A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF WA

MA SENG MAI

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents the grammatical structures of Wa using traditional linguistic terms. Wa is a language spoken in South East Asia. Its language classification falls under the Mon-Khmer sub-group of the Austro-Asiatic language family. This research is based on the Yaong Soi dialect of Wa which is regarded as the main dialect of the Wa Bible translation. A set of elicitated grammar sentences, three narratives, and personal intuition were used as data sources in this study.

The description covers several topics. It includes a general description for word classes, phrases, verbal operators and clause structures. Noun phrase structure, tense, aspect and modality particles were also investigated.

Typologically, Wa is a head-initial language. This means objects follow the verbs and modifiers (adjectives, relative clauses, and numbers) follow the noun. There is no subject and object marking—they can be predicted by their positions. The negation in Wa is pre-verbal.

Interesting findings include: some adverbs in other languages are verbs in Wa, some of the constituents can be moved out of noun phrases, negation often involves a secondary negation particle, and Wa has two alternative clause word orders – SVO and VSO. The word order alternation is not predicted by semantics or transitivity of the verb. The analysis shows that the word order in Wa seems to vary according to the clause types.

ชื่อเรื่อง:	ไวยากรณ์เชิงบรรยายในภาษาว้า
ผู้วิจัย:	หม่า เซง ไหม
ปริญญา:	ศิลปศาสตรมหาบัณฑิต สาขาวิชาภาษาศาสตร์
อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก:	ดร. ลาร์ริน อดัมส์
วันที่อนุมัติผลงาน:	30 มีนาคม 2555
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จำนวนหน้า:	122
คำสำคัญ:	ภาษาว้า, มอญ-เขมร, ไวยากรณ์, ลำดับคำ, SVO, VSO

บทคัดย่อ

วิทยานิพนธ์ฉบับนี้มีจุดประสงค์เพื่อศึกษาโครงสร้างไวยากรณ์ในภาษาว้าตามรูปแบบภาษาศาสตร์ดั้งเดิมภาษาว้าเป็นภาษาที่พูดในแถบเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้จัดอยู่ในตระกูลภาษาออสโตรเอเชียติก กลุ่มภาษามอญ-เขมร ภาษาว้าที่ใช้ในการวิเคราะห์เป็นภาษาว้าถิ่นเยิง-ซวย (Yaong Soi) ซึ่งเป็นภาษาถิ่นหลักที่ใช้ใน การแปลพระคัมภีร์ไบเบิล แหล่งข้อมูลที่ใช้ได้มาจากการเก็บข้อมูลซึ่งมีทั้งประโยคต่างๆ และเรื่องเล่าจำนวน 3 เรื่อง และส่วนหนึ่งมาจากความรู้ในภาษาของผู้วิจัยเอง

ไวยากรณ์เชิงบรรยายนี้ครอบคลุมปรากฏการณ์ในหลายมิติซึ่งรวมไปถึงประเภทของคำ วลี คำกำกับคำกริยา และโครงสร้างอนุภาค นอกจากนี้ยังครอบคลุมถึง โครงสร้างวลี กาล การณ์ลักษณะ และคำบ่งชี้แสดงทัศนะภาวะอีกด้วย

ในเชิงแบบลักษณ์ภาษา ภาษาว้าจัดอยู่ในภาษาประเภทที่มีคำหลักอยู่ข้างหน้า กล่าวคือนามวลีที่เป็นกรรมจะปรากฏตามหลังคำกริยา และส่วนขยายเช่น คำคุณศัพท์ คุณานุประโยค และคำบอกจำนวนก็จะปรากฏตามหลังคำนาม เนื่องจากประธานและกรรมไม่มีคำบ่งชี้กำกับ ดังนั้น จึงใช้ตำแหน่งคำเป็นตัวบ่งชี้แทน ส่วนคำปฏิเสธจะปรากฏในตำแหน่งหน้าคำกริยา

ผลการวิจัยพบว่าคำที่จัดเป็นคำกริยาวิเศษณ์ในภาษาอื่นจัดเป็นคำกริยาในภาษาว้า หน่วยกระกอบบางหน่วยสามารถเคลื่อนย้ายออกจากนามวลีได้ นอกจากนี้ยังพบว่า มีการใช้อนุภาครองในการปฏิเสธ ซึ่งใช้ในวงความหมายที่จำกัด ในเชิงโครงสร้าง

ทางวากยสัมพันธ์ ภาษาว้าสามารถสลับลำดับคำในประโยคได้สองลักษณะ คือเป็นแบบ SVO และ VSO โดยลำดับนี้ ไม่สามารถคาดได้จากคุณสมบัติทางอรรถศาสตร์หรือ สกรรมสภาพของคำกริยา แต่ผลการวิจัย แสดงให้เห็นว่าลำดับคำในภาษาว้าสามารถเปลี่ยนได้ตามประเภทของอนุพากย์

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

#	Semantically ill-formed
( )	Optional (in examples and schema)
*	Ungrammatical
*( )	Obligatory
/ /	Phonemic transcription (only in Chapter 2)
[ ]	Phonectic transcription (only in Chapter 2)
{ }	Either or (in schema)
ø	Gap
1DL.EXCL	First person dual exclusive
1DL.INCL	First person dual inclusive
1PL.EXCL	First person plural exclusive
1PL.INCL	First person plural inclusive
1SG	First person singular
2DL	Second person dual
2PL	Second person plural
2SG	Second person singular
3DL	Third person dual
3PL	Third person plural
3SG	Third person singular
ACCOM	Accompaniment
ADJ	Adjective
ADV	Adverb
APPL	Applicative marker
ASPT	Aspect
BEN	Beneficiary
C	Consonants (only in Chapter 2)
CLF	Classifier
ClfP	Classifier phrase
COMPL	Completive

