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 ṭaphwē (1978-80), Myanma-za ṭaphwē (1991), Judson (1921 and later editions), and Hoke Sein (1981).

1.1 SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A. Abbreviations for dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>Arakanese dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>Intha dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>Standard Burmese (spoken language)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>Tavoyan dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>Written Burmese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YW</td>
<td>Yaw dialect</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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)
JBR  Journal of the Burma Research Society
LSB  Linguistic Survey of Burma (see Webb 1917)
LSI  Linguistic Survey of India (see Grierson 1903-1928)
MSTK  Myan-ma sa-loun-baun tha'-poun càn [Burmese spelling book]

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

C. Abbreviations for form classes and syntactic functions

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

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-iy’ mənain, Yəkhain mê/’ 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 /Ro’-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, aj, 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-nagyoîn (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arakanese</td>
<td>50,163</td>
<td>247,691</td>
<td>221,945</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yàn-byè</td>
<td>59,024</td>
<td>250,018</td>
<td>326,642</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chàung-thà</td>
<td>64,531</td>
<td>9,052</td>
<td>34,625</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>149,547</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaman [?]</td>
<td>1,211</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>c. 100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>324,386</td>
<td>506,761</td>
<td>583,212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-ţų (now Myŏ-hăung), 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 aŋ, 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, aŋ from uŋ, uŋ; 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 ‘ARAKANESE 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 unwaried 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 (Thrôn Thrôn 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 Rakhvannava (e.g. Úa Thrôn 1959:41; Aun Ú 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 Rakhvannava (Ê Co 1958:3) do differ from inscriptive 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 òèin 1968).

As regards ‘Arakanese literature’, apart from a considerable body of folk songs (e.g. Bái 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arakanese</th>
<th>Burmese</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shyac-che</td>
<td>hrac-chay</td>
<td>(1521 inscription: Forchhammer 1891:38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pí</td>
<td>pe</td>
<td>(1594 inscription: Forchhammer 1891:39 and Ou’-ka Mìn-ñò 1968:9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuin̂</td>
<td>cañ</td>
<td>(Forchhammer 1891:39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jà-kui lā:</td>
<td>bhay-kui swā:</td>
<td>(c.1800 poem: Rawein-dá 1959:254)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arakanese</th>
<th>Burmese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kampay</td>
<td>*kampe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrwe</td>
<td>*hrwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swā:</td>
<td>*là:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhay</td>
<td>*jà:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(The 1521 inscription)

(1594 inscription)

(1800 poem: 256)

(1800 poem: 256)

The inconsistency makes it difficult to appreciate fervent exclamations such as: “In this poem the Kin 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” (Rāwein-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 ū for e), and AR forms (e.g. hi, kha, pain, ūs for WB hri/hyi, khai., lui, să), but unfortunately these are often interspersed throughout (e.g. Bā ṭēin 1968) with suffixes appropriate to formal Burmese and not used in colloquial AR (e.g. saññ, so, suí., 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 Myō-haung, formerly Myauk-ū, the old cultural capital of the Arakanese; and in Kyauk-taw, 30 miles up the Kaladan river north of Sit-twe, near the Maha Mū-ni 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 Ü ṭha Hnin, a native of Myō-haung 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 Myō-haung by Dō Má ṭha Sein, a lady who had been living in Myō-haung 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 Ü ṭha Hnin, who recorded so clearly for me in Sit-twe, and to Dō Má ṭha Sein, who recorded in Myō-haung; to Ü Ṭun Tin and Ü Bá ũeın of Sit-twe, who helped with the transcription and patiently answered questions; to Dr Hlá Myñ, who housed, fed and looked after me in Sit-twe, and Dō ṭan ũan 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 Thūn Hlain, also of Kyauk-taw, for advice and encouragement; to Û Ü ṭha Thūn who kindly gave up time to be my guide and counsellor in Myō-haung; to Û Aun Pyé
Zoun, attendant at the Myō-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 /á/
creaky /á/
low /ã/
stop /ã'/
weak /o/

2.2.1.2 RHYMES

Open syllables: weak

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>(ɛ)</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>o'</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>full</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Closed syllables: nasal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ein</th>
<th>en</th>
<th>ain</th>
<th>aun</th>
<th>on</th>
<th>oun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>ei'</td>
<td>e'</td>
<td>ai'</td>
<td>au'</td>
<td>o'</td>
<td>ou'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.1.3 HEADS

with medial /y/ with medial /r/ with medial /w/

g d b j z by gr br medial /w/ occurs
k t p c s py kr pr with all initials except:
kh th ph ch sh θ phy khr phr /w/ itself
ŋ n m ŋ my ŋr mr ' (since /'w/ would be equivalent to initial /w-) h (since /hw/ is already listed among the initials)
hŋ hn hm hnn hmy (?hŋr) hmr
(‘) l w y r (ly)
h hl hw / hr (hly)

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.
\( /\text{en}, \varepsilon' / \): vowel as in SB \( /\varepsilon / \)

\( /\text{on}, \sigma' / \): open back rounded vowel; more open than the vowel in RP English \( \text{John} \)

\( /r, hr' / \): 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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{WB} & \quad i \quad e \quad ai \quad a \quad (wa) \quad o \quad ui \quad u \quad - \\
\text{AR} & \quad /i/ \quad e \quad (\varepsilon) \quad a \quad \sigma \quad o \quad u \quad \sigma /
\end{align*}
\]

Closed nasal syllables

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{WB} & \quad in \quad im \quad a\text{n}i \quad a\text{n} \quad am \quad an \quad an \quad a\text{n} \quad o\text{n} \quad u\text{n} \quad u\text{n} \quad u\text{n} \quad um \\
\text{AR} & \quad /\text{en}/ \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon
\end{align*}
\]

Closed stop syllables

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{WB} & \quad it \quad ip \quad ac \quad at \quad ap \quad ak \quad ok \quad u\text{i}k \quad ut \quad up \\
\text{AR} & \quad /\text{el}/ \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon \quad \varepsilon
\end{align*}
\]

#### 2.2.3.3 HEADS

These are generally as for SB except:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{WB} & \quad y \quad r \quad hy \quad hr \\
\text{AR} & \quad /y/ \quad /r/ \quad /\text{lr}/ \quad 9 \\
\text{SB} & \quad /y/ \quad /\text{lr}/
\end{align*}
\]
2.3 NOTES

2.3.1 PHONEMES

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cac</td>
<td>/sai’/</td>
<td>/si’/</td>
<td>be genuine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuik</td>
<td>/sai’/</td>
<td>/si’/</td>
<td>implant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyañi</td>
<td>/pyain/</td>
<td>/pyin/</td>
<td>timber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pruin</td>
<td>/prain/</td>
<td>/pyain/</td>
<td>compete</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>obsolescent</th>
<th>modern AR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>= SB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

paccañi: /pai’-sè/ /pyi’-sì/ thing
sañi: /þaiñ-ña/ /ðin-ña/ mark
pañi: /pain-ña/ /pyin-ña/ 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 /en/ instead of the /ain/ one would expect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wiññañ</td>
<td>/wiñ-ña/</td>
<td>/wiñ-ña/ soul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paññañ</td>
<td>/pœdein-ña/</td>
<td>/pœdein-ña/ undertaking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The AR rhyme suggests WB añ (añ) which would in fact be closer to the original Pali: wiññaña, paññaña; however, uyñañ (from Pali uuyañ) conforms to type:

uyñañ /uyñañ/ /uí-yñ/ garden

Two other words in añ exhibited an irregular correspondence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñañ.</td>
<td>/né, ŋú/</td>
<td>/níñ/</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hñañi:</td>
<td>/hnè, ŋñi/</td>
<td>/hnín/</td>
<td>oppress</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kraññi</td>
<td>/krä/</td>
<td>/čí/</td>
<td>look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praññi</td>
<td>/pré/</td>
<td>/pye/</td>
<td>be full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaññi</td>
<td>/thé/</td>
<td>/thé/</td>
<td>put in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kraññ</td>
<td>/kraín/</td>
<td>/čí/</td>
<td>be clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyaññi</td>
<td>/chán/</td>
<td>/chi/</td>
<td>tie</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
caññːːcim /sain-zein/ /si-zein/ luxury
laññː-pañː /lain-phòn/ /le-bin/ neck

Another word pronounced with the AR /ain/ rhyme is written WB ʔay – perhaps it was once añːː
alampay /əlen-pain/ /alan-be/ snake-bite healing

(3) AR merges WB i and e in /i/. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khyi</td>
<td>/chi/</td>
<td>/chi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khye</td>
<td>/chi/</td>
<td>/che/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some words however escape this merger:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cetanā /se-dana/</td>
<td>goodwill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wedana /we-dana/</td>
<td>suffering</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kywe: /cwē/</td>
<td>feed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le: /le/</td>
<td>bow, four</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te: /te/</td>
<td>song</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe /pe/</td>
<td>foot (measure)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khywe: /chwē/</td>
<td>sweat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 añːː = AR /el/. Leː, if pronounced AR /li/ in conformity with other e rhymes, would be homophonous with the obscene word /li/ ‘penis’. It is true that leː: ‘be heavy’ is pronounced AR /li/, but this is a verb, which greatly reduces the opportunities for misunderstanding. Teː and pe, informants thought, may be comparatively recent loans from SB, imported complete with pronunciation. Khyweː is unlikely to fall into this category: perhaps the SB pronunciation has been adopted because the now obsolescent pronunciation AR /khwː/ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nī   /nein/</td>
<td>/ni/</td>
<td>be red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne   /nein/</td>
<td>/ne/</td>
<td>stay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nīːː /mēin/</td>
<td>/mē/</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meːː /mēin/</td>
<td>/mē/</td>
<td>ask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñrī /ŋrēin/</td>
<td>/ŋrī/</td>
<td>be caught</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñeːː /ŋrēin/</td>
<td>/ŋē/</td>
<td>gaze vacantly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hānī /hēin/</td>
<td>/hānī/</td>
<td>smell raw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nweːː /hwēin/</td>
<td>/hwē/</td>
<td>be warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñū /ŋoun/</td>
<td>/ŋu/</td>
<td>promontory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu  /nōun/</td>
<td>/nū/</td>
<td>be tender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nū /noun/</td>
<td>/nu/</td>
<td>be leprous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

- \textit{m}
  \begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{mre} /mrei, mrǐ/ \textit{mye/} earth
  \item \textit{ami} /ɔmɛín, ɔmǐ/ \textit{amǐ/} mother
  \item \textit{γwe} /nwein, nwe/ (sic) \textit{nyɛ/} silver
  \item \textit{nū:} /nɔun, nù/ \textit{nù/} be soft
  \item \textit{mū} /moun, mu/ \textit{mu/} behave
  \item \textit{ųhmū́:} /ɔhmɔun, ɔhmù/ \textit{ɔhmù/} leader
  \end{itemize}

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

- \textit{ŋwe}. /ŋwɛ́, ŋwǐ/ \textit{ŋwɛ́/} vapour
- \textit{mwe}. /mwɛ́/ (sic) \textit{mwɛ́/} sleep
- \textit{ŋrū-cū́} /ŋru-zu/ \textit{ŋu-zu/} grumble

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

- \textit{chī́} /šɛ́in/ \textit{ší/} stop
- \textit{sī́} /θɛ́in/ \textit{θí/} thread
- \textit{hyi, hrí} /ʃí, hi̊, héin/ \textit{ʃí/} exist
- \textit{paŋ.-kū́} /pɔ́n-khoun/ \textit{pın-gú/} spider

Three further words show irregular features:

- \textit{hmû́} /hmɛ́, hmwein, hmǐ́/ \textit{hmǐ́/} catch
- \textit{nwé} /nɛ́in, nwein/ \textit{nwé/} hot season
- \textit{ųhmʊ́} /ɔhmɔun, ɔhmù, əhmoú/ \textit{ɔhmù́/} deed

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

- AR
  \begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{pye/} (particle) (emphasis)
  \item \textit{le/} (interjection) Here! Come!
  \item \textit{he/} (appended interjection) Hey!
  \end{itemize}

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

\textit{pye/} 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 /pɛ́/; 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/.

\textit{le/} seems to be used like SB /la/ or /kɛ́/. For example:

- AR
  \begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{le} – lai’-la-khá/ /la – lai’-la-gé/ Come along then.
  \item \textit{le} – sà-lai’/ /kɛ́ – sà-lai’/ Right: eat up.
  \end{itemize}

\textit{He/} 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 wāː = AR /wɔː/ ‘bamboo’; and if the w is medial it may not occur in the AR pronunciation at all, as in WB nwāː = AR /nɔː/ ‘cow’. Informants were not consistent on this point: in one recording rwa is pronounced /ɾɔ/, /ɾwɔ/ and /ɾwa/ in the space of a few words.

The opposite merger also occurs occasionally. That is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| bho. | /phwɔ/  | /phɔ/    | cork
| -tɔ  | /-twɔ/   | /-tɔ/    | (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/:

khyar /ʃɔn/, /ʃɔn/ /chin/ want to

This tendency however is not sufficiently consistent or widespread to warrant merging the two heads in AR.

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

| tay | /te, re/  | /te, de/       | (verb-sentence marker) |
| tui. | /tɔ, rɔ/ | /tɔ, dɔ/       | (plural)               |

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

(9) The correspondences below are generally well observed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hy, hly, shy</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hr</td>
<td>/hr/</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /ʃrwi/, 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Breathe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hrū</td>
<td>/ʃu/</td>
<td>/ʃu/</td>
<td>breathe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrañ.</td>
<td>/ʃaín/</td>
<td>/ʃín/</td>
<td>squirrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrui̯k</td>
<td>/ʃai̯/</td>
<td>/ʃai̯/</td>
<td>sob</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hron̯</td>
<td>/ʃaun̯/</td>
<td>/ʃaun̯/</td>
<td>avoid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrañ:</td>
<td>/ʃɔn̯/</td>
<td>/ʃin̯/</td>
<td>be clear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hru̯p</td>
<td>/ʃou̯/</td>
<td>/ʃou̯/</td>
<td>be confused</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cog.brok</td>
<td>/ʃau̯/</td>
<td>/ʃau̯/</td>
<td>look after</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The remaining words, in which AR pronunciation agreed with WB spelling, are the following:

- *hri-khui*  do obeisance  *tahri*  equal to
- *rhe*  front  *hre*  former time
- *rhwe*  move  *hraññ*  be long
- *thaŋ-hrã*  be conspicuous  *hrũ*  look
- *hrwam*  mud  *hrwam*  be wet, juicy
- *hyac*  eight  *hyañ*  compare
- *ahyañ*  yoke  *hrwaŋ*  be joyful
- *hrum*  wrinkle  *hlyo*  slacken
- *hlyõ*  wash  *hlyo*  slide
- *hlyui*  insert  *hlyap*  flash
- *shyam*  Shan  *hlyok*  proceed, address
- *hyum*  lose  *'asyaŋ*  master
- *'ahraŋ*  alive  *hlyã*  tongue
- *hrã*  seek  *hrã*  be scarce

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

- /ʃwè/  be soaked  /ʃan/  overflow
- /ʃá/  nick  /ʃó/  set on fire
- /käin-ʃain/  be devoted to

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

- /ɔʃe/  child, little  /ʃon/  thing

The following two words have forms with AR /h/ for SB /ʃ/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hyi, hri</td>
<td>/ʃi, hi/</td>
<td>/ʃu/  exist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ahrin</td>
<td>/sheın/</td>
<td>/ʃeın/  force</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- 'akyaŋ:khyaŋ: /ɔchɔñ-chɔñ/  /ɔchɔin-jin/  reciprocally
- khyoŋ:  /chɔuŋ/  /chɔun/  stream

It disagrees in the following:

- sî-khyaŋ: /θɔkhrɔn/  /θɔchɔin/  song
- khyup  /khrou'/  /chou'/  sew
- khyoŋ:  /khrɔun/  /chɔun/  throat
- ḫañk-pyo  /ŋɔprɔ/  /ŋɔpyɔ/  banana
- praŋ  /pɔyn/  /pyn/  prepare

The last example, /pɔyn/, 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/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mrwe</td>
<td>/mrwein/</td>
<td>/mwe (mywe)/</td>
<td>snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'amrwak</td>
<td>/omrwo'/'</td>
<td>/omwe' (omywe')/</td>
<td>utterance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'akrwe:</td>
<td>/əkrwi/</td>
<td>/əcwə/</td>
<td>debt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krwak</td>
<td>/krwo'/</td>
<td>/cwe'/</td>
<td>mouse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- nā-маãng /hna-me/ /nan-me/ name
- myąṅ: /hmyąṅ/ /myń/ line
- man-kyaąṅ: /hmın-jō/ /majı/ tamarind

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

- ku /kù/ /kú/ give medical treatment
- nwall: /nwen/ /nùn/ wilt
- se: /θ̩/ /θę/ yet
- laąṅ: /λé/ /lę/ also
- twee /tù/ /te/ (plural)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-nunį-</td>
<td>/-nain-, -hnain-/</td>
<td>be able to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mi-</td>
<td>/-mɪ-, -hmɪ-/</td>
<td>inadvertently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrąą:</td>
<td>/hmyąą/</td>
<td>arrow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kàun-gàun/</td>
<td>/kàun-gàun/</td>
<td>well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/shị-phọ wọ-khá/</td>
<td>/shè-bọ wà-gá/</td>
<td>cost of medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θọn-dń/</td>
<td>/θın-dăn/</td>
<td>class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmaun-thę/</td>
<td>/hмаun-dę/</td>
<td>in the dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θụ-na-brụ/</td>
<td>/θu-na-bụ́/</td>
<td>nurse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θọn-phọ-re/</td>
<td>/θın-bụ́-de/</td>
<td>once studied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wa-jwe'/</td>
<td>/wa-ju'/</td>
<td>end of Lent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ọchọn-chọn/</td>
<td>/ọchin-jin/</td>
<td>reciprocally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/swẹn-zwẹn sà-zà/</td>
<td>/sún-zún sà-zA/</td>
<td>at personal sacrifice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ląphọ'-re-shain/</td>
<td>/ląphe'-ye-zain/</td>
<td>tea-shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rọ-ga-θe/</td>
<td>/yọ-ga-θe/</td>
<td>invalid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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'/ + /əkən/ = /təgən/ one animal
SB /ti'/ + /əkən/ = /təkən/ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pag.kû</td>
<td>/pôn-khoun/</td>
<td>/pîn-gû/ spider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kog:kaŋ</td>
<td>/kàun-khôn/</td>
<td>/kàun-gîn/ sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laññ-paŋ:</td>
<td>/làn-phon/</td>
<td>/le-bin/ neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wam:puik</td>
<td>/wèn-phaî'/</td>
<td>/wûn-bài'/ stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-tâ:</td>
<td>/tên-thâ/</td>
<td>/tâdâ/ bridge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sanghā</td>
<td>/ṭôn-kha/</td>
<td>/ṭîn-ga/ the monkhood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māgadha</td>
<td>/Ma-gothâ/</td>
<td>/Ma-gādâ/ Māgadha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khandhā</td>
<td>/khen-tha/</td>
<td>/khan-da/ body</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adhika</td>
<td>/ṭhî-kā/</td>
<td>/ṭhî-kâ/ central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodhī</td>
<td>/Bê-thî/</td>
<td>/Bê-dî/ Bodhī (tree)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lôba</td>
<td>/lô-phâ/</td>
<td>/lô-bâ/ greed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabho</td>
<td>/ṭêphô/</td>
<td>/ṭêbô/ nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhaya</td>
<td>/phôyâ/</td>
<td>/bôyâ/ danger</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

Māgāha Sakka dhâmma law
adhâmma lawless adhipây meaning
adhâpâti dictator saddhâ faith
Buddhâ Buddha dullabhâ temporary (monkhood)
bhâwanâ meditation sambhâra accumulated merit
sabhâwa natural kambhâ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhâ:</td>
<td>/dâ/</td>
<td>/dâ/ knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jhe:</td>
<td>/zû/</td>
<td>/zê/ market</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khu</td>
<td>/gû/</td>
<td>/gû/ now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khoŋ:</td>
<td>/gàun/</td>
<td>/gàun/ head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thok</td>
<td>/dau'/</td>
<td>/dau'/ prop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyoŋ</td>
<td>/jaun/</td>
<td>/jaun/ cranny</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.2.2 Weakening

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɲâ:kro</td>
<td>/ɲəɡro/</td>
<td>/ɲəɡo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲâ:krok</td>
<td>/ɲəkhrə/</td>
<td>/ɲəchə/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>la-kha</th>
<th>/ləhɑ/</th>
<th>/lɑ-gɑ/</th>
<th>salary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>min:ma</td>
<td>/mənɑ/</td>
<td>/mən-mɑ/</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrwe-hok</td>
<td>/mɾəhɑ/</td>
<td>/mɾe-hɑ/</td>
<td>cobra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chí-mî:</td>
<td>/ʃəmɛn/</td>
<td>/ʃi-mɛ/</td>
<td>oil lamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re-nam</td>
<td>/ɾənən/</td>
<td>/ye-nən/</td>
<td>oil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Ü: Sá Thwan: | /ʊɭəθɨnɛn/ | /ʊɭəθɨn/ | Ü ɭə Thûn |
| nerâ    | /nəɾə/    | /ne-yə/ | place |
| ü:rî:   | /ʊɾi/     | /ʊ-ɾi/ | uncle |
| re-khî:  | /ɾəkʰɛ/   | /ye-gɛ/ | ice |
| cheːlip | /ɕʰəlɛi/  | /ɕʰɛ-ɭɛi/ | cigarette |
| jhî:sî: | /ʒəθɪ/   | /ʒɪ-ɭɪ/ | wild plum |
| bû:sî:  | /bʊθɪ/   | /bʊ-ɭɪ/ | gourd |
| lû-pyuî | /ləbyo/  | /lu-byo/ | bachelor |
| ñîî-ma  | /nəmɑ/    | /ʃi-mɑ/ | younger sister |
| pru-cu-kat-ra-re | /prʊzʊ-ɣɛ-ɾə-ɾe/ | /pyʊzʊ-ʃa-ɭə-ɣɑ/ | 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>weakened AR</th>
<th>unweakened AR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ye-ke</td>
<td>/yə-ɣɛ/</td>
<td>/yɛɡɛ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re-sum:</td>
<td>/ɾə-θʊn/</td>
<td>/ɾɛ-θʊn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kay-nuîn-phui.-lā:</td>
<td>/kɛ-hnain-φɔ-ɭɑ/</td>
<td>/kɛ-hnain-φɔ-ɭɑ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyok-lâ:-kha-re</td>
<td>/pyo-ɹɑ-ɭɑ-ɭɑ/</td>
<td>/pyo-ɹɑ-ɭɑ-ɭɑ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charâ-bâ:-ka</td>
<td>/ʃɔrə-bɑ-ɹɑ/</td>
<td>/ʃɔrə-bɑ-ɹɑ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>watthu</td>
<td>/watθu/</td>
<td>/wuθu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyyâñ</td>
<td>/uityain/</td>
<td>/uityin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinâî-sîː</td>
<td>/pιnɛ-θi/</td>
<td>/pιnɛ-nɛ-θi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Weakening is also used regularly by some speakers with what in SB is the formative [repetition]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burmese (SB)</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>co-co</td>
<td>/səzə/</td>
<td>/sə-zə/ early</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kög:kön</td>
<td>/kə̀jàun/</td>
<td>/kə̀n-gàun/ well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tit-tit</td>
<td>/tədəi/</td>
<td>/təi-tei/ quietly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pup-pup</td>
<td>/pəbou’/</td>
<td>/pou’pou’/ rotten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwa-pwa</td>
<td>/pəbwá/</td>
<td>/pəbwá-hwá/ unempt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lway-lway</td>
<td>/ləlwe/</td>
<td>/ləwe-lwe/ easily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phrū-phrū</td>
<td>/φəphru/</td>
<td>/φyu-byu/ white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myā:myā:</td>
<td>/məmyə/</td>
<td>/məyə-myə/ many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mran-mran</td>
<td>/məmrən/</td>
<td>/məyən-myan/ quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rui-rui se-se</td>
<td>/rərə thəθə/</td>
<td>/yo-yo thə-thə/ respectfully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cui-cut pai.pai</td>
<td>/səzou’ pəbə/</td>
<td>/sou’ səu’ pə-bə/ squalid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ce.ce. cum-cum</td>
<td>/səzí səzou/</td>
<td>/sí-zí sən-zou/ fully</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burmese (SB)</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khu-nac-khu</td>
<td>/khənài’-khú/</td>
<td>/khun-nakhú/ seven items</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krāsapate:</td>
<td>/kə-θo’-pədə/</td>
<td>/ka-bəbədə/ Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>/kə-θo’-pədə/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tam-khā:</td>
<td>/tən-khə/</td>
<td>/təgə/ door</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-tā:</td>
<td>/tən-thə/</td>
<td>/tədə/ bridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-khui:</td>
<td>/tən-khə/</td>
<td>/təgə/ greatness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-khū:</td>
<td>/tən-khə/</td>
<td>/təgə/ Təg (month)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-chon-mum:</td>
<td>/tən-shən-bəun/</td>
<td>/təzaun-məun/ Təzaung-muen (month)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-cak</td>
<td>/tən-zə’/</td>
<td>/təzə’/ eaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-toŋ</td>
<td>/tən-daun/</td>
<td>/tədaun/ elbow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-tuiŋ</td>
<td>/tən-dəin/</td>
<td>/tədəin/ wall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.2.3 **INDUCED CREAKY TONE**

Induced creaky tone occurs in AR as in SB:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burmese (AR)</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AR /ŋə/ + /ko/ = /ŋə-go/ to me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR /hnəsh/ + /nai’/ = /hnəshé-hnai’/ twenty-two</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burmese (SB)</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AR /dou’khā rau’-nei-re lū-dī/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB /dou’kha yau’-ne-dé lū-de/ trouble reach-be-REL person-PL people who are in trouble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AR /thə-re sei’də’/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB /thə-dé sei’də/ place-REL attitude the attitude (they) adopt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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) /cǐ/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /chā/; voiceable. AR has voicing, suggesting a plain initial where SB has an aspirate.

AR /wedana-foon-go-jì ə-ə ma-hou'-əi/ rec
SB /wedana-fun-go-jì ə-ə ma-hou'-əi
injury-victim-ACC-only simple-simple not-be-so-yet-VSMK
It is not only the patient (who needs encouragement).

(2) /kra/ aV adv = SB /chā/; voiceable. Note AR plain for SB aspirate initial, as for /cǐ/ above.

AR /khrau'-nari-gra tə-kha/ inf
SB /cha'-nayi-jə tə-kha/
six-hour-between one-time
every six hours

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

AR /ro-rə-ro chá-re. Chá-kha ... sekà-lə la-kha/ 3.6-7
SB /ywa-tə-ywa chá-də. Chá-də ... sigà-lə la-də/
village-one-village found-VSMK found-time increase-ing come-time
(He) founded a village. Afterwards, when it grew bigger

AR /ọchən cá-kha/ 3.19
SB /ọchən cá-yin/
time fall-when
when the time comes round

AR /lu-le mə-fí sho-kha/ 3.6
SB /lu-le mə-jf-bi sho-də/
person-also not-live say-when
as nobody lived there

Also used not as special head noun:
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

AR /wedən-jɔn-ró-go prúzú-re əkha-ma/ rec
SB /wedən-jin-dó-go pyūzú-dé əkha-hma/
i-injury-victim-PL-ACC tend-REL time-at
when (one) is looking after a patient

(4) /kʰá/ auxiliary verb = SB /kʰé/

AR /lou’ɲèn-go thà-khá-pri-ge/ 1.16
SB /lou’ɲán-go thà-gé-pì-dó/
work-ACC set-there-finish-when
setting (his) work aside

AR /zi-go là-khá-re/ 2.11
SB /zè-go əwà-gé-de/
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 /ləe’/.

(5) /hnôn/ sentence final postposition = SB /nə, pó/

AR /mə-ʃən-mə-làn-zə hí-gəlé mëin-ge’-hnôn/ 1.33
SB /mə-ʃən-mə-làn-da fî-yin-lè më-jà-no/
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 təunpré̃-chən-re-hnônra/ 1.23
SB /cèzù təunbyən-jın-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 /chihmən-phó mə-kàun-là/ 1.8
SB /chihmən-bó mə-kàun-là/
praise-for not-be.good-Q
Isn’t (that) an admirable thing?

AR /pái’-phó thà-zó-ba/ 2.17
SB /pyi’-phó thà-da-ba/
throw.out-for put-VSMK-POL
(l) put (it) there to be thrown away.

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

AR /θɔn-phó pou’go/ 1.12
SB /θin-mé pou’go/
learn-for person
the prospective student

AR /lou’-rán-phó sɔ-tî/ 1.1
SB /lou’-rán-mé hə-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 /me, yá-me, móló/: 

AR /phọ-thé-lai'-pain ʃʃ-ne-phó/ 2.26  
SB /phọ-thé-lai'-thọ/ ʃʃ-ne-me/  
-warm-put.in-just-as if  be-be-for  
It would be as if (they) were all warmed up together.

AR /ke-hnain-phọ-là cọcọ kù-thá-bọ-rá-zí/ 1.20  
SB /ke-hnain-mọ-là cọcọ kù-thá-bọ-yá-ze/  
save-can-will-Q I treat-treat-POL-may-let  
Please may I treat (him) and try and save his life?  

AR /-phọlà/ is weakened from /-phọ-là/.  

AR /prọ-phọ-là/ inf  
SB /pyọ-yá-mọlà/  
speak-for-Q  
Should I speak now? (preparing to record)

AR /ʃʃ-phọ/ inf  
SB /ʃʃ-yáme/  
be-for  
(He) must be (at home). (answer to ‘Will he be there?’)

AR /ri chọ-phọ-là/ inf  
SB /ye chọ-mọlọ-là/  
water  wash-for-Q  
Are you going to wash?

AR /phọ/ is also used with /pye/ = SB /tọ-me/: for examples see under /pye/ below.

(7) /ke’/ auxiliary verb = SB /ká/; voiceable  

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

AR /ke’/ has a variant /kre’/ used in written texts but not in my spoken material; it is perhaps a regional variant.

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

AR /yọn-pain thọi’sa sho-prí-ge/ 1.16  
SB /èdi-lo òt’a sho-pì-yin/  
that-way  promise  say-finish-when  
after taking this oath

AR /pọ-zaun sei’de’-myò thà-bì  lọu’-rá-reekë  sho-ge/ 1.2  
SB /be-lo sei’da’-myò thà-bì  lọu’-yá-ó-ëlë  sho-yin/  
what-like  attitude-kind  put-finish  act-must-VSMK-Q  say-if  
the kind of attitude one ought to adopt is ...
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS 21

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

Weakened before AR /lé/ = SB /lé/

AR /Kra'-Khri-ní lou’nèn òne-nén sho-ló jejer-gà-lé/ 1.28
SB /Cè'-Che-ní lou’njàn òne-né sho-ló jejer-yìn-lé/
fowl-foot-red work status-with say-ing be-if-and
turning now to our work in the Red Cross

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

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

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

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

(10) /lkhà/ auxiliary verb = SB /òwà, lai’/. (cf. SB /a-gé/)

AR /nu:n-lkhá-re/ 1.7
SB /nu:òwà-de/
be.leprous-go-VSMK
(They) become lepers.

