A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR
OF KAYAH MONU

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is the first grammatical description of Kayah Monu, a Tibeto-Burman language of the Karenic branch of Sino-Tibetan, spoken in Kayah State, Myanmar. This research is based on the Taw Khu dialect which is regarded as the prestige variety and also officially approved for the Kayah Monu orthography.

The thesis consists of eight chapters and an appendix. The findings of this research include descriptions discusses several types of word classes both major (nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs) and minor (pronouns, demonstratives, classifiers, numerals, quantifiers, preposition, localizers, conjunctions, question words, particles, and directional verbs). Additional description of different kinds of noun phrases, verb phrases, simple clauses, complex clauses and sentence types of Kayah Monu are also provided. The typical sentence structure is SVO which is different from the SOV structure of other Tibeto-Burman languages.

Verb phrase findings included two classes of auxiliaries, pre-verbal and post-verbal Directional verbs occur on both sides of the main verbs to show the direction of the action. Negation was found to be post-verbal and usually appear clause final. Many main verbs are multiple-verbs constructions consist of the combination of two or more verb roots. They express one simple event or a complex event. Although adjectives were found to have some features of verbs, evidence is presented that they are distinct from verbs.

Another area researched included classifiers which are divided into a number of different subclasses based on grammatical distribution They occur primarily with numbers. The numbering system is unique in that it includes a 'pair' classifier for some numbers Oblique locatives include a general locative preposition which always precedes the noun to express the general location and often a in the final phrasal position to point out a specific place.

Findings are based on four mother tongue speakers who provided a number of different genres of texts: 1st person narratives (happy and sad experience stories), descriptions of how to do X (two procedure stories), wish or imagination stories (two regret stories), and a traditional story (one folktale) and a set of elicited grammatical sentences Additional checking was done intermittently using the telephone or internet.

บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้เป็นไวยากรณ์เชิงวรรณฉบับแรกในภาษากะยาโมนู หนึ่งในภาษาทิเบต-พม่า ในกลุ่มภาษากะเหรี่ยง ตระกูลจีน-ทิเบต พูดกันบริเวณรัฐคะยาห์ ประเทศพม่า งานวิจัยฉบับนี้ ศึกษาโดยเก็บข้อมูลจากภาษาเตาคู ภาษาถิ่นที่ถือว่าเป็นภาษาย่อยที่มีศักดิ์ศรีและมีรูปเขียน ที่เป็นทางการ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้แบ่งออกเป็นแปดบท และภาคผนวก ผลการวิจัยครอบคลุมถึงการบรรยาย ประเภทของคำ ทั้งหมวดคำหลัก ได้แก่ คำนาม คำกริยา คำคุณศัพท์ และคำกริยาวิเศษณ์ และหมวดคำรอง ได้แก่ คำสรรพนาม คำบอกกำหนด คำลักษณะนาม คำบอกจำนวน คำบอกปริมาณ คำบุพบท คำแสดงปริภูมิ คำสันธาน คำถาม อนุภาค และคำกริยาแสดงทิศทาง นอกจากนี้ยังอภิปรายถึงประเภทของนามวลี กริยาวลี อนุพากย์เดี่ยว อนุพากย์ซ้อน และชนิดของ ประโยคในภาษากะยาโมนู โครงสร้างประโยคพื้นฐานในภาษากะยาโมนูเป็นแบบ SVO ซึ่งแตกต่างจากภาษาในตระกูลทิเบต-พม่าภาษาทั่วไปที่มีลำดับคำแบบ SOV

ในส่วนของกริยาวลีพบว่ามีกริยานุเคราะห์สองประเภทได้แก่ คำกริยานุเคราะห์หน้ากริยา และคำกริยานุเคราะห์หลังกริยา คำกริยาแสดงทิศทางสามารถปรากฏได้ทั้งสองข้างของ คำกริยาหลักเพื่อบอกทิศทางของการกระทำ คำปฏิเสธพบว่าปรากฏในตำแหน่งท้ายคำกริยา และมักปรากฏในตำแหน่งท้ายสุดของอนุพากย์ คำกริยาหลักหลายคำปรากฏเป็นกลุ่มคำกริยา ที่ประกอบไปด้วยรากคำกริยาตั้งแต่สองคำหรือมากกว่า โดยแสดงเหตุการณ์เดี่ยว หรือเหตุการณ์

ที่ซับซ้อนหนึ่งเหตุการณ์ แม้จะพบว่าคำคุณศัพท์มีคุณลักษณะเป็นเหมือนคำกริยา แต่จาก หลักฐานพบว่าเป็นคนละประเภทคำกัน

ในส่วนของคำลักษณะนามพบว่ามีประเภทย่อยหลายประเภท โดยการจัดประเภทขึ้นอยู่กับ การกระจายตัวทางไวยากรณ์ โดยพื้นฐานแล้วลักษณะนามปรากฏร่วมกับคำบอกจำนวน โดยระบบการบอกจำนวนในภาษากะยาโมนูเป็นระบบที่ซับซ้อนเนื่องจากมีการใช้คำลักษณะนาม บอก "คู่" กับคำบอกจำนวนบางจำนวน การบอกสถานปรากฏในรูปของคำบุพบทบอกสถานที่ หน้าคำนาม เพื่อบอกสถานที่โดยทั่วไป และปรากฏในตำแหน่งท้ายของนามวลีเพื่อบ่งชี้สถานที่ แบบเฉพาะเจาะจง

ผู้วิจัยวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลจากผู้บอกภาษาที่พูดภาษากะยาโมนูเป็นภาษาแม่จำนวนสี่คน โดยผู้บอกภาษา แต่ละคนให้ข้อมูลโดยการเล่าเรื่องตามตัวบทหลายประเภท ได้แก่ เรื่องเล่าแสดงประสบการณ์ ความสุข และความเศร้าจากมุมมองของบุคคลที่หนึ่ง การบรรยายวิธีการทำ X จำนวนสองเรื่อง

เรื่องเล่าแสดงความปรารถนาและจินตนาการจากเรื่องเศร้าสองเรื่อง และเรื่องเล่าพื้นบ้านหนึ่งเรื่อง นอกจากนี้ยังใช้ชุดประโยคทดสอบอีกหนึ่งชุด และในขั้นตอนสุดท้าย ตรวจทานข้อมูลเพิ่มเติม โดยอาศัยการคุยทางโทรศัพท์และอินเทอร์เน็ต

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(*) = Content in parenthesis is ungrammatical

( ) = Optional (in examples and schema)

* = Ungrammatical

*( ) = Without content in parenthesis, it is ungrammatical

{ } = Either or (in schema)

ø = Zero

1S = First person singular

1P = First person plural

2S = Second person singular

2P = Second person plural

3S = Third person singular

3P = Third person plural

ADJ = Adjective

AdjP = Adjective phrase

ADV = Adverb

AdvP = Adverb phrase

APPL = Applicative marker

ASP = Aspect

ASRT = Assertive

AUX = Auxiliary

C = Consonant (only in Chapter 1)

CAE = Contrast in Analogous Environment

CLF = Classifier

ClfP = Classifier phrase

COMPL = Completive aspect marker

COMPZR = Complementizer

CONJ = Conjunction

COORD = Coordinating connective

COP = Copula

HORT = Hortative

INTS = Intensifier

DEM = Demonstrative

FN = Footnote

IMP = Imperative

INTRG = Interrogative pro-form

LCLZR = Localizer

Lit = Literal translation

Loc = Location

LRP = Language Resource Person

MOD = Modality

N = Noun

NEG = Negation

NMLZR = Nominalizer

NP = Noun phrase

NPROP = Proper noun

NUM = Numeral

OBL = Oblique

POSS = Possessive pronoun

PP = Prepositional phrase

PREP = Preposition

PRO = Pronoun

PRT = Particle

QP = Question particle

QUANT = Quantifier

QntP = Quantifier phrase

RECP = Reciprocal pronoun

REFL = Reflexive pronoun

REL = Relativizer

RC = Relative clause

RSMP = Resumptive pronoun

S = Sentence

S_{Main} = Main clause

S_{Comp} = Complement clause

S_{Sub} = Subordinate clause

S_{Poss} = Posessive clause

SF = Sentence final

SUBORD = Subordinating connective

TOP = Topic marker

V = Verb

V = Vowel (only in Chapter 1)

V_{Dir} = Directional verb

VP = Verb phrase

$V_{Complex}$ = Verb complex

V_{Motion} = Motion verb

XP = Constituent

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Kayah Monu is a Karen language of the Tibeto-Burman language family of Sino-Tibetan spoken in the Southwest of Kayah State, Myanmar. There is a phonology of the Kayah Monu language but no grammatical studies of Kayah Monu have been published. The previous phonological study was done by Myar Doo Myar Reh in his M.A thesis. This thesis presents an initial description of the grammatical structures of Kayah Monu.

The purpose of this chapter is to present a basic introduction to the language and people as well as to present basic geographic locations and demographic information about the Kayah Monu. It provides information about the informants used to collect the data used in this research. It also describes the objectives, benefits, scope and methodology of this study. It finally includes a brief overview of the phonological of the Kayah Monu. The phonology section presents the consonant and vowel tones inventories, and the syllable structure of Kayah Monu.

1.2 Language and People

Kayah Monu is one of the Karenic languages spoken in Kayah State (formerly called Karenni State) of Myanmar. Kayah Monu is a Central Karen language, belongs to the Karenic branch under the Tibeto-Burman language family group of Sino-Tibetan. According to Bradley (1997: 47), Kayah Monu is in the Eastern Central Karenic group. However, its position among Tibeto-Burman languages has been disputed. Matisoff classifies Kayah Monu under Tibeto-Burman while Benedict (1973) and Egerod (1973) classify it under Tibeto-Karen due to its distintive characteristic of having a SVO structure like other Karenic languages which differs from the SOV structure of all other Tibeto-Burman languages.

Kayah Monu has alternate language names. In previous research, this language was called Manu (Bradley 1997, Manson 2002), Manumanaw (Ethnologue, Joshua Project) and Monumanaw (Kauffman 1993: 5, Myardoo Myarreh). There is a book

"A History of Kayah Monu", published by the Kayah Monu literature committee in 2000. This book is the latest book which describes updated information about the Kayah Monu people. It is written in Burmese and includes an ethnographical overview, history, traditions and culture of Kayah Monu people. This book relates that on May 3rd 1970, Kayah Monu representatives from Loikaw, Phroso, Daw La Saw, and Taw Khu held a meeting at U Mi Lo's house in Dee Dar Ku quarter, Phruso Township. From that meeting, all representatives rejected the well-known name 'Manumanaw' used by outsiders instead they agreed to refer themselves by using the old names 'Kayah Monu' /kà jā mò nù/ or 'Kayaw Monu Phu' /kà jɔ̀ mò nù pʰú/. Both names mean "people who live in the west region or west people". Native speakers refer to their language by these two names which are widely used nowadays (History of Kayah Monu, 2000: 80). The researcher refers to this language as Kayah Monu in this study.

Bradley (1997) illustrates the classification of Karen within Tibeto-Burman family in Figure 1. He regards Kayah Monu as one of the Eastern Central Karenic groups. Bradley presents three main groups of Karenic: Northern, Central/Bwe and Southern. Under these three groups, he sub-classifies each. Kayah Monu is found in the Eastern branch of the Central/Bwe group.
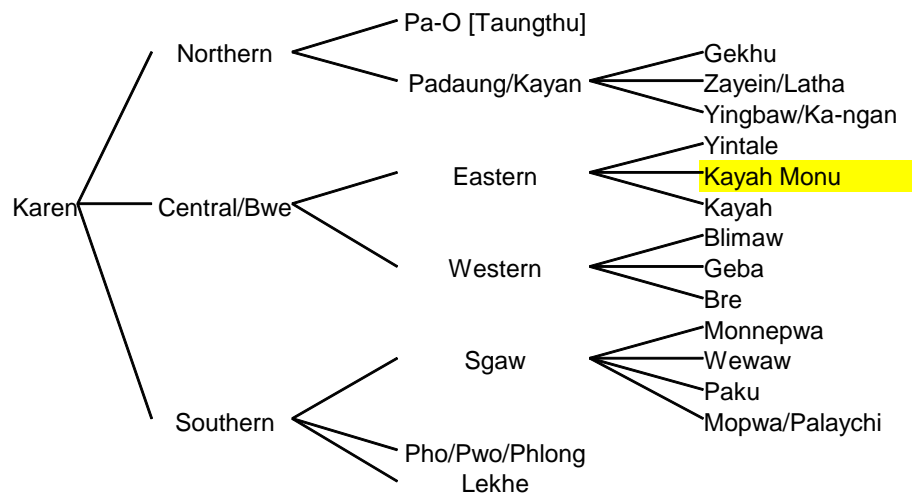
Figure 1 Language Classifications (Bradley 1997: 47)

According to Manson (2002), Figure 2 summarizes a lexicostatistic analysis showing that the central Karen languages (marked with arrows) do not belong to a unified group within Karen. This diagram is based on wordlist data collected from different 20 Karenic languages wordlists. The analysis is based on lists of 32 words.
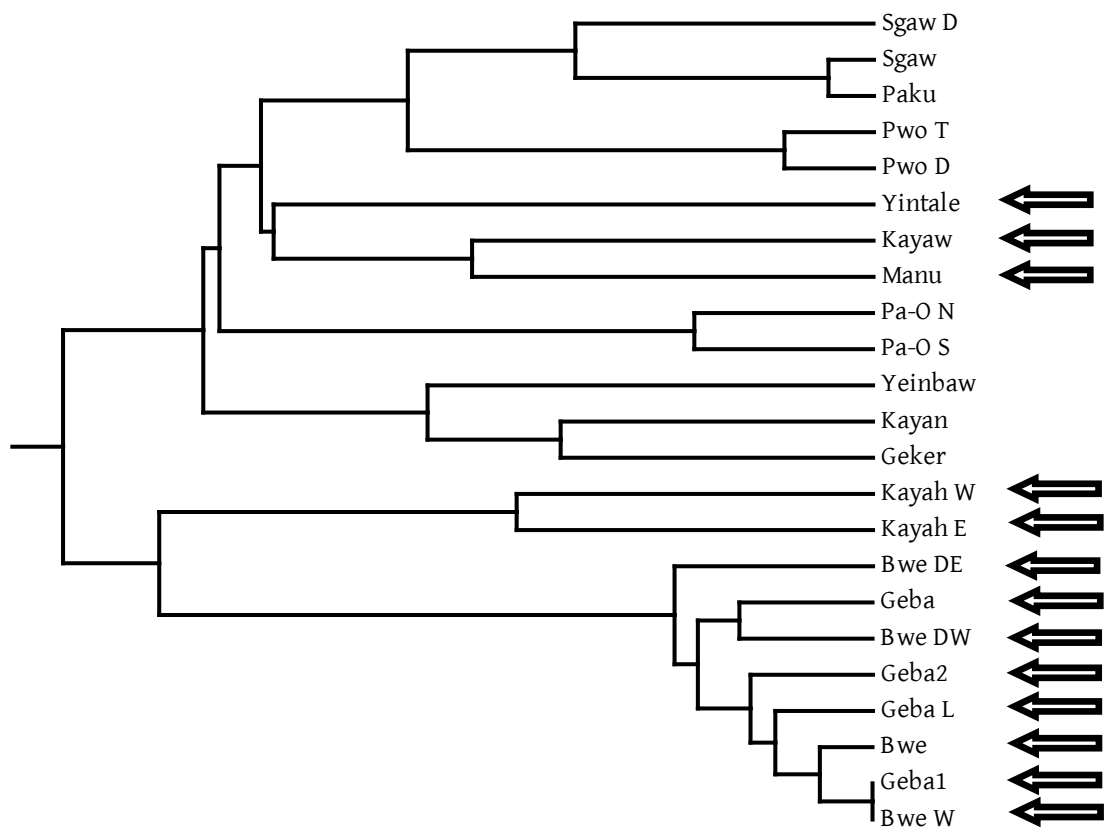
Figure 2 Classification of Karen Languages (Manson 2002)

In his thesis, Myar Reh said that Kayah Monu includes two dialects: Monu and Manaw. Monu is the northern dialect and Manaw the Southern. They appear to be two separate languages because Baptists live in the Manaw part and Roman Catholic live in the Monu part. They are not only different in the name of their locations and accent but since they are also different in religious beliefs so they appear to outsiders to be two different dialects. However both sides consider themselves to be the same. In Myar Doo Myar Reh's M.A thesis, he refers to both of them as Monumanaw (Myar Reh, 2004: 15). From the researcher's point of view, both Baptist and Roman Catholic use one language as they have high intellibility and can communicate with each other very well with no apparent difficulties.

1.3 Geography and Demography

Kayah Monu people are found primarily in the Southwest part of Kayah State, Myanmar. Kayah State is located in the eastern part of Myanmar and it borders Shan State to the northeast, Karen State to the southwest and Thailand to the east. It is one of the smallest states in Myanmar (see Figure 3).

Figure 3 Location of Kayah State in Myanmar

In Kayah State, the Kayah Monu villages can be found west of Bawlakhe and Phruso townships. They also form communities in one quarter of Loikaw, a quarter of Phruso and a quarter of Demawso. They are also found in Naa Phe village, Bawlakhe Township. Naa Phe is the place where the researcher recorded and collected his data. There are a total of 21 villages and three town quarters (see Figure 4 and Figure 5).

Figure 4 Location of Kayah Monu Area in Kayah State
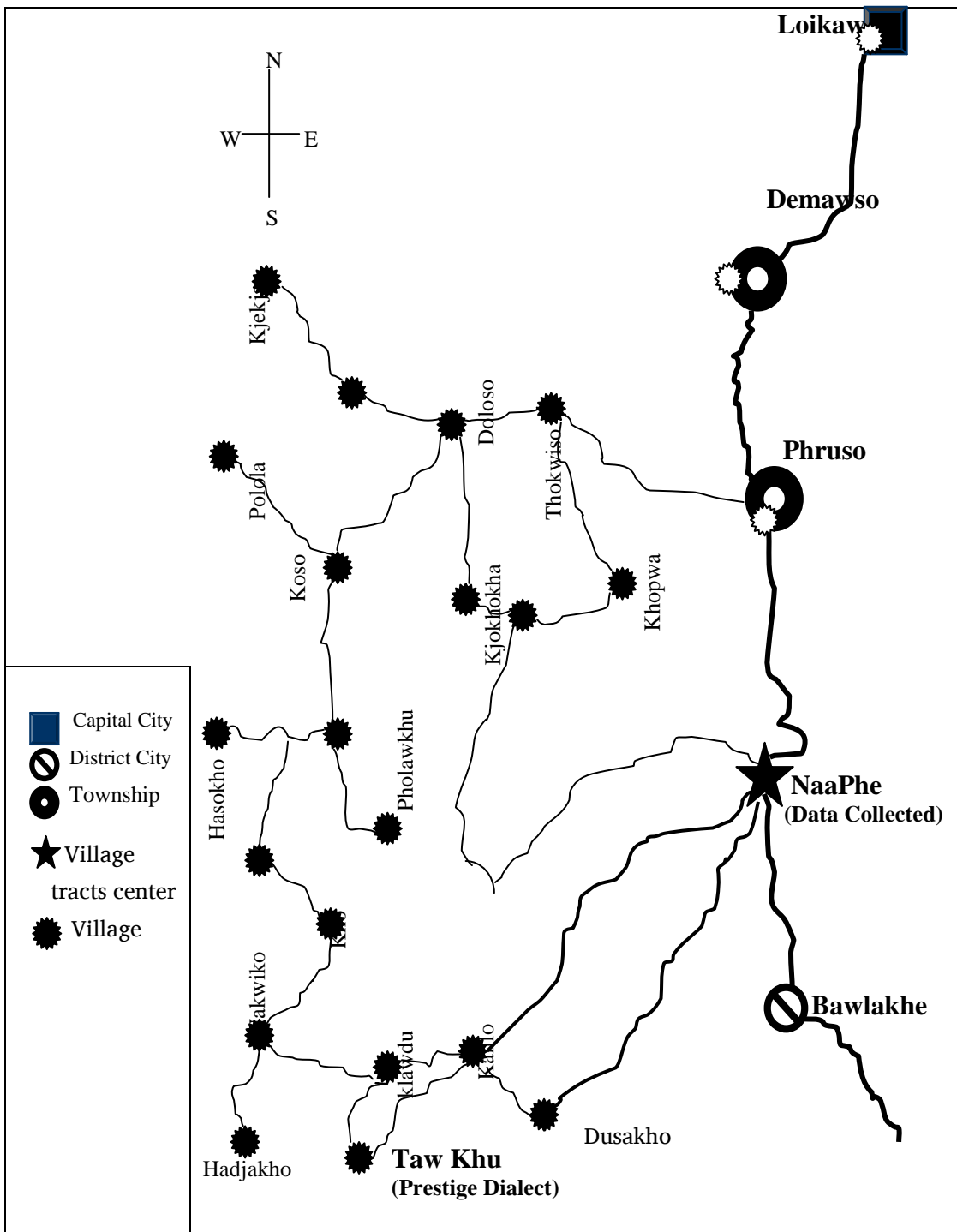
Figure 5 Kayah Monu Villages Area in Kayah State

There are different estimated populations of Kayah Monu given. According to the census of Myanmar in 1980, the population of Kayah Monu speakers was 4060. Another current estimate population is 10,000 (Bradley, Myardoo Myarreh, and Ethnologue). In *A History of Kayah Monu*, the total population of Kayah Monu is more than 5000 speakers (History of Kayah Monu, 2000: 46). From online resources, the population of Kayah Monu is reported to be 9800 (Joshua Projects), or 10,000 (Multitree: A Digital Library of Language Relationships).

1.4 General Information

Historically, the Kayah Monu people were animists, but currently, all Kayah Monu speakers have converted to Christianity. The Kayah Monus are fully Christians, 70% of Kayah Monu speakers are Baptists and 30% are Roman Catholic. In a Kayah Monu community, if a village chief gives a command to do something, the whole community totally follows his instruction, even if they are displeased with his decision. They are hard-workers and have very limited free time. They wake up at four o' clock in the early morning, prepare their meal and then leave to go to their fields. It is very common, if a family builds or repairs their old house, that at least one person from each family in the village would come to help that family. If there is a funeral service in the village, most villagers come to join and some bring food, rice, drinks or contribute as much as they can afford to show their sympathy. Teamwork is very important in Kayah Monu society.

Farming and cultivation is the main vocation of the Kayah Monu people. The basic steps, ploughing, harrowing, planting and harvesting, are done by the whole village working cooperatively. They trade their goods, handicrafts, and foods in Phruso Township. The main goods for trade are betel nuts and betel leaf, beans, plantains, and oranges. These things are all sold to buy household items, kitchen things, and other necessities. Women and men do different work. Men work by cutting bamboo, chopping wood, erecting posts, ploughing, carrying heavy things and butchering animals. Women do cooking, weaving and do all the domestic work at home.

The traditional Kayah Monu costume is very similar to Kayah Li costumes and can be considered a variant of it. Men wear black or white woven pants with white shirts. Men also wear white turbans on their head similar to other mountainous Karen people. Kayah Monu woman's sarong colour is red or black, and is worn with a black shawl. Women also wear black turbans on their head and a white sash worn

around the waist. Black loops made by white cotton and painted in black are worn at a women's knee and calf.

The Kayah Monu have significant contact with other languages, including Sgaw, Kayah Li and Burmese. In the west part of Bawlakhe Township, the Sgaw Karen language is important for communicating with the neighboring Sgaw. Sgaw Karen is also used in the churches for religious purposes. In Phruso Township, Kayah Li and Burmese are languages of wider communication.

1.5 Scope of the Thesis Research

In this study, different genres of texts: 1st person narratives (happy and sad experience stories), descriptions of how to do X (two procedure stories), wish or imagination stories (two regret stories), and a traditional story (one folktale) were collected and used. Moreover, elicited grammatical sentences for specific phrases and clauses were collected for analysis.

All the data was collected from only one village named Taw Khu. All Kayah Monu speakers recognize the Taw Khu variety as the standard/prestige variety and it is also officially approved as a standard for the Kayah Monu orthography. The data used in this study is derived primarily from four language resource persons. They range in age from 35 to 75 years. Data collection was done within a period of 2 months (March & April 2012) at Nan Phe village. Due to the difficulty of transportation, the researcher arranged a convenient/middle place (Nan Phe village) to meet those informants then collected the data there. The researcher's own background knowledge of the language helped in analyzing the data. The researcher speaks Wester Kayah Li and has had previous contact with the Kayah Monu from that area. The sociolinguistic background was based on data collected from LRPs living in the same village. Table 1 shows the biographic data of each informant.

Table 1 Information on Informants

	Informant (1)	Informant (2)	Informant (3)	Informant (4)
Gender	M	M	M	M
Age	75	60	56	35
Job	Farmer	Religious teacher	Church leader	Farmer
Birth place	Taw Khu village, Phruso Township, Kayah State	Taw Khu village, Phruso Township, Kayah State	Taw Khu village, Phruso Township, Kayah State	Taw Khu village, Phruso Township, Kayah State
Mother tongue	Kayah Monu	Kayah Monu	Kayah Monu	Kayah Monu
Other languages	Sgaw Karen	Sgaw Karen, Burmese	Sgaw Karen, Burmese	Sgaw Karen, Burmese
Religion and denomination	Baptist Christian	Baptist Christian	Baptist Christian	Baptist Christian

Elicited grammatical sentences supplemented the text analysis and were verbally translated from English into Burmese and then the language helper provided a translation equivalent in Kayah Monu. The thesis does not include a description of information structure, or text discourse analysis Due to the limited of time and data, this study only presents an overview of the grammar structure It should be helpful for language learners and those who want to explore this language further. Much more research is needed to understand the details and complexities of this language.

1.6 Methodology

The general process for analysis consisted of recording a text, then with native speakers going over the recorded text and creating an initial interlinear transcription and go free translations first into Burmese and later into English.

The primary methods of data collection were recording not only narratives but also eliciting basic grammatical sentences The lengths of each text range from 5 to 60 clauses. Sound recordings were made using a MiniDisc recorder which was then transfer to computer as MP3 files. Texts and elicited material were transcribed using International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols and entered into the computer database program called "Fieldworks Language Explorer" in order to be examined. A 436 wordlist was recorded from a single person and new words were discovered through the interlinearization of the collected texts. After interlinearizing texts, the subsequent analysis was then checked with another two female speakers to confirm whether the glosses were accurate or not.

Additional interlinearizing and analysis of the selected texts was done in Chiang Mai. English glosses, grammatical categories and free translation in English were also entered in Fieldworks. The data were analyzed from a descriptive perspective and then this grammar sketch, including phrase and clause structure was created. Meanwhile, the interlinear translations were revised. After a preliminary grammar was drafted, the analysis was frequently re-checked with native speakers. From the result of this analysis, the basic grammatical structures of Kayah Monu are presented.

1.7 Literature Review

Kayah Monu phonology was done by Myar Doo Myar Reh and David Solnit has done research on Eastern Kayah Li Grammar. Additionally, this thesis uses the research on closely related languages compiled by Robert B. Jones Jr., Kenneth Neil Manson and Hsar Shee. All these references provided help for doing this research. Each is briefly summarized below.

A Phonological Comparison of Selected Karenic Language Varieties of Kayah State, by Myar Reh (2004): this thesis mainly focuses on a phonological comparison of selected Karenic language varieties of Kayah state. The synchronic phonologies of Kayaw, Kayah Monu and Yintale are compared with Kayah Li. The study focuses on the comparison of consonants, vowels and tones in these four languages in order to learn how closely they are related to each other. It also determines the correspondences between these elements. The researcher uses the Kayah Monu phonology from Myar Reh in this research.

Eastern Kayah Li: Grammar, Texts, Glossary by Solnit (1997): this book looks at a typological outline, a phonology, detailed grammar structures, dialect and orthographic information about Kayah Li (one of the central Karenic group languages), and other related Karen languages.

Karen Linguistic Studies: Description, Comparison and Texts by Jones, Robert B, Jr. (1961): this book primarily presents a general overview of phonology and grammar structures found in Karen languages. Moreover, the author adds the comparison and reconstruction of Karen languages. He also incorporates some texts from different Karen groups to help the reader get some idea of what Karen languages look like.

A Grammar of Kayan: a Tibeto-Burman Language by Manson (2010): this thesis is the first grammatical description of Kayan, a Tibeto-Burman language of the Karen

branch spoken in Myanmar and Thailand. This thesis consists of thirteen chapters and an appendix. It describes the phonology (including the tonal system) and the complete grammatical structures of Kayan with illustrations.

A Descriptive Grammar of Geba Karen by Hsar Shee (2008): This thesis describes the basic structure of Geba Karen grammar within 'Basic Linguistic Theory' (BLT). BLT is based on traditional grammar. In this thesis, Geba Karen, a previously unresearched language is introduced. The basic grammar structure and the basic phonology of Geba Karen are discussed. The phonology presented is not yet complete. This thesis covers a wide-range of phonological and grammatical topics and opens the door for future research on Geba.

A History of Kayah Monu by Peter Ko Doe Ri, U & Mateo Ket Ri, U (2000): this book was arranged and published by the Kayah Monu literature committee. This book tries to update the latest information about Kayah Monu. It is written in Burmese. It presents the worldview, ethnographical details, the traditions and culture of the Kayah Monu people.

1.8 Brief Phonology of Kayah Monu

This section provides brief information on the phonology of Kayah Monu. It presents the consonant, vowel, and tone inventories of Kayah Monu, and its syllable structure. The phonology presented in this chapter was taken from the M.A Thesis *'A Phonology Comparison of Selected Karenic Language Varieties of Kayah State'* written by Myar Doo Myar Reh in 2004. However, small changes based on the researcher's analysis are incorporated in this section.

1.8.1 Consonants

The consonant inventory of Kayah Monu includes 22 consonants (Myar Reh, 2004: 91). The phoneme chart can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2 Kayah Monu Consonants (adapted from Myar Reh: 2004)

Manners of articulation	Bilabial	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	p	t			k	ʔ
	pʰ	tʰ			kʰ	
	b	d			g	
Fricatives		s	ʃ	ʝ		h
Affricate			tʃ			
				dʒ		
Nasals	m	n				
Trill		r				
Approx.	w			j		
Lat. Appro		l				

1.8.2 Vowels

According to Myar Reh's analysis, there are 10 vowels and no diphthongs are found in Kayah Monu. There are four unrounded front vowels, one central vowel, two close unrounded back vowels and three rounded back vowels in Kayah Monu as shown in Table 3. Kayah Monu seems to have some breathy vowels, but there is an unaccounted for regularity between vowel breathiness and the voicing of preceding consonants.

Table 3 Kayah Monu Vowels (adapted from Myar Reh: 2004)

	Front	Central	Back un-rounded	Back-rounded
Close	i		ɯ	u
Close-mid	e		ɤ	o
Open-mid	ε	ə[1]		ɔ
Open	a			

---

[1] /ɜ/ was used in Myar Reh's analysis but the researcher feels that it is closer to /ə/.

1.8.3 Tones

There are four contrastive tones in Kayah Monu. Each tone is marked by the diacritics in Table 4. They are high, high-mid, mid, and low. It is very rare to find the contrast of the high-mid tone and mid tone. Only one pair of CAE with both these tones is found as in /lú/ 'cloud' and /lō/ 'plate' (Myar Reh, 2004: 105-106).

Table 4 Kayah Monu Tones[2]

	High	High-Mid	Mid	Low
Phonetic Transcription	◌́	◌̋	◌̄	◌̀

1.8.4 Syllable Structure

Kayah Monu is an open syllable language, no consonant can be found at the end of words or syllables. There are two syllable types in Kayah Monu. They are CV and CCV. V only syllables do not occur as a glottal stop always precedes them. CCV occurs rather infrequently in Kayah Monu. The template for main syllable structure is $C_1(C_2)$ V. Symbols enclosed by parentheses are optional while other elements are obligatory. All the consonants are permitted in the onset position C_1. However, in the intital cluster postions of $C_1(C_2)$, the first consonant C_1 of the cluster is restricted to /p/, /pʰ/, /tʰ/, /k/, /kʰ/, /l/ and the second consonant C_2 is limited to the liquid and approximants /r/, /l/, /j/, /w/. There are 15 types of consonant clusters in Kayah Monu as shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Consonant Clusters in Kayah Monu

	/p/	/pʰ/	/tʰ/	/k/	/kʰ/	/l/
/r/				+	+	
/l/	+	+		+	+	
/j/		+			+	+
/w/	+	+	+	+	+	+

---

[2] The researcher hypothesizes that there are only three level tones in Kayah Monu without high-mid tone and high-mid tone and mid tone presumably are the same.

1.8.5 Kayah Monu Orthography

There is no established written form in Kayah Monu, although Roman based script orthographies for Kayah Mon were designed by Roman Catholic missionaries in the past. A Roman based alphabet is still used for religious purposes among the Roman Catholics. Currently, the Kayah Monu Literature Committee is implementing language development programs organized by SIL and some materials such as primer books, story books etc. were published in Burmese based script. The Kayah Monu Literature Committee is trying to approve a common orthography that is accepted by both Baptist and Roman Catholic. Both sides agreed the Taw Khu dialect as the main/prestige dialect to use for Kayah Monu orthography. That is why the researcher has done data collection from that standard dialect.

1.9 Summary

This chapter looked at overview of the Kayah Monu including language and people, geography and demography, general information about Kayah Monu. The scope, the methodology, literature review of the research, a brief phonology of Kayah Monu, and brief information about Kayah Monu orthography were also presented. There are 22 consonants, 10 vowels, and 3 tones in Kayah Monu. Kayah Monu is an open syllable language, no consonant can be found at the end of words or syllables. There are two syllable types in Kayah Monu. They are CV and CCV.

Chapter 2
Word Classes

2.1 Introduction

Chapter two describes word classes in Kayah Monu. Both open and closed classes are discussed in this chapter. It primarily involves a discussion of some diagnostics of open or major class words and listings of closed or minor class words.

2.2 Major Word Classes

Major word classes are lexical categories that can function as the head of a phrase (Kroeger, 2005: 346). This chapter deals with the four major classes of lexical words that appear most widely across languages. Nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are considered the major word classes. They are also categorized as open word classes because they can accept the addition of new morphemes through such processes as modifying, compounding, derivation, and inflection.

2.2.1 Nouns

Noun is a word class where members function as heads in a noun phrases. The head noun is modified by the other elements such as adjectives, numerals and classifiers. Example (1) shows a noun phrase in which the noun functions as a head and is modified by adjectives, numeral, and classifier.

(1) **hí**　ʔàlì　dó　sù　mɛ̀

　　house　red　big　three　CLF.round.big

　　N　　ADJ　ADJ　NUM　CLF

　　three big red houses

2.2.1.1 Common Nouns

Common nouns in Kayah Monu can be distinguished from other types of nouns because this type of noun can be followed by numerals and classifiers. Common nouns in Kayah Monu typically denote concrete objects (human and non-human),

places and times. These usually occur with related classifiers (sometime called sortal classifiers). The following examples show different types of common nouns with their related classifiers.

Example (2) shows a common noun denoting a human classified by the human sortal classifier pwà.

(2) **pwàkʰó** hénù tà pwà

    male   that   one   CLF.human

    N   DEM NUM CLF

    That man

In example (3), a dog (in this case an examplar of large, four-legged animals and rodents) is classified by the sortal classifier *dó.* In (4), a fish (here an examplar for the set of small animals, birds, fishes and insects) is classified by the sortal classifier *bá.*

(3) ʃí   sù   **dò**

    dog three   **CLF.four legs animals**

    N   NUM   **CLF**

    three dogs

(4) tↄ́   kàní   **bá**

    fish two   **CLF.flat**

    N   NUM   **CLF**

    two fishes

2.2.1.2 Proper Nouns

Proper nouns in Kayah Monu identify a specific entity, such as a person, place, thing, or specific period of time by an arbitrary name. This type of noun does not normally occur with either numerals or classifiers. Table 6 and Table 7 show some proper nouns for people and places in Kayah Monu.

Table 6 People Names in Kayah Monu

Examples (people)	Gloss
pʰàbɔ̀	'Phabaw'
pʰàlú	'Phalu'
mùnùpʰó	'Kayah Monu people'
kólábū	'English man'

Table 7 Place Names in Kayah Monu

Examples (places)	Gloss
jɔ́kūkā̠	'Yangon' (city)
mádálé	'Mandalay' (city)
pʰàbɔ̀ sʰɔ́	'Pha Baw' (mountain)
kʰhɛ̄ kā̠	'China'
mùnùkā̠	'Kayah Monu land'
sùklù	'Sukulu' (mountain)

The nouns that express places can occur on both sides of proper nouns as in examples (5a) and (5b).

(5a)   (5b)

    pʰə̀bɔ̀   *sʰɔ́*   *sʰɔ́*   *pʰə̀bɔ̀*

    Pha Baw   mountain   mountain   Pha Baw

    'Pha Baw mountain'   'Pha Baw mountain'

Kayah Monu uses titles added to someone's name to signify either veneration or academic qualification. Sometime people are commonly referred to by their respective titles. Some titles in Kayah Monu are displayed in Table 8.

