm]                      fate-be.good-VSMK-EMP say-must-VSMK-you.know

0ú-ló 0wà-bì ɲà-ðà-phɛ-ðà hmyà-(ð)u-za-gò-  
 0u-dó 0wà-bì ɲà-lè-ba-lè hmyà-dé-ha-gò -  
 he-PL go-and fish-little-what-little catch-REL-thing-ACC

lànban-tə-khɔn yá-la-ɛ.  
 ɲəlɪnbàn-tə-gaun yá-la-dɛ.  
 eel-one-fish get-come-VSMK

6. 0ɛ-dóga 0ɛ-lànban-á-lè - 0ú-ló-bè kan-kòn-lò-phɛ-lò  
 Di-dóga di-ɲəlɪnbàn-gá-lè - 0u-dó-bè kan-kàun-là-ba-là  
 this-then this-eel-SUBJ-also he-PL-EMP luck-be.good-Q-what-Q

mə-θí-á - tə-dɔ kì-ɛ.  
 mə-θí-bù - tə-dɔ cì-dɛ.  
 not-know-VSMK quite-ADV be.big-VSMK

7. 0ú-ló yu-shɔn-ðwà-(ð)u-bè - 0ɛ-lànban-o.  
 0u-dó yu-shaun-ðwà-da-bè - di-ɲəlɪnbàn-go.  
 he-PL take-carry-go-VSMK-EMP this-eel-ACC

8. 0ɛ-dóga tə-i-thɔn-dè sà-dí-lè mə-ku:n-á.  
 Di-dóga tə-ein-daun-dè sà-ló-lè mə-koun-bù.  
 this-then one-house-set.up-only eat-ing-also not-use.up-VSMK

9. 0ɛ-ná-bè [à - ] 0ú-ló shé-lè-ɲà-shɔn  
 Da-né-bè [à - ] 0u-dó shé-lè-ɲà-zaun  
 this-with-EMP [umm] he-PL ten-four-five-house

jí-(ð)u [i - ] i-zú-àlɔn 0u-di'-ɲa-bàin-bɛhnaɛ  
 jí-dé [ein - ] ein-zú-àlɔn 0u-tədi'-ɲa-təbàin-bóle  
 be-REL [house] house-group-all he-lump-I-piece-you.know

tə-kha hmyá-pì-dóga, wàin-pì-dóga, 0ɛ-lànban-tə-khɔn  
 tə-kha hmyá-pì-dóga, wàin-pì-dóga, di-ɲəlɪnbàn-tə-gaun  
 one-time share-finish-when gather-finish-when this-eel-one-fish

sà-lai'-mí-(ð)u-bé.

sà-lai'-mí-da-bè.

eat-through-happen-VSMK-EMP

10. 0ɛ-bì-sho-bè [0ɛ-] nín-khàn-pha' klá-sho-bè  
 Pì-dó-sho-bè [di-] nǎ-gìn-be' cá-sho-bè  
 finish-when-say-EMP night-time-side fall-say-EMP

tə-kha-dè 0ɛ-wa-á-lu-de-ɛ tə-yɔ'-mə-can  
 tə-kha-dè di-ywa-gá-lu-de-ha tə-yau'-mə-can  
 one-time-only this-village-from-person-PL-SUBJ one-person-not-omit

kalá-wùn-yòga phyi'-pì-dóga àlɔn wùn-klá-bì  
 kalá-wùn-yòga phyi'-pì-dóga àlɔn wùn-cá-bì  
 time-stomach-disease happen-finish-when all stomach-fall-and

0ɛ-à-le-ɛ.

0ɛ-ðwà-lè-dɛ.