AR /pyau'-lkhá-re-bye/ 2.49
SB /pyau'-òwà-da-bè/
disappear-go-VSMK-VSMK
(The symptoms) disappeared.

AR /krà-lkhá-sò-nén/ rec
SB /cà-lai'-ta-né/
hear-go-thing-with
on hearing

(11) /lè’/ auxiliary verb = SB /a, khé, òwà/

AR /tò'-lè’-te-bye/
SB /tè'-la-da-bè/
ascend-come-VSMK-VSMK
(He) came up (into the house).
(12) /lé/ unclassified particle = SB /lé/

AR /nó tə-khwɔ’-si θau’-te-le’/ 2.4
SB /nó tə-khwe’-si θau’-te-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-bre’lòun-lé ci-ló-pà-ló  phrai’-ne-byè/ 2.39
SB /tæein-lòun-lè fòu’-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) /lé/ 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 /fi/ (cf. SB /sho-ló fi-yin, pha’-ló ne-ba-de/).

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

AR /prúpró-ló tā-re/ 3.23
SB /pyúpyin-thā-de/
repair-ing put-VSMK
(They) repaired (it).

AR /we-ló cho'-po-khá-so/ 2.49
SB /we-bi che'-pyi'-khé-da/
buy-ing cook-throw-away-thing
(I) bought (some) and warmed (it).

AR /la-ló kho-ge/ 1.15
SB /la-bi kho-yin/
come-ing fetch-if
if (they) come and fetch (him)

AR /əθə' pren-ló hrən-la-re/ 1.22
SB /əθə' pyan-bi jin-la-de/
life return-ing live-come-VSMK
(He) is saved from death.

AR /po-ló hnnáunhè-zi-re/ rec
SB /po-bi hnnáunhè-ze-de/
exceed-ing delay-cause-VSMK
(It) holds up (the dispersion) even more.

AR /cá-ló 0i-re/ 2.21 (adapted)
SB /cá-bi 0e-de/
fall-ing die-VSMK
(It) fell in and died.

AR /won-rau'-ló 0ən-re-kha/ rec
SB /win-yau'-ló 0in-dë-əkha/
enter-arrive-ing study-REL-time
when (he) comes in and studies

AR /zi la-ló jí-re/ 2.38
SB /zè 0wà-ló ne-de/
market go-ing be-VSMK
(Shes) had gone out shopping.

AR /phyc-ló jí-re/ 2.25
SB /phyc-ne-de/
infuse-ing be-VSMK
(It) is warmed up.

AR /gú-tho'-thí ... kòkwe-ló jí-re/ 3.11
SB /gú-dë'-thí ... kòkwe-ló ne-de/
now-period-up.to worship-ing be-VSMK
And even now (they) still worship (his image).
(16) /me/ verb-sentence marker = SB /me/

AR  /prə-prá-me/ 1.1
SB  /pyɔ̃-pyá-me/
say-show-will
(t) will tell (you).

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

AR  /ŋa-ró  one-nén/ 1.3
SB  /ŋa-dó  one-né/
1PL status-with
as regards ourselves

AR  /sáunfa'-yɔ̀npɔ̀n-nén/ 1.5
SB  /sáunfa'-yin-né/
look.after-while-with
while looking after (them)

AR  /e  ɔte'pyinña-nén θu-ró-re  sipwà mə-hra-ba/
SB  /di  ɔtə'pyinña-né  θu-dó-ha  sipwà mə-fa-ba-bù/
this skill-with they-PL-SUBJ profit not-seek-POL
(They) do not use (their) skill for profit.

AR  /tagò-θe'tí-ná  prézoun-khá-re/ 3.11
SB  /tagò-θa'tí-né  pyèzoun-gé-de/
power-majesty-with be full-there-VSMK
(He) had great powers.

AR  /e  ðeindo-ná  zedidɔ/ 3.21
SB  /di  ðeindo-né  zedidɔ/
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 /nál/ 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 /de, yé/

AR  /hlú-ba-yón/ 1.5
SB  /hlú-ba-de/
dedicate-POL-VSMK
(I) dedicate (myself).

AR  /hou'-pa-yón/ inf
SB  /hou'-kè/
be.so-POL-VSMK
Yes.
(19) /pà/ common location noun = SB /shi/; voiceable

| AR | /shàrà-bò-gá/ (weakened from /bà-gá/) |
| SB | /shàyà-shí-gá/ 1.19 |
|     | teacher-place-from |
|     | from the teacher |

| AR | /phàrà-bà-mà/ 1.4 |
| SB | /phàyà-shí-hma/ |
|     | God-place-at |
|     | before God |

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

| AR | /phà-thé-lài'-pain fí-ne-phó/ 2.26 |
| SB | /phà-thé-lài'-thólo fí-ne-me/ |
|     | warm-put.in-just-like be-be-for |
|     | It’s as if it had all been warmed up together. |

| AR | /za òrò-gá za-pain kho-re shò-pain/ rec |
| SB | /ba òrò-gá be-lo kho-de shò-ðólo/ |
|     | what bone-SUBJ what-like call-VSMK say-like |
|     | like saying what bone is called what |

| AR | /ngàlei' áhme'-ðà-de-ná thòn-pi-rá-re/ rec |
| SB | /ngàlei' áhma'-ðà-de-né thìn-pè-yà-de/ |
|     | English term-PL-with teach-give-must-VSMK (They) had to teach using the English terms. |

| AR | /mrwein-shèi’ tò'-te lu-pain/ rec |
| SB | /mwè-zèi’ te'-tè lu-lo/ |
|     | snake-poison invade-REL person-like |
|     | like a man with a snake’s venom spreading through his system |

| AR | /yòn-pain sei'-de’-myò/ 1.10 |
| SB | /èdì-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-ðó-lo/ |
|     | say-VSMK-like |
|     | as (he) said |

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

| AR | /thù-rò khànthako-hma-bon yòn ròga swèke’-pàri-ge/ 1.7 |
| SB | /thù-dò khàndako-hma-bè èdi yòga swèka’-pì-dò/ |
|     | they-PL body-in-EMP that disease infect-finish-ing |
|     | the disease spreading to their own bodies |
AR  /əshei’ ʃi-re mrwein-bon phrai’-ðun-θi/ rec
SB  /əshei’ ʃi-dé mwe-bè  phyi’-ðun-dó/
    poison have-REL snake-actual be-further-when
    even if it was a venomous snake

(22) /pye/ sentence-final postposition and verb-sentence marker = SB /pè, pi/; after /phó/ =
SB /tó-me/; with negated verb = SB /mòV-tó-bû/; voiceable

AR  /ŋa-dó  dou’khá-bye/ 2.22
SB  /ŋa-dó  dou’khá-bè/
    I-as for trouble-EMP
    I am in trouble.

AR  /mrwein-bye-là/ rec
SB  /mwe-bè-là/
    snake-EMP-Q
    Was it a snake?

AR  /sei’-kráun-bye/ 2.51
SB  /sei’-cáun-bè/
    mind-because.of-EMP
    (It was) psychological.

AR  /θau’-polai’-te-bye/ 2.10
SB  /θau’-polai’-ta-bè/
    drink-through-VSMK-EMP
    (They) used to drink (it) down.

AR  /θau’-po-lai’-pye/ 2.16
SB  /θau’-po-lai’-pi/
    drink-throw-just-VSMK
    (I)’ve drunk it.

AR  /əθe’ hno-hnai’ ʃi-bye/ inf
SB  /əθe’ hno-hnì’ ʃi-bi/
    age two-year be-VSMK
    (He) is two years old.

AR  /ŋá-go mrwein kai’-pye/ rec
SB  /ŋá-go mwei kai’-pi/
    I-ACC snake bite-VSMK
    I’ve been bitten by a snake.

AR  /pri-ba-bye/ inf
SB  /pi-ba-bi/
    finish-POL-VSMK
    (It)’s all over.

AR  /θi-phó-bye-ló phrai’-ne-re lu/ 1.22
SB  /θe-dó-mò-ló  phyi’-ne-dé lu/
    die-for-VSMK-QUO be-be-REL person
    a man on the point of dying
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS 27

AR /pren-phó-byə/ inf
SB /pyan-dó-me/
return-for-VSMK
(I)'m going home.

AR /me’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 yôn-pain mə-hou’-pye/ rec
SB /əgú-okha-hma-dó ê-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 ma-ká-thi/ 1.26
SB /mə-yá-youn-ða ma-ká-dè/
not-get-thing-only not-be.so,little-yet
not only does (he) get no (fee)

AR /le-ra en-re-byə/ 2.33
SB /le-tha an-da-bè/
air-only vomit-VSMK-VSMK
(She) was just retching.

AR /ye-hmá-ra shì kûthá-hnain-rec/ rec
SB /da-hmá-ða shè kûthá-hnain-de/
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 /pynina-fón tə-yau’-re/ 1.16
SB /pynina-fìn tə-yau’-ha/
learning-master one-person-EMP
a skilled person

AR /cwendo-re/ 1.18
SB /cundo-ha/
I-EMP
I

AR /e jón-re/ 1.9
SB /di ou’-sa-ha/
that thing-EMP
this thing

AR /θu-gó-re/ 1.24
SB /θu-gó-bè/
he-ACC-EMP
to him
(25) /ról/ auxiliary noun = SB /dó/

AR /ŋə-ról/ 1.3
SB /ŋə-dó/
I-PL
we

AR /θu-ról/ 1.6
SB /θu-dó/
he-PL
they

AR /θeindw-ról/ 3.16
SB /θeindw-dó/
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/ ʃí-re/ 2.1
SB /pʰyi’-ta-de/ ʃí-de/
happen-thing-PL be-VSMK
There are cases (of psychosomatic illness).

AR /pʰai’-phó/ thà-zɔ-ba/ 2.17
SB /pʰyì’-phó/ thà-da-ba/
throw-for put-thing-POL
(l) put (it) there to be thrown away.

AR /yɔn-nɛn sɛi’-ko əðiká thà-łó prɔ-sɔ/ 2.52
SB /ɛ-da-nɛ sɛi’-ko əðiká thà-łó 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 jɔn ʊh-sɔ/ inf
SB /ho ou’-sa wʊ-ha/
that thing his-thing
That’s his.

AR /kɔ-sɔ ko rí/ inf
SB /kʊ-ha ko yɛ/
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, ɪé/
AR /khɔ́-la-de-te/ rec
SB /khe'-la-da-te/
be.difficult-come-tend-VSMK
(It) tends to become difficult.

AR /θùn-myò fí-re/ rec
SB /θùn-myò fí-de/
three-kind be-VSMK
There are three kinds.

AR /mrwein kai-te wedôna/ 1.23
SB /mwe kai-te wedôna/
snake bite-REL suffering
the suffering caused by snakebite

AR /te'-thà-re pyinña/ 1.30
SB /ta'-thà-dè pyinña/
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 /to-brainnɔ'-tè/ rec
SB /to-byainnɛ'-thè/
one-compete-only
at the same time

AR /M rènma-zà to-khù-dè/ rec
SB /Myanma-zà to-khù-dè/
Burmese-literature one-item-only
Burmese alone

(29) /ði/ auxiliary verb = SB /ðè/

AR /rwen-grãunθàmèn phrai'-roun-ra mɔ̀-ká-ði/ 2.40
SB /yun-zɔyají phyi'-youn-ðà mɔ̀-ká-ðè/
disgusting-ness be-merely-only not-be.so.little-yet
not only was the place in a mess

(30) /ti/ auxiliary noun = SB /te/, voiceable, but not always voiced

AR /ɔsa-dì pa-re/ 2.31
SB /ɔsa-de pa-de/
food-PL be.included-VSMK
There were some solids.

AR /lou'-nein-re ɔlou'-tí/ 1.26
SB /lou'-ne-dè ɔlou'-te/
do-be-REL work-PL
the work (he) is doing
(31) /yôn-pôn/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yin/

AR /prûžû-yôn-pôn prûžû-yôn-pôn-nên ... nu:n-lô-khá-re/ 1.7
SB /pyûžû-yin pyûžû-yin-ne ... nu-duwâ-de/

tend-ing  tend-ing-with  be.leprous-come-there-VSMK
(They) went on and on looking after (them) and became lepers themselves.

AR /yôn/ also occurs without /pôn/

AR /twe-ûn, ... rwen-ûn,  eûn-ûn/ 2.29
SB /twe-ûn, ... yun-ûn,  an-ûn/

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 /phû/. Literary style Burmese here matches AR.

AR /yôn nôra-ma mû-fî/ 2.12
SB /êdî ne-ya-hma mû-fî-bû/

that place-in not-be
(She) was not there.

AR /sipwà mû-hra-ba/ 1.13
SB /sipwà mû-fa-ba-bû/
profit not.seek-POL
(They) do not seek to profit.

AR /yôn-pain sei’d’e’-myô mû-thû-hnain-là/ 1.11
SB /êdî-lo sei’d’a’-myô mû-thû-hnain-bû-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| /yân/    | /pokhè'/         | cradle
| /pèn-tu/ | /shè-ðan/        | (tobacco) pipe
| /tô-yô/  | /loun-jî/        | longyi
| /tên-du'/'| /ye-ðûyau'/'     | gutter
| /phaun-ôa/| /eîn-ôa/        | lavatory
| /chêl'/  | /mûyô/           | town

2.3.4.1.2 FAUNA AND FLORA

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| /pûdûgà-ôî/ | / tôîn-bô-ôî/ | paw-paw
| /nên-tô-ra-ôî/ | / na-nà'-ôî/  | pineapple |
2.3.4.1.3 PERSONAL STATUS

\(/sû-b\)' / /kələ-gələ/ infant
\(/bû-bû-gri/ /kələ-gələ/ infant
\(/sæi'-kæj/ /kaun-gələ/ child
\(/kəl-i'-je/ /kaun-gələ/ child
\(/kəl-i-me/ /səyo/ unmarried girl
\(/kəl-i/ /lu-byo/ bachelor
\(/əmən/ /əmə/ mother

2.3.4.1.4 FORMS THAT ARE EVIDENTLY LOANS

Source languages are indicated thus:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ke'-tɔn/ /ya-zəwu'-ou/'</td>
<td>police superintendent</td>
<td>E captain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lau'-khou'-tʊ/ /θəkha³ləu'/</td>
<td>padlock</td>
<td>E lock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/əei'-hlain/ /sʰə-youn/</td>
<td>hospital</td>
<td>E sick-lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; /shei'-hlain/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gau'-rɪ/ /kələ-mə/</td>
<td>young girl</td>
<td>H gauri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/do'/ /sə-dəi'/</td>
<td>post office</td>
<td>H dək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ga-rɪ/ /lɛə/</td>
<td>cart</td>
<td>H gər̩i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ga-ra/ /yɛ-tha-nə/</td>
<td>police station</td>
<td>H gərəd (E guard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/əphei'/ /yʊən/</td>
<td>office</td>
<td>B aphis, āpis (E office)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tɔ-li-ya/ /mye'-hnəθou'</td>
<td>towel</td>
<td>H tauliyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pəwa/</td>
<td>(P toalha)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/əboun/ /sha'-pyə/</td>
<td>soap</td>
<td>H sāpun (P sabāo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phələu'ŋ/ /mye'-hnəphəyu'/</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>cf. feriŋi, farang, frank, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

/-θe'/ - Sahib

e.g. /Ka-θe'/ - Sir (Hiram) Cox

/Pya-θe'/ - Sir (Arthur) Phayre

/Ra-bəθein-θe'/ - Sir Robertson [sic]

2.3.4.1.5 MISCELLANEOUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/əfe/ /kələ/</td>
<td>small</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ənə-je/ /ənə-lə/</td>
<td>little</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/səkə-je/ /nə-nə/</td>
<td>a little</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mo/ -</td>
<td>time (counted in months)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. /mo kə-lə/ -</td>
<td>nine months</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ke'-tɔ-rein/ /sə-θəphyin/</td>
<td>south wind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-maθe/ -</td>
<td>et cetera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. /myə'-ha-məθe/ -</td>
<td>face and so on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 2.3.4.2 Forms with Irregular Reflexes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>AR Form Requires *SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hmøn-jò/</td>
<td>/mø̃ji/</td>
<td>/hmøn-jò/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phei'-ja/ &amp; /phei-θa/</td>
<td>/pãi'-shan/</td>
<td>/phei'-ja/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khañən/</td>
<td>/kañədən/</td>
<td>cf. Hindi paisã</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.3.4.3 Forms with Different Meaning or Use in SB

#### 2.3.4.3.1 Whole Words and Phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Compare SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tèn/</td>
<td>/ya'/ 'stop, stand'</td>
<td>/tàn/ (rare alone) 'slow down, stop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a-gən-dú/</td>
<td>/é-θe/ 'visitor'</td>
<td>/a-gən-dú/ 'visiting monk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/prà/</td>
<td>/ca'/ 'kyat, pyà'</td>
<td>/pøà/ 'pyà'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yən/</td>
<td>/myan/ 'be quick'</td>
<td>/lyin, yin/ 'be nimble, speedy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/səl/</td>
<td>/su'/ 'be damp'</td>
<td>/sø/ 'be wet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/swe'/</td>
<td>/sø/ 'be wet'</td>
<td>/su'/ 'be damp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khødàun/</td>
<td>/lən-jì/ 'lon-gyì'</td>
<td>/khødàun caį'/ 'tuck up lon-gyì'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/shíñiñ/</td>
<td>/jì/ 'dirt'</td>
<td>/øñiñ/ 'verdigris, mould'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/là/</td>
<td>/θwà/ 'go'</td>
<td>/là/ 'proceed' (in legal phrases, and the compound /ɔlà-ɔlə/)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hrwèn/</td>
<td>/ʃwè/ 'get wet'</td>
<td>/fən/ 'be juicy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hwèn/</td>
<td>/ʃan/ 'overflow'</td>
<td>/hun/ 'ascend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phɔrà/</td>
<td>/khin-į'-ya/ 'yes?'</td>
<td>/phəyà/ 'yes?' (to monks only) (answering call)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θəl-tə-shaun/</td>
<td>/θəl-tale/ 'one (umbrella)'</td>
<td>/θəl-tə-shaun/ 'one (house)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmøn-yìn/</td>
<td>/hmøn/ 'be slow'</td>
<td>/hmønyìn/ 'be feeble' (in breathing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kən/</td>
<td>/shàn/ 'fit in'</td>
<td>/mañən məkən/ 'familiarly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khərən/</td>
<td>/jëi/ 'hook'</td>
<td>/chñən/ 'elephant goad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khau/</td>
<td>/jài/ 'pot-hole'</td>
<td>/jau/ 'chasm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dən/</td>
<td>/jàiñ/ 'can'</td>
<td>/in-dən/ 'cooking pan' (e.g. for milk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ci-bye/</td>
<td>/pi-da-bè/</td>
<td>/ce-bi/ 'it is cancelled out' (there's an end of it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khoəyau/</td>
<td>/lən-jì/ 'lon-gyì'</td>
<td>/khañə/ 'waist'; /yau/ 'wrap round'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nà-zəl/</td>
<td>/mane-gəl/ 'yesterday'</td>
<td>/nà-zəl/ 'evening meal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wə-ju/</td>
<td>/apə-hɔ-ju/ 'old man'</td>
<td>/θə'-ci wa-ju/ 'elderly people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pañə/</td>
<td>/səuən/ 'blanket'</td>
<td>/pañə/ '(long) long-gyì'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sɔuən-li/</td>
<td>- 'north wind'</td>
<td>/sɔuən/ 'go downwind'; /le/ 'wind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rañ-bau/</td>
<td>- 'west wind'</td>
<td>/yàn/ 'be wild'; /pañ/ 'arise'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/shən-khaun/</td>
<td>- 'south-west wind'</td>
<td>'?/shin/ 'elephant'; /gəuən/ 'head'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

/cou'/ /fún/ 'mud' /-cou'/ 'be dark, dirty'
/scwen/ /cun-∅/ 'I' /cun/ 'slave'
/səV-∅en/ /əV-∅i/ 'very (adj.)' /∅an/ 'be strong'
e.g.
/səkri-∅en/ /səci-∅i/ 'very big'
/səmən-∅en/ /səmyan-∅i/ 'very fast'
/sən-∅en/ – 'very few'
/lərə-də'/ /θə̂tə/ 'rich man' /lu-yā-da'/ '(rich man: obsolete)'

2.3.4.3.2 PARTS OF WORDS AND PHRASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>compare SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ù krèn/</td>
<td>/gùn kai/ 'head aches'</td>
<td>/càn/ 'be rough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rəθɔun/</td>
<td>/ye-chò-gàn/ 'bathroom'</td>
<td>/ye/ 'water'; /θɔun/ 'use'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nā-za/</td>
<td>/nā-ne/ 'afternoon'</td>
<td>/əsə/ 'portion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sɔ'-θi/</td>
<td>/se'-bein/ 'bicycle'</td>
<td>/se'/ 'wheel'; /əθi/ 'fruit, lock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kəla təprə/</td>
<td>/yəhakhain təpyo/ '(kind of) banana'</td>
<td>/kəla/ 'Indian'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ein-brè'-lɔun/</td>
<td>/təein-ləun/ 'all over the house'</td>
<td>/ʔəya'/ 'be low, squat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ein hə/</td>
<td>/təbye'-sì həe/ 'sweep'</td>
<td>/ein/ 'house'; /həe/ 'sweep'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.4.4 SELECTIVES

2.3.4.4.1 DEMONSTRATIVES

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/e-pain/ 1.18</td>
<td>/di-lo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e-lau/ 3.11</td>
<td>/di-lau/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e-ge/ 3.13</td>
<td>/di-dɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e ʔeín-dɔ/ 3.21</td>
<td>/di ʔeín-dɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e ʔə'-pyin-ŋa/ 1.13</td>
<td>/di ʔə'-pyin-ŋa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e-ma/ 3.6</td>
<td>/ʔe-di-hma/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/e jən/ 1.9</td>
<td>/ho ou'-sa/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/yəpəin/ 1.21</td>
<td>/ʔe-di-lo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ye-ge/ 2.4</td>
<td>/ʔe-di-dɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ye kha/ 1.25</td>
<td>/ʔe-di ʔəkha/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ye jən/ 3.7</td>
<td>/ho ou'-sa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ye khə́r-yen ʔa-ʔəna-brɔ/ 1.10</td>
<td>/di khə́r'-yan ʔa-ʔəna-byɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ye-hmə'-ra/ rec</td>
<td>/da-hmə-ʔa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ye-pri-ge/ 2.2</td>
<td>/da-pi-yin/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/de dou'-khi-tá-dí/ 1.5</td>
<td>/di dou'-khi-tá-de/</td>
<td>these unfortunate people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/de ... pyin-ŋa/ rec</td>
<td>/di ... pyin-ŋa/</td>
<td>this knowledge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.4.4.2 INTERROGATIVES

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

AR
/za ɔrò-gá za-pain kho-re/ rec

SB
/ba ɔyò-gá be-lo kho-de/

What the bones are called

/za nô-lè/ 2.45

/ba nô-lè/

What milk?

/za phrai’-lô-lè/ 2.16

/baiphyi’-lô-lè/

Why?

/za-kha-myò məsho/ 1.15

/beer kha-myò məsho/

at whatever time

/sì-pwà-rì-ma phrai’-si/ za

/ser pwà-yè-hma phyi’-se ba

whatever advantage may

phrai’-si/ 1.29

phyi’-se/

arise

/za là-lè/ inf

/beer wà-məlè/

Where are you going?

(2) AR /pə/ (with /zaun, lau’/ only) = SB /be/

/pəzaun seí’-de’-myò/ 1.2

/be-lo seí’-da’-myò/

what kind of attitude

/pəzaun twi-khà-phù-lè/ 1.3

/be-lo twé-gé-bù-lè/

what (I)’ve seen

/pəla’-thì təgò fì-re’ 3.8

/be-la’-əthf təgò fì-de/

how sacred it is

(3) AR /ə/ (with /θu/ only) = SB /be/; cf. old formal WB asû, asuì.

/əthu-le/ inf

/beer əu-le/

Who?

/əθu məsho/ rec

/beer əu 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 Ü θa Hnin, talking about the work of the Red Cross, and the third is by Dò 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 /θ/ is written /ə/, wo, 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 /hrí/, /wè/ for AR /hwi/, /le/ for AR /li/. These are transcribed as heard. The modern AR counterpart of SB /pyin-ña/, which contains a loan rhyme from SB (§2.3.1(1)), is transcribed AR /pyin-ña/.

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. Kroś-Khri-Ni loùñen-ma sedañ-thá-prí-ge
   Ceś-Che-Ni loùñan-hma sedañ-thá-pí-dó
   fowl-foot-red work-in good.will-place-finish-ing
   lou’-rá-phó-só-tí-go prè-prá-me.
   lou’-yá-mé-ha-de-go pyè-pyá-me.
   do-must-for-thing-PL-DO say-show-will

2. Kroś-Khri-Ni loùñen-ma òmyà-áphró-ñ-re pà-zaun-sei'de'-myò
   Ceś-Che-Ni loùñan-hma òmyà-áphyín be-lo-sei'da'-myò
   fowl-foot-red work-in most-as.regards-EMP what-like.attitude-kind
   thà-bri lou’-rá-re-lè sho-ge, òaðòna-brú sei'de'-ló kho-re.
   thà-bì lou’-yá-ðolè sho-yin, òaðòna-byú sei'da'-ló kho-de.
   place-ing do-must-VSMK-Q say-if religion-make attitude-QUO call-VSMK

3. òaðòna-brú sei'de'-sho-zó-gá ñaðó-one-nèn lo'-twí-gá
   òaðòna-byú sei'da'-sho-da-gá ñaðó-one-nè le'-twé-gá
   religion-make attitude-say-thing-SUBJ we-status-with hand-find-SUBJ
   pà-zaun twí-kha-phù-lè-ló sho-ge, Hëñðawèdi-ma ènu-roun
   be-lo twé-gé-bù-lè-ló sho-yin, Hëñðawèdi-hma ènu-roun
   which-like find-where-ever-QUO say-if Hanthawaddy-in leper-hospital

   jí-re — yau'cà-ènu-roun mômá-ènu-roun-ló.
   jí-de — yau'cà-ènu-youun meínma-ènu-you-nó.
   be-VSMK man-leper-hospital woman-leper-hospital-QUO

4. Yëñ-ènu-roun-ma òaðòna-brú-phò'-ká òmyòòñim-je-dí
   èdi-ènu-youun-hma òaðòna-byú-be'-ká òmyòòñmi-lè-de
   that-leper-hospital-in religion-make-side-from lady-young-PL
   phàò-hà-ma dù-thau'-pré-ge —
   phòyà-shi-hma dù-thau'-pí-dó —
   God-presence-in knee-support-finish-ing

5. “acwèn tò-òc'-ta-loùn de-dou’khú-dí-go
   “Càmá tò-òc'-ta-loùn di-dou’khú-dí-de-go
   I one-life-period-all this-sufferer-PL-ACC
prúsú-saunfau'-yōnpor-nen thiau-ōthi ahmū-thēn-balibō-byē.
pyūzū-saunfau'-yin-še thiau-āthi ahmū-thān-ba-dō-me.
tend-care-while-with die-up.to-up.to service-bear-POL-for-VSMK
acwēn-khenthako-go phorā-ma hlu-ba-yōn,” sho-re.
Cama-khandako-go phayā-hma hlu-ba-de,” sho-de.
my-body-ACC God-to dedicate-POL-VSMK say-VSMK
6. Sho-prī-ge, thūro phorā-ba-ma adei'then-prū-prī-ge,
Sho-pi-do, thū-dō phaya-shi-hma adei'than-pū-pi-dō,
say-finish-then s/he-PL God-presence-into resolve-make-finish-when
yōn-anu-u-di-go prūzū-re.
ēdi-onu-de-go pyūzū-de,
that-leper-PL-ACC tend-VSMK
7. Prūzū-yōnpor prūzū-yōnpor-nen (yōn-kha-dō kra-bye-le,
Pyūzū-yin pyūzū-yin-še (ēdi-ōkha-dō ca-bi-le,
tend-ing tend-ing-with that-time-as.for be.long-VSMK-you see
yōn-khai') thūro-khenthako-hma-bon yōn-rōga swēke'-pri-ge,
ēdi-dōn) thūdō-khandako-hma-bē ēdi-yōga swēka'-pi-dō,
that-time their-body-in-EMP that-disease catch-finish-ing
nu:nhōkā-re.
nu-dō-đā-de.
be.leprous-go-VSMK
8. Yōn-lau'-thī de [dou'khitā-rau'-ne-re -] dou'kha
ēdi-lau'-thī di [dou'khitā-yau'-ne-dē -] dou'kha
that-much-up.to this [sufferer-reach-stay-REL] suffering
rau'-ne-re lu-dī luţā-achonchon-go gurūna-joŋ-tō-ū
yau'-ne-dē lu-de luţā-achinjīn-go goyûna-joŋ-tō-ū
reach-stay-REL person-PL person-mutually-EMP pity-master-one-person
one-nē [prūzū-prī-ge -] prūzū-hnain-ge'-so-re
one-nē [pyūzū-pi-dō -] pyūzū-hnain-jā-da-ha
status-with [tend-finish-when] tend-can-PL-thing-SUBJ
chihmwen-phō mā-kāun-lā?
chimūn-bō mā-kāun-lā?
praise-to not-be.good-Q
9. E-joŋ-re əmyā-āphrīn-dōkha khāyīyən-thaōna-brū-one-nē
Di-ou'sa-ha əmyā-āphyrīn-dōga khārīyan-thaōna-byū-one-nē
this-thing-SUBJ most-as.regards-as.for Christian-religion-make-status-with
- thaōna-brū-pou'go-dī-ma thā-re sei'de'.
- thaōna-byū-pou'go-de-hma thā-dē sei'da'.
religion-make-person-PL-at place-REL attitude
10. Ye-khāyīyan-thaōna-brū-one-nē yōn-pain-sei'de'-myō thā-hnain-re:
Di-khāriyan-thaōna-byū-one-nē ēdi-lo-sei'da'-myō thā-hnain-de:
this-Christian-religion-make-status-with that-like-attitude-kind place-can-VSMK
11. ṭary-Ro’khain-thà-thè-hma यyć-pain-sei’de’-myò မ-thè-thà-hnain-là?
Ro’khain-thà-thè-hma ṭë-di-sei’da’-myò မ-thè-thà-hnain-bù-là?
we-Arakan-person-among-in that-like-attitude-kind not-keep-can-Q
mrwein- ملفpain-pyunña-go သon-phò pou’go-rò-hma
mwe- alanbe-pinyinña-go သin-mé pou’go-dò-ha
snake-doctor-skill-ACC learn-REL person-PL-SUBJ
mrwein- ملفpain-shara-bà-ma ṭu-rò သai’sa-sho-rà-re.
teach-give-REL snake-teacher-presence-in he-PL promise-say-must-VSMK
ți’sa [sho – ] sho-yà-de sho-da-gà, Ƅe-lo-.PI’a-myò-lè
promise [say] say-must-VSMK say-thing-SUBJ what-like-promise-kind-Q
sho-yà, စ-șe’pyinña-nèn டu-rò-re စpìwà-ма-hra-bà.
sho-yà, စ-șe’pyinña-nèn டu-dò-ha စpìwà-ма-Ja-bà-bù.
say-if this-skill-with he-PL-SUBJ profit-not-seek-POL
promise [say] say-must-VSMK say-thing-SUBJ what-like-promise-kind-Q
this-skill-with treat[give]-give-finish-when-fence-money not-take-POL
13. to-zoun-to-yau’-þò-þù mrwein-kai’-te-lò သòdòn-krà-ge phrai’-si,
to-zoun-to-yau’-þò-þù mwe-kai’-te-lò သòdin-cà-ya-ya phyi’-se,
one-any-one-person-REL-person snake-bite-VSMK-QUO report-hear-if be-let
la-lò kho-ge phrai’-si, za-kha-myò-ма-sho, ko-lou’-nein-re
la-bì kho-ya phyi’-se, be-akukan-myò-ма-sho, ko-lou’-nc-dè
come-ing fetch-if be-let which-time-kind-not-say one-do-be-REL
șe’loù-ko swèn-prè-ge, la-lò kù-bà-me-lò
șe’loù-ko sùn-pè-dò, la-bì kù-bà-me-lò
work-ACC abandon-finish-ing come-ing treat-POL-VSMK-QUO
ți’sa-sho-yà-re.
ți’sa-sho-yà-de.
promise-make-must-VSMK
14. ṭay-pain طيبai’-sa-sho-prè-ge, طيبon-thà-re 趺lenbain
dì-li طيبi’sa-sho-pè-yìn, طيبin-thà-dè 趺lenbe
that-like-promise-say-finish-when learn-set-REL snake.doctor
pyinña-sho-re mrwein-kai’-te wedona-go kùbà-hnain-re
pyinña-sho-dè mwe-kai’-te wedona-go kùbà-hnain-dè
skill-call-REL snake-bite-REL injury-ACC cure-can-REL
pyinña-joń-to-yau’-re, ฏu-nèn ᥢ-main-lau’ wè-rè
pyinña-jìn-to-yau’-ha, ฏu-nè ᥢ-main-lau’ wè-dè
skill-master-one-person-SUBJ he-with five-mile-about be.far-REL
JoHN okell

ro-ta-ro-ma lu-ta-yau’ mwen-ka’-te-ló ðødôn
ywa-ta-ywa-hma lu-ta-yau’ mwe-ka’-te-ló ðødòn
village-one village-in person-one person snake-bite VSMK QUO report

krá-gálé, [yön-mrwein – ] ðu-lou’-ne-re lou’ɲen-go
cà-yin-té, [edi mwe – ] ðu-lou’-ne-dé lou’ɲan-go
hear-if [that-snake] he-do-stay REL work-ACC

tha-khá-pri-ge là-rá-re.
tha-gé-pi-dó ðwà-yá-de.
leave-there-finish-ing go-must VSMK