Table 8 Titles in Kayah Monu

Titles in Kayah Monu	Gloss
pʰà	'Mr.'
mó	'Ms.'
pʰ̀ɪpwàkʰɔ̀	'grandfather'
pʰ̀ɪpwàmɔ́	'grandmother'
mạ̀dó	'aunt'

Titles in Kayah Monu	Gloss
pʰàdó	'uncle'
pṵ́	'brother/sister' (younger)
wɛ́	'brother/sister' (older)
sàrà	'teacher/sir' (male)
sàràmə̄	'teacher/sir' (female)

2.2.1.3 Mass Nouns

Mass nouns are also found in Kayah Monu. Mass nouns can only be counted if a measure classifier is used. Example (6) shows mass noun with a specific container to measure them.

For the mass noun *ʃì* 'water', the specific container *bɛ̄* 'cup' is obligatorily used to classify the noun.

(6) ʃì   lì   ∗ (**bɛ̄**)

    water   four   **CLF.measure**

    N   NUM   **CLF**

    four cups of water

For the mass noun *bú* 'paddy' the specific container *pó* 'basket' is used to classify the noun as in example (7).

(7) bú   sù   ∗ (**pó**)

    rice.unthreshed   three   **CLF.measure**

    N   NUM   **CLF**

    three baskets of paddy

For the mass noun *ʔèsá* 'salt' the specific container *ʔé* 'bag' is used to classify the noun as in (8).

(8) ʔèsá   lì   ∗ (**ʔé**)

    salt   four   **CLF.measure**

    N   NUM   **CLF**

    four packs of salt

As shown above, mass nouns are uncountable unless they occur with related measure classifiers.

2.2.1.4 Abstract Nouns

Abstract nouns in Kayah Monu are formed by adding the nominalizer prefix *tà̠-* to verbs or adjectives and thereby changing their word class into nouns. Abstract nouns cannot be used with a count classifier or any container. They are uncountable nouns. Table 9 shows some abstract nouns in Kayah Monu.

Table 9 Abstract Nouns in Kayah Monu

Abstract Nouns	Literal Translation	Gloss
tà̠-mā	NOM-love	'love'
tà̠-tàkʰə̀sá	NOM-hate	'hate'
tà̠-sápʰlédó	NOM-angry	'anger'
tà̠-sɔ̀wɔ̄	NOM-shy	'shame'
tà̠-sálísálɔ̀	NOM-rejoice	'joy'
tà̠-sáplá̠	NOM-sad	'sadness'

2.2.2 Verbs

Verb is the name given to the parts-of-speech class in which occur most of the words that express actions, processes, and the like (Shopen, 2007: 9). Verbs are most typically events that involve concrete participant nouns. The verbs then code either the physical action, or physical change, or spatial motion of those participants (Givon, 2001: 52).

Different kinds of verbs are widely used in Kayah Monu. They always function as a predicate and generally follow the agent to denote activities, states, accomplishments, or achievements. Verbs appear as main verbs, auxiliary (pre-verbal and post-verbal), and copulas.

The following properties are used to diagnose main verbs in Kayah Monu:

    i)   Verbs can be negated and followed by the general negator *tá̠*

    ii)   Verbs can be modified by various aspectual markers

    iii)   Verbs can occur with auxiliaries/modal verbs

All tests can be used to identify both verbs and adjectives.

The example (9) shows the main verb *nùmɔ́* 'stink' occurring as a predicate with negation.

Verb Negation

(9) ʃí   nùmɔ̰́ tɔ̰́

   dog stink   not

   N   V   ADV
    The dog does not stink.

Adjective Negation

Example (10) shows that the monosyllabic verb-like adjective *mɛ̄* 'right' is directly
followed by the general negation *tɔ̰́* that is one reason why "adjectives" are
considered a subclass of verbs in Kayah Monu (for more discussion, see section
2.2.3.1 and 2.2.3.2).

(10) mɛ̄   tɔ̰́

   right   not

   ADJ   NEG
    It is not right. (Lit: right not)

Aspect

Example (11) demonstrates a verb *sì* 'die' directly followed and modified by both
perfective and completive aspect markers *kɛ̀* and *hó* in a single clause. It indicates
that the action or the event is already completed by placing those two aspect
markers next to the verb. In Kayah Monu, sequences of two or more auxiliaries are
allowed, in which case their order in relation to one another is generally fixed.

(11) ʃí sì kɛ̀   hó

   dog die PERF COMPL

   N V ASP ASP
    The dog just died (recently).

Modal

In the following example (12), the verb *ʔá* 'eat' follows and is modified by the modal
verb *bá* 'must'.

(12) ʔà   bá   ʔá dì

   3S   must   eat cooked-rice

   PRO MOD V N
    She must eat the rice.

More discussion on verbs is presented in Chapter 4.

2.2.3 Adjectives

Although it is not clear if adjectives form their own class or are simply subclass of verbs, there is still good evidence that adjectives form a distinct word class The following section will first discuss how adjectives are similar to verbs and then discuss how they are dissimilar.

2.2.3.1 Features Adjectives have in common with Verbs

Both main verbs and adjectives in Kayah Monu occur alone as the predicate of a clause, describing the subject of the clause. There is no auxiliary or copula verb that occurs with adjectives used predicatively. Examples (13) and (14) show a verb and an adjective, respectively in stative clauses.

(13) ʔà **sákànā**

    3S **understand**

    PRO **V**

    She understands.

(14) ʔà   ná   **kọ̄**

    3S.Poss   body   **hot**

    PRO   N   **ADJ**

    His body (is) hot.

In Kayah Monu, adjectives are negated in the same way as verbs. The following examples show the negative construction with a verb (15) and an adjective (16).

(15) ʔà   sákànā   **tẹ̣́**

    3S   understand   **not**

    PRO   V   **NEG**

    She does not understand.

(16) ʔà   ná   kọ̄   **tẹ̣́**

    3S.Poss   body   hot   **not**

    PRO   N   ADJ   **NEG**

    His body (is) not hot.

Example (17) shows the verb-like adjective *wə́* 'suitable' and its negated form. In both cases negation is structurally the same as verb and subordinator *mé* 'if' separates the two predicate options. See more on disjunctive-negative questions in 7.4.3.

(17) tạ̀lạ̄   nū   wə́   mé   wə́   tẹ̣́   dɤ́   bá   tʰè   pū   já

    place   topic   suitable   if   suitable   not   and.then   must   cut   test   SF

    N   TOP   ADJ   SUBORD   ADJ   NEG   COORD   MOD   V   V   PRT

     You must cut to test if the land is good enough for hill-side cultivation or not.

Examples below show both an adjective (18) and a verb (19) followed by aspect markers.

(18) hè   hàwĩʃɛ̀wɛ̀ **kɛ̀**   **hó**   (19) ʃí sì **kɛ̀**   **hó**

　　 1S   poor   **PERF** **COMPL**   　 dog die **PERF** **COMPL**

　　 PRO   ADJ   **ASP** **ASP**   　 N   V   **ASP**   **ASP**

　　 I became poor.   　 The dog just died (recently).

The following examples show that an adjective (21) can be modified by the same intensifier as a verb (20). *tʃĩ́pwé* 'try' is a verb and *sáplą́* 'dejected' is an adjective is shown in FN 3 on page 23.

(20) hè   tʃépwé **dómàtì**   (21) hè   sáplą́   **dómàtì**

　　 1S   try   **very**   　 1S   dejected **very**

　　 PRO   V   **ADV**   　 PRO   ADJ   **ADV**

　　 I try a lot.   　 I am very dejected.

2.2.3.2 Features that separate Adjectives from Verbs

There is also evidence that adjectives are distinct from prototypical verbs. Inside the noun phrase, both adjectives and verbs can modify a noun. The fact that the numeral and classifier follows adjectives shows this modification is inside a noun phrase. In a noun phrase, adjectives and verbs typically follow the head noun.

The following three example sentences show more than one adjective can occur in a noun phrase (22), whereas verbs are limited to one. If a verb modifies a noun then even if the relativizer *dɔ́* is marginally dropped, no other adjective can follow it (23). Schematcially, given [N _ ADJ], as in (22) only an adjective can occur in the gap.

(22) hí   **ʔàlì** **ʔàsà** sù   mɛ̀

　　 house **red**   **new** three CLF.round.big

　　 N   **ADJ**   **ADJ** NUM   CLF

　　 the three red new houses

(23) * ʃí   **nùmą́** **dó** ʔá   hè   *ungrammatical

　　 dog **stink** **big** bite 1S

　　 N   **V**   **ADJ** V   PRO

　　 The big stink dog bit me.

(24) ʃí **dó** *(**dɔ́**) **nùmɔ́** ʔá hè

    dog **big**   **relativizer stink** bite 1S

    N   **ADJ**   **REL**   **V**   V   PRO

    The big stink dog bit me.

The next evidence is from comparative and superlative constructions. The comparative degree marker *'kʰlʊ̀'* 'more.than' directly follows adjectives in comparative constructions. But in comparative construction of intransitive verbs, the verb is separated from *kʰlʊ̀* by *dó* 'big', *dówè* 'many' or some directional verbs. The schema for comparative formation is as below.

ADJ ⟶ ADJ *kʰlʊ̀*

V   ⟶   V *(X) *kʰlʊ̀/kàtú* (X represents ADJ or V_{Dir})

Examples (25), (26), and (27) show the comparative construction with an adjective and a verb[3].

(25) hè   sáplɑ̰́   **kʰlʊ̀**   pʰàlú

    1S   dejected **more.than** Phalu

    PRO   ADJ   **ADV**   NPROP

    I am more dejected than Phalu.

(26) pʰàbɔ̀   kʰlɛ́ *(ʃí)   **kʰlʊ̀**   pʰàlú

    Phabaw run   away   **more.than** Phalu

    NPROP   V   V.DIR   **ADV**   NPROP

    Phabaw runs further than Phalu.

(27) hè   tʃépwé *(dó) **kʰlʊ̀**   pʰàbɔ̀

    1S   try   big   **more.than** Phabaw

    PRO   V   ADJ   **ADV**   NPROP

    I try more than Phabaw.

Adjectives can also occur with the superlative degree markers *'kàtʊ̀'* and *'lʊ́'* in the superlative construction. Verbs are different from adjectives in the superlative constructions because, as in the comparative construction, they need an adjective or

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[3] This test shows that 'try' is a verb in (20) and 'dejected' is an adjective in (21) as proposed in section 2.2.3.1.

directional verb as in the examples above. The examples (28) and (29) show adjectives in the superlatives and (30) shows the superlative structure of a verb.

(28) hè   ʔá *(wí)   **kàtù** mí   mɔ̀kʰɛ́sá

    1S   eat   delicious **most** be   pineapple

    PRO   V   ADJ   **ADV**   COP   N

     My favorite food is pineapple.

(29) ʔàmə̀ **lɓ**   lùmūnì tà   nì

    happy **most**   day   one   CLF.day

    ADJ   **ADV**   N   NUM   CLF

     The happiest day

(30) hè   kʰə̀   dɓ́   kʰlɛ́ *(jí)   **kàtù** mí   pʰàbɔ̀

    1S.Poss friend that run   away   **most** be   Phabaw

    PRO   N   REL   V   V.DIR   **ADV** COP   NPROP

     My friend who runs the most is Phabaw.

2.2.3.3 Summary

As can be seen above, adjectives seem to share some characteristics of verbs especially with regards to negation and aspect marker. Both main verbs and adjectives occur as the predicate of a clause without auxiliaries. But adjectives also have distinct characteristics not shared with verbs. The position and structure of adjectives modifying the head noun in a noun phrase and the comparative and superlative construction show strong evidence that adjectives exist in Kayah Monu as a distinct word class.

2.2.4 Adverbs

Adverbs are words which modify the meaning of a verb, an adjective, or another adverb. Typically, adverbs follow verbs. There are four types of adverbs found in Kayah Monu. They are 1) event adverbs, 2) agent adverbs, and 3) truth adverbs.

2.2.4.1 Event Adverbs

Event adverbials modify the event in terms of rate, sound, or degree of action.

Example (31) shows modification of a creation event by a reiterative adverb.

(31) ʔà   dī   bə́   **tàplɛ̄sə̄** pùʔù hākʰō

3S   allow create **again** termite soil

PRO   V   V   **ADV**   N   N

He (the old man) again allows termite to create the soil.

In example (32), *lə̄lə̄tɛ̀bá* 'completely' another event adverb is used to indicate exhaustive completion of an action expressed in the sentence.

(32) dɤ́   ʔá   **lə̄lə̄tɛ̀bá**   pùʔù   hākʰō

and.then   eat **completely** termite soil

COORD   V   **ADV**   N   N

Then (the earthworm) completely eats the termite's soil.

Sometimes adverbs of movement modify by using a reduplicated form. In example (33), the reduplication expresses that the rate of action that the agent is doing is fast. Both adverbs have the same tones.

(33) ʔà   kʰlɛ́ tʃó **pʰwɛ̀**   **pʰwɛ̀**

3S   run   go   **quickly** **quickly**

PRO   V   V   **ADV**   **ADV**

He runs quickly.

Adverbial elaborate expressions also appear as partially reduplicated forms where the first two syllables and the last two are the same (AABB). They can be seen in the following example (34).

(34) hè   kó   hè   mā   kó   hè   pʰó   hè   lḭ̀

1S   and   1S.Poss wife and   1S.Poss child 1S.Poss grand child

PRO   CONJ POSS   N   CONJ POSS   N   POSS   N

ʔə́mə̄ʔə́bá   **tʃótʃópwà̰pwà̰**   hēpḛ̄

content   **forever**   SF.future

ADJ   **ADV**   PRT

I and my wife with my children and grandchildren will stay together in contentment forever.

2.2.4.2 Agent Adverb

Another kind of adverb modifies the attitude, disposition or technique of the agent performing the action. In Kayah Monu, these adverbs do not have to directly follow the adjective, verb, or adverb they modify. Example (35) shows the adverb *tə̀tʰótàlɔ̰́* 'carefully' which modifies *pʰɔ̰́ʔá* 'cook'. The adverb follows after the object noun but it modifies the predicate.

(35) ʔà   pʰɔ̰́ʔá hásí **tə̀tʰótàlɔ̰́**

    3S   cook   curry **carefully**

    PRO   V   N   **ADV**
   She cooked the meat carefully.

2.2.4.3 Truth Adverb

Another kind of adverb modifies the proposition and is used to emphasize what the speaker believes about whether he or she is saying is true. These truth adverbs usually occur at the final position and do not have to directly follow after the verb. Examples (36) and (37) show propositions modified by truth adverbs.

(36) ʔà   hé tà̰wétà̰kɛ̀   nū   ʔàmē̄ **wáhɔ̰́**

    3S   say subject.matter topic right   **probably**

    PRO   V   N   TOP   ADJ   **ADV**
   The subject matter that he said is probably right.

(37) kʰɔ̰́tànì hè   kà   tʰɔ̀wākā tʃō   **pēlɛ̀**

    today   1S   will   attend   school **maybe**

    ADV   PRO   ASP   V   N   **ADV**
    Today, maybe I will attend the school.

An elaborate expression adverb intensifier that occurs after an adjective in (38) is an AABB elaboration expression.

(38) tà̰ʔàsʰɔ̰́ʔàkʰā kʰɔ̀nɔ̰́ nū   ʔàpɔ̄ʔàsʰà **tʃētʃēpɔ̀pɔ̀** dɔ̰́   hè   jā

    time   now   topic difficult   **really**   at   1S   for

    N   ADV   TOP   ADJ   **ADV**   PREP   PRO   LCLZR
    Nowadays, it is really difficult for me.

A discussion of adverbs as adjective intensifiers is in section 3.2.3.

Several varieties of adverb constructions are found in Kayah Monu. As can be seen above, adverbs in Kayah Monu occur as single words, reduplication, and elaborate expressions. They modify events, agents, and truth claims.

2.3 Minor Word Classes

Minor word classes in Kayah Monu form closed classes to which no new items can normally be added and that usually contains a relatively small number of items. Some of the closed classes, pronouns, demonstratives, preposition, localizers, numerals, classifiers, conjunctions, and directional verbs are discussed in this section.

2.3.1 Pronouns

Pronouns are a small closed class of words which substitute for NPs and may function as the subject or the object in a clause. They can occur as possessors in NPs. In Kayah Monu, pronouns play an important role by providing continuity and brevity. No gender or class distinctions are relevant for pronouns. There are also reflexive pronouns and reciprocal pronouns. Pronouns are marked for person (1st, 2nd, and 3rd). Table 10 shows the different pronouns in Kayah Monu.

Table 10 Pronouns in Kyah Monu

	Number	Function				
		Subject/ free pronoun	Object	Possessor	Reflexives Reciprocals	
					human	non-human
1st Person	singular	*hè*	*hè*	*hè*	*hè-ná*	*hè-tạ̀*
	plural	*pà*	*pà*	*pà*	*pà-ná*	*pà-tạ̀*
2nd Person	singular	*nà*	*nà*	*nà*	*nà-ná*	*nà-tạ̀*
	plural	*sè*	*sè*	*sè*	*sè-ná*	*sè-tạ̀*
3rd Person	singular	*ʔà*	*ʔà*	*ʔà*	*ʔà-ná*	*ʔà-tạ̀*
	plural	*ʔàsè/ ʔàlə́kʰə̀*	*ʔàsè*	*ʔàsè*	*nóʔò*	*nóʔò*

As can be seen in the above table, all subject, object, and possessive personal pronouns are the same. Example (39) exemplifies the first person singular pronoun in the subject position.

(39) **hè** mé sʰájá nū **hè** kà nébá rù

    1S if sell topic **1S** will get money

    PRO SUBORD V TOP **PRO** ASP V N

    If I sell them, I would get money.

For the object and oblique positions, the first person singular pronoun appears with the same form as in the subject position. Examples (40) and (41) show the first person singular pronoun in oblique and object position.

(40) tạ̀ʔàsʰɔ́ʔàkʰā kʰɔ̀nɔ́ nū ʔàpɔ̄ʔàsʰà tʃētʃēpɔ̀pɔ̀ dɔ́ **hè** jā

    time now topic difficult really at **1S** for

    N ADV TOP ADJ ADV PREP **PRO** LCLZR

    Nowadays, it is really difficult for me..

(41) ʔà sápʰlódó nótʃàká **hè**

    3S angry extremely **1S**

    PRO ADJ ADV **PRO**

    He extremely angry at me.

Both the 1st person singular *hè* and the possessive pronoun *hè* appear together in a single sentence. The two forms are identical as shown in (42).

(42) **hè** tʰɔ̀ klɔ̀ sɔ́ dɤ́ **hè** lɔ̀tē kạ̄ kɛ̀ **hè** kʰəlɔ̀pɔ́

    1S climb.up cut tree and.then **1S** down break PERF **1S.Poss** leg

    PRO V V N COORD **PRO** V.DIR V ASP **PRO** N

    I climb up to cut a tree and I fell down then my leg was broken.

2.3.1.1 Reflexive and Reciprocal Pronouns

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are also found in Kayah Monu and they express reflexives for animates by using the personal pronoun plus the word for *-ná* 'body' or *–tạ̀* 'thing'. *nóʔò* 'each other' functions as the reciprocal pronoun. The reflexive pronoun usually co-occurs with *tàʔó* a verbal reflexive marker. It can be used to form emphatic reflexives (43) or used as an intransitivizers (44) in Kayah Monu.

(43) hè   hé   tàʔó   **hèná**

    1S   say   alone   **myself**

    PRO   V   PRO.RFLX   **PRO.RFLX**

    I said it myself.

(44) ʔà   plɛ̀básə́   tàʔó   **ʔàná**

    3S   hit   alone   **himself**

    PRO   V   PRO.RFLX   **PRO.RFLX**

    He hits himself.

The following example (45) shows the verbal reflexive marker used in an emphatic statement. The reflexive pronoun *ʔàná* is dropped. But in (46), the reflexive pronoun is not dropped and no intransitivization occurs.

(45) ʔà   pə̄   tàʔó   ʃí

    3S   beat   alone   dog

    PRO   V   PRO.RFLX   N

    He himself beats the dog.

(46) nà   bá   mà   tàʔó   **nàtạ̀**

    2S   must   do   alone   **yourself**

    PRO   MOD   V   PRO.RFLX   **PRO.RFLX**

    You must do by yourself.

In example (47), the reiterative adverb *sɔ́* 'again' modifies the verb phrase. Both the verb and verbal reflexive marker precedes that adverb but the object NP follows the adverb. This suggests that *tàʔó* is a verbal marker and not a nominal marker.

(47) ʔà   pə̄   tàʔó   sɔ́   ʃí

    3S   beat   alone   again   dog

    PRO   V   PRO.RFLX   ADV   N

    He himself hits the dog again.

For the reciprocal pronoun, the form *nóʔò* 'each other' is used. More than one participant is found in this kind of construction. Examples (48) and (49) show the reciprocal construction in Kayah Monu. The verbal reflexive marker *tàʔó* does not appear with *nóʔò*.

(48) ʔàsè   plú   **nóʔò**

    3P   fight   **each other**

    PRO   V   **RECP**

    They fight each other.

(49) hè   kó   ʔà   nū   ʔɔ́lòkwē   plóbáká   **nóʔò**

    1S   and   3S   topic   play   together   **each.other**

    PRO   CONJ   PRO   TOP   V   ADV   **RECP**

    I and him (we) play together.

2.3.1.2 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used to ask questions. Table 11 provides a list of content interrogative pronouns in Kayah Monu. These are used in content questions that elicit a specific answer. Besides content question words, Kayah Monu also has two question particles *lē* and *ʔγà* that both appear clause final. The question particle *ʔγà* is optionally used in 'Yes-No' questions. Interrogative sentences are discussed more in section 7.4.

Table 11 Interrogative Pro-forms in Kayah Monu

Gloss	Interrogative Proform
who	*mɔ́pè*
where	*bátè*
what	*títè*
when	*bákʰòtè*
how	*hítè*
how much	*pwétè*
why	*màtítè*

2.3.1.3 Plural Pronoun

To use a pronoun to denote a 3ʳᵈ person plural in Kayah Monu, the 3ʳᵈ person pronoun singular *ʔà* + 2ⁿᵈ person plural *sè* combine to become 3ʳᵈ person plural *ʔàsè*. Another 3ʳᵈ person plural pronoun is derived by the addition of the suffix *lɔ́kʰɔ́* to the root 3ʳᵈ person plural form *ʔàsè*.

Examples (50) and (51) show the use of the third person plural pronoun.

(50) **ʔàsè**   tʃó̰   tʰɔ́   tə̄

    3P   lift   up   box

    PRO   V   V.DIR   N

    They lift up the box.

(51) **ʔàsèlə́kʰə́**   pʰó   ʔə́   sɔ́   jɛ̄

    3P   child   have   CLF.human   five

    PRO   N   V   CLF   NUM

    They have five children.

The above example sentences show that both 3rd person plural pronouns *ʔàsè* and *ʔàsèlə́kʰə́* can be used in the subject position.

The plural pronoun *ʔàsè* can be used in object position as in the following example (52) while *-lə́kʰə́* is attached to subject position only.

(52) pà   mà   sì   **ʔàsè**

    1P   do   die   **3P**

    PRO   V   V   **PRO**

    We kill them.

It is ungrammatical for the plural pronoun *ʔàsèlə́kʰə́* appear at object position as in (53).

(53) * pà   mà   sì   **ʔàsèlə́kʰə́**   (ungrammatical)

    1P   do   die   **3P**

    PRO   V   V   **PRO**

    We kill them.

2.3.2 Demonstratives

Demonstrative (modifiers) can modify a noun with deictic information (see section 2.3.2.1). Or in some cases, a demonstrative occurs without a head noun; instead it functions as demonstrative pronoun (see section 2.3.2.2).

2.3.2.1 Demonstratives as Modifiers

Demonstratives in Kayah Monu are used to identify a particular thing or individual which is near or far from the speaker. *héʔù* 'this' is proximate and *hénù* 'that' and *bánù* 'that' are distal. Sometimes, for plural demonstratives 'these' or 'those' the quantifier *tàkʰlə̀* is optionally added. Demonstratives normally modify a noun in a noun phrase, and typically, they follow the noun.

In the following examples (54) and (55), both demonstratives are optionally added and followed by the quantifier *tàkʰlə̀* to show the plural.

(54) hí   **héʔù**   tàkʰlə̀

    house **this**   some

    N   **DEM**   QUANT

     these houses

(55) hí   **hénù**   tàkʰlə̀   ʔə́   **dónù**

    house **that**   some   be.exist **there**

    N   **DEM**   QUANT COP   **DEM**

     those houses (way) over there

Sometimes the distal demonstrative *bánù* 'that' occurs at the start of an adverbial clause used to specify or emphasize time as in example (56).

(56) **bánù**   ʔàkʰā   ʔà   tʃólēlù   pē̞

    that   time   3S   travel   still

    DEM   N   PRO   V   ASP

     At that time, he (old man) is still travelling.

2.3.2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

A demonstrative pronoun comes before the copula *mí* and optionally the topic marker *nū* to function as a subject in interrogatives. Examples (57) and (58) show demonstratives which occur before a copula verb in interrogative sentences.

(57) **hénù**   mí   tìtɛ̀

    that   be   what

    DEM   COP   INTRG

     What is that?

(58) **héʔù**   nū   pwétɛ̀

    this   topic   how.many

    DEM   TOP   INTRG

     How much is it?

One remarkable fact is that the distal *hénù* 'that' can refer to an event which normally is marked a verb or verb phrase. Table 12 presents the demonstrative pronouns in Kayah Monu.

Table 12 Demonstratives in Kayah Monu

Referents	Near	Far
Object	*héʔù*	*hénù*
Location	*báʔù*	*dónù*
Time	*báʔù*	*bánù*

Examples (59) and (60) show the distal demonstrative *hénù* 'that' which follows and refers to an event which normally is marked a verb or verb phrase.

(59) mà **hénù** dɤ́   hè   ʃîpènà pɛ̀   pē̱   tà   kʰɔ́   tɛ̱́

    do   **that**   and.then 1S   forget   able.can still   one   CLF.time   not

    V   **DEM**   COORD   PRO   V   MOD   ASP   NUM   CLF   NEG

     By doing that, I can still never forget about that day.

(60) mà **hénù** ʔà   tʰò   tʰɔ́   kɛ̀   dì   ʔàbó   tà   kàpɯ̀   hó

    do   **that**   3S   become   up   PERF   cooked.rice   white   one   pot   COMPL

    V   **DEM**   PRO   V   V.DIR   ASP   N   N   NUM   N   ASP

     By doing that it becomes a pot of white cooked-rice.

2.3.3 Classifiers

Classifiers in Kayah Monu are preceded by numerals. Classifiers accompany nouns to mark a specific class of nouns. Sometimes the classes differentiate based on a semantic feature such as the physical shape of the noun or the difference between "animacy" and "inanimacy".

In some cases the classifier has the same form as the noun it classifies. Generally, most classifiers (CLF) follow numerals (NUM) which come after the head noun. However, sometimes classifiers precede numerals for humans. See the discussion on Table 15 for more detail on this.

The classifier usage depends on noun that is the head of a noun phrase. There are two kinds of classifiers: sortal and measure. Sortal classifiers are typical count type nouns and are semantically based. Measure classifiers are used to measure mass nouns and denote a container, weight, height, group, or amount.

Examples (61), (62), and (63) show sortal classifiers in noun phrases.

(61) dìtʃə́   sù   **bá**

    spoon   three   **CLF.flat**

    N   NUM   **CLF**

     three spoons

(62) hí   sù   **mɛ̀**

    house   three   **CLF.round.big**

    N   NUM   **CLF**

     three houses

(63) sə́   tà   **bò**

    tree   one   **CLF.long and thin**

    N   NUM   **CLF**

     a tree

Table 13 is a list of semantic based sortal classifiers.

Table 13 Sortal Classifiers in Kayah Monu

Classifiers	Semantic (Sortal)	Examples
pwà̰	human	king, woman, man, children
sɔ́	human	king, woman, man, children
dò̰	mammals, rodents, four legs animal	elephant, dog, horse
bò	long, thin, cylindrical, hair	tree, snake, river, pencil, hairs,
də̀	village	vilalges
mú	plants	tree
mɛ̀	big and rounded things	house, mango, banana, bugs, silkworms, mountain, stars
kʰō̄	vehicle	bicycle, bus
tʃɔ́	kind, non-human object things	desire, curry (kind)
prò	generic	unspecified
bá	flat things	book, spoon, money, teeth
bá	animals or vehicles that fly and swim	birds, fish, plane, boat,
bò	pole, long, grass	pole, rope, grasses
jù	subject, topic	story, news, bibliography, monograph
pṵ̀	clothes	shirts, trousers, blankets
nì	day	days

There are also measure classifiers used in Kayah Monu. Some measure classifiers are shown in the following examples.

(64) ʃì   lì   **bɛ̄**

　　water four   **CLF.cup**

　　N   NUM   **CLF**

　　 four cups of water

(65) ʔà   rù   ʔə́   jɛ̄   **bá**

　　3S   money   have five   **CLF.flat**

　　PRO   N   V   NUM   **CLF**

　　 He has five kyats.

(66) sékʰá   kàní   **pɔ́**

    alcohol two   **CLF.measure**

    N   NUM   **CLF**

    two bottles of alcohol

Table 14 lists some measure classifiers with their related example usages.

Table 14 Measure Classifiers in Kayah Monu

Classifiers	Unit	Substance Measured	Examples
bɛ̄	dish or cup	water, curry	a cup of water, a dish of curry
métʃúmū	finger	measure size	two inches, three feet
pɔ́	bottle	oil, wine	three bottles of wine
kàpùu	pot	rice, curry	a pot of rice/ curry
mɛ̀	round thing	water container made of bamboo	three water containers
pó	basket, bucket	water, oil	water
pló	heap	paddy, stone	a heap of paddy
mṳ̄	group	human	a group/team of people
klɔ̰̀	plot	land	a field, plot,
kò	hole	hole, cave	two holes, a cave
kʰɔ́	time	frequency, number of times,	once, twice,
ʔé	bag, pack		a bag of rice, a pack of salt
kʰɔ́	pair things	windows, doors, hands, shoes	a window, two hands

The Table 15 shows the positions of classifiers for both human and non-human. The schematic constructions are [N Num Clf] and [N Clf Num]. The non-human classifier *dò* is used for four-leg animals and the human classifier *pwɔ̰̀* is the main classifier for human.

It is common for a semantically null prefix *ʔà-* to attach to a classifier when the classifier precedes the numeral in a classifier phrase.

The human classifier *sɔ́* 'person' only precedes the numbers "two, three, four, and five".

For all other classifiers, usually the classifiers follow the number, but for the numbers six and eight, and all multiples of ten, the classifier precedes the number as in the following.

Table 15 The Positions of Classifiers in Kayah Monu

	Non-human	**Human – só**	**Human – pwậ**
1	ʃí tà dò dog one CLF.animal	NOT POSSIBLE	kɔ̀jɔ̀ tà pwậ people one CLF.human
2	ʃí kàní dò dog two CLF.animal	kɔ̀jɔ̀ só kàní people CLF.human two	kɔ̀jɔ̀ kàní pwậ people two CLF.human
6	ʃí ʔàdò sù só dog CLF.animals three pair	NOT POSSIBLE	kɔ̀jɔ̀ ʔàpwậ sù só people CLF.human three pair
7	ʃí sù só tà dò dog three pair one CLF.animal	NOT POSSIBLE	kɔ̀jɔ̀ sù só tà pwậ people three pair one CLF.human
10	ʃí ʔàdò ʃí dog CLF.animals ten	NOT POSSIBLE	kɔ̀jɔ̀ ʔàpwậ ʃí people CLF.human ten
20	ʃí ʔàdò kàní ʃí dog CLF.animals two ten	NOT POSSIBLE	kɔ̀jɔ̀ ʔàpwậ kàní ʃí people CLF.human two ten

2.3.4 Numerals

The numeral systems of Kayah Monu are discussed in this section. Normally, most languages have a specific name for each number from one to ten, but the numeral system in Kayah Monu is different from others. In Kayah Monu, the number six is equivalent to three + Classifier (pairs), and the number eight is four + Classifier (pairs). The number seven and nine are different still, with seven having the combination of six (three + pairs) plus one and nine, the combination of eight (four + pairs) plus one as it can be seen in Table 16. The cardinal numbers from 11 to 19 are presented in Table 17.

Table 16 Numbers 1 to 10 in Kayah Monu

Kayah Monu Numerals	Gloss	Literal Translation
tà	'one'	
kàní	'two'	
sù	'three'	
lì	'four'	
jē	'five'	
sù só	'six'	three + pair
sù só tà	'seven'	three + pair + one
lì só	'eight'	four + pair
lì só tà	'nine'	four + pair + one
ʃí	'ten'	

Table 17 Numbers 11 to 19 in Kayah Monu

Kayah Monu Numerals	Gloss	Literal Translation
ʃí tà	'eleven'	ten + one
ʃí kàní	'twelve'	ten + two
ʃí sù	'thirteen'	ten + three
ʃí lì	'fourteen'	ten + four
ʃí jē	'fifteen'	ten + five
ʃí sù só	'sixteen'	ten + three + pair
ʃí sù só tà	'seventeen'	ten + three + pair + one
ʃí lì só	'eighteen'	ten + four + pair
ʃí lì só tà	'nineteen'	ten + four + pair + one

Table 18 presents Kayah Monu numbers from twenty to ninety. Table 19 shows higher numbers in Kayah Monu. Such numbers *jà* 'hundred', *só* 'ten thousand' and *sí* 'hundred thousand' are loan words from Burmese.

Table 18 Numbers 20 to 90 in Kayah Monu

Kayah Monu Numerals	Gloss	Literal Translation
kàní ʃí	'twenty'	two +ten
sù ʃí	'thirty'	three +ten
lì ʃí	'forty'	four +ten
jē ʃí	'fifty'	five +ten
ʔàʃí sùsó	'sixty'	ten + six
sùsótà ʃí	'seventy'	seven +ten
ʔàʃí lìsó	'eighty'	ten + eight
lìsótà ʃí	'ninety'	nine +ten

Table 19 Higher Numbers in Kayah Monu

Kayah Monu Numerals	Gloss
tà jà	'one hundred'
tà rí	'one thousand'
tà sɔ́	'ten thousand'
tà sí	'one hundred thousand'

2.3.5 Quantifiers

Quantifiers are modifiers of nouns that indicate quantity or scope. A quantifier expresses a referent's definite or indefinite number or amount. There are six quantifiers in Kayah Monu and they are shown in Table 20.

Table 20 Quantifiers in Kayah Monu

Quantifiers in Kayah Monu	Gloss
dówè	many
lóbɔ̀	all
tàkʰlə̀	some
tàkí	few
tàkípʰú	few
tàsìlí	few

Example (67) shows that the quantifier *dówè* 'many' occurs after the noun in a noun phrase.

(67) hí   ʔàlì   hénù   **dówè**

house   red   that   **many**

N   ADJ   DEM   **QUANT**

　many of those red houses

In examples (68) (an existential clause), *dówè* 'many' follows a copula and a verb.

(68) kànē   ʔɔ́   **dówè**

bee   be.exist **many**

N   COP   **QUANT**

　The bees are many.

In examples (69), *lóbɔ̀* 'all' comes after the noun to function as an indefinite quantifier.

(69) hí   **lóbɔ̀**

house   **all**

N   **QUANT**

　all houses

Example (70) shows the quantifier *tàkʰlɔ̀* 'some' is normally added to a noun to create a non-specific plural.

(70) ʃí   **tàkʰlɔ̀**

dog   **some**

N   **QUANT**

　dogs (or) some dogs

In Kayah Monu, there cannot be both a ClfP and a quantifier in the same NP and it is ungrammatical as in (71) and (72).

(71) * hí   **tàkʰlɔ̀**   sù   mɛ̀   ungrammatical

house   **some**   three   CLF.round.big

N   **QUANT**   NUM   CLF

　some three houses

(72) * hí   sù   mὲ   **tàkʰlὲ̀**   ungrammatical

    house   three   CLF.round.big **some**

    N   NUM   CLF   **QUANT**

     some three houses

In example (73), the quantifiers *tàkípʰú* and *tàsìlí* appear after the noun and both have the same meaning.

(73) hí   **tàkípʰú**   /   **tàsìlí**

    house   **few**   **few**

    N   **QUANT**   **QUANT**

     few houses

See section (3.2.5) for more on quantifiers.

2.3.6 Localizers

Localizers, also called relator nouns (Watters 136-137) and location nouns (Hartmann 2008: 93-95), are specialized words that function to provide a more specific locational reference to the location preposition *də́*. Localizers form a closed class of nouns that cover much of the semantic territory of English prepositions. While they are not structurally equivalent to prepositions they are also not truly postpositions (Solnit 1997: 209). Localizers are not usually modified by any noun modifier, classifier, relative clause, demonstrative, possessor (Manson 2010: 241).

Kayah Monu has a number of localizers which co-occur with the location preposition *də́*. All these localizers point out the specific location of the place denoted by the noun. In examples (74), (75), and (76), the localizers come after the noun and denote specific places or locations.