CONN	Conjunction
COP	Copula
DECL	Declarative
DEG	Degree
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determiner
DUR	Durative aspect
EXP	Experiential aspect
FN	Foot note
FUT	Future marker
IMPER	Imperative
INCEP	Inceptive aspect
INSTR	Instrument
INTERJ	Interjection
Lit	Literal translation
LOC	Location
MOD	Modal
N	Noun
NEG	Negative
NEG.IMPR	Negative imperative
NMLZR	Nominalizer
NP	Noun phrase
NPROP	Proper noun
NUM	Number
OBJ	Object
OBL	Oblique
PAST.NC	Non-contiguious past
POSS	Possessive marker
POSSP	Possessive pronoun
PP	Prepositional phrase
PREP	Preposition
PRO	Pronoun

PRT	Particle
PRT.NEG	Negative particle
QP	Question particle
QUANT	Quantifier
QW	Question word
RECPL	Reciprocal
RECPT	Recipient
REFLX	Reflexive
REL	Relativizer
REL.CL	Relative clause
S	Sentence
SUB	Subject
SVC	Serial verb construction
TAM	Tesnse aspect modality
V	Verb
V	Vowel (only in Chapter 2)
Vd	Voiced (only in Chapter 2)
Vl	Voiceless (only in Chapter 2)
VP	Verb phrase

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis presents a brief description of the grammatical structures of Wa, one of the Palaungic languages of the Mon-Khmer language family. In spite of being a major language of the Palaungic branch of Mon-Khmer, little has been written about the Wa language. A few studies that have been done about the Wa language are phonological, and there are no grammatical studies of Wa published in English. One study of the grammar of Wa has been published in Chinese (Zhou Zhizhi and Yan Qixiang. 1984. A brief description of the Wa language). To fill this gap, this thesis tries to present an initial description of the grammatical structures of Wa. The dialect of Wa used for this thesis is the Yaong Soi dialect. This sketch includes some description of morphology and word formation, but primarily focuses on phrase and clause level description. It also describes the unusual VSO – SVO variation of word order in Wa clauses.

Chapter one begins with a basic introduction to the Wa language and people. It talks about the informants and the data that are used in this analysis. It includes the benefits, limitations and scope of this study. It also discusses studies that have been done on Wa and very closely related languages.

Chapter two provides an overview of the Wa language including the phonology and basic clause structure. It presents the consonant and vowel inventory, syllable structure and other non-segmental features. It also presents some morphological processes in Wa and the Wa orthography. The basic verbal clause structure of Wa is outlined and the construction of non-verbal clauses is also presented.

Chapter three describes word classes in Wa. Both open and closed classes are discussed in this chapter. It primarily involves a listing of closed or minor class words and diagnostics of open or major class words.

Chapter four discusses the structure of noun phrase in Wa. Different types of noun phrases are discussed. It outlines the structure and order of the noun phrase. It deals

with several aspects of noun phrase in Wa including pronouns, possession, quantification, noun phrase coordination, and nominal compounds.

Chapter five explains about verbal and clausal operators in Wa. It presents an overview of positions in a verb phrase and discusses various particles that fit the different verb phrase positions.

Chapter six discusses voice and valence. It discusses valence increasing and decreasing processes in Wa. It includes constructions for passives, reflexives, reciprocals and causatives.

Chapter seven describes the different sentence types of Wa. It provides several illustrative examples for declarative, interrogative and imperative sentences and describes the patterns for each type. It also discusses some productive extrapositions in Wa.

Chapter eight goes into clause combinations including coordinate clauses and subordinate clauses. Three types of subordinate clauses – complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses are discussed. This section also describes in detail the VS – SV alternation in Wa.

Chapter nine provides a conclusion, summary of analysis and suggests some recommendations for further research. The appendix contains the interlinearized texts used in the analysis.

1.2 Basic introduction to the Wa language and people

Wa is a member of the Mon-Khmer sub-group which in turn, is part of the Austro-Asiatic language family group (Lewis, 2009). The Wa language is spoken by one million people in an area on the border between China's Yunnan Province and Shan State in Myanmar (Watkins, 2002: xxv).

There are several varieties of the Wa language for two main reasons: geography and head-hunting (Lebar, Hickey and Musgrave, 1964: 130). The geography where Wa people live is mountainous and Wa villages are located in remote areas. So, Wa people from one village cannot easily access other Wa from another remote mountain village. Also, the Wa people used to practice head-hunting against neighboring Wa and other villages. Therefore, geography and the isolation created by head-hunting practices have led to the existence of numerous dialects.

The language variety of Wa that is studied in this thesis is called Yoang Soi[1]. It is the main dialect of the Bible translation. However, the Wa Bible translation includes features of other dialects. The Yoang Soi dialect is used for official meetings and in formal settings by other non-Yoang Soi dialect speakers. This dialect originally comes from the village name called Yaong Soi village which is situated in Wa Special Region on the Chinese border. Most of the Yoang Soi speakers are in the Wa region near China border. But there are also a few Yoang Soi speaking villages near Tant Yan town in Shan State in Myanmar. Over forty years ago, Wa people from Yaong Soi village immigrated to some villages around Tant Yan town in Shan State and settled in those areas. Currently, there are only two or three Yoang Soi speaking villages in Shan State. The informants used in this study speak the Yoang Soi dialect of Wa and live in Yaong Soi villages in Shan State.