17. Là-brí-kha-hmá, yön-mrwein-ka’ khen-rá-re lu-ɪ
ðwà-pi-dó-hmá, ìdi-mwe-ka’ khan-yá-dé lu-yè
go-finish-time only that-snake-bite suffer-must REL person-’s
shwemýó-ñataka-dí-go –
shwemýó-ñataka-de-go –
relative-kin-PL-ACC

“Cundo-ha di-lo-di-lo pyinña-go ðin-bú-ba-de.
I-SUBJ this-like this-like skill-ACC learn-ever POL VSMK

Mwe-ka’-tè wedóna-ñin-de øòe’-ko-ke-bó-dó
snake-bite-REL injury-owner-PL life-ACC save-for-as for

cwendo-re e-pain-e-pain pyinña shóra-ba-gá ðon-thà-ba-re.
cundo-ha di-lo-di-lo pyinña shóyá-shí-gá ðin-thà-ba-de.
I-SUBJ this-like this-like skill teacher-presence from learn-place POL VSMK

20. Yön-cano-te’-te pyinña-nén ta-cho’ yön-ðu
èdi-cano-ta’-te pyinña-né ta-sheí’ è-di-lu
that-I know REL skill with one-blow that-person
øòe’-ke-hnain-phi-ła cão kúthá-borá-zi.”
øòe’-ke-hnain-ma-ła cão kúthá-bayá-ze.”
life-save-can-for Q I treat may let

èdi-lo-shobi au’cá-khan-pi-dó, [økú-ðá – ]
that-like QUO low status accept-finish-ing [treat]
kúthá-khwón taut-rá-re.
kúthá-gwin taut-yá-de.
treat permission ask must VSMK

22. Kúthá-khwón taut-ló kúthá-khwón prú-ge, yön-lu-re,
Kúthá-gwin taut-ló kúthá-gwin pyú-yin, èdi-lu-ha,
treat permission ask because treat permission give if that man SUBJ
øi-phó-bye-ló phrai’-ne-re lu tà-yau’-re øòe’ pren-ló
øe-dó-ma-ló phyí’-ne-dé lu tà-yau’-ha øòe’ pyan bi
die for VSMK QUO be stay REL person one person SUBJ life return ing
hrōn-la-re.
fin-la-de.
revive-come-VSMK

fin-la-de-əkha, ba'du ma-sho-le, ko-dó-hma gō-dō-maña-ló
revive-come-time who-not-say-VSMK-EMP self-PL-in die-for-VSMK-QUO
[hedōna khenzā-nein-rā-re lu-tō-yau'-r] mrwein-kai'-te
[hedōna khan-zā-ne-yā-dé lu-tō-yau'-r] mwā-kai'-te
[injury suffer-be-must-REL person-one-person] snake-bite-REL
hedōna khenzā-nein-rā-re lu-tō-yau'-r, prēn-prī-ge
hedōna khanzā-ne-yā-dé lu-tō-yau'-ha, pyān-pī-dō
suffering suffer-stay-must-REL person-one-person-SUBJ return-finish-ing
əbō'-hron-la-re sho-ge, cēzu tōnum-pren-chōn-re-hnōnra.
əbē'-fin-la-de sho-yin, cēzu tōnumyān-jin-da-bō.
life-revive-come-VSMK say-when favour return-want-VSMK-EMP

24. Yn-pain cēzu-tōnum-pren-phō-atwo' -yyyy-go-re,
edi-lo cēzu-tōnumyān-bō-atwe' -yyyy-go-bē,
that-like favour-return-for-for he-ACC-EMP
lo'shawn-əne-nén phrai'-si, shiphō-wōkhā-əne-nén
le'shawn-əne-nē phyī'-se, shēbō-wāgā-əne-nē
present-status-with be-let medicine-cost-status-with
phrai'-si, pī-ge, -yyyy-hma-gā gādfōi'sa-khen-prī-thā:
phyī'-se, pē-yin, -yyyy-hma-gā gādfōi'sa-khan-bī-thā:
be-let give-if he-EMP promise-give-finish-already
lo'-ma-khen-rā.
le'-ma-khan-yā-bū.
hand-not-take-must

25. Ye-kha, -yyyy-ma pa-zaun nai'nā-lē sho-ge,
edi-dō, -yyyy-hma be-lo ni'nā-lē sho-yin,
that-time he-at which-like lose-Q say-if
yōn-pyinā-go tē'-khron-əphrōn, -yyyy-hma-re
edi-pyinā-go ta'-chīn-əphyīn, -yyyy-hma-gā
that-skill-ACC study-matter-by.means.of he-EMP
əkhā-cēnwe ma-rā.
əkhā-cēnwe ma-yā-bū.
fee-money not-get

26. Won-nęwe ma-rā-round ma-kā-θi:
Win-nęwe ma-yā-young-tha ma-kā-ðė:
enter-money not-get-thing-only not-be.so.little-yet
yōn-pyinā-go tē'-thā-khron-əphrōn, méinmein-ma
edi-pyinā-go ta'-thā-jin-əphyīn, mūm-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-sipwārī lou'-nein-rei əlou'-tí-dauhmá, pyə'kwe'-te.
ko-sipwāyê lou'-ne-dé əlou'-te-dauhmá, pyə'kwe'-te.
self-profit do-stay-REL work-PL-even spoil-VSMK

27. Yən-ətwa'-né̂n, e-pain-sei'de'-myō'-né̂n pinyin-a-né̂n,
èdi-ətwe'-né, èdi-lo-sei'da'-myō'-né̂n pinyin-a-né,
that-for-with that-like-attitude-kind-and skill-with
θu'-ta-bá əθo'-ko ke-phó-kei'sá,
θu'-ta-bá əθe'-ko ke-bó-kei'sá,
person-one-other life-ACC save-for-matter
[dou'khi-] dou'kха-shai'rau'-nein-re lu-ta'-yau'-ko ke-phó
[dou'khi-] dou'kха-shai'yau'-ne-dé lu-ta'-yau'-ko ke-bó
[sufferer] suffering-reach-stay-REL person-one-person-ACC save-for
kei'sá-dí-hma, swėnzwėn-sàzà əon-kха-ge'-te
kei'sá-de-hma, sündzin-sàzà əin-ge-já-dé
matter-PL-in sacrificing-ADV learn-there-PL-REL
ŋeró-Rokhain lu-myō-dí-lé ʃ-f-kха-ge'-te.
ŋedó-Yakahin lu-myō-de-lé ʃ-f-ge-já-de.
we-Arakanese person-kind-PL-also be-there-PL-VSMK

28. Ægú-Kro'-Khri-Ni lou'njen-one-né̂n sho-ló-fí-golé,
ægú-Ce'-Che-Ni lou'nän-one-né̂n sho-ló-fí-yin-lé,
present-fowl-foot-red work-status-with say-ing-be-if-also
yən-pain-sei'-thā-myō tə-zei'-ta-deθa-go thə-phó lo-zə-byə.
that-like-mind-set-kind one-quarter-one-area-ACC keep-to need-thing-EMP

29. Za-phrai'-ló-lé sho-ge, Kro'-Khri-Ni fəə-thəna-brú
Ba-physi'-ló-lé sho-yin, Ce'-Che-Ni fəə-thən-yaült
what-happen-because-Q say-if fowl-foot-red first-patient-care
pyinin-a-sá-re pyinin-a-dí-go tə'-thā-re lu-ta'-yau'
pyinin-a-sá-dé pyinin-a-de-go tə'-thā-dé lu-ta'-yau'
skill begin-REL skill-PL-ACC learn-keep-REL person-one-person
one-né̂n-gá, θu'-ətwa', sipwāri-ma phrai'-si, za-phrai'-si,
one-né̂-gá, θu'-ətwe', sipwāyê-hma physi'-se, ba-physi'-se,
status-with-SUBJ he-for profit-in be-let what-be-let
tə-khú-lé [əkʊ -] əkʊnəi ma-rá.
tə-khú-hmá [əkʊ -] əkʊnəi ma-yá-bú.
one-thing-even [help] help not-get

30. əkʊnəi-ma-rá, θu'-ta-thu'-ətwa' sho-ló-fí-ló-phrai'-ke, θu-re,
əkʊnəi-ma-yá-bú, θu'-ta-thu'-ətwe' sho-ló-fí-ló-fí-yin, θu-ha,
help-not-get person-one-other-for say-ing-be-ing-be-if he-SUBJ
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

31. E-yôn-pain ən-ge'-ra-hma-lé, ɣoró-re
   Di-êdi-lo əin-já-ya-hma-lé, ɣadó-ha
   this-that-like learn-PL-must-thing-also we-SUBJ

32. Krà-so-nén twí-so-nén, te'-thà-re pinyînà-nén
    cà-da-né twé-da-né, ta'-thà-dé pinyînà-nén
    hear-thing-with see-thing-with learn-keep-REL skill-with

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

1. Nau'-sho-ge, de-sei'de'-càun wedôna-phrai'-so-tî ʃí-re.
   Nau'-sho-yìn, di-sei'da'-càun wedôna-phyi'ta-de ʃí-de.
   more-say-if this-mind-because.of illness-occur-thing-PL exist-VSMK
2. ayeñ-ta-kha-gá ein-ta-shaun-ma ein-jon-má-to-yau', òú-ma
oyin-ta-kha-gá ein-ta-ein-hma ein-jin-má-to-yau', òú-hma
former-one-time-PT house-one-house-in house-owner-one-person she-at
ñōmá-to-yau', ye-pri-ge aakhínosi wají-má-ta-yau',
ñimá-to-yau', da-pi-yin aakhínose òphwájí-ta-yau',
sister-one-person that-finish-when servant old-female-one-person
ðõun-yau' nein-ge'-te-le'.
ðõun-yau' ne-já-de-dé.
three-person live-PL-VSMK-it-says

Ein-jin-má-dó kāungāun-pai'shan-fí-de - lu-chântha-má.
house-owner-female-as for well-money-have-VSMK person-rich-female

4. Ye-ge, néin-dàin mö-lôn-ge, nò-ta-khwo'-si òau'-te-le'
èdi-dó né-dàin mö-lín-dó, nò-ta-khwe'-si òau'-te-dé
day-every sky-light-when milk-one-cup-each drink-VSMK-it-says
[that-old.lady] that-house-owner-female [that] that-rich.lady

5. Yōn-lárá-de'má-re néin-dàin mö-lôn-ge nò-ta-khwo'-si
èdi-thoethémá-ha né-dàin mö-lín-dó nò-ta-khwe'-si
that-rich.lady-SUBJ day-every sky-light-when milk-one-cup-each
[ òau' - ] òau'-nein-já fí-re.
[ òau' - ] òau'-nc-já phyi'-te.
[drink] drink-stay-habit be-VSMK

6. Myo'hnà-màè òai'-pri, nò-ta-khwo' òau'-palai'-te-bye.
Mye'hna-debade òi'-pi, nò-ta-khwe' òau'-palai'-ta-bè.
face-and.such wash-finish milk-one-cup drink-through-VSMK-EMP

7. Òh-òwo' omrédent òshonôñ-zì pyin-thà-ge'-te.
Òh-òte' omyéddán òshindîn pyin-thà-já-de.
she-for always ready-each prepare-place-PL-VSMK

8. Nó òau'-palai'-pri-ge yōn-mamá-re
Nó òau'-palai'-pi-yin èdi-mèinnmá-ha
milk drink-through-finish-when that-woman-SUBJ
mrën-ló-shën-ló twí-re-bye.
làm-ló-shàn-ló phyi'la-da-bè.
refresh-ing-refresh-ing find-VSMK-EMP

9. tø-ø néin-kha-lé yōn-pain-løgàun òu-ëi'-ra-gá [myo'hnà - ]
tø-nè-hma-lè èdi-lo-bè òu-ëi'-ya-gá [mye'hna - ]
one-day-time-also that-way-same she-sleep-place-from [face]
thá-pri-ge, myo'hnà-màè òai'-te.
thá-pi-dó, mye'hna-debade òi'-te.
rise-finish-when face-and.such wash-VSMK
10. ṭwà-tai'-te myo’hna-таi'-те lou'-pri-ge, ṭu-аtвo’ əshɔnɔn əshɔnɔn əshɔnɔn
   ṭwà-tai'-ta mye’hna-ʔi'-та lou'-pi-dɔ, ṭu-аtвe’ əshinolin
   teeth-brush-thing face-wash-thing do-finish-when she-for ready
   pyoն-thà-re нó-go yu-pri-ge ʔаau’-polai'-te-byе.  
   pyin thà-dé нó-go yu-pi-dɔ ʔаau’-polai'-ta-bè.
   prepare-place-REL milk-ACC take-finish-when drink-through-VSMK-EMP

11. Yɔn ʔu [ʔаau’-] нó ʔаau’-polai'-te əchein-mа,  
    ʔdì ʔu [ʔаau’-] нó ʔаau’-polai’-tə əchein-hma,  
    that she [drink] milk drink-through-REL time-at
    ŋu-niɔmá-gá-Łé zì-go là-khà-re;  
    ŋu-niɔmá-gá-Łé zè-go ʔwà-ne-de;  
    her-sister-SUBJ-also market-to go-there-VSMK

12. əsekhen-má-Łé yɔn-nora-mа mə-fí.  
    əsegan-má-Łé ʔdì-neya-hma mə-fí-bù.  
    servant-female-also that-place-in not-be

    Nò-debade ʔаau’-ló-pi-də-akха, ʔu-lànn-ló-shàn-ló [phyi’-tə akха-]  
    milk-and-such drink-ing-finish-time she-refresh-ing-refresh-ing [find-time]
    twì-pri-ge ʔu nein-dəun-mа, ŋu-əkhaınosi-wajimá
    phyi’-pì-dɔ ʔu ne-dəun-hma, ŋu-əkhaınosə-əphwàjí
    see-finish-when she be-while-in her-servant-old.lady
    lɔ’-ma doun-tə-doun-nɛn ʔɔ’-te-’te-bye.  
    lе’-hma jàın-tə-jaın-nɛ ʔe’-la-da-bè.  
    hand-in can-one-can-with ascend-come-VSMK-VSMK.

14. Lə’-ma doun-tə-doun-nɛn [ʔɔ’-te-ke-] ʔɔ’-te-’pri-ge—  
    Lе’-hma jàın-tə-jaın-nɛ [ʔe’-la-dɔ-] ʔe’-la-pi-dɔ—  
    hand-in can-one-can-with [ascend-come-when] ascend-come-finish-when

    “Hn. Màmà nò [ʔаau’-ku’-] ʔаau’-polai’-pa-bo-là,”  
    what sister milk [drink-edge] drink-up-POL-VSMK-Q
    yɔpəin-ló mεin-re.  
    ʔdì-lo-shobi më-de.  
    thus-QUO ask-VSMK

    Më-dɔ— “Ě. ʔаau’-polai’-pi. Ba-phyr’-ló-ló?”  
    ask-when mm drink-up-VSMK what-happen-because-Q

    “Ədi-nó-go cəmá pì-yi’-phò thà-bа.  
    that-milk-ACC I throw-for set-thing-POL

    Cwe’-tə-gаun cá-thə-əwɔ-Łó.” ədi-lo sho-de.  
    mouse-one-creature fall-die-go-POL-because this-way say-VSMK
say-when I milk-new buy-POL-EXCL sister-drink-for-because

20. Yôn-nô pai'-polai'-phó-ló," sho-ge, yôn-mómá-re - 
ëdi-nô pyi'-polai'-phó-ló," sho-dò, édi-mêmá-ha - 
that-milk throw-out-for-because say-when that-sister-EMP

"Hn! Cwe' cá-bi òe-dé nô-go ña thâu'-mí-bi. 
ha mouse fall-ing die-REL milk-ACC I drink-happen-VSMK

22. ña-dò dou'khá-byé. 
ña-dò dou'khá-bê. 
I-as.for trouble-EMP

23. Krwa' sho-zô-myo-gá phauntha-mo-lé yôn-krwa' 
Cwe' sho-da-myo-gá einâ-mo-lé ëdi-cwe' 
mouse say-thing-kind-SUBJ lavatory-in-also that-mouse 
rau'-lakhir-re-byé; 
yau'-òwat-da-bê; 
get-go-VSMK-VSMK

bathroom-in-also that-mouse get-go-VSMK-VSMK oh.dear

25. Sou'pé-re nôra-hu-òa-hmyâ-ma yôn-krwa'-re là-nein-zo 
Sou'pé-dé neya-hu-òa-hmyâ-hma ëdi-cwe'-ha thà-ne-da 
be.dirty-REL place-say-REL-all-in that-mouse-EMP go-be-VSMK 
jaungraungrà-go - yôn-krwa' 
jaunjojuaunjà-go - ëdi-cwe' 
nook.and.cranney-ACC that-mouse

nô-thè-go cá-la-khá sho-bri nau'-ko yôn-ûnai'akrê 
nô-dé-go cá-òwat-bi sho-dò nau'-ko ëdi-ôûi'acê 
milk-inside-ACC fall-go-time say-finish after-ACC that-dirt 

sazou'pôbê-di-âlîn nô-thè-ma phyo-lô-îf-re - 
sou'sou'pêbê-di-âlîn nô-dê-hma phyo-ne-de - 
dirt-PL-all milk-inside-in infuse-ing-be-VSMK

26. phyo-thè-lai'-pain ìf-ne-phô. 
phyo-thè-lai'-òlo ìf-ne-me. 
infuse-add-just-like be-stay-for

27. Yôn-fôn ña thâu'-mí mà-là - gû," sho-prí-ge, 
ëdi-ou'sa ña thâu'-mí(bi) mohou'-là - gû," sho-pí-dò, 
that-thing I drink-happen not.so-Q now say-finish-ing 
òu-re twè-yôn, rwen-yôn, 
òu-ha twè-yin, yun-yin, 
she-SUBJ ponder-ing revolt-ing
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS 45

en-chon-yon, phrai’-la-pri-ge, en-byə.
an-jin-yin, phyi’-la-pi-də, an-yə.
vomit-want-ing be-come-finish-when vomit-VSMK

28. en-so, en-so, en-so-re — mo-shoon-dən.
   An-da, an-da, an-da-ha — mo-shoon-dən.
vomit-thing vomit-thing vomit-thing-EMP not-end-thing

twə-yon, rwen-zəra-də-go thədə-ə-yon, rwen-yon, en-yon —
twə-yin, yun-zəya-de-go thədəi-ya-yin, yun-yin, an-yin —
ponde-r-ing disgust-ing-things-PL-ACC remem-ber-ing revolt-ing vomit-ing
yon-pain-en-ge, poθəmə-kha-də əsa-pa-re-byə-le.
ədɨ-lo-an-də, poθəmə-də əsa-pa-da-bə-le.
that-like-vomit-when first-time-as.for food-contain-VSMK-EMP-you know

30. əau’-thə-re nó-də thwo’-cə-re.
əau’-thə-de nó-de thwo’-cə-de.
drink-keep-REL milk-PL emerge-fall-VSMK

ədɨ-lo-bə — əsa-de pa-de.
that-way-EMP food-PL contain-VSMK

32. en-phen myə-ge, əsa ma-pa-byə.
An-ban myə-də, əsa ma-pa-də-bu.
vomit-time be-numerous-when food not-contain-VSMK

33. Le-ra en-re-byə.
Le-əa an-da-bə.
air-only vomit-VSMK-EMP

34. Sho-ge, en-phen myə-ge, lu-re ən-pə-le-’te-hən-na.
Sho-də, an-ban myə-də, lu-ha myə-ə-wə-da-bə.
say-when vomit-time be-numerous-when person-EMP float-go-VSMK-EMP

35. Me’te’ ma-ne-hna-in-byə.
Ma’tə’ ma-ne-hna-in-bu.
upright not-stay-can-VSMK

36. Nwen-nwen-pri-ge əu ei’-ra-hma-ra po’lo’ lə-pri-ge,
Nǔn-nǔn-pi-də əu ei’-ya-hma-da pe’le’ hiə-pi-də,
weaken-weaken-finish-when she sleep-place-in-only on her.back lie-finish-ing
rəgaθə-tə-yau’ phrai’-ləkha-re-byə.
yəgaθə-tə-yau’ phyi’-əwə-da-bə.
invalid-one-person be-go-VSMK-EMP

37. Phrai’-la-ge, niθəmə əz-gə pən-la-re.
Phyi’-ə-wə-da-bə, niθəmə əz-gə pyən-la-de.
be-go-when sister market-from return-come-VSMK
38. ñomáde-gá zi-là-ló-fí-re sho-gò.
ñimáde-gá zë-thà-ne-de sho-gò.
sister-SUBJ market-go-ing-be-VSMK say-Indeed

39. ñomáde zi-gá pren-la-ge,
ñimáde zë-gá pyan-la-dó,
sister market-from return-come-when

to-cho'-kré-ma tho-nòra-ma-lé enphe' shè-thà-zò,
to-che' ci-lai'tó ho-neya-hma-lè anba' shè-thà-da,
one-glance-look-in that-place-in-also vomit wash-put-thing
de-nòra-ma-lé enphe' shù-thà-zò; ein-bre'loun-lé ci-ló
di-neya-hma-lè anba' shè-thà-da; tœein-loun-lé fou'-ló
this-place-in-also vomit wash-put-thing house-all-over-also be.dirty-ing
pà-ló phrai'-ne-byè.
thwè-ló phyi'-ne-da-bè.
be.dirty-ing be-stay-VSMK

40. Ein-bre'loun-lé ci-ló-pà-ló rwèn-grauenthòmen
Tœein-loun-lé fou'-ló-thwè-ló yun-zøyajì	house-all-over-also be.dirty-ing be.dirty-ing disgust-ing
phrai'-roun-ra më-kà-thìf;
phyi'-youn-ëa më-kà-dë;
be-thing-only not-be.so.little-yet

41. to-cho'-kré-lai'-te-ma èmáde-lé ci'-ra-ma sòn-ló.
to-che' ci-lai'-lù khà-huma èmáde-lé ci'-ya-hma sìn-ló.
one-glance-look-just-REL-at sister-also sleep-place-in stretch-ing

42. "ëbah-lé! omí:n-lè!"-ló, ñi:n-ló-ñu-ló phrai'-ne-byè.
father.little mother.little QUO moan-ing-groan-ing be-stay-VSMK

43. Phrai'-nein-ge, "Za-phrai'-pa-là-mëmà?"Phyi'-ne-dó, "Ba-phyi'-pa-là-mà-mà?"
be-stay-ing what.happen-POL-QUAL sister

44. Ya-pain-ló mëin-ge - "Za-phrai'-ló sho-ga-he - ñà
dëi-lo-shobì më-dó - "Ba-phyi'-ló sho-dó-he - ñà
this-like-QUO ask-when what.happen-ing say-when-hey I
krwà'-cà-ló tì-re nó-go ñau'-mì-byè, sho-re.
cwe'-cà-bì ñë-dë nó-go ñau'-mì-bì, sho-de.
mouse.fall-ing die-REL milk-ACC drink.inadvertently-VSMK say-VSMK

45. Sho-ge, ñomáde-gá - "Za-nó-lè.
Sho-dó, ñimáde-gá - "Ba-nó-lè.
say-when sister-SUBJ what.milk-Q

46. Krwà' cà-ló tì-zó - [ nó - ] yîn-nó-go ñëçwen
cwe' cà-bì ñë-da - [ nó - ] èdî-nó-go êamà
mouse.fall-ing die-thing [milk]-that.milk-ACC I
wè-pəläi'-pri'-ge, ð-daunhmā-əthai'-nén chɔ'-pri'-ge,
θun-pəläi'-pī-dɔ, ð-daunhmā-əthi'-né che'-pī-dɔ,
throw-out-finish-ing pot-even-new-with cook-finish-and
əthai' thà-khà-zɔ-ra mə-là.”
əthi’ thà-gè-da-ða mə-hou’-là.”
new put-there-thing-EMP not.be.so-Q

47. Yɔ-pain-ló prɔ-kha – “O. ;width-kəwɔ cā-lō ɔt-i
èdi-lo-shobi pyò-dé-əkha – “O. ədi-cwe’ cā-βl ɔt-dé
that-way-QUO say-time oh that-mouse fall-ing die-REL
nó pai’-lai’-pɔlà.”
nó pyi’-lai’-pɔlà.”
milk throw-out-VSMK-Q

“Gù pyi’-pyi’-khè-bi – əcamá.
now throw-out-there-VSMK I

49. Ye-prí-ge ð-daunhmá əthai’ – ð-əthai’-sɔ-nén
Da-pī-yin ð-daunhmá əthi’ – ð-əthi’-ha-né
that-finish-when pot-even new pot-new-thing-with
[ so’ – ] chɔ’-pri'-ge, əthai’-nò we-ló cho’-pə-khà-sɔ-re-fɔn,”
[ se’ – ] che’-pī-dɔ, nò əthi’ we-bi che’-pyi’-khè-da-bè-ou'sa,”
[sook] cook-finish-when new-milk buy-ing cook-throw-away-thing-EMP-thing
shò-ge, khenzà-ne-rà-re wedəna-ålουn pyau’-ləkhà-re-byə.
shò-dɔ, khanzà-ne-yà-dé wedəna-ålουn pyau’-θwà-da-bè.
say-when suffer-be-must-REL illness-all vanish-go-VSMK-EMP

50. Yòn-pain phrai’-sɔ-re, wedəna, en-re-ɔ-re
èdi-lo phyi’-ta-ha, wedəna, an-de-ɔ-ðe
that-like happen-thing-EMP illness vomit-REL-vomit-REL
phrai’-la-rà-sɔ-le tɔ-khù-shi-jaun,
phyi’-la-yà-da-lè shè-to-khù-jaun,
become-come-thing-also one-thing-drug-because.of
[ext] external-influence-because.of-also not-be.so mind-because.of-EMP

51. Pren-brì yòn-wedəna-gà pyau’kɔn-ləkhà-rà-sɔ-lè
Pyan-bì èdi-wedəna-gà pyau’kɔn-ðwà-yà-da-lè
return-ing that-illness-SUBJ vanish-go-must-thing-also
sei’-kràun-byə.
sei’-càun-bè.
mind-because.of-EMP

52. Yòn-nén sei’-ko ədkà-thà-lò prò-so
èda-nè sei’-ko ədkà-thà-lò 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 Phalāun-chei’: ‘the Westermer’s city’.