die-go-EUPH-VSMK

11.  $\theta\epsilon\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}khi\text{-}ma$   $\theta\epsilon\text{-}wa\text{-}o$   $n\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}zin\text{-}n\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}d\grave{a}in$   $la\text{-}la\text{-}b\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}a$   
 $Di\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}chein\text{-}hma$   $di\text{-}ywa\text{-}go$   $n\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}zin\text{-}n\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}d\grave{a}in$   $la\text{-}la\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}ga$   
 this-time-at this-village-to day-line-day-every come-come-finish-when  
 $\theta\epsilon\text{-}lu\text{-}byo\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}ne\text{-}(\acute{\theta})u\text{-}t\grave{a}\text{-}y\acute{o}'$   $\int\acute{i}\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}$  –  $[\theta\epsilon\text{-}n\acute{a}\text{-}]$   
 $di\text{-}lu\text{-}byo\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}ne\text{-}\acute{\theta}u\text{-}t\grave{a}\text{-}yau'$   $\int\acute{i}\text{-}d\acute{\epsilon}$  –  $[da\text{-}n\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}]$   
 this-man-young-visit-stay-person-one-person be-VSMK [that-with]  
 $hlu'\text{-}m\grave{a}\text{-}w\grave{i}\text{-}\acute{a}$   $wa\text{-}t\grave{a}\text{-}wa\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}b\grave{\epsilon}$   $lu\text{-}t\grave{a}\text{-}y\acute{o}'$ .  
 $\theta\epsilon i'\text{-}m\grave{a}\text{-}w\grave{\epsilon}\text{-}d\acute{\epsilon}$   $ywa\text{-}t\grave{a}\text{-}ywa\text{-}g\acute{a}\text{-}b\grave{\epsilon}$   $lu\text{-}t\grave{a}\text{-}yau'$ .  
 very-not-be.far-REL village-one-village-from-EMP person-one-person
12.  $\theta\epsilon\text{-}d\acute{o}$   $\theta u$   $la\text{-}(\acute{\theta})u\text{-}b\acute{\epsilon}$  –  
 $Di\text{-}d\acute{o}$   $\theta u$   $la\text{-}da\text{-}b\grave{\epsilon}$  –  
 this-then he come-VSMK-EMP  
 $kha\text{-}d\grave{a}in\text{-}my\acute{o}\text{-}b\acute{e}hna\acute{\epsilon}$ ,  $n\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}zin\text{-}my\acute{o}\text{-}b\grave{\epsilon}$   $\theta u$   $la\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}$ .  
 $kha\text{-}d\grave{a}in\text{-}lo\text{-}b\acute{o}\acute{\epsilon}$ ,  $n\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}zin\text{-}lo\text{-}b\grave{\epsilon}$   $\theta u$   $la\text{-}d\acute{\epsilon}$ .  
 time-every-kind-you.know day-line-kind-EMP he come-VSMK
13.  $La\text{-}shob\grave{\epsilon}$   $\theta u\text{-}\acute{a}$   $la\text{-}d\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}kha$   $p\acute{a}lwi\text{-}\acute{\theta}a$   $hm\acute{u}\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}$   $la\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}$ .  
 $Lade\text{-}shod\acute{o}$   $\theta u\text{-}g\acute{a}$   $la\text{-}d\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}kha$   $p\acute{a}lwe\text{-}l\grave{\epsilon}$   $hmou'\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}$   $la\text{-}d\acute{\epsilon}$ .  
 come-say he-SUBJ come-REL-time flute-small blow-and-then come-VSMK
14.  $\theta\epsilon\text{-}b\grave{i}$   $\theta u$   $la\text{-}ne\text{-}j\acute{a}$   $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}y\grave{\epsilon}z\grave{a}\text{-}i$   $t\grave{a}\text{-}kha\text{-}d\grave{\epsilon}$   
 $Nau'p\grave{i}$   $\theta u$   $la\text{-}ne\text{-}j\acute{a}$   $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}y\grave{i}z\grave{a}\text{-}ein$   $t\grave{a}\text{-}kha\text{-}d\grave{\epsilon}$   
 this-finish he come-stay-usual his-sweetheart-house one-time-only  
 $\theta u$   $ta'\text{-}la\text{-}(\acute{\theta})u\text{-}b\acute{\epsilon}$ .  
 $\theta u$   $t\acute{\epsilon}'\text{-}la\text{-}da\text{-}b\grave{\epsilon}$ .  
 he go.up-come-VSMK-EMP
15.  $Ta'\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}a$   $\theta u$   $kha\text{-}d\grave{a}in\text{-}my\acute{o}\text{-}b\acute{\epsilon}$   $t\grave{a}\text{-}kha\text{-}d\grave{\epsilon}$  –  
 $T\acute{\epsilon}'\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}ga$   $\theta u$   $kha\text{-}d\grave{a}in\text{-}my\acute{o}\text{-}b\grave{\epsilon}$   $t\grave{a}\text{-}kha\text{-}d\grave{\epsilon}$  –  
 go.up-finish-when he time-every-kind-EMP one-time-only  
 $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}y\grave{\epsilon}z\grave{a}\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}l\grave{\epsilon}$   $m\grave{i}\text{-}b\grave{a}o\text{-}\acute{\theta}a$   $th\acute{u}n\text{-}b\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}$   
 $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}y\grave{i}z\grave{a}\text{-}g\acute{a}\text{-}l\grave{\epsilon}$   $m\grave{i}\text{-}b\acute{o}un\text{-}l\grave{\epsilon}$   $th\acute{u}n\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}$   
 his-sweetheart-SUBJ-also fire-bucket-small light-finish-and  
 $\acute{\epsilon}$   $khan\text{-}ne\text{-}\acute{\epsilon}$  –  $n\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}d\grave{a}in\text{-}my\acute{o}\text{-}b\acute{\epsilon}$ .  
 $\acute{\epsilon}$   $khan\text{-}ne\text{-}d\acute{\epsilon}$  –  $n\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}d\grave{a}in\text{-}lo\text{-}b\grave{\epsilon}$ .  
 visitor-receive-stay-VSMK day-every-kind-EMP
16.  $\theta\epsilon\text{-}sho\text{-}b\grave{\epsilon}$   $\theta u\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}l\grave{\epsilon}$   $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}y\grave{\epsilon}z\grave{a}\text{-}n\grave{a}\text{-}\acute{a}$   
 $Di\text{-}lo\text{-}b\grave{\epsilon}$   $\theta u\text{-}g\acute{a}\text{-}l\grave{\epsilon}$   $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}y\grave{i}z\grave{a}\text{-}n\grave{a}\text{-}g\acute{a}$   
 this-say-EMP he-SUBJ-also his-sweetheart-near-at  
 $i\text{-}tha'$   $ta'\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}$ ,  $s\acute{a}g\grave{a}$   $t\acute{o}n\text{-}py\acute{o}\text{-}my\acute{o}'\text{-}py\acute{o}\text{-}b\acute{e}hna\acute{\epsilon}$ ,  
 $ein\text{-}b\acute{o}$   $t\acute{\epsilon}'\text{-}p\grave{i}\text{-}d\acute{o}$ ,  $s\acute{a}g\grave{a}$   $taun\text{-}by\acute{o}\text{-}myau'\text{-}py\acute{o}\text{-}b\acute{o}\acute{\epsilon}$ ,  
 house-on go.up-finish-when word south-say-north-say-you.know  
 $ye\text{-}kh\grave{a}n\text{-}m\acute{o}\text{-}kh\grave{a}n\text{-}my\acute{o}\text{-}o$   $py\acute{o}\text{-}b\grave{i}$  –  $\theta\epsilon\text{-}n\acute{a}\text{-}b\grave{\epsilon}$   $\theta\acute{u}\text{-}l\acute{o}$   
 $yi\text{-}z\acute{a}ya\text{-}m\acute{o}\text{-}z\acute{a}ya\text{-}my\acute{o}\text{-}go$   $py\acute{o}\text{-}b\grave{i}$  –  $da\text{-}n\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}b\grave{\epsilon}$   $\theta u\text{-}d\acute{o}$   
 laugh-thing-laugh-thing-kind-ACC say-finish that-with-EMP he-PL

- pyò-(ð)u-za-ε      ñín-ji'-nayi-lo'-á-ne      pyò-hàn-pyò-hàn  
 pyò-dé-ha-ha      ñá-ji'-nayi-lau'-ká-ne      pyò-yìn-pyò-yìn  
 say-REL-thing-SUBJ night-eight-hour-about-from-stay talk-ing-talk-ing
- [hao-ma-(ð)u-] ñín-na' klá-la-(ð)u-bé.  
 [həwa-] ñín-ne' cá-la-da-bè.  
 [umm] night-dark fall-come-VSMK-EMP
17. ñín-na' klá-la - shé-hné-nayi-lo' cə-bi.  
 ñín-ne' cá-la - shé-hnə-nayi-lau' cə-bi.  
 night-dark fall-come ten-two-hour-about exceed-VSMK
18. ʰε-khi-sho-bè yɔ'cà-á nè-nè ñònña ta'-la-ε  
 Di-əchein-cá-dó yau'cà-gá nè-nè ɔ̃ñaùñəña tɛ'-la-dε  
 this-time-say-EMP man-SUBJ little-ADV ache enter-come-VSMK
- í-lè ɲai'-la-bi.  
 - ei'-lè ɲai'-la-bi.  
 sleep-also nod-come-VSMK
19. ʰú-yèzà-o pyò-(ð)u-bè: "è - ɲa i  
 ʰú-yìzà-go pyò-da-bè: "è - ɲa ein  
 his-sweetheart-to say-VSMK-EMP right I house
- plan-à-mε, ʰwà-ɔ'-mε" sho-pyò-ε.  
 pyan-ʰwà-mε, ʰwà-dó-mε" shobì-pyò-dε.  
 return-go-VSMK go-now-VSMK speak-say-VSMK
20. ʰε-sho-bè ʰú-yèzà-á "Ha. Plan-mə-yá-á.  
 Di-dó ʰú-yìzà-gá "Ha. Pyan-mə-yá-bù.  
 this-say-EMP his-sweetheart-SUBJ ha return-not-get-VSMK
- Gà pyò-ne-yá-ù-mε" sho-bé kha  
 Səgà pyò-ne-yá-òun-mε" sho-bì tə-kha  
 word speak-stay-must-more-VSMK say-EMP time
- laoji-ðà-o shwè-thà-be-(ð)u-bè.  
 lounji-ðà-go shwè-thà-be-da-bè.  
 longyi-cloth-ACC pull-place-EUPH-VSMK-EMP
21. ʰε-sho-bé-kha "Plan-ù-mε" sho-kha ʰu pyò;  
 Di-dó "Pyan-òun-mε" sho-bì ʰu pyò;  
 this-say-EMP-time return-more-VSMK say-time he say
- ho-gá kha shwè-thà  
 ho-gá təkha shwè-thà  
 there-from time pull-place
22. Kha "Cena'-pə-lò" sho-kha,  
 təkha "Cena'-pə-là" sho-bì,  
 time be.satisfied-VSMK-Q say-time
- "Plan-ù-mε" sho-kha pyò; kha shwè-thà.  
 "Pyan-òun-mε" sho-bì pyò; təkha shwè-thà.  
 return-more-VSMK say-ing speak time pull-hold