Figure 1 shows the position of the Wa in a language family tree. Figure 2 shows closely related languages of Wa in more detail. The Yaong Soi dialect of Wa belongs to the Wa Parauk language in the classification currently used by the Ethnologue. The following language family trees are based on Ethnologue 2011.

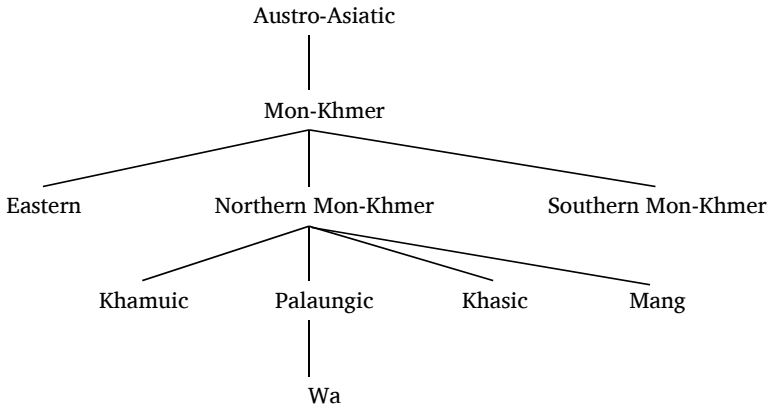


Figure 1: Position of the Wa language in language family tree (Ethnologue 2009)

[1] Yoang Soi is also known as Ai Shuoi'.

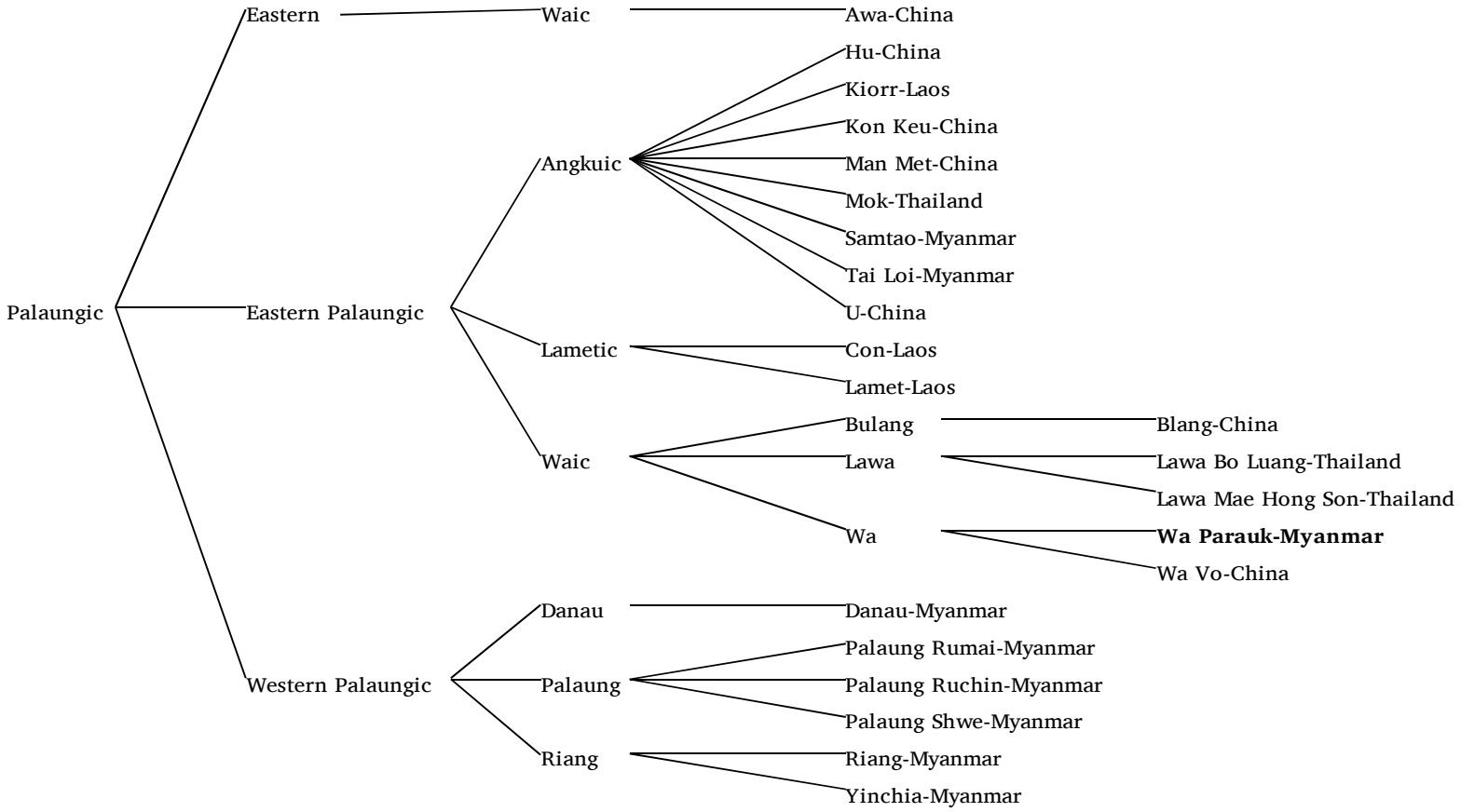


Figure 2: Expanded language tree (Ethnologue 2009)

The Wa people are a minority ethnic people who live in South East Asia. They are known to be the original inhabitants of mainland South East Asia (Watkins, 2002:1). The Wa people call themselves *pəɹo̱k* or *va?*. The Wa people reside mostly in Myanmar and China. There are some Wa villages in Thailand too. However, the majority of Wa are in Myanmar. Geographically, the Wa people live between N 22½ degree and 23½ degree latitudes and between E 98½ degree and E 94½ degree longitudes (Aye Nwe, 1994).