1. ðəmí-ró ðə-ró.
   ðamí-dó ðə-dó.
   daughter-PL son-PL

2. [Ka-ðe’-Jon ðe’tí-] Kaðe’-aJon te-khá-zo
   [Ka-thákhin ða’tí-] Ka-thákhin te-gé-da
   [Cox-master power] Cox-master found-there-thing
   mróto ðe’tí-akrùn-go pró-prá-me.
   myóðo ða’tí-acàun-go pyó-pyá-me.
   city power-about-ACC tell-show-VMK

3. È. Pró-prá-me. époun-pró-prá-khá-zo jí-re.
   È. Pyó-pyá-me. époun-pyó-pyá-gé-da jí-de.
   yes tell-show-VMK much-tell-show-there-thing be-VMK

4. È. [ða’tí-] guñ-ðe’tí-ná jí-khá-re.
   È. [ða’tí-] guñ-ða’tí-né jí-gé-de.
   yes [power] honour-power-with be-there-VMK

   Jí-gé-dó-ga èdi-myóða-ha ayin-khi’-hama tò-ywa.
   be-there-time-EMP that-city-SUBJ former-period-in country-village

6. Tò-rwa-kha-re lu-lé mò-jí sho-kha, e-ma
   Tò-ywa-dóm-gá lu-lé mò-jí-bù sho-dó, èdi-hma
   country-village-when-EMP person-also not-be say-time that-in
   Rákhin-ða-ró-go mró-ta-mró chá-re –
   Yákhin-ða-dó-go myó-ta-myó chá-de –
   Arakanese-son-PL-ACC town-one-town found-VMK
   ra-ta-ro chá-re.
   ywa-ta-ywa chá-de.
   village-one-village found-VMK

7. Chá-kha, ye-jón-re tə-nǐn-tho’-tə-ra’ sekà-ló
   Chá-dó, èdi-ou’sa-ha tə-né-de’-tə-né sigà-ló
   found-when that-thing-SUBJ one-night-over-one-day be.populous-ing
   la-kha, yòn-jón-ma ðeindo-gri-tə-khú-gá
   la-dó, èdi-ou’sa-hma ðeindo-jí-tə-khú-gá
   come-when that-thing-SUBJ hall-big-one-item-SUBJ
   athwe’tamre’ Kaðe’-Jon te-khá-re.
   athw’ama’ Ka-thákhin te-gé-de.
   most.noble Cox-master set.up-there-VMK

8. Te-khá-kha-re e-jón pəlau-thtí tagò-jí-re
   Te-gé-dó-ga èdi-ou’sa bəlau-thtí tagò-jí-de
   found-there-time-EMP that-thing how.much.up.to power-have-VMK
sho-zo-go, ūnaun-bon-golè-ta-bon sai-te.
sho-da-go, ūnaun-bin-golè-ta-bin sai-te.
say-thing-ACC banyan-tree-small-one-tree plant-VSMK

9. Yon-ūnaun-bon-grì-re yòn-θœindo-go-re ako'alo'-mà-thò-bè,
êdi-ūnaun-bin-ji-ha ëdi-θœindo-go akhe'ale'-mà-thò-bè,
that-banyan-tree-big-SUBJ that-hall-ACC-EMP branch-not-touch-without
əmr'ai'-mà-thò-bè, gu-tho'-thì ëfi-re.
əmyi'-mà-thò-bè, gu-de'-thì ëfi-de.
root-not-touch-without now-time-up.to be-VSMK

10. [Mm. ëfi-] ëfi-re. ãgù-lé ðà-ðøml-ro-go ëmèn-re
[Mm. ëfi-] ëfi-de. ãgù-lé ðà-ðøml-dò-go ëmè-ha
[mm be] be-VSMK now-also son-daughter-PL-ACC mother-SUBJ
kho-ló prá-chon-re.
kho-bi pyà-jin-de.
take-and show-want-VSMK

11. Ë. E-lau'-thì tægò-ðë-tì-nà prézoun-khà-re
Ë. è-di-lau'-athì tægò-ðæ-tì-në pyezoun-gë-dë
yes that-much-up.to glory-power-with be-full-there-REL
Kaθë'-føn-ló gu-tho'-thì-lé rou'thùdø-nà
Ka-ðøkhìn-ló gu-de'-thì-lè you'thùdø-në
Cox-master-QUO now-time-up.to-also statue-with
kòkwe-ló ëfi-re.
kòkwe-ló ne-de.
worship-ing be-VSMK

12. È. Rakhain-ma kho-re Phòlùan-chei’-
È. Yakhain-hma kho-de Phòlùan-chei’-
yes Arakan-in call-REL Westerner-city
è: Rakhain-ma kho-re Phòlùan-chei’;
è: Yakhain-hma kho-de Phòlùan-chei’;
yes Arakan-in call-REL Westerner-city

13. e-ge Kalà-ma kho-re Ko’søBaza-lò kho-re.
di-dò Kalà-hma kho-de Ko’søBaza-lò kho-de.
this-when Indian-in call-REL Cox’s.Bazaar-QUO call-VSMK

14. Hnai’-tàn-hnai’-tàn ðŋøŋren-Wa-jwe’ sho-ge,
Hni’-tàn-hnì’-tàn ðinjan-Wa-ju’ sho-yin,
year-every-year-every Thingyan-Lent-release say-when
tøthàunshalou’ pwë-cá-re.
ocjìcje pwë-cá-de.
lavishly feast-fall-VSMK
15. Pyo-phó-lé álwen kàun-re.
Pyo-bó-lé álun kàun-de.
enjoy-for-also much be.good-VSMK

16. È. [Nau’-] nau’-kha-lé zedi-ròn-theindo-ró-ma
È. [Nau’-] nau’-tó-lé zedi-yin-theindo-dó-hma
yes [late] late-time-also pagoda-base-hall-PL-in

[shamin-] shamin thwèn-ge’-te, shwèndo-grì läun-ge’-te.
[shimi-] shimi thün-já-de, shùndo-jì läun-já-de.
[oil.fire] oil.fire light-PL-VSMK alms.rice-great offer-PL-VSMK

17. È. Wa-jwe’-kha sho-ge, ðònboù’-shwèn tôn-ge’-te.
È. Wa-ju’-kha sho-yin, ðinbou’-shùn tin-já-de.
yes Lent-release-time say-when thinbok.rice place-PL-VSMK

èdi-ou’sa-de-go-gá kàun-gàun pyo-bó kàun-de.
that-thing-PL-EMP-SUBJ well enjoy-for be.good-VSMK

19. È-sôn-re [amòn-] amòn-ró-lé hnaí-tàin yôn-fòn
èdi-ou’sa-ha [ame-] ame-dó-lé hni’-tàin èdi-ou’sa
that-thing-SUBJ [mother] mother-PL-also year-every that-thing

pwè cá-kha, schein cá-kha, kó-tàinpre-go àunmein-re.
pwè cá-yin, schein cá-yin, kó-tàinpye-go au’mé-de.
festival come-time time come-when self-country-ACC recall-VSMK

20. Nau’-re pa-lau’-thì ðagò-hì-re sho-zò-go, Kolà-tí
Nau’-tó ba-lau’-athì ðagò-fì-de sho-da-go, Kolà-de
later-when how-much-up.to power-have-VSMK say-thing-ACC Indian-PL

phyo’shi-phó pyon-kha, ìnmò’-to-lé pi-re.
phye’shi-bó pyin-dó, einme’-tò-lé pè-de.
destroy-to prepare-time dream-holy-also give-VSMK

21. È. “Mò-phye’-kè! È-theindo-nà zedido-go phyo’-te
È. “Mò-phye’-né! Di-theindo-nè zedido-go phye’-te
yes not-destroy-VSMK that-hall-and pagoda-ACC destroy-VSMK

sho-ge, ì’-thi-ló fì-ge, [òe’ - mm - ] non-ró-re
sho-yin, le’-thi-ló fì-yin, [òe’ - mm - ] nin-dó-ha
say-if hand-touch-ing be-if [ife mm] you-PL-SUBJ

doù’kha twí-lfìn-me.”
doù’kha twé-léin-me.”
trouble find-surely-VSMK

22. Ì:nmò’ ðoun-kha pi-re-le’.
Einme’ ðoun-ga pè-de-dè.
dream three-time give-VSMK-reported

23. Mm. Pì-kha-re yôn-fôn-tí Kolà-tí-gá krau’-ló
Mm. Pì-dó èdi-ou’sa-de Kolà-de-gá cau’-ló
mm finish-time-SUBJ that-thing-PL Indian-PL-SUBJ fear-because
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 Arakanes – 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 Arakanes call the town Phalaûn-cheik. Yes: the Arakanes call it Phalaûn-cheik, 13. and the Indians call it Cox’s Bazaar.
14. Every year when Thin 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. INTNHA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The İn-ðà (‘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, İn-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’.

İn-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 İn-ðà 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 İn-ðà 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 İn-lè high on the list of places for showing to foreign tourists and state visitors. Visitors are no new phenomenon for the İn-ðà: 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 İn-ðà speakers in the Southern Shan States, mainly at Yawnghwe, Samka, Mong Pal and Mawnaung, 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 İn-ðà 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 İn-ðà.
In-tha 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>c.57,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>c.55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917 LSB</td>
<td>c.61,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>c.56,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>c.6,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 In-tha 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 In-tha 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-yo and Dénú (Tin È 1961:61, and see LSB (Webb 1917:19)).

There are some dialect differences within the In-tha 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 In-tha who have occasion to travel outside the area.

Much greater differences characterise the speech of Ke-la, Māing-thauk-in, and Kyè-zā-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 In-tha. 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 In-lè to mean ‘the little lake’, and some use the alternative form of the name, ‘little’ part of the name, saying In-galè. There is however another interpretation, which takes /lè/ to mean ‘four’. According to this view there was an earlier form of the name, In-lè-ywa, ‘the four villages of the lake’ – the form which is in fact used in a sit-tàn dated 1609 (printed in Zabû-di-pā (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 In-lè-ywa is associated with a legend that the In-tha are descended from Tavoyans who came to the lake and settled there. Ú thèse-fâ’s version of the story (1955:95) has the first Tavoyan immigrants, Nga Naung and Nga Htauang, in the service of the saw-bwâ of Nyaung-shwe (Yaung-hwe). As Tavoy is disturbed at the time, owing to attacks by the Siamese, Nga Naung and Nga Htauang 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 In-lè and leaves there the five images – hence the name of the Hpaung-daw-ù Pagoda: ‘the bows (front) of the royal barge’. U thèse-bi-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 In-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 Min 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 In-òa 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 ai; it merges it with i and e.

3. TV merges WB ak, ap with other rhymes, whereas it, like AR and YW, keeps them distinct (WB Y is a cover symbol for palatal initial):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>/i'</th>
<th>a'</th>
<th>in</th>
<th>an/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>ac</td>
<td>Yak</td>
<td>ak</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>/i'</td>
<td>e'</td>
<td>a'</td>
<td>in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. IT merges WB it, ip with uik, and WB uññ with in, im; but TV keeps these rhymes distinct.

5. IT merging 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-/ or /-1/-: Sequences like /kl-/, /pl-/, 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 In-òa 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 In-òa are subject to conformist pressures, through travelling outside their dialect area, and receiving into their villages SB-speaking doctors, teachers and administrators. The In-òa 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 În-chan, În-pàw-khon, Ngà-phe-chàung, Nàn-pan, and (briefly) Ke-la.

My chief informants were Ú Myín Maun and Ú Hlá Phù. Ú Myín Maun was born and bred in Ywa-má, and though now resident in Mandalay makes annual visits to his home village. Ú Hlá Phù is better known in the lake as Pwè-sà Phù, an ironic name, acquired not because he is a wealthy broker (IT /pwe-sà/), but because he used to make a precarious living by working occasionally at gambling festivals (SB /pwe/). 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 În-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.

Ú 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. Ú 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 Ú 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 În-thà 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 În-lè Phe and Dò-dò Ngwe for housing and feeding me on my second visit; to Ko Sò Maun, of În-chan village, for taking me to his home and to other villages; to Ko òa Nù of Nyaung-shwe and his family for providing food and shelter and even clothing when one passed through; and to Atín Pancha, Dò-dò Me, Ko Cl Sò, Cl Cl 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 /h/  
high creaky /h'/  
low /l/  
high stop /l'/  
weak /ə/

For /l/, the ‘Ín-θà mid’, see §3.2.2.

3.2.1.2 RHYMES

Open syllables:
weak  
full  
i  e  e  a  o  o  u

Closed syllables:
nasal
stop  
i'  ai'  e'  a'  o'  ou'  u'

3.2.1.3 HEADS

with  with  with
medial /y/  medial /l/  medial /w/

k  t  p  c  s  py  kl  pl  
kh  th  ph  ch  sh  phy  khl  phl  
ŋ  n  m  ŋ  my  ml
hŋ  hn  hm  hŋ  hmy  hml

(‘) l  w  y  r
h  hl  hw  j

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)

ŋ and hŋ

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: /h/. This is to be understood as representing the pitch and voice-quality features associated with SB /h/ or /h' (cf. SB sentence-final variations such as in /fín-fín/, /kwa-kwá/, etc.); also, though perhaps less often, like SB /h', and sometimes with the held level mid pitch so characteristic of Ín-θà speech. The particles so marked are IT /wá (w5), mā (m5), sh5, l5, l6/.
The situation regarding rhymes is:

/ɛ, e, a, o:/ all usually closer than the corresponding vowels in SB
/ein/: starts from a rather closer /ɛ/ than SB /ein/
/en/: same vowel quality as SB and IT /ɛ/’
/o/, on/: vowel more open than SB open syllable /ɔ/, approaching [ɔ]
/u/, un/: vowel more open than in SB, and often with closer lip-rounding at the start than at the finish, almost [ʊʊ], [ʊʊn]
/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

Open syllables

| WB | i | e | ai | a | o | ui | u | - |
| IT | ɛ | e | a | ɔ | o | u | ɔ/ |

Closed nasal syllables

| WB | in | im | anǻ | ǻn | ǻn | am | wan | warn | ag | og | uin | un | un | um |
| IT | /ein | in | an | un | en | en | en | en | oin/ | | | | |

Closed stop syllables

| WB | it | ip | ac | at | ap | wat | wap | ak | ok | uik | ut | up |
| IT | /ai’/ | i’ | a’ | u’ | ɛ’ | ɔ’ | ɔ’ | ou’/ | | | | |

The situation regarding rhymes is:
3.2.3.3 Heads

These are as for SB except:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>ch⁶</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>ky⁸</th>
<th>kr</th>
<th>khy⁸</th>
<th>khr⁷</th>
<th>hy</th>
<th>hr⁷</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>/sh</td>
<td>kl</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>khl</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>/ch/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>/sh</td>
<td>θ</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/f/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>pr³</th>
<th>py⁹</th>
<th>pr</th>
<th>phy⁹</th>
<th>phr</th>
<th>my⁹</th>
<th>mr</th>
<th>hmy⁹</th>
<th>hmr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>/pl</td>
<td>/py</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>/phy</td>
<td>/phl</td>
<td>/my</td>
<td>/ml</td>
<td>/hmy</td>
<td>/hml</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>/py</td>
<td>phy</td>
<td>my</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hmy/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3 Notes

3.3.1 Phonemes

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kraŋ̃.</td>
<td>/ci/</td>
<td>/ci/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kraŋ</td>
<td>/ci/</td>
<td>/ci/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khraŋ</td>
<td>/chi/</td>
<td>/chi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caŋ</td>
<td>/si/</td>
<td>/si/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caŋ</td>
<td>/si/</td>
<td>/si/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caŋ:</td>
<td>/si/</td>
<td>/si/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaŋ</td>
<td>/sh/</td>
<td>/she/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaŋ:</td>
<td>/sh/</td>
<td>/sh/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋaŋ</td>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/m/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taŋ</td>
<td>/te/</td>
<td>/t/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taŋ:</td>
<td>/te/</td>
<td>/tê/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaŋ</td>
<td>/the/</td>
<td>/the/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praŋ</td>
<td>/ple/</td>
<td>/pye/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praŋ</td>
<td>/ple/</td>
<td>/py/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phraŋ</td>
<td>/phle/</td>
<td>/phye/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praŋ.</td>
<td>/ple/</td>
<td>/pye/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maŋ</td>
<td>/me/</td>
<td>/my/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hmaŋ</td>
<td>/me, hmi/</td>
<td>/mê/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maŋ:</td>
<td>/mê/</td>
<td>/mê/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlaŋ</td>
<td>/hle/</td>
<td>/hlê/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laŋ</td>
<td>/le/</td>
<td>/lê/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlaŋ:</td>
<td>/hle/</td>
<td>/hlê/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taŋ</td>
<td>/te/</td>
<td>/tê/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eŋŋ. saŋ</td>
<td>/-she/</td>
<td>/-sê/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There were some exceptions to this correspondence. First, some words had IT /-i/ without a palatal initial:

- naññ: /nù/ /nù/ method
- wi-naññ: /wì-nù/ /wì-nù/ Vinaya
- -taññ: /-ti/ /-thè/ only
- naññ: /nù/ /nè/ be little
- laññ /lì, 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 athì:thì; ‘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 /e/:  

- naññ /ne/ /ne/ dregs  
- mraññ: /mlè, mlè/ /myì/ taste  
- man-kyaññ: /man-kè, -cù/ /majì/ tamarind

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

Three forms have nasal finals:

- saññ: /shèn/ /thè/ nail  
- laññ: /lèn/ /lè/ fall  
- hlaññ: /hìèn/ /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 ap (for ‘nail’), and WB in, im or uiñ (for ‘fall’).

There is one final form worth noting:

- hmai. /hmè/ /hmè/ mole

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mran</td>
<td>/mla/</td>
<td>/myan/ be cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyam:</td>
<td>/fà/</td>
<td>/chàn/ be noble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mistr</td>
<td>/mla’/</td>
<td>/mya’/ flat object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyap</td>
<td>/fà/</td>
<td>/cha’/ flat object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prwan</td>
<td>/pyun/</td>
<td>/pyun/ pipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrawam.</td>
<td>/chùn/</td>
<td>/jùn/ mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prwat</td>
<td>/plu’/</td>
<td>/pyu’/ cluster</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) WB ap corresponds to IT /en/, matching WB ak = IT /e’/, unlike SB, which merges the nasal rhyme with WB añ to SB /n/: 

- khyaññ /chin/ /chin/ be acid  
- khyaq /fèn/ /chin/ want to
khyac  /fi’/  /chi’/  love
khyak  /fe’/  /che’/  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 uin to this merger:

tim  /tein/  /tein/  be shallow
thin:  /thèin/  /thèin/  control
tuin  /tein/  /tain/  post
thuin  /thein/  /thain/  sit

See further the remarks under note (5) below.

(5) IT matches the nasal rhyme merger of WB in, im, and uin 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:

tit  /hai’/  /hei’/  be quiet
thip  /thai’/  /thei’/  top
tuik  /hai’/  /hai’/  bump
kuik  /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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>uik</th>
<th>it-ip</th>
<th>uin</th>
<th>in-im</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>ai’</td>
<td>ei’</td>
<td>ain</td>
<td>ein</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IT</td>
<td>ai’ = ai’</td>
<td>ein = ein</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| IT Taylor | ai’ | ai’ | ein | ein |
| IT Jones | ai’ | (ei’) | [both] | ein |
| IT Ono | [both] | [both] | ein | [both] |
| IT Tin È | (ei’) | (ei’) | ein | ein |

‘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 /j/ = WB br, 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 /e’/, 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 [æt?] and [æt], 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/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sū</td>
<td>/ʃu/</td>
<td>/θu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarak-sū:</td>
<td>/ʃarə’su/</td>
<td>/θɔyəθu/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 /ʃ/; 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>ky</th>
<th>khy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kr</td>
<td>khr</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB, AR, TV, YW</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IT</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kl</td>
<td>khl</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A more likely explanation for this correspondence lies in the contact IT has had with
Shan. Geographically the İn-thà 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 /ʃ/ and SB /θ/: for example the placenames
Hsen-wi = SB /θei-nil/, Hsi-paw = SB /θi-bəl/, and the symbol used for WB s which
represents /ʃ/ 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 /ʃ/ 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 /ʃ/, 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 /ʃ/ 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 /ʃ/. There appears to be no correspondence between the
incidence of IT /ch/ vs /ʃ/ and the OB antecedents of the forms concerned (see note (8)
below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OB</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>hyañ</td>
<td>/ʃin/</td>
<td>/ʃin/</td>
<td>compare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>hra</td>
<td>/chə</td>
<td>/ʃə</td>
<td>graze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>hre.</td>
<td>/ʃə</td>
<td>/ʃə</td>
<td>front</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
syā  hrā:  /ʃə, ʃə/  /ʃə/  be scarce
-  hlyo  /ʃə/  /ʃə/  slide
-  hlyo.  /ʃə, ʃə/  /ʃə/  reduce
khyam  khyam:  /ʃən, ʃən/  /ʃən/  be cold
khyak  khyak  /ʃə, ʃə/  /ʃə/  cook
khroq  khroq  /ʃə, ʃə/  /ʃə/  six
khray  khray:  /ʃən/  /ʃən/  sweat
khram  khram  /ʃən/  /ʃən/  bush
khrup  khup  /ʃən, ʃən/  /ʃən/  restrict
khruw  khui:  /ʃə/  /ʃə/  wash
khloq  khuy:  /ʃən/  /ʃən/  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 khr, khy and khl. IT merges the first pair of these three, while WB merges the second pair:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IT</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>kl</th>
<th>ch-f</th>
<th>khl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OB</td>
<td>kr</td>
<td>ky</td>
<td>kl</td>
<td>khr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>kr</td>
<td>ky</td>
<td></td>
<td>khr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OB</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>krak</td>
<td>krak</td>
<td>/ce'/</td>
<td>/ce'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khraññ</td>
<td>khraññ</td>
<td>/chi/</td>
<td>/chi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyak</td>
<td>kyak</td>
<td>/ce'/</td>
<td>/ce'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyat</td>
<td>khyac</td>
<td>/chi', fi'/</td>
<td>/chi'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>klī</td>
<td>kyī:</td>
<td>/klī/</td>
<td>/cû/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khlīy</td>
<td>khye:</td>
<td>/khlī/</td>
<td>/cîl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kluiw</td>
<td>kyui:</td>
<td>/côl/</td>
<td>/côl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khloq</td>
<td>khuy:</td>
<td>/chôn/</td>
<td>/chàun/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IT also has a number of exceptions to these correspondences:

(a) In some cases there is an unexpected IT/-1-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OB</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kriy</td>
<td>kre</td>
<td>/kle, ce/</td>
<td>/ce/</td>
<td>be crumbled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krā</td>
<td>krā:</td>
<td>/kła/</td>
<td>/çā/</td>
<td>between</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khrun</td>
<td>khyun: (sic)</td>
<td>/khloun/</td>
<td>/choun/</td>
<td>thunder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>khorok</td>
<td>/khlo'/</td>
<td>/chau'/</td>
<td>frighten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cf. krok)</td>
<td>krok</td>
<td>/çɔ'/</td>
<td>/cau'/</td>
<td>be frightened)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>kruŋ</td>
<td>/klein/</td>
<td>/cain/</td>
<td>be fragrant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyan</td>
<td>kyan</td>
<td>/klan/</td>
<td>/can/</td>
<td>be left out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>khyan</td>
<td>/khlan/</td>
<td>/chan/</td>
<td>leave out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these anomalous /-1-/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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OB</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man-klaňň</td>
<td>man-kyaňň:</td>
<td>/man-kè/</td>
<td>/maŋ'/</td>
<td>tamarind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwai</td>
<td>kei</td>
<td>/kwè, cwè/</td>
<td>/cwe/</td>
<td>water buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khwät</td>
<td>khywat</td>
<td>/khwù'/</td>
<td>/chu'/</td>
<td>take off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khiy</td>
<td>khye:</td>
<td>/khè/</td>
<td>/çhi/</td>
<td>lend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khriy</td>
<td>khre</td>
<td>/che/</td>
<td>/che, çhi/</td>
<td>foot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first two of these forms are probably loans: for IT /kwè/ see Shan /kwai/, Thai /khwaaj/ ‘water buffalo’, and Karen /gwe/ (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 /khwù'/ . 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 /-1-/ after initial IT /p, ph, m, hm/ matches IT /-1-/ 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/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IT</th>
<th>Pl or Py</th>
<th>Py</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OB</td>
<td>Pl</td>
<td>Pr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>Pr</td>
<td>Py</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>Py</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OB</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plaňň</td>
<td>praňň.</td>
<td>/plè/</td>
<td>/pyè/</td>
<td>be full</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mliy</td>
<td>mre</td>
<td>/mle/</td>
<td>/myè/</td>
<td>earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phrat</td>
<td>phrat</td>
<td>/phla'/</td>
<td>/phya'/</td>
<td>cut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
mrañā
pyañ
myak

/młè, mlè/
/pyin/
/myè'/

/taste
/timber
/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:

aplac
mlyuiw
phriy
mraŋ
/aprə'/
/myò/
/phye/
/myè'/

/fault
/kind
/undo
/see

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

při
hmrc:
/pi'/
/hmè'/

/finish
/film

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

OB
WB
IT
SB

pyam
myok
pyā
/pyan/
/myau'/
/pya/

/fly
/monkey
/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-.ɔ/ variants rhymed with other forms in unvarying /ɔ/. The forms are:

IT
SB
/ʔo, tɔ'/
/hɔ/
/noun plural suffix
/ʔo, lɔ'/
/hɔ'
/because, (quoted)
/ʔo̰, phɔ'/
/phɔ'
/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 /e/, in some words and some utterances, is given the same pronunciation as open-syllable IT /e/. One informant distinguished the following:

WB
IT
SB
cheː
shè/
/shè/
/wash
chai
shè/
/shè/
/abuse
but merged these pairs:

- **we:** /wè/ /wè/ be distant
- **wai** /wè/ /wè/ have an accent
- **kre** /ce/ /ce/ be crumbled
- **kray** /ce/ /ce/ star

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

- **tarā:** /tɔrə/ /tɔyə/ law
- **sā:re** /ʃərə/ /θɔyə/ leather
- **charā** /ʃɔrə/ /ʃɔyə/ teacher
- **phurā** /phɔrə/ /phɔyə/ lord
- **bhrān** /phɔrən/ /boyə/ king
- **sarak** /ʃɔrək/ /θɔye’/ mango
- **pharai** /phɔrə/ /phɔyə/ watermelon

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

- **ruik** /rai’/ /yai’/ strike

(13) IT has aspirate nasals corresponding to plain nasals in WB and SB in a few forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>me:</strong></td>
<td>/cmɛ/</td>
<td>/mɛ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>myañ:</strong></td>
<td>/mæin/</td>
<td>/myin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mrwe:</strong></td>
<td>/hmwe/</td>
<td>/mwe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>anan:</strong></td>
<td>/ɔhnæn/</td>
<td>/ɔnän/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>nwā:</strong></td>
<td>/hnwə/</td>
<td>/nwə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mrak:</strong></td>
<td>/hmye’/</td>
<td>/mye’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>amtī:</strong></td>
<td>/ɔhmə/</td>
<td>/əmə/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>krō</strong></td>
<td>/cʰɔ, ʃɔ/</td>
<td>/cɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>krai</strong></td>
<td>/cʰɛ/</td>
<td>/cɛ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kywət</strong></td>
<td>/chu’/</td>
<td>/cu’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tim</strong></td>
<td>/tein/</td>
<td>/tein/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kɔŋ:kɔŋ</strong></td>
<td>/kʰɔn-kɔn/ (sic)</td>
<td>/kɔun-gin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pun:</strong></td>
<td>/phɔnə/</td>
<td>/pənə/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- **rwā** /wə/ /ywa/ rain, village
- **nā:rwak** /nà-we’/ /nɔywe’/ ear
  (but cf.)
- **rwak-hle** /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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>co-co</td>
<td>/sɔ̀-sɔ/</td>
<td>/sɔ̀-zɔ/</td>
<td>early</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laŋ:khā</td>
<td>/lɛn-khɑ/</td>
<td>/lɛn-gɑ/</td>
<td>daybreak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

- Sam-ghā /shan-kha/ /tham-ga/ Sangha
- kyam:gan /cɑn-kan/ /cɑn-ɡan/ treatise
- dhāːtɔ /tʰaːtɔ/ /dɑːtɔ/ relic
- Buddha /pou’thɑ/ /bou’da/ Buddha
- do-sa /tɔ-ʃɑ/ /dɔ-ʃɑ/ anger
- bhā-sā /pha-sha/ /ba-ɑ/ religion
- jō-gyī /sɔ-ɕi/ /zɔ-jɪ/ magician
- jbān /san/ (sic) /zan/ trance

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

- khoŋ /kʰɔn/ /ɡən/ head
- khai /kʰɛ/ /ɡɛ/ stone
- gwan: /kʊn/ /ɡʊn/ cotton
- gui: /kɔ/ /ɡɔ/ goal
- dhā:/ /tʰa/ /dɑ/ knife
- doŋ: /tɔn/ /dɑʊn/ peacock
- dut /dɔu/ /dɔu/ stick
- buikt /pʰai/ /b’ai/ belly
- bong:bi /pɔn-phi/ /bɑn-bi/ trousers
- bhïː /pɛiŋ/ /bɛiŋ/ wheel
- bhin: /pʰɛiŋ/ /bɛiŋ/ opium
- Bamā /Pʰoŋma/ /Bɔma/ Burmese
- bhaŋ /phan/ /bɑn/ bank
- Bi-lat /Phî-la’/ /Bî-la’/ England
- khye:/ /kʰɛ/ /fjɛ/ dirt
- khyit /kʰiː/ /fjɛ’/ hook
- gyac /ci/ /fjì/ jeep
- khyuŋː /kʰɛɨn/ /fjɛn/ pot-hole
- jheː /ʃɛ/ /rɛ/ market
- chîːsîː /ʃi-ʃi/ /ʃi-ɔ/ wild plum
- tan-tāː /tʰɔ-ta/ /tɔdɑ/ bridge
- laŋː-pan:/ /lɛ-φɛn/ /lɛ-bi/ neck
- tapak /tɔn-pe’/ /tɔbɛ’/ scarf
- būː /pʰu/ /bʊ/ gourd
- wam:pai /n-pɛ/ /wʊn-bɛ/ duck
- san:khɔŋ /ʃoŋkɔn/ /θɔgɑn/ midnight
- Tan-khūː /Tɔkʊ/ /Tɔgʊ/ Tɔgʊ (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā:rwak</td>
<td>/nā-we'/</td>
<td>/nɔywe'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-nap-khā:</td>
<td>/ʃɔne'khā/</td>
<td>/θɔnɔkhā/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha-nwan:</td>
<td>/ʃi-lnwɛn/</td>
<td>/ʃɔnwɛn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnac-thoŋ</td>
<td>/hni-thɔn/</td>
<td>/hnɔθaun/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sc-nat</td>
<td>/ʃi-na'/</td>
<td>/θɔnɔ'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-kyānāː</td>
<td>/man-kɛ/</td>
<td>/mɔjɛ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tam-khā:</td>
<td>/tan-khā/</td>
<td>/tɔgə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wā:lum:</td>
<td>/wɔ-lɔ̃n/</td>
<td>/wɔlɔ̃n/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kha-ram:</td>
<td>/chɔn/</td>
<td>/khɔyən/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re-kara:</td>
<td>/ye-cə/</td>
<td>/ye-kəyə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sam-pa-rāː</td>
<td>/shan-pya/</td>
<td>/θan-bɔya/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khre-pha-wāː</td>
<td>/khe-phwə/</td>
<td>/chi-phɔwə/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And in other words the entire weak syllable is omitted:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tha-maŋ:</td>
<td>/mɛn/</td>
<td>/θɔmin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-khwāː</td>
<td>/khwə/</td>
<td>/θɔkhwə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca-pāː</td>
<td>/pə/</td>
<td>/sɔbə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pā:pi</td>
<td>/pɨ/</td>
<td>/nɔpɨ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyoŋa-ma:</td>
<td>/cɔn-mə/</td>
<td>/caa-nɔmə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyoŋ-da-kā</td>
<td>/cɔn-kə/</td>
<td>/caa-nɔdɔgə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lak-sa-māː</td>
<td>/le'-mə/</td>
<td>/le'-θɔmə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu-cwan-chit</td>
<td>/sun-shai'/</td>
<td>/pɔzun-zei'/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3.2.3 INDUCED CREAKY TONE

Induced creaky tone occurs as in SB. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sū-hā</td>
<td>/ʃu-a/</td>
<td>/θu-ha/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sū.pha</td>
<td>/ʃu-pha/</td>
<td>/θu-ɔphe/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-te'-a/ 1.17 |
| SB       | /yu-te'-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) /a/ auxiliary verb = SB /θwâ/, /ṭhâ/

| IT       | /ṭhò-thè-à-a/ 2.19 |
| SB       | /ṭhò-thè-ṭhà-da/   |
|          | spear-put.in-place-VSMK |
|          | what (they) had caught and landed |

| IT       | /kłb'-khanè mi-à-e/ 1.31 |
| SB       | /kɔłau'khanè myi-ʊwà-de/ |
|          | clonk-ADV sound-go-VSMK |
|          | (It) went clonk. |

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

(5) /cɔn/ subordinate marker with sentences for complement = SB /ló/ with (stated or understood) /sin-zà-ne-de/ and so on.

| IT       | /ca-fən ca-me-cɔn/ inf |
| SB       | /ca-jinyin ca-me-ló/   |
|          | last-want last-VSMK-QUO |
|          | (I was thinking) it could take a long time. |

(6) /e/ see /e/

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

| IT       | /cɔn-pó-a poun/ 1.6 |
| SB       | /cɔu̯n-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 /tó, té-akha/

IT /maná ci-lûn-kha, shu-a hên-khlok-chen-ɛ/ 1.14
SB /ma-ná ci-lûn-dó,  Boehner èda-chô-jin-de/
arrogance be.great-excess-time he-SUBJ that-break-want-VSMK
As (she) was so arrogant (he) wanted to bring (it) down.