- ၈ေ-နာ-ပဲ      မာ-ယာ-ာ.  
 Da-ne-bè      ma-ya-bu.  
 that-with-EMP not-succeed-VSMK
23. Nə'-təa    ၈ေ-ယာ'ခာ-lao'-၈u-ာ      sí-kù      ta'-la-ေ.  
 Nau'-təga di-yau'cà-lou'-၈u-gá      sei'-kù      yá-la-də.  
 later-when this-man-do-person-SUBJ mind-cross arise-come-VSMK
24. “ေ.    ၈a nə'-tha'      nì-tə-myò      hlé-pì-dóa      lao'-hma  
 “ေ.    ၈a nau'-tha'      nì-tə-myò      hlé-pì-dóga      lou'-hma  
 right I further-extra way-one-kind turn-and-when do-only.if  
 yá-mə”      sho-bì,    ၈ú-hma    pa-la-(ð)u  
 yá-mə”      sho-bì,    ၈ú-hma    pa-la-dé  
 succeed-VSMK say-and he-at bring-come-REL  
 pəlwi-ðà-o      tə-kha-dè      ၈ေ-càn-jà -      wà-chàn-o  
 pəlwe-lè-go      tə-kha-dè      di-càn-jà -      wà-jàn-go  
 flute-small-ACC one-time-only this-floor-between bamboo-split-ACC  
 phlè-pì-dóa      càn-jà-á-ne      pyi'-khlá-à-le-(ð)u-bé.  
 phyè-pì-dóga      càn-jà-gá-ne      pyi'-chá-ðwà-le-da-bè.  
 prise-finish-when floor-between-from-stay throw-drop-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP
25. ၈ေ-pì-hma      ၈u-ာ      pyò-ေ:  
 Da-pì-dó      ၈u-gá      pyò-də:  
 that-finish-only.when he-SUBJ say-VSMK  
 “A. ၈á-pəlwi-tə-lào-lè      ဘ'-klá-ðwà-bi.  
 “A. ၈á-pəlwe-tə-lòun-lè      au'-cá-ðwà-bi.  
 ah my-flute-one-CLF-also below-fall-go-VSMK  
 ၈a shìn-kə'-ù-mə”      sho-bì    pyò-ေ.  
 ၈a shìn-kau'-òun-mə”      sho-bì    pyò-də.  
 I descend-get-more-VSMK say-ing speak-VSMK
26. ၈ေ-sho-bè-lè      “A. Hsìn-kə'      ma-ya-ာ”,  
 Di-dó-lè      “A. Hsìn-kau'      ma-ya-bù”,  
 this-say-EMP-also ah descend-get not-succeed-VSMK  
 ၈u kə'pè-mə      sho-bì    mìnma-ာ      pyò-ðə-gò.  
 ၈u kau'pè-mə      sho-bì    mèlnma-gá      pyò-ðə-gò.  
 she get-give-VSMK say-and woman-SUBJ say-VSMK-EMP
27. tə-kha-dè      phə-myò    lao'-nù sho-a  
 tə-kha-dè      bə-lo      lou'lè    sho-yin  
 one-time-only what-kind do-Q say-if  
 ၈ေ-càn-jà-bə'-ာ-ne-bé      ၈a-gì      thú-khlá-bì-dó  
 di-càn-jà-bau'-ká-ne-bè      ၈a-jì      thou'chá-pì-dó  
 this-floor-crack-hole-from-stay-EMP tongue-big stick.out-drop-finish-when  
 pəlwi lí-pì-dóa      yu-tan-pè-(ð)u-bè.  
 pəlwe lei'-pì-dóga      yu-tin-pè-da-bè.  
 flute encircle-finish-when take-place-give-VSMK-EMP

28. 0e-hmá yɔ'cà-lao'-0u-á sìnzà-ε.  
 Di-dó-hmá yau'cà-lou'-0u-gá sìnzà-dε.  
 this-when man-do-person-SUBJ think-VSMK
29. "Kha-lè 0ə-myò mə-caο-phù-á"-bɛhnaε;  
 "təkha-hmá da-myò mə-coun-bù-bù"-bóle  
 time-also this-kind not-meet-ever-VSMK-you.know  
 "0ε tə-kha-dóa shàn-shàn-pyà-byà  
 "di tə-kha-dóga shàn-zàn-pyà-byà  
 this one-time-when be.strange-ADV-be.odd-ADV  
 0ε-myò ʃa-gì-ná lí-pì-dó yu-tan-pè-(ð)u-za  
 di-lo ʃa-jì-né lei'-pì-dó yu-tin-pè-dé-ha  
 this-kind tongue-big-with encircle-finish-when take-place-give-REL-thing  
 ekandá kə0ε-bé. A. Mə-phyi'."  
 ekandá tə-she-bè. A. Mə-phyi'-phù."  
 truly demon-EMP ah not-work
30. 0ε-bì-sho-bè kha 0u-á "Plan-ù-mε"  
 Da-né-bè təkha 0u-gá "Pyan-òun-mε"  
 that-finish-say-EMP time he-SUBJ return-more-VSMK"  
 sho-bì pyò-ε. Mə-yá-á.  
 sho-bì pyò-dε. Mə-yá-bù.  
 say-ing speak-VSMK not-succeed-VSMK
31. 0ε-ná-bè kha əlu'-tə-nì can-hmá yá-mε sho-bì:  
 Da-né-bè təkha əlu'-tə-nì can-hmá yá-mε sho-bì:  
 that-with-EMP time independent-one-method plan-when succeed-VSMK
32. "Hwè. ɲa 0è-pɔ' 0wà-ù-mε,  
 "Hé. ɲa 0è-pau' 0wà-òun-mε,  
 hey I urine-pass go-more-VSMK  
 ɲa ɔ' ʃi' shìn-ù-mε."  
 ɲa au' təcə' shìn-òun-mε."  
 I below trip descend-more-VSMK
33. 0ε-sho-bè, "Nan mə-yaon-a-lè ɲá-khà-o-lè  
 Di-lo-bè, "Nin mə-youn-yin-lè, ɲá-khà-go-lè  
 that-say-EMP you not-believe-if-also my-waist-ACC-also  
 nan cò-ná khε-bì thà.  
 nin cò-né chi-bì thà.  
 you rope-with tie-and place
34. ʃɔn nan 0ε-á ké-ne, sòn-ne;  
 Pìdó nin di-gá cí-ne, sáun-ne;  
 then you here-from look-stay wait-stay  
 ɲa shìn-pí-dóa 0è-pɔ' 0wà-mε."  
 ɲa shìn-pì-dóga 0è-pau' 0wà-mε."  
 I descend-finish-when urine-pass go-VSMK