(74) ʃí   ʔə́   də́   wē   **kō**

    dog be.exist at   yard **in**

    N   COP   PREP   N   **LCLZR**

     The dog in the yard.

(75) dì   ʔə́   də́   sàbwέ **kʰó**

    cooked.rice be.exist at   table **on**

    N   COP   PREP N   **LCLZR**

    Cooked rice is on the table.

(76) pʰìtʃá ʔə́ də́ hí **là̤**

    child   be.exist   at   house **under**

    N   COP   PREP   N   **LCLZR**

    The child is under the house.

The localizers used in Kayah Monu are listed in Table 21.

Table 21 Localizers of Kayah Monu

Localizers in Kayah Monu	Gloss
báʃá	about
kʰó̰	on/to
jā	for
kʰɔ̄	foot/base
klà	among
kó	with/about
kō	in
kòlà̤	under
là̤	under
lə̀	beside
lò	from
tʰɔ̄	above
ʔà̤jā	for
ʔàklà	among
ʔàkō	in
ʔàwēkḛ̀	about
ʔ ʊ́	to
kʰ ɩ̄	top
ʔàkʰlə̀	outside

2.3.7 Uses of *də́*

One special feature of Kayah Monu is the word *də́.* In this research, *də́* is glossed and treated as preposition and relativizer. The uses of *də́* fall into two apparent categories: 1) PP: *də́* + NP (LCLZR) and 2) S': *də́* + S, which can be generalized into a single abstract syntactic representation.

2.3.7.1 Preposition

When *dɘ́* 'at' is a preposition, it usually functions as a general location marker which encodes non-core participants. As a preposition, it contributes little semantic content and is usually accompanied by a localizer, or some word that further refines its semantic role – what might be called a semantic role marker (SRM).

Examples (77) and (78) show the location of use of the preposition *dɘ́* Here, it follows the main verb and occurs with a phrase that includes a post-phrasal localizer.

(77) tʰòpʰàtī ʔɘ́ **dɘ́** sɘ́ kʰī

    bird   be.exist **at** tree top

    N   COP   **PREP** N   LCLZR

     The bird is on the top of tree.

(78) pʰìtʃɘ́ pwàkʰó kʰlɛ́ nù   **dɘ́**   hìdə̄ kō

    child   male   run in   **at**   house in

    N   N   V   V.DIR **PREP** N   LCLZR

     The boy ran inside of the house.

The location preposition *dɘ́* also denotes motion from (source), motion to (goal), and beneficiary in prepositional phrase. More discussions are in (5.4.2), (5.4.4), and (5.4.5).

2.3.7.2 Relativizer

Relativizer *dɘ́* 'that' is used to mark S' constituents. When used as a relativizer, it follows the head noun to introduce a relative clause in a sentence. Examples (79) and (80) show the relativizer *dɘ́* introducing a relative clause following the head noun.

(79) ʃí **dɘ́**   ʔà   ʔá pʰìtʃɘ́ pʰó nū ʔà   ʔó

    dog **that** 3S.RSMP   bite child child topic 3S   bark

    N   **REL** PRO.RSMP V   N   N   TOP PRO V

     The dog that bit the boy is barking.

(80)

pwàmó	**dә́**	ʔà	tʰúplē	hὲ	hí
female	**that**	3S.RSMP	clean	1S.Poss	house
N	**REL**	PRO.RSMP	V	POSS	N

  the woman who cleans my house

The following example (81) shows both relativizer *dә́* and location preposition *dә́* co-occuring together in a single sentence This prepositional use is used to show a goal without a localizer.

(81)

pwàkʰó	**dә́**	ʔà	hὲ	ʔí	hὲ	ʃì	tʃó	**dә́**	jɔ̄kūkạ̄
male	**that**	3S.RSMP	come	give	1S	water	go	**at**	Yangon
N	**REL**	PRO.RSMP	V	V	PRO	N	V	**PREP**	NPROP

  the man who brings me water went to Yangon.

Example (82) shows the occurrence of prepositional *dә́* marking a non-core argument, the beneficiary with a localizer Semantic Role Marker *ʔàjā* 'for' following the noun phrase.

(82)

ʔà	pʰә́ʔá	hásí	ʃē	jì	**dә́**	ʃítὲmὲ	ʔàjā
3S	cook	curry	chicken	meat	**at**	guest	for
PRO	V	N	N	N	**PREP**	N	LCLZR

  She cooked chicken curry for the guests.

2.3.7.3 Temporal Preposition

Another use of *dә́* is used to introduce adverbial time clauses. In the following example (83), *dә́* introduces a temporal phrase. It may be used to indicate time but it must be a past time; which usually appears at the beginning of a story as standard story-telling opener.

(83)

dә́	nīhānīnә́	ʔàmúpwạ́	ʔàpạ̀ʔàpʰá	ʔә́	tà	pwạ̀
when	long.time.ago	old.man	powerful	be.exist	one	CLF.human
PREP	ADV	N	ADJ	COP	NUM	CLF

  Long time ago, there was a powerful old man.

When the argument of a time preposition is a clause and the prepositional phrase is functioning as an adjunct to another clause, the temporal clause is delimited by the temporal preposition *dә́* 'when' and the clause final temporal marker subordinator

ʔàkʰā 'while'. Typically in connected discourse, the temporal clause occurs before the main clause as the following example shows:

(84) [[dɔ́   hè   pʰìtʃá   ʔàkʰā   ]S_{Subord} hè   ʔɔ́   dɔ́   kʰɛ̄   kā̱   ]S_{Main}

    when 1S   child   while   1S   live   **at**   China   country

    PREP PRO   N   SUBORD   PRO   V   **PREP** NPROP   N

    When I was a child, I lived in China.

The connective uses of *dɔ́* are listed in Table 22.

Table 22 Different Functions of *dɔ́*

Different functions of *dɔ́*	Gloss	Structure	Part of Speech
dɔ́ (locative)	at	*dɔ́* NP (LCLZR)	preposition
dɔ́ (beneficiary)	at	*dɔ́* NP *ʔàjā*	preposition
dɔ́ (source)	at	*dɔ́* NP (LCLZR)	preposition
dɔ́ (goal)	at	*dɔ́* NP (LCLZR)	preposition
dɔ́ (as relativizer)	that	*dɔ́* S_{RC}	relativizer
dɔ́ (as temporal marker (past))	when	*dɔ́* XP_{time} (XP = NP or S)	preposition

As can be seen in previous analysis, *dɔ́* functions as a location preposition and it precedes a noun to form a prepositional phrase whereas the relativizer *dɔ́* precedes a relative clause in a noun phrase; the temporal preposition *dɔ́* appears with an adverbial at the start position. Among these uses, the location prepositional use of *dɔ́* is by far the most common. One possible unifying hypothesis of all uses of *dɔ́* is as a general subordinaor which marks constituents which modify another head. Schematically this modification could take the following forms:

$[X_{head}\ [\textbf{\textit{dɔ́}} + XP + (LCLZR)]_{modifier}\ ]$ – for all uses except TIME
$[\ [\textbf{\textit{dɔ́}} + XP + (LCLZR)\ ]\ X_{head}\ ]$ - TIME

2.3.8 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are words that are used to connect words, phrases, or clauses. Two general classes of conjunctions, coordinating and subordinating, are traditionally distinguished (Shopen, 2007: 45). In this section coordinating conjunctions such as *kó* 'and/with', *tá̱mè* 'or', and *dɤ́* 'and.then' are discussed. Subordinating conjunctions also will be presented following them. The conjunctions of Kayah Monu are listed in

Table 23. See sections (6.2) and (6.3) for more on clausal conjunctions For more on nominal conjunctions see section (3.2.9.2).

Table 23 Conjunctions in Kayah Monu

Conjunctions	Gloss	Conjunct Type	Relationship
kó	and/with	Words and NPs	Coordinating
tǽmè	or	Phrases or Clauses	Coordinating
dɤ́	and.then	Clauses	Coordinating
mé	if	Clauses	Subordinating
tǽlɔ̀	until	Clauses	Subordinating
ʔàkʰóʔàkʰjè	because.of	Clauses	Subordinating
màtītènù	because	Clauses	Subordinating

2.3.9 Final Particles

In this section, some sentence final particles which are commonly found in Kayah Monu are presented. Declarative, imperative, and interrogative final particles are discussed in turn.

2.3.9.1 Declarative

There are three declarative final particles appear in Kayah Monu. They are 1) *já*, 2) *hó*, and 3) *hépę́* respectively.

2.3.9.1.1 Final Particle *já*

The particle *já* has a sentence final function in Kayah Monu. It usually occurs at the end of the sentence. Examples (85) and (86) show the usage of the particle *já* at the end of sentence.

(85) lō?ā tǫ   tʰə̀   ?ɔ́   plú   **já**

    dry   bundle PERF collect together **SF**

    V   N   ASP   V   ADV   **PRT**

   After you have dried (the bundles of unthreshed rice) then collect (them).

(86) pə̄ bú   tʰə̀   mà sʰɔ́   **já**

    beat rice.unthreshed PERF do   thresh **SF**

    V   N   ASP   V   V   **PRT**

   After beating (them), thresh the unthreshed rice.

Examples (87) and (88) show several clauses embedded in a single sentence constructed with more than one final particle *já*. However each use is clause final.

(87) ʔà   sì   hó   dɤ́   wépwá kó   pʰɪ̀tʃá̰ kɛ́ **já**   dɤ́   mà ʔá **já**

3S   die   COMPL and.then man   and   child see **SF** and.then   do eat **SF**

PRO   V   ASP   COORD N   CONJ N   V   **PRT** COORD   V V **PRT**

When it (prey) was died and both men and children saw it, then (they) cut up its meat to eat.

(88) kʰlíkʰū **já**   tʰə̀   wìsú **já**   kó   dìdə̀

mix   **SF**   PERF mix   **SF**   with flat.wooden.ladle

V   **PRT** ASP   V   **PRT** APPL N

It must be mixed and then mix by using flat wooden ladle.

já has no apparent semantic contribution as it seems to only mark the end of declarative clauses.

2.3.9.1.2 Aspect Marker *hó*

The particle *hó* is used to express the completive aspect—that the action is done. It usually co-occurs with perfective aspect markers *kɛ̀* 'finish' and often with *tʰə̀* 'finish' to show completed action or event. It can occur after the NP$_{Obj}$ and thus often appears clause final.

In examples (89) and (90) the particle *hó* appears clause final and functions to mark the completive aspect.

(89) ʃí   sì   kɛ̀   **hó**

dog   die   PERF **COMPL**

N   V   ASP   **ASP**

The dog just died (recently).

(90) pʰɪ̀tʃá̰ ʔá   tʰə̀   dì   **hó**

child   eat   PERF cooked.rice   **COMPL**

N   V   ASP   N   **ASP**

The children ate the rice.

hó can appear after the verb, and not sentence final, with no apparent change in meaning as in (91).

(91) pʰìtʃá̰ ʔá tʰə̀ **hó**   dì

child eat PERF **COMPL** cooked.rice

N V ASP **ASP** N

  The children ate the rice.

2.3.9.1.3 Final Particle *hépę́*

In Kayah Monu, the particle for the future *hépę́* appears sentence final. It expresses the irrealis mood and sometime co-occurs with irrealis aspect marker *kà* 'will' in a sentence. Examples (92), (93), and (94) show the particle for future *hépę́* in sentence final position.

(92) ʔà kà ʔá dì **hēpḛ̄**

3S will eat cooked-rice **SF.future**

PRO ASP V N **PRT**

  She will eat the rice.

(93) hè pwè níbá pə́ mɔ̀tàkā **hēpḛ̄**

1S buy own addional car **SF.future**

PRO V V ADJ N **PRT**

  I will additionally buy and own a car.

(94) hè sálésálɔ̀ **hēpḛ̄**

1S rejoice **SF.future**

PRO V **PRT**

  I will also rejoice.

Examples (95) and (96) show the future particle *hépę́* following an interrogative pronoun in the final position in interrogative sentences.

(95) pèwə̀pḛ̄ nà kà mà tìtɛ̀ **hēpḛ̄**

tomorrow 2S will do what **SF.future**

ADV PRO ASP V INTRG **PRT**

  What will you do tomorrow?

(96) nà   kà   hὲ   bákʰə̀tὲ **hēpē̱**

    2S   will   come   when   **SF.future**

    PRO   ASP   V   INTRG   **PRT**

    When will you come?

2.3.9.2 Imperative

In Kayah Monu, the final particle *né* or *nɔ̄* shows that the actor is giving a softened command or polite opinion. Among these two, *nɔ̄* is a loan word from Burmese. Examples (97) and (98) show the assertive command usage of *né* or *nɔ̄*.

(97) pɔ̄kʰɔ̄   ʔà   hé   nū   mà   tàmą́   **né**

    as   3S   say   be   do   not   **IMP.polite**

    PREP   PRO   V   COP   V   NEG   **IMP**

    Don't do it as he said.

(98) kànὲʔí   hὲ   **nɔ̄**

    remember   1S   **IMP.polite**

    V   PRO   **IMP**

    Remember me please.

The following example (99) shows the actor is giving quite strong command by using high intonation with imperative negation *mą́* 'not' without *né* or *nɔ̄*.

(99) mà   mą́

    do   not

    V   NEG

    Don't do it!

In examples (100) and (101), the hortative particle *lə́ and mɔ́* are used to express polite opinion in a clause.

(100) pà   tʃó   **lə́**

    1P   go   **HORT**

    PRO   V   **IMP**

    Lets go.

(101) pà   tʃó   **mɔ́**

    1P   go   **HORT**

    PRO   V   **IMP**

    Lets go.

2.3.9.3 Interrogative

There are only two final question particles *lɛ̄* and *ʔɣà.* Both are discussed below and detail in section (7.4).

In example (102), the interrogative proform *mɔ́pɛ̀* appears in the object position as a recipient of 'give' while the final particle *lɛ̄* occurs at the end of the sentence.

(102) nà   kà   ʔí   mɔ́pɛ̀   **lɛ̄**

    2S   will   give   who   **QP**

    PRO   ASP   V   INTRG   **Q**

    Whom will you give it?

The interrogative form 'why' also has two parts. The interrogative proform *màtítɛ̀* appears in the sentence initial position while the final particle *lɛ̄* occurs in the sentence final position.

Example (103) shows the structure of 'why' in Kayah Monu.

(103) màtítɛ̀   nà   hɛ̀   tɔ̣̂   **lɛ̄**

    why   2S   come   not   **QP**

    INTRG   PRO   V   NEG   **Q**

    Why don't you come?

For 'yes-no' close questions, the final question word particle *ʔɣà* is used in Kayah Monu. Example (104) shows the form of a 'yes-no' question. The answer for this type of question would be 'yes or no' or the verb phrase. (see also section 7.4.1).

(104) nà   sákànā   mùnù   jɔ́   **ʔɣà**

    2S   understand Monu   language **QP**

    PRO   V   NPROP   N   **Q**

    Do you understand Kayah Monu language?

2.3.10 Directional Verbs

Directional verbs are an example of complex verb serialization and they are very common in Kayah Monu. They are inseparable from the main verb because if moved they will be understood differently. All directional verbs are still used as independent verbs, although in concurrence with main verbs some have developed more specific meanings.

When the main predicate is a verb of motion, the directional verb describes the direction of motion of theme. The first verb is interpreted as the main verb and the second verb as the directional verb. In these, the second verb gives a directional specification to the action of the first verb. Examples can be seen in the following.

(105) ʔà   tʃǫ́ **lɔ̀tē̞**   dì   kàpṳ̀

3S   lift **down**   cooked.rice pot

PRO   V   **V.DIR** N   N

She lifts down the pot of rice.

(106) bétʃá jésú   kè̞   **tʰɔ́**   kè̞   dɘ́   mókʰó

Lord   Jesus   return **up**   PERF at   sky

N   NPROP   V   **V.DIR** ASP   PREP N

Lord Jesus ascended to the heaven.

(107) ʔà   kè̞   **wɔ́kī**   wē   kō

3S   return **cross**   yard in

PRO   V   **V.DIR** N   LCLZR

He crosses through the yard.

(108) ʔà   tʃǫ́ **nù**   tɘ̄   dɘ́   hìdə̄   kō

3S   lift **go.in**   box at   house in

PRO   V   **V.DIR** N   PREP N   LCLZR

He carries the box into the house.

The following examples show non-motion action predicates which are followed by directional verbs. When the main predicate is not a verb of motion, the directional verb describes different meanings as in (109), (110), and (111). These uses are more like exhaustive aspectual marking.

(109) pà   bέ   **tʰɔ́**   ʃìmɚ̰̀kɑ̰̄pʰà

  1P   put   **up**   leaders

  PRO   V   **V.DIR**   N

  We nominated our leaders.

(110) ʃìkɑ̰̄   kà   dó   **tʰɔ́**   tʰò   **tʰɔ́**

  country will big   **up**   become **up**

  N   ASP   ADJ   **V.DIR**   V   **V.DIR**

  The country will grow.

(111) ʔà   bɚ́   **lɔ̰̀**   tɑ̰̀pʰótɑ̰̀wὲ   ʔɚ́   kàní   prò

  3S   create **down**   animal   be.exist two   CLF.generic

  PRO   V   **V.DIR**   N   COP   NUM   CLF

  There were two kinds of animals he created.

In examples (112) and (113), the directional verbs are following state verbs. In the first sentence, the actor looks into the water and sees the fish while in the second example, the actor recalls or brings back the memory of something. The semantics of this usage is difficult to understand.

(112) ʔà   kέʃí   **lɔ̰̀**   tɚ̰́   dɚ́   ʃì   kō

  3S   see   **down**   fish   preposition   water   in

  PRO   V   **V.DIR**   N   PREP   N   LCLZR

  He saw (down) fish in the water.

(113) hὲ   kànὲʔí   **tʰɔ́**   tàkí   tàkí

  1S   remember   **up**   few   few

  PRO   V   **V.DIR**   QUANT   QUANT

  I remember (up) a little bit.

The directional verb normally co-occurs with main verb as the second verb of the verb sequence but sometimes preceding the main verb as in (114) but only with *tʃó* 'go'.

(114) ʔà   **hátʰɔ́**   tʃó   kὲ   dɚ́   hí

  3S   **out**   go   PERF   at   house

  PRO   **V.DIR**   V   ASP   PREP   N

  He went out from the house.

The following sentences show that directional verbs can also be used as independent verbs as in (115) and (116).

(115) ʔà **lɔ̀** dɘ́ jɔ̄kūkā̠

    3S **down** at Yangon

    PRO **V.DIR** PREP NPROP

    She goes down to Yangon.

(116) ʔà **nù** dɘ́ hìdā̄ kō

    3S **go.in** at house in

    PRO **V.DIR** PREP N LCLZR

    He enters the house.

The following Table 24 shows some preverbal and post-verbal directional verbs.

Table 24 Preverbal and Post-verbal Directional Verbs in Kayah Monu

Preverbal	Main Verb	Postverbal
hátʰɔ́ 'out'		*tʰɔ́* 'up'
tʰɔ́ 'up'		*lɔ̀ / lɔ̀tē̠* 'down'
lɔ̀ / lɔ̀tē̠ 'down'		*wɔ̄kī* 'cross'
		nù 'go.in'

2.4 Word Formation

This section presents some morphological features in Kayah Monu. The morphological processes of compounding, affixation, elaborate expression and reduplication are analyzed.

2.4.1 Compoundings

In Kayan Monu's nominal compounds, the primary head noun may appear as the first member of compound or the second. The possible grammatical relations holding between the two constituents of a compound are basically the relations that hold in syntactic constructions: subordination, coordination and attribution (Bisetto & Scalise, 2005: 326). In Kayan Monu, subordinate compounds are often right-headed; attributive compounds are often left-headed; and coordinate compounds are double-headed.

Timothy Shopen (2007: 30) states:

> *Endocentric compounds denote a subclass of items referred to by one of their elements and this element can be treated as the head of the compound. In contrast, exocentric compounds denote something which is different from either of their components. Coordinate compounds consist of two juxtaposed nouns which refer to a unitary concept.*

The following compound nouns listed in

Table 25 are endocentric right-headed subordinate compound. These compounds are related to the possessive noun phrase construction. Two nouns combine together to form a single noun, where the first noun functions as the possessor of the second one, and the possessive *ʔà* can be optionally omitted [N (*ʔà*) N]$_N$ as shown and compared in examples (117a) and (117b).

(117) (a)   (117) (b)

sə́   ʔà   sá   sə́   sá

tree   3S.Poss   fruit   tree   fruit

'fruit'   'fruit'

Table 25 Endocentric Right-headed Subordinate Compound Nouns

Examples	Literal translation	Gloss
sə́-sá	tree-fruit	'fruit'
sə́-pʰɔ̀	tree-branch	'branch'
sə́-lá	tree-leaf	'leaf'
pɔ̰̀-núʃì	cow-milk	'milk'
blé-ʃì	tongue-liquid	'spit (noun)'
kʰā-sʰō	chin-hair	'beard'
tʰó-ʔàsʰó	bird-hair	'feather'
mísá-pʰlə́	face-seed	'eye'
kʰókʰí-sáblé	tooth-cover	'gums'
mí-kʰú	fire-smoke	'smoke'

The compound nouns listed in Table 26 are endocentric left-headed attributive compounds. They have an attributive (head modifier) relation between the two constituents, where the first word is the head noun and the second constituent

modifies it. The compound words in the following table occur as noun-noun pairs [N + N]$_N$, noun-adjective pairs [N + ADJ]$_N$, and noun-localizer pairs [N + LCLZR]$_N$.

Table 26 Endocentric Left-headed Attributive Compound Nouns

Examples	Literal translation	Gloss
ʃì-kǫ́	water-hot	'tea/coffee'
ʃì-pɔ́	water-bottle	'water bottle'
bè-sùu	bean-rotten	'soy bean'
dì-bò	rice-white	'white rice'
há-kàmù	soil-powder	'dust'
pʰó-pwàmɔ́	child-female	'daughter'
pǘ-pwàmɔ́	sister-female	'sister (younger)'
hí-là̰	house-under	'area under house'

Some exocentric or idiomatic compound nouns in Kayah Monu are listed in Table 27 and they are [N + N]$_N$. In some cases the meaning of the compound seems more transparent than in others but it is not equal to the meaning of its components.

Table 27 Exocentric or Idiomatic Compound Nouns

Examples	Literal translation	Gloss
sí-ʃì	blood-water	'energy'
ʔìkɔ́-pwí	head-hard	'stubborn person'
lǫ́-kò	stone-hole	'cave'
lɔ̄-pʰó	river-child	'stream'

Coordinate compound nouns are presented in Table 28. They are composed by two elements that have the same meaning or opposite meaning [N + N]$_N$.

Table 28 Nominal Coordinate Compound Nouns

Compound words	Literal translation	Gloss
mɔ̰́-pʰà	mother-father	'parent'
pʰó-pwàkʰò	child-male	'son'
pʰìtʃá-pwàkʰò	kid-male	'boy'
pʰó-lí	child-grandchild	'descendants'
ʔàdó-ʔàpété	big-small	'size'
ʔàtʰwò-ʔàpū	long-short	'length'

A compound noun made up of more than two words is shown in example (118) and totally of four nouns are combining together as a single noun [N+N+N+N]_N.

(118) ʃì   mə̰́   kā̰   pʰà

    water mother country father

    N   N   N   N

    King (or) leader

2.4.2 Affixation

Affixation in Kayah Monu occurs with the 'tà̰-' 'ʔà-' and 'pwà-' prefixes appearing on stems that acquire new meanings. These three prefixes are the three primary nominalizers in Kayah Monu. They all attach to verbs and adjectives to create nouns. The nominalizer 'tà̰-' is used more for verb nominalizations; both 'tà̰-' and 'ʔà-' are used for adjectives, while 'pwà-' is used for agent nominalizations.

2.4.2.1 Verb nominalization

In Table 29, some de-verbal nouns are presented where the nominalizer 'tà̰-' is added to the verbs to create nouns.

Table 29 Verb Nominalizations

	Examples	Gloss	Example	Gloss
a.	*mà*	'make/do'	*tà̰-mà*	'job/ work'
b.	*ʔá*	'eat'	*tà̰-ʔá*	'food'
c.	*dótʃɛ́*	'check'	*tà̰-dótʃɛ́*	'exam'
d.	*hébá*	'speak'	*tà̰-hébá*	'story'
e.	*màkúʔá*	'trade'	*tà̰-màkúʔá*	'trading'
f.	*pʰíʔáwɛ̀ʔá*	'earn'	*tà̰-pʰíʔáwɛ̀ʔá*	'living'
g.	*sʰà*	'hurt'	*tà̰-sʰà*	'disease'
h.	*tàkʰə̀sɔ́*	'hate'	*tà̰-tàkʰə̀sɔ́*	'hate'
i.	*tʃàbá*	'worship'	*tà̰-tʃàbá*	'worship'
j.	*tʃótṵ́bákʰɔ́bá*	'experience'	*tà̰- tʃótṵ́bákʰɔ́bá*	'experience'
k.	*sá*	'bear fruit'	*tà̰-sá*	'fruit'

2.4.2.2 Adjective nominalization

Adjective nominalization nouns are listed in Table 30 where the nominalizer '*ʔà-*' and '*tà̰-*' are added to an adjective to make a noun.

Table 30 Adjective Nominalizations

	Examples	Gloss	Example	Gloss
a.	*bó*	'white'	*ʔà-bó*	'white'
b.	*lì*	'red'	*ʔà-lì*	'red'
c.	*mʊ́pwá̰*	'old'	*ʔà-mʊ́pwá̰*	'old person'
d.	*tʰó*	'tall'	*ʔà-tʰó*	'tall person'
e.	*sálèsálɔ̀*	'happy'	*tà̰-sálèsálɔ̀*	'happiness'
f.	*sápʰlə́dó*	'angry'	*tà̰-sápʰlə́dó*	'anger'
g.	*sáplá̰*	'sad'	*tà̰-sáplá̰*	'sadness'
h.	*sɔ̀wɹ̄*	'shy'	*tà̰-sɔ̀wɹ̄*	'shame'

2.4.2.3 Agent Nominalization

In Kayah Monu, agent nominalizations are also very common when the prefix *pwà-* 'person' is attached to verbs to create nouns. Some agent nominalizations are exhibited in Table 31.

Table 31 Agent Nominalizations

	Examples	Gloss	Example	Gloss
a.	*mà*	'do'	*pwà-mà*	'doer'
b.	*bə́*	'create'	*pwà-bə́*	'creator'
c.	*də̄sījā*	'inform'	*pwà-də̄sījā*	'informant'
d.	*hébá*	'speak'	*pwà-hébá*	'speaker'
e	*màkʊ́ʔá*	'trade'	*pwà-màkʊ́ʔá*	'trader'

2.4.3 Elaborate Expressions

In this section, different kinds of elaborate expressions, such as elaborate nouns and elaborate adjectives are discussed. For noun elaborate expressions, different kinds of phonetic parallel forms are combined with nouns or verbs which are semantically parallel to form noun elaborate expressions.

Table 32 shows noun elaborate expressions where the first syllable and the third syllable are phonetically identical and the second and the fourth are semantically similar. The following Kayah Monu elaborate expressions have a pattern of ABAC.

Table 32 ABAC Pattern of Noun Elaborate Expressions

Examples	Literal translation	Gloss
tà̰-pʰú-tà̰-wὲ	NOM-child-NOM-elder	'animal'
tà̰-pʰí-tà̰-mà	NOM-work-NOM-work	'work'
tà̰-wē-tà̰-kὲ	NOM-news-NOM-story	'subject matter'
ʔà-wí-ʔà-kὲ̰	NOM-about-NOM-about	'subject matter'
ʔà-sʰɔ́-ʔà-kʰā	NOM-time-NOM-time	'time'
ʔà-pɔ̄-ʔà-sʰà̰	NOM-difficult-NOM-ache	'difficulty'
ʔà-plὲ-ʔà-wɑ̄	NOM-clean-NOM-good	'goodness'

Table 33 shows adjective elaborate expressions where the first syllable and the third syllable are phonetically similar and the second and the fourth are semantically similar.

Table 33 ABAC Pattern of Adjective Elaborate Expressions

Examples	Literal translation	Gloss
sá-lὲ-sá-lɔ̀	mind-happy-mind-happy	'happy'
ʔɔ́-mā-ʔɔ́-bá	be-happy-be-pleased	'content'
ʔà-tʃē-ʔà-tʃó	3S-difficult-3S-difficult	'difficult'
ʔà-pɔ̰̀-ʔà-pʰá	3S-powerful-3S-powerful	'powerful'
kà-tʃú-kà-bá	Ø-cold-Ø-cold	'cold'

Sometimes pronouns are used to form elaborate expressions as in example (119).

(119) ʔà   mɛ̰́   ʔà   pʰà

  3S.Poss mother 3S.Poss father

  PRO   N   PRO   N
  his parents

The following Kayah Monu elaborate expressions have a pattern of AABB. Examples (120), (121), and (122) show this kind of AABB elaborate expressions.

(120) *tʃo tʃó pwạ̀ pwạ̀*

   'forever'

(121) *tʃé tʃé pɔ́ pɔ́*

   'really hard'

(122) tʃó tʃó kẹ̄ kẹ̄

   'travel around'

2.4.4 Reduplication

Kayah Monu has reduplicated forms. Sometimes adjectives reduplicate and sometimes adverbs reduplicate. The reduplication expresses a strong feeling by the speaker and can often be viewed as an intensifier. The following two examples show reduplication.

(123) hè   màtʰɔ́ hí   ʔàmɛ̀   **dó**   **dó**   tà   mɛ̀

   1S   build   house   CLF.round.big   **big**   **big**   one   CLF.round.big

   PRO   V   N   CLF   **ADJ**   **ADJ**   NUM   CLF

   I build a very big house.

(124) ʃí   kʰlɛ́   **pʰwɛ̀**   **pʰwɛ̀**

   dog   run   **quickly**   **quickly**

   N   V   **ADV**   **ADV**

   The dog ran very quickly.

2.5 Summary

This chapter presented the word classes including nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, preposition, localizers, conjunctions, particles, directional verbs. The morphological processes that are found in Kayah Monu were also discussed.

Chapter 3
Noun Phrase

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the structure of noun phrases in Kayah Monu. Different types of noun phrases are discussed. It deals with several aspects of noun phrase in Kayah Monu including pronouns, possession, quantification, noun phrase coordination, and nominal compounds. This section also outlines the internal structure and constituent order within a noun phrase.

Kroeger defines noun phrases as "phrasal constituents whose head is a noun and it can function as subjects, primary or secondary objects, and objects of prepositions" (2005: 87). A Kayah Monu noun phrase is head initial, except that a possessive can precede the head noun. The following schema is the general structure for noun phrases in Kayah Monu:

$$\text{NP} \longrightarrow \text{(PossNP)} \; \mathbf{N_{Head}} \; \text{(ADJ*)} \; \text{(RC)} \begin{Bmatrix} \text{(ClfP)} \\ \text{(QntP)} \end{Bmatrix} \text{(DEM) (TOP)}$$

According to this phrase structure rule, the head noun can be preceded by an optional possessive noun phrase (PossNP) and followed by an optional adjective phrase (AP) or relative clause (RC). The last part of the noun phrase would be either a quantifier phrase (QntP) or classifier phrase (ClfP) followed by an optional demonstrative (DEM) and optional topic marker (TOP).

3.2 Sub-constituents of Noun Phrase

In total, there are seven sub-constituents of NP in Kayah Monu. They are 1) Possessive Noun Phrase, 2) Adjective Phrase, 3) Relative Clause, 4) Quantifier Phrase (usually Numeral), 5) Classifier Phrase, 6) Demonstrative, and 7) Topic Marker respectively.

The following example shows a noun phrase in Kayah Monu with most of these.

(125) ʔà   pʰà   **hí**   ʔàlì   dó   sù   mɛ̀   hénù

    3S.Poss father **house** red   big   three   CLF.round.big that

    POSS   N   **N**   ADJ   ADJ   NUM   CLF   DEM

    His father's three red big houses

3.2.1 The Head of the Noun Phrase

There are four types of words which function as head-nouns in Kayah Monu. They are: 1) common noun, 2) pronoun, 3) proper noun, and 4) demonstrative respectively. Below are examples of head-nouns in Kayah Monu.

3.2.1.1 Common Noun as Head-Noun

In Kayah Monu, common nouns often occur as the head-noun. The common noun *hí* 'house' functions as head and is followed by the adjectives, numeral and classifier in example (126).

(126) ʔà   **hí**   ʔàlì   dó   sù   mɛ̀

    3S.Poss **house** red   big   three   CLF.round.big

    POSS   **N**   ADJ   ADJ   NUM   CLF

    his three big red houses

In example (127), *ʃí* 'the dog' is a common noun which functions as the subject argument of the verb *sì* 'die'. It appears without any modifiers.

(127) **ʃí**   sì   kɛ̀   hó

    dog die   PERF   COMPL

    N   V   ASP   ASP

    The dog just died (recently).

The head-noun *'dɘ̀ pòká'* used in this example also illustrates a [NN] string used as compound and not as a nominal modifier.

(128) **dɘ̀**   **pòká**   pɘ̄   ʃí

    village **head.man** beat   dog

    N   **N**   V   N

    The headman hits the dog.

3.2.1.2 Pronoun as Head-Noun

When a pronoun functions as a head-noun it can be only modified with numerals. A pronoun is in the subject position in example (129).

(129) **ʔàsè** sɔ́   sù   tʃépwé ʔá dì

    3P   CLF.human three   try   eat cooked.rice

    PRO CLF   NUM V   V   N

    They, these three, try to eat rice.

3.2.1.3 Proper Noun as Head-Noun

A proper noun can also function as a head-noun in the subject and object positions in (130).

(130) **pʰàbɔ̀**   pɘ̀já **pʰàlú**

    Phabaw hit   **Phalu**

    NPROP   V   **NPROP**

    Phabaw hits Phalu.

3.2.1.4 Demonstrative as Head-Noun

In Kayah Monu, a demonstrative can be a noun and appear at either subject or object position as in (131) and (132).

(131) hè   ʔá **hénù**

    1S   eat **that**

    PRO V   **DEM**

    I eat that.

(132) **héʔù** mí   ʔà   tạ̀

    this   be   3S.Poss   thing

    DEM   COP PRO   N

    This (thing) is hers.

In the following example (133), the demonstrative pro-form locative is a head-noun and it functions as a subject in a zero copula existential clause (see section 5.2.2 for more on existential clauses).

(133) **dónù**   lì   tà   bá

     there   book one   CLF.flat

     DEM.Loc N   NUM CLF

     There is a book.

3.2.2 Possessive Noun Phrase

There is no special possessive form for any pronoun in Kayah Monu. Possessors are pronouns, possessive *ʔà* and nouns preceding the head-noun. Types of possessive noun phrases are commonly seen as (1) [PRO + $N_{Possessed}$], (2) [NP_{Poss} + $N_{Possessed}$], (3) [NP_{Poss} ʔà/ʔàsè $N_{Possessed}$].

3.2.2.1 [PRO + $N_{Possessed}$] type Possessive Noun Phrase

In example (134), the pronoun *hè* which is the same as all other 1S pronouns is followed by the head noun to form a possessive noun phrase.

(134) **hè**   mə̌

     1S.Poss mother

     PRO   N

     my mother

3.2.2.2 [NP_{Poss} + $N_{Possessed}$] type Possessive Noun Phrase

The following example (135) shows the possessed noun *hí* 'house' possessed by *ʔà pʰà* 'his father' which is itself a possessor noun phrase.

(135) **ʔà**   **pʰà**   hí

     3S.Poss father house

     PRO   **N**   N

     his father's house

3.2.2.3 [NP_{Poss} ʔà/ʔàsè $N_{Possessed}$] type Resumptive Possessive Noun Phrase

ʔà and *ʔàsè* also functions as resumptive pronouns in possessive phrases. They only occur between the third person possessor noun phrases (singular or plural) and the possessed noun as in (136) and (137).

(136)

pwàkʰó	pʰó	sɔ́	sù	**ʔà**	ʃí
male	child	CLF.human	three	**3S**	dog
N	N	CLF	NUM	**PRO.RSMP**	N

The three boys' dog

(137)

pwàkʰó	pʰó	sɔ́	sù	**ʔà**	ʃí
male	child	CLF.human	three	**3S**	dog
N	N	CLF	NUM	**PRO.RSMP**	N

The three boys' dog

Example (138) shows the resumptive pronoun *ʔà* co-occur with the head of the possessed noun in a complex noun phrase.

(138)

pwàkʰó	dɤ́	kʰɛ̄	kā̰	**ʔà**	hí	ʔàlì
male	that	China	country	**3S**	house	red
N	REL	NPROP	N	**PRO.RSMP**	N	ADJ

the man from China's red house

It is ungrammatical to have combinations of a 1S possessive pronoun or 2S possessive pronoun with the resumptive pronoun *ʔà* together in a phrase. Examples (139) and (140) show ungrammatical phrases with the resumptive pronoun *ʔà*.