(9) /khà/ auxiliary verb = SB /khé/

IT /thà-khà-kha/
SB /thà-gè-dó/
leave-there-as
leaving (him) behind

(10) /khanà/ special head noun = SB /søya/ (cf. SB /verb-phànà/)

IT /fe’-khânà-wà/ inf
SB /fe’-søya-èl/ be.shameful-thing-EMP
How humiliating!

IT /chi’-khan àn kòn-ɛ/ inf
SB /chi’-søya kàun-de/ 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 klikàn-khè/ inf
SB /sa-golè-dó cikàn-dó/ sparrow-small-PL crow-PL
sparrows and crows and so on

(12) /khèn/ special head noun = SB /søya/ (cf.WB khag:)

IT /shwà-khèn jî-ù/ inf
SB /θwà-zøya mø-jî-bû/ go-thing be-VSMK
(I) don’t have to go anywhere.

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

IT /tha lou’-ta-khèl/ inf
SB /da lou’-ta-jî/ that do-VSMK-only
(He) does nothing but that.

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

IT /hmàn shî-ù/ inf
SB /ba-hmá mø-øi-bû/ something know-VSMK
(You) don’t understand at all.
(15) /shəmə/ special head noun = SB /θəmə/ but used more freely

IT /le'-wà kù-šəmə/ 2.19
SB /le'-wà ci'-θəmə/
hand-palm be.big-person
man with big hands

IT /yə'-phù-šəmə/ inf
SB /yau'-phù-θəmə/
reach-ever-person
person who has been there before

IT /pai'-shan thé-šəmə/ inf
SB /pai'-shan thé-θəmə/
money put.in-person
person who donates (to a beggar)

(16) /shô/ sentence-final postposition = SB /pô, phè/, also frequent with /wâ/ and weakened to /shəwâ/ = SB /pô, phè, kô/

IT /eínmá-pyo le-e-shô/ 1.13
SB /mèinmá-byo le-de-bô/
girl-maid visit-VSMK-EMP
(They) used to go courting.

IT /thá-òun-mâ thò-lai'-shô/ 1.29
SB /thá-pí-dó thò-lai'-kô/
rise-further-when strike-through-EMP
(He) upped and hit him.

IT /mè-mè-wà-wà-ù shəwâ/ 1.16
SB /mè-mè-wà-wà-jì-bô/
black-ADV-fat-ADV-big-EMP
(It) was big and black.

IT /fì-me-shəwâ/ inf
SB /fì-me-bô/
be-will-EMP
(He)”ll be there.

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

IT /we-la-te-i/ inf
SB /we-la-da-bè/
buy-come-VSMK-EMP
Indeed (I) bought (it).

IT /sûtutu-i/ inf
SB /sûtudu-bè/
same-EMP
(It)”s just the same.
IT /ma-jì-ù-ì/ inf  
SB /ma-jì-bù-bè/
not-be-VSMK-EMP
There isn’t any at all.

(18) /kənə/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB (repetition), /lö/

IT /mlan-kənə shwè-e/ inf  
SB /myan-myən shwè-de/  
be.quick-ADV pull-VSMK  
(He) pulled (it) quickly.

IT /ye-kənə yá- təkha-ì/ inf  
SB /θei’ yi-yá-de – 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 /θəmən sà-ne-dòun/  
rice eat-be-still  
(I)’m still eating.

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

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

IT /phəshu-à/ inf  
SB /bədu-lè/  
who-Q  
who?

IT /phe-kha yo’-à/ inf  
SB /be-dòungá yau’thoìlè/  
which-time arrive-Q  
When did (you) arrive?

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

IT /øyən-tòuná-lè/ 1.11  
SB /øyin-dòungá-le/  
former-while-you.know  
I mean in the old days

IT /còn-pó-a poun-lè/ 1.11  
SB /càun-pó-dè 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  /pha-lè-myò/ 1.44
SB  /be-lo-myò/
what-like-kind
In what way?

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

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

IT  /to-to-nè-lè/ 1.7
SB  /to-do-nè-bè/
short-ADV-with-EMP
nice and short

IT  /you' te-myò pyòn-à-lè/ inf
SB  /you' te-myò pyàun-òwà-bi-bè/
looks one-kind change-go-EMP
How different (you) look!

IT  /khe'-ne-ò-lè/ 1.35
SB  /khe'-òwà-bi-bè/
be.difficult-be-go-EMP
Now we're in trouble.

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

IT  /Yè-lò/ 1.44
SB  /Hè-kwa/
Hey-man
Hi there.

IT  /hmàn shì-shè-ù-là/ 1.5
SB  /ba-hmàn ma-òf-òb-bù-byà/
something know-yet-VSMK-man
(You) don't know yet.

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

IT  /hmè-lò ma-pyò-pè-hà/ 1.22
SB  /mè-lò ma-pyò-bè-hà/
ask-ing not-speak-without-thing
not replying to questions

IT  /sa lou'-lò/ 2.23
SB  /ba lou'-òlà-lò/
what do-QUO
(I wonder) what (he) did.
(27) /loun/  ?sentence-final postposition = SB /pa-gələ, phè, pó, kə/

IT /wun-sha-ló-kɔ/ inf
SB /wun-sha-ló-gɔ/
stomach-be.hungry-ING-what
And what if (I) am hungry?

IT /kù-ló-loun/ inf
SB /te ci-ba-gələ/
be.big-ING-EXCL
how enormous

IT /hèn-mô-loun/ 2.16
SB /êda-pídɔ-gɔ/
that-then-what
What then?

IT /khu yɔ'-la-wəloun/ inf
SB /gù-bè yau'-la-bi-bɔ/
now arrive-come-EXCL
So you’ve just arrived.

IT /Phila'-ko-loun/ inf
SB /Bila'-ko-gɔ/
England-to-what
What about England (when will you go back)?

IT /chì-ne-wəloun/ inf
SB /fì-ne-da-bɔ/
be-be-EXCL
So there is some then.

IT /oyen-ɔtëintëin-wəloun/ inf
SB /ayin-ɔtān-bè/
before-like-EXCL
just as before

(28) /mə/, varying to /mɔ/, also /thought, ɔun-mə, ɔun-mɔ/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /pí, tɔ/, also perhaps SB /pì-dɔ/

IT /thá-mɔ khlá-kha/ 1.33
SB /thá-bi chá-dɔ/
rise-and hit-time
(He) got up and struck (him).

IT /... sho-mə, hen-lu-ɔ thà-khá-lɔ/ 1.19
SB /... sho-bi, ēdi-lu-ji-go thà-gé-de-byɔ/
say-and that-man-big-ACC leave-there-man
Saying “...”, he left the fellow there.

IT /son-nə ou'-ɔun-mə tɔ-kha-i yu-te'-a/ 1.17
SB /saun-nè ou'-pì tɔ-kha-dè yu-te'-tɔ/
blanket-with cover-more-and one-time-only take-ASCEND-VSMK
(He) covered (it) with a blanket and took (it) straight up.
(29) /mā/ may also occur with bases other than verbs. The material has only one example:

IT /Tεn-jwe-nā-ðun-mō  pōshu can-shē-ā/ inf
SB /Tin-jwe-pī-dō  bōdū can-ðēi-ðēlē/ Tin-Shwe-with-more-and who be.left-yet-Q
After counting Tin Shwe, who else is left?

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

IT /mā-a-Myēn-Mon-ton  sā-nein-ū/ inf
SB /Myin-Maun-daun-hmā  mā-sā-hnain-dō-bū/ even-Myint-Maung-even eat-can-VSMK
Even Myint Maung can’t eat any more.

(31) /mān-shō/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yin, ū-əkha/

IT /la-mānshō/ inf
SB /la-ū-əkha/
come-when
when (he) comes

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

IT /nā-shɔmī-nā  la-le-lū/ 1.26
SB /nā-θɔmī-shi  la-le-da-lā/ my-daughter-ACC come-visit-Q
Have you come to court my daughter?

IT /shū-nā  pē-e/ inf
SB /θū-go pē-de/ he-ACC give-VSMK
gave (it) to him

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

IT /hle-nā/ inf
SB /hle-nē/
boat-with
by boat

IT /mā-sā-nā/ inf
SB /mā-sā-nē/
not-eat-VSMK
Don’t eat (it).
(34) /me'/ auxiliary verb = SB /lefn, yö-bô/
IT /jwè-shù-shù-ná pu-ne'-me/ inf
SB /chwè-todl-di-nè pu-ne-yö-bô/
sweat-drip-ADV-with be.hot-surely-will
(You) must be hot – (you)’re sweating a lot.

(35) /ða/ auxiliary verb = SB /ðwa/
IT /khê'-ne-ð-lè/ 1.35
SB /khê'-ne-bi-bê/
be.difficult-stay-go-EMP
Now we’re in trouble.

IT /kôn-ð-wô/ inf
SB /kaun-ðwa-bi-bê/
be.good-go-EMP
(It)’s all right now.

(36) /oûn-mâ/ see /mâ/

(37) /pe/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /phê/
IT /ne-kôn-pê/ inf
SB /ne-mâ-kûn-bê/
live-be.good-without
being unwell

IT /mû-pyö-pê/ 1.22
SB /mû-pyö-bê/
not-speak-without
not replying

(38) /pû/, usually /î/, verb-sentence marker = SB /phû/
IT /sà-û/ inf
SB /ma-sà-bû/
eat-VSMK
(I) didn’t eat.

IT /mà-yà-pû/ inf
SB /mà-yà-bû/
not-get-VSMK
(It)’s impossible.

(39) /te/, usually /e/, verb-sentence marker = SB /te/; cf. IT [zero]
IT /thá-hnö-e/ 1.23
SB /thá-hnö-de/
rise-wake-VSMK
(She) got up and woke (him).

IT /shî-ne-te/ inf
SB /ô-ne-de/
know-be-VSMK
(He) knows (them).
(40) /wā/, varying to /wə/, sentence-final postposition = SB /pə, pa, phè, pa-gələ/; frequent also after IT /shə/ q.v., and in IT /ləwə/ which is perhaps /lə/ and /wə/

IT /lə-wə/ inf
SB /lə-bə/ yes-EMP
                   Yes.
IT /sə-wə/ inf
SB /səpibi-bə/ eat-EMP
                   (I) have eaten.
IT /lə-wə/ inf
SB /ləbi-bə/ come-EMP
                   (He)’s here.
IT /khū-sənə-poun-wə-lə/ 2.1
SB /khū-dingə-poun-bə-lə/ now-just-story-EMP-Q
                   Is that your only story then?
IT /əphə-lə-yə’-wə/ 2.7
SB /əphə-lə-yau’-phə/ friend-four-person-EMP
                   “The four friends” of course
IT /mə-nei-nein-ləwə/ 1.22
SB /mə-nei-hnain-də-bə/ not-stay-can-EMP
                   (She) couldn’t bear it.
IT /hən-lə hmə-ləwə/ 1.26
SB /lədi-lo mə-yə’/ that-way ask-EMP
                   That’s how (he) asked.

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

IT /phərə-wu’ əte’/ 1.24
SB /phəyə-wu’ əte’/ lord-duty attend
                   (He) said his prayers.
IT /səkə-kho-pyə-cí/ 1.20
SB /səgə-kho-pyə-cí-de/ word-call-say-try
                   (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-âtêintên/ inf

**SB**
/cànun-hma-lo/
school-at-like
just as (if they were) at school

**IT**
/shê-khà-pen/ chàchà
/fî-e/ inf

**SB**
/shê-gâ-bin/ əa’əa’
/fî-de/
medicine-bitter-plant separate be-VSMK

There is an actual (plant called) bitter-medicine plant.

**IT**
/tà-là-po-po/ inf

**SB**
/tà-là-cɔ-jɔ/
one-month-exceed-ADV
a bit more than a month

**IT**
/shu-fî-fî/ pyɔ-ne-a/ inf

**SB**
/θû-jî-bê/ pyɔ-ne-da/
he-only-ADV speak-be-VSMK
No-one talked but he.

**IT**
/môn-môn/ kre-e/ inf

**SB**
/fêe’-fêe’/ ce-de/
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**
/əpe’/  
/pe’-tu/  
/pein/  
/pøsen-kû/  
/kân-yê’/  
/khwe’-pøle’-kû/  
/khømø/  
/khun/  
/pai’/  
/tøn-pens/  
/pàløn/  
/pø-sò/  
/khøpà-so’/  
/mi-chài’/  
/ye-pwé’/  
/phyû/  

**SB**
/ɔwu’/  
/θãgɔ/  
/càn-byin/  
/thùn-bûn/,/saun/  
/θàlaun-bûn/  
/dɔmã/  
/θàlàn/  
/θàyan/  
/pàdãin/  
/phèlã/  
/ŋûn-de-gwè’/  
/mì-ji’/  
/ye-hmou’/  
/bî/  

clothes
door cf. Shan phâk-tû ‘door’
floor cf. Shan pûn ‘floor’
quilt
veranda
pan lid
large knife
waterproofed basket (large)
waterproofed basket (small)
mat walling
glass lamp shade
bowl
lacquer bowl
match, lighter
water-dipper, ladle
comb
### 3.3.4.1.2 FAUNA AND FLORA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/shan-pou’tù/</td>
<td>/sa-gələ/</td>
<td>sparrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kəta’/</td>
<td>/ye-je’/</td>
<td>waterfowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hnən-i/</td>
<td>/zin-yo/</td>
<td>seagull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/on-pè/</td>
<td>/wùn-bè/</td>
<td>duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kələi/n/</td>
<td>/pəywe’-shei’/</td>
<td>ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pə-si-hməi/n/</td>
<td>/pə-səun-jù/</td>
<td>glow-worm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pá-khe/</td>
<td>/phəyoun/</td>
<td>(kind of) pumpkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ch̥i-chin/</td>
<td>/khəyən-jin/</td>
<td>tomato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tan-pu/</td>
<td>/phəyoun/</td>
<td>(kind of) pumpkin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phoun/</td>
<td>/phəyoun/</td>
<td>cf. Shan iəp-səm-pù ‘watermelon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khɔ/</td>
<td>/pyəun-bù/</td>
<td>maize cf. Shan khaw ‘rice’ and khaw-kàáb ‘maize’ (&lt; ‘rice’ + ‘husk, sheath’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/shi-pò katò/</td>
<td>/be-da/</td>
<td>water hyacinth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/an-pyò/</td>
<td>/nəpyò/</td>
<td>banana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3.4.1.3 DERIVED WORDS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kəti-kəlai’/</td>
<td>/kəbya-kəya/</td>
<td>hurriedly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kəthu’-kəlu’/</td>
<td>/bo-θi-bə’thi/</td>
<td>unkempt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tù-yà-th-yà/</td>
<td>/bo-θi-bə’thi/</td>
<td>unkempt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kəsa’-kəla’/</td>
<td>/məhəu’məhman/</td>
<td>irrelevant, outrageous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fi-li-le’-le’/</td>
<td>/vin-vin/</td>
<td>bright, shining</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3.4.1.4 MISCELLANEOUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kù/</td>
<td>/cù/</td>
<td>be big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khe-phe khli’/</td>
<td>/chi-daun’ne hlo/</td>
<td>paddle (boat) with leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kɔ’/</td>
<td>/chi-daun’ne hlo/</td>
<td>paddle (boat) with leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phyi’/</td>
<td>/kan/</td>
<td>kick cf. Shan pìt ‘kick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pìi’/</td>
<td>/o-shè/</td>
<td>abuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/à-phe’ wè/</td>
<td>/à pyain/</td>
<td>compete in strength</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phou’/</td>
<td>/nà/</td>
<td>trick, deceive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kwè/</td>
<td>/khɔ/</td>
<td>cry out, call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l-kəne/</td>
<td>/sci-oce/</td>
<td>greatly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nəun/</td>
<td>/nəkhau/n/</td>
<td>nose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hlùn/</td>
<td>/chə’/</td>
<td>cook ?cf. Shan hũŋ ‘cook’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ein-təmə/</td>
<td>/θəye-zə/</td>
<td>snacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mwè/</td>
<td>/ədə/ (etc.)</td>
<td>aunt (paternal, older maternal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kwên/</td>
<td>/u-le’/</td>
<td>uncle (younger maternal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/tye-tən/ | /pau’shein/ | axe
/əsə-ənə/ | /əcɨn/ | habit
/ʃe/ | /chou/ | be sweet
/se/ | /e/ | be cold
/əwun/ | /pyi’si/ | thing, object
/pyə/ | /pozin/ | dragonfly
/məun-shən/ | /təbye’-si/ | broom
/ə klə/ | /sei’ shə/ | be angry
/en-doun/ | /sədwe’-gwe’/ | spittoon
/kələn fo/ | /gələn thə, chá/ | bolt (door, etc.)
/shan-phyu/ | /θu/ | corrugated iron
/mu’/ | /shə/ | be hungry
/ɬən/ | /səun-ne/ | wait
/ɬwen/ | /pyə-ʃwin/ | be happy

3.3.4.2 FORMS WITH IRREGULAR REFLEXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>IT form requires *SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/lu-shən/</td>
<td>/lu-ne, thən/</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θən-phə-shə/</td>
<td>/θən-bə-ðə/</td>
<td>paw-paw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰən-kən/</td>
<td>/kʰən-gin/</td>
<td>sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/chin-pən/</td>
<td>/chin-byən/</td>
<td>roselle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃə’ke/</td>
<td>/ʃə’-ke/</td>
<td>thatch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pəhə’/</td>
<td>/pə-hə’/</td>
<td>cockroach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tən-pə’/</td>
<td>/tən-be’/</td>
<td>towel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hni/</td>
<td>/hni’, hənə/</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hni-lən/</td>
<td>/hni-lən/</td>
<td>heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phəi/</td>
<td>/bə/</td>
<td>comb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kələn-thən/</td>
<td>/kələnθən/</td>
<td>chair</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gələn/</td>
<td></td>
<td>bolt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ye-khə’/</td>
<td>/ye-təyə’/</td>
<td>gutter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nən/</td>
<td>/nən/</td>
<td>bow (head)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hən/</td>
<td>/hmyə/</td>
<td>catch (fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θən-pə’/</td>
<td>/θən-be’/</td>
<td>longyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lən, liən/</td>
<td>/lə, liə/</td>
<td>fall, fell</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.4.3 FORMS WITH DIFFERENT MEANING OR USE IN SB

3.3.4.3.1 WHOLE WORDS AND PHRASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>SB meaning of IT form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/yə-tən/</td>
<td>/pau’shein/</td>
<td>axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. yə-din ‘battle-axe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/əsə-ənə/</td>
<td>/əcɨn/</td>
<td>habit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. əsə-ənə ‘piece, clue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃe/</td>
<td>/chou/</td>
<td>be sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. ə ‘be cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/se/</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>be cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. se’ ‘drip, cross over’ etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/əwun/</td>
<td>/pyi’si/</td>
<td>thing, object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. wun ‘load, baggage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pyə/</td>
<td>/pozin/</td>
<td>dragonfly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. pyə ‘bee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/məun-shən/</td>
<td>/təbye’-si/</td>
<td>broom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. ḷəmən; ɬəin ‘powder, dust; clear up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ə klə/</td>
<td>/sei’ shə/</td>
<td>be angry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. à cə ‘admire, envy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/en-doun/</td>
<td>/sədwe’-gwe’/</td>
<td>spittoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. in-doun ‘cooking pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kələn fo/</td>
<td>/gələn thə, chá/</td>
<td>bolt (door, etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. ɬən-byə ‘tin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/shən-phyu/</td>
<td>/θu/</td>
<td>corrugated iron</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. mu’ ‘be hungry’ (restricted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mə’/</td>
<td>/shə/</td>
<td>be hungry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. lən ‘wait’ (restricted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɬən/</td>
<td>/səun-ne/</td>
<td>wait</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. lən ‘be bright’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɬwen/</td>
<td>/pyə-ʃwin/</td>
<td>be happy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.4.3.2 Parts of Words and Phrases

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>SB meaning of IT form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/khe-thou’/</td>
<td>/chi-nin/</td>
<td>shoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/san-pön/</td>
<td>/pa’l-kun/</td>
<td>fishing net</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ce’-khà/</td>
<td>/ce’-hin-gà/</td>
<td>momordica</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ei’hmwé/</td>
<td>/ei’pyó/</td>
<td>sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sa’shi/</td>
<td>/qayou’thi/</td>
<td>chillie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eín-khe le/</td>
<td>/ale thàwà/</td>
<td>go visiting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khoun-nèn/</td>
<td>/khoun-phòna’/</td>
<td>wooden sandals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tøthà khòn-sën/</td>
<td></td>
<td>pier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/poti-shi/</td>
<td>/ce-di/</td>
<td>button</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mye’-pye/</td>
<td>/mye’-ye/</td>
<td>tears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tonà/</td>
<td>/khonà/, /tòàun/</td>
<td>a moment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/si-shen/</td>
<td>/si-zin/</td>
<td>arrange</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.4.4 Selectives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/h/ (often [ t ])</td>
<td>/è-di/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hèn/, /èn/</td>
<td>/è-di/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tha/</td>
<td>/ho-ha/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hol/ (~ [hò])</td>
<td>/ho/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phe/</td>
<td>/be/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4 Texts

The following two texts are from the recordings mentioned in the introduction. One tells of a practical joke played by e-Poun Ta-Te, who – if he ever existed – lived in the village of Ywa-mà ‘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 Myèn 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 /wà/ and /ma/ are written /wɔ/ and /mɔ/ 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 [si], 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 INTHA TEXT NO.1 — IF YOUR SON-IN-LAW IS NO USE, SEND HIM TO THE MONASTERY

   Nin ba-poun pyõ-ma-lè – kè.
   you what-story tell-will-Q come

2. P: Au – øyen-töuná e-Poun-Ta-Te-əcòn-wā
   Ho – øyin-döungá e-Poun-Ta-Te-əcəun-ba
   that past-while E-Pon-Ta-Te-about-EMP

   è – e-Poun-Ta-Te. è.
   right E-Pon-Ta-Te yes.

   e-Poun-Ta-Te-əpoun myà-da-bè: nin [ba- ba-]
   E-Poun-Ta-Te-story be.many-EMP you [what what]
   sa-poun pyõ-ma-lò-à.
   ba-poun pyõ-ma-lò-lè.
   what-story tell-will-QUO-Q

   A – nin ba-hmàn mə-θī-ðè-bù-byà.
   ah – you something know-yet-VSMK-man

6. Hën-poun-a – au – shøme’-mə-kôn cònn pó-a
   Ho-poun-ha – hou – ðøme’-mə-kàun càun pó-dé
   that-story-SUBJ that son.in.law-not-be.good monstery-send-REL
   poun-lè.
   poun-le.
   story-you.know

   ah yes right short-ADV-with-EMP yes short-ADV-with

   right come.on try-see-more-EMP little-ADV start-about

   ìsà-lau’-là. è.
   start-about-Q yes
10. P: Au – kətō’kəte’-ju’ kətō’kəte’-nc’ e-Poun-Ta-Te
   Ho – inmotan-ju’ inmotan-nc’  e-Poun-Ta-Te
   that very-disruptive very-prankish  E-Poun-Ta-Te
   sho-a  jī-e-wā,  M: e.
   sho-da  jī-de-bō.  e.
   say-thing be-VSMK-EMP yes

    our-this-Heya Ywama-in er past-while-you.know

    [that he-SUBJ – that – ] Kalinge-near-at
    mēinmā-achō-tə-yə’  jī-e  mēinmā kətō’kəte’-hlā.
    méinmā-achō-tə-yəu’  jī-de  mēinmā inmotan-hlā-de.
    woman-beautiful-one-person be-VSMK woman very-pretty

    [ēdi-dō thū-ha – ho – ] thū-dō khi’-tōungā-nc
    [that-since he-SUBJ that] they-PL time-while-you.know
    saun-gōn-ou’-pl le-de-bō – méinmā-byo le-de-bō-le.
    blanket-head-cover-visit-VSMK-EMP woman-maid visit-VSMK-EMP-see

14. Sōn-khōn-ou’-le-e  khi’-ma,  hēn-mēinmā-kā
    Saun-gōn-ou’pl-le-dē  khi’-hma,  ēdi-mēinmā-gā
    blanket-head-cover-visit-REL time.in that-woman-SUBJ
    manā-ci-lūn-kha,  shu-a hēn khlō-chēn-e –
    manā-ci-lūn-dō,  thū-ha ēda chō-jin-de –
    pride-be.great-exceed-time he-SUBJ that break-want-VSMK
    hēn-manā-o  e-Poun-ā.
    ēdi-manā-go  e-Poun-gā.
    that-pride-ACC E-Poun-SUBJ

    ēda-ne [thu-gā – ho – ] Sanya-jāun-hma
    that-with [he-SUBJ that] Sanya-monastery-at
    tō-øyū-’-u-ta-øyu’  jī-e –
    dō-øyū-ci-ta-øyu’  jī-de –
    our-image-you.know black-ADV-fat-ADV-big-EMP

    [that] our-image-you.know black-ADV-fat-ADV-big-EMP

17. Ė – hēn-myō-wā,  shu-a shōn-wā –
    Ė – ēdi-myō-bō,  thū-ha shōn-da –
    yes that-kind-you.know he-SUBJ carry-EMP
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

son-nā ou'-āun-mā to-kha-lı́ yu-te’-a — shu-á
saun-né ou’-pi to-kha-dè yu-te’-ta — ʊu-gá
blanket-with cover-yet-and one-time-only take-ascend-VSMK he-SUBJ

— hēn-mēinmā-pyo-hlá-hlá-ein-o.
— ēdi-mēinmā-byo-hlá-hlá-ein-go.

that-woman-maid-prett-y-ADV-house-ACC

18. Há — yu-te’-kha “ɛ-lō — nen [ŋa —] i-ma
Há — yu-te’-tò “Kè-kwa — nin [ŋa —] di-hma
ha take-ascend-time right-man you [I] here-at
tonā le-ne-āun-no.
khonā le-ne-āun-no.
moment visit-stay-more-right?