35. Sho-pì-dó      θύ khà-á      cò-khe-pè-lai'ε.  
 Sho-pì-dó      θύ khà-ga      cò-chi-pè-lai'tε.  
 say-finish-when he waist-on rope-tie-give-just-VSMK
36. Hkà-á      cò-khe-pè-lai'-pi      sho-bè,  
 Hkà-ga      cò-chi-pè-lai'-pi      sho-yin-bè,  
 waist-on rope-tie-give-just-VSMK say-EMP  
 θu-ε      shìn-khlá-la-(ð)u-bè.  
 θu-ha      shìn-chá-la-da-bè.  
 he-SUBJ descend-drop-come-VSMK-EMP
37. Hsìn-khlá-la-bì      sho-bè,      θu-[a-]      θè-pò'-a  
 Hsìn-chá-la-bì      sho-yin-bè,      θu-[a-]      θè-pau'-ta  
 descend-drop-come-finish say-EMP he-[ah] urine-pass-VSMK  
 sho-(ð)u      əne-myò      phyi'-ɔn,      phe-ha      lao'-nù sho-a,  
 sho-dé      əne-myò      phyi'-aun,      ba      lou'-lè sho-yin,  
 say-REL state-kind be-so.that which-thing do-Q say-if  
 ɔ'-ma      ʃí-ðu      ye-an-tə-làon-o      tə-kha-dè [θε]  
 au'-hma      ʃí-dé      ye-ò-tə-ləun-go      tə-kha-dè [di]  
 below-at be-REL water-pot-one-CLF-ACC one-time-only [this ]  
 θύ-khà-hma      khe-thà-(ð)u      cò-go      phlú-pì-dó      θu khe-pè-ε.  
 θύ-khà-hma      chi-thà-dé      cò-go      phyou'-pì-dó      θu chi-pè-dε.  
 his-waist-on tie-set-REL rope-ACC untie-finish-when he tie-give-VSMK
38. Khe-pè-pì      ye-an-ha      tə-kha-dè      θè-pò'-(θ)u-myò-əθan  
 Chi-pè-pì      ye-ò-ha      tə-kha-dè      θè-pau'-θəlo-əθan  
 tie-give-finish water-pot-SUBJ one-time-only urine-pass-REL-kind-sound  
 cà-ɔn      tə-kha-dè      əpɔ'-(θ)à-bɔ'      phɔ'-pì-dóa  
 cà-aun      tə-kha-dè      əpau'-khələ-təbau'      phau'-pì-dóga  
 hear-so.that one-time-only hole-small-hole pierce-finish-when  
 θu thà-pyi'-yi'-tε.  
 θu thà-pyi'-yi'-tε.  
 he leave-set-behind-VSMK
39. θε-dóa      θε-ye-an-thè-ma      ʃí-(ð)u  
 Di-dóga      di-ye-ò-dè-hma      ʃí-dé  
 this-when this-water-pot-inside-in be-REL  
 ye-ε      “ʃɔ̌”-sho      klá-ne-(ð)u-za.  
 ye-ha      “ʃɔ̌”-sho      cá-ne-dé-ha.  
 water-SUBJ shaw-say fall-stay-VSMK-thing
40. A, cà-yá-(ð)u      lu-ádóa      təge      θè-pò'-(θ)u-bè      ɔ'mé-ε.  
 A, cà-yá-dé      lu-gádóga      təge      θè-pau'-ta-bè      au'mé-dε.  
 ah hear-can-REL person-SUBJ really urine-pass-thing-EMP think-VSMK
41. θε-phyi'-lè      θu-ha      θəma(θ)u-myò-o      lao'-pyi'-yi'-pi  
 Da-phyi'-lè      θu-ha      həwa-myò-go      lou'-pyi'-yi'-pi  
 that-happen-also he-SUBJ this-kind-ACC make-throw-there-VSMK