There is a Wa Special Region in the North-East of Shan State in Myanmar. Pan Sang which is also called Pan Kham is the capital city of the Wa Special Region. The following map shows the probable distribution of Wa people in different locations.

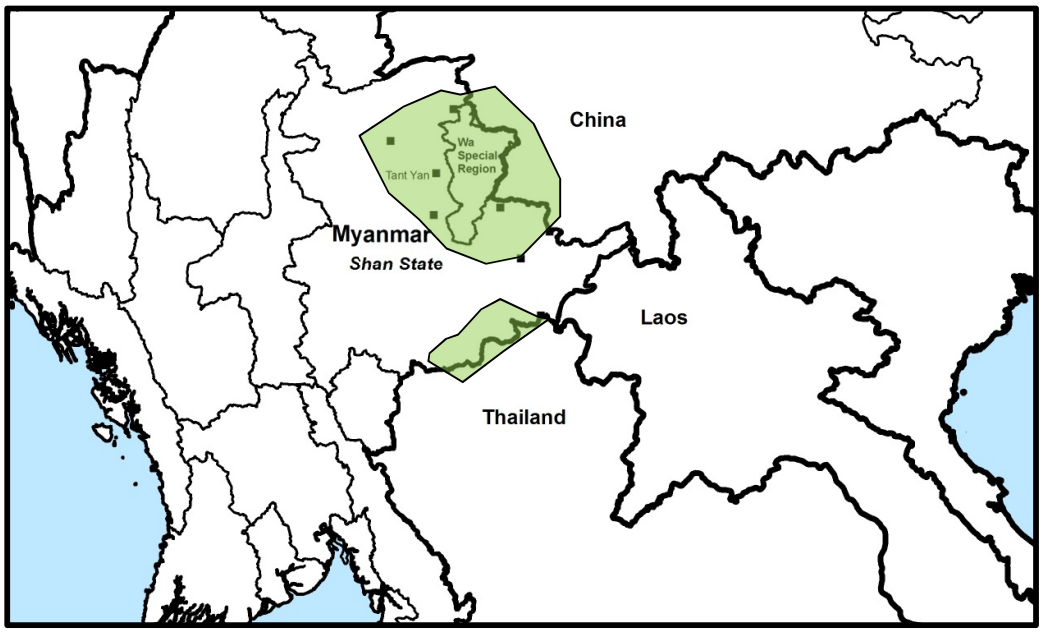


Figure 3: Probable Wa speaking area

The Wa people usually live on mountainous areas and most of the Wa villages are situated on hilltops. Therefore, transportation and communication are very difficult for the Wa people in remote areas.

Language Use: Most of the Wa people are multilingual – they speak many languages such as:

a) Wa

b) National languages: Burmese or Chinese

c) Language of wider communication: Shan

d) Other tribal languages: Lahu, Palaung, etc.

However, women are more likely to be monolingual in their ethnic language.

***Economy*:** For their living, the Wa people in remote areas mainly depend upon subsistence farming. They grow rice, corn and other vegetables. The Wa people adapt to agriculture. Their agriculture is mostly dryland which does not need irrigation. The Wa people in remote villages make clothes for themselves.

The Wa people in the cities earn their living from trading, working for government offices and in private business. Since, the Wa people live in areas close to the frontier between Myanmar and China, trading is very important for them. Moreover, some Wa people grow opium mainly for trade. This activity is viewed negatively by the international community.

***Religion*:** Most of the Wa people are animists. In the past, they worshiped natural phenomena such as mountains, trees and rivers. Nowadays, there are some Buddhists and Christians among the Wa.

Education: The Wa children in Shan State usually go to Burmese government schools. Wa children from remote villages who cannot access school in their areas usually go to cities and live with other families for their education. The Wa in Wa Special Region prefer to learn Chinese over Burmese. It is assumed that there are only a small percentage of Wa people who finish high school and attain degrees from university. According to the Enthnologue, their literacy rate in a second language (which will be Burmese or Chinese) is 8%.

Literacy: Since Wa people are in different locations and under different governments, describing the literacy for all of them in general is not useful. So, here, only the Wa in Shan State are discussed. No provision is made for the Wa in China and Thailand. There are church-based literacy programs within Wa churches in Shan State in Myanmar. Wa Christians in Myanmar learn Wa literacy at church or other Christian organizations. Therefore, most of the Wa Christians in Myanmar can do basic reading and writing in Wa.

Wa Buddhist communities learn Wa literacy at monasteries. Wa monasteries also offer some Wa literacy programs for Wa monks. The Wa teachers are invited from Wa churches. Therefore, the alphabet that they use is the same as the Christians.

Regarding Wa orthography, there are two alternative orthographies in use for writing Wa: PRC orthography and Bible orthography. The first was devised by government-appointed linguists in the People's Republic of China and the latter was designed by the Christian missionaries during the 1910s (Watkins, 2002: 188). The latter is also called the Wa Bible orthography. The Wa in Myanmar are more familiar with the Bible orthography. The Wa Bible orthography is used in Wa church-based literacy programs.