19. ŋa-á au-ko tonā le-āun-mā” sho-mā,
ŋa-gā ho-go konā le-āun-hma” sho-bi,
I-SUBJ there-to moment visit-further-VSMK say-and
hēn-lu-û-o thā-khā-lō.
ēdi-lu-jì-go thā-gē-de-byā.
that-man-big-ACC leave-there-man

thus leave-there-time woman-SUBJ word-call-say-try not-speak

21. tō-ñā-lōun-ā-lē lou’-āun-mō, te-āun-mō,
tō-ñā-lōun-gā-lē lou’-pi, ne-dō,
one-night-all-SUBJ also do-and stay-more-when

22. thein-ɛ-akha, rèn-nā-nī-la-kha, shu mō-ne-nein-lōwā —
thain-ɛ-akha, lin-ga-nī-lā-dō, ʊu mō-ne-nein-dō-bū —
sit-REL-time light-near-near-come-time she not-stay-can-EMP
mēinmā-ì — hmë-lo mō-pyō-pē-ha.
mēinmā-gā — më-lo mō-pyō-bē-ha.
woman-SUBJ ask-ing not-speak-without-thing

ēdi-lo ʊū-ophe-go thā-hnō-de.
this-way her-father-ACC rise-wake-VSMK

24. Shū-phā-ā “È — lēn-kha nī-ne-wō”
ʊū-ophe-gā “È — lin-ga nī-ne-bi-bē”
her-father-SUBJ yes light-time be.near-stay-EMP
sho-mā, phōrā-wu’-te’.
sho-bi, phēyā-wu’-te’-te.
say-and lord-duty-attend

25. È — shu-a hēn-lē lou’-āun-mā to-kha-tū
È — ʊu-ha ēdi-lo lou’-pī-dō to-kha-dē
yes he-SUBJ this-way do-more-when one-time-only
hèn-lu-ò

laihmè-a;
edilu-jì-go

la-mè-da;
that-man-big-ACC come-ask-VSMK

hey-man you-SUBJ my-daughter-to come-visit-Q that-way ask-EMP

27. Hèn-lu-kà mò-pyò-la-ù,
edilu-gá mò-pyò-la-bù,
that-man-SUBJ not-speak-come-VSMK

28. Hèn-mó [myò-la-] pyò-la-pè-kha,
edil-dó [myò-la-] mò-pyò-la-dó,
that-then [neak-come] speak-come-without-time
tòshá-ká thwe’-la-è— èn-lù-a.
dòká-gá thwe’-la-de— èdilu-ha.
anger-SUBJ emerge-come-VSMK that-man-SUBJ

È— èdi-dó ba lou’ò-ù.
yes that-finish what do-Q

P: [Hèn tòshá thwe’-la-òun-mà—] tòshá thwe’-kha
[èdilò dòká thwe’-la-dó—] dòká thwe’-pì
[thus anger emerge-come-more-when] anger emerge-time
thà-òun-mà thò-lai’-shò— hèn-lu-ò.
thà-pì-dó thò-lai’-kò— èdilu-gò.
rise-further-when strike-through-EMP that-man-ACC

30. Hèn thà-thò-kha, phe— au-lu-a əyou’-wèshò—
edilò thà-thò-dò, bé— ho-lu-ha əyou’-phè—
thus rise-strike-time what that-man-SUBJ image-EMP
lu mò-hou’-pè.
lù mò-hou’-phè.
man not-be.so-without

Gàun-hma thiò-mí-dò kolau’-khànè myi-òwà-de.
head-on blow-catch-time clonk-ADV sound-go-VSMK

32. Hèn shù sai'-to-la-è:
“Ì— nèn ɲà-mòa
èdidò ɬu sei'-to-la-de:
“He— nèn ɲà-godaun
so he mind-be.short-come-VSMK hey you me-even
kùn-i’-phòun-nà khàn-shì-ì”.
kùn-i’-phòun-nè khàn-ò-da-bè”.
betel-box-lid-with defend-yet-VSMK

33. I-ma thà-mò khlà-kha,
edil-hma thà-bì chà-dò,
there-at rise-and strike-time
khe-tho' thá-phyi'-pəlai'-kha, lèin-à-shō = ayou'-wā.
chi-dau' thá-kan-pəlai'-tó, lè-ôwâ-da-bè = ayou'-le.
foot-support rise-kick-out-time fall-go-EMP image-you.see

34. Hâ = ayou'-ù po-la.
Hâ = ayou'-cì po-la-yò.
ha image-big emerge-come-VSMK

35. "Hô = khe'-ne-ò-lè;
"Hô = khe'-ne-bi-bè:
ho be.difficult-stay-go-EMP
i-a e-Poun-Ta-Te lou'-à-wā.
di-ha e-Poun-Ta-Te lou'ò-da-bè.
this-thing E-Poun-Ta-Te do-go-EMP

36. Ma-phyi'-ù, phyi'-ù, phyi'-ù," sho-mā,
Ma-phyi'-phû, ma-phyi'-phû, ma-phyi'-phû," sho-bi,
not-work-VSMK not-work-VSMK not-work-VSMK say-and

37. [ə -] "È - ngâ-shûm la, la, la:
[ə -] "È - ngá-ôm la, la, la:
[mn] right my-daughter come come come
tô-məná-shà ì-a côn-ôpó-myà." M: È = məne'sa
dó-ô-hâ phá di-ha caun-pô-hmà." È = məne'
we-father-child this-thing monastery-send-be.much right morning
sôsôsîši.
sôsôsîši.
early

38. P: È = məne'sa sôsôsîši. Côô-øyu-ma hîô-a-
È = mone' sôsôsîši. Cauû-uy-ôwâ-bô hîô-da-
right morning early monastery-take-in row-VSMK
hên-øyu'-ù-wê.
ôdi-øyu'-ci-bô.
that-image-big-L.mean

39. Côô əyou'-ù-o hîô-ê-kha, e-Poun-à-
Cauû əyou'-cì-go hîô-dê-ôkha, e-Poun-gâ-
monastery image-big-ACC row-REL-time E-Poun-SUBJ
shû-á fiâ-ô-shâwâ = èn-si-shen-à hou'-à.
ôu-gâ fiâ-ô-bô = è-da-si-zhà-da məhou'-là.
hê-SUBJ brain-with-EMP that-arrange-set-VSMK be.so-Q

40. Hên-kha [shu-a-au - ] ywa-pyen-pee'-nà-ma
ôdi-dô [ôu-ha-ho - ] ywa-apyin-be'-nà-hma
that-time [he-SUBJ-that] village-outside-direction-near-at
pâkhe-sen-tô-sen Jî-ê.
phəyuôn-zîn-tô-zîn Jî-de.
pumpkin-frame-one-frame be-VSMK
3.4.2 INTHA TEXT NO.2 – THE FOUR FRIENDS

   Kè – nin khùdinḡ-poun-bè̂-là.  
   right you just.now-story-only.Q

   Ba-poun jî-bè̂-bàlè – nin-ha.  
   what-story have.further-Q you-SUBJ

   oh past.in-from story-as.for many-big-EMP

   [what] you what ear.set.up.want-Q-man

5. M: en – sa-nà-thon-chen-à shëwà  
   In – ba-nà-thaun-jin-bàlè sho-yin  
   that what ear.set.up.want-Q say-if  
   [you that our mm] friend-four-person say.kind-SUBJ  
   little-ADV hear-ever [you] I what-know.any.more-VSMK
   ah that-friend-four-person story-say-thing-Q

    È - hè-è - øphö-lê-yau'-phè.  
    yes hey-yes friend-four-person-EMP

    yes friend-four-person get-thing-of.course that-as.for

    È - kê - nè-nè lou'-cí-ùn - èda-gá.  
    right OK little-ADV do-see-more that-SUBJ

10. P: Hên-øphö-lê-yo'-a au-øyen-lùn-á  
      èdi-øphö-lê-yau'-ha ho-øyin-dùn-gá  
      that-friend-four-person-SUBJ that-former-while-from
       øphö-lê-yo'  ji-e.  
       øphö-lê-yau'  ji-de.  
       friend-four-person be-VSMK

    èdi-øphö-lê-yau' ji-dó, ñà-øthò ñwà-da.  
    that-friend-four-person be-when fish-spear go-VSMK

12. ñà-thò shwà-kha, ta-yo'-ká nà kató'kàte' là;  
    ñà-øthò ñwà-dó, ta-yau'-ká nà inmətən ci;  
    fish-spear go-when one-person-SUBJ ear very be.big

13. ... ta-yo'-ká phen kató'kàte’ chun;  
    ... ta-yau'-ká phin inmətən chun;  
    tone-person-SUBJ buttock very be.pointed

14. ta-yo'-ká-ó  hna'khlê kató'kàte’ thu;  
    ta-yau'-ká-dó  hna'chi inmətən thu;  
    one-person-SUBJ-however snot very be.think

    [yes] yes four-person finish-when hand-palm-be.big-person-one-person

16. M: 0 - hou'-pi:  le'-wâ-kù-shəmə-ta-yo'-nà,  
    0 - hou'-pi: le'-wâ-ci-əmə tə-yau'-nè,  
    oh be.so-VSMK hand-palm-be.big-person-one-person-and
    nàwe'-là-shəmə-ta-yo'-nà,  phen-chun-shəmə-ta-yo'-nà,  
    nàwe'-ci-əmə-ta-yau'nè,  phin-chun-əmə-ta-yau'nè,  
    ear-be.big-person-one-person-and buttock-be.pointed-person-one-person-and
    hna'khrê-thu-shəmə tə-yo'-nà – è, hou'-pi: hèn-mò-loun.  
    hna'chi-thu-əmə tə-yau'nè – è, hou'-pi: èda-pido-gô.  
    snot-be.thick-person-one-person-and yes be.so-VSMK that-then-what
17. P: ṇà-thò-shwà-kha, shu-tò ṇà-a thò-thé-e:
   ṇà-óthò-òwà-dò, òu-dò ṇà-ha thò-thé-de:
   fish-spear-go-when he-PL fish-SUBJ spear-catch-VSMK
   ṇà-o òu-dò yà-o,
   ṇà-go òu-dò yà-yò.
   fish-ACC he-PL get-VSMK

18. ṇà-a yà-la-kha, phwàshilá-ká la-hlu-khan-a.
   ṇà-ha yá-la-dò, phwáthilá-gá la-ðhu-lan-dè.
   fish-SUBJ get-come-time nun-SUBJ come-als-request-VSMK

19. Hèn la-hlu-khan-kha, le'-wà-kù-shomà-á,
   èdilo la-ðhu-lan-dè-ðkhà, le'-wà-ðì-dòmà-gà,
   thus come-als-request-time hand-palm-be.big-person-SUBJ
   sha'khònè sho-a, ko'-ðun-mò lòn-palai'-kha, ṇà-a
   sha'khònè sho-bì, kau'-pi-dò làun-palai'-tò, ṇà-ha
   dashing say-when pick.up-further-and offer-through-time fish-SUBJ
   shu-tò thò-thé-a koun-à-lò.
   òu-dò thò-thé-thà-da koun-òwà-yò.
   he-PL spear-catch-place-thing be.used.up-go-VSMK

20. Sai'-to-é-kha "nà-a tò-ñà-lùn thò-é-ha-o
   Sai'-to-é-ðkhà "nà-ha tò-ñà-lùn thò-é-ha-go
   mind-be.short-REL-time fish-SUBJ one-night-all spear-REL-thing-ACC
   lì-lù-a le'-wà-kù-nà lou'-ðun-mà
   di-lù-ha le'-wà-jì-nè lou'-pi-dò
   this-man-SUBJ hand-palm-big-with do-more-when
   kha'-lòn-yà-mò-là'" sho-ðun-mò, phen-chun-shomà-á
   kha'-làun-yà-mò-là" sho-pì-dò, phin-chun-dòmà-gà
   scoop-offer-must-VSMK-Q say-finish-when buttock-be.pointed-person-SUBJ
   sai'-to-a hle shòn-mà-thein-e.
   sei'-to-bì hle shàun-bì-thain-de.
   mind-be.short-finish boat jolt-and-sit-VSMK

21. È- hle-á po'-thwe'-a.
    È- hle-gà pau'-òwà-da.
    yes boat-SUBJ be.holed-come-VSMK
   Hle po'-thwe'-kha, èn-hùch-thù-shòmà ko'-ðun-mà
   Hle pau'-òwà-dè-ðkhà, èdî-hàa'chi-thù-dòmà kau'-pi-dò
   boat be.holed-come-time that-snot-be.thick-person grab.further-and
   pha-è = shu-o.
   pha-de - òu-go.
   patch-VSMK it-ACC

    hey yes yes that-EMP-Q yes this-thing-EMP-man
    Nøywe'-ci-tômà-gá ba-lou'-thòlè-ló.
    ear-be.big-person-SUBJ what-do-Quo.

24. P: e – nàwe'-lå-shômà-á sho-a,
    e – nøywe'-ci-tômà-gá sho-yin,
    yes ear-be.big-person-SUBJ say-if
    hau-á sho-wā – hle m̥h-lo-tan-yà,
    h̊o-wà-gá sho-badó – hle m̥h-lo-nain-dó,
    that.thing-SUBJ say-EMP boat not-row-can-because

25. shū-nàwe’ k̊o-tɔ’k̊əte’-ù là-ne-kha,
    thû-nøywe’ inm̥tàn-bè ci-ne-dó,
    his-ea very-great be.big-stay-time
[that this] sail-boat set.up-go-like-you.see

    Dilo-là. Ê.
    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 e-Poun-Ta-Te in the old days.
4. M: There are lots of stories about e-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.
8. M: Right then, off you go. Come on, make a start.
10. P: Well, there was this lad called e-Poun-Ta-Te, a great wag, a great joker.
11. Yes, right here in this village of ours, Hè-ya Ywa-má – in the old days, I mean.
12. And there was this beautiful girl near K̊al-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 e-Poun.
So, there was this big statue at San-ya monastery.

Hm – this statue, it was a huge black thing.

So that’s the thing he took along: covered its head and took it up, he did, up into the pretty girl’s house.

Well then, when he got up there he said, “Right. You stay visiting here a while.

I’m going to visit somewhere else for a bit”, and he left this “man” there.

After that, the girl tried to make conversation with him, but he said nothing.

They spent the whole night stuck like that, sitting there,

and when it was near dawn, she couldn’t take it any more – the girl – because he never answered her questions.

So she got up and woke her father.

Her father said “Oh. Nearly dawn”, and went and said his prayers.

Then, when that was over, he came straight over and questioned the “man”.

“Look here, are you visiting my daughter?” – that’s what he said.

The “man” didn’t answer.

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.

In his anger he upped and hit him – hit this “man”.

After that, well, this “man” was a statue after all, not a real person.

The blow landed on his head, and went “clonk”.

That made the father lose his temper: “So! You’d defend yourself against me with the betel-box lid, would you?”

and he upped and hit him again, kicked him with his foot, and over he fell – being a statue.

Then they realised it was a statue.

“Ha! Now we’re in trouble. This must be e-Poun’s doing.

It’s no good, no good at all”, he said.

“Daughter, come here quickly. You and I had better take this to the monastery”.

M: That’s right, early in the morning.

P: Yes, early in the morning. They paddled along with it to the monastery – with the statue.

As they were paddling along, old e-Poun – he was a cunning fellow, you see – he’d got it all worked out.

Just on the outskirts of the village there was a pumpkin frame.

There he was under this pumpkin frame, half hidden and half in the open,

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.
23. M: What did the big-eared man do?
24. P: Oh yes. The one with big ears, he what's named — 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 Tανην-θα-yi or Tenasserim), it was included in a comparative vocabulary alongside Standard Burmese, Arakanese, and Yê (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 /Klɔn-khon-tha'ma/ kli-gân gɔn/
SB /Câu-n-kaun-bo-hma/ cĩ-gân tɔ-gaun/

TV /kło'khe-ná pyi'khlá/ ɔ klá-la/
SB /cau'khe-ne pyi'chá/ au cá-la/

TV /klân-tha'ma ðe:/ klà kai'ʃɔn/.
SB /thun-yê-bo-hma ðe:/ cã kai'ʃaun/.

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 Mraunmā ‘Burmese’, tam-nrak-caññ: ‘broom’, and Mšit ‘Beik’ (the Burmese name of the town known to foreigners as Mergui). By normal rules the SB pronunciation would be /Myan-ma, tɔmye'si, Mye'i/, but in fact the words are pronounced /Bɔma, tɔbye'si, Be'i/. 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 /Dɔwe/) stands halfway down the ‘tail’ of Burma, a narrow coastal strip some 500 miles long, backed by the Dâw-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 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 Yê and Kyaik-khami (Amherst) to the north. Even fewer were recorded south of the District, at
Palaw and Kâw-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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>ain</th>
<th>on</th>
<th>en</th>
<th>ai’</th>
<th>o’</th>
<th>ε’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>uɪŋ</td>
<td>aŋ(ŋ)</td>
<td>Yɑŋ</td>
<td>ɑŋ</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>uik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>ain</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ai’</td>
<td>i’</td>
<td>a’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
4. AR has nothing to match TV /by/ for WB mr, hmr, or TV /l/,  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-tamâ). It is interesting to note in this connection that the Tavoyans to this day call SB speakers from the central plains /Pəgan-ðə/ ‘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  Tavais city, too, observe, where lo!
De Sião largo o imperio        Siam’s vast empire doth begin, so long
   (Os Lusiadas x.123)              (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 Ü Cọ Min.

Ü Cọ Min 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 Mi-bouns-byan Ü Cọ Yin through his skill and daring in flying with home-made hot-air balloons. Though Ü Cọ Min 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
transcription. I use his recording in preference to that of the other informants as his is not so fast and slurred.

The major text reproduced here is a Tavoyan folktale, told to two of the girls who worked in the family cheroot-making business, and transcribed with Ü Cō Min’s help. I also include a transcription of some of the Tavoyan chants and songs that Ü Cō Min recorded for me, the texts of which are printed, in Burmese script, in his book on Tavoy (Cō Min 1968).

The material taken from these recordings is supplemented by informants’ answers to questions, further recordings of short word lists, and notes made of points encountered or overheard in conversation.

4.1.4 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It was very sad to hear that Ü Cō Min died of cancer in 1972. Not only was he an understanding, consistent, and painstaking informant, but he also took it on himself to act most generously as my host and guide during my stay in Tavoy. His enthusiasm for things Tavoyan, and his knowledge of the area, were immense, and I am much indebted to him. I am also grateful to the members of his family and household who helped to look after me and answer my questions.

4.2 OUTLINE PHONOLOGY

4.2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

4.2.1.1 TONES

heavy /ɪ/  
creaky /ɨ/  
low /ʌ/  
stop /ʌ/  
weak /ə/

4.2.1.2 RHymes

Open syllables:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>weak</th>
<th>ə</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>full</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Closed syllables:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nasal</th>
<th>iːn</th>
<th>in</th>
<th>ain</th>
<th>an</th>
<th>un</th>
<th>uːn</th>
<th>aʊn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>i’</td>
<td>ai’</td>
<td>a’</td>
<td>o’</td>
<td>u’</td>
<td>ao’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1.3 HEADS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>with medial /y/</th>
<th>with medial /l/</th>
<th>with medial /w/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>z (ð)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>ph</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hŋ</td>
<td>hŋ</td>
<td>hm</td>
<td>hŋ</td>
<td>hmy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

/al/: further back than SB /a/, sometimes closer to SB /ə/
/ı:n/: vowel as in SB and TV open syllable /ı/
/an, a′/: vowel closer than SB /an, a/’
/on, o′/: vowel more open than SB and TV open syllable /ɔ/
/u:n/ vowel as in SB and TV open syllable /u/
/aon, ao′/: diphthong from open front unrounded towards close back rounded
/-n/: nasalisation, often faint, sometimes absent
/o/: 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>we</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>ai</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>ui</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Closed nasal syllables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>in</th>
<th>im</th>
<th>añ</th>
<th>añ</th>
<th>Yañ</th>
<th>añ</th>
<th>am</th>
<th>wañ</th>
<th>wam</th>
<th>oñ</th>
<th>uñ</th>
<th>un</th>
<th>um</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>i:n</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>aon/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 2 6 5 7 4, 7
Closed stop syllables

WB  it  ip  ac  Yak  ak  at  ap  wat  wap  ok  uik  ut  up
    \  \  \  \  \  \  \  \  \  \  \  \  \  \  \  \\
TV  i̯  i̯'  a̯  u̯  o̯  a̯'  ai̯  ú  ao̯'
    3  6  5  3  4

4.2.3.3 HEADS

These are as for SB except:

SB  /yw/  /f/w/
    \  \\
WB  rw  8  hrw  8
    \  \\
TV  /w  yw/  /hw  f/w/
     \  \\
SB  /c/  /ch/  /fi/
    \  \  \  \\
WB  ky  kr  9  khy  khr  9  nr  9
    \  \  \  \  \  \\
TV  /kl  c  k/  /f  10  khl  ch  kh/  /ni  ny/
     \  \  \  \  \  \\
SB  /py/  /phy/  /my/  /hmy/
    \  \  \  \  \\
WB  py  pr  11  phy  phr  11  my  mr  12  hmy  hmr  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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pe:</td>
<td>/pè/</td>
<td>/pè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re:</td>
<td>/ye/</td>
<td>/ye/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khwe:</td>
<td>/khwi/</td>
<td>/khwè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we:</td>
<td>/wl/</td>
<td>/wè/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two words with we, however, were said to have ‘old’ and ‘modern’ pronunciations, /wi/ and /we/ respectively, possibly reflecting the influence of SB:
twe: /twè/, /twè/ ponder
hrwe /hwí, jwe/ /jwe/ gold

Four other words emerged which were pronounced as in SB:
kwe. /kwè/ /kwè/ turn
chwe /shwe/ /shwe/ relative
gwe /nywe/ /nywe/ silver
we-li-we-lan: /we-li-we-län/ /we-li-we-lin/ dawn

(2) WB aññ, which gives SB /i/, /e/ or /e/, corresponds regularly with TV /e/:
kraññ /ce/ /ci/ be clear
praññ. /plè/ /pyè/ be full
taññ: /tè/ /tè/ stay

A few exceptions were found (6 of 37 words checked, of which the last 3 below are Pali loans):
raññ-rway /yi-ywe/ /yi-ywe/ intend
chaññ:pù /shè-phù/ /shè-bù/ amass
saññ:kham /òi-khan/ /òi-khan/ forgive
naññ: /nì/ /nì/ method
winaññ: /wì-nì/ /wì-nì/ Vinaya
paccaññ: /pyì-sì/ /pyì-sì/ thing

One further word, praññ ‘country’, had the regular TV reflex, /pye/, only in certain phrases (e.g. /pye-fin/ ‘nat’); otherwise it was TV /pyì/.

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/.
tit /tì/ /tei/ be quiet
ti /tì/ /tì/ be exact
sip /òì/ /òei/ put to bed
si /òì/ /òì/ know

This correspondence is partly paralleled by the merger of WB ut with u in TV /u/ (for WB up see note (4) below):
that /thùt/ /thou/ take out
ahmut /shùmù/ /shùmou/ blowing
ahmu /shìmù/ /shìmù/ 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/.
kun: /kùn/ /kùn/ land
kum: /kàon/ /kùn/ string together
**THREE BURMESE DIALECTS**

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{phun} & /\text{phu:n}/ & /\text{phoun}/ & \text{dust} \\
\text{phum:} & /\text{phàon}/ & /\text{phòun}/ & \text{cover}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{that} & /\text{thú}/ & /\text{thou’}/ & \text{take out} \\
\text{thup} & /\text{thao’}/ & /\text{thou’}/ & \text{wrap} \\
\text{ut} & /\text{uí}/ & /\text{ou’}/ & \text{brick} \\
\text{up} & /\text{ao’}/ & /\text{ou’}/ & \text{cover}
\end{array}
\]

Spellings with irregular finals after WB \textit{u} are pronounced in TV as if written with \textit{p}. For example:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{dukkhà} & /\text{dào’khà}/ & /\text{dou’khà}/ & \text{suffering} \\
\text{uccà} & /\text{ao’sà}/ & /\text{ou’sà}/ & \text{thing} \\
\text{kukkhà:} & /\text{kao’kà}/ & /\text{hou’kà}/ & \text{pennant}
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{û: (formal)} & /\text{û}/ \\
\text{um: (colloq)} & /\text{û}/
\end{array}
\]

\text{TV seems to treat the word for ‘monk’ as having an irregular final nasal:}

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{phun:krì} & /\text{phàon-gì}/ \\
\text{phàn:} & /\text{phòn-jì}/
\end{array}
\]

This would be consistent with its derivation from Pali \textit{puñña}, assuming a subsequent adjustment from \textit{n} to \textit{m} in WB orthography.

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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{pran} & /\text{plan}/ & /\text{pyan}/ & \text{return} \\
\text{lwan} & /\text{lun}/ & /\text{lun}/ & \text{exceed} \\
\text{kham} & /\text{khan}/ & /\text{khan}/ & \text{receive} \\
\text{kwan}: & /\text{kùn}/ & /\text{kùn}/ & \text{betel} \\
\text{kyat} & /\text{ca’}/ & /\text{ca’}/ & \text{kyat} \\
\text{pwat} & /\text{pu’}/ & /\text{pu’}/ & \text{rub} \\
\text{khìp} & /\text{cha’}/ & /\text{cha’}/ & \text{flat} \\
\text{kwap} & /\text{ku’}/ & /\text{ku’}/ & \text{edge}
\end{array}
\]

In TV, however, WB \textit{an}, \textit{am} and \textit{at}, \textit{ap} are joined by \textit{aŋ} and \textit{ak}:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{apraŋ} & /\text{aplan}/ & /\text{apyan}/ & \text{surface} \\
\text{apràn} & /\text{aplan}/ & /\text{apyan}/ & \text{return} \\
\text{tag} & /\text{tan}/ & /\text{tin’}/ & \text{put on} \\
\text{tam} & /\text{tan}/ & /\text{tan’}/ & \text{shaft} \\
\text{phak} & /\text{pha’}/ & /\text{phe’’}/ & \text{leaf} \\
\text{phat} & /\text{pha’}/ & /\text{pha’’}/ & \text{read} \\
\text{tak} & /\text{ta’}/ & /\text{te’’}/ & \text{ascend} \\
\text{tat} & /\text{ta’}/ & /\text{ta’’}/ & \text{know}
\end{array}
\]

There are two restrictions on this merger: first, in syllables containing WB -\textit{w}, the TV reflexes of WB \textit{aŋ} and \textit{ak} are exempt from the vowel change that applies to the reflexes of WB \textit{an}, \textit{am} and \textit{at}, \textit{ap}.
khwaŋ. /khwán/ /khwín/ opportunity
twàŋ: /twán/ /twìn/ hole
khwaŋk /khwaŋ/ /khweŋ/ bowl

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

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

TV /j/ c ch ə hə; by py phy my hmy; z s sh; y f/
=WB /gy ky khy ən hən by py phy my hmy j c ch y hy
gr /kr khr nr hnr br pr phr nr hnr r hr

pyaŋ: /pyin/ /pyın/ be lazy
pyaŋ ə /pyin/ /pyın/ timber
rak /yi/ /ye/ day
rac /yi/ /yi/ (do) behind (one)
chaŋ /šhin/ /šhin/ elephant
cak /ši/ /še/ machine

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

tac /tê/ ə /tí/ one
hnac /hnê/ /hnê/ two
khu-nac /khun-nê/ /khun-nê/ seven

(7) The three rhymes ending in ‘variable nasalisation’, here shown as /-n/, 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:n/ (e.g. TV /khu:n/ ‘jump’, /mû:n/ ‘hate’), the nasalisation was usually quite audible. In words in TV /-au:n/, on the other hand (e.g. /saon/ ‘be complete’, /lao:n/ ‘be covered’), it was more often absent. Pronunciations in TV /-i:n/ seemed evenly distributed between the two extremes.

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

im /i/ /ein/ house
akhyin /akhi/ /ahein/ time
tun: /tu/ /toun/ while
mun. /mu/ /mou/ /mu:3/ 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, /w/:

rwâ /wa/ /ywa/ rain; village
rwak /waŋ/ /yweŋ/ leaf; carry
rwe: /wi/ /ywe/ choose
hrwe. /hwì/ /fwe/ move
arway /a:we/ /a:we/ size
hrwan /fwan/ /fweŋ/ be joyful
hrwan: /fùn/ /fùn/ be juicy
hrwai /fwe/ /fwe/ be soaked

The remaining example, WB hrwe ‘gold’, was said to have a modern TV pronunciation /fwe/, like SB, and an obsolescent TV pronunciation /hw/. 
Only one word with initial WB yw was checked: yway: ‘go off course’, and this was pronounced TV /ywɔn/.

(9) WB ky, khy correspond in some cases to TV /c/, ch/, as in SB, and in others to TV /kl/, kh/.

For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>TV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kywan</td>
<td>/cun/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kywat</td>
<td>/ku'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyup</td>
<td>/chao'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyoŋ:</td>
<td>/khɔŋ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

slave
be taken off
sew
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/, kh/.

For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>TV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>krum</td>
<td>/caon/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khrac</td>
<td>/chi'/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

meet
scratch

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>TV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>krā:</td>
<td>/kɔi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krit</td>
<td>/kɔi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krim:</td>
<td>/kɔim, kʰi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

between
grind
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>TV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akhyin</td>
<td>/ɔkʰi:n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyi</td>
<td>/kʰi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

measure
carry

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>TV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khyaññi</td>
<td>/kʰe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyuŋ</td>
<td>/kʰain/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

tie
lop

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>TV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khraññi</td>
<td>/kʰe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khre</td>
<td>/kʰe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɾi:</td>
<td>/k³i/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krwaŋ</td>
<td>/kwa'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kraññi:</td>
<td>/kɛ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akrwe:</td>
<td>/ɔkwɔi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akrwe</td>
<td>/ɔkwɔi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krway</td>
<td>/kwe'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɾim</td>
<td>/kʰi:n/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khroŋ:</td>
<td>/kʰɔn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khye:</td>
<td>/kʰwi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

thread
foot
be big
rat
look
debt
small change
be rich
rattan
throat
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, hŋ/ to match the plosive pairs, but it is just possible to suggest a correspondence WB gr = TV /ŋ/, 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.