- sho-bè tə-kha-dè θu əcàn plè-(ð)u-bé.  
 sho-dó tə-kha-dè θu ət̪in pyè-da-bè.  
 say-EMP one-time-only he wildly run-VSMK-EMP
42. Tə-kha-dè θú-wa-ðà-o θu la'lu' plè-(ð)u-bè.  
 Tə-kha-dè θú-ywa-lè-go θu lɛ'hlu' pyè-da-bè.  
 one-time-only his-village-small-to he frantically run-VSMK-EMP
43. θɛ-mà-θu cɔ'-ne-(ð)u-gò; θú-sí-á  
 θú-ha-θu cau'-ne-da-gò; θu-sei'-ká  
 his-thing-he fear-stay-VSMK-EMP his-mind-SUBJ  
 "A – kəθe chɔ'-ne-bi" sho-(ð)u θu θí-díjón  
 "A – təshe chau'-ne-bi" sho-da θu θí-déətwɛ'  
 ah demon frighten-stay-VSMK say-thing he know-because  
 tə-kha-dè əcàn plè-ɛ.  
 tə-kha-dè ət̪in pyè-dɛ.  
 one-time-only wildly run-VSMK
44. ɛ – θɛ-á-lè ye-an-thè-á ye-dɛ-á-lè  
 ɛ – di-gá-lè ye-ò-dè-gá ye-dɛ-gá-lè  
 so this-SUBJ-also water-pot-inside-from water-PL-SUBJ-also  
 θɛ-mə-pi-hnain-behnæ, kha-dè phyè-phyè phyè-phyè  
 tɛ-mə-pi-hnainbù-bóle, təkha-dè phyè-byè phyè-byè  
 very-not-finish-can-you.know time-only slow-ADV slow-ADV  
 "ɾɔ" sho-bì klá-ne-(ð)u-za.  
 "ɾɔ" sho-bì cá-ne-dé-ha.  
 shaw say-and fall-stay-REL-thing
45. θɛ-dó i-tha' són-ne-(ð)u kəθe-má-á  
 Di-dó ein-bɔ sáun-ne-dé təshe-má-gá  
 this-then house-on wait-stay-REL demon-female-SUBJ  
 "A – θəma(ð)u-za-ɛ θè-pɔ'-θu θə-hmyá-hf̪in mə-ca-á:  
 "A – dilo-ha-ha θè-pau'-ta di-lau'-taun mə-ca-bù:  
 ah this-thing-SUBJ urine-pass-thing this-much-even not-last-VSMK  
 tə-khú-khú-bè" sho-bì, tə-kha cò-o  
 tə-khú-gú-bè" sho-bì, tə-kha cò-go  
 one-thing-thing-EMP say-when one-time rope-ACC  
 i-tha'-á-ne shón-bì shwè-lai'-(θ)u-za.  
 ein-bɔ-gá-ne sháun-bì shwè-lai'-tɛ-ha.  
 house-on-from-stay jerk-and pull-through-REL-thing
46. Ye-an-gì-ɛ-behnæ tə-kha-dè pəyao'θao'khá i-tha'  
 Ye-ò-jì-ha-bóle tə-kha-dè pəyou'θou'khá ein-bɔ  
 water-pot-big-SUBJ-you.know one-time-only suddenly house-on  
 yɔ'-la-(ð)u-bè  
 yau'-la-da-bè.  
 arrive-come-VSMK-EMP

47.  $\theta\epsilon$ -hmá “A – ṇá-yèzà-á plè-bì” sho-bì,  
 Da-hmá “A – ṇà-yìzà-gá pyè-bì” sho-bì,  
 this-when ah my-sweetheart-SUBJ run-VSMK say-and  
 tə-kha-dè phe-myò lao'-nù sho-a, təlà-gì thàn-bì lai'-ε.  
 tə-kha-dè bε-lo lou'-lè sho-yin, təlà-jì thàn-bì lai'-tε.  
 one-time-only what-kind do-Q say-if coffin-big carry-and chase-VSMK
48.  $\theta\epsilon$ -“tələ”-sho-(ð)u nán-ló nà-lε-(ð)u-bè-là?  
 Di-“tələ”-sho-da nin-dó nà-lε-da-bè-là?  
 this-coffin-say-thing you-PL ear-encompass-thing-EMP-Q  
 “Tələ”-sho-(ð)u lu-θe-o thè-(ð)u  
 “Tələ”-sho-da lu-ðe-go thè-dé  
 coffin-say-thing person-dead-ACC put-REL  
 θi'θa-o “tələ” kho-ε.  
 ti'ta-go “tələ” kho-dε.  
 box-ACC coffin call-VSMK
49. èθəma-(ð)u-gì thàn-bì chi'thè lai'-(θ)u-bé.  
 èdi-ha-jì thàn-bì che'chìn lai'-ta-bè.  
 that-thing-big carry-and straightaway follow-VSMK-EMP
50.  $\theta\epsilon$ -dó hao-gá-lè əcàn plè,  $\theta\epsilon$ -á-lè əcàn lai':  
 Di-dó ho-gá-lè ətìn pyè, di-gá-lè ətìn lai':  
 this-then there-from-also wildly run here-from-also wildly chase  
 plè-plè, lai'-lai'.  
 pyè-pyè, lai'-lai'.  
 run-run chase-chase
51.  $\theta\epsilon$ -ná nɔ'-pí-shəon, hmi-kha-nì-ðu-bé phe-myò  
 Da-né nau'-pei'-shəon, hmi-ga-nì-hmá-bè bε-lo  
 that-with last-close-end catch-time-be.near-when-EMP what-kind  
 phyi'-θwà-nù sho-a, èθe-yɔ'cà-lao'-(θ)u-ε bàon-gəné lè-le-ε.  
 phyi'-θwà-lè sho-yin, èdi-yau'cà-lou'-θu-ha bəun-gəné lè-le-dε.  
 happen-go-Q say-if that-man-do-person-SUBJ bump-ADV fall-EUPH-VSMK
52.  $\theta\epsilon$ -chaobú-tə-khú-thè bàongəné lè-(ð)u-ne-bí-bè.  
 Di-chounbou'-tə-khú-dè bəungəné lè-pì-ne-da-bè.  
 this-thicket-one-CLF-in bump-ADV fall-and-stay-VSMK-EMP
53. èθe sho, [èθəma-(ð)u -] tələ thàn-bì lai'-(θ)u  
 èda sho, [èdi-ha -] tələ thàn-bì lai'-té  
 that say [that-thing] coffin carry-and chase-REL  
 kəθe-má-gì-á-lè  $\theta\epsilon$ -chaobú-thè-go-dó  
 təshe-má-jì-gá-lè di-chounbou'thè-go-dó  
 demon-female-big-SUBJ-also this-thicket-inside-to-however  
 wan-lai'-tí mə-yá-á.  
 win-lai'-ló mə-yá-bù.  
 enter-through-ing not-manage-VSMK