(139)

* **hè**	**ʔà**	mɤ̰́
1S.Poss	**3S**	mother
PRO	**PRO.RSMP**	N

my mother

(140)

* **nà**	**ʔà**	mɤ̰́
2S.Poss	**3S**	mother
PRO	**PRO.RSMP**	N

your mother

3.2.3 Adjective Phrase

Adjective modifiers in Kayah Monu normally occur after the head noun. Thus the basic order of constituent in the Kayah Monu NP is: N$_{Head}$ (AdjP) as seen in the following examples.

Examples (141) and (142) show adjectives (with an optional ʔà-) which modify head nouns.

(141) hí　　**ʔàdó**

　　　 house　**big**

　　　 N　　　**ADJ**

　　　 big house

(142) ʔà　　　　hí　　**ʔàsà　ʔàdó**

　　　 3S.Poss　house　**new　big**

　　　 POSS　　N　　　**ADJ　ADJ**

　　　 his new big house

(143) is a predicate adjective clause, shows that ʔà is not resumptive pronoun since the subject is 1S, not 3S but ʔà still appears.

(143) hè　　mí　　**ʔàtʰó**

　　　 1S　　be　　**tall**

　　　 PRO　COP　**ADJ**

　　　 I am tall.

Interestingly, ʔà- is not possible when it is used as a predicative adjective followed by perfective and completive aspect markers as in (144).

(144) dìtʃə́　nū　　**(* ʔà) lì**　kὲ　　hó

　　　 spoon　topic　**red**　　　PERF　COMPL

　　　 N　　　TOP　**ADJ**　　　ASP　　ASP

　　　 the spoon became red (color).

It is unusual but possible for more than one adjective to occur after the head noun in Kayah Monu as in example (145).

(145) dìtʃə́　**ʔàlì　ʔàsà　ʔàkọ̀**

　　　 spoon　**red　new　hot**

　　　 N　　　**ADJ　ADJ　ADJ**

　　　 the red new hot spoon

Adverbs often function as adjective intensifiers, conveying a greater or lesser degree. In the following examples, all adverbs intensify the preceding adjectives. Each can only be used with the appropriate semantic type of adjective.

In example (146), both intensifier adverbs '*lìdé*' and '*dílé*' intensify a degree of temperature or environment state.

(146) sèbà   dɔ́   ʔàkɔ̣́   **lìdé**   /   **dílé**

     glass   that   hot   **very**   **very**

     N   REL   ADJ   **INTS**   **INTS**

     the very hot glass

The three intensifier adverbs '*tʃélèwá*', '*dómàtì*', and '*nótʃàká*' intensify degrees of emotion in (147).

(147) hè   sáplɑ̣́   **tʃélèwá** / **dómàtì** / **nótʃàká**

     1S   dejected   **deeply**   **very**   **extremely**

     PRO   ADJ   **INTS**   **INTS**   **INTS**

     I am very dejected

The following two intensifier adverbs '*kàpì*' and '*dómàtì*' modify degrees of size.

(148) hí   mè   dó   **dómàtì** / **kàpì**   tà   mè

     house   CLF.round.big   big   **very**   **very**   one   CLF.round.big

     N   CLF   ADJ   **INTS**   **INTS**   NUM   CLF

     A very big house

The following two intensifier adverbs '*drílè*' and '*tʃōprōtʃílè*' modify events of speed.

(149) ʔà   hébá   pʰwè   **dríllè** / **tʃōprōtʃílè**

     3S   speak   quickly   **very**   **very**

     PRO   V   ADV   **INTS**   **INTS**

     He speaks very quickly.

3.2.4 Relative Clause

A relative clause is a kind of subordinate clause which modifies the head noun within a noun phrase (Kroeger 2005: 230). Details are discussed in the complex clauses section 6.3.2. The frame of a Kayah Monu relative clause is:

[N$_{\text{Head}}$ [dɔ́.....(ʔà$_1$).......(nū)]$_S$]$_{\text{NP}}$ (ʔà$_2$)..........

ʔà$_1$ marks a relative clause internal resumptive pronoun referring back to the head noun and

ʔà$_2$ marks NP if NP in relative clause has been topicalized.

(150) ʃí [dɔ́   pʰìtʃá pʰó pɜ̀já nū   ] ʔà   ʔó

    dog   that   child   child   hit   topic   3S.RSMP   bark

    N   REL   N   N   V   TOP   PRO.RSMP   V

    the dog that boy hits is barking.

Example (150) illustrates five basic parts of a relative clause construction: the head noun (ʃí 'dog'), the modifying clause (pʰìtʃá pʰó pɜ̀já 'the boy hit'), the topic marker (nū) and the relativizer (dɔ́ 'that') which links the modifying clause to the head and the resumptive pronoun (ʔà) after the relative clause. The head noun actually has two different roles in this example: it functions as the subject of the main clause, but at the same time it is interpreted as being the object of the modifying clause. As this example illustrates, the relative clause in Kayah Monu is a post-nominal relative clause, with the modifying clause always following the head noun.

3.2.5 Quantifier Phrase

In Kayah Monu, lóbɔ̀ 'all', dówè 'many', tàkìpʰú/ tàsìlí 'few', and tàkʰlɜ̀ 'some' function grammatically as quantifiers. In Kayah Monu, there cannot be both a ClfP and a quantifier in the same NP (see more in 2.3.5). Examples (151) and (152) show quantifiers in noun phrases.

(151) hí   **dówè**

    house   **many**

    N   **QUANT**

    many houses

(152) hí   **tàkípʰú** / **tàsìlí**

      house **few**   **few**

      N   **QUANT**   **QUANT**

      few houses

In Kayah Monu, the quantifier *tàkʰlə̀* 'some' is normally added to a noun to create a non-specific plural as in examples (153) and (154).

(153) ʃí   **tàkʰlə̀**

      dog **some**

      N   **QUANT**

      dogs (or) some dogs

(154) hí   **tàkʰlə̀**

      house **some**

      N   **QUANT**

      some houses (more than few less than many)

3.2.6 Classifier Phrase

Classifier phrases usually individuate nouns in a noun phrase. Classifier phrases can also use measure classifiers to show quantities of a mass noun. Lists of different types of classifiers are in section (2.3.3). The frame for a classifier phrase is:

ClfP ⟶ N Num CLF

Classifier phrases use a numeral and a specific sortal classifier based on the semantic properties (shape, size, humanness, etc.) of the head noun to individuate a specific number of objects as in examples (155) and (156).

(155) ʃí   sù   **dò**

      dog three **CLF.animal**

      N   NUM **CLF**

      three dogs

(156) tʃ̩́ kàní **bá**

      fish two   **CLF.flat**

      N   NUM **CLF**

      two fishes

The classifier usually follow adjectives and numbers in NP but it can also precede them as in (157) and (158).

(157) ʔà   hí   **ʔàmὲ**   dó

　　　3S.Poss house **CLF.round.big** big

　　　POSS   N   **CLF**   ADJ

　　　his big house

(158) hí   dó   **ʔàmὲ**   lì   só

　　　house   big   **CLF.round.big** four   pair

　　　N   ADJ   **CLF**   NUM   N

　　　eight houses

In example (159), the head noun and classifier have the same classifier word form. These are called auto-classifiers ('self-classifiers' Solnit 1997: 200) where the head noun is repeated in the classifier phrase for counting (Manson 2010: 220).

(159) dὲ   sù   **dὲ**

　　　village three   **Clf**

　　　N   NUM   **clf**

　　　three villages

In examples (160) and (161), the number and classifier cannot appear together with the quantifier.

(160) ʃí   (∗ tàkʰlὲ)   sù   dò   (ungrammatical)

　　　dog   some   three   CLF.animal

　　　N   QUANT   NUM   CLF

　　　some three dogs

(161) ʃí   sù   dò   (∗ tàkʰlὲ)   (ungrammatical)

　　　dog   three   CLF.animal   some

　　　N   NUM   CLF   QUANT

　　　some three dogs

Sometimes more than one classifier phrase appears in order to express a partitive meaning. Examples (162) and (163) show more than one classifier in clause.

(162)

hí	lì	**mὲ**	klà	kàní	**mὲ**	mí	ʔàlì
house	four	**CLF.round.big**	among	two	**CLF.round.big**	be	red
N	NUM	**CLF**	LCLZR	NUM	**CLF**	COP	ADJ

two of four houses are red

(163)

pà	pʰɘ́ʔá	hásí	tà	**pwa̰**	tà	**tʃó**
1P	cook	curry	one	**CLF.human**	one	**CLF.non-human**
PRO	V	N	NUM	**CLF**	NUM	**CLF**

We each cook each curry per person (Lit: one person cooks one curry).

Clause final classifier phrases

In Kayah Monu, the classifier phrase often appears clause final position if it is not a negative sentence. It can occur far away from its head noun. Consider the following examples from Kayah Monu:

(164)

ʔà	bɘ́	lɔ̰̀	**tὰpʰótɑ̰wὲ**	ʔɘ́	**kàní**	**prò**
3S	create	down	**animal**	be.exist	**two**	**CLF.generic**
PRO	V	V.DIR	**N**	COP	**NUM**	**CLF**

There were two kinds of animal he created.

(165)

ʔà	lɘ́	tʃó	kó	**ʔà**	hīpʰù	ʔɘ́	**tà**	**prò**
3S	crawl	go	with	**3S.Poss**	belly	be.exist	**one**	**CLF.generic**
PRO	V	V	APPL	**PRO**	N	COP	**NUM**	**CLF**

One animal crawls and goes with its belly.

(166)

ʔàmúpwa̰	màtʰɔ́	**hí**	dɘ́	lā	kō	**tà**	**mὲ**
old.man	build	**house**	at	field	in	**one**	**CLF.round.big**
N	V	**N**	PREP	N	LCLZR	**NUM**	**CLF**

The old man built a house in the field.

These 'moved' classifier phrases come from object (164), (166) and from subject (165). More investigation is needed.

3.2.7 Demonstrative

Demonstratives are deictic modifiers of nouns that point to the time, place, or situation in which the speaker is speaking. This class consists of *héʔù* 'this' and *hénù* 'that'. The position of this type of modifier is after the head noun.

In example (167), the two demonstratives *héʔù* 'this' and *hénù* 'that' follow the head noun.

(167) hí   **hénù** dó   kʰlʊ̀   hí   **héʔù**

    house **that** big   more.than house **this**

    N   **DEM**   ADJ   ADV   N   **DEM**

    that house is bigger than this house

Example (168) shows the distal demonstrative *hénù* 'that' follows many NP constituents but still modifies the noun.

(168) ʔà   pʰà   hí   ʔàlì   dó   sù   mɛ̀   **hénù**

    3S.Poss   father house red   big   three   CLF.round.big **that**

    POSS   N   N   ADJ   ADJ   NUM   CLF   **DEM**

    that three red big houses of his father

3.2.8 Topic Marker

Lambrecht states that "the topic of a sentence is the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence IS ABOUT" (1994: 118). Example (169) shows the topic marker *nū* co-occur with the copula *mí* in an equative copula clause.

(169) sɘ́sá héʔù   **nū**   mí   jɔ́sá

    fruit this   **topic** be   banana

    N   DEM   **TOP**   COP   N

    This (type of) fruit is a banana.

Example (170) shows topic marker follows a demonstrative to mark the dependent clause and it is followed by the main independent clause.

(170) tʂ̩̀   màtʰɔ́   ʔàná   héʔù   **nū**   dɤ́   hè   sāpʰlō pjé   kɛ̀

    thing happen itself this   **topic** and.then 1S.Poss mind   be.destroyed PERF

    N   V   REFL   DEM   **TOP**   COORD   POSS   N   V   ASP

    (When) it happened like this then I was very disappointed (Lit: my mind was destroyed).

In Kayah Monu, when a noun phrase is used to identify the topic, this noun phrase is usually marked by the topic marker *nū*, especially when it is a contrastive topic.

3.2.9 Complex Noun Phrase

Two complex noun phrases: 1) apposition noun phrase and 2) coordinate noun phrase appear in Kayah Monu Each is discussed below.

3.2.9.1 Apposition Noun Phrase

An appositional phrase consists of two phrases of the same category which are placed next to each other to make more definite or explicit the meaning of one or the other. In Kayah Monu, a second noun phrase (NP$_2$) follows another noun phrase (NP$_1$) to clarify the meaning; and both nouns have the same relationship to the whole sentence. The following is the structure of an appositional noun phrase in Kayah Monu.

$$NP_{Appositional} \longrightarrow NP_1\ NP_2$$

Specific nouns which expand or clarify the meaning of the generic nouns can have different structures such as elaborate expressions, descriptive noun phrases or possessive noun phrases. The following examples show apposition phrases in Kayah Monu.

In example (171), the first noun phrase is a proper name and is further specified by the following noun phrase to form appositional noun phrase where the 3rd singular pronoun *ʔà* looks like a resumptive pronoun and is optional.

(171) **mótú**   ʔà   wɛ̄ ʔà   pʰɘ́ʔá hásí wí

     Motu   3S.Poss wife 3S   cook   curry delicious

     NPROP PRO   N   PRO.RSMP V   N   ADJ

     Motu, his wife, cooks good curry

In examples (172), the first descriptive noun phrase is further specified by the following proper noun to form appositional noun phrase.

(172) **hè**   **kʰɘ̀** pʰàlú ʔà   mí tʃō   sàrà

     1S.Poss friend Phalu 3S   be   school teacher

     PRO   **N**   NPROP PRO.RSMP COP N   N

     My friend, Phalu, is a teacher

3.2.9.2 Co-ordinate Noun Phrase

A co-ordinate noun phrase usually consists of two similar head constituents joined by a conjunction: 'and' or 'or'. In examples (173), (174), and (175), two head nouns are joined by a conjunction to form a co-ordinate noun phrase.

(173) tʰàjə́ʃìkə̀ **kó** pùʔù

    earthworm **and** termite

    N   **CONJ** N

    Earthworm and termite

(174) lùmú **tə̰́mè** mḭ́

    sun   **or**   fire

    N   **CONJ** N

    sun or fire

(175) pwàkʰó **kó** pwàmó

    male   **and**   female

    N   **CONJ** N

    the boy and the girl

In Kayah Monu, a serial coordinate phrase which includes three or more noun phrases can occur. The conjunction links only the first three noun phrases. Example (176) shows the serial noun phrase construction.

(176) hè **kó** hè mā **kó** hè pʰó hè lḭ̀

    1S   **and**   1S.Poss wife **and**   1S.Poss child 1S.Poss grand children

    PRO **CONJ** POSS N   **CONJ** POSS N   POSS N

    ʔə́mə̄ʔə́bá tʃótʃópwà̰pwà̰ hēpḛ̄

    content   forever   SF.future

    ADJ   ADV   PRT

    I and my wife with my children and grandchildren will stay together in contentment forever.

3.3 Summary

This chapter presented the internal structure of a noun phrase. As can be seen, there were various structures in a noun phrase. All sub-constituents including relative clause, plural pronoun and topic marker were also presented. Two complex noun phrase constructions, appositional phrases and co-ordinate noun phrases, were also discussed.

Chapter 4
Verb Phrase

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on complex verb phrase structure and how different pre-verbal and post-verbal markers combine with the verb to form a phrase. It presents an overview of positions in a verb phrase and discusses various particles that fit the different verb phrase positions.

The verb phrase in Kayah Monu optionally starts with an auxiliary (AUX_1) which is followed by the head verb (V^*), and one or more auxiliary (AUX_2) which are usually aspect markers and modality, and lastly by an optional constituent (XP), which is often adverbial. Finally a negation marker may appear.

The following is a typical verb phrase structure in Kayah Monu. The rule below does not include the positions of objects, obliques, or sentential complements because they appear in many different positions. Also, multi-verbs are indicated by the Kleene star operator in this formula.

VP ⟶ (AUX_1) V (**V***) (AUX_2*) (XP) (NEG)

Example (177) shows a typical verb phrase which is in brackets.

(177) hè   [kà   **tʃó**   **màkúʔá**   tʃɔ̀   tɛ̹́   ]   hēpē̹

    1S   will   **go**   **trade**   able.can   not   SF.future

    PRO   ASP   **V**   **V**   MOD   NEG   PRT

    I would not be able to go trade.

The verb phrase structure expresses various events according to the meaning of the head verb. In above (177), the main verbs function serially together as the head of the verb phrase to express an event happening at the present time.

Example (178) shows a sentence in which two verb phrases use both main verbs *tʰɔ́ klɔ̹̀* 'climb up to cut' and *kā̹* 'break'.

(178) | *hè* | *tʰɔ́* | *klɔ̰̀* | *sə́* | *dɤ́* | *hè* | *lɔ̰̀tḛ̄* | *kā̰* | *kɛ̀* | *hè* | *kʰə̄làpɔ́* |

| 1S | climb.up | cut | tree | and.then | 1S | down | break | PERF | 1S.Poss | leg |
| PRO | V | V | N | COORD | PRO | V.DIR | V | ASP | PRO | N |

ı climb up to cut a tree and I fell down then my leg was broken.

The first clause has two serial verbs and an object NP in the VP, the second clause has a directional verb, a main verb, an aspect marker and an object NP.

4.2 Auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are words that specifythe tense, aspect, mood, voice, or polarity (future, perfect, and conditional respectively) of the verb with which they are associated (Shopen, 2007: 41). Auxiliary is a "helping verb" or particle which expresses verbal inflectional categories such as tense, aspect, modality, and/or agreement, but does not have lexical semantic content like a normal verb (Kroeger, 2005: 342). Since Kayah Monu has no agreement or verbal inflection, auxiliaries are defined mostly by their lack of semantic content.

Auxiliaries usually accompany the main verb to form a complex verb phrase. They cannot be the head which provides the main semantic content of the verb phrase and they cannot occur alone without the main verb. They generally precede or follow the verb. In this thesis, the term auxiliary is used for any aspects or modalities that are not full verbs. Although they are all auxiliaries, in the part of speech line of the interlinears, the more specific ASP or MOD marking is provided Directional verbs are considered full verbs in this analysis.

Table 34 shows preverbal and postverbal auxiliaries which precede and follow the main verb in Kayah Monu.

Table 34 Preverbal and Postverbal Auxiliaries

Preverbal Auxiliary	Main Verbs	Postverbal Auxiliary
Modal *bá/tàbá* 'must'		Modal *pè* 'able.can' (unmovable)
Irrealis aspect *kà* 'will'		Modal *tʃɔ̀* 'able.can' (unmovable)
Inceptive aspect *klέ* 'about.to'		Imperfective aspect *pē̠* 'still' (unmovable)
		Perfective aspect *kὲ* 'just finish' (movable)
		Perfective aspect *tʰɔ̀* 'finish' (movable)
		Completive aspect *hó* 'complete' (movable and occur clause final)

Aspect concerns the temporal features of an event including whether it is started, ongoing or completed. Modals express other features of an event situation including ability and obligation among others.

4.2.1 Preverbal Auxiliaries

In Kayah Monu, *bá/tàbá* 'must', *kà* 'will', and *klέ* 'about.to' are the preverbal auxiliaries.

Example (179) shows the auxiliary *bá/tàbá* 'must' in Kayah Monu.

(179) nà   **tɜ̀bá**   ʔá dì

2S   **must**   eat cooked.rice

PRO   **MOD**   V   N

You must eat the rice.

Example (180) shows the auxiliary *bá* 'must' in Kayah Monu. *bá* is used as an abbreviated form of *tɜ̀bá* and both have same meaning.

(180) sàkʰōlō pà   **bá**   tʃó pʰí bú

first   1P   **must**   go take rice.unthreshed

ADV   PRO   **MOD**   V   V   N

Firstly, we must go deliver the unthreshed rice.

The auxiliary *kà* 'will' functions as future marking to express an action that will be done in the future. The following examples (181) and (182) show an irrealis situation construction in Kayah Monu.

(181) ʔà **kà** tʃó hēpē̠ tàʃə̀bí

ㅤ3S **will** go next week

ㅤPRO **ASP** V ADV N

ㅤHe will leave next week.

(182) ʔà **kà** ʔá dì hēpē̠

ㅤ3S **will** eat cooked-rice SF.future

ㅤPRO **ASP** V N PRT

ㅤShe will eat the rice.

The sentence final particle *hēpē̠* is optional and it also expresses future.

The auxiliary *klɛ́* is used to express that an action is going to happen very soon as in example (183).

(183) hè kè̠ tó̠ ʔàkʰā̄ ʔà **klɛ́** ʔá dì

ㅤ1S return arrive while 3S **about.to** eat cooked.rice

ㅤPRO V V SUBORD PRO **ASP** V N

ㅤWhen I arrive, he is near to eat rice.

4.2.2 Postverbal Auxiliaries

Kayah Monu has several post verbal auxiliaries. There are two patterns 1) V AUX NP_{OBJ} and 2) V NP_{OBJ} AUX. Some can appear in both positions--usually aspect markers (called movable AUX); but others cannot (unmovable AUX). The moveable aspect markers have variable positions within the clause and they are only used when the speaker is emphasizing a particular aspectual view.

The non-moveable auxiliary *pè̠* 'able/can' appears directly after the main verb. Examples (184) and (185) show it is indicating inability to perform an action when it co-occurs with a negation marker.

(184) hè   klɔ̰̄nú   **pḛ̀**   hè   mì   tɕ̰́

1S   hoe   **able.can**   1S.Poss   grass   not

PRO   V   **MOD**   PRO   N   NEG

I am not able to hoe the grass.

(185) hè   mà̰ʔánú   **pḛ̀**   hè   bú   tɕ̰́

1S   do.sth.for.living   **able.can**   1S.Poss   rice.unthreshed   not

PRO   V   **MOD**   PRO   N   NEG

I am not able to work on my unthreshed rice field for living.

Another auxiliary that appears after the main verb is *tʃɔ* 'able.can' and it is non-moveable as in examples (186) and (187).

(186) nà   hébá   **tʃɔ̀**   mùnù   jɔ́   ʔɣà

2S   speak   **able.can**   Monu   language   QP

PRO   V   **MOD**   NPROP   N   Q

Can you speak Monu language?

(187) ʔàpwàkʰó   dɔ́   ʔàtʰó   bé   tʰɔ́   **tʃɔ̀**   sɔ́sá   dɔ́   sɔ́mɯ́   lò

boy   that   tall   pick   up   **able.can**   fruit   at   tree   from

N   REL   ADJ   V   V.DIR   **MOD**   N   PREP   N   LCLZR

The tall man, he is able to pick the fruit from the tree.

Another non-moveable postverbal auxiliary in Kayah Monu is the imperfective aspect marker *pḛ̄* 'still'. Examples (188) and (189) show usages of *pḛ̄* 'still' in Kayah Monu.

(188) hè   bú   sá   **pḛ̄**   tɕ̰́

1S.Poss   rice.unthreshed   bear.fruit   **still**   not

POSS   N   V   **ASP**   NEG

My unthreshed rice still does not bear fruit.

(189) bá   hè   tʃó   tʰɔ́   tʃō   ʔàkʰā   ʔà   pʰɔ́ʔá   **pḛ̄**   dì

when   1S   go   up   school   while   3S   cook   **still**   cooked.rice

SUBORD   PRO   V   V.DIR   N   SUBORD   PRO   V   **ASP**   N

When I went to school, she still was cooking rice.

The next postverbal auxiliary that functions as a perfective aspect marker in Kayah Monu is the moveable perfective aspect marker *kɛ̀* 'just finish'. That the action was done recently is also expressed with it. It is shown in the following two examples (190) and (191).

(190) ʃí   sì   **kɛ̀**   hó
    dog die **PERF** COMPL
    N   V   **ASP**   ASP
    The dog just died (recently).

(191) kàpɯ̀ɪ hápʰɔ́ **kɛ̀**   hó
    pot   break **PERF** COMPL
    N   V   **ASP**   ASP
    The pot just broke.

In examples (192) and (193), the action which was done or completed is expressed by the moveable perfective aspect marker *tʰə̀* 'finish'. Evidence for moveability is discussed with examples (196) and (197).

(192) ká   **tʰə̀**   kə̱̄mī já   kə̱̄mī **tʰə̀**   lō̠ʔā tō̠
    reap **PERF** tie up SF   tie up **PERF** dry   bundle
    V   **ASP**   V   PRT   V   **ASP**   V   N
    After reaping, tie them into bundles, then dry the bundles of unthreshed rice.

(193) lō̠ʔā tō̠   **tʰə̀**   ʔɔ́   plú   já   ʔɔ́   plú   **tʰə̀**   pə̱̄ bú
    dry   bundle **PERF** collect together SF   collect together **PERF** beat rice.unthreshed
    V   N   **ASP**   V   ADV   PRT   V   ADV   **ASP**   V   N
    After you have dried the bundles of unthreshed rice then collect (them) and then beat them.

Another post-verbal auxiliary is moveable aspect marker *hó*, which functions as a completive aspect marker and usually appears in the final position. In examples (194) and (195), the action which was done or completed is expressed by *hó*. Evidence for moveability is discussed with examples (196) and (197).

(194) hè   kè̠   tó̠   dɤ́   ʔà   tʃó dɔ́   tʰə̀   ʃì   **hó**
    1S   return arrive and.then 3S   go   draw PERF water **COMPL**
    PRO V   V   COORD   PRO V   V   ASP   N   **ASP**

    When I arrived, he had already drawn the water.

(195) ʔàpwàmó tʃó tʰə̀   də́   klá   kō   **hó**

    woman   go PERF at   market in   **COMPL**

    N   V   ASP PREP N   LCLZR **ASP**

    The woman went to the market.

In Kayah Monu, sequences of two or more auxiliaries are allowed, in which case their order in relation to one another is generally fixed. They express the event or action which was done or completed and can move around in a sentence as in the following examples. In first sentence (196), the two perfective aspect markers *kɛ̀* and *tʰə̀* are interchangeable but the completive aspect marker *hó* cannot because it usually follows these two. Likewise in second sentence (197), *hó* can move forward to precede the NP and the meaning does not change. As moveable markers, either *tʰə̀* or *kɛ̀* can occur after the object NP too.

(196) pʰɨ̀tʃá̤ ʔá kɛ̀   tʰə̀   dì   **hó**

    child eat PERF PERF cooked.rice **COMPL**

    N   V   ASP   ASP   N   **ASP**

    The children ate the rice.

(197) pʰɨ̀tʃá̤ ʔá kɛ̀   tʰə̀   **hó**   dì

    child eat PERF PERF **COMPL** cooked.rice

    N   V   ASP   ASP **ASP**   N

    The children ate the rice.

The moveable and unmoveable auxiliary verbs are listed the following Table 35.

Table 35 Movable and Unmovable Auxiliaries

Moveable AUX	Unmoveable AUX
Perfective *kɛ̀*	Modal *tʃɔ̂*
Perfective *tʰə̀*	Modal pè̤
Completive *hó*	Imperfective Aspect pē̤

4.3 Copula

Copula verbs are defined as those verbs which link a noun phrase and a non-verb predicate. There are three different copulas '*mî*', '*ʔə̂*', and 'zero' in Kayah Monu. Each are discussing with some of their properties in the following section. Additional discussion is in the non-verbal clause section (5.2).

4.3.1 *mí* Copula

In examples (198) and (199), the first type of copula '*mí*' is shown linking two noun phrases in an equative clause.

(198) pà mùnù ka̠ **mí** ka̠ ʔàmə̀

  1P.Poss Monu country **be** country happy

  POSS NPROP N   **COP** N   ADJ

  Our Monu land is a happy land.

(199) sə̀sá héʔù nū **mí** jɔ́sá

  fruit this topic **be** banana

  N DEM TOP **COP** N

  This (type of) fruit is a banana.

The following example (200) shows an ungrammatical structure using *mí* with an aspect marker; without the aspect marker, it is okay.

(200) * hè ʔá wí   kàtù   **mí** jɔ́sá **pe̠**

  1S eat delicious superlative **be** banana **still**

  PRO V ADJ   ADV   **COP** N   **ASP**

  My favorite food is banana.

The negation of the copula *mí* is shown in (202) and compared with affirmative in (201). The predicate *mɛ̄* is obligatory to be natural.

(201) ʔà **mí** tʃō sàràmə̄

  3S **be** school teacher

  PRO **COP** N N

  She is a teacher.

(202) ʔà **mí** tʃō sàràmə̄ *(**mɛ̄**) **tə̰́**

  3S **be** school teacher **right** **not**

  PRO **COP** N N   **ADJ** **NEG**

  She is not a teacher.

4.3.2 *ʔə́* Copula

In examples (203) and (204), the second type of copula *ʔə́* 'be.exist', related to the verbs 'live', 'stay' and 'have', joins an adverbial phrase in (203), or a prepositional phrase in (204) to a subject NP.

(203) pwɛ̄   **ʔə́**   pèwə̀pē

     party **be.exist** tomorrow

     N   **COP**   ADV

     The festival is tomorrow.

(204) tʰɔ́   **ʔə́**   də́   wē   ʔàkō

     pig **be.exist** at   yard in

     N   **COP**   PREP N   LCLZR

     The pig is in the garden.

The following examples (205), (206), and (207) show *ʔə́* can also function as the main verb 'stay', 'have' , and 'live'.

(205) nà   **ʔə́**   bátɛ̀

     2S   **stay** where

     PRO **V**   INTRG

     Where do you stay?

(206) ʔà   rù   **ʔə́**

     3S   money **have**

     PRO N   **V**

     He has the money.

(207) pà   **ʔə́** də́   pʰə̀bɔ̀   sʰə́   kʰɔ́

     1P   **live** at   Pha Baw mountain foot.base

     PRO **V**   PREP NPROP   N   POST

     We live at the foot of the Pha Baw Mountain.

The negation of the copula *ʔə́* is shown in (208). There the negation marker occurs far away from the copula at clause final position to negate the clause. The adjective *mɛ̄* is not required as in equative clauses (215).

(208) tʰɔ́ **ʔə́** də́ wē kō **tə̰́**

     pig **be.exist** at yard in **not**

     N **COP** PREP N POST **NEG**

     The pig is not in the garden.

4.3.3 Zero Copula

The last and the third type of copula is no copula or zero copula. The head noun is denoted by optional topic marker or demonstrative and followed by adjective or adverb as in (209) and (210).

(209) tə̰dótʃɛ́ kʰɔ́tànì

     exam today

     N ADV

     The exam was today.

(210) ʃì nū ʔàkòtʃó

     water topic cold

     N TOP ADJ

      The water is cold.

In zero copula clauses, the subjects are usually modified by a topic marker or demonstrative following them as in the below example sentences.

(211) ʔà nū hè kʰə̀

     3S topic 1S.Poss friend

     PRO TOP POSS N

     She is my friend.

(212) ʔà nū tʃō sàràmā tà pwà̰

     3S topic school teacher one CLF.human

     PRO TOP N N NUM CLF

     She is a teacher.

(213) sə́sá héʔù jɔ́sá

     fruit this banana

     N DEM N

     This fruit is banana.

(214) sàkʰósá hénù   mī   hó

    mango   that   ripe   SF.past

    N   DEM   ADJ   PRT

    That mango is ripe.

To negate a zero copula clause, the predicate *mɛ̄* 'right' is obligatory (215) like in the copula *mí* (see 4.3.1). But if there is a predicate in a zero copula sentence there is no need to use *mɛ̄* 'right' as in the second example (216).

(215) tạ̀dótʃɛ́ kʰɔ́tànì * (**mɛ̄**) **tạ̰́**

    exam   today   **right   not**

    N   ADV   **ADJ   NEG**

    The exam was not today.

(216) sàkʰósá hénù   mī   **tạ̰́**

    mango   that   ripe   **not**

    N   DEM   ADJ   **NEG**

    That mango is not ripe yet.

The different patterns of negation of those four copulas are display in Table 36.

Table 36 Different Negations of Copulas

Copula	Negation
mí	*mɛ̄ tạ̰́*
ʔə̰́	*tạ̰́*
Ø	*mɛ̄ tạ̰́*
Ø ADJ	ADJ *tạ̰́*

4.4 Adverb Phrase

Adverbs are heads of adverb phrases Adverb phrases are constituents of the VP and modify the event denoted by the verb. Adverbs follow main verbs, post-verbal auxiliaries and appear near or at the end of sentences. They can both precede and follow the NP_{Obj}. The two different position of adverb phrase which co-occur with complex verb phrase are: 1) [(AUX) $V_{Complex}$ (AUX) **(AdvP)** NP_{Obj} (NEG)] and 2) [(AUX) $V_{Complex}$ (AUX) NP_{Obj} **(AdvP)** (NEG)]. Adverbs can follow NP_{Obj} optionally but aspect markers cannot (except *hó*). Details on particular adverbs are provided in section (2.2.4).

Examples (217) and (218) show the adverb phrase position, which directly follows the main verb complex in a transitive clause structure.

(217) ʔà   nə̄   sàtʰɔ̄ bə́   **wī**   kó   tʰàjə́ʃìkə̀
     3S   order.ask start create **first** with   earthworm
     PRO V   V   V   **ADV**   APPL   N
     He (the old man) orders the earthworm to start create the soil first.

(218) dɤ̀   ʔá **lə̄lə̄tɛ̀bá**   pùʔù   hākʰō
     and.then   eat **completely** termite soil
     COORD V **ADV**   N   N
     Then (the earthworm) completely eats the termite's soil.

Examples (219) and (220) show adverbs following the NP_{Obj} but still modifying the main verb even though they occur away from it in a sentence.

(219) ʔà   pʰə́ʔá hásí   **tə̀tʰótàlɔ̰́**
     3S   cook   curry **carefully**
     PRO V   N   **ADV**
     She cooked the meat carefully.

(220) kʰɔ́tànì hè   kà   tʰɔ̀wākā tʃō   **pēlɛ̀**
     today   1S   will   attend school **maybe**
     ADV   PRO   ASP   V   N   **ADV**
     Today, maybe I will attend the school.

The two following examples show the two different positions of adverbs after verb or after NP_{Obj}. Both have same meaning, thus there is no meaning change associated with the different adverb positions.

(221) ʔà   ʔá **jò**   dì
     3S   eat **slowly** cooked.rice
     PRO V **ADV**   N
     He eats rice slowly.

(222) ʔà   ʔá dì   **jò**
     3S   eat cooked.rice **slowly**
     PRO V N   **ADV**
     He eats rice slowly.

4.5 Multiple Verb Constructions

Multiple verb constructions are commonly found in Kayah Monu. Multiple verbs consist of a sequence of two or more verb roots. This sequence is in the form of immediate concatenation like a string of verbs. An object NP can sometime separate the verbs. In a multiple verb construction, normally the first verb is a head. They express one simple event or a complex event.

There is no limitation on how many verbs are permitted in multiple verb construction within a single clause. Different types of semantic relationship among multi-verbs, such as, simultaneous, sequential, resultative, directive, causative are discussed in the following sub-sections.

4.5.1 Simultaneous

In simultaneous motion multiple verb constructions, events happen at the same time or about at the same time. Examples (223) and (224) demonstrate the multiple verb constructions that indicate simultaneous motion. The actions of 'going' and 'searching' happen at about the same time.

(223) sàkʰōlō **tʃó** **kɛ́bá** hākʰō

    first   **go**   **search** land

    ADV   **V**   **V**   N

    Firstly, go search a land (to cultivate).

The actions of 'shouting', 'blowing' and 'returning' happen at about the same time.

(224) **kútàwɔ̀**   **ʔūtū** **kɛ̰̀**   dɛ́   dɜ̀   kō

    shout.loudly **blow** **return** at   village in

    V   **V**   **V**   PREP N   LCLZR

    (We) shouted, blew loudly and returned to the village.

4.5.2 Sequential Motion

Sequential motion is expressed with two verbs in a verb phrase where they share the same subject. The first verb denotes an action; the second verb denotes an action performed after or as the purpose of the first as in (225) and (226). In second sentence, *kō̰* 'hot' functions like a changeable predicate 'to heat'. Thus, the sequence of the verbs mirrors the sequence of events.

(225) hè **tʰɔ́** **klɔ̰̀** sə́ dɤ́ hè **lɔ̰̀tḛ** **kā̰** kè hè kʰə̄lə̀pə̰́

    1S **climb.up cut** tree and.then 1S **down break** ASP.PERF 1S.Poss foot

    PRO **V** **V** N COORD PRO **V.DIR** V ASP POSS N

    I climb up to cut a tree and I fell down then my foot was broken.

(226) mḭ́ **kō̰** **hápʰɔ́** kè kàpṳ̀ hó

    fire **hot** **break** PERF pot COMPL

    N **V/ADJ** **V** ASP N ASP

    Fire did heat and cracked the pot.

4.5.3 Resultative

In a resultative string of verbs, the first verb denotes an action; the second verb gives the changed state result of that action described by the first as in (227) and (228). The *mà* 'do' verb is also discussed in the causative section (4.5.5) below.

(227) ʔà **mà kʰlέ jí** kè ʃí

    3S **do run away** PERF dog

    PRO **V** **V** **V.DIR** ASP N

    He made the dog run away.

(228) kálìsá **mà** **kā̰** kè sə́

    wind **do** **break** PERF tree

    N **V** **V** ASP N

    The wind broke the tree.

4.5.4 Directive

In directive multiple verb construction, the first verb denotes an act of ordering or permitting, the second verb denotes the content of that act, the action ordered or permitted as in (229) and (230). In both examples the subject of the embedded clause appears after the embedded verb.