In regard to Wa literature, there are a number of books printed and written in the Wa language. There are different genres of books written in Wa such as story books, religious books and proverbs. Wa calendars with Wa orthography are also released every year. There is an entire Bible translation in Wa and a Wa dictionary consisting of around 12,000 entries is going to be produced soon (Watkins, p.c). There are also various literacy materials in Wa done by a Wa literacy team with Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL).

1.3 Introduction to data collection and the informants

The primary methods of data collection were recording narratives, elicitating grammar sentences and using personal intuition. A Preliminary Grammar Questionnaire by David Thomas 1980 Mahidol University was used for elicitating grammar sentences.

Data collection was conducted in Yaong Soi dialect speaking villages – Namp Phat Leen village, Man Hawng village and Man Hawng Yaong Being village – near Tant Yan town in Shan State in Myanmar in March 2011. As stated above, these villages are representative of speech in the heartland. Different genre of texts – first person narratives, traditional stories, and description of how to do X – were collected.

Twelve stories and three sets of grammatical sentences were collected. However, only three stories – 'The tiger and the rabbit', 'Four civet cats' and 'How to clean a field' and one set of elicitated grammar sentences were used in this analysis.

The researcher is also Wa – her father is Wa and her mother is Kachin. Her father spoke the Yaong Raok variety of Wa which is very similar to Yaong Saoi variety. She speaks Burmese as her first language, Wa as a second language and English as a third language. She is not a perfect speaker of Wa yet. Her comprenension skill in Wa is better than her production skill. Her father passed away when she was eight years old. After that, she grew up in a Wa community in Lashio town in Shan State

with her aunts and uncles who speak Wa to her. By living in a Wa community among Wa speaking relatives, she is used to hearing Wa every day. At that time, when people talked to her in Wa, she understood it but she usually gave responses in Burmese. She learned to read and write Wa at Wa Church in Lashio when she was young. Recently, she has been using Wa as much as she can and her Wa is greatly improved. Her ability to understand Wa also helped in analyzing the texts.

Rev. Sai Ao accompanied the researcher in her data collection trip. He is sixty years old and he is a minister from Wa Baptist Convention. He speaks the Toi Lawng dialect of Wa, Burmese and some Shan. He also speaks the Yaong Soi dialect of Wa perfectly. He was asked to interpret when the researcher sometimes could not give instructions in Wa. He also helped the researcher when the data was glossed.

Rev. Ai Ywan Nyiem helped the researcher in marking register contrast. He was originally from Myanmar and moved to Chiang Mai, Thailand over twenty years ago. He is a pastor at a Wa Church in Chiang Mai. He speaks many dialects of Wa including the Yaong Soi variety, Burmese, Thai, some Lahu and some Shan. He was consulted in interpreting some particles and sentences. The breathy register in the data were marked with the help of Rev. Ai Ywan Nyiem. The researcher also made some sentences up as needed. Those made up sentences (hereafter referred to as 'M') were checked with Rev. Ai Ywan Nyiem and Sayama Beauty. Sayama Beauty speaks the Toi Lawng dialect and also the Yoang Soi dialect of Wa. Sayama Beauty also speaks Burmese and some Lahu. She is a minister and spent many years in Wa Special Region.

The language resource person for grammatical sentences (hereafter referred to as 'G') was U Ngox Nap from Namp Phat Leen village. He is 66 years old and he speaks the Young Soi variety of Wa (his mother tongue), Burmese, Chinese, Shan and Lahu. He was born in Yaong Soi village (the original Yoang Soi village) and moved to Namp Phat Leen village in Shan State over 40 years ago. He is an animist. He has his own home business. He also told a traditional story titled 'The tiger and the rabbit' which is used in this analysis. In data reference, it is referred to as 'T'.

A personal experience story was collected from a 42-year old man, U Ngox Kyai from Man Hawng village. He is originally from Meung Maw which is now in Wa Special Region. He is a Christian and his occupation is farmer. He speaks Wa as his first language and Shan as his second language. He also understands some Burmese. He was recorded when he talked about the civet cats that he met when he went

hunting. In this thesis, his story is entitled 'Four Civet Cats'. In the data reference, it is referred to as 'C'.

The last language resource person, U Ai Awn was asked to describe a procedure. He is also from Man Hawng village and he is 50 years old. He is a farmer and a secretary at Man Hawng Wa Church. He speaks Wa which is his mother tongue, Shan, and some Burmese. His description of the procedure of 'How to clean a field' (hereafter referred to as 'F') was recorded and used in this analysis.

The stories were recorded using a Mini-Disc recorder in the field. The recorded stories and an elicitated grammar set were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols.

Interlinearizing and analyzing the selected stories was done in Chiang Mai, Thailand. All the data were put in a computer database program called Fieldworks in order to be examined. English glosses, grammatical categories and free translations in English were also entered in Fieldworks. Then the data were organized and analyzed using traditional descriptive grammar (Kreoger, Dixon and Shopen). The interlinearized texts are provided in the Appendix.

Permission: When the data collection was conducted in the field, the researcher explained the reasons of data collection and research activities to the informants. All the informants agreed to use their stories in analyzing and writing a Wa grammar. Therefore, the collected data are used in this thesis with the informants' consent.

1.4 Contribution of the thesis

This thesis will contribute to the documentation and preservation of one of the minority languages of the world. It will provide some help to an ongoing Wa Bible revision. It might also help with other language development projects in Waic languages. The analysis will benefit future linguistic research on Waic or Palaungic languages and other related languages. Also, since this thesis is written in English, it provides access to outside linguists interested in the further study of the Waic and Palaungic languages of the Mon-Khmer language group.