54. Chaobú-əplan-á-ne pa'síhmwíhmwí-bé tə-kha-dè  
 Chounbou'-əpyin-gá-ne pa'síhmwéhwmwé-bè tə-kha-dè  
 thicket-outside-from-stay round.and.round-EMP one-time-only  
 əpɔ' ʃa-pì-dɔ́ ne-(ð)u-bè; wan-dí-á-lè mə-yá.  
 əpau' ʃa-pì-dɔ́ ne-da-bè; win-ló-gá-lè mə-yábù.  
 opening seek-ing-when stay-VSMK-EMP enter-ing-SUBJ-also not-succeed
55. è – hao-gá-lèjón-bè mé-bì-dɔ́a  
 è – ho-gá-lè-bè mé-pì-dɔ́ga  
 so there-from-also-EMP faint-finish-when  
 lu-hmàn-θu-hmàn mə-θí – ne-bí-bè.  
 lu-hmàn-θu-hmàn mə-θí – ne-da-bè.  
 person-that-person-that not-know stay-VSMK-EMP
56. ʈe phyi'-lè-jón-bè mðθɔ'-thá – tə-kha-dè  
 Da phyi'-ta-né-lè-bè mððau'-thá – tə-kha-dè  
 this happen-also-because-EMP dawn-break one-time-only  
 ne-yɔn-ðà-á-lè weliwelàn phyi'-la-(ð)u əkha-ma,  
 ne-yaun-lè-gá-lè weliwelìn phyi'-la-dé əkha-hma,  
 sun-light-little-SUBJ-also dawn become-come-REL time-at  
 kha-dè ʈe-kəθe-má-gì-ɛ phyè-phyè-phyè pyɔ'-pì-dɔ́a  
 təkha-dè di-təshe-má-jì-ha phyè-byè pyau'-pì-dɔ́ga  
 time-only this-demon-female-big-SUBJ slow-ADV-ADV disappear-finish-when  
 shìn-ðwà-(ð)u-bè, pyɔ'-θwà-le-(ð)u-bè.  
 shìn-ðwà-da-bè, pyau'-θwà-le-da-bè  
 go.down-go-VSMK-EMP disappear-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP
57. è – ʈe-hmá yɔ'cà-á-lè ʈədí-yá-da'-la-ɛ.  
 è – da-hmá yau'cà-gá-lè ʈədí-yá-da'-la-dɛ.  
 so that-only man-SUBJ-also consciousness-get-manage-come-VSMK
58. ʈədí-yá-da'-la-ɛ sho-bè, ʈu sìnzà-ɛ:  
 ʈədí-yá-da'-la-dɛ sho-yin-bè, ʈu sìnzà-dɛ:  
 consciousness-get-manage-come-VSMK say-EMP he think-VSMK  
 “Ne-ù: nín-khàn ɲá-o ʈə-myò-kəθe lai'-ɛ.  
 “Ne-òun: nía-gìn ɲá-go di-lo-təshe lai'-tɛ.  
 stay-on night-time I-ACC this-kind-demon chase-VSMK  
 ɲá-o phe-ha phyi'-cón ʈe-kəθe nɔ'tha' yan-ʃa-bì  
 ɲá-go ba phyi'-lò di-təshe nau'tha' yan-ʃa-bì  
 I-ACC what-thing happen-because this-demon further conflict-seek-ing  
 mə-nain-nù?”  
 mə-nain-ðələ?”  
 not-overcome-Q
59. [ʈu –] ʈu ké-ðu-ɛ ʈu wan-bì-dɔ́a lè-ne-(ð)u  
 [ʈu –] ʈu cí-da-ha ʈu win-pì-dɔ́ga lè-ne-dé  
 [he] he look-thing-SUBJ he enter-finish-and fall-stay-REL

- neya la'klàoklàon-tò-gì phyi'-ne-ε.  
 neya phònməθein-tò-jì phyi'-ne-dε.  
 place camphor-thicket-big be-stay-VSMK
60. èθε-sho-bè θu [θəma-(ð)u θəma-(ð)u- ]  
 èda-né-bè θu [həwa həwa- ]  
 that-say-EMP he [um um]  
 "la'klàoklàon-a kəθe nain-máalò"  
 "phònməθein-ha təshe nain-balà"  
 camphor-SUBJ demon overcome-EXCL  
 sho-bì, θu [θəmao- ] tə-khú-dóa θu hma'-θwà-mí-ε.  
 sho-bí, θu [həwa- ] tə-khú-dóga θu hma'-θwà-mí-dε.  
 say-ing he [that.thing] one-thing-as.for he note-go-happen-VSMK
61. è – θε-ná-bè [θu –] nɔ' θu wa yɔ'wɔ'-θwà-dé-əkha-ma  
 è – da-né-bè [θu –] nau' θu wa yau'-θwà-dé-əkha-hma  
 so that-with-EMP [he] afterwards he village arrive-go-REL-time-at  
 nɔ'-lu-de θu pyð-pyá-ε:  
 nau'-lu-de θu pyð-pyá-dε:  
 later-people-PL he say-show-VSMK
62. "È – kəθe nain-jin-a-lè la'klàoklàon  
 "È – təshe nain-jin-yin-lè phònməθein  
 so demon overcome-want-if-also camphor  
 [hao'sa –] i-de-phε-de-ma [haoma(ð)u –] thò-thà, pyú-thà:  
 [ho ou'sa –] ein-de-ba-de-hma [həwa –] thò-thà, pyú-thà:  
 [whats-its-name] house-PL-what-PL-in [umm] keep-set make-set  
 [θε-ha –] la'klàoklàon fí-a kəθe cɔ'-sá" sho-díjón,  
 [di-ha –] phònməθein fí-yin təshe cau'-lai'ta" sho-ló,  
 [this-thing] camphor be-if demon fear-EXCL say-because  
 èθəma-(ð)u-myò-o "la'klàoklàon-ε kəθe cɔ'-(θ)u-bè"  
 èdi-ha-myò-go "phònməθein-ha təshe cau'-ta-bè"  
 that-thing-kind-ACC camphor-SUBJ demon fear-VSMK-EMP  
 sho-(ð)u phyi'-la-(ð)u-za.  
 sho-da phyi'-la-dé-ha.  
 say-thing happen-come-REL-thing
63. əkhú θε-né-thí θào-(ð)u-bè,  
 əgú. di-né-əthí θòun-da-bè,  
 now this-day-up.to use-VSMK-EMP  
 θε-né-thí-bè θε-tò-de-wa-de-ma sho-a,  
 di-né-əthí-bè di-tò-de-ywa-de-hma sho-yin,  
 this-day-up.to-EMP this-jungle-PL-village-PL-in say-if  
 la'klàoklàon-wa'-o [θε –] əhma'təyá kəθe cɔ'-ɔn  
 phònməθein-ywe'-ko [di –] əhma'təyá təshe cau'-aun  
 camphor-leaf-ACC [this] in.memory demon fear-so.that

sho-díjón, i-de-phæ-de-ma, khwá-bo'wá-ma phyi'-se,  
 sho-ló, ein-de-ba-de-hma, tǝgà-bau'wá-hma phyi'-se,  
 say-because house-PL-what-PL-in door-opening-in be-let

[hao'-sa -] thò-thà-ε, chan-thè-ma phyi'-se sai'-thà-ε.  
 [ho-ou'sa -] thò-thà-dε, chan-dè-ma phyi'-se sai'-thà-dε.  
 [that-thing] set-place-VSMK garden-inside-in be-let plant-place-VSMK

64. è - θε-bì θε khú-kha pyç-(ð)u  
 è - pì-dó di əgú-əkha pyç-dé  
 so that-finish this now-time say-REL

wa-ðà-á-lè-jón-bè əsá-dù-á nɔnme  
 ywa-lè-gá-lè-bè əsá-dòun-gá nanme  
 village-small-SUBJ-also-because-EMP beginning-while-in name

pè-bemé, əkhú-lè θε-Pəlwi-jón-wa sho-bì  
 pè-bemé, əgú-lè di-Pəlwe-jaun-ywa sho-bì  
 give-although now-also this-Flute-avoid-village say-ing

phyi'-θwà-ε.  
 phyi'-θwà-dε.  
 become-go-VSMK

65. "Pəlwi-jón-wa" sho-(ð)u-á chà-jón hmú-á  
 "Pəlwe-jaun-ywa" sho-da-gá tǝchà-jaun hmou'-phù:  
 Flute-avoid-village say-thing-SUBJ other-because not.be.so-VSMK