- gri /ŋi/ be caught
- ŋit /ŋi/ nod
  (sic MSTK, perhaps for gr ?)
- agrim. /oŋi:n/ anyeint
- grim /ŋi:n/ be still

(10) The correspondence WB khy = TV /ch/, kh/, 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:

- khyan /ʃan/ leave out
- khyam: /ʃan/ be cold
- takhyui /ʃɔh/ some
- khyui /ʃo/ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OB</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khr</td>
<td>/ch/</td>
<td>khr</td>
<td>/ch/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khy</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>or /ch/</td>
<td>khy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khí</td>
<td>/kh/</td>
<td>or /ch/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khí</td>
<td>/khí/</td>
<td>or /ch/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- pyak /pyi/ perish
- pyō /pyo/ melt
- phyā: /phyā/ have a fever
- phyō /phyo/ dissolve

One exception to this correspondence emerged:

- pyam /plan/ fly

The TV reflexes of WB pr, phr are divided between TV /py, phy/ and TV /pl, phl/. For example:

- pra /pyá/ show
- prā /pla/ ash
- prong /pyon/ be smooth
- prong: /plɔn/ change
- phre /phye/ undo
- phrai /phlè/ widen
One example was said to have both pronunciations:

| prū: | /pyū, plū/ | /pyū/ | protrude |

Two further examples, the only ones with TV /l/ (long), had no medial in TV:

| prī: | /pī/ | /pī, pyī/ | finish |
| prin: | /pī:n/ | /pēin/ | be dull |

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

| myā: | /myā/ | /myā/ | be many |
| hmya | /hmyā/ | /hmyā/ | be equal |

There was one exception to this correspondence:

| hmyac | /hmli/ | /hmyi/ | bamboo shoot |

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:

| mru. | /myō/ | /myō/ | town |
| mrac | /mlī/ | /mi:ı/ | river |
| mræn | /byan/ | /myan/ | be fast |
| hmrā: | /hmỳā/ | /hmyā/ | trap |
| hmrap | /hmło:/ | /hmyou:/ | bury |
| hmrap | /byin/ | /hmyin/ | raise |

There were a few exceptions:

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

| amrit | /əmī/ | /əmei/ | edge |
| ahmre: | /əhmɛ/ | /əhmɛ/ | film |

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

| mrin | /mlı:n, mi:n/ | /mein/ | relish |

(c) one word which could have either /y/ or /l/:

| mrat | /mya/, mla'/ | /mya'/ | be noble |

(d) and one which had /bw/:

| amrī: | /bwə/ | /əmī, əmyə/ | tail |

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.

| mraññ: | /byè/ | /myi/ | taste |
| mrai | /byè/ | /myè/ | be stable |
| mrwe | /bwı/ | /mwı/ | snake |
| mrō | /byo/ | /myo/ | behold |
| mrāp | /byin/ | /myin/ | see |
| mrāp: | /byín/ | /myín/ | horse |
| mrāŋ. | /byín/ | /myín/ | be high |
mraññ /bye/  /miy/ sound
mrañ /byi/  /mye/ grass

Interestingly, this correspondence is found once in SB:

tam-mrañ-caññi: /tøye’si/ broom

It is perhaps reflected in two names:

Mrit  /Bei/ Mergui
Mran-mañ  /Bøma/ 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:

apañ  /øpan/  /øpin/ plant
kywan:pañ  /cùn-ban/  /cùn-bin/ teak tree
sac-pañ  /θi’pan/  /θi’pin/ tree
phre:phre:  /phyè-phyè/  /phyè-byè/ slowly
takhu-khu  /takhù-khù/  /takhù-gù/ something
gà:chon  /ŋà-shon/  /ŋà-zaun/ five buildings
sum:khyap  /θøon-cha’/  /θøun-ja’/ three flat things
sum:thaññi  /θøon-the/  /θøun-de/ 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:

bon:bi  /pøn-phi/  /bøun-bi/ trousers
wam:puik  /wùn-phai’/  /wùn-bai’/ stomach
chaññ:piñ  /shi-phù/  /shi-bù/ amass
rwe:pø  /ye-pho/  /ye-bø/ 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:

jhe:  /shè/  /zè/ market
jhi:sì:  /shi-θì/  /zi-ðì/ wild plum
dhà:  /θà/  /ðà/ knife
 khu:ñ:  /køn/  /gùn/ head
 khu:ñ:bhiñ:  /køn-phì/  /ðì/ comb
 khyan:  /fìn/  /fìn/ ginger

An interesting feature concerning voicing is that though WB ut and u merge in TV /ù/, 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:

arp-koñ:  /yèi-køn/  /yøei’køn/ good shade
tit-tit  /tì-ù/  /tei’tì/ quiet
cf.  ti-ti  /tì-dì/  /tì-dì/ exact
4.3.2.2 WEAKENING

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

\textit{takoŋ} \hspace{1cm} /təgon/ \hspace{1cm} /təgaun/ \hspace{1cm} one animal
\textit{takhu} \hspace{1cm} /təkhú/ \hspace{1cm} /təkhú/ \hspace{1cm} one item

Two differences emerged: one is that TV /hńé/ ‘two’, unlike its SB counterpart /hńi/, does not weaken in compounds. For example:

\textit{hnac-khwak} \hspace{1cm} /hńé-khwa’/ \hspace{1cm} /hnokhwe’/ \hspace{1cm} two cups

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:

\textit{wā:phui:} \hspace{1cm} /phò/ \hspace{1cm} /wòbò/ \hspace{1cm} kind of bamboo
\textit{kyi:kan:takoŋ} \hspace{1cm} /kli-gan-gon/ \hspace{1cm} /cī-gān təgaun/ \hspace{1cm} a crow
\textit{takhā} \hspace{1cm} /kha/ \hspace{1cm} /təkha/ \hspace{1cm} again
\textit{hāwā} \hspace{1cm} /wa/ \hspace{1cm} /həwa/ \hspace{1cm} whatsit
\textit{capā:} \hspace{1cm} /bə/ \hspace{1cm} /səbə/ \hspace{1cm} paddy
\textit{cakā:} \hspace{1cm} /gə/ \hspace{1cm} /səgə/ \hspace{1cm} word
\textit{thamaŋ:} \hspace{1cm} /hmān/ \hspace{1cm} /θəmən/ \hspace{1cm} cooked rice
\textit{puhkak} \hspace{1cm} /kha’/ \hspace{1cm} /pəkhe’/ \hspace{1cm} cradle
\textit{hńak-pyo-sī:} \hspace{1cm} /byɔ-θū/ \hspace{1cm} /ŋəpyɔ-ŋū/ \hspace{1cm} banana
\textit{sī-taŋ:ne.} \hspace{1cm} /dān-nē/ \hspace{1cm} /θədin-nē/ \hspace{1cm} sabbath day
\textit{aphit-ne.} \hspace{1cm} /phï-nē/ \hspace{1cm} /əpheï’nē/ \hspace{1cm} eve of sabbath
\textit{sa-krā:} \hspace{1cm} /fə/ \hspace{1cm} /θəjá/ \hspace{1cm} sugar
\textit{sakā} \hspace{1cm} /ga/ \hspace{1cm} /θəga/ \hspace{1cm} hardened crude sugar
\textit{tarā:nā} \hspace{1cm} /lỳ na/ \hspace{1cm} /təyā na/ \hspace{1cm} listen to a sermon

4.3.2.3 INDUCED CREAKY TONE

Induced creaky tone occurs in TV as in SB. For example:

\textit{sū} \hspace{1cm} /θu/ \hspace{1cm} /θu/ \hspace{1cm} he
\textit{sū:rañː:cā:} \hspace{1cm} /θu yə-zə/ \hspace{1cm} /θu yì-zə/ \hspace{1cm} his sweetheart
\textit{chāy} \hspace{1cm} /ʃe’/ \hspace{1cm} /ʃe’/ \hspace{1cm} ten
\textit{chay:le} \hspace{1cm} /ʃe’-lə/ \hspace{1cm} /ʃə-ʃe’/ \hspace{1cm} fourteen

Creaky tone is also induced in TV by the suffix /lō/ ‘plural’, which corresponds grammatically, and perhaps etymologically, to SB /ló/:

\textit{sū} \hspace{1cm} /θu/ \hspace{1cm} /θu/ \hspace{1cm} he
\textit{sū-lō} \hspace{1cm} /θu-lō/ \hspace{1cm} /θu-dō/ \hspace{1cm} they
\textit{naŋ} \hspace{1cm} /nən/ \hspace{1cm} /nən/ \hspace{1cm} you (sing.)
\textit{naŋ-lō} \hspace{1cm} /nən-lō/ \hspace{1cm} /nən-dō/ \hspace{1cm} 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:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{nyim-nyim} & /\text{n\-n}/ & /\text{n\-n}/ & \text{quiet} \\
\text{man-man} & /\text{man}/ & /\text{man}/ & \text{quickly} \\
\text{phru-phru} & /\text{phu-phu}/ & /\text{phu-phu}/ & \text{white} \\
\text{kron-tog-tog} & /\text{c\-t\-n/} & /\text{c\-t\-n/} & \text{bemused} \\
\text{hman-hman} & /\text{hman-hman k\-gan/} & /\text{hman-hman k\-gan/} & \text{regularly} \\
\text{but t\-t\-} & /\text{t\-d}/ & /\text{t\-d}/ & \text{quite}
\end{array}
\]

(b) when nouns are repeated to form a diminutive, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV base</th>
<th>TV diminutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/phw--o/</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/--o/</td>
<td>granny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/--o/</td>
<td>sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/--o/</td>
<td>sweetie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/--o/</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/--o/</td>
<td>mummy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/--o/</td>
<td>lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/--o/</td>
<td>lordling (i.e. monk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/--o/</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/--o/</td>
<td>daddy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) in some compounds, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cham</td>
<td>/shan/</td>
<td>/shan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cham-paq</td>
<td>/shan-ban/</td>
<td>/shobin/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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:

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{kong:kong:} & /k\-g\-n/ & /k\-g\-n/ & \text{well} \\
\text{ta\-\-n.} & /t\-\-d/ & /t\-\-d/ & \text{straight}
\end{array}
\]

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 /\-\-o/ to /a/

TV /sho-a/ 1.27, 1.37, and so on, SB /sho-yin/ ‘if’
TV /la’kləonkləon jī-a, kəθe cɔ’-sā/ 1.62
SB /phəṃməthein jī-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 /nən mə-yaon-a-lè/ 1.33
SB /nən mə-youn-yin-lè/
you not-trust-if-also
and if you don’t trust me

(2) /ā/ verb-sentence marker = SB /phû/; negated sentence-final verbs also occur with Ø marker

TV /sə-ði-lè mə-ku:n-ā/ 1.8
SB /sə-lə-lè mə-koun-bû/
eat-ing-also not-run.out-VSMK
and (they) couldn’t eat all of it

TV /θə-myə mə-caon-phû-â/ 1.29
SB /da-myə mə-coun-bû-bû/
that-kind not-meet-ever-VSMK
I’ve never met anything like it.

Apparently also used in verb sentence attributes (one example only):

TV /lhu’-mə-wə-â wə-tə-wə/ 1.11
SB /θei’-mə-wê-dê 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 /pyə-â/ inf
SB /pyə-de/
say-VSMK
(he) said

(3) /be-hna-ə/ sentence-final postposition = SB/pô-le/

TV /wa-(ð)ə sho-myə-behnae/ 1.4
SB /ywa-lè shodê-hamyə-bôle/
village-little say-kind-you.know
a little kind of village, you know

TV /kə-dən-myə-behnae/ 1.12
SB /kə-dən-lo-bôle/
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 /hú/

TV /phe-ha phyi’-cón/ 1.58
SB /ba phyi’-ló/

which-thing happen-because why?

TV /châ-jón hmû-á/ 1.65
SB /tochâ-jáun hmou’-phû/

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 /tê phyi’-lè-jón-bè/ 1.56
SB /da phyi’ta-nè-lè-bè/

that happen-also-because-EMP after that happened

TV /hao-gá-lè-jón-bè mé-bî-dô-a/ 1.55
SB /ho-gá-lè-bè mé-pî-dô-ga/

that-SUBJ-also-because-EMP faint-finish-when-time
and this one fainted away and …

TV /tê … wa-dà-á-lè-jón-bè/ 1.64
SB /di … ywa-lè-gá-lè-bè/

this village-little-SUBJ-also-because-EMP
and this village

(6) /ê/ subordinate marker with noun for complement = SB /ha, ká/; possibly from TV */thê/ = WB saññ

TV /thê-wa-á lu-de-ê/ 1.5
SB /di-ywa-gá lu-de-ha/

this-village-from person-PL-SUBJ
the people from this village

TV /thô-e shûn-khlá-la-(0)u-bè/ 1.36
SB /thô-ha shûn-chá-la-da-bè/

he-SUBJ descend-drop-come-VSMK-EMP
He ran down.

(7) /ê/ verb-sentence marker = SB /te/; presumably from TV */thê/ = WB saññ

TV /to-do kî-ê/ 1.6
SB /to-do ci-de/

quite-ADV be.big-VSMK
(It) was pretty big.

TV /thô la-ê/ 1.12
SB /thô la-de/

he come-VSMK
He came.
(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 /sàya/; presumably as WB akhag: (only one example)

TV /ye-khàn mò-khàn/ 1.16
SB /yi-sàya mò-sàya/  
laugh-thing laugh-thing
jokes

(10) /hùn/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /taun/

TV /ò-hmyá-hùn mò-ca-á/ 1.45 (sole example)
SB /di-lau'-taun mò-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-me/ inf
SB /lou'-pá-me/
do-EMP-VSMK
(I) will do (it).

(12) /ké/ auxiliary verb = SB /cá/, voiceable; apparently no connection with TV /ké/ = SB /cú/ 'look'

TV /nà-thôn-gé/ 1.2
SB /nà-thaun-já/  
ear-set.up-PL
listen

TV /plan-òwà-gé-be-yō/ 3.2
SB /pyan-òwà-já-be-dō/  
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 /Dèwe-á ne-bí-le/ 1.4
SB /Dèwe-gá ne-bí-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-e/  1.10
SB  /θe-ðwà-le-de/
    die-go-EUPH-VSMK
    (They all) died.

TV  /pyi'-khlá-à-le-(Ø)u-bè/  1.24
SB  /pyi'-chá-θwà-le-da-bè/
    throw-drop-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP
    (He) dropped (it) down.

TV  /bàon-gənè lè-le-e/  1.51
SB  /bəun-gənè lè-le-de/
    bump-ADV fall-EUPH-VSMK
    (He) came down with a thump.

TV  /pyo'-θwà-le-(Ø)u-bè/  1.56
SB  /pyau'-θwà-le-da-bè/
    disappear-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP
    (She) disappeared.

(15) /nɔ/ sentence-final postposition = SB /nɔ/

TV  /pyə-pyá-me-ło/  1.1 (sole example)
SB  /pyə-pyá-me-nɔ/
    say-show-VSMK-right?
    (I’ll tell you, shall I?)

(16) /lɔ/ sentence-final postposition = SB /lɔ/ cf. formal SB /lɔ/; and TV /nù/ = SB /nə/

TV  /cena'-pə-lɔ/  1.22
SB  /cena'-pə-lə/
    be.satisfied-VSMK-Q
    Are you satisfied?

TV  /kan-kɔn-lɔ  phe-lɔ  mə-θə-ù/  1.6
SB  /kan-kɔun-lə  ba-lə  mə-θə-bù/
    fate-be.good-Q what-Q not-know-VSMK
    (I’m) not sure whether it was good luck or not.

TV  /hmú-lɔ/  1.3
SB  /humou'-lə/
    not.be.so-Q
    Isn’t it?

(17) /lô/ auxiliary noun = SB /lô/; induces creaky tone in preceding syllable

TV  /nán-lô/  1.1
SB  /nin-dô/
    you-PL
    you (plural)

TV  /θu-lô/  1.5
SB  /θu-dô/
he-PL
they (plural)

(18) /máalɔ/ verb-sentence marker = SB /pa-là/

TV /lā'kłǎoklǎon-a kɔθe nain-máalɔ/ (1.60 – sole example)
SB /pʰɔumɔθin-ha tɔshe nain-balà/
camphor-SUBJ demon overcome-EXCL
So demons are afraid of camphor!

(19) /myɔ/ marker noun, with noun attribute and verb sentence attribute in /(/θ)u/, = SB /lo/

TV /θè po'-(/θ)u-myɔ ɔθan cà-ɔn/ 1.38
SB /θè pau'-θɔ-lo ɔθan cà-aun/
urine pass-REL-kind sound hear-so,that
so as to make a sound like urinating

TV /phe-myɔ lao'-nù/ 1.47
SB /be-lo lou'-lè/
what-kind do-Q
What did he do?

TV /θɔ-myɔ kɔθe lai'-e/ 1.58
SB /di-lo tɔshe lai'-te/
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 /θè-ná-bè/ 1.9
SB /da-né-bè/
that-with-EMP
with that

TV /cɔ-ná khɛ/ 1.33
SB /cɔ-né chi/
rope-with tie
tie with a rope

(21) /ná/ verb-sentence marker = SB /né/, formal /hnín/

TV /mɔ-ŋo-ba-ná/ 2.2.1
SB /mɔ-ŋo-ba-né/
not-cry-POL-VSMK
Don’t cry!

(22) /nù/ sentence-final postposition = SB /lè/, ? cf. formal SB /nì/

TV /phe-myɔ lao'-nù/ 1.27, 47
SB /be-lo lou'-lè/
what-kind do-Q
What did (she) do?
TV  /phe-ha phyi'-cón ... yan-fa-bi mə-nain-nù/ 1.58
SB  /ba phyi'-ló ... yan-fa-bi mə-nain-əlè/
which-thing happen-because fight-seek-ing not-overcame-Q
Why could (she) not harm (me)?

TV  /phe-ha-nù/ inf
SB  /be-ha-lè/
which-thing-Q
what?

(23) /ən-ənɔ/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /θəlo/

TV  /θwà-ənɔn/ inf (sole example)
SB  /θwà-θəlo/
go-like
as (he) goes

(24) /pi/ ?verb-sentence marker = SB /ta/; two examples only, both in /V-pi-bè/; voiceable

TV  /Lu-hmàn-θu-hmàn mə-thí ne-bí-bè/ 1.55
SB  /Lu-hmàn-θu-hmàn mə-thí-bè ne-da-bè/
person-that-person-that not-know-without lie-VSMK-EMP
(H) lay there oblivious.

TV  /lè-ne-bí-bè/ 1.52
SB  /lè-ne-da-bè/
fall-stay-VSMK-EMP
(H) fell down.

(25) /θe-mà θu/ = SB /θu-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-θu pyi'sì/ inf
SB  /pè-dè pyi'sì/
give-REL thing
the things (he) gave (you)

TV  /pa-la-(θ)u polwi/ 1.24
SB  /pa-la-dè polwe/
bring-come-REL flute
the flute (he) had brought with (him)

TV  /welwiwən phyi'-la-(θ)u əkha-ma/ 1.56
SB  /welwiwɛn phyi'-la-dè əkha-hma/
dawn happen-come-REL time-at
when dawn broke

TV  /pyɔ'-θu-za/ 1.16
SB  /pyɔ-dè-ha/
say-REL-thing
what (they) said
TV /yu-shon-dwâ-(ð)u-bè/ 1.7
SB /yu-shun-dwâ-da-bè/
take-carry-go-VSMK-EMP
(They) took (it) away.

TV /sɔ̀-zɔ̀-á we-ðu phe thà-nù/ inf
SB /sɔ̀-zɔ̀-gâ we-da be-hma thà-lê/
early-at buy-thing where put-Q
Where did you put the things you bought earlier?

(27) /tì/ and /tì-jõn/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /lò/, V-té-ətwe';
voiceable

TV /wan-lai'-tì mə-yâ-á/ 1.53
SB /win-lai'-lò mə-yâ-bû/
enter-through-ing not-succeed-VSMK
(She) couldn’t get inside.

TV /sà-dî-lê mə-ku:n-á/ 1.8
SB /sà-lò-lê mə-koun-bû/
eat-ing-also not-exhaust-VSMK
and (they) couldn’t eat all of (it)

TV /ðu tõ-di-jõn õcân plè-ë/ 1.43
SB /ðu tõ-de-twe' atin pyè-de/
he know-because forcefully run-VSMK
Because (he) knew, (he) ran as fast as (he) could.

TV /kəθe co'-'on sho-di-jõn/ 1.63
SB /təθə cau'-'aun sho-lò/
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 pyò-ne-yâ-ù-me/ 1.20
SB /səgà pyò-ne-yâ-ðun-me/
word talk-stay-must-more-VSMK
(You)’ve got to go on talking.

TV /ŋa shin-ko'-'ù-me/ 1.25
SB /ŋa shin-kau'-'ðun-me/
I descend-get-more-VSMK
I’ll just pop down and fetch (it).
(29) /za/ semi-bound noun = SB /ha/

TV  /θū-lō  py̑-(ð)u-za-े/  1.16
SB  /θu-dō  py̑-dê-ha-ha/
    he-PL  talk-REL-thing-SUBJ
    their talk

TV  /θwā-bī  ṭā-ḍā-phe-ḍā  hmyā-(ð)u-za-gò/  1.5
SB  /θwā-bī  ṭā-ḷe-ba-ḷe  hmyā-dê-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-e/  1.45
SB  /dī-lō-ha-ha/
    this-like-thing-SUBJ
    this kind of thing

(30) [zero] = SB /phù/; see also TV /ā/

TV  /mə-phyi’/  1.29
SB  /mə-phyi’-phù/
    not-work
    It’s no good.

TV  /wan-dī-ā-ḷe  mə-yā/  1.54
SB  /win-lō-gā-ḷe  mə-yā-bu/
    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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bō/</td>
<td>/phya/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khwā-bō’/</td>
<td>/tōgbau’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hē-lō/</td>
<td>/ya-win sín-ò/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tō’ò/</td>
<td>/sín-ò/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ka’pā/</td>
<td>/pau’shein/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.4.1.2 FAUNA AND FLORA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/jì’ṭī/</td>
<td>/ṭọye’ṭī/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jū-ban/</td>
<td>/ṇọyọu’pin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/la’klàon-klàon/</td>
<td>/phòun-møytein/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pō-ni-gā/</td>
<td>/pọyw’e’sheī’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cha-chin/</td>
<td>/kha-jin/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

cf. Malay chaching ‘earthworm’, or perhaps irregular reflex
### 4.3.4.1.3 MISCELLANEOUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kàn/</td>
<td>/thun-yè/ ridge (between furrows in hoed field)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/byan/</td>
<td>/ŋwe/ money, cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ka'kwì/</td>
<td>/əcwe/ money, cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kəθè/</td>
<td>/tashe/ ghost, demon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf. Thai *krasıy* ‘ghost, spirit’ (female, having head and entrails only, leaves excrement after visit)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/si'/</td>
<td>/cè'/ be cooked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmwa'/</td>
<td>/phònun/ cover, hang over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-θà/</td>
<td>/-kàle/ small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phá-sù/</td>
<td>/kaun-gàlè/ young boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mí-sù/</td>
<td>/kaun-màlè/ young girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/we-θà/</td>
<td>/kaun-màlè/ young girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wi-nà/</td>
<td>/φè-φè'/, /sàun-mè/ without good reason (as a child in a tantrum)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cf. Malay *wenang* ‘arbitrary’?

| /gan-zà/ | /əpol/, /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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB gloss</th>
<th>TV form requires *SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hèl/</td>
<td>/hì'/ one</td>
<td>/hèl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hnè/</td>
<td>/hni'/ two</td>
<td>/hnè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khun-nè/</td>
<td>/khun-nì'/</td>
<td>seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmàn/</td>
<td>/thòmìn/ cooked rice</td>
<td>/hmàn/, /hmàn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hè/ (rural pron.)</td>
<td>/į'/ exist</td>
<td>/hè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmè/</td>
<td>/màjì'/, /mé'/ not exist</td>
<td>/hmè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ko'/</td>
<td>/khou'/ chop, slash</td>
<td>/khau'/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.3.4.3 FORMS WITH DIFFERENT MEANING OR USE IN SB

#### 4.3.4.3.1 WHOLE WORDS AND PHRASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pwè'/</td>
<td>/pà/ end, finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cf. /pwè'/ be past season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tá/</td>
<td>/cin/ ache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cf. /tá/ long for, call upon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/shi-làon/</td>
<td>/khàdàun cai'/ gird loins (with lon-gyi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cf. /shi/ wear, tie round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and /lòun/ be round</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/ya'/  /œ/, /ko/, /pi/  summon, meet  cf. /ya'/  stand, stop
/na'ki-pha'hnwè/  /phænwe..'ga/  the day after the day after tomorrow  cf. /(mə)ne'/  morning  /(θo)be'(kha)/  day after tomorrow  /(pho)nwè/  day after day after tomorrow
/na'ki-pha'/  /θobe'kha/  day after tomorrow
/na'ki-tain-kha/  /mae'phan/  tomorrow  cf. /tain/, /kha/  come to; time
/na'ki-dû-á/  /mae-gá/  yesterday  cf. /-toun-gá/  (past time)
/na'ki-pha'tû-á/  /dœnyan mane-gá/  day before yesterday  cf. (as above)
/(kwè tə)wi/  /(cwe tə)ou'/'  herd (of water buffalo)  cf. /œythe/  retinue, attendants
/ka'/  /ci/  granary  cf. /ke'/  wicker lining for paddy cart
/ye-an/  /ye-ɔ/  water pot  cf. /in(-doun)/  cooking pan
/pla'/  /lia/  trick, deceive  cf. /pye'/  joke
/mò/  /mi/  be intoxicated  cf. /mò/  be tired
/byi'sè kha/  /tɔye'si hlé/  sweep, wield broom  cf. /kha/  shake
/hlè-zè kha/  /tɔye'si hlé/  sweep, wield broom /
/Pθan-θà/  /Bɔma/  Burmese  cf. /Pθan-θà/  native of Pagan

4.3.4.3.2 PARTS OF WORDS AND PHRASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/bon pi/</td>
<td>/ei' pyɔ/</td>
<td>sleep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.4.4 SELECTIVES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/θe/</td>
<td>/di/ (cf. WB saññ) this</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hao/</td>
<td>/no/ that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phe/</td>
<td>/be/ which?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θe-ma-θu/ &gt; /θama-u/</td>
<td>/da/ this (thing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hao-ma-θu/ &gt; /hao-ma-u/</td>
<td>/hɔwa/ that (thing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phe-ha/ &gt; /phya/</td>
<td>/ba, be-ha/ which (thing)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4 TEXTS

The following texts are transcriptions of some of the recordings made in Tavoy by Ü Cə Min. 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 /dɔ, -dɔ/, /-l/), I write the variant which seems closer to the actual pronunciation at that point on the tape. The suffixes /-θu/ and /-θa/ alternate with /-u/ and /-a/, but in these two cases I transcribe the latter /-(θ)u/ and /-(θ)a/ 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'-tû-le
   Má Khe, Má Nú – nin-dó-le ṇa-counjai'-toûn-le
   Ma Khe Ma Nu you-PL-youknow I-encounter-while-you.know
   hao-Dɔwe – hao-Jèfè-á paon-(ð)à-baon pyòpyá-me-lo.
   hao-Dɔwe – hao-Jèfè-gà poun-le-toboun pyòpyá-me-no.
   that-Tavoy that-past-from story-little-story tell-VSMK-right?

2. Nà-thon-gé.
   Nà-thaun-já.
   ear-set.up-PL

3. êðəma-(ð)u pao-á-dɔa jí, hmú-lɔ.
   êdi-ha poun-gá-dɔga jí-de, hmou'-là.
   that-thing story-SUBJ-as.for be not.be.so-Q

4. e. Dowe-á ne-bì-le ðəon-main-lo' kwa-(ð)u-ma
   e. Dowe-gá ne-bì-le ðəun-main-lau' okwa-hma
   yes Tavoy-from stay-finish-you.know three-mile-about be far-thing-at
   wa-(ð)à sho-myò-behnae – i-je [hɔma(ð)u –] shë-lè-ŋà-shon
   ywa-lë shodé-hamyò-bó-le – ein-je [hawa –] shë-lè-ŋà-zaun
   village-small say-kind-you.know house-count [umm] ten-four-five-house
   wa-(ð)à-myò-tò-zù jí-ë.
   ywa-lë-myò-tò-ywa jí-de.
   village-small-kind-one-group be-VSMK

5. è. Ò-né-dɔá ðëe-wa-á-lu-de-ë
   ò. Ò-né-dɔga di-ywa-gá-lu-de-ha
   yes one-day-as.for this-village-from-person-PL-SUBJ
   [hɔma-(ð)u –] kan-kön-(ð)u-bè sho-yá-me-behnae –
   [hawa –] kan-kaun-de-bè sho-yá-me-bɔlé –
   [umm] fate-be.good-VSMK-EMP say-must-VSMK-you.know
120 JOHN OKELL

thú-ló  thwà-bì  jà-dà-phe-dà  hmyà-(0)u-za-gò-
thu-dó  thwà-bì  jà-lè-ba-lè  hmyà-dè-ha-gò-
he-PL  go-and  fish-little-what-little  catch-REL-thing-ACC
làn-bàn-to-khòn  yá-la-e.
lìn-bàn-to-gaun  yá-la-de.
eel-one-fish  get-come-VSMK

6.  the-dó  the-làn-bàn-á-lè  -  thú-ló-bè  kan-kòn-lò-phe-lò
di-dóga  di-ńlìn-bàn-gá-lè  -  thu-dó-bè  kan-kàu-là-ba-là
this-then  this-eel-SUBJ-also  he-PL-EMP  luck-be.good-Q-what-Q
ma-thì-á  -  to-dò  kí-e.
mo-thì-bù  -  to-dò  cí-de.
not-know-VSMK  quite-ADV  be.big-VSMK

7.  thú-ló  yu-shòn-ńwà-(0)u-bè  -  the-làn-bàn-o.
he-PL  take-carry-go-VSMK-EMP  this-eel-ACC

8.  the-dó  to-i-thòn-đè  sà-dì-lè  ma-kun-á.
di-dóga  to-ein-daun-đè  sà-lò-lè  ma-koun-bù.
this-then  one-house-set.up-only  eat-ing-also  not-use.up-VSMK

9.  the-nà-bè  [à -]  thú-ló  shé-lè-ńjà-shòn
da-nè-bè  [à -]  thu-dó  shé-lè-ńjà-zaun
this-with-EMP  [umm]  he-PL  ten-four-five-house
fi-(0)u  [i -]  i-zù-ńlàon  thu-di-ńga-bàn-behnæ
di-đè  [ein -]  ein-zù-ńloun  thu-tàdï-ńga-tàbain-bólè
be-REL  [house]  house-group-all  he-lump-I-piece-you.know
tó-kha  hmyà-pi-dóa,  wàn-pì-dóa,  the-làn-bàn-to-khòn
tó-kha  hmyà-pi-dóga,  wàn-pì-dóga,  di-ńlìn-bàn-to-gaun
one-time  share-finish-when  gather-finish-when  this-eel-one-fish
sà-lái'-mí-(0)u-bè.
sà-lái'-mí-da-bè.
eat-through-happen-VSMK-EMP

10.  the-bì-sho-bè  [the -]  nún-khàn-phá'  klá-sho-bè
pi-dó-sho-bè  [di-]  ná-gin-be'  cá-sho-bè
finish-when-say-EMP  night-time-side  fall-say-EMP

tó-kha-dè  the-wà-á-lu-dè-e  to-yo'-ma-can
tó-kha-dè  di-ywa-gá-lu-dè-ha  to-yau'-ma-can
one-time-only  this-village-from-person-PL-SUBJ  one-person-not-omit
kalá-wùn-yóga  phyi'-pì-dóa  áləon  wùn-klá-bì
kalá-wùn-yóga  phyi'-pì-dóga  áləon  wùn-cá-bì
time-stomach-disease  happen-finish-when  all  stomach-fall-and
the-á-le-e.
the-ńwà-le-de.
die-go-EUPH-VSMK
11. θε-ακհi-ма θε-ဝa-ဝ နे-زين-နে-dain လa-လa-BigInteger
di-ፋchein-hma di-ፋcya-go နe-زين-နe-дain လa-pla-dóga
this-time-at this-village-to day-line-day-every come-come-finish-when
this-man-young-visit-stay-person-one-person be-VSMK [that-with]
hlu’-mọ-wi-á wa-ta-wa-á-bè lu-ta-yo’.
θe’i’-mọ-wè-dé ywa-ta-ywa-gá-bè lu-ta-yau’.
very-not-be.far-REL village-one-village-from-EMP person-one-person

12. θe-dó ǭu la-(ǿ)u-bé –
Di-dó ǭu la-da-bè –
this-then he come-VSMK-EMP
kha-dain-myó-behnae, နe-زين-myó-bè ǭu la-e.
kha-dain-lo-bè, နe-زين-lo-bè ǭu la-de.
time-every-kind-you.know day-line-kind-EMP he come-VSMK

13. La-shóbè ǭu-á la-dé-ǿkha pəwə-dá hmú-pi-dó la-e.
Lade-shodó ǭu-gá la-dé-ǿkha pəwe-đe hmou’-pi-dó la-de.
come-say he-SUBJ come-REL-time flute-small blow-and-then come-VSMK

14. θe-bì ǭu la-ne-já ǭų-yêzâ-i tə-kha-dè
Nau’pi ǭu la-ne-já ǭų-yêzâ-تنسيق tə-kha-dè
this-finish he come-stay-usual his-sweetheart-house one-time-only
ǭu ta’-la-(ǿ)u-bé.
ǭu te’-la-da-bè.
he go.up-come-VSMK-EMP

15. Ta’-pi-dóa ǭu kha-dain-myó-bè tə-kha-dè –
Te’-pi-dóga ǭu kha-dain-myó-bè tə-kha-dè –
go.up-finish-when he time-every-kind-EMP one-time-only
ǭų-yêzâ-á-lē mi-báo-dá thún-bi-dó
ǭų-yêzâ-gá-lē mi-bóuⁿ-lē thún-pi-dó
his-sweetheart-SUBJ-also fire-bucket-small light-finish-and
έ khan-ne-ə  – နe-زين-myó-bè.
έ khan-ne-de  – နe-زين-lo-bè.
visitor-receive-stay-VSMK day-every-kind-EMP