(229) ʔà **nā̄** **hámɔ̀ʔɔ́** ʔà pʰópwàkʰó də́ ʔàkʰlə̄

    3S **order sleep** 3S.Poss son at out

    PRO **V** **V** POSS N PREP LCLZR

    He ordered his son to sleep outside.

(230) ʔàmúpwá̰ **dī** **bɔ́** tàplɛ̄sɔ̄ pùʔù hākʰō

    old.man   **allow** **create** again   termite soil

    N   **V**   **V**   ADV   N   N

    The old man again allows the termite to create the soil.

4.5.5 Causative

Kayah Monu causatives are complex verb serializations where the first verb is an activity and the second is a state or an event. Most causative predicates are based on the activity verbs *mà* 'do' and *nā̄* 'order' respectively. The causer takes a position before the complex predicate while the causee follows it and functions with patient-like properties.

4.5.5.1 *mà* 'do' Causatives

This *mà* 'do' causative is used when the causer physically does something that directly results in the cause doing something or changing state. The causers can be both animate and inanimate as in the following examples. Again if there is an embedded subject it now appears after the embedded verb.

(231) ʔà   mɛ̰́   **mà** sì   kɛ̀   wó   tà   bò

    3S.Poss mother **do**   die   PERF snake one   CLF.long and thin

    POSS   N   **V**   V   ASP   N   NUM   CLF

    His mother killed a snake.

(232) kálìsá **mà** ka̰   kɛ̀   sɔ́

    wind   **do**   break PERF tree

    N   **V**   V   ASP   N

    The wind broke the tree.

4.5.5.2 *nā̄* 'order' Causative

In a *nā̄* 'order' causative, the causer does not physically cause an action to happen. It is indirect causative type. The causee in *nā̄* 'order' causative needs to be animate either human or animal. The embedded subject again moves to a position following the embedded verb. An object (also an embedded subject) NP can sometime separate the verbs as in (233) compare to (234).

(233) ʔà **nā** tʃə́bɔ́ ʔà pʰópwàmó sə́sá

　3S **order** wash 3S.Poss daughter fruit

　PRO **V** V PRO N N

He ordered his daughter to wash the fruit.

(234) ʔà **nā** ʔà pʰópwàkʰó hámə̀ʔə́ də́ ʔàkʰlə̄

　3S **order** 3S.Poss son sleep at out

　PRO **V** PRO N V PREP LCLZR

He ordered his son to sleep outside.

As mentioned earlier, the multiple verb constructions in Kayah Monu can be more than two verbs in a string. Below is an example of a multiple verb constructions that takes a single noun phrase argument for four verbs This may be multi-clausal but it illustrate how extensive multiple verb constructions can be.

(235) ʔà **sájù nā tʃépwé ʔá** ʔà pʰópwàkʰó dì

　3S **want order.ask try eat** 3S.Poss son cooked.rice

　PRO **V V V V** PRO N N

He wanted his son to try to eat the rice.

4.6 Negation

In Kayah Monu, negation is marked by a negation marker, *tə̣́* 'not' placed after the predicate or predicative adjective that is to be negated. It normally appears at the clause final position. All verbs of indicative sentences can be directly followed by this negation marker. In contrast, the negative imperative *mə̣́/tàmə̣́* 'not' precedes the imperative illocutionary force marker *né* in imperative sentences.

4.6.1 Declarative Negation

Below are examples of negation in Kayah Monu. In examples (236) and (237), the verb and adjective are directly followed by the negation marker *tə̣́* 'not'.

(236) ʔà hè **tə̣́**

　3S come **not**

　PRO V **NEG**

He does not come.

(237) ʃì   kòtʃó   **tʂ̣ó**

    water   cold   **not**

    N   ADJ   **NEG**

    The water is not cold.

The following sentences are negated where the negation marker occurs far away from the predicate separated by NP objects, post-verbal auxiliaries, and aspect markers as in (238) and (239). In (239) the 'ability' and not the event is negated.

(238) ʔà   tạ̀   bāwɜ̄   ʔà   sāpʰlō   **tʂ̣ó**

    3S.Poss   thing   please   3S.Poss   mind   **not**

    PRO   N   V   PRO   N   **NEG**

    His thing (soil created by earthworm) does not please his (the old man's) mind.

(239) mà   hénù   dɤ̀   hè   ʃîpènà   pɛ̀   pɛ̄   tà   kʰɔ́   **tʂ̣ó**

    do   that   and.then   1S   forget   able.can   still   one   CLF.time   **not**

    V   DEM   COORD   PRO   V   MOD   ASP   NUM   CLF   **NEG**

    By doing that, I can still never forget about that day.

To negate the copula *mí* and topic marker *nū* the negative marker appears at the end preceded by obligatory adjective *ʔàmɛ̄* 'right' as in example (240). See section (4.3) for more on copula negation.

(240) ʔà   **mí**   /   **nū**   tʃō   sàràmɜ̄   *(ʔàmɛ̄   )   tʂ̣ó

    3S   **be**   **topic**   school   teacher   right   not

    PRO   **COP**   **TOP**   N   N   ADJ   NEG

    She is not a teacher.

4.6.2 Imperative Negation

The negative imperative takes a different form where the negative element precedes imperative illocutionary force marker. It is used in prohibitive (negative command) and optionally co-occurs with the imperative illocutionary force marker *né* as in (241) and (242). *mạ́* is used as an abbreviated form of *tàmạ́* and both have the same meaning.

(241) mà **mấ** / **tàmấ**

do **not** **not**

V **NEG** **NEG**

Don't do it.

(242) pɔ̄kʰɔ̄ ʔà hé nū hé **mấ** né

as 3S say topic say **not** ASRT

SUBORD PRO V TOP V **NEG** IMP

As he said, don't tell it.

4.7 Summary

In this chapter, various structures of verb phrases were discussed. The verb phrase was shown to consist of the main verb, preverbal and post-verbal auxiliaries. Brief discussions of copula, adverb phrase, multi-verb construction, and negation were also included in this section.

Chapter 5
Simple Clauses

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the structure of simple clauses. This section will focus on non-verbal and verbal clauses, and clausal constituents. Kayah Monu basically has two types of clauses based on the type of predicate that occurs and they are 1) non-verbal clauses and 2) verbal clauses.

5.2 Non-verbal Clauses

Clauses which are built around nominal predicates or adjectives are known as non-verbal clauses. Equative clauses, existential clauses, possessive clauses, locative clauses, and attributive clauses are all kinds of non-verbal clauses. They are composed of a noun phrase followed by a copula. Kayah Monu has three copulas 1) *mí*, 2) *ʔɔ̌*, and 3) zero. In some cases the copula is optional.

5.2.1 Equative Clauses

An equative clause is one in which the semantic predicate is expressed by a noun phrase. The semantic function of the clause depends on whether the predicate NP is definite or indefinite (Kroeger, 2005:175). In Kayah Monu, equative clauses are used to identify some nominal with the subject. The sentence structure of an equative clause is [NP *mí* NP (ClfP)].

If the predicate NP is definite and it basically states that the two NPs refer to the same individual as in (243).

(243) pʰàbɔ̀   **mí**   hè   pʰà

     Phabaw   **be**   1S.Poss   father

     NPROP   **COP**   POSS   N

     Phabaw is my father.

In the following clauses, the equative copula *mí* functions as a predicate to join the two noun phrases, one denoting an indefinite NP. The result is that the subject NPs are members of the classes named by the predicate NPs as in (244) and (245).

(244) hè   **mí**   tʃō   sàrà   tà   pwȁ

    1S   **be**   school   teacher   one   CLF.human

    PRO   **COP**   N   N   NUM   CLF

    I am a teacher.

(245) pà   mùnù   kā̰   **mí**   kā̰   dójɔ́

    1P.Poss   Monu   country   **be**   country   rich

    POSS   NPROP   N   **COP**   N   ADJ

    Our Kayah Monu land is a rich land.

Equative clauses can also be used to attribute a name to the subject. Example (246) shows an equative clause which attributes a name to the subject.

(246) hè   kʰə̀   ʔàpʰú   kàtù   **mí**   pʰàlú

    1S   friend   close   most   **be**   Phalu

    PRO   N   ADJ   ADV   **COP**   NPROP

    My closest friend is Phalu.

5.2.2 Existential Clauses

There are three main existential clauses:

i) [NP *ʔə́* (XP)],

ii) [NP *ʔə́* ClfP], and

iii) [DEM_loc NP].

5.2.2.1 [NP *ʔə́* (XP)]

There is no complement in existential clauses, only the NP subject and the copula *ʔə́* 'be.exist' occur in examples (247) and (248).

(247) pwɛ̄ **ʔə́** pèwə̀pē̲

    party **be.exist** tomorrow

    N   **COP**   ADV

    The festival is tomorrow.

(248) ʔà   tʃó tèpʰɛ̀   màtītènù wó   **ʔə́**

    3S   go away   because   snake **be.exist**

    PRO V V.DIR COORD   N   **COP**

    She fled because there is a snake.

Example (249) has both the topic marker *nū* and the copula *ʔə́* present in an existential copula clause (here *ʔà* is optional).

(249) pà   bú klà **nū** ʔà   **ʔə́**   də́   sʰə́   kʰó

    1P   rice field **topic** 3S.RSMP   **be.exist** preposition mountain on

    PRO N N   **TOP** PRO.RSMP **COP**   PREP   N   LCLZR

    Our rice field, it is on the mountain.

5.2.2.2 [NP *ʔə́* ClfP]

In the following example (250), the existential copula co-occurs with a classifier phrase to express the existence of two animals.

(250) tạ̀pʰótạ̀wè **ʔə́**   kàní   prò

    animal   **be.exist** two   CLF.generic

    N   **COP**   NUM CLF

    There were two kinds of animal.

Existential clauses of this form are often found at the beginning of texts where a new participant and location are introduced, and to report that some entity exists as in example (251).

(251) də́   nīhānīnə́   ʔàmúpwə́ ʔàpẹ̀ʔàpʰá **ʔə́**   tà   pwạ̀

    when long.time.ago old.man   powerful   **be.exist** one   CLF.human

    PREP ADV   N   ADJ   **COP** NUM CLF

    Long time ago, there was a powerful old man.

5.2.2.3 [DEM_{loc} NP]

A zero copula appears in existential clause if there is a demonstrative functioning as a subject at the start position as in example (252) and (253).

(252) dónù   kạ̀pwạ̀kō

      there   forest

      DEM.Loc N

      There is a forest.

(253) bá?ù   lì   tà   bá

      here   book one CLF.flat

      DEM.Loc N   NUM CLF

      Here is a book.

5.2.3 Clausal Possession

Clausal possession expresses that the subject has possession of an object noun phrase which follows the subject but precede the verb. In Kayah Monu, the possession clause is denoted by the same existential copula *ʔə́* 'be.exist'. The following examples show two types of possessive clauses.

5.2.3.1 [NP₁ NP₂ *ʔə́*] _{Sposs}

In example (254), the regular possessive clause structure is found without a possessive prefix on the possessed noun or a possessive marking anywhere in the noun phrases.

(254) ʔà   rù   **ʔə́**

      3S   money **have**

      PRO N   **V**

      He has the money.

5.2.3.2 [NP₁ NP₂ *ʔə́* (ClfP)] _{Sposs}

In second type of clausal possession, a classifier phrase optionally follows *ʔə́* 'be.exist' where the classifier phrase is part of NP₂ as in the following examples (255) and (256). Other examples of classifier phrases in a sentence final position are in section (0).

(255) ʔàsèlə́kʰə́   pʰó   **ʔə́**   só   jɛ̄

   3P   child **have** CLF.human five

   PRO   N   **V**   CLF   NUM

   They have five children.

(256) hí   ʔàlì   tàkʰlù   pàdēpó **ʔə́**   kàní   kʰə́

   house red   some   window **have** two   CLF.pairs

   N   ADJ   QUANT   N   **V**   NUM   CLF

   some of the red houses have two windows.

5.2.4 Locative Clauses

Locative clauses refer to the location of some referent in space. The linear order is [NP *ʔə́* PP~Loc~] where the copula complement expresses a location prepositional phrase. It can be seen in examples (257) and (258).

(257) lì   tà   bá   **ʔə́**   də́   sàbwɛ́ kʰó

   book   one   CLF.flat **be.exist** at   table on

   N   NUM   CLF   **COP**   PREP N   LCLZR

   There is a book on the table.

(258) pʰìtʃá̰ **ʔə́**   də́   hìdə̄ kō

   child **be.exist** at   house in

   N   **COP**   PREP N   LCLZR

   A child is in the house.

5.2.5 Attributive Clauses

Attributive clauses predicate a noun phrase with an adjective. Subject NPs in these constituent are usually marked with the topic marker *nū* or a demonstrative. The copula verb is not obligatory for this type of clauses. The sentence structure is [NP (TOP) ADJ].

The following two attributive sentences show the comparison between a zero copula clause (259) with a *mí* copula clause (260). These have the same meaning.

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(259) ʃì   nū   ʔàkòtʃó

    water topic cold

    N   TOP   ADJ

    .The water is cold

(260) ʃì   mí   ʔàkòtʃó

    water be   cold

    N   COP   ADJ

    .The water is cold

In example (261), the clause is an intransitive clause with a zero copula that has a noun phrase and an adjective as a predicate.

(261) sàkʰósá hénù   mī   hó

    mango   that   ripe SF

    N   DEM   ADJ   PRT

    That mango is ripe.

Another zero copula clause is with times as in (262).

(262) tà̰dótʃɛ́ kʰɔ́tànì

    exam   today

    N   ADV

    The exam was today.

For negation of all above non-verbal clauses see section 4.3 under the verb phrase chapter.

5.3 Verbal Clauses

This section deals with the structure of simple clauses with verbal predicates. In Kayah Monu, clause alignment is shown by word order. In a clause, the subject (most agent-like argument) occurs preceding the verb complex and the direct object (most patient-like) occurs immediately after the verb complex; and if there is a third argument then it normally follows the object. The basic distinction among verbal predicates is between intransitive verbs which take a single argument and transitive verbs which take two or more arguments. Clauses that have a direct object are syntactically transitive while all others are syntactically intransitive.

A slightly finer definition of basic clauses in Kayah Monu, says that that clauses can consist of intransitive clauses, which are the combination of a subject and a verb phrase; semitransitive clauses, which include a subject, verb phrase, and location; transitive clauses, which consist of a subject, verb phrase, and object; and, finally, ditransitive clauses, which include a subject, verb phrase, object, and location respectively.

5.3.1 Intransitive Clauses

An intransitive clause consists of a noun phrase argument followed by a predicate. The predicate can be an intransitive verb, a predicative adjective, or a complex verb phrase. Below are examples of intransitive clauses with different verb types.

5.3.1.1 Activity Verb

In example (263), an activity verb follows the argument in an intransitive clause.

(263) ʔàpwàkʰó   pʰìtʃá́   **hámə̀ʔə́**

     boy   child   **sleep**

     N   N   **V**

     The boy is sleeping.

5.3.1.2 Achievement Verb

Achievement verbs are frequently intransitive verb as in example (264).

(264) kàpù̀   **hápʰɔ́**   kè   hó

     pot   **break**   PERF   COMPL

     N   **V**   ASP   ASP

     The pot just broke (recently).

5.3.1.3 Stative Verb

An inverted subject construction is also possible in Kayah Monu. If the subject is inverted in a clause, the word order is SV, and the subject is more patient-like and affected by an unspecified agent. Examples (265) and (266) show attributive clauses that denote a changeable state. Both clauses denote the same event but they have a different emphasis.

(265) hè   tʃúmúplɔ̰́ **sʰà**

    1S.Poss finger   **hurt**

    POSS   N   **V**

    My finger has been hurt.

(266) **ʔàsʰà** hè   tʃúmúplɔ̰́

    hurt   1S.Poss finger

    V   POSS   N

    My finger is hurting.

In (265) the agent is unspecified but implied, but in (266) there is no implied agent, only the fact of the pain

5.3.2 Semitransitives Clauses

A motion or semitransitive clause in Kayah Monu consists of a motion verb and a distinctive location element. The motion clause structure would be NP$_{Sub}$ V$_{Motion}$ OBL. Example (267) shows a motion or semitransitive clause that consists of a subject, motion verb, directional verb, and an obligatory locative. The agent *pʰìtʃá̰ pwàkʰó* and the goal *hìdā̰* are the subject and oblique.

(267) pʰìtʃá̰ pwàkʰó **kʰlɛ́** nù   dɔ́   hìdā̰ kō⁴

    child   male   **run** in   at   house in

    N   N   **V**   V.DIR PREP N   LCLZR

    The boy ran inside of the house.

As can be seen in above examples, intransitive verbs can be followed by directional verbs (267), aspect markers (264), and locative prepositional phrases (267).

5.3.3 Transitive Clauses

A transitive clause involves two participants. Semantically, the subject normally functions as the agent and the object prototypically functions as the patient.

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[4] In this thesis, all locative words are glossed as localizers. They usually co-occur with preposition *dɔ́* and are used to express the specific location of NP object in PP. The localizer *jā* 'for' might be called semantic role marker or postposition because it does not necessarily mark a specific location.

In example (268), a transitive clause structure is shown and the sentence structure is S V O.

(268) dà   pòká   **pə̄** ʃí
     village head.man **beat** dog
     N   N   **V**   N
     The headman hit the dog.

It is impossible to change the sentence structure to SOV as in example (269).

(269) * dà   pòká   ʃí   **pə̄**   (ungrammatical)
     village head.man dog   **beat**
     N   N   N   **V**
     The headman hit the dog.

It is also impossible to change the sentence structure to VSO as in example (270).

(270) * **pə̄** dà   pòká   ʃí   (ungrammatical)
     beat village head.man dog
     V   N   N   N
     The headman hit the dog.

5.3.4 Ditransitive Clauses

Ditransitive clauses involve three noun phrase arguments. Sometimes ditransitive is loosely defined such that one of these noun phrases may be part of an oblique PP, or an indirect object.

Example (271) shows a locative transitive clause with an obligatory location PP following the NP object In this example the final ClfP is a discontiguous part of the NP object.

(271) ʔàmʊ́pwá̰ **màtʰɔ́** hí   dɔ́   lə̄   kō   tà   mɛ̀
     old.man   **build** house at   field in   one   CLF.round.big
     N   **V**   N   PREP   N   LCLZR NUM   CLF
     The old man built a house in the field.

It is impossible to move the object after the locative phrase as in example (272).

(272) * ʔàmúpwá̧ màtʰɔ́ dɘ́   lɘ̄   kō   **hí**   tà   mὲ

old.man   build   at   field   in   **house**   one   CLF.round.big

N   V   PREP   N   LCLZR **N**   NUM   CLF

The old man built a house in the field.

Ditransitive clauses are varied and they show different construction types as in the following examples (273) and (274). In (274), the preposition *dɘ́* is required regardless of the word order.

(273) ʔàpwàkʰó **ʔí**   pwàmó   lì   tà   bá

boy   **give** female   book   one   CLF.flat

N   **V**   N   N   NUM   CLF

The boy gave the girl a book.

(274) ʔàpwàkʰó **ʔí**   lì   tà   bá   dɘ́   pwàmó   ʔʊ́

boy   **give** book   one   CLF.flat   at   female   to

N   **V**   N   NUM   CLF   PREP   N   LCLZR

The boy gave a book to the girl.

Usually, the indirect object in a ditransitive clause follows the verb phrase but sometimes the word order changes. Example (275) shows the indirect object (recipient) preceding the direct object which is followed by a benefactive phrase. With this alternate order SVO OBL, the OBL must include the localizer */jā/*.

(275) pwàmó   **ʔí**   pwàkʰó   bɔ́lò   dɘ́   pà   jā

female   **give** male   ball   at   1P   for

N   **V**   N   N   PREP   PRO   LCLZR

The girl gave the boy a ball for us.

5.4 Oblique Constituents

Clause constituents presented in this section are the semantic notions of location, source, recipient, benefactive, instrument, accompaniment, time, topic, and ability.

In Kayah Monu, the location preposition *dɘ́* combines with noun phrases to form prepositional phrases. The structure of a prepositional phrase is:

PP ➝ PREP NP (LCLZR)

5.4.1 Location

The location preposition *dǝ́* is used to show location at a point (place), motion to (goal), and from (source). When location constituents are oblique as arguments, they usually occur near the end of the sentence and there a localizer is obligatory to specify a particular locational meaning as in example (276).

(276) ʔàpwàmó tʃó tʰə̀ **dǝ́** klá kō hó

woman   go   PERF **at**   market in   COMPL

N   V   ASP   **PREP** N   LCLZR   ASP

The woman went to the market.

Kayah Monu uses a number of localizers in the PP final position. In a prepositional phrase, the location preposition expresses the general place followed by the main noun while the localizer further defines the location eg. 'to', 'in' and 'on'. Thus the location preposition *dǝ́* is a general location marker which can have the meaning 'at' followed by a noun with localizers following which might give more specific locational information.

The following examples show the structure of the location preposition and the localizers. The preposition *dǝ́* comes before the noun which is followed by the localizers *kʰó* and *kó* to clarify the specific place.

(277) lì   ʔə́   **dǝ́**   **sàbwέ** **kʰó**

book be.exist **at**   **table** **on**

N   COP   **PREP** **N**   **POST**

The book is on the table.

(278) ʃí   ʔə́   **dǝ́**   **wē**   **kō**

dog be.exist **at**   **yard** **in**

N   COP   **PREP** **N**   **LCLZR**

the dog in the yard

(279) ʔà   kέʃí tʰɔ́ **dǝ́**   **lə̄**   **kō**

3S   see   pig   **at**   **field** **in**

PRO   V   N   **PREP** **N**   **LCLZR**

He saw the pig at the river.

Prepositional phrases can modify a noun only by being part of a relative clause. Below are examples of prepositional modifications inside a relative clause. The relative clause is in brackets in (280) and (281).

(280) tʃùbò [ʔɔ́   **dɔ́**   sàbwɛ́ kʰó   ] ʔà   làkā̰

    pencil   be.exist **at**   **table** **on**   3S.RSMP   break

    N   COP   **PREP** **N**   **LCLZR**   PRO.RSMP V

    the pencil on the table is broken (Lit. the pencil that is on the table, it is broken)

(281) tʰàkəbə̀ [ʔɔ́   **dɔ́**   **hākɔ̰̄** kō   **là̰**   ] ʔà   hámə̀ʔɔ́

    bear   be.exist **at**   **cave** hole **under**   3S.RSMP   sleep

    N   COP   **PREP** **N**   N   **LCLZR**   PRO.RSMP V

    the bear in the cave slept (Lit. the bear that is in the cave, it slept)

5.4.2 Source

As in location clauses, the location preposition *dɔ́* is used to show sources in Kayah Monu. In this case, the directional verb is a particular word to denote where the theme is originated from and followed by the source prepositional phrase as in example sentence (282). The semantics of source are mostly derived from the directional verb.

(282) pʰí   tʰɔ́   bɔ́lò **dɔ́**   tə̄   kō

    take   up   ball **at**   box inside

    V   V.DIR   N   **PREP** N   LCLZR

    Take the ball out of the box.

Sometimes source is coded by a static location copula clause "*ʔɔ́ dɔ́* NP" which occurs immediately before the verb complex to show the source as in (283).

(283) ʔà   ʔɔ́   **dɔ́**   jɔ̄kūkā̰ ʔà   hɛ̀

    3S   live **at**   Yangon 3S   come

    PRO   V   **PREP** NPROP   PRO V

    He lives in Yangon and comes here.

5.4.3 Recipient

In Kayah Monu, the recipient is normally marked by word order and it is the first NP object after the verb complex in a ditransitive clause as in (284).

(284) ʔà   hὲ   ʔí   **hὲ**   ʃì

    3S   come   give   **1S**   water

    PRO   V   V   **PRO**   N

    She brings me water.

Example (285) shows a typical prepositional phrase structure. In this case it is a goal or recipient where the oblique marker *dɘ́* occurs between the verb phrase and the GOAL NP + LCLZR.

(285) ʔàpwàkʰó ʔí   lì   tà   bá   dɘ́   **pwàmó** ʔʊ́

    boy   give book one CLF.flat at   **female** to

    N   V   N   NUM CLF   PREP **N**   **LCLZR**

    The boy gave a book to the girl.

5.4.4 Goal

Kayah Monu also encodes goals with the location preposition *dɘ́* accompanied by a localizer. Examples of both animate and inanimate goals coded by the preposition *dɘ́* prepositional phrase are shown below:

(286) ʔàpwàkʰó wí   tʃó bɔ́lò dɘ́   **pwàmó** ʔʊ́

    boy   throw go   ball at   **female** to

    N   V   V   N   PREP **N**   LCLZR

    He threw the ball to her.

(287) pà   tʃó dɘ́   **mì**   klà

    1P   go   at   **forest** among

    PRO   V   PREP **N**   LCLZR

    We went into the forest.

The localizer is optional with some motion goals as in the following example (288).

(288) pʰàlú   tʃó dɘ́   mádálé

      Phalu   go   at   Mandalay

      NPROP V   PREP NPROP

      Phalu goes to Mandalay (city).

5.4.5 Benefactive

The benefactive constituent is a kind of indirect object constituent. Beneficiaries are always animate and usually human. It can be oblique when it occurs with the locative preposition *dɘ́* and with the localizer (beneficiary marker) *ʔàjā* or *jā* as in first example (289). The beneficiary can also occurs as an indirect object recipient as in second example (290).

(289) ʔà   pʰɘ́ʔá hásí ʃē   jì   dɘ́   **ʃítèmè** ʔàjā

     3S   cook curry chicken meat at   **guest** for

     PRO V   N   N   N   PREP **N**   LCLZR

     She cooked chicken curry for the guests.

(290) hè   ʔí   **pʰàlú** **ʔà**   **mɘ̰** rù   kàní ʃí   bá

     1S   give **Phalu** **3S.Poss mother** money two   ten   CLF.flat

     PRO V   **NPROP POSS**   **N**   N   NUM NUM CLF

     I gave Phalu's mother twenty kyat.

5.4.6 Instrument

Instrument constituents occur in transitive and ditransitive clauses. In example (291), the instrument constituent follows both the direct object and the applicative marker *kó* 'with'. Unlike the beneficiary, there is no localizer or marker following the instrument.

(291) ʔà   mà sì tʰɔ́ kó   **tɘ̰pʰō**

     3S   do die pig with **knife**

     PRO V   V   N   APPL **N**

     He killed the pig with a knife.

5.4.7 Accompaniment

The accompaniment constituent is expressed by the conjunction *kó* 'and' and followed by the core verb in a clause. Example (292) shows how accompaniment is shown in Kayah Monu.

(292) ʔà   kó   **ʔà**   **pʰó**   tʃó dɘ́   mì   klà

3S   and   **3S.Poss** **child** go   at   forest among

PRO   CONJ **POSS**   **N**   V   PREP   N   LCLZR

He and his son went into the forest.

5.4.8 Time

Time constituents also occur in Kayah Monu. If the noun phrase denotes some temporal meaning it may be unmarked. The time constituent appears at both initial and final positions of a clause. Examples (293) and (294) show time constituents in peripheral positions. See section (6.3.3.1) for more on time adverbials.

(293) **pèhánɘ́** ʔà   hɛ̀   dɘ́   búlɘ́   kʰó

yesterday 3S   come   at   rice field to

ADV   PRO   V   PREP   N   LCLZR

Yesterday, he went to the rice field.

(294) pwɛ̄ ʔɘ́   **pèwɘ̀pɛ̄**

party be.exist **tomorrow**

N   COP   **ADV**

The festival is tomorrow.

5.4.9 Ability

In Kayah Monu, ability is normally denoted by a post-verbal auxiliary. There are two words which encode ability: *pɛ̀* and *tʃɔ*. The negation of an ability clause always results in the negation marker occurring at final position as in other clauses. See section (4.2.2) for more on ability. Examples can be seen below:

(295) hè   klə̰̄nú   **pḛ̀**   hè   mì   tə̰́

     1S   hoe   **able.can**   1S.Poss   grass not

     PRO   V   **MOD**   POSS   N   NEG

     I am not able to hoe the grass.

(296) ʔà   hébá   **tʃɔ̀**   mùnù   jɔ́

     3S   speak   **able.can**   Monu   language

     PRO   V   **MOD**   NPROP   N

     She can speak Kayah Monu language.

5.5 Summary

Nonverbal clauses consisting of equative clause, existential clause, clausal possession, locative clause, and attributive clause were discussed in this chapter. Moreover, verbal clauses such intransitive, semitransitive, transitive and ditransitive were also discussed. Oblique constituents (prepositional phrase) such as location, source, recipient, goal, benefactive, instrument, accompaniment and then ability were also described.

Chapter 6
Complex Clauses

6.1 Introduction

This chapter describes complex clauses that are found in Kayah Monu, including coordinate clauses and subordinate clauses. Coordinate clauses are discussed then three different types of subordinate clauses 1) complement clauses, 2) relative clauses, and 3) adverbial clauses are also discussed.

6.2 Coordination

The coordinated units may be words, phrases, clauses or sentences (Haspelmath, 2007: 1). In Kayah Monu, coordinate clauses are two independent clauses and can be joined by coordinating connectives such as *dɤ́* 'and.then', and *tə̣̂mè* 'or'. Coordination refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements. In the case of coordinate clauses, the combined unit is a clause. The two coordinate clauses are often related by 1) logic and 2) temporal sequence. If the subjects of both clauses are the same, the subject is not normally mentioned in the latter sentence.

In (297), *dɤ́* 'and.then' conjoins two independent clauses. The subject of the verb *plú* 'gather' in the first clause and *tʃó* 'go' in the second clause is the same and the subject is drop in the second clause.

(297) pà   kɔ̀jɔ̀   plú   nóʔò   **dɤ́**   tʃó də́   mì   klà

 1P.Poss people together each.other **and.then** go   at   forest among

 POSS   N   ADV   RECP   **COORD**   V   PREP N   LCLZR

 Our people gathered together and (we) went into the forest.

In (298), *dɤ́* 'and.then' conjoins two independent clauses. The subject for both verbs *sápʰlódó* 'angry' and *wí lɔ̀tẹ̄* 'throw down' is the same and dropped in the later clause.

(298)

ʔà	sápʰlódó	**dɤ́**	wí	lɔ̀tē̄	kè	lì
3S	angry	**and.then**	throw	down	PERF	book
PRO	ADJ	**COORD**	V	V.DIR	ASP	N

He was angry and threw the book down.

Two clauses with two different NP subjects *tɒ̀* 'thing' and *hè* 'I' are conjoined by a coordinating connective to form coordinate clause as in (299). In this case both subjects are presented.

(299)

tɒ̀	mɒ̀tʰɔ́	ʔàná	héʔù	nū	**dɤ́**	hè	sāpʰlō	pjé	kè
thing	happen	itself	this	topic	**and.then**	1S.Poss	mind	be.destroyed	PERF
N	V	REFL	DEM	TOP	**COORD**	PRO	N	V	ASP

(When) it happened like this then I was very disappointed (Lit: my mind was destroyed).

In the following example (300), more than two independent clauses occur where the subjects Sub₁ *ʔà* 'prey' is not the same with Sub₂ *wépwá kó pʰìtʃá* 'men and children' while Sub₂ and the zero Sub₃ 'they' are the same. Coordinate NPs conjoined by the conjunction *kó* 'and' is also shown but *kó* 'and' cannot be used to coordinate clauses.

(300)

ʔà	sì	hó	dɤ́	wépwá	kó	pʰìtʃá	kɛ́	já	dɤ́	mà	ʔá	já
3S	die	COMPL	and.then	man	and	child	see	SF	and.then	do	eat	SF
PRO	V	ASP	COORD	N	CONJ	N	V	PRT	COORD	V	V	PRT

When it (prey) was died and both men and children saw it, then (they) cut up its meat to eat.

Another coordinate conjunction *tɒ̀mè* 'or' conjoins two independent clauses in (301).

(301)

nà	kà	tʃó	dɘ́	klá	tɒ̀mè	kè̀	dɘ́	hí	ʔɣà
2S	will	go	at	market	or	return	at	house	QP
PRO	ASP	V	PREP	N	CONJ	V	PREP	N	Q

Will you go to the market or return to the house?

6.3 Subordination

A subordinate clause is one which functions as a dependent modifier or argument of a main clause. Three different types of subordinate clauses 1) complement clause, 2) relative clause, and 3) adverbial clause are discussed in the following.

6.3.1 Complement Clauses

A complement clause is a type of clause which fills an argument slot in the structure of another clause where one clause is included within another (Dixon 2010: 370). Complement clauses occur as subject or object arguments of other clause, which are called matrix clause (Kroeger 2005: 219). There is a possible complementizer *kó* that only precedes the object complements of verbs of speech in Kayah Monu. Sometimes complement clause looks similar to multiple verb construction. All dependent clauses are in square brackets.

[NP$_{\text{Sub}}$ V [(*kó*)   ]S$_{\text{Comp}}$] S$_{\text{Main}}$

6.3.1.1 Verbs of Desire

The two following examples (302) and (303) illustrate core complement clauses. One sentence has the matrix verb desire *sájù* 'want' in (302) and the other has the imperative verb *nə̄* 'order' in (303).

(302) ?à   sájù [**?à**   **pʰópwàkʰó** **?á dì**   ]

    3S   want **3S.Poss son**   **eat cooked.rice**

    PRO V   **POSS   N**   **V   N**

    He wanted his son to eat the rice.

(303) ?à   nə̄   [**?à**   **pʰópwàkʰó** **hámə̀?ə́ də́**   **?àkʰlə̄**]

    3S   order **3S.Poss son**   **sleep   at**   **out**

    PRO V   **POSS   N**   **V**   **PREP LCLZR**

    He ordered his son to sleep outside.

6.3.1.2 Verbs of Speech

The example sentences in (304) and (305) show sentential complements associated with verbs of speech where the complement clause has imperative illocutionary force from the [2P/1P *bá*] construction in the embedded clause (see section (7.3)). In direct speech structure, the complementizer *kó* 'that' always precedes the complement clause in order to introduce it.

[V$_{\text{speech}}$ [*kó*   ]S$_{\text{Comp}}$] S$_{\text{Main}}$

(304) ʔàmʊ́pwá̰ hé ʔàsè [kó   kʰɔ̀nɔ́ nū sè   bá   ʔə́mĩ́ʔə́klʊ̀ tà̰lā̰ tà   kò   ]

old.man say 3P that now topic 2P must settle   place one CLF.land

N   V   PRO COMPZR ADV TOP PRO MOD V   N   NUM CLF

The old man said to them, "Now, you have to settle at a specific place."

(305) ʔàmʊ́pwá̰ hé [kó   kʰɔ̀nɔ́ pà bá sàtʰɔ̄ bə́ lɔ̰̀ hākʰō tàkípʰú]

old.man say that now 1P must start create down soil few

N   V   COMPZR ADV PRO MOD V   V   V.DIR N   QUANT

The old man said, "Now, we must start to create a few of soil."

6.3.1.3 Verbs of Perception

The perception verb *kéʃí* 'see' needs a complement clause as in (306).

[V_see [   ]S_Comp] S_Main

(306) ʔà   kéʃí [ʃí ʔá wó]

3S   see **dog bite snake**

PRO   V   **N   V   N**

He saw the dog bite the snake.

6.3.1.4 Subject Complement

The following example shows a subject complement through event nominalization. The complement clause includes a topic marker, pointing to the complement being a sentential complement as in (307).

(307) [[ʔà   hé tà̰wétà̰kɛ̀   ]_S nū   ]_NP ʔàmē wáhɔ́

3S   say subject.matter   topic   right probably

PRO   V   N   TOP   ADJ ADV

The subject matter that he said is probably right.

6.3.2 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are clauses which function as modifiers to the head nouns within an NP (Kroeger 2005: 219). Matrix clauses and relative clauses share an argument; it may be stated in both clauses, or in just one, or in neither. The relative clause has the basic structure of a clause – involving a predicate and the core arguments required by that predicate (Dixon 2010: 314).

Kayah Monu has postnominal relative clauses and the relativizer immediately precede the relative clause. There is no specific relative pronoun in Kayah Monu instead the relativizer *dɔ́* (same as the preposition *dɔ́*) is used to modify the head noun and sometimes the pronoun *ʔà*₁ optionally functions as a resumptive pronouns referring back to the head noun in an NP. The frame of a Kayah Monu relative clause is:

[N$_{Head}$ [*dɔ́*.....(*ʔà*)₁.......(*nū*)]$_S$]$_{NP}$ (*ʔà*)₂..........

*ʔà*₁ marks relative clause resumptive pronoun referring back to the head noun in NP

*ʔà*₂ marks NP if NP in relative clause has been topicalized.

The following examples show the relative clauses modifying the head noun *hè kʰɘ̀* 'my friend' and *kɔ̀jɔ̀* 'people' where the pronouns *ʔà* optionally functions as a resumptive pronouns referring back to the head noun as in (308) and (309).