[θε -] θε pəlwi-hmú-bì θu θwà-la-phù-(ð)u wa,  
 [di -] di pəlwe-hmou'-pì θu θwà-la-bù-dé ywa,  
 [this] this flute-blow-ing he go-come-ever-REL village

θεma(ð)u-go jɔnkwàn-bì-dó la-ε sho-bì [θεma-(ð)u -]  
 həwa-go jaunkwìn-pì-dó la-dε sho-bì [həwa -]  
 this-ACC avoid-finish-when come-VSMK say-and [umm]

əcòn-pyú-bì-dó, khú θε-né-thí θε-"Pəlwi-jón-wa"  
 əcàun-pyú-pì-dóga, əgú di-né-əthí di-"Pəlwe-jaun-ywa"  
 cause-make-finish-when now this-day-up.to this-Flute-avoid-village

sho-díjón phyi'-ne-(ð)u-za.  
 sho-bì phyi'-ne-dé-ha.  
 say-ing become-stay-REL-thing

66. Nán-ló θεma-(ð)u θí-thà-phó lo-ε: θεma-(ð)u Dəwε-á  
 Nin-dó hə-wa θí-thà-bó lo-dε: hə-wa Dəwε-gá  
 you-PL that-thing know-keep-to need-VSMK that-thing Tavoy-from

jèjè-á pao-ðà tǝ-baon-bè.  
 jèjè-gá poun-lè tǝ-boun-bè.  
 olden.days-from story-small one-story-EMP

## 4.4.2 TAVOYAN TEXT No.2 – TRADITIONAL TAVOYAN SONGS

## 4.4.2.1 LULLABY

1. Hpò-lá-màn, hmao-taodao, phàon-gì θangàn yaon.  
 Hpò-lá-mìn hmoun-toundoun, phòun-jì θingàn youn.  
 grandfather-moon-king dim-ish glory-great robe wrap
2. Yaon-baza'-ma mú-la'-hñò, phàon-gì la'pha' byò.  
 Youn-baza'-hma móun-le'-hñò, phòun-jì ləphe' myò.  
 hare-mouth-in cake-finger-point glory-great tea swallow

## 4.4.2.2 CRADLE SONG

1. Súsú-ðà, phe-ðu sho? Dòndon-mo sho?  
 Kaun-lè, be-ðu sho? Hmo-chijìn sho?  
 tiny-little which-person say Daungdaung-fungus say  
 Mə-ŋo-ba-ná, súsú-ðà: dòn-don-mo əŋaon-ðà.  
 Mə-ŋo-ba-né, kaun-lè: hmo-chijìn əŋoun-lè.  
 not-cry-POL-VSMK tiny-little Daungdaung-fungus bud-little
2. Tò-jon-gì la-bi sho, bwì-dan-gá to.  
 Tò-jaun-jì la-bi sho, myì-dan-gá to.  
 jungle-cat-big come-VSMK say tail-stem-SUBJ be.short  
 Mə-ŋo-ba-ná, súsú-ðà: tò-jon klà-gì sà.  
 Mə-ŋo-ba-né, kaun-lè: tò-jaun cà-jì sà.  
 not-cry-POL-VSMK tiny-little jungle-cat tiger-big eat
3. Zin-ban-tha'-ká, didì bye, didao' myi'-sí klə.  
 Zin-bin-the'-ká didì myi, didou' mye'-sí cə.  
 zin-tree-on-from dee.dee sound owl eye-ball be.wide.  
 í-tó-mə-dé, súsú-ðà: lè-ná cho'-hlu'-thà.  
 ei-tó-mə-dé, kaun-lè: lè-né chau'-hlu'-thà.  
 sleep-soon-VSMK-say tiny-little bow-with frighten-chase-put
4. Súsú-ðà, jí'səya, bə-mli'-tú-gì-ba.  
 Kaun-lè, chí'səya, wəbò-hmyi'-só-jì-ba.  
 tiny-little love-able bamboo-shoot-tip-big-POL  
 Phápá mə-ca plan-mə-ðà: thàn-kho' tò wan-ðwà.  
 Phephe mə-ca pyan-mə-le: thìn-khou' tò win-ðwà.  
 daddy not-long return-VSMK-EUPH firewood-chop woods-enter-go
5. Súsú-ðà, ŋo tí-lai'-pe: mímí kha' hlwè-ne.  
 Kaun-lè, əŋo tei'-lai'-pa: meme pəkhe' hlwè-ne.  
 tiny-little cry quieten-just-EUPH Mummy cradle swing-stay  
 È-è, nən-dó: í, í-lai'-só - lè.  
 È-è, naun-dó: ei', ei'-lai'-só - lè.  
 there-there brother-PL sleep sleep-just-let's lè

## 4.4.2.3 RAIN SONG

1. Bà phàon i'-i', la'-hné-shi'.  
 Səbà əphəun i'-i', le'-hnə-shi'.  
 rice young.grain be.full-ADV finger-two-joint  
 Ne-yi'-tɔː Mɔn-gì plan-mɛ-lɔ.  
 Ne-yi'-tɔː Maun-jì pyan-mɛ-nɔ.  
 stay-back-now Brother-big return-VSMK-right?
2. Yán-ðà khu-ðà ain-àn-nà.  
 ɲəyán-lè ɲəkhu-lè ain-ìn-nà.  
 snakehead.fish-little torpedo.fish-little pool-pond-near  
 θa-ðà khɔː plan-ðwà-gé-be-yɔ.  
 əθa-lè (kaː?): pyan-ðwà-já-be-dɔ.  
 quiet-little (come?) return-go-PL-EUPH-now
3. Khatəle hlàn, θe-səkhàn,  
 Təkhatəle hlàn, di-səkhàn,  
 sometimes stride this-place  
 Tɔn-dàn fɔː, Mɔn-gì plan-la-gé-mɛ-lɔ.  
 Taun-dàn fau', Maun-jì pyan-la-gé-mɛ-nɔ.  
 mountain-range roam Brother-big return-come-back-VSMK-right?