1.5 Limitations and scope

A single data collection was conducted for this research. Only three recorded texts, one set of elicited grammatical sentences and the researcher's own intuition were used in the study. Other Wa speakers were consulted as needed. Because of limited

time, this thesis only presents a grammar sketch of the language. It is not a complete description of Wa grammar. For example, it does not include a description of information structure, or text discourse analysis. The grammatical analysis presented in this thesis is based on traditional descriptive grammar. The description covers noun phrase structures, verbal particles, and other distinctive Wa features.

1.6 Other research on Wa and closely related langauges

The following materials have been written about the Wa language.

The Phonetics of Wa. Experimental Phonetics, Phonology, Orthography and Sociolinguistics by Justin Watkins (2002): This book primarily presents the phonology and acoustic phonetics of Wa. It also deals with Wa orthography and the sociolinguistic situation of Wa. The data source in his work comes from recordings of Wa speakers from various Wa speaking locations. It seems that the data in his analysis come from different varieties of Wa since the informants used in his research come from different places. Many different language materials such as wordlist, cards, and stories from the Bible were used for recording. The acoustic and articulatory characteristics of Wa sounds are presented using many illustrations. No grammatical analysis is included in his work.

The Wa Languages by Diffloth (1980): This book looks at the phonology of Wa and tries to reconstruct relationships in Waic languages of Palaungic branch. The data for phonological reconstruction is based on six Waic sources, namely Lawa, Samtau, South Wa, Bible Wa, Kawa and Drages' Wa. Diffloth provides no grammatical analysis.

A Few Notes On Wa by Drage (1907): This is primarily lexical information on Wa. It was published in 1907 and has very little grammatical information. The data source and the dialect are not mentioned. Diffloth assumes that the dialect used in his work is spoken in the North-Western part of the Wa territory. It provides a number of vocabulary items for open and close word classes. Moreover, he lists a number of useful words and sentences. He provides Wa words and sentences but no analysis and generalizations are made about Wa grammar in his work.

An (initially) surprising Wa language and Mon-Khmer word order by Eric Schiller (1985): Schiller analyzes Wa word order by using Drage's data. It is a verb initial language in main clauses (with very few exceptions) and VSO is primarily seen in matrix clauses and SVO in subordinate clauses. It discusses Wa syntactic

constructions. It also discusses motivations for word order change and arguments for the SVO – VSO change. Schiller proposes that the word order change is from VSO to SVO since Head/Modifier order encourages VSO-SVO change. He also suggests that the Wa languages provide strong evidence that Mon-Khmer was VSO. But, more data is needed for him to claim that VSO was the primary word order of Mon-Khmer languages.

A Brief Description of the Wa language by Zhou Zhizhi and Yan Qixiang (1984): This is a linguistic research about Wa and it is written in Chinese. It was published in Bejing in 1984. It is based on the YanShuaihua language of the Yenshua commune of Changyuan Wa Autonomy Region. Perhaps YanShuaihua Wa is similar to Yaong Soi varity used in this thesis. The data source is not mentioned. It has phonology and grammar parts. In the grammar part, it presents word classes, phrases, and two types of sentences: simple and compound. It provides a comparison wordlist of three Wa dialects too. It also has a section on the word order of the language. According to this book, both SV and VS pattern are found in statement, imperative and exclamatory sentences. However, VS order is used to get a better effect and it is commonly used. VS order is also used for questions and answers. These findings are similar to the analysis done in this thesis.

The socio-economic life of the Wah national by Daw Tin Yee (2004): This is an anthropological research of Wa conducted by the anthropology department from Yangon University in Myanmar. The researcher is not from Wa ethnic group. This research was carried out in several towns and villages where Wa people live including inside the Wa Special Region. It tries to present the general information about Wa including geographical and historical backgrounds. It also gives information on Wa economy, religious beliefs and other general social situations. It does not provide any linguistics related information.

Wa Mission In Shan State by Aye Nwe (1994): This is a research thesis for theological study. The author is a native speaker of Wa. This research is done by conducting several interviews in Wa areas. It presents the historical background of the Wa people. The socio-cultural, economic, education and religious situations of the Wa people are described. It emphasizes how the Christian mission is rooted in Wa and describes the acceptance of the Gospel among the Wa people. This is not linguistic research.

The following linguistic studies have been done on other related Palaungic languages.

Some general characteristics of Lawa Grammar by Jiranan Komonkitiskun (1985): This is a description of syntactic characteristics of Lawa using tagmemic model. It is written in 1985 and it is based on La-up dialect spoken in Ban Phae village, Mae Hong Son province in Thailand. It describes Lawa word classes, phrases, clauses and sentences. Lawa is a SVO language with preceding or following clause periphery.

Grammatical Studies Of Man Noi Plang by Emily Lewis (2008): This is a grammatical research for Plang and it focuses on Man Noi Plang variety which is spoken in China. The researcher is not a native speaker of the language. The three texts and other elicitated sentences were used as data source. It presents a general description of Plang grammar at the lexical, phrasal and clause level. It discusses the functions of the discourse particles in Plang too.

Grammar Of Pang-pung Plang by Jenvit Suknaphasawat (2007): This paper is a short description of Plang grammar. It is based on Pang Pung Plang. It is a head-initial language like Wa. The data source is not mentioned in his work. It primarily discusses the patterns of various clause types in Plang using several illustrative examples. It also presents some word classes. In Plang, a full subject noun phrase never occurs by itself, it co-occurs with a pronoun. The word order in Pang Pung Plang is SVO and it changes into VSO for some situations which are similar to Wa.