(308) [hè   kʰɘ̀   [dɔ́   **ʔà**   kʰlɛ́ dó   kàtù]$_S$]$_{NP}$ mí   pʰàbɔ̀

    1S.Poss friend   that   **3S**   run   big   most   be   Phabaw

    POSS   N   REL   **PRO** V   ADJ   ADV   COP   NPROP

    My friend who runs the most is Phabaw.

(309) [kɔ̀jɔ̀   [dɔ́   **ʔà**   ʔìtʰɘ́   sɔ́   sù   ]$_S$]$_{NP}$ tʃó tʃɔ̀   hó

    people   that   **3S**   stand.up CLF.human three   go   able.can COMPL

    N   REL   **PRO** V   CLF   NUM   V   MOD   ASP

    The three who stood up can leave.

In (310) and (311), the post-nominal relative clauses modify the head nouns *pwàkʰó* 'male' and *pwàmó* 'female' where they take optional topic markers *nū* at final position and both relative clauses are followed by the resumptive *ʔà* '3S' in (310) and (311).

(310) [pwàkʰó [dɔ́ **ʔà** hè   ʔí   hè   ʃì   nū   ]$_S$]$_{NP}$ ʔà   ná   tʰó   kɘ̀pì

    male   that 3S   come give 1S   water topic   3S.RSMP   body tall very

    N   REL   PRO V   V   PRO N   TOP   PRO.RSMP N   ADJ   ADV

    The man who brings me water is very tall.

(311)

pwàmó	[dɔ́	ʔà	màplēmàmwō	hè	hí	nū	]s	ʔà	pʰó	ʔɔ́
female	that	3S	clean	1S.Poss	house	topic		3S.RSMP	child	have
N	REL	PRO	V	PRO	N	TOP		PRO	N	V

sɔ́	sù
CLF.human	three
CLF	NUM

the woman who cleans my house has three children

In the following two examples (312) and (313) are parallel examples where the first head noun functions as a subject in the relative clause whereas the second one is an object. The optional resumptive pronoun *ʔà* is dropped inside the relative clause in second example where the relativized position is an object.

(312)

[ʃí	[dɔ́	ʔà	ʔá	pʰìtʃɔ́	pʰó	nū	]s]NP	ʔà	ʔó
dog	that	3S	bite	child	child	topic		3S.RSMP	bark
N	REL	PRO	V	N	N	TOP		PRO	V

The dog that bit the boy is barking.

(313)

[ʃí	[dɔ́	pʰìtʃɔ́	pʰó	pɛ̀já	nū	]s]NP	ʔà	ʔó
dog	that	child	child	hit	topic		3S.RSMP	bark
N	REL	N	N	V	TOP		PRO	V

The dog that boy hit is barking.

In example (314), there are two relativizers modifying the same head noun.

(314)

[[pwàkʰó	[dɔ́	ʔà	ná	dó	]s1	[dɔ́	ʔà	hè	ʔí	hè	ʃì	nū	]s2
male	that	3S.Poss	body	big		that	3S	come	give	1S	water	topic	
N	REL	POSS	N	ADJ		REL	PRO	V	V	PRO	N	TOP	

sɔ́	sù	]NP	tʃó	dɔ́	klá	kō
CLF.human	three		go	preposition	market	in
CLF	NUM		V	PREP	N	LCLZR

The three men who are big and who bring me water went to the market

6.3.3 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are modifiers of verb phrases or whole clauses (Kroeger 2005: 227). Subordinate adverbial clauses usually modify the main clause and adverbial conjunctions (here called subordinating conjunctions) are used to introduce

adverbial clauses. They can be considered a kind of adjunct. The canonical constituent order is adverbial clause followed by main clause.

6.3.3.1 Temporal Clauses and Expressions[5]

There are several clauses which express temporal adverbial clauses expressing concepts like 'when', 'before', 'after' and others. These adverbial clauses appear at the beginning of a subordinate clause and usually precede the main clause.

6.3.3.1.1 'When' Clauses

In examples (315) and (316), the subordinate conjunction *bá* 'when' is used to introduce the adverbial clause and another marker for temporal phrases (clause final subordinator) *ʔàkʰā* 'while' stands at final position of that clause. The adverbial clauses precede the main clauses. In both sentences, the two events are interpreted as occurring at the same time.

[(bá)....... ʔàkʰā (nū)]S_{Sub} S_{Main}

(315) [bá   hè   kè̤   tó̤   dá́   hí   ʔàkʰā   ]$_S$ ʔà   díʔá

       when   1S   return   arrive   preposition   house   while   3S   feed

       SUBORD   PRO   V   V   PREP   N   SUBORD   PRO   V

       pē̤   ʔà   pʰó   dì

       still   3S.Poss   child   cooked.rice

       ASP   POSS   N   N

       When I arrived home, she still was feeding her baby rice.

(316) [bá   hè   tʃó   tʰɔ́   tʃō   ʔàkʰā   ]$_S$ ʔà   pʰɔ́ʔá   pē̤   dì

       when   1S   go   up   school   while   3S   cook   still   cooked.rice

       SUBORD   PRO   V   V.DIR   N   SUBORD   PRO   V   ASP   N

       When I went to school, she still was cooking rice.

In (317), the subordinate adverbial temporal marker *bá* 'when' is drop and *ʔàkʰā* 'while' alone occurs phrase final. In this phrase, the event has not happen yet, as shown by the future sentence final marker *hēpē̤* which show future time reference on the main clause.

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[5] Many temporal adverbials are either event-denoting clauses or time-denoting noun phrases. But they are both similarly marked.

(317)

[tà	nē	ʔàkʰā	]ₐ𝒹ᵥₚ	hè	pwènū	tḗtạ̄	kà	ʔə́	dówè	hēpē̄
one	year	while		1S	buy	property	will	be.exist	many	SF.future
NUM	N	SUBORD		PRO	V	N	ASP	COP	QUANT	PRT

In one year, I will buy many properties (for me).

In example (318), the event is completed but the temporal adverbial clause has only an indirect relationship with both perfective and completive aspect markers *tʰə́* and *hó* in the main clause.

(318)

[bá	hè	kẹ̀	tọ́	ʔàkʰā	]ₛ	ʔà	tʃó	dɔ́	tʰə́	ʃì	hó
when	1S	return	arrive	while		3S	go	draw	PERF	water	COMPL
SUBORD	PRO	V	V	SUBORD		PRO	V	V	ASP	N	ASP

When I arrived, he had already drawn the water.

(317) and (318) show that the temporal meaning of the subordinate clause is often dependent on the main clause.

6.3.3.1.2 'Before' Clauses

In contrast to 'when' adverbial clauses, the adverbial temporal marker *nɔ́kʰə̀* 'before' appears often at the end of the adverbial clause but inside *ʔàkʰā* 'while' which takes a position at a clause final position in (319).

[.......*nɔ́kʰə̀ NEG(ʔàkʰā) (nū)*]Sₛᵤᵦ S𝖬ₐᵢₙ

(319)

[nà	mà	tạ̀mạ̀	nɔ́kʰə̀	tẹ́	ʔàkʰā	]ₛ	kẹ̀nɛ̀	wə́	wə́
2S	do	work	before	not	while		think	suitable	suitable
PRO	V	N	SUBORD	NEG	SUBORD		V	ADJ	ADJ

Before you work, think carefully.

The subordinate adverbial temporal marker *nɔ́kʰə̀* 'before' occurs with the topic marker *nū* at clause final position as in (320).

(320)

[ʔà	hámə̀ʔə́	nɔ́kʰə̀	tẹ́	nū	]ₛ	ʔà	tʃàbà
3S	sleep	before	not	topic		3S	pray
PRO	V	SUBORD	NEG	TOP		PRO	V

Before he sleeps, he prays.

6.3.3.1.3 'After' Clauses

'After' adverbial clauses usually co-occur with temporal aspect markers such as perfective aspect marker $t^h\grave{\partial}$ 'finish', completive aspect marker *hó*, and the topic marker *nū* in a sentence. These three combine together and mean 'after that'. The coordinative connective *dɤ́* 'and.then' also means 'after' in coordinate clause. They usually occur in discussions of sequential events as in procedures. Example sentences are shown below.

[.......*t^h\grave{\partial}* (*hó*) (*nū*)]S$_{Sub}$ S$_{Main}$

(321) [ʔà   kʰwè   tʰə̀   hó   nū   ]$_S$ bɛ́   nù   də́   ʃútʂ́   kō

　　　3S   dry   PERF COMPL topic   put   go.in   at   mortar   in

　　　PRO   ADJ   ASP   ASP   TOP   V   V.DIR   PREP   N   LCLZR

After drying (the paddy), put (it) into the mortar.

(322) [ʃípʰá   tʰə̀   hó   ]$_S$ wɔ́   tʰɔ́   də̀kò   kō

　　　pound   PERF COMPL   scoop out   round.bamboo.tray   in

　　　V   ASP   ASP   V   V.DIR N   LCLZR

After pounding, scoop out to put into the round bamboo tray.

(323) [tʂ̣̀   mə̀tʰɔ́   ʔàná   héʔù   nū   dɤ́   ]$_S$ hè   sāpʰlō pjé   kɛ̀

　　　thing happen itself this   topic and.then   1S.Poss mind   be.destroyed PERF

　　　N   V   REFL   DEM   TOP   COORD   POSS   N   V   ASP

(When) it happened like this then I was very disappointed (Lit: my mind was destroyed).

6.3.3.1.4 Other Temporal Adverbial Expressions

The adverbs like *kʰɔ̀nɔ́* 'now', *sàkʰól ó* 'firstly', and other words denoting 'today/tomorrow/yesterday' indicate dependent adverbial expressions and usually precede the independent main clause but sometimes the adverbial clause appears clause final. There is a lot of variation with the subordinators used, as can be seen in the following set of examples.

[....*kʰɔ̀nɔ́/sàkʰól ó...* (*nū*)]S$_{Sub}$ S$_{Main}$ or S$_{Main}$ [*tʂ́lʐ̀ kʰɔ̀nɔ́*]S$_{Sub}$

(324) [kʰɔ̀nɔ́ nū]ₛ sè bá ʔɔ́mīʔɔ́klʊ̀ tà̰lā̰ tà kò

    now topic 2P must settle place one CLF.land

    ADV TOP PRO MOD V N NUM CLF

At now, you must settle at a (specific) place.

(325) [tà̰ʔàsʰɔ́ʔàkʰā kʰɔ̀nɔ́ nū]ₛ ʔàpɔ̄ʔàsʰà tʃētʃēpɔ̀pɔ̀ dɔ́ hè jā

    time now topic difficult really at 1S for

    N ADV TOP ADJ ADV PREP PRO LCLZR

Nowadays, it is really difficult for me.

(326) [sàkʰōlō]ₛ pà bá tʃó pʰí bú

    first 1P must go take rice.unthreshed

    ADV PRO MOD V V N

First, we must go take the rice paddy.

(327) [kʰɔ́tànì]ₛ hè kà tʰɔ̀wākā tʃō pēlɛ̀

    today 1S will attend school maybe

    ADV PRO ASP V N ADV

Today, maybe I will attend the school.

(328) tʰàjɔ́ʃìkɔ̀ ʔáʔítɔ̰́ hènɛ̀ hākʰō [tɔ̰́lɔ̰̀ kʰɔ̀nɔ́]ₛ

    earthworm eat continue soil until now

    N V ADV N SUBORD ADV

The earthworm continues eating the soil until now.

6.3.3.2 Result Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses for 'result' use the subordinate conjunction *màtítènù* 'because'. In examples (329) and (330), subordinate and matrix clauses are joined by the subordinate conjunction *màtítènù* 'because' to form a coordinate clause where two NP subjects are different.

S_Main …[.......*màtítènù*]S_Sub

(329) ʔàsèlɔ́kʰɔ̀ hàwīʃèwɛ̀ [**màtītènù** ʔà ʔó sékʰá]ₛ

    3P poor **because** 3S drink alcohol

    PRO ADJ **SUBORD** PRO V N

They were poor because he drank alcohol.

(330) ʔà   tʃó tɛ̀pʰɛ̀ [**màtītènù** wó   ʔɘ́   ]ₛ

　　 3S   go away   **because**   snake be.exist

　　 PRO   V V.DIR   **SUBORD**   N   COP

　　 She fled because there was a snake.

6.3.3.3 Cause Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses for 'cause' use the subordinate conjunction *ʔàkʰóʔàkʰjè*
'because.of'. Sentences (331) and (332) provide examples of 'cause' adverbial clauses
joined by the subordinating connective *ʔàkʰóʔàkʰjè* 'because.of' as in the following.

[.......*ʔàkʰóʔàkʰjè*]S_Sub S_Main

(331) [ʔà   tʃépwé mà ʔàkʰóʔàkʰjè]ₛ ʔà   rù   ʔɘ́   dówè

　　　 3S   try   do because.of   3S.Poss money have many

　　　 PRO   V   V   SUBORD   POSS   N   V   QUANT

　　　 Because of trying to work (hard), he has money a lot.

(332) [hè   kɛ́ʃíbá   hénù ʔàkʰóʔàkʰjè]ₛ hè   sáplɘ̰́   tʃélèwá

　　　 1S   encounter that because.of   1S   dejected deeply

　　　 PRO   V   DEM   SUBORD   PRO   ADJ   ADV

　　　 Because of encountering that (difficult) experience, I am deeply dejected.

6.3.3.4 Conditional Adverbial Clauses

Conditional adverbial clauses are also composed of a dependent conditional clause
and an independent main clause. The subordinate conjunction that is used in
conditional clauses is *mé* 'if' where the topic marker *nū* optionally occurs clause
final. The subordinate conjunction *mé* 'if' occurs after the NP subject. And if there is
no subject then it is clause initial. Examples can be seen in the following set of
sentences.

[......*mé*....... (*nū*)]S_Sub S_Main

(333) [mé   mà tʰɘ̀   hó   nū   ]ₛ bɛ́ nù   dɘ́   pʰōkā kō

　　　 if   do PERF COMPL topic   put go.in at   basket in

　　　 SUBORD V ASP ASP   TOP   V   V.DIR PREP N   LCLZR

　　　 If (you are) done then put (them) into the basket.

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(334) [hè   mé   sʰájá nū]ₛ hè   kà   nébá rù

      1S   if   sell   topic 1S   will   get   money

      PRO SUBORD V   TOP   PRO ASP   V   N

    If I sell them, I would get money.

(335) [pà   sàpʉ́wɛ́   sá   mé   tʃú   ]ₛ dí   tʰò   tʰɔ́   pà

      1P.Poss brother.sister mind if   unite   found become up   1P.Poss

      POSS   N   N   SUBORD V   V   V   V.DIR   POSS

      ʃì   pà   kā̰

    water 1P.Poss country

    N   POSS   N

    If our brothers and sisters' minds are united, let's found together our own
    country.

6.3.3.5 Reason Clauses

Reason adverbial clauses are also composed of a dependent subordinate clause and
an independent main clause. The subordinate conjunction that is used in reason
clause is *pɔ́kʰɔ́* 'as' where the topic marker *nū* optionally occurs clause final. An
example can be seen in the following.

[*pɔ́kʰɔ́.......nū*]S_Sub S_Main

 (336) [*pɔ̄kʰɔ́*   *ʔà*   *hé nū*   ] *hé   tàmá̰ né*

        as   3S   say topic   say not   IMP.polite

        SUBORD   PRO V   TOP   V   NEG   IMP

      As he said ,don't tell)it!(

6.3.3.6 Counter Expectation Clauses

Counter expectation clauses are used to denote a denial of expectation. The
subordinator *métà* 'although' is used to express counter expectation clauses it
appears clause final. The subordinate clause always precedes matrix clause as in
(337) and (338).

[.......*métà*]S_Sub S_Main

(337) [ʔà   ʔɔ́lòkwē métà   ]ₛ ʔà   sāpʰlō mə̄ tɕ̰́

    3S   play   although   3S.Poss mind   happy not

    PRO   V   SUBORD   POSS   N   ADJ   NEG

    Although he plays, he is not happy.

(338) [*ʔà*   *kḛ̀*   *métà*   ] *ʔà*   *mɕ́pʰà ʔɔ́*   *dɔ́*   *hí*   *tɕ̰́*

    3S   return although   3S.Poss parent be.exist at   house not

    PRO   V   SUBORD   PRO   N   COP   PREP   N   NEG

    Although she returned, her parents were not home.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter, coordinate clauses and three kinds of subordinate clauses 1) complement clauses, 2) relative clauses, and 3) adverbial clauses were discussed. The constituent order for each type of clause was also described.

In coordinate sentences, coordinating connectives are used to connect two independent clauses. There is the optional *kó* 'that' complementizer in Kayah Monu complement clauses. Relative clauses in Kayah Monu are post-nominal. The relativizer *dɔ́* is used to introduce a relative clause within an NP and resumptive pronouns are common in relative clause constructions.

Dependent adverbial clauses usually come before the independent main clauses. Temporal adverbial clauses such as: 1) 'when' clause, 2) 'before' clause, 3) 'after' clause, and 4) other temporal adverbial subordinate clauses were described. Result adverbial clause, cause adverbial clause, conditional clause, reason clause, and counter expectation clause were also briefly discussed.

The variations in subordinator positions with their related examples are discussed. They occur on both sides of subordinate clauses eg. *bá* 'when' occurs clause initial as in (316), temporal markers *kʰɔ̀nɔ́* 'now', *sàkʰólό* 'firstly', and *kʰɔ́tànì* 'today' also appear clause initial as in (324) and (326), result subordinator *màtítènù* 'because', conditional subordinator *mé* 'if', and reason subordinator *pɔ̄kʰɔ́* 'as' stand clause initial as in (329), (334), and (336).

In contrast, *nɔ́kʰɔ̀* 'before' occurs inside the clause together with negation marker *tɕ̰́* 'not' in (319). The subordinator *ʔàkʰā* 'while' occurs clause final in (316) as well as *tʰɔ̀* 'finish' and *dɤ́* 'and.then' appear clause final sometimes with topic marker *nū* in (321) and (323). Cause subordinator *ʔàkʰóʔàkʰʲè* 'because.of', and counter expectation subordinator *métà* 'although' occur clause final as in (331), and (337).

Chapter 7
Sentence Types

7.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at different sentence types in Kayah Monu. It provides several illustrative examples for declarative, imperative, and interrogative sentences and describes the patterns for each type. Most languages have specific grammatical patterns that are used to indicate which of these actions the speaker intends to perform: declarative for statements; imperative for commands, and interrogative for questions (Kroeger 2005: 196). Sentence final particles normally are added to declarative sentence to make them express some other illocutionary force.

7.2 Declarative (Statements)

In Kayah Monu, the most basic kind of sentence structure is a simple statement, a declarative sentence. The NP$_{Obj}$ follows both NP$_{Sub}$ and VP; PP and ClfP optionally occur at the end of the clause. The typical structure of a declarative sentence is schematized as below.

S: [NP$_{Sub}$ VP NP$_{Obj}$ (PP) (ClfP)]

Sentence (339) illustrates a simple declarative sentence in Kayah Monu. It consists of NP$_{Sub}$ *ʔàmúpwá̰* 'the old man', a verb *màtʰɔ́* 'build', NP$_{Obj}$ *hí* 'house', PP$_{Loc}$ *dɔ́ lā kō* 'in the field' and ClfP *tà mɛ̀* 'one/a house'.

(339) ʔàmúpwá̰ màtʰɔ́ hí dɔ́ lā kō tà mɛ̀

      old.man build house at field in one CLF.round.big

      N V N PREP N LCLZR NUM CLF

      The old man built a house in the field.

Declarative sentences have been extensively discussed in previous chapters.

7.3 Imperative (Commands)

Imperatives are clause construction types that directly command the addressee to perform some action. They are usually understood to refer to second person subjects. In Kayah Monu, the addressee who is being told to do something is usually omitted and the imperative can be strong or softened by changing intonation.

7.3.1 Regular Imperatives

A regular imperative is usually a declarative clause optionally without both addresser and addressee. Examples below show imperative sentences in Kayah Monu. All sentences are spoken strongly to express command.

(340) hὲ   ʔá   báʔù

      come eat   here

      V   V   DEM.Loc

      Come and eat!

(341) tʃó pwὲ kὲ̣   tē̠tā̠

      go   buy   return property

      V   V   V   N

      Go and buy things!

Sometimes proper nouns can occur in imperative clauses when the addressee is being told to do something with increased urgency or impatience as in (342).

(342) pʰàbɔ̀   mà pʰwὲ   pʰwὲ

      Phabaw do   quickly quickly

      NPROP   V   ADV   ADV

      Phabaw, hurry up!

A bare verb can also form an imperative structure. For example, *tʃó* 'go' in example (343) has only a verb to form an imperative clause and it was used with a strong voice in giving a command.

(343) tʃó

      go

      V

      Go!

7.3.2 Prohibitive Imperatives

Prohibitive (negative imperatives) have the same form as positive imperatives, except that the clause includes the negation marker. The following examples (344) and (445) compare declarative and imperative clauses. In (344), the actor is giving quite strong command by using imperative negation *má* 'not' whereas in (345), it is not a prohibitive instead the addressee responds by using general negation marker *tá* 'not'.

(344) mà **má**   (strong command)

     do **not**

     V   **NEG.IMP**

     Don't do it!

(345) mà **tá̰**   (refuse to do)

     do **not**

     V   **NEG**

     I won't do it!

7.3.3 Polite Imperatives

Another possible way of marking imperative sentences in Kayah Monu is by using special final imperative markers. The polite imperative is not necessarily used towards a speaker of higher status, but is used to demonstrate a kind of positive attitude towards the addressee. This is a softer, less direct form of command than the regular imperative and frequently used in hortatory discourse.

The polite imperative is marked by the particle *nɔ̄* and *né*. Examples below show that the speaker can soften the force of an imperative with both final element imperative markers. The first one *nɔ́* seems to be a Burmese loan word.

(346) kànɛ̀ʔí   hè   **nɔ̄**

     remember 1S   **ASRT**

     V   PRO **IMP**

     Remember me please!

(347) mà hénù **né**

    do that **ASRT**

    V   DEM **IMP**

    Do like that!

(348) pɔ̄kʰɔ̄   ʔà hé nū hé tàmą́ **né**

    as   3S say topic say not   **IMP.polite**

    SUBORD PRO V TOP V NEG **IMP**

    !(it)t tell 'As he said don

Sometimes the polite term *kʰɔ̀sàdɛ̀* 'please' is used in request clauses as in (349).

(349) **kʰɔ̀sàdɛ̀** ʔí   hè

    please give 1S

    IMP   V   PRO

    Give me please!

7.3.4 Hortative Imperatives

The first person always occurs in a hortative construction as an agent of the suggested action. It involves at least two people but the number is not explicitly marked. In these examples (350) and (351), the hortative particle *lə́* and *mɔ́* are used to express suggested opinion in a clause. The second one *mɔ́* seems to be a Sgaw Karen loan word.

(350) pà   tʃó **lə́**

    1P   go   **HORT**

    PRO V   **IMP**

    Let us go!

(351) ʔàsɛ̀   tʃó **mɔ́**

    3P.poss go **HORT**

    PRO   V   **IMP**

    They go!

7.4 Interrogative (Questions)

Three basic types of interrogative sentence structures are found in Kayah Monu. The first is the yes-no question, the second is the content question, and the third is the disjunctive-negative question. These broad types are distinguished by the occurrences of sentence final interrogative marker *ʔɣà* for yes-no questions *lɛ̄* for content questions and *tə̰̂mè* 'or' for disjunctive questions.

7.4.1 Yes-No Questions

Yes-No questions are sometimes referred to as 'closed questions,' because set of possible answers is closed, containing just two members (*yes* and *no)* (Kroeger 2005: 203). In Kayah Monu, the interrogative particle *ʔɣà* occurs at the end of the clause to signal a yes-no question as the answer the speaker expects is either 'yes' or 'no'. The following are examples of the interrogative yes-no structure.

(352) nà   pʰə́ʔá tʰə̀   hó   ʔɣà

2S   cook   PERF COMPL QP

PRO   V   ASP   ASP   Q

Have you finished cooking?

(353) nà   sákànā   mùnù   jə́   ʔɣà

2S   understand Monu   language QP

PRO   V   NPROP   N   Q

Do you understand Kayah Monu language?

This kind of question would have the answer "yes" or "no".

7.4.2 Content Questions

Content questions are sometimes referred to as 'open questions,' because the set of possible answers is open, with (theoretically) no limit to the number of potential responses and also called 'Wh-questions' (Kroeger 2005: 203). Two parts are required to make content questions in Kayah Monu. The first part is a question proform and the second part is the question particle *lɛ̄*. The content question particle *lɛ̄* optionally co-occurs with *màtítɛ̀* 'why' and *mɔ́pɛ̀* 'who'. As the question word identifies the sentence as a question, the final question particle is frequently omitted. Table 37 shows the interrogative proforms in Kayah Monu.

Table 37 Interrogative Pro-forms in Kayah Monu

Question Words	Interrogative proform
who	*mɔ́pɛ̀*
where	*bátɛ̀*
what	*títɛ̀*
when	*bákʰɘ̀tɛ̀*
how	*hítɛ̀*
how much	*pwétɛ̀*
why	*màtítɛ̀*

Usually, the questions words are found clause final except *mɔ́pɛ̀* 'who' and *màtítɛ̀* 'why'. If the question particle *lɛ̄* occurs, it is clause final after the question word. Each question word has a specific function. For the pro-forms, the positions given are strong preferences but not always the only option.

7.4.2.1 Who

The use of *mɔ́pɛ̀* 'who' indicate that the speaker thinks that the referent they want to identify is human. In the following examples, the question word *mɔ́pɛ̀* 'who' occurs with the optional question particle *lɛ̄* at clause final. The final particle only appears in (357).

(354) nà   mì   mí   mɔ́pɛ̀

     2S.Poss   name   be   who

     POSS   N   COP   INTRG

     What is your name?

(355) ʔà   hénù   mí   mɔ́pɛ̀

     3S   that   be   who

     PRO   DEM   COP   INTRG

     Who is he/she?

(356) mɔ́pɛ̀   hɛ̀   dɘ́   búlɘ́   kʰó

     who   come   at   rice field   on

     INTRG   V   PREP   N   LCLZR

     Who went to the rice field?

(357) nà   kà   ʔí   mɔ́pὲ   lɛ̄
      2S   will give who   QP

      PRO   ASP   V   INTRG   Q
      Whom will you give it?

7.4.2.2 What

When the speaker thinks that the unknown referent is non-human, the question word *tìtὲ* 'what' is used. It usually occur clause final sometimes with future marker *hēpē̲* to show the future tense.

(358) hénù   mí   tìtὲ

      that   be   what

      DEM   COP   INTRG
      What is that?

(359) pèwὲpē̲   nà   kà   mà   tìtὲ   hēpē̲

      tomorrow 2S   will do   what   SF.future

      ADV   PRO   ASP   V   INTRG   PRT
      What will you do tomorrow?

7.4.2.3 Why

The question word *màtítὲ* 'why' usually appears clause initial, and the question particle *lɛ̄* is clause final. This question word is used when the speaker does not know the reason for some state or event and is requesting the hearer to provide that information.

(360) màtítὲ   nà   hὲ   dɔ́   búlɔ́   kʰɔ́   tɛ̣́

      why   2S   come   at   rice field to   not

      INTRG   PRO   V   PREP   N   LCLZR   NEG
      Why don't you go to the rice field?

(361) màtítὲ   nà   pwè   ʔá   hú   tɛ̣́   lɛ̄

      why   2S   buy   eat rice   not   QP

      INTRG   PRO   V   V   N   NEG   Q
      Why don't you buy rice?

(362) màtítὲ   nà   hὲ   tɕ́   lē

why   2S   come   not   QP

INTRG   PRO   V   NEG   Q

Why don't you come?

7.4.2.4 When

A speaker will choose the question word *bákʰɘ̀tὲ* 'when' to request the specific time of an event. The future marker *hēpē̱* is added clause final for 'when in the future'.

(363) nà   tʃó   dɘ́   mádálé   bákʰɘ̀tὲ

2S   go   at   Mandalay   when

PRO   V   PREP   NPROP   INTRG

When did you go to Mandalay?

(364) nà   kà   hὲ   bákʰɘ̀tὲ   hēpē̱

2S   will   come   when   SF.future

PRO   ASP   V   INTRG   PRT

When will you come?

7.4.2.5 Where

The place question word *bátὲ* 'where' is used when the speaker is uncertain of a location. It usually occurs clause final.

(365) nà   ʔɘ́   bátὲ

2S   stay   where

PRO   V   INTRG

Where do you stay?

(366) kʰɔ́tànì   nà   tʃó   bátὲ

today   2S   go   where

ADV   PRO   V   INTRG

Where do you go today?

7.4.2.6 How

The manner question word *hítè* 'how' also always appears clause final.

(367) hè   bá   mà hítè

    1S   must   do   how

    PRO MOD V   INTRG

    How should I do (it)?

(368) bá   pʰɔ́ʔá dì   hítè

    must   cook cooked.rice how

    MOD V   N   INTRG

    How do (I) cook rice?

7.4.2.7 How many

Kayah Monu uses the same question word to request the quantity and number of referent. When the amount or the number of something is unknown, the quantity extent question word *pwétè* 'how much' or the number question word *pwétè* 'how many' are used and these are both the same.

(369) ʔɔ́   dó   pwétè

    be.exist big   how.many

    COP   ADJ INTRG

    How many?

(370) nà   nē   ʔɔ́ pwétè

    2S.Poss year have how.many

    POSS N   V   INTRG

    How old are you? (Lit: How many years do you have?)

7.4.3 Disjunctive (Negative) Questions

Kayah Monu also has disjunctive questions that are more frequent in conversation than in monologues and narratives. This type of question is formed by combining two parts where the verb followed by the coordinator *tɔ́mè* 'or' or subordinator *mé* 'if' then the verb is repeated and optionally followed by negation marker. The schema for disjunctive (negative) question formation is as below.

S_{Disjunctive-Negative Question}: [.....V1 (*tə̌mè/mé*) V1 (tə̰́)]

The following examples show a disjunctive-negative question in Kayah Monu by using *tə̌mè* 'or' and mé 'if'. The answer could be 'one of them' or 'both of them' or 'neither of them'.

(371) nà   hébá   mùnù   jɔ́   tə̌mè   hébá   tə̰́   ʔɣà

    2S   speak   Monu   language   or   speak   not   QP

    PRO   V   NPROP   N   CONJ   V   NEG   Q

    Do you speak Kayah Monu or not?

(372) tà̰lā̰   nū   wɔ́   mé   wɔ́   tə̰́   dɣ́   bá   tʰè   pṵ̄   já

    place   topic   suitable   if   suitable   not   and.then   must   cut   test   SF

    N   TOP   ADJ   SUBORD   ADJ   NEG   COORD   MOD   V   V   PRT

    You must cut to test if the land is good enough for hill-side cultivation or not.

Sometimes the disjunction can involve an entire VP as in (xx).

(373) nà   kà   tʃó   dɔ́   klá   tə̌mè   kḛ̀   dɔ́   hí   ʔɣà

    2S   will   go   at   market   or   return   at   house   QP

    PRO   ASP   V   PREP   N   CONJ   V   PREP   N   Q

    Will you go to the market or return to the house?

7.5 Summary

In this chapter, three major sentence types, declarative, imperative, and interrogative were presented. Within each category several subtypes are identified. The interrogative forms for yes-no questions, content questions, and disjunctive-negative questions were also discussed.

Chapter 8
Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the findings from previous chapters are summarized and suggestions for further research are provided.

8.2 Summary of Findings

This research is made up of eight chapters and is based on research carried out on the Taw Khu dialect in Kayah State, Myanmar.

Chapter one introduced the classification of the language, the people, geography, demography, general information, scope of the research, methodology, literature review on previous studies, and an overview of previous phonological study.

Chapter two described different types of major word classes, minor word classes, and morphological process. The grammatical basis for each word class was described, which included nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, pronouns, demonstratives, classifiers, numerals, quantifiers, preposition and relativizer, localizers, conjunctions, question words, particles, and directional verbs.

Verbs were divided into main verbs and auxiliaries which occur with the main verbs. Some auxiliaries appear regularly after the verbs and others before the verb. Directional verbs occur as helping verbs to the main verb to show the direction of the actor. Adjectives were discussed to be similar to verbs in negation and modification by post-verbal auxiliaries. But adjectives are distinct from verbs in *tṳ̀*-adjective nominalization, the position of modifying head noun in NP, the use of the relativizer *dá* with modifiers, and the comparative and the superlative constructions. Adverbs typically follow the verb and modify the verb, adjective or another adverb.

Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns follow the main verb to form reflexive or reciprocal clauses. Demonstratives are used to point out a particular thing and they usually follow the head noun, and can be linked by a copula. Conjunctions link two words, phrases or clauses and the question words sometimes occur as discontinuous forms. Final particles distinguish illocutionary forces such declarative, imperative,

interrogative by following each. Classifiers are divided into a number of different subclasses based on grammatical distribution. Auto-classifiers are also nouns. The general locative preposition *dɔ́* always precedes the noun to express the general location and the localizers are obligatory occur at final position to point out a specific place.

Chapter three described noun phrase structure. NP can be head nouns preceded by an optional possessive noun phrase and followed by optional adjectives, numeral, quantifier, classifier, demonstrative, and topic marker. In appositional noun phrases, the specific noun phrase follows the general noun phrase. Coordinate noun phrases consist of two similar head constituents joined by a conjunction. Classifiers accompany nouns to mark a specific class of nouns and form classifier phrases. The quantifier phrase or classifier phrase are optional. The classifier phrase sometimes can displace to a sentence final position.

Chapter four provided the structures of the verb phrase. The verb phrase optionally starts with an auxiliary (AUX_1) which is followed by the head verb (V^*), and an auxiliary (AUX_2) usually aspect marker, and lastly by an optional constituent (XP), which is often adverbial. Finally a negation marker may appear. Adverb phrases always follow the predicate. Multiple verb constructions consist of the combination of two or more verb roots. In a multiple verb construction, usually the first verb is a head. They express one simple event or a complex event. Different types of multiple-verbs constructions such as simultaneous, sequential, resultative, and directive were discussed.

Chapter five presented simple clauses. Equative clauses, existential clauses, possessive clauses, locative clauses, and attributive clauses are all kinds of non-verbal clauses. They are typically composed of a noun phrase followed by a copula and an optional copula complement. For verbal clauses, the subject is almost always obligatory. There are three different copulas '*mî*', '*ʔɔ́*', and 'zero' in Kayah Monu. A benefactive constituent can follow or precede the indirect object constituent. Time constituents can appear at both initial and final of the sentence. A location constituent is an oblique argument; they usually occur at the end of the sentence and often a localizer is obligatory. Instrument constituents occur in transitive and ditransitive clauses. Unlike the beneficiary, there is no localizer or marker next to the instrument.

Chapter six analyzed complex clauses in Kayah Monu. Coordinate clauses are two independent clauses and can be joined by coordinating connectives such as *dɤ́*

'and.then', and *t̥ə̆mè* 'or'. If the subjects of both clauses are the same, the subject is not normally mentioned in the latter sentence. There is a complementizer for object complements and sometimes they look similar to multiple verbs construction. Kayah Monu has postnominal relative clauses and the relativizer follows any attributive modifying the head noun to indicate a relative clause. There is no specific relative pronoun instead the relativizer *də́* (same as the preposition *də́*) is used to modify the head noun. Adverbial conjunctions (subordinating conjunctions) are used to introduce adverbial clauses or follow them.

Chapter seven described sentence types and there are different types such as declarative, interrogative, and imperative. Sentence final particles are normally added to declarative sentence to create some other illocutionary force. There are three basic types of interrogative sentences: yes-no questions, content questions, and disjunctive-negative questions. These broad types are distinguished by the occurrences of sentence final interrogative marker *ʔɣà* for yes-no questions *lὲ* for content questions and *t̥ə̆mè* 'or' for disjunctive question.

8.3 Further Research

A grammatical analysis of a language is never perfect. This section provides applicable suggestions that still need further research. Verb and adjective can only be separated on some tests, but most tests do not make this separation. Therefore, it is recommended to do further study on distinguishing verbs and adjectives because at clause and sentence level the distinction between these two is weak.

It is also recommended to do further investigation on the word *ʔà*. It functions as adjective nominalizer, third person singular pronoun and sometimes it is not clear that whether it is prefix or not.

The two aspect markers *tʰɔ̄* 'perfective' and *hó* 'completive' appearance in the verb complex need to be explained in more detail. The role of *də́* needs more research as it can function as a locative preposition by preceding a noun, as a relativizer following the head noun in relative clause, and as temporal preposition appear at start position introducing adverbial time clause.

Classifier usages and the displacement of classifier phrases also need more data and research. For simple and complex sentences, the most interesting area to focus on is subject-verb intransitivity and their alternation into verb subject sentences.

The discourse-pragmatics with a discussion of topic, focus and various discourse markers are also invaluable features for further research. As this thesis is an initial work on the descriptive grammar of Kayah Monu, many features may need to be investigated in more detail.