## 4.4.3 TRANSLATIONS

## 4.4.3.1 HOW IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT CAMPHOR KEEPS DEMONS AWAY

1. Má Khe, Má Nú – now we're here I'm going to tell you a story of Tavoy long long ago.
2. Listen.
3. There's this story, you see.
4. Mm. There's a sort of village about three miles from Tavoy – a little village of some 14 or 15 houses.
5. Now, one day the people in this village had a bit of luck, you might say: they went off to catch some fish or what-have-you, and got this eel.
6. Well, this eel – I don't know whether they were lucky or something, but it was pretty big.
7. So they carried it off, this eel.
8. It was too big for one family to eat,
9. so the whole lot of 14 or 15 households divided it up, a chunk to each you see, and all of them ate this eel.
10. Then, so the story goes, at dead of night, they say, every single person in the village got cholera, and the whole lot died.
11. At that time there was a lad who used to come courting every day in this village – he came from a village that wasn't very far away.
12. Along he came, exactly as usual, you know – just as he came every day.



13. And as he came he played away on his little flute along the way.
14. He went to his girl's house just as usual, and went straight up the steps and in.
15. And when he was inside everything was as usual: his girl was there to receive him, with her lamp alight, just as she always did.
16. And the lad, when he was in his girl's house, he was chatting away, you know, telling her jokes and that, and they went on talking from about eight in the evening till it got late –
17. I mean it was some time after twelve o'clock.
18. By this time the lad was getting a bit uncomfortable, and he was sleepy too.
19. So he said to his girl "Well, I'll be getting back – goodbye", he said.
20. But then his girl said "Hey! You can't go back. You've got to go on talking", and she held on to his lon-gyi.
21. Then he said "Goodbye" again, and still she held on tight.
22. "Do you mind?" he said, "I'm off", but she still held on, and he couldn't get away.
23. After a bit the lad had an idea.
24. "Mm – I'll have to change my tactics to something different", he thought, and he took his flute that he'd brought along with him, opened a gap in the bamboo flooring, and dropped it down through the crack.
25. Then he said "Oh – my flute's fallen down below – I'll just go down and fetch it", he said.
26. "Oh no you don't", said the woman – she would fetch it for him.
27. And what do you think she did then? – she thrust her tongue right through the gap in the floor, curled it round the flute, and brought it all the way up for him.
28. At that the lad thought:
29. "I've never seen anything like that" – you know – "this is most peculiar – curling her tongue round the flute like that and fetching it up. She is definitely a demon. This is just not on."
30. With that, he said again "I'm going home", but it was no good.
31. So he thought he ought to try a different tack:
32. "Look here", he said, "I'm going for a pee – I'll just pop down below".
33. Then he said "And if you don't trust me, you can tie a rope round my waist.
34. Then you stay here – wait up here: I'll go down and have a pee".
35. That done, he tied a rope round his waist.
36. As soon as the rope was tied round his waist, he went down under the house.
37. When he got down there he had to make it seem as if he was having a pee, so what he did was to get a water-pot that was down there, take off the rope round his waist, and tie it to the pot.

38. Then, to make a sound like someone peeing, he knocked a little hole in the pot and left it where it was.
39. And the water in the pot went “shhh” as it came spurting out.
40. Anyone who heard it would have thought it really was someone having a pee.
41. As soon as he’d fixed all that up, he tore off at top speed.
42. He made off for his village like a madman.
43. He was really scared, you see: he kept saying to himself “There’s a demon after you” and knowing this made him tear off fast.
44. Meanwhile, the water in the pot hadn’t stopped, you see – it just went slowly on and on spurting out going “shhh”.
45. So the demon waiting up in the house thought “Well now, having a pee shouldn’t last as long as this: something’s up”, and she jerked the rope and pulled it up into the house.
46. And the water-pot, of course, came tumbling in.
47. At that she realised – “Hey! My man’s run away”, so what she did was to pick up her coffin and chase him.
48. You know what a coffin is don’t you? It’s a box for putting dead people in, that’s what a coffin is.
49. So she put this great thing on her shoulder and ran straight after him.
50. So there was the lad haring off, and there was this one haring after him: running and running, chasing and chasing.
51. Then at the very end, when she’d nearly caught up with him, what happened was that the lad tripped and fell head-over-heels.
52. He tumbled straight into this thicket.
53. And the demon who was chasing after him with her coffin just couldn’t get inside the thicket.
54. She went round and round the edge of it looking for a way in, but she couldn’t get in at all.
55. The lad inside had fainted away – he didn’t know what was going on: he just lay there oblivious of it all.
56. And while he lay there, daybreak came – the sun began to give a little light and dawn came, at which the demon slowly disappeared from sight – she vanished completely.
57. Well, then the lad came to.
58. And he began to think: “Hold on a minute. There was this great demon after me during the night. Why was it that she couldn’t harm me any more?”
59. He looked around and he saw that the place he’d fallen into was a great thicket of camphor bushes.
60. So then he realised that camphor was a great protection against demons, and he remembered that.

61. So when he got back to his village he told the others about it:

62. “Hey – if you want to protect yourself against demons stick some camphor around the house: if there’s camphor there demons take fright”, and because of that, the belief came about that demons are afraid of camphor.

63. And it’s still used now – even now, in villages in the countryside, with the idea of frightening away demons, people put out camphor, sometimes in the doorway, and sometimes out in the garden.

64. And then, this village – it had a name before, you see, but now it’s called “Flute-escape” village.

65. What this means is that it was the village where he used to come and go playing his flute, and it was where he made his escape from the whats-its-name, and that’s why it’s now become “Flute-escape” village.

66. This is something you ought to know about: it’s a story of Tavoy from long ago.

#### 4.4.3.2 TRADITIONAL TAVOYAN SONGS

##### 4.4.3.2.1 LULLABY

1. The moon-king is dim tonight,  
and the monk wraps his robe around him.
2. The hare [in the moon] has finger-pastry in his mouth,  
and the monk munches it with his tea.

##### 4.4.3.2.2 CRADLE SONG

1. Who told you, my little one? Was it the Anklet toadstool?  
Don’t cry, little one: the toadstool hasn’t opened yet.
2. The jungle-cat is here, they say, with his stumpy tail.  
Don’t cry, little one: the tiger ate him up.
3. Up in the zín-tree, going dee-dee, was the owl with his staring eyes.  
He was going to sleep, he said, little one: but I chased him away with my bow.
4. My little one, darling one, tip of the bamboo-shoot.  
Daddy will soon be home: he went out to cut some firewood.
5. My little one, stop crying now: Mummy is swinging your cradle.  
There we are, my beauties: let’s go to sleep now.

##### 4.4.3.2.3 RAIN SONG

1. The paddy ear’s in bud, soft and two knuckles long.  
Stay where you are: Brother Rain’s coming back, isn’t he?
2. The snakehead fish and the torpedo fish are in the pools.  
Quietly they come close: be off home with you!
3. Striding towards us, roaming over the hills,  
You’ll be back, won’t you, Brother Rain?

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