A Preliminary Report On Independent Clause Structure In Plang by Debbie Paulsen and Karen Block (1997) This research paper presents the structures of independent clauses in Plang. The study is based on Kontoi Plang which is spoken in two locations: Sip Song Panna of Yunnan, China and Huay Nam Khun in northern Thailand. The researchers are not native speakers of the language. It focuses on two types of clauses: event-denoting and state-denoting. It claims that the basic clause structure of Plang is SVO. The VS structure is also found in the illustrations, but in this paper it is termed as fronting the complement to express emphasis or prominence.

Plang: Some Possessive Noun Phrases by Karen Block (1996): This paper presents one type of noun phrase in Plang – possessive noun phrase. The Plang people reside in different locations such as Thailand, China and Myanmar. It focuses Plang in Thailand. The dialect of Plang used in this paper is from Baan Huay Nam Khun, Chiang Rai province in Thailand. It provides the basic structure of noun phrase in

Plang and it provides details on the possessive noun phrase in Plang. It discusses the possessee and possessor slots in detail. The Plang language that is studied in this paper falls under Waic language group and it is a very closely related language to Wa in this thesis. Therefore, the structure of the possessive noun phrase in Plang is similar to that of Wa.

The following grammar reference works were used because they have limited theoretical commitment, standard usage of traditional terms and wide range of description tools that do not depend on particular theoretical analysis.

Analyzing Grammar: An Introduction by Paul R. Kroeger

Basic Linguistic Theory by R. M. W. Dixon

Language Typology and Syntactic Decription by Timothy Shopen (ed.)

Chapter 2
Overview of Wa Phonology, Morphology and Basic Grammar

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the Wa language. First, it discusses the phonology and morphology in section (2.2), and then the basic clause structure of Wa in section (2.3). Finally, it presents word order typology in section (2.4).

2.2 Phonology and morphology

This section provides information on the phonology of Wa and a cursory look at its morphology. It presents the consonant and vowel inventory of Wa, non-segmental phonation, special acoustic and articulatory features and syllable structure of Wa. The phonology presented in this chapter was taken from *'The Phonetics of Wa'* by Justin Watkins. However, the section on syllable structure is the researcher's analysis.

2.2.1 Phonemes

The following charts represent the Wa consonants and vowels which come from Watkins' analysis. There are 35 consonants in Wa consonant inventory[2] as in Table 1. Prenasalization occurs in every voiced stop consonant.

[2] The voiceless labiodental fricative [f] does not appear in Watkins' analysis. However, it is used in the data transcription. Presumably what Watkins refers to /v^{h}/ is [f]. The transcriptions of example sentences in this thesis are sometimes narrower than phonemic – i.e they sometimes include phonetic elements that are not phonemic. On the other hand, the prenasalization of voiced stop consonants are not transcribed in the data – for example, the prenasalization of voiced bilabial stop /^{m}b/ was transcribed as /b/. The palatal stops /c/, /c^{h}/ and /^{n}j/ are transcribed as /tʃ/, /tʃ^{h}/ and /dʒ/ respectively in the data. The palatal approximant /y/ was trancribed as /j/.

Table 1: Wa consonant inventory (adapted from Watkins)

		Bilabial		Labio-dental		Dentalveolar		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
Stop	vl	*p*	*p*^{h}			*t*	*t*^{h}			*c*	*c*^{h}	*k*	*k*^{h}	ʔ
	vd	^{m}*b*	^{m}*b*^{h}			^{n}*d*	^{n}*d*^{h}			^{ɲ}*j*	^{ɲ}*j*^{h}	^{ŋ}*g*	^{ŋ}*g*^{h}	
Nasal		*m*	*m*^{h}			*n*	*n*^{h}			*ɲ*	*ɲ*^{h}	*ŋ*	*ŋ*^{h}	
Fricative	vl							*s*						h
	vd			*v*	*v*^{h}									
Approximant (Median)								*r*	*r*^{h}	*y*	*y*^{h}			
Approximant (Lateral)								*l*	*l*^{h}					

Vowels, diphthongs and triphthongs are as illustrated in Table 2. According to Watkin's analysis, there are 9 vowels, 15 diphthongs and 2 triphthongs in Wa.[3]

Table 2: Wa vowel inventory (adapted from Watkins)

	Front	**Back**		**Diphthongs**			**Triphthongs**
	Unrounded	**Rounded**		iu	ɯi	ui	iau
Close	i	ɯ	u	ia	ɤi	ua	uai
Mid-close	e	ɤ	o	ei		ou	
Mid-open	ɛ		ɔ			oi ɔi	
Open		a		ai	aɯ	au	

Wa Orthography: As mentioned above in section (1.2), the Wa in Myanmar are using the Wa Bible orthography. This orthography was revised in the 1990s. The writing system is Roman-based and it uses space in between each word to distinguish words and punctuation markers are used for phrases and sentences. This orthography does not denote the register contrasts and the symbols in this orthography do not consistently represent the sounds of the language. Even though it is not an ideal writing system, it is widely used today, especially among Wa Christians in Myanmar. There are many written materials done using this

[3] Some of the transcriptions in this thesis have the mid central unrounded vowel [ə] which is not presented in Watkins vowel chart. It seems that [ə] is an allophone of the phoneme /a/ since it occurs only in pre-syllables.

orthography. The following table shows the symbols from the revised Wa Bible orthography that correspond to the Wa phonemes.