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APPENDIX A
EARTHWORM AND TERMITE

1 dǝ́   nīhānīnǝ́   ʔàmúpwą́   ʔàpę̀ʔàpʰá   ʔǝ́   tà   pwą̀

when   long.time.ago   old.man   powerful   be.exist   one   CLF.human

PREP   ADV   N   ADJ   COP   NUM   CLF

Long time ago, there was a powerful old man.

2 ʔà   bǝ́   lǫ̀   tą̀pʰótą̀wè   ʔǝ́   kàní   prò

3S   create   down   animal   be.exist   two   CLF.generic

PRO   V   V.DIR   N   COP   NUM   CLF

There were two kinds of animal he created.

3 ʔà   lǝ́   tʃó   kó   ʔà   hīpʰù   ʔǝ́   tà   prò

3S   crawl   go   with   3S.Poss   belly   be.exist   one   CLF.generic

PRO   V   V   APPL   PRO   N   COP   NUM   CLF

One animal crawls and goes with its belly.

4 ʔà   tʃó   kó   ʔà   kʰǝ̄lǝ̀pǝ́   mí   tà   prò

3S   go   with   3S.Poss   leg   be   one   CLF.generic

PRO   V   APPL   PRO   N   COP   NUM   CLF

One animal goes with its foot.

5 bánù   ʔàkʰā   ʔà   tʃólēlù   pē   ʔàkʰā

that   while   3S   travel   still   while

DEM   SUBORD   PRO   V   ASP   SUBORD

At that time, he (old man) is still travelling.

6 ʔàmúpwą́   hé   ʔàsè   kó   kʰɔ̀nɔ́   nū   sè   bá   ʔǝ́mīʔǝ́klò   tą̀lą̄   tà

old.man   say   3P   that   now   topic   2P   must   settle   place   one

N   V   PRO   COMPZR   ADV   TOP   PRO   MOD   V   N   NUM

kò

CLF.land

CLF

The old man said to them, "Now, you have to settle at a specific place."

7 ʔàmúpwá́ hé kó kʰɔ̀nɔ́ pà bá sàtʰɔ̄ bə́ lɔ̰̀ hākʰō tàkípʰú

old.man say that now 1P must start create down soil few

N V COMPZR ADV PRO MOD V V V.DIR N QUANT

The old man said, "Now, we must start to create a few of soil."

8 ʔà nə̄ sàtʰɔ̄ bə́ wī kó tʰàjə́ʃìkə̀

3S order start create first with earthworm

PRO V V V ADV APPL N

He (the old man) orders the earthworm to start create the soil first.

9 ʔà bə́ tʰə̀ hó nū ʔàmúpwá́ tʃó kéké já

3S create PERF COMPL topic old.man go look SF

PRO V ASP ASP TOP N V V PRT

When he (earthworm) finishes creating the soil, the old man goes to check it.

10 ʔà tạ̀ bāwə̄ ʔà sāpʰlō tə̣́ də́ɣ ʔàmúpwá́ nə̄ bə́ tàplɛ̄sə̄

3S.Poss thing please 3S.Poss mind not and.then old.man order create again

PRO N V PRO N NEG COORD N V V ADV

kó pùʔù

with termite

APPL N

His (of earthworm) thing (creating soil) does not please his (the old man's) mind then the old man orders termite to start create the soil again.

11 də́ɣ ʔà dī bə́ tàplɛ̄sə̄ pùʔù hākʰō

and.then 3S allow create again termite soil

COORD PRO V V ADV N N

He (the old man) again allows termite to create the soil.

12 də́ɣ ʔà bə́ tʰə̀ hó ʔàmúpwá́ tʃó kéké sɔ́ já

and.then 3S create PERF COMPL old.man go look again SF

COORD PRO V ASP ASP N V V ADV PRT

When he (termite) finished creating (the soil), the old man went to check it again.

13 ʔàplèʔàwā   hó   dɤ́   ʔà   bɛ́mēbɛ́klɛ̰̀ kɛ̀   kó   pùʔù bə́
give.finishing.touch COMPL and.then 3S   nominate   PERF with   termite create
V   ASP   COORD PRO   V   ASP   APPL N   V

hākʰō   hó
soil   COMPL
N   ASP

After giving finishing touch then he (the old man) nominates termite to create the soil.

14 dɤ́   tʰàjə́ʃìkə̀ sāpʰlō mā   pē   pùʔù   tṵ́   dɤ́   ʔá lə̄lə̄tɛ̀bá
and.then   earthworm mind   happy for   termite not   and.then eat completely
COORD   N   N   ADJ   LCLZR N   NEG   COORD   V   ADV

pùʔù   hākʰō
termite soil
N   N

The earthworm does not happy and then he (earthworm) completely eats the termite's soil.

15 tʰàjə́ʃìkə̀ ʔáʔítṵ́ hènè   hākʰō tṵ́lɔ̰̀   kʰɔ̀nɔ́
earthworm eat   continue soil   until   now
N   V   ADV   N   SUBORD ADV

The earthworm continues eating the soil until now.

APPENDIX B
HOW TO COOK RICE?

1 bá   pʰɚ́ʔá dì   hítɛ̀

must   cook   cooked.rice how

MOD V   N   INTRG

How to cook rice?

2 kʰɔ̀nɔ́ hè   kà   pʰɚ́ʔá dì   tà   kàpɯ̀

now   1S   will   cook cooked.rice one   pot

ADV PRO ASP V   N   NUM N

Now, I will cook a pot of rice.

3 sàkʰōlō pà   bá   tʃó pʰí bú

first   1P   must go take rice.unthreshed

ADV   PRO MOD V   V   N

Firstly, we must go to take paddy.

4 tʰɚ̀   hó   nū   pà   bá   lòkʰwè já   kó   lùmú tɚ̣̀mè mí̤

  PERF COMPL topic 1P   must dry   SF   with sun   or   fire

  ASP   ASP   TOP PRO MOD V   PRT APPL N   CONJ N

After that we must dry (the paddy) with sun or fire.

5 ʔà   kʰwè tʰɚ̀   hó   nū   bɛ́ nù   já   dɚ́   ʃútɚ̣́   kō   ʃíjá kó

  3S   dry   PERF COMPL topic put go.in SF   at   mortar in   pound with

  PRO ADJ ASP   ASP   TOP V   V.DIR PRT PREP N   LCLZR V   APPL

klí

pestle

N

After (the paddy) had dried then put into mortar to pound with pestle.

6 wɔ́   tʰɔ́   já   dɚ́   dɔ̀kò   kō

  scoop up   SF   at   round.bamboo.tray in

  V   V.DIR PRT PREP N   LCLZR

Scoop them out to put into round bamboo tray.

7 tʰə́   hó   nū   kʰábɔ̀kɛ̀ ʔà   pʰìpwā

  PERF COMPL topic   remove   Poss.Marker paddy.husk

  ASP ASP   TOP   V   PRO   N

After that remove the paddy husk.

8 ʔà   mé   tʰə́   hó   nū   bɛ́ nù   sɔ́   já dɘ́ ʃútɔ̰́ kō

  3S   if   PERF   COMPL topic put go.in again SF at mortar in

  PRO   SUBORD ASP   ASP   TOP   V   V.DIR ADV PRT PREP N   LCLZR

dɤ́   ʃípʰá   já

and.then pound   SF

COORD   V   PRT

If finish then put (the paddy) into mortar to pound (it) again.

9 ʃípʰá tʰə́   hó   wɔ́   tʰɔ́ dɔ̀kò   kō

  pound PERF COMPL scoop up   round.bamboo.tray in

  V   ASP   ASP   V   V.DIR N   LCLZR

After pounding, scoop out to put in round bamboo tray.

10 tʰə́   hó   nū   kʰábɔ̀kɛ̀ pʰīmṵ

  PERF COMPL topic remove   bran

  ASP   ASP   TOP   V   N

After that remove the brans.

11 kʰábɔ̀ tʰə́   wí   tʰɔ́   ʔà   kàmà   tʰúkɛ̀   ʔà   kàmà

  remove PERF throw up   3S.Poss grain.paddy take.out 3S.Poss grain.paddy

  V   ASP   V   V.DIR PRO   N   V   PRO   N

After removing, pick out and take out grains of paddy.

12 tʰə́   hó   nū   ʔà   tʰò   kó   hú hó

  PERF COMPL topic 3S   become about rice COMPL

  ASP   ASP   TOP   PRO   V   APPL   N   ASP

After that it becomes rice.

13 mé   mà tʰə́   hó   nū   bɛ́ nù   dɘ́   pʰōkā kō

  if   do PERF COMPL topic put go.in at   basket in

  SUBORD   V   ASP   ASP   TOP   V   V.DIR PREP N   LCLZR

If (you are) doen then put (them) into basket.

14 ʃúkɛ̄   mí   tʰə̀ dā   tʰɔ́   dìʃì   dɔ́   lúsú kʰó
   start.fire fire PERF put up   clean.water at   oven on
   V   N   ASP   V   V.DIR N   PREP N   LCLZR

Start the fire then put clean water on the oven.

15 ʃì   kō̱   pʰlə́ tʰə̀ hó   nū   kùtʰɔ́ hú
   water hot   boil   PERF COMPL topic put.in rice
   N   ADJ   V   ASP   ASP   TOP   V   N

When the water is hot and boiled then put in rice.

16 kʰlíkʰū já   tʰə̀   wìsú já   kó   dìdə̀
   mix   SF   PERF mix   SF   with   flat.wooden.ladle
   V   PRT   ASP   V   PRT   APPL   N

It must be mixed and then mix using flat wooden ladle.

17 kòwò tʰɔ́   míkló   tʰə̀   tʃɔ́ lə̀tē̱   té̱sí já
   pile   up   charcoals PERF lift down   dry   SF
   V   V.DIR   N   ASP   V   V.DIR   V   PRT

Pile up charcoals then lay down to dry water.

18 té̱sí tʰə̀   tʰó   tàwí sìpə̱́ já
   dry   PERF   pull turn dry   SF
   V   ASP   V   V   V   PRT

When the water is dried, turn around (the pot) to dry again.

19 ʔà   sí   hó   dɤ́   tʃɔ́ tʰɔ́   já
   3S   dry   COMPL   and.then lift up   SF
   PRO   V   ASP   COORD   V   V.DIR PRT

When it (the water) is dried then lift up (the pot of rice).

20 mà hénù ʔà   tʰò   tʰɔ́   kɛ̀   dì   ʔàbó   tà   kàpù̱ hó
   do   that 3S   become   up   PERF cooked.rice white one   pot   COMPL
   V   DEM   PRO   V   V.DIR ASP   N   N   NUM   N   ASP

By doing that it becomes a pot of white cooked-rice.

APPENDIX C
HOW TO PREPARE A RICE-FIELD?

1 tʰè hú klà hítɛ̀

  cut rice field how

  V   N   N   INTRG

How to prepare a rice-field?

2 sàkʰōlō tʃó kɛ́bá hākʰō

  first   go search land

  ADV   V   V   N

Firstly, (you must) go to look a land (to cultivate).

3 tà̰lā̰ nū wɨ́ mé   wɨ́ tɨ̰́ dɤ́   bá   tʰè pṳ̄ já

  place topic suitable if   suitable not and.then must cut test SF

  N   TOP ADJ   SUBORD ADJ   NEG COORD MOD V   V   PRT

You must cut to test if the land is good enough for hill-side cultivation or not.

4 tʰè pṳ̄ tʰɘ̀   tʰè hɛ̀nɛ̀   já   lòkʰwè já

  cut test PERF cut continue SF   dry   SF

  V   V   ASP   V   ADV   PRT V   PRT

 After cutting to test the land then continue to clean and then dry it.

5 lòkʰwè tʰɘ̀   ʃú mḭ́ ʃú tʰɘ̀   wó   pwá wó   tʰɘ̀   tʰɨ́   pwá

  dry   PERF fire fire fire PERF clean.up farm clean.up PERF harrow farm

  V   ASP   V   N   V   ASP   V   N   V   ASP   V   N

After drying (the land), start fire (it) then clean the farm, then harrow that farm.

6 tʃə́ mìmī tʰə̀ nū klɔ̰̄ mìmə̰̄ klɔ̰̄ mìmə̰̄ tʰə̀ klɔ̰̄

  weed young.grass PERF topic hoe coarse.grass hoe coarse.grass PERF hoe

  V   N   ASP TOP V   N   V   N   ASP V

mìnɔ̄də̄ klɔ̰̄ mìnɔ̄də̄ tʰə̀ klɔ̰̄ mìnɔ́jó

young.grass hoe young.grass PERF hoe mature.grass

N   V   N   ASP V   N

After weeding the weeds, hoe the coarse grass again then hoe the young grass and then hoe the mature grass.

7 klɔ̰̄ tʰə̀ mìnɔ́jó pʰē já

  hoe PERF mature.grass remove SF

  V   ASP N   V   PRT

After finishing to hoe the mature grass then remove to throw away them all.

8 pʰē tʰə̀ hó nū bú mī hó

  remove PERF COMPL topic rice.unthreshed ripe COMPL

  V   ASP   ASP   TOP N   ADJ ASP

If the mature grass were removed away then the unthreshed rice is ripe.

9 kʰɔ̀nɔ́ ká bú ʔànī hó

  now reap rice.unthreshed ready COMPL

  ADV V N   ADJ   ASP

Now, the unthreshed rice is ready to reap.

10 ká tʰə̀ kḛmī já

   reap PERF tie up SF

   V   ASP   V   PRT

After reaping, tie them into bundles.

11 kḛmī tʰə̀ lō ʔā tɔ̰

   tie up PERF dry bundle

   V   ASP   V   N

After tying (them), dry the bundles of unthreshed rice.

12 lōʔā tọ̄ tʰə̀ ʔɔ́ plú já

   dry   bundle PERF collect gather SF

   V   N   ASP   V   V   PRT

After you have dried the bundles of unthreshed rice, collect (them).

13 ʔɔ́ plú tʰə̀ pɛ̣̄ bú

   collect gather PERF beat rice.unthreshed

   V   V   ASP   V   N

After collecting them, beat the unthreshed rice.

14 pɛ̣̄ bú tʰə̀ mà sʰɔ́ já

   beat rice.unthreshed PERF do   thresh SF

   V   N   ASP   V   V   PRT

After beating, thresh them.

15 mà sʰɔ́ já tʰə̀ kạ́ nú bú tẹ́ kō

   do   thresh SF   PERF pour put rice.unthreshed basket in

   V   V   PRT ASP   V   V   N   N   LCLZR

After threshing (the unthreshed rice), pour to put into the basket.

APPENDIX D
THE HAPPIEST DAY

1 ʔàmə̀ lú   lùmūnì tà   nì

   happy most   day   one   CLF.day

   ADJ   ADV   N   NUM   CLF

The happiest day.

2 pà   kɔ̀jɔ̀   tʃó wóʔá nóʔɔ̀   tạ̀mì tà   nì

   1P.Poss people go   hunt each.other prey one   CLF.day

   PRO   N   V   V   RECP   N   NUM   CLF

One day, our people went for a hunting.

3 pà   kɔ̀jɔ̀   plú   nóʔɔ̀   dɤ̀   tʃó dɜ́   mì   klà   .

   1P.Poss people together each.other and.then go   at   forest among

   PRO   N   ADV   RECP   COORD   V   PREP   N   LCLZR

Our people gathered together then (we) went into the forest.

4 wépwá ʔɜ́ dɜ́   ʔàkʰó   dɤ̀   wépwá dēsījā pʰìtʃɐ́ dɤ̀   wó   tʰɔ́

   man   stay at   place.above and.then man   warn   child   and.then chase out

   N   V   PREP N   COORD   N   V   N   COORD   V   V.DIR

tạ̀mì

prey

N

The men took up a place above and warned the children then (they) chased the prey.

5 tạ̀mì hátʰɔ́ dɤ̀   wépwá kʰá   já

   prey out   and.then man   shoot SF

   N   V.DIR COORD   N   V   PRT

When the prey came out, men shot it.

6 dɤ́   ʔà   sì   hó   dɤ́   wépwá   kó   pʰìtʃɛ́   kɛ́   já   dɤ́   mà   ʔá

and.then   3S   die   COMPL   and.then   man   and   child   see   SF   and.then   do   eat

COORD   PRO   V   ASP   COORD   N   CONJ   N   V   PRT   COORD   V   V

já

SF

PRT

When it (prey) was died and both men and children saw it, then (they) cut up its meat to eat.

7 bɛ́   nóʔò   hàpṳ   dɤ́   pà   kɛ̣   wɔ́wɔ́   nóʔò   .

divide,up   each.other   meat   and.then   1P   return   joy   each.other

V   RECP   N   COORD   PRO   V   N   RECP

(We) divided up meat then we returned with joy.

8 dɤ́   pà   kɛ̣   tɔ̣   dɔ́   dɔ̀   tʰʋ̀   dɤ́   pà   sálésálɔ̀

and.then   1P   return   arrive   at   village   around   and.then   1P   rejoice

COORD   PRO   V   V   PREP   N   LCLZR   COORD   PRO   V

We returned and arrived near the village then we rejoiced.

9 kútàwɔ̀   ʔūtū   kɛ̣   dɔ́   dɔ̀   kō

shout.loudly   blow   return   at   village   in

V   V   V   PREP   N   LCLZR

(We) shouted, blew loudly and returned to enter into the village.

10 pà   pʰɨ́   kɛ̣   tɔ̀jì   dɤ́   pà   kɛ̣   ʔí   tɔ̀jì

1P   take   return   meat   and.then   1P   return   give   meat

PRO   V   V   N   COORD   PRO   V   V   N

We brought back the meat and returned to share it (with others).

11 dɤ́   ʔàmɔ̀   dɤ́   hè   mā   kó   hè   pʰó   sálésálɔ̀   wɔ́wɔ́   nóʔò

and.then   happy   and.then   1S.Poss   wife   and   1S.Poss   child   rejoice   joy   each.other

COORD   ADJ   COORD   PRO   N   CONJ   PRO   N   V   N   RECP

kʰɔ́tànì

today

ADV

Today, not only my wife but also my kids rejoiced with joy.

12 lúmū kʰɔ̀nɔ́ tà nì pà mà nébá tà̰mì sálésálɔ̀

   day   now   one   CLF.day   1P   do   get   prey   rejoice

   N   ADV   NUM   CLF   PRO   V   V   N   V

This is the day we rejoiced for getting prey.

13 mà hénù dɤ́ hè ʃìpènà pḛ̀ pḛ̄ tà kʰɔ́ tɕ̰́

   do   that   and.then   1S   forget   able.can   still   one   CLF.time   not

   V   DEM   COORD   PRO   V   MOD   ASP   NUM   CLF   NEG

By doing that, I can still never forget about that day.

APPENDIX E
A DIFFICULT LIVING

1 tằpʰíʔáwɛ̀ʔá dɔ́ ʔàtʃēʔàtʃó

living   that   difficult

N   REL   ADJ

The difficult living.

2 tằʔàsʰɔ́ʔàkʰā kʰɔ̀nɔ́ nū ʔàpɔ̄ʔàsʰà tʃētʃēpɔ̀pɔ̀ dɔ́ hè jā

time   now   topic   difficult   really   at   1S   for

N   ADV   TOP   ADJ   ADV   PREP   PRO   LCLZR

Nowadays, it is really difficult for me.

3 tằ   mằtʰɔ́ ʔàná   héʔù nū dɤ́   hè   sāpʰlō pjé   kɛ̀

thing   happen   itself   this   topic   and.then   1S.Poss   mind   be.destroyed   PERF

N   V   PRO.RFLX   DEM   TOP   COORD   PRO   N   V   ASP

(When) it happened like this then I was very disappointed (Lit: my mind was destroyed).

4 dɤ́   hè   tằtʃótṵbákʰɔ́bá ʔàkō   hè   kɛ́ʃíbá   hénù ʔàkʰóʔàkʰjè hè

and.then   1S   experience   in   1S   encounter   that   because.of   1S

COORD   PRO   N   LCLZR   PRO   V   DEM   SUBORD   PRO

sáplɑ̰́   tʃélèwá

dejected   deeply

ADJ   ADV

Because of encountering that (difficult) experiences, I am deeply dejected.

5 kʰɔ̀nɔ́ hè   kà   ʃèbɛ́ʔí kó   hè   tằtʃótṵbákʰɔ́bá tà   tʃó

now   1S   will   tell   about   1S.Poss   experience   one   CLF.non-human things

ADV   PRO   ASP   V   APPL   PRO   N   NUM   CLF

Now, I will tell about my one experience.

6 hè   sàtʰɔ́   hè   tʰè hú klà tà   klɔ̰̀

1S   start   come cut rice field one   CLF.land

PRO AUX   V   V N   N   NUM CLF

.I start come to cut a rice field

7 hè   tʰɔ̀   klɔ̰̀ sɔ́ dɤ́   hè   lɔ̰̀tē kā̰ kɛ̀   hè   kʰə̄lə̀pɑ̰́

1S   climb.up cut tree and.then 1S   down break PERF 1S.Poss leg

PRO V   V N   COORD   PRO V.DIR V   ASP PRO   N

.I climb up to cut a tree and I fell down then my leg was broken

8 dɤ́   hè   klɔ̰̄nú pḛ̀   hè   mì tɑ̰́   .

and.then 1S   hoe   able.can 1S.Poss grass not

COORD PRO V   MOD   PRO   N   NEG

And I am not able to hoe the grass.

9 hè   bú   wè   pḛ̄ tɑ̰́

1S.Poss rice.unthreshed beautiful still   not

PRO   N   ADJ   ASP NEG

My unthreshed rice still not good at all.

10 hè   bú   sá   pḛ̄ tɑ̰́

1S.Poss rice.unthreshed bear.fruit still   not

PRO   N   V   ASP NEG

My unthreshed rice still not bear fruit.

11 hè   mà̰ʔánú   pḛ̀   hè   bú   tɑ̰́

1S   do.sth.for.living able.can 1S.Poss rice.unthreshed not

PRO V   MOD   PRO N   NEG

I am not able to work on my unthreshed rice field for living.

12 dɤ́   hè   kélá ʔá kélá ʔɔ́ kɛ̀ tà̰ ʔɔ́ pḛ̄ dɔ́ hè jā tà

and.then 1S   try eat try live PERF thing have still at   1S for   one

COORD PRO V   V V   V ASP N   V   ASP PREP PRO LCLZR NUM

tʃó   tɑ̰́

CLF.non-human things not

CLF   NEG

And then I try to earn still nothing is being still with me.

13 dɤ́   hè   tʃē   hè   tʃō   hàwīʃɛ̀wɛ̀ kɛ̀   já

and.then 1S   hard   1S   hard   poor   PERF   SF

COORD   PRO   ADJ   PRO   ADJ   ADJ   ASP   PRT

Even though I (tried) hard, (I) was still poor.

14 hè   sáplą́   dómàtì hè   sájù   ʔə́   tʰòpwà pē̱   də́   hākʰō békʰó tą́

1S   dejected very   1S   want   live alive   still at   soil   on   not

PRO   ADJ   ADV   PRO   V   V   V   ASP   PREP N   LCLZR NEG

I am very dejected so I do not want to stay to be still alive on the earth.

APPENDIX F
IMAGINE BEING A RICH PERSON

1 kὲnὲ   dójɔ́   ná

  imagine rich   body

  V   ADJ N

Imagination of being a rich person.

2 hὲ   kὲnὲ   tɞ̀sájù   ʔà   ʔɔ́   tà   tʃó

  1S   imagine intense.desire 3S   have   one   CLF.non-human things

  PRO V   N   PRO V   NUM CLF

I imagine and I have one intense desire that I want to be.

3 hὲ   sájù mà tʰɔ̀   tʰɔ́   já

  1S   want do   become up   SF

  PRO V   V   V   V.DIR PRT

I want to do to become true.

4 hὲ   sàtʰɔ̄ sʰɯ́ pʰàlà   tà   klɞ̀

  1S   start plant Phala   one   CLF.land

  PRO V   V   NPROP NUM CLF

I start to plant a plot of Phala.

5 tà   nē   kó   tà   nē   bé   tàsá

  one   year and   one   year pick fruit

  NUM N   CONJ NUM N   V   N

ᵣI pick the fruits year by yea

6 hὲ   mé   sʰájá nū   hὲ   kà   nébá rù

  1S   if   sell   topic 1S   will   get   money

  PRO SUBORD V   TOP PRO ASP V   N

If I sell them, I would get money.

7 tà nē kó tà nē hè rù kà ʔə́ dótʰɔ́ hēpē

  one year and one year 1S money will have grow SF.future

  NUM N CONJ NUM N PRO N ASP V V PRT

I will have a lot money to become growth year by year.

8 tà nē ʔàkʰā hè pwènū tḛ̄tā̰ ʔɔ́ dówè hēpē

  one year while 1S buy property have many SF.future

  NUM N SUBORD PRO V N V QUANT PRT

One year, I will buy many properties for me.

9 tà nē sú ʔàmə̀ hè tà nē sú hè dótʰɔ́

  one year increase happy 1S one year increase 1S grow

  NUM N V ADJ PRO NUM N V PRO V

Year by year, my happiness will increase.

10 hè sálésálɔ̀ hēpē

  1S rejoice SF.future

  PRO V PRT

I will also rejoice.

11 hè pwè níbá pɔ́ mɔ̀tàkā hēpē

  1S buy own addional car SF.future

  PRO V V ADJ N PRT

I will additionally buy and own a car.

12 hè mé pwènū tʰə̀ mɔ̀tàkā nū hè kà tʃó màkúʔá tʃɔ̀ hēpē

  1S if buy PERF car topic 1S will go trade able.can SF.future

  PRO SUBORD V ASP N TOP PRO ASP V V MOD PRT

If I have bought a car, I would be able to go for a trade.

13 tàmàkú mé ní hè màtʰɔ́ hí ʔàmè dó dómàtì tà

  trading if succeed 1S build house CLF.round.big big very one

  N SUBORD V PRO V N CLF ADJ ADV NUM

mɛ̀ hēpē

CLF.round.big SF.future

CLF PRT

If my trading succeed, I will also build a very big house.

14	hè	kó	hè	mā	kó	hè	pʰó	hè	lì̀	ʔə́mə̄ʔə́bá
	1S	and	1S.Poss	wife	and	1S.Poss	child	1S.Poss	grand.children	content
	PRO	CONJ	PRO	N	CONJ	PRO	N	PRO	N	ADJ

tʃótʃópwạ̀pwạ̀	hēpē̄	.
forever	SF.future	
ADV	PRT	

I and my wife with my children and grandchildren will stay together in contentment forever.

APPENDIX G
FUTURE GROWTH

1 dó　　tʰɔ́　　tʰò　　tʰɔ́　　hɛ̀　dɔ́　ʔàlə̀mɔ́

　big　　up　　become　up　　　come　that　future

　ADJ　V.DIR　V　　　V.DIR　V　　REL　ADV

The Future which becomes growth.

2 kʰɔ̀nɔ́　nū　　pà　　　sàpṵ́wɛ́　　　sá　　mé　　　　tʃú　mókʰó　tē̠prò̠　tòtʰó　tʰɔ́

　now　　topic　1P.Poss　brother.sister　mind　if　　　　unite　sky　　collapse　support　above

　ADV　　TOP　PRO　　N　　　　　　N　　SUBORD　V　　N　　　V　　　V　　LCLZR

hākʰō　tē̠tʃò　pṵ́méʔí

earth　prolapse　grasp

N　　　V　　　V

Nowadays, if our brothers and sisters' minds are united, we can support sky even it collapse, we can grasp the earth even it prolapse.

3 pà　　　sàpṵ́wɛ́　　　sá　　mé　　　tʃú　dí　　tʰò　　tʰɔ́　　pà　　　ʃi

　1P.Poss　brother.sister　mind　if　　　unite　establish　become　up　　1P.Poss　water

　PRO　　N　　　　　　N　　SUBORD　V　　V　　　V　　　V.DIR　PRO　　N

pà　　　kā̠

1P.Poss　country

PRO　　N

If our brothers and sisters' minds are united, let's found together our own country.

4 pà　　mí　kò̠jò̠　tà　　mṵ̄　tà　　tʃó

　1P　be　people　one　group　one　CLF.non-human things

　PRO　COP　N　　NUM　N　　NUM　CLF

We are a kind and a specific group of people.

5 pà　　kà　　ʔā　pàná　　mùnù　ʔà　　　pʰó

　1P　will　call　ourselves　Monu　3S.Poss　child

　PRO　ASP　V　RECP　　NPROP　PRO　　N

We would call ourselves Monu's people.

6 pà   ʔə́   də́   pʰəbɔ̀   sʰə́   là   pà   ʔə́   də́   pʰəbɔ̀   sʰə́
1P   be.exist at   Pha Baw mountain beside 1P   be.exist at   Pha Baw mountain
PRO   COP   PREP NPROP N   LCLZR PRO   COP   PREP NPROP N

kʰɔ̄
foot.base
LCLZR

We stay beside and at the foot of the Pha Baw mountain

7 pà   mùnù   kā̀   mí   kā̀   ʔàmə̀
1P.Poss Monu   country be   country happy
PRO   NPROP N   COP N   ADJ

Our Monu land is a happy land. Our Monu land is a rich land.

8 pà   mùnù   kā̀   mí   kā̀   dójɔ́
1P.Poss Monu   country be   country rich
PRO   NPROP N   COP N   ADJ

9 pà   bɛ́   tʰɔ́   ʃìmə̰́kā̰pʰà
1P   put   up   leaders
PRO   V   V.DIR   N

We nominated our leaders.

10 kā̀   pʰə̀   dó   ʔə́tʰɔ́   tʰə̀   ʃìmə̀kā̰bá
country king big   rise   PERF progress
N   N   ADJ   V   ASP   V

After the great king had risen, the land become progress.

11 mḭ́ pī̄   də́   kònū̄ jə́   sì   də́   mópwá
fire run.out at   jungle language die at   aged.people
N   V   PREP N   N   V   PREP N

As fire ran out in the jungle, language will die at old age.

12 jə́   ʔótʰɔ́ də́   ʃìlā̰kā̰   kō
language arise at   community in
N   V   PREP N   LCLZR

Language has arisen in the community.

13 bósó   lélú   lɔ̀tḛ̄   kō   bósó   pìpḛ̄   nà   kō̰   mḭ́
  have.relationship.with   firefly   down   hole   have.relationship.with   butterfly   2S   hot   fire
  V   N   V.DIR   N   V   N   PRO   ADJ   N

If you have relationship with firefly, you will down in a hole; if you have relationship with butterfly, you would being hot by fire.

14 tèsē   pʰó   ná   pʰú   kó   ʃì   kɔ̀sʰɔ́   pʰó   ná   wè   kó   há
  horse   child   body   clean   with   water   elephant   child   body   beautiful   with   soil
  N   N   N   V   APPL   N   N   N   N   ADJ   APPL   N

Baby horse body is being cleaned with wather, baby elephant's body is being beautiful with soil.

15 pʰómɔ́   sɛ́rɛ́   tʰɔ̀   kɛ́ʔí   ʔà   dɘ̀   pʰókʰò   tʃɔ́tʰɔ́   kɛ́ʔí   ʔà
  daughter   clever   climb.up   look.after   3S.Poss   village   son   bright   look.after   3S.Poss
  N   ADJ   V   V   PRO   N   N   ADJ   V   PRO

kā̰
country
N

A clever daughter will get up to look after her village while bright son will take care of his country.

16 pʰómɔ́   sɛ́rɛ́   ʔà   hí   kà   ʃɘ̀   pʰókʰò   sàmà   ʔà   kā̰   kɘ̀trī
  daughter   clever   3S.Poss   house   will   clean   son   intelligent   3S.Poss   country   progress
  N   ADJ   PRO   N   ASP   ADJ   N   ADJ   PRO   N   V

A clever daughter's house would be clean, while intelligent son's country would become progress.

APPENDIX H
ELICITED SENTENCES

Noun Phrases

1 ʔà   hí

  3S.Poss house

  PRO   N

His house

2 ʔà   pʰà   hí

  3S.Poss father house

  PRO   N   N

His father's house

3 pwàkʰó ʔà   hí   ʔàlì

  male   3S.Poss house red

  N   PRO   N   ADJ

The man's red house

4 kɔ̀jɔ̀ hénù ʔà   hí   hénù

  man that   3S.Poss house that

  N   DEM PRO   N   DEM

That man's that house

5 hí   héʔù

  house this

  N   DEM

This house

6 hí   hénù

  house that

  N   DEM

That house

7 hí   hénù   ʔɔ́   dónù

  house that   be.exist there

   N   DEM   COP   DEM.Loc

That house is (way) over there

8 hí   dówè

  house many

   N   QUANT

many houses

9 hí   tàkípʰú

  house few

   N   QUANT

few houses

10 hí   tàkí   tàkí

  house few   few

   N   QUANT   QUANT

some houses

11 hí   lóbɔ̀

  house all

   N   QUANT

every house

12 hí   lóbɔ̀

  house all

   N   QUANT

all houses

13 hí   ʔàlì   hénù   dówè

  house red   that   many

   N   ADJ   DEM   QUANT

many of those red houses

14 hí   ʔàlì

  house red

   N   ADJ

red house

15 hí   ʔàlì   hénù

   house   red   that

   N   ADJ   DEM

that red house

16 hí   ʔàlì   ʔàsà

   house   red   new

   N   ADJ   ADJ

the new red house

17 hí   hénù   dó   kʰlò   hí   héʔù

   house   that   big   more.than   house   this

   N   DEM   ADJ   ADV   N   DEM

that house is bigger than this house

18 ʔà   ʔə́   də́   hí   ʔàdó   kàtù   ʔàkō

   3S   be.exist   at   house   big   most   in

   PRO   COP   PREP   N   ADJ   ADV   LCLZR

he lives in the biggest house

19 pʰìtʃá̰   wə́tāló

   child   very.many

   N   ADV

very many kids (a lot of kids)

20 ʔà   hí   dó

   3S   house   big

   PRO   N   ADJ

his big house

21 ʔà   pʰà   ʔà   hí   dó

   3S.Poss   father   3S.Poss   house   big

   PRO   N   PRO   N   ADJ

his father's big house

22 hí   sù   mὲ

   house   three   CLF.round.big

   N   NUM   CLF

three houses

23 hí   hénù sù   mὲ

   house that   three CLF.round.big

   N   DEM NUM CLF

those three houses

24 hí   ʔàlì sù   mὲ

   house red   three CLF.round.big

   N   ADJ NUM CLF

three red houses

25 hí   ʔàlì dó   sù   mὲ

   house red   big   three CLF.round.big

   N   ADJ ADJ NUM CLF

three big red houses

26 ʔà   hí   ʔàlì dó   sù   mὲ

   3S.Poss house red   big   three CLF.round.big

   PRO   N   ADJ ADJ NUM CLF

his three big red houses

27 ʔà   pʰà   hí   ʔàlì dó   sù   mὲ   hénù

   3S.Poss father house red   big   three CLF.round.big that

   PRO   N   N   ADJ ADJ NUM CLF   DEM

his father's three red big houses

28 tʃùbò ʔə́   də́   sàbwέ kʰó   nū   ʔà   làkạ̀

   pencil be.exist at   table on   topic 3S.RSMP   break

   N   COP   PREP N   LCLZR TOP PRO.RSMP V

The pencil on the table is broken.

29 ʃí ʔə́   də́   wē kō

   dog be.exist at   yard in

   N   COP   PREP N   LCLZR

The dog in the yard.

30 míkʰòʔó ʔà   kʰòkʰī tʰɔ́

   cat   3S.Poss teeth ADJ

   N   PRO   N

The cat with sharp teeth

31 pwàkʰó kó   pwàmó

   male   and   female

   N   CONJ   N

the boy and the girl

32 pwàkʰó kó   pwàmó

   male   and   female

   N   CONJ   N

the boy and girl

33 hè   tʃúmúplɔ̰́

   1S.Poss finger

   PRO   N

my finger

34 hè   sɛ́bé

   1S.Poss bicycle

   PRO   N

my bicycle

35 hè   mɔ̰́

   1S.Poss mother

   PRO   N

my mother

36 tʃúmúplɔ̰́ hénù   sʰà

   finger   that   hurt

   N   DEM   V

ₛthat finger hurt

37 sɛ́bé   hénù   ʔàsà

   bicycle   that   new

   N   DEM   ADJ

that new bicycle

38 mɔ̰́   hénù   ʔà   wétɛ̰́sí

   mother   that   3S.RSMP   pretty

   N   DEM   PRO.RSMP   ADJ

that mother is nice

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39 pwàkʰó dɔ́ ʔà hὲ ʔí hὲ ʃì lɔ̰̀ dɔ́ jɔ̄kūkạ̄

   male that 3S.RSMP come give 1S water down at Yangon

   N REL PRO.RSMP V V PRO N V.DIR PREP NPROP

the man who brings me water went down to yangon.