16. θe-sho-bè ǭu-á-lē ǭų-yêzâ-ná-a
Di-lo-bè ǭu-gá-lē ǭų-yêzâ-ná-gá
this-say-EMP he-SUBJ-also his-sweetheart-near-at
i-tha’ ta’-pi-dó, sogá tən-po-yó-myó’-pyó-behnae,
ein-bo te’-pi-dó, sogá taun-byó-myau’-pyó-bóle,
house-on go.up-finish-when word south-say-north-say.you.know
ye-khan-mọ-khán-myó-o pyó-bí – ǭe-ná-bè ǭų-ló
yi-zaya-mọ-zaya-myó-go pyó-bí – da-né-bè ǭu-dó
laugh-thing-laugh-thing-kind-ACC say-finish that-with-EMP he-PL
pyò-(ð)u-zæ-s  ñín-ʃi’-nayi-lo’-á-ne  pyò-hàn-pyò-hàn
pyò-dë-ha-ha  ñá-ʃi’-nayi-lau’-ká-ne  pyò-yin-pyò-yin
say-REL-thing-SUBJ night-eight-hour-about-from-stay talk-ing-talk-ing

[haʊ-ma-(ð)u-]  ñín-na’  klá-la-(ð)u-bé.
[ummm]  night-dark fall-come-VSMK-EMP

17.  ñín-na’  klá-la  –  shé-hné-nayi-lo’  co-bi.
ñín-ne’  cá-la  –  shé-hnø-nayi-lau’  co-bi.
night-dark fall-come ten-two-hour-about exceed-VSMK

18.  ðe-khi-sho-bè  yo’cã-a  nè-nè  Ṵônña  ta’-la-e
Di-œchein-cá-dô  yau’cã-gá  nè-nè  œñâûññâña  te’-la-dè
this-time-say-EMP man-SUBJ little-ADV ache  enter-come-VSMK
–  ñ-lè  naí’-la-bi.
–  e’ilè  naí’-la-bi.
sleep-also nod-come-VSMK

19.  ðuí-yèzã-o  pyò-(ð)u-bè:  “è  ṣa  i
ðuí-yîzã-go  pyò-da-bè:  “è  ṣa  eín
his-sweetheart-to say-VSMK-EMP right I house
plan-à-me,  ðwà-šo-me”  sho-pyò-e.
pyan-ðwà-me,  ðwà-dô-me”  shobj-pyò-de.
return-go-VSMK go-now-VSMK speak-say-VSMK

this-say-EMP his-sweetheart-SUBJ ha return-not-get-VSMK
Gà  pyò-ne-yà-ù-me”  sho-bè  kha
Sågà  pyò-ne-yà-ðun-me”  sho-bí  òo-kha
word speak-stay-must-more-VSMK say-EMP time
laogi-ðã-o  shwè-thà-be-(ð)u-bè.
lounji-ðã-go  shwè-thà-be-da-bè.
longyi-cloth-ACC pull-place-EUPH-VSMK-EMP

21.  ðe-sho-bè-kha  “Plan-ù-me”  sho-kha  ðu  pyò;
Di-dô  “Pyan-ðun-me”  sho-bí  ðu  pyò;
this-say-EMP-time return-more-VSMK say-time he say
ho-gá  kha  shwè-thà
ho-gá  tákha  shwè-thà
there-from time pull-place

22.  Kha  “Cena’-pø-lã”  sho-kha,
tákha  “Cena’-pø-là”  sho-bí,
time  be.satisfied-VSMK-Q say-time
“Plan-ù-me”  sho-kha  pyò;  kha  shwè-thà.
“Pyan-ðun-me”  sho-bí  pyò;  tákha  shwè-thà.
return-more-VSMK say-ing speak time pull-hold
23. No’-tôa  ðe:-yo’cà-lao’-ðu-á  sî-kû  ta’-la-e.
    Nau’-tôga  di-yau’cà-lou’-ðu-gá  selv’kû  yâ-la-de.
    later-when this-man-do-person-SUBJ mind-cross arise-come-VSMK

24. “e.  ña  no’-tha’  nì-tô-myô  hlé-pi-dôa  lao’-hmá
    “e.  ña  nau’-tha’  nì-tô-myô  hlé-pi-dôga  lou’-hmá
    right I further-extra way-one-kind turn-and-when do-only-if
    yá-me”  sho-bi,  ðû-hma  pa-la-(ð)u
    yá-me”  sho-bi,  ðû-hma  pa-la-de
    succeed-VSMK say-and he-at bring-come-REL

polwi-dâ-o  tò-kha-dê  ðe-cân-jà  wà-chàn-o
polwe-lè-go  tò-kha-dê  di-cân-jà  wà-jàn-go
flute-small-ACC one-time-only this-floor-between bamboo-split-ACC
phè-pi-dôa  cân-jà-á-ne  pyî’-khlá-à-le-(ð)u-bè.
phè-pi-dôga  cân-jà-gá-ne  pyî’-chá-ôwâ-à-le-da-bè.
prise-finish-when floor-between-from-stay throw-drop-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP

25. ðe-pi-hmá  ðu-á  pyò-e:
    Da-pi-dô  ðu-gá  pyò-de:
    that-finish-only-when he-SUBJ say-VSMK

“A.  ñà-polwi-tà-lao-lè  c’-klâ-ôwà-bi.
ah my-flute-one-CLF-also below-fall-go-VSMK

ña shin-kò’-ã-me”  sho-bi  pyò-e.
ña shin-kau’-ôn-me”  sho-bi  pyò-de.
I descend-get-more-VSMK say-ing speak-VSMK

    Di-dô-lè  “A.  Õsin-kau’  mà-yâ-bù”,
    this-say-EMP-also ah descend-get not-succeed-VSMK

ðu  kà’pè-me  sho-bi  mënmâ-á  pyò-ôa-gò.
ðu  kau’pè-me  sho-bi  meinmâ-gá  pyò-ôa-gò.
she get-give-VSMK say-and woman-SUBJ say-VSMK-EMP

27. tò-kha-dê  phe-myô  lao’-nû  sho-a
    tò-kha-dê  bê-lo  lou’lè  sho-yîn
    one-time-only what-kind do-Q say-if

ðe-cân-jà-bô’-á-ne-be  ja-gî  thu-khlâ-bî-dô
di-cân-jà-bau’-kâ-ne-be  ja-jî  thou’chá-pî-dô
this-floor-crack-hole-from-stay-EMP tongue-big stick.out-drop-finish-when

polwi li-pi-dôa  yu-tan-pè-(ð)u-bè.
polwe lei-pi-dôga  yu-tîn-pè-da-bè.
flute encircle-finish-when take-place-give-VSMK-EMP
Di-dó-hmá yau’cə-lou’-θu-gá sinzà-de.
this-when man-do-person-SUBJ think-VSMK

29. “Kha-lè ðə-myò mə-cao-phù-á”-behnae;
“tə-kha-hmá da-myò mə-coun-bũ-bũ”-bóle
time-also this-kind not-meet-ever-VSMK-you.know
“θe tə-kha-dó šan-shàn-pyà-byà
“di tə-kha-dóga šan-zàn-pyà-byà
this one-time-when be.strange-ADV-be.odd-ADV
θe-myò jə-gi-ná lî-pí-dó yu-tan-pè-(ð)u-za
di-lo jə-jí-né lei’-pí-dó yu-tin-pè-dè-ha
this-kind tongue-big-with encircle-finish-when take-place-give-REL-thing
ekandá kəθe-bé. A. Mə-phyi’.”
ekandá tə-she-bé. A. Mə-phyi’-phù.”
truly demon-EMP ah not-work

30. ðe-bi-sho-bé kha ðu-á “Plan-ù-me”
Da-né-bé tə-kha ðu-gá “Pyan-ùn-me”
that-finish-say-EMP time he-SUBJ return-more-VSMK”
sho-bi pyš-e. Mə-yá-á.
sho-bi pyš-de. Mə-yá-bũ.
say-ing speak-VSMK not-succeed-VSMK

31. ðe-ná-bé kha əlu’-ta-ní can-hmá yá-mé sho-bi:
Da-né-bé tə-kha əlu’-ta-ní can-hmá yá-mé sho-bi:
that-with-EMP time independent-one-method plan-when succeed-VSMK

32. “Hwè. nə ðə-po’ ðwà-ù-me,
“Hé. nə ðə-pau’ ðwà-ùn-me,
hey I urine-pass go-more-VSMK
nə o’ ji’ shin-ù-me.”
nə au’ təche’ shin-ùn-me.”
I below trip descend-more-VSMK

33. ðe-sho-bè, “Nan mə-yaon-a-lè ŋá-khà-o-lè
Di-lo-bè, “Nin mə-youn-yin-lè, ŋá-khà-go-lè
that-say-EMP you not-believe-if-also my-waist-ACC-also
nan cò-ná khe-bí thá.
nin cò-né chi-bí thá.
you rope-with tie-and place

34. Jon nan ðe-á ké-ne, són-ne;
Pidí nin di-gá ci-ne, sáun-ne;
then you here-from look-stay wait-stay
nə shin-pí-dóa ðè-po’ ðwà-mé.”
nə shin-pí-dóga ðè-pau’ ðwà-mé.”
I descend-finish-when urine-pass go-VSMK
35. Sho-pi-dọ  ṭu khà-á cò-khe-pè-lai’e.
Sho-pi-dọ  ṭu khà-ga cò-chi-pè-lai’tə.
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
ṭu-e shin-khlá-la-(ā)u-bè.
ṭu-ha shin-chà-là-da-bè.
he-SUBJ descend-drop-come-VSMK-EMP

37. Hsin-khlá-la-bi sho-bè, ṭu-[a]- ṭə-po’-a
Hsin-chá-la-bi sho-yin-bè, ṭu-[a]- ṭə-pau’-ta
descend-drop-come-finish say-EMP he-[ah] urine-pass-VSMK
sho-(ā)u one-myò phyî’-on, phè-ha lao’-nù sho-a,
sho-dê one-myò phyî’-aun, ba lou’-lè sho-yin,
say-REL state-kind be-so.that which-thing do-Q say-if
o’-ma jī-du ye-an-tā-lāon-o tā-kha-dè [ṭe]
au’-hma jī-dê ye-ō-tā-lōun-go tā-kha-dè [di]
below-at be-REL water-pot-one-CLF-ACC one-time-only [this]
ṭu-khà-hma khe-thà-(ā)u cò-go phlù-pi-dọ ṭu khe-pè-e.
ṭu-khà-hma chi-thà-dè cò-go phyòu’-pi-dọ ṭu chi-pè-de.
his-waist-on tie-set-REL rope-ACC untie-finish-when he tie-give-VSMK

38. Khe-pè-pi ye-an-ha tā-kha-dè ṭe-po’-(ā)u-myò-əθan
Chi-pè-pi ye-ō-ha tā-kha-dè ṭe-pau’-θəlo-əθan
tie-give-finish water-pot-SUBJ one-time-only urine-pass-REL-kind-sound
ça-on tā-kha-dè ṭə-po’-(ā)ə-bə pho’-pi-dọa
cà-aun tā-kha-dè apau’-khölè-tbāu’ phau’-pi-dọa
hear-so.that one-time-only hole-small-hole pierce-finish-when
ṭu thà-pyi’-yi’-te.
ṭu thà-pyi’-yi’-te.
he leave-set-behind-VSMK

39. ṭe-dā ṭe-ye-an-thè-ma jī-(ā)u
Di-dọga di-ye-ō-dè-hma jī-dê
this-when this-water-pot-inside-in be-REL
ye-ə “jŏ”-sho klá-ne-(ā)u-za.
ye-ha “jŏ”-sho cán-de-ha.
water-SUBJ shaw-say fall-stay-VSMK-thing

40. A, cày-(ā)u lu-ádọa tāe ṭe-po’-(ā)u-bè əmè-e.
A, cày-dē lu-gádọga tāe ṭe-pau’-ta-bè au’mè-de.
ah hear-can-REL person-SUBJ really urine-pass-thing-EMP think-VSMK

41. ṭe-phyi’-lè ṭu-ha əma(ā)u-myò-o lao’-pyi’-yi’-pi
Da-phyi’-lè ṭu-ha howa-myò-go lou’-pyi’-yi’-pi
that-happen-also he-SUBJ this-kind-ACC make-throw-there-VSMK
sho-bê ta-kha-dê ûu acân plê-(Œ)u-bê.
sho-dê ta-kha-dê ûu ûün pyê-da-bê.
say-EMP one-time-only he wildly run-VSMK-EMP

42. Tê-kha-dê ûu-wa-Œa-o ûu la’lu’ plê-(Œ)u-bê.  
one-time-only his-village-small-to he frantically run-VSMK-EMP

43. Òe-mâ-Œu co’-ne-(Œ)u-gô; Óu-sê-á  
Ôu-ha-Œu cau’-ne-da-gô; Òu-sei’-ká  
his-thing-he fear-stay-VSMK-EMP his-mind-SUBJ

“A – ko’ê cho’-ne-bi” sho-(Œ)u Òu Òi-dîjôn  
“A – tashe chau’-ne-bi” sho-da Òu Òi-dêstwe’  
ah demon frighten-stay-VSMK say-thing he know-because

ta-kha-dê acân plê-ë.
ta-kha-dê ûün pyê-de.
one-time-only wildly run-VSMK

44. Ê – Òe-á-lê ye-an-thê-á ye-de-á-lê  
ê – di-gá-lê ye-ô-dê-gá ye-de-gá-lê  
so this-SUBJ also water-pot-inside-from water-PL-SUBJ also

Ôe-mô-pi-hnain-behnæ, kha-dê phyê-phye phyê-phye  
tê-mô-pi-hnainbû-bôle, ta-kha-dê phyê-byê phyê-byê  
very-not-finish-can-you.know time-only slow-ADV slow-ADV

“Jô” sho-bi klá-ne-(Œ)u-za.  
“Jô” sho-bi cá-ne-dé-ha.  
shaw say-and fall-stay-REL-thing

45. Òe-dô i-tha’ sôn-ne-(Œ)u ko’ê-má-á  
Di-dô ein-êo sâün-ne-dê tashe-má-gá  
this-then house-on wait-stay-REL demon-female-SUBJ

“A – Òoma(Œ)u-za-e Òe-po’-Œu Òh-myá-hên m-o-ca-á:  
“A – dilô-ha-ha Òe-pau’-ta di-lau’-taun m-o-ca-bû:  
ah this-thing-SUBJ urine-pass-thing this.much-even not-last-VSMK

to-khû-khû-bê” sho-bi, to-kha co-o  
to-khû-gû-bê” sho-bi, to-kha cô-go  
one-thing-thing-EMP say-when one-time rope-ACC

i-tha’-â-ne shûn-bi shwê-lai’-(Œ)u-za.  
ein-êo-gá-ne shûn-bi shwê-lai’tê-ha.  
house-on-from-stay jerk-and pull-through-REL-thing

46. Ye-an-gi-Œ-behnæ ta-kha-dê pêyao’thao’khâ i-tha’  
Ye-ô-ji-ha-bôle ta-kha-dê pêyou’thou’khâ ein-êo  
water-pot-big-SUBJ-you know one-time-only suddenly house-on

yô’-la-(Œ)u-bê  
yau’-la-da-bê.  
arrive-come-VSMK-EMP
47. òè-hmá “A—ŋá-yèzà-á plè-bí” sho-bí,
Da-hmá “A—ŋá-yizà-gá pyè-bí” sho-bí,
this-when ah my-sweetheart-SUBJ run-VSMK say-and
tò-kha-dè phe-myò lao’-nù sho-a, tòlà-gí than-ñí lai’-ë.
tò-kha-dè be-lo lou’-lè sho-yin, tòlà-ji than-ñí lai’-te.
one-time-only what-kind do-Q say-if coffin-big carry-and chase-VSMK

48. òè-“tòlà”-sho-(ò)u nán-ló nà-le-(ò)u-bè-là?
Di-“tòlà”-sho-da nin-dó nà-le-da-bè-là?
this-cofin-say-thing you-PL ear-encompass-thing-EMP-Q
“Tòlà”-sho-(ò)u lu-òe-o thè-(ò)u
“Tòlà”-sho-da lu-òe-go thè-dè
coffin-say-thing person-dead-ACC put-REL
òì’ò-a-o “tòlà” kho-ë.
tì’ta-go “tòlà” kho-de.
box-ACC coffin call-VSMK

49. èòhema-(ò)u-gì than-ñí chì-thè lai’--(ò)u-bè.
èdì-ha-ji than-ñí che’chùn lai’-ta-bè.
that-thing-big carry-and straightaway follow-VSMK-EMP

50. òè-dò hao-gá-lè ocàn plè, òè-á-lè ocàn lai’:
Di-dò ho-gá-lè oðn pyè, di-gá-lè oðn 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. òè-ná nò’-pf-shàon, hmi-kha-ní-du-bè phe-myò
Da-né nau’-pei’-shòun, hmi-ga-ní-hmá-bè be-lo
that-with last-close-end catch-time-be near-when-EMP what-kind
phyì’-òwà-nù sho-a, èòè-yò-cà-lao’-(ò)u-e bòon-gonè lè-le-ë.
phyì’-òwà-lè sho-yin, èdì-yau’cà-lou’-òu-ha bòun-gonè lè-le-de.
happen-go-Q say-if that-man-do-person-SUBJ bump-ADV fall-EUPH-VSMK

52. òè-chaobú-to-khú-thè bòon-gonè lè-(ò)u-ne-bì-bè.
Di-chounbou’-to-khú-dè bòun-gonè lè-pi-ne-da-bè.
this-thicket-one-CLF-in bump-ADV fall-and-stay-VSMK-EMP

53. èòè sho, [èòhema-(ò)u-] tòlà than-ñí lai’-(ò)u
èdà sho, [èdì-ha-] tòlà than-ñí lai’-te
that say [that-thing] coffin carry-and chase-REL
kòòe-má-gi-á-lè òè-chaobú-thè-go-dò
tòsìe-má-jí-gá-lè di-chounbou’thè-go-dò
demon-female-big-SUBJ-also this-thicket-inside-to however
wan-lai’-tí mò-yá-á.
win-lai’-ló mò-yá-bù.
enter-through-ing not-manage-VSMK
54. Chaobú-øplan-á-ne pa'sïnëwmwëhmwë-bë të-kha-dë
Chounbou'–øpyín-gá-ne pa'sïnëwmwëhmwë-bë të-kha-dë
thicket-outside-from-stay round.and.round-EMP one-time-only

əpo' jɑ-π-dɔ ne-(ø)u-bë; wan-df-á-lë mə-yá.
əpau' jɑ-π-dɔ ne-da-bë; win-ló-gá-lë mə-yábù.
opening-sing-when stay-VSMK-EMP enter-ING-SUBJ-also not-succeed

55. è– hao-gá-łëjón-bë më-bí-dõa
è– hò-gá-łë-bë mé-plí-dõga
so there-from also-EMP faint-finish-when
lu-hmàn-thu-hmàn mə-thí – ne-bí-bë.
lu-hmàn-thu-hmàn mə-thí – ne-da-bë.
person-that-person that not-know stay-VSMK-EMP

56. ðe phyì-łë-jón-bë mòðé-thá – tò-kha-dë
Da phyì-æñé-łë-bë mòðau-thá – tò-kha-dë
this happen-also because-EMP dawn-break one-time-only

ne-yon-ðà-á-lë weliwëlän phyì'-la-(ø)u økhà-ma,
ne-yauñ-lë-ðà-á-lë weliwëlän phyì'-la-dë økhà-hma,
sun-light-little-SUBJ-also dawn become-come-REL time-at
kha-dë øe-køe-má-gí-é phyè-phỳ-phỳ pyɔ'-πi-dõa
tkhà-dë di-tashe-má-jí-ha phyè-byè pyau'-πi-dõga
time-only this-demon-female-big-SUBJ slow-ADV-ADV disappear-finish-when

57. è– øe-hmá yo'cà-á-lë øòdf-yà-da'-la-ë.
è– da-hmá yaw'cà-gá-lë øòdf-yà-da'-la-de.
so that-only man-SUBJ-also consciousness-get-manage-come-VSMK

58. øòdf-yà-da'-la-ë sho-bë, thu sinzá-ë:
øòdf-yà-da'-la-de sho-yin-bë, thu sinzá-de:
consciousness-get-manage-come-VSMK say-EMP he think-VSMK

"Ne-û: ñîn-khàn ñá-o øø-myò-køe lai'-ë.
"Ne-ûn: ñá-gìn ñá-go di-lo-tashe lai'-ë.
stay-on night-time I-ACC this-kind-demon chase-VSMK

59. [øu-] thu ké-øu-ë thu wan-bi-dõa liè-ne-(ø)u
[øu-] thu cf-da-ha thu win-pi-dõga liè-ne-dë
[he] he look-thing-SUBJ he enter-finish-and fall-stay-REL
neya la’klao kləon-tɔ-gi phyi’-ne-ə.
neya phœnnmaθein-tɔ-jɪ phyi’-ne-de.
place camphor-thicket-big be-stay-VSMK

60. êθe-sho-bè ūu [θɔma-(ɔ)u əma-(ɔ)u- ]
edà-nè-bè ūu [hɔwa hɔwa- ]
that-say-EMP he [um um]
“la’klao kləon-a kəθe nain-máalɔ”
“phœnnmaθein-ha təshe nain-balə”
camphor-SUBJ demon overcome-EXCL
sho-bi, ūu [θɔma-o-] ta-khú-dɔa ūu hma’-θɔwà-mi-ə.
sho-bi, ūu [hɔwa -] ta-khú-dɔga ūu hma’-θɔwà-mi-de.
say-ing he [that.thing] one-thing-as.for he note-go-happen-VSMK

61. ê – ðe-nà-bè [θu –] no’ ūu wa yɔ’-wo’-θɔwà-də-ɔkha-ma
ê – da-nè-bè [θu –] nau’ ūu wa yau’-θɔwà-də-ɔkha-hma
so that-with-EMP [he] afterwards he village arrive-go-REL-time-at
no’-lu-de ūu pyɔ’-pyâ-ə:
nau’-lu-de ūu pyɔ’-pyâ-de:
later-people-PL he say-show-VSMK

62. “Ê – kəθe nain-jin-a-lɛ la’klao kləon
“Ê – təshe nain-jin-in-lɛ phœnnmaθein
so demon overcome-want-if-also camphor

[ho’o-sa -] i-de-phe-de-ma [haomo(ɔ)u – ] thò-thà, pyù-thà:
[ho ou’-sa –] ein-de-ba-de-hma [hɔwa – ] thò-thà, pyù-thà:

[θe-ha –] la’klao kləon fî-a kəθe cɔ’-sà” sho-djîn,
[di-ha –] phœnnmaθein fî-yin təshe cau’-lai’ta” sho-ló,
[this-thing] camphor be-if demon fear-EXCL say-because
eθɔma-(ɔ)u-myò-o “la’klao kləon-kəθe cɔ’-(θ)u-bè”
edì-ha-myò-go “phœnnmaθein-ha təshe cau’-ta-bè”
that-thing-kind-ACC camphor-SUBJ demon fear-VSMK-EMP
sho-(ɔ)u phyi’-la-(ɔ)u-za.
sho-da phyi’-la-dè-ha.
say-thing happen-come-REL-thing

63. eskhû ðe-nè-thí ðào-(ɔ)u-bè,
əgû di-nè-əthi ðʊən-da-bè,
now this-day-up.to use-VSMK-EMP
θe-nè-thí-bè ðe-tɔ-de-wa-de-ma sho-a,
di-nè-əthi-bè di-tɔ-de-ywa-de-hma sho-yin,
this-day-up.to-EMP this-jungle-PL-village-PL-in say-if
la’klao kləon-wa’-ə [θe –] ahma’tɔyâ kəθe cɔ’-ən
phœnnmaθein-ywe’-ko [di –] ahma’tɔyâ təshe cau’-əən
camphor-leaf-ACC [this] in.memory demon fear-so.that
sho-di-jon, i-de-phē-de-ma, khwā-bo'wā-ma phyī'-se,
sho-lō, ein-de-ba-de-hma, tāgā-bau'wā-hma phyī'-se,
say-because house-PL-what-PL-in door-opening-in be-let
[hau'-sa -] thò-thà-e, chan-thè-ma phyī'-se sai'-thà-e.
[hau-o'u'sa -] thò-thà-de, chan-dè-ma phyī'se sai'-thà-de.
[that-thing] set-place-VSMK garden-inside-in be-let plant-place-VSMK

64. è - θe-bi θe khū-kha pyō-(ð)u
è - pi-dō di agū- أفريقيا pyō-de
so that-finish this now-time say-REL
wa-dā-lē-jōn-bè osā-du ā nonme
ywa-lē-gā-lē-bè osā-dōun-gā nanme
village-small-SUBJ-also-because-EMP beginning-while-in name
pē-bemē, akhū-lē θe-P̃olwe-jo-n-wa sho-bī
give-although pē-bemē, agū-lē di-P̃olwe-jaun-ywa sho-bī
this-Flute-avoid-village say-ing
phyī'-θwā-e.
phyī'-θwā-de.
become-go-VSMK

65. "P̃olwe-jo-n-wa" sho-(ð)u-ā chà-jōn hmū-ā
"P̃olwe-jaun-ywa" sho-da-gā tochà-jāun hmou'-phū:
Flute-avoid-village say-thing-SUBJ other-because not-be.so-VSMK
[θe -] θe p̃olwe-hmū-bi θu θwā-la-phū-(ð)u wa,
[di -] di p̃olwe-hmou'-pi θu θwā-la-bū-dē ywa,
this this flute-blow-ing he go-come-ever-REL village
θemaðu-go jōn-kwān-bī-dō la-ē sho-bī [θema-ðð-u -]
howa-go jow-kwān-pī-dō la-ðe sho-bī [hawā -]
this-ACC avoid-finish-when come-VSMK say-and [umm]
acūn-pyū-bī-dā, khū θe-nē-thī θe-"P̃olwe-jo-n-wa"
acáun-pyū-pī-dō-ga, agū di-nē-othī di-"P̃olwe-jaun-ywa"
cause-make-finish-when now this-day-up-to this-Flute-avoid-village
sho-di-jon phyī'-ne-(ð)u-za.
sho-bī phyī'-ne-dē-ha.
say-ing become-stay-REL-thing

66. Nān-lō θema-(ð)u θī-thà-phó lo-e: θema-(ð)u Dāwe-ā
Nīn-dō hō-wa θī-thà-bō lo-de: hō-wa Dāwe-gā
you-PL that-thing know-keep-to need-VSMK that-thing Tavoy-from
fēfè-ā pao-ðā tā-baon-bè.
fēfè-gā poun-lē tā-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

Hpò-lá-min hmoun-toundoun, phòun-jì òingàn youn.
grandfather-moon-king dim-ish glory-great robe wrap

2. Yaon-baza'-ma mú-la'-hṅò, phàon-gi la'pha' byò.
Youn-baza'-hma móun-le'-hṅò, phòun-jì ləphe' myò.
hare-mouth-in cake-finger-point glory-great tea swallow

4.4.2.2 CRADLE SONG

1. Sùsú-∅à, phe-∅u sho? Đòndon-mo sho?
Kaun-lè, be-∅u sho? Hmo-chijin sho?
tiny-little which-person say Daungdaung-fungus say
Mo-ŋo-ba-ná, sùsú-∅à: dòndon-mo ṣàon-∅à.
Mo-ŋo-ba-ne, kaun-lè: hmo-chijin ṣàoun-∅è.
not-cry-POL-VSMK tiny-little Daungdaung-fungus bud-little

2. Tò-jaon-gi la-bi sho, bwi-dan-gà to.
Tò-jaun-jì la-bi sho, myì-dan-gà to.
jungle-cat-big come-VSMK say tail-stem-SUBJ be.short
Mo-ŋo-ba-ná, sùsú-∅à: tò-jaon klà-gi sà.
Mo-ŋo-ba-ne, kaun-lè: tò-jaun cà-jì sà.
not-cry-POL-VSMK tiny-little jungle-cat tiger-big eat

3. Zin-ban-tha'-kà, dìdì bye, didao' myì'-sf kle.
Zin-bin-the'-kà dìdì myì, didou' mye'-sf ce.
zin-tree-on-from dee.dee sound owl eye-ball be.wide.
ʃ-tò-me-∅é, sùsú-∅à: lè-nà cho'-hlu'-thà.
ei-tò-me-∅é, kaun-lè: lè-nè chau'-hlu'-thà.
sleep-soon-VSMK-say tiny-little bow-with frighten-chase-put

4. Sùsú-∅à, ji'∅àya, bò-mli'-tù-gi-ba.
Kaun-lè, chi'∅àya, wəbə-hmyi'-só-jì-ba.
tiny-little love-able bamboo-shoot-tip-big-POL
Phápà ma-ca plan-me-∅à: thàn-kho' tò wan-∅wà.
Phepha ma-ca pyan-me-le: thìn-khou' tò win-∅wà.
daddy not-long return-VSMK-EUPH firewood-chop woods-enter-go

5. Sùsú-∅à, ṣò tì-lai'-pe: mìmi kha' hlwè-ne.
Kaun-lè, ṣò tei'-lai'-pa: mēme əəke' hlwè-ne.
tiny-little cry quieten-just-EUPH Mummy cradle swing-stay
È-∅è, ᵃn-dò: ʃ, ʃ-lai'-∅ó - lè.
È-∅è, naun-dò: ei', ei'-lai'-∅ó - lè.
there-there brother-PL sleep sleep-just-let's lè
4.4.2.3 RAIN SONG

1. Bâ phãon i'-i', la'-hnê-shi'.
   Sôbâ aphpôn i'-i', le'-hnô-shi'.
   rice young.grain be.full-ADV finger-two-joint
   Ne-yi'-tô: Môn-gi plan-me-lo.
   Ne-yi'-tô: Maun-ji pyan-me-no.
   stay-back-now Brother-big return-VSMK-right?

   ṣayân-lè ṣakhu-lè ain-in-nà.
   snakehead.fish-little torpedo.fish-little pool-pond-near
   ða-dà kho': plan-ðwâ-gé-be-yô.
   ðôa-lê (ka't?): pyan-ðwâ-jâ-be-dô.
   quiet-little (come?) return-go-PL-EUPH-now

3. Khatóle hûân, ðê-sêkhân,
   Tôkhatóle hûân, di-sêkhân,
   sometimes stride this-place
   Ton-dân jô', Môn-gi plan-la-gé-me-lo.
   Taun-dân jau', Maun-ji pyan-la-gé-me-no.
   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 Nû – 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 what’s-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,
   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 zin-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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