40 pwàmó dɔ́ ʔà tʰúplē hὲ hí

   female that 3S.RSMP clean 1S.Poss house

   N REL PRO.RSMP V PRO N

the woman who cleans my house

41 pwàkʰó dɔ́ ʔà ná dó dɔ́ ʔà hὲ ʔí hὲ ʃì sɔ́

   male that 3S.Poss body big that 3S.RSMP come give 1S water CLF.human

   N REL PRO N ADJ REL PRO.RSMP V V PRO N CLF

sù

three

NUM

the three big men who bring me water

42 pwàkʰó dɔ́ ʔà ná dó dɔ́ ʔà hὲ ʔí hὲ ʃì nū

   male that 3S.Poss body big that 3S.RSMP come give 1S water topic

   N REL PRO N ADJ REL PRO.RSMP V V PRO N TOP

sɔ́ sù tʃó dɔ́ klá kō

CLF.human three go at market in

CLF NUM V PREP N LCLZR

The three men who are big (and) bring me water went to the market.

NP Appositive

1 hὲ kʰɘ̀ pʰàlú ʔà mí tʃō sàrà

  1S.Poss friend Phalu 3S.RSMP be school teacher

  PRO N NPROP PRO.RSMP COP N N

my friend, Phalu, is a teacher

2 mótú ʔà wē ʔà pʰɔ̰́ʔá hásí wí

  Motu 3S.Poss wife 3S.RSMP cook curry delicious

  NPROP PRO N PRO.RSMP V N ADJ

Motu, his wife, cooks good curry

3 pwàkʰó ʔà   nū

  male   3S.RSMP   topic

  N   PRO.RSMP   TOP

.....he is ,the man

PP Location

1 ʔà   kéʃí tʰɔ́ də́   wē   kō

  3S   see   pig   at   yard in

  PRO   V   N   PREP   N   LCLZR

He saw the pig in the yard.

2 pʰìtʃə́ pwàkʰó kʰlɛ́ nù   də́   hìdə̄ kō

  child   male   run   go.in   at   house in

  N   N   V   V.DIR   PREP   N   LCLZR

The boy ran inside of the house.

3 tʰɔ́ ʔə́   də́   wē   ʔàkō

  pig be.exist at   yard   in

  N   COP   PREP   N   LCLZR

The pig is in the garden.

4 lì   tà   bá   ʔə́   də́   sàbwɛ́ kʰó

  book one   CLF.flat be.exist at   table   on

  N   NUM   CLF   COP   PREP   N   LCLZR

The book is on the table.

5 pwē ʔə́   də́   jɔ̄kūką̄   .

  party be.exist at   Yangon

  N   COP   PREP   NPROP

The party is in Yangon.

6 pʰìtʃə́ ʔə́   də́   hìdə̄ kō

  child   be.exist at   house in

  N   COP   PREP   N   LCLZR

A child is in the house.

7 dì   ʔə́   də́   sàbwɛ́ kʰó

   cooked.rice be.exist   at   table   on

   N   COP   PREP   N   LCLZR

Cooked rice is on the table.

8 pʰìtʃá tʰɔ̀   də́   kʰə́lō   kʰó

   child   climb.up   at   mountain   on

   N   V   PREP   N   LCLZR

The child climb up to the mountain.

9 pʰìtʃá tʰɔ̀   də́   sə́   kʰī

   child   climb.up   at   tree   top

   N   V   PREP   N   LCLZR

The child climb up to the top of tree.

10 tʰòpʰàtī ʔə́   də́   sə́   kʰī

   bird   be.exist   at   tree   top

   N   COP   PREP   N   LCLZR

The bird is on the top of tree/ there is a bird on the top of tree.

11 pʰìtʃá ʔə́   də́   hí   là̰

   child   be.exist   at   house   under

   N   COP   PREP   N   LCLZR

The child is under the house.

12 pʰìtʃá ʔə́   də́   hí

   child   be.exist   at   house

   N   COP   PREP   N

The child is at home.

13 sə́   ʔə́   də́   kʰə́lō   là̰

   tree be.exist   at   mountain under

   N   COP   PREP   N   LCLZR

The tree is under the mountain/ there is a tree under the mountain.

14 ʔà   kɛ́ʃí tʰɔ́ ʔə́   də́   wē   kō

   3S   see   pig be.exist at   yard   in

   PRO   V   N   COP   PREP   N   LCLZR

He saw the pig is in the yard.

15 pʰí tʰɔ́ bɔ́lò dɔ́ tә̄ kō

take up ball at box in

V V.DIR N PREP N LCLZR

Take the ball out of the box.

PP Prepositional Modification

1 tʃùbò ʔә́ dɔ́ sàbwɛ́ kʰó ʔà làkā̰

pencil be.exist at table on 3S.RSMP break

N COP PREP N LCLZR PRO.RSMP V

the pencil on the table is broken

2 ʃí ʔә́ dɔ́ wē kō

dog be.exist at yard in

N COP PREP N LCLZR

the dog in the yard

3 míkʰòʔó ʔà kʰòkʰī tʰɔ́

cat 3S.Poss teeth sharp

N PRO N ADJ

the cat with sharp teeth

4 nà tàhébá míkʰòʔó ʔàwēkḛ̀ nū sápʰlópà̰

2S.Poss story cat subject.matter topic interesting

PRO N N N TOP ADJ

your story about the cat is interesting

5 tʰàkә̀bә̀ ʔә́ dɔ́ hākā̰ kō là̰ ʔà hámә̀ʔә́

bear be.exist at cave hole under 3S.RSMP sleep

N COP PREP N N LCLZR PRO.RSMP V

the bear in the cave slept

6 bālētʃàwè dɔ́ nà mә́ lò hápʰɔ́ dɔ́ kʰɔ̀tә̰́ kʰó

dish at 2S.Poss mother from break at floor on

N PREP PRO N LCLZR V PREP N LCLZR

the dish from your mother broken on the floor

PP Instrumental

1 ʔà   mà sì tʰɔ́ kó   tʂ̀pʰō
  3S   do die pig with knife
  PRO V V   N   APPL N

He killed the pig with a knife.

2 ʔà   pɛ̄ ʃí kó   nɔ̄pʉ̀
  3S   beat dog with   stick
  PRO V   N   APPL   N

She swatted the dog with a stick.

3 ʔà   kó   ʔà   pʰó tʃó dɔ́   mì   klà
  3S   and 3S.Poss child go at   forest among
  PRO CONJ PRO   N   V   PREP   N   LCLZR
He and his son went into the forest.

PP Benefactive

1 ʔà   pʰɔ́ʔá hásí ʃē   jì   dɔ́   ʃítɛ̀mɛ̀ ʔàjā
  3S   cook   curry chicken meat at   guest   for
  PRO V   N   N   N   PREP   N   LCLZR

She cooked chicken curry for the guests.

2 ʔà   bútú só   dɔ́   pà   jā
  3S   cut wood at   1P   for
  PRO V   N   PREP PRO LCLZR

He cut the wood for us.

3 hè   ʔí pʰàlú ʔà   mɛ̰́   rù   kàní ʃí   bá
  1S   give Phalu 3S.RSMP   mother money two ten CLF.flat
  PRO V   NPROP PRO.RSMP   N   N   NUM NUM CLF

I gave Phalu's mother twenty kyat.

Causal

1 ʔà   sì kó   mí   ʔḛ̀ʔɛ̀dìʔɛ́ tʂ̰̀sʰā
  3S   die with be   AIDS   disease
  PRO V   APPL COP NPROP   N

He died of AIDS.

2 ʔàsè lə́kʰə̀ hàwīʃɛ̀wɛ̀ màtītɛ̀nù ʔà ʔó sékʰá

   3P   poor   because   3S   drink alcohol

   PRO   ADJ   SUBORD PRO V   N

They were poor because he drank alcohol.

3 ʔà   tʃó tɛ̀pʰɛ̀   màtītɛ̀nù wó   ʔə́

   3S   go   away   because   snake be.exist

   PRO V   V.DIR SUBORD N   COP

She fled because there was a snake.

Causatives

1 ʔà   mà kʰlɛ́ jí   kɛ̀   ʃí

   3S   do   run   away   PERF dog

   PRO V   V   V.DIR ASP   N

He made the dog run away.

2 kálìsá mà kạ̄   kɛ̀   sə́   hó

   wind   do   break PERF tree COMPL

   N   V   V   ASP   N   ASP

The wind broke the tree.

3 ʔà   mə̣́   mà sì   kɛ̀   wó   tà   bò   də́   mípò kō

   3S.Poss mother do   die   PERF snake one   CLF.long and thin at   kitchen in

   PRO   N   V   V   ASP   N   NUM CLF   PREP   N   LCLZR

hó

COMPL

ASP

His mother killed a snake in the kitchen.

4 ʔà   nə̄   tʃə́bɔ́ ʔà   pʰópwàmó sə́sá

   3S   order wash   3S.Poss daughter   fruit

   PRO V   V   PRO   N   N

He ordered his daughter to wash the fruit.

5 mí̧   kō̧   hápʰɔ́ kὲ   kàpὺ hó

  fire   hot   break PERF pot   COMPL

  N   ADJ   V   ASP   N   ASP

Fire did heat and cracked the pot.

6 ʔà   nā̄   hámɘ̀ʔɘ́ ʔà   pʰópwàkʰó dɘ́   ʔàkʰlā̄

  3S   order sleep   3S.Poss son   at   out

  PRO   V   V   PRO   N   PREP LCLZR

He ordered his son to sleep outside.

7 ʔà   nā̄   ʔà   pʰópwàkʰó hámɘ̀ʔɘ́ dɘ́   ʔàkʰlā̄

  3S   order 3S.Poss son   sleep   at   out

  PRO   V   PRO   N   V   PREP LCLZR

He ordered his son to sleep outside.

Description/Attributive

1 ʔà   nū̄   phìtʃá̧

  3S   topic young

  PRO   TOP   ADJ

He is young (person).

2 sàkʰósá hénù   mī   hó

  mango   that   ripe   COMPL

  N   DEM   ADJ ASP

That mango is ripe.

3 ʃì   nū̄   ʔàkòtʃó

  water topic cold

  N   TOP   ADJ

.The water is cold

4 ʃì   nū̄   ʔàkòtʃó tɘ̧́

  water topic cold   not

  N   TOP   ADJ   NEG

The water is not cold.

5 ʃì   mí   ʔàkòtʃó

  water be   cold

  N   COP ADJ

The water is cold.

6 * ʔà   nū   phìtʃá tɛ́

    3S   topic young not

    PRO TOP ADJ   NEG

He is not young.

Existential

1 dónù   kàpwàkō

  there   forest

  DEM.Loc N

There is a forest.

2 dónù   lì   tà   bá

  there   book one   CLF.flat

  DEM.Loc N   NUM CLF

There is a book.

3 báʔù   lì   tà   bá

  here   book one   CLF.flat

  DEM   N   NUM CLF

Here is a book.

Identification/Equative

1 hè   kʰə̀   ʔàpʰú kàtù   mí   pʰàlú

  1S.Poss friend close most   be   Phalu

  PRO   N   ADJ   ADV   COP NPROP

My closest friend is Phalu.

2 hè   ʔá wí   kàtù   mí   mɔ̀kʰésá

  1S   eat delicious most   be   pineapple

  PRO V ADJ   ADV COP N

My favorite food is pineapple.

3 * hè ʔá wí kàtù mí mɔ̀kʰɛ́sá pē̄
    1S eat delicious most be pineapple still
    PRO V ADJ ADV COP N ASP

My favorite food is pineapple.

4 sɔ́sá héʔù nū mí jɔ́sá
  fruit this topic be banana
  N DEM TOP COP N

This (type of) fruit is banana.

5 pʰàbɔ̀ mí hè pʰà
  Phabaw be 1S father
  NPROP COP PRO N

Phabaw is my father.

6 hè mí tʃō sàrà tà pwà̰
  1S be school teacher one CLF.human
  PRO COP N N NUM CLF

I am a teacher.

7 pà bú klà nū ʔà ʔɔ́ dɔ́ sʰɔ́ kʰó
  1P rice.unthreshed field topic 3S.RSMP be.exist at mountain on
  PRO N N TOP PRO.RSMP COP PREP N LCLZR

Our rice field is on the mountain.

8 ʔà nū hè kʰɔ̀
  3S topic 1S.Poss friend
  PRO TOP PRO N

She is my friend.

9 * ʔà nū hè kʰɔ̀ tɔ̰́
    3S topic 1S.Poss friend not
    PRO TOP PRO N NEG

She is not my friend.

10 ʔà nū hè kʰɔ̀ ʔàmē̄ tɔ̰́
   3S topic 1S.Poss friend right not
   PRO TOP PRO N ADJ NEG

She is not my friend.

VP Intransitive

1 hè   kànɛ̀ʔí   ʔàsè

  1S   remember 3P

  PRO V   PRO

I remember them.

2 ʃí   sì   kɛ̀   hó

  dog die PERF COMPL

  N   V   ASP   ASP

The dog just died (recently).

3 ʔàpwàkʰó pʰìtʃá hámɘ̀ʔɘ́

  boy   child   sleep

  N   N   V

The boy is sleeping.

4 ʔà   hámɘ̀ʔɘ́ sápwé

  3S   sleep   snore

  PRO V   V

He is snoring.

5 kàpὲ̀ hápʰɔ́ kɛ̀   hó

  pot   break PERF COMPL

  N   V   ASP   ASP

The pot just broke.

6 ʔà   mà hápʰɔ́ kàpὲ̀

  3S   do   break pot

  PRO V   V   N

The pot is broken.

7 ʃí   nùmɘ̰́

  dog stink

  N   V

The dog stinks.

8 ʔàpwàkʰó pʰó ʔàná kō̰

  boy   child body hot

  N   N   N   ADJ

The boy is hot.

9 ʔàpwàkʰó pʰó ʔàná kō̰ tɨ̰́

  boy   child body hot   not

  N   N   N   ADJ NEG

The boy is not hot.

VP Transitive

1 kɔ̀jɔ̀ tà pwà̰ bútú kè sɨ́

  man one   CLF.human cut   PERF tree

  N   NUM CLF   V   ASP   N

The man cut the tree.

2 pʰìtʃɨ́ ʔá kè tʰə̀ dì hó

  child   eat PERF PERF cooked.rice COMPL

  N   V   ASP   ASP   N   ASP

The children ate the rice.

3 də̀ pòká pə̰̄ ʃí

  village head.man beat dog

  N   N   V   N

The headman hit the dog.

4 ʔàmúpwɨ́ màtʰɔ́ hí dɨ́ lā kō tà mè

  old.man   build   house at   field in   one   CLF.round.big

  N   V   N   PREP N   LCLZR NUM CLF

The old man built a house in the field.

VP Ditransitive

1 ʔàpwàkʰó ʔí pwàmó ʔà lì tà bá

  boy   give female 3S.Poss book one   CLF.flat

  N   V   N   PRO   N   NUM CLF

The boy gave the girl his book.

2 ʔàpwàkʰó ʔí lì tà bá dɘ́ pwàmó ʔʊ́

  boy   give book one CLF.flat at   female to

  N   V   N   NUM   CLF   PREP N   LCLZR

The boy gave a book to the girl.

3 ʔàpwàkʰó wí   pwàmó kó   bɔ́lò

  boy   throw female with   ball

  N   V   N   APPL N

He threw her with the ball.

4 ʔàpwàkʰó wí   tʃó bɔ́lò dɘ́   pwàmó ʔʊ́

  boy   throw go ball at   female   to

  N   V   V   N   PREP N   LCLZR

He threw the ball to her.

5 pwàmó ʔí   pwàkʰó bɔ́lò dɘ́   pà   jā

  female   give male   ball   at   1P   for

  N   V   N   N   PREP PRO LCLZR

The girl gave the boy a ball for us.

VP Auxiliaries

1 ʔà   tʃépwé ʔá dì

  3S   try   eat cooked.rice

  PRO V   V   N

He tried to eat the rice.

2 ʔà   sá   ʔá dì

  3S   want eat cooked.rice

  PRO V   V   N

He wanted to eat the rice.

3 ʔà   sájù ʔà   pʰópwàkʰó ʔá dì

  3S   want 3S.Poss son   eat cooked.rice

  PRO   V   PRO   N   V   N

He wanted his son to eat the rice.

4 ʔà   sájù ʔà   pʰópwàkʰó tʃépwé ʔá dì   / ʔà   sájù nə̄

  3S   want 3S.Poss son   try   eat cooked.rice   3S   want order

  PRO   V   PRO   N   V   V   N   PRO   V   V

tʃépwé ʔá ʔà   pʰópwàkʰó dì

try   eat 3S.Poss son   cooked.rice

V   V   PRO   N   N

He wanted his son to try to eat the rice.

5 nà   tə̀bá   ʔá dì

  2S   must   eat cooked.rice

  PRO   MOD   V   N

You should eat the rice.

6 ʔà   bá   ʔá dì

  3S   must   eat cooked.rice

  PRO   MOD   V   N

She must eat the rice.

7 ʔà   kà   ʔá dì   hēpē̄

  3S   will   eat cooked.rice SF.future

  PRO   ASP   V   N   PRT

She will eat the rice.

8 ʔàpwàkʰó də́   ʔàtʰó ʔà   bé   tʰɔ́   tʃɔ̀   sə́sá də́   sə́mɯ́

  boy   that   tall 3S.RSMP   pick up   able.can fruit at   tree

  N   REL   ADJ   PRO.RSMP   V   V.DIR MOD   N   PREP   N

lò

from

LCLZR

The tall man, he is able to pick the fruit from the tree.

VP Manner

1 ʃí   kʰlɛ́ pʰwɛ̀   pʰwɛ̀

  dog run quickly quickly

  N   V   ADV   ADV

The dog ran quickly.

2 ʔà   pʰɔ́ʔá hásí   tɜ̀tʰótàlɔ̰́

  3S   cook   curry carefully

  PRO   V   N   ADV

She cooked the meat carefully.

3 ʔà   kʰlɛ́ tʃó pʰwɛ̀   pʰwɛ̀

  3S   run go   quickly quickly

  PRO   V   V   ADV   ADV

He runs quickly.

VP Motion

1 ʔàpwàmó tʃó tʰɜ̀   dɔ́   klá   kō   hó

  woman   go PERF at   market in   COMPL

  N   V   ASP PREP N   LCLZR ASP

The woman went to the market.

2 ʃí   kʰlɛ́ hɛ̀   dɔ́   kʰɜ̀mūkʰɜ̀lɜ̀

  dog run come at   forest

  N   V   V   PREP N

The dog ran to the forest.

3 ʔà   bɛ́ tʰɔ́   kɛ̀   lì   dɔ́   sàbwɛ́ kʰó

  3S   put up   PERF book at   table on

  PRO   V   V.DIR ASP N   PREP N   LCLZR

He put the book on the table.

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4 ʃí kʰlɛ́ tèpʰɛ̀ kɛ̀ kó kálèpʰó

  dog run away PERF with tiger

  N V V.DIR ASP APPL N

The dog ran from the tiger.

5 ʔà ʔə́ də́ mókʰó ʔà kɛ̀ lɔ̰̀

  3S be.exist at sky 3S.RSMP return down

  PRO COP PREP N PRO.RSMP V V.DIR

He descended from the heaven.

6 bétʃá jésú kɛ̀ tʰɔ́ kɛ̀ də́ mókʰó

  Lord Jesus return up PERF at sky

  N NPROP V V.DIR ASP PREP N

Lord Jesus ascended to the heaven.

7 ʔà hátʰɔ́ tʃó kɛ̀ də́ hí

  3S out go PERF at house

  PRO V.DIR V ASP PREP N

He went out from the house.

8 ʔà nù də́ hìdə̄ kō

  3S go.in at house in

  PRO V.DIR PREP N LCLZR

He enter to the house.

9 ʔà kɛ̀ wɔ̄kī wē kō

  3S return cross yard in

  PRO V V.DIR N LCLZR

He cross through the yard.

10 ʔàsè tʃɔ̰́ tʰɔ́ tə̄

  3P lift up box

  PRO V V.DIR N

They lift up the box.

11 ʔà   tʃɔ́ lɔ̀tē̄   dì   kàpʉ̀

  3S   lift down   cooked.rice   pot

  PRO   V   V.DIR   N   N

She lifts down the pot of rice.

12 ʔà   tʃɔ́ kè̩   nù   tē̄ dɘ́   hìdē̄ kō

  3S   lift return go.in   box   at   house in

  PRO   V   V   V.DIR   N   PREP   N   LCLZR

He carry the box into the house.

13 ʔɘ́   lɔ̩́ hátʰɔ́ kè̩   ʃì   dɘ́   ʃì   kò̩   kō

  3S   pour out   PERF water at   water bottle in

  PRO   V   V.DIR ASP   N   PREP   N   N   LCLZR

She pour out water from the bottle.

14 ʔà   sápʰlódó dɤ́   wí   lɔ̀tē̄   kè̩   lì

  3S   angry   and.then   throw down   PERF book

  PRO   ADJ   COORD   V   V.DIR   ASP   N

He was angry and threw the book down.

AP Adjectives-simple

1 hí   ʔàlì

  house red

  N   ADJ

red house

2 hí   ʔàlì   hénù

  house red   that

  N   ADJ DEM

that red house

3 hí   ʔàlì   ʔàsà

  house red   new

  N   ADJ ADJ

the new red house

4 pʰìtʃá pwàkʰó kàtʃúkàbá sɔ́   sù

  child   male   cold   CLF.human three

  N   N   ADJ   CLF   NUM

the three cold boys

5 hí   ʔàlì ʔàsà sù   mɛ̀

  house red   new   three CLF.round.big

  N   ADJ   ADJ   NUM   CLF

the three red new houses

6 dìtʃɔ́ ʔàlì ʔàsà ʔàkɔ̝́

  spoon red   new   hot

  N   ADJ   ADJ   ADJ

the red new hot spoon

AP Adjective-complex

1 pʰàlú   hébá dɔ́ kʰlʊ̀   pʰàbɔ̀

  Phalu   speak big more.than Phabaw

  NPROP   V   ADJ ADV   NPROP

Phalu speaks more than Phabaw.

2 ʔà   ʔɔ́ dɔ́ hí   ʔàdó kàtù ʔàkō

  3S   live at   house big   most in

  PRO V   PREP N   ADJ   ADV   LCLZR

he lives in the biggest house

3 sèbà dɔ́   ʔàkɔ̝́ lìdé / dílé

  glass that hot   very   very

  N   REL   ADJ   ADV   ADV

the very hot glass

4 pʰìtʃá   wɘ́tāló

  child   very.many

  N   ADV

very many kids (a lot of kids)

5 ʔà   hí   mɛ̀   dó

  3S.Poss house CLF.round.big big

  PRO   N   CLF   ADJ

his big house

6 ʔà   pʰà   ʔà   hí   mɛ̀   dó

  3S.Poss father 3S.Poss house CLF.round.big big

  PRO   N   PRO   N   CLF   ADJ

his father's big house

7 hí   ʔàdó

  house big

  N   ADJ

big house

8 ʔà   hí   ʔàsà ʔàdó

  3S.Poss house new   big

  PRO   N   ADJ ADJ

his new big house

9 hɛ̀   mí   ʔàdó

  1S   be   big

  PRO COP ADJ

I am big

Adv P Temporal

1 pwɛ̄ ʔɘ́   pèwɘ̀pē

  party be.exist tomorrow

  N   COP   ADV

The festival is tomorrow.

2 tʃ̀dótʃɛ́ kʰɔ́tànì

  exam   today

  N   ADV

The exam was today.

3 bá   hè   kɛ̀   tɔ̩́   dɔ́   hí   ʔàkʰā   ʔà   díʔá pē̩   ʔà

  when   1S   return arrive at   house while   3S   feed   still   3S.Poss

  SUBORD PRO V   V   PREP N   SUBORD PRO V   ASP PRO

pʰó   dì

child cooked.rice

N   N

When I arrived home, she still was feeding her baby.

4 bá   hè   kɛ̀   tɔ̩́   ʔàkʰā   ʔà   tʃó dɔ́ tʰə̀ ʃì   hó

  when   1S   return arrive while   3S   go draw PERF water COMPL

  SUBORD PRO V   V   SUBORD PRO V V   ASP N   ASP

When I arrived, he had already drawn the water.

5 hè   kɛ̀   tɔ̩́   ʔàkʰā   ʔà   klɛ́   ʔá dì

  1S   return arrive while   3S   about.to eat cooked.rice

  PRO V   V   SUBORD PRO ASP   V   N

When I arrive, he is near to eat rice.

6 bá   hè   tʃó tʰɔ́   tʃō   ʔàkʰā   ʔà   pʰɔ́ʔá pē̩   dì

  when   1S   go up   school while   3S   cook   still   cooked.rice

  SUBORD PRO V V.DIR N   SUBORD PRO V   ASP N

When I went to school, she still is cooking rice,

7 ʔà   hámə̀ʔɔ́ nɔ́kʰə̀   tɛ̩́   nū   ʔà   tʃàbà

  3S   sleep   before   not   topic 3S.RSMP   pray

  PRO V   SUBORD NEG TOP PRO.RSMP V

Before he sleeps, he prays.

8 nà   mà tằmà nɔ́kʰə̀   tə́   nū   kɛ̀nɛ̀ wə́   wə́

  2S   do work before   not topic think suitable suitable

  PRO   V   N   SUBORD   NEG TOP V   ADJ   ADJ

Before you work, think carefully.

9 də́   hè   pʰìtʃá ʔàkʰā   hè   ʔə́ də́   kʰɛ̄   kā̱

  when 1S   child while   1S   live at   China   country

  PREP PRO N   SUBORD   PRO V   PREP NPROP N

When I was a child, I lived in China.

10 hè   ʔə́ də́   kʰɛ̄   kā̱   də́   hè   pʰìtʃá ʔàkʰā

  1S   live at   China   country when 1S   child while

  PRO   V   PREP NPROP N   PREP PRO   N   SUBORD

I lived in China when I was a child.

Adv P Time/Manner

1 ʔà   kà   tʃó hēpē̱ tàʃəbí

  3S   will go next   week

  PRO ASP V   ADV   N

He will leave next week.

2 ʔà   hè   tó̱   pɛ̀hánə́

  3S   come arrive yesterday

  PRO   V   V   ADV

She arrived yesterday.

3 ʔà   sápʰlódó nótʃàká   hè

  3S   angry   extremely 1S

  PRO ADJ   ADV   PRO

He extremely angry at me.

4 kʰɔ́tànì hè   kà   tʰɔ̀wākā tʃō   pēlɛ̀

  today   1S   will attend   school maybe

  ADV   PRO ASP V   N   ADV

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Today, maybe I will attend the school.

5 ʔà   hé   tʂ̀wétʂ̀kɛ̀   nū   ʔàmē   wáhɔ́

  3S   say   subject.matter   topic   right   probably

  PRO   V   N   TOP   ADJ   ADV

The subject matter that he said is probably right.

6 hɛ̀   tʂ̀   ʔàmē   nū   hɛ̀   hé   bū   kálɛ̀

  1S   thing right   topic   1S   say certainly   SF.affirmative

  PRO   N   ADJ   TOP   PRO   V   ADV   PRT

I certainly can say this is mine.

7 ʔà   hébá   pʰwɛ̀   dríllè

  3S   speak   quickly   very

  PRO   V   ADV   ADV

He speaks very quickly.

8 ʔà   tʃóklɛ́   ʔàjò   tʃōprōtʃílè

  3S   walk   slow   very

  PRO   V   ADJ   ADV

She walks very slowly.

9 ʔà   hébá   jò   jò

  3S   speak   slowly   slowly

  PRO   V   ADV   ADV

She speaks very slowly

10 pʰàbɔ̀   nū   ʔà   kʰlɛ́   jí   kʰlʊ̀   pʰàlú

  Phabaw   topic   3S.RSMP   run   away   more.than   Phalu

  NPROP   TOP   PRO.RSMP   V   V.DIR   ADV   NPROP

Phabaw runs further than Phalu.

11 ʔà   kʰlɛ́   dó   kàtù   bɔ̀

  3S   run   big   most   SF.affirmative

  PRO   V   ADJ   ADV   PRT

He runs the most.

12 hè   kʰə̀   də́   ʔà   kʰlɛ́ jí   kàtù   mí   pʰàbɔ̀

  1S.Poss friend that 3S   run   away most be   Phabaw

  PRO   N   REL PRO V   V.DIR ADV COP NPROP

My friend who runs the most is Phabaw.

13 ʔà   rù   ʔə́   wɔ́   kʰlʊ̀   hè

  3S.Poss money have plenty more.than 1S

  PRO   N   V   ADJ   ADV   PRO

He has lots of money rather than me.

14 pʰàbɔ̀   pè̤já pʰàlú

  Phabaw   hit   Phalu

  NPROP V   NPROP

Phabaw hits Phalu.

Extra Notes

1 pà   mùnù   ka̲   mí   ka̲   dójɔ́ pe̲

  1P.Poss Monu   country be   country rich still

  PRO   NPROP N   COP N   ADJ ASP

Our Monu land is a rich land.

2 * tà̲pʰíʔáwὲʔá də́   ʔàtʃē̲ʔàtʃó tə̲

  living   that difficult   not

   N   REL ADJ   NEG

The living is not difficult.

3 də̀   sù   də̀

  village three   village

  N   NUM   N

three villages

4 ʃì   lì   bɛ̄

  water four   CLF.cup

  N   NUM CLF

four cups of water

5 sùbɔ̀   sù   mɛ̀
  water.container three   CLF.round.big
  N   NUM   CLF

three water containers

6 bú   sù   pó
  rice.unthreshed three   CLF.measure
  N   NUM   CLF

three baskets of paddy

7 bú   tà   pló
  rice.unthreshed one   heap
  N   NUM   N

a heap of paddy

8 ʔèsá lì   ʔé
  salt   four   CLF.measure
  N   NUM   CLF

four packs of salt

9 ʃí   sù   dò
  dog   three   CLF.four legs animals
  N   NUM   CLF

three dogs

10 ʃí   ʔàdò   sù   só
   dog Clf.four legs animals three   pair
   N   CLF   NUM   N

six dogs

11 tɔ̰́   kàní   bá
   fish   two   CLF.flat
   N   NUM   CLF

two fishes

12 sékʰá kàní pɔ́
   alcohol two   CLF.measure
   N   NUM   CLF

two bottles of alcohol

13 híjɔ̄kʰɔ́ tà   pṳ̀
   trouser   one   CLF.clothes
   N   NUM   CLF

a trouser

14 sɛ́bé tà   kʰó
   bicycle one   CLF.vehicles
   N   NUM   CLF

a bicycle

15 dìtʃɔ́ sù   bá
   spoon   three CLF.flat
   N   NUM   CLF

three spoons

16 sɔ́ tà   bɛ̀
   tree one   CLF.tree
   N   NUM   CLF

a tree

17 sɔ́ tà   bò
   tree one   CLF.long and thin
   N   NUM   CLF

a tree

18 hí   dó   ʔàmɛ̀   lì   só
   house big   CLF.round.big four pair
   N   ADJ   CLF   NUM   N

eight houses

19 ʔə́   mə̄mə̄bábá   né

   stay polite.gentle IMP.polite

   V   ADJ   IMP

Be polite/ be gentle!

20 ʔə́   mə̄mə̄bábá   nɔ̄

   stay polite.gentle IMP.polite

   V   ADJ   IMP

Be polite/ be gentle!

21 pà   tʃó lə́

   1P   go HORT

   PRO   V   IMP

Let us go!

22 pà   tʃó mɔ́

   1P   go HORT

   PRO   V   IMP

Let us go!

23 kànɛ̀ʔí   hɛ̀   nɔ̄

   remember 1S   IMP.polite

   V   PRO IMP

Remember me please!

24 mà mə̣́

   do   not

   V   NEG

Don't do it!

25 pɔ̄kʰɔ̄   ʔà   hé nū   kó   hé mə̣́   né

   as   3S   say topic that   say not IMP.polite

   SUBORD   PRO V   TOP COMPZR   V   NEG   IMP

As he said, don't tell (it)!

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26 pɔ̄kʰɔ̄   ʔà   hé   nū   hé   tàmá̰ né

 as   3S   say topic say not   IMP.polite

 SUBORD PRO V   TOP   V   NEG   IMP

!(it)t tell 'don ,As he said

27 hὲ   ʔá   báʔù

 come eat here

 V   V   DEM

Come and eat!

28 tʃó pwὲ kὲ̰   tḛ̄tā̰

 go   buy   return property

 V   V   V   N

Go and buy things!

29 mà hénù   né

 do   that   IMP.polite

 V   DEM   IMP

Do like that!

30 pʰàbɔ̀   mà pʰwὲ   pʰwὲ

 Phabaw   do   quickly quickly

 NPROP V   ADV   ADV

Phabaw, hurry up!

31 ʔówé   sɔ́kànɔ́

 exclamation brain

 IMP   N

Oh my God!

32 ʔó   tìtὲ

 exclamation what

 IMP   INTRG

Oh! what!

33 ʔá   ʔà   sʰà

   exclamation 3S   hurt

   IMP   PRO V

Oh! it's hurt.

34 ʔà   ʔə́   də́   jɔ̄kūkā̱ ʔà   hè

   3S   live   at   Yangon 3S   come

   PRO V   PREP NPROP PRO V

He came from Yangon.

35 ʃì   mə̱́   kā̱   pʰà

   water mother country father

   N   N   N   N

king/ leader

36 ʔà   mə̱́   ʔà   pʰà

   3S.Poss mother 3S.Poss father

   PRO   N   PRO   N

his parent

37 ʔà   kɛ́ʃí lɔ̱̀   tə̱́ də́   ʃì   kō

   3S   see   down   fish at   water in

   PRO V   V.DIR N   PREP N   LCLZR

He saw (down) fish in the water.

38 hè   kànɛ̀ʔí tʰɔ́   tàkí   tàkí

   1S   remember up   few   few

   PRO V   V.DIR QUANT QUANT

I remember (up) a little bit.

39 hè   tʃúmúplə̱́ sʰà

   1S.Poss finger   hurt

   PRO   N   V

My finger hurts.

40 ʔàsʰà hè   tʃúmúplə̰́

   hurt   1S.Poss finger

   V   PRO   N

My finger hurts.

41 pà   mà sì ʔàsè

   1P   do   die 3P

   PRO   V   V   PRO

We kill them.

42 ʔà   pə̄   tàʔó   ʃí

   3S   beat alone   dog

   PRO   V   PRO.RFLX   N

He himself hits the dog.

43 ʔà   pə̄   tàʔó   sɔ́   ʃí

   3S   beat alone   again dog

   PRO   V   PRO.RFLX   ADV   N

He himself hits the dog again.

44 ʔà   ʔá jò   dì

   3S   eat slowly cooked.rice

   PRO   V   ADV   N

He eats rice slowly.

45 ʔà   ʔá dì   jò

   3S   eat cooked.rice slowly

   PRO   V   N   ADV

He eats rice slowly.

46 nà   kà   tʃó dɘ́   klá   tə̰́mè kḛ̀   dɘ́   hí   ʔɣà

   2S   will   go   at   market   or   return at   house   QP

   PRO   ASP   V   PREP N   CONJ   V   PREP N   Q

Will you go to the market or return to the house?

47 nà hébá mùnù jɔ́ tɕ̟̀mè hébá tɕ̟̀ ʔɣà

  2S speak Monu language or speak not QP

  PRO V NPROP N CONJ V NEG Q

Do you speack Kayah Monu or not?

48 kʰɔ̀sàdὲ ʔí hὲ

  please give 1S

  IMP V PRO

Give me please!

49 ʔà kέʃí ʃí ʔá wó

  3S see dog bite snake

  PRO V N V N

He saw the dog bite the snake.

50 ʔà tʃépwé mà ʔàkʰóʔàkʰjè ʔà rù ʔɔ́ dówè

  3S try do because.of 3S.Poss money have many

  PRO V V SUBORD PRO N V QUANT

Because of trying to work (hard), he has money a lot.

51 ʔà ʔɔ́lòkwē métà ʔà sāpʰlō mɔ̄ tɕ̟̀

  3S play although 3S.Poss mind happy not

  PRO V SUBORD PRO N ADJ NEG

Although he plays, he does not happy.

52 hὲ ʔɔ́ dɔ́ jōkūkạ̄ métà ʔà ʔɔ́ dɔ́ kʰɛ̄ kạ̄

  1S be.exist at Yangon although 3S be.exist at China country

  PRO COP PREP NPROP SUBORD PRO COP PREP NPROP N

I live in Yangon but he lives in China.

53 ʔà kὲ métà ʔà mɔ̌pʰà ʔɔ́ dɔ́ hí tɕ̟̀

  3S return although 3S.Poss parent be.exist at house not

  PRO V SUBORD PRO N COP PREP N NEG

.her parents were not home ,Although she returned

54 hè   màtʰɔ́ hí   ʔàmè   dó   dó   tà   mè

  1S   build house CLF.round.big big   big one   CLF.round.big

  PRO   V   N   CLF   ADJ   ADJ NUM   CLF

I build a very big house.

55 hè   tʃépwé dómàtì

  1S   try   very

  PRO   V   ADV

I try a lot.

56 * ʃí   nùmɔ̰́ dó   ʔá   hè

   dog   stink big   bite 1S

   N   V   ADJ   V   PRO

The old stink dog bit me.

57 ʃí   dó   *(dɘ́   ) nùmɔ̰́ ʔá   hè

  dog big   that   stink bite 1S

  N   ADJ   REL   V   V   PRO

The old stink dog bit me.

RESUME

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