Table 3: Wa orthography and phoneme

Wa Orthography	IPA	Wa Orthography	IPA	Wa Orthography	IPA
p	*p*	nh	*n^{h}*	o	*o*
ph	*p^{h}*	ny	*ɲ*	ie	*ɛ*
t	*t*	nyh	*ɲ^{h}*	aw	*ɔ*
th	*t^{h}*	ng	*ŋ*	a	*a*
c	*c*	ngh	*ŋ^{h}*	iu	*iu*
ch	*c^{h}*	s	*s*	eei,ui	*ɯi*
k	*k*	h	*h*	ui, wi	*ui*
kh	*k^{h}*	v	*v*	ia	*ia*
x	*ʔ*	vh, f	*v^{h}*	eue	*ɤi*
b	*^{m}b*	r	*r*	ua, wa	*ua*
bh	*^{m}b^{h}*	rh	*r^{h}*	e	*ei*
d	*^{n}d*	y	*y*	o	*ou*
dh	*^{n}d^{h}*	y	*y^{h}*	oi,oe,we, wɛ	*oi ɔi*
j	*^{ɲ}j*	l	*l*	ai	*ai*
jh	*^{ɲ}j^{h}*	lh	*l^{h}*	au	*aɯ*
g	*^{ŋ}g*	i	*i*	au,ao	*au*
gh	*^{ŋ}g^{h}*	ee	*ɯ*	iao	*iau*
m	*m*	u	*u*	oe	*uai*
mh	*m^{h}*	e	*e*		
n	*n*	eu	*ɤ*		

Table 4 provides examples for the spelling of Wa using Wa Bible orthography comparing to IPA symbols.

Table 4: Comparison of Wa spelling and IPA

IPA	Wa Bible Orthography	Gloss
soʔ	sox	'dog'
mɤŋ	meung	'country'
ⁿdai	dai	'skirt'

2.2.2 Registers

Wa is a register language. It has a register contrast consisting of clear register and breathy register (Watkins, 2002).

Clear	Breathy
tiam 'write'	*tia̤m* 'low'

According to Watkins, in the revised orthography, the register contrast is marked in some contexts but not in others. The following table is taken from Watkins' generalization on marking registers in Wa orthography on page 201.

Table 5: Marking registers in revised Wa orthography (Watkins 2002:201)

Watkins' comments	Clear and breathy minimal pairs	Wa Revised orthography
Clear register marked with colon ':'	*ka̤n* 'head' / *ka̤n* 'work'	'kaing:' / 'kaing'
Symbol switching: breathy register marked with voiced consonant symbol	*nap* 'two (on calendar)' / *na̤p* 'respect'	'nap' / 'nab'
Register contrast not marked.	*tɛʔ* 'earth' /*tɛ̤ʔ* 'wager'	both 'tiex'

2.2.3 Syllables

The syllable structure of Wa has two parts: presyllable and main syllable. The presyllables are bound to a main syllable. The presyllable structure consists of two components: the initial consonant $C_{obstruents}$ and the mid central unrounded vowels [ə]. Therefore the presyllable template is $C_{obstruents}$ə.

The template for main syllable structure is $C_1(C_2)V_1(V_2)(V_3)(C_3)$. 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 $C_1(C_2)$, the first consonant C_1 of the cluster is restricted to /p/, /b/, /k/, /k^h/and /g/ and the second consonant C_2 is limited to the liquid and approximants /ɹ/, /l/, /w[4]/. There are no limitations on which vowels occur in the V_1 position. Nasals and stops are allowed in the final consonant position C_3.

2.2.4 Morphology

This section presents some morphological features in Wa. Affix-based word formation is not a significant feature of Wa. This section describes

a) word formation by reduplication
b) compounding
c) elaborate expressions
d) a few productive affixes.

2.2.4.1 Reduplication

Reduplication regularly occurs in Wa. The following examples show full reduplication in Wa. In (1) the word *gwɛ̰* 'slowly' is reduplicated for intensity. In (2), an adjective *m^hɔm* 'good' is repeated to form an adverb *m^hɔm m^hɔm* 'well'.

(1)	*gwɛ̰*	'slowly'	*gwɛ̰ gwɛ̰*	'very slowly'
(2)	*m^hɔm*	'good'	*m^hɔm m^hɔm*	'well'

2.2.4.2 Compounds

Compounding is very common in Wa. Compounds are divided into three main categories: subordinate, attributive and coordinate (Bisetto and Scalise, 2005). Compounds can be categorized as 'subordinate' if there is a complement relationship between the two words or if there is an 'of relation' between them like '*apron string*' meaning 'a string of an apron'. In 'attributive' compounds, a word is used to express the attribute of the other word. In 'coordinate' compounds, two words are tied by an implicit conjunction.

[4] [w] is not included in Watkins' analysis. Presumably he counts [w] as a vowel /u/.

The following words listed in (3) are the Noun-Noun compounds in Wa. The structure of the compound in the following words is $[N+N]_N$.

(3)	**Compounds**	**Literal translation**	**Gloss**	**Type**
	ɹɔm hia	[water bee]	'honey'	Subordinate
	nɐ̯ʔ lik	[meat pig]	'pork'	Subordinate
	pliʔ kʰaoʔ	[fruit tree]	'fruit'	Subordinate
	mɐ̯ʔ kɯiŋ	[mother father]	'parent'	Coordinate
	ɲɛʔ ma	[house dry.field]	'marriage', 'family'	Coordinate
	kɔn səmɐ̯ʔ	[child male]	'boy'	Attributive

Examples of Noun-Verb compounding are listed in (4). The pattern is $[N+V]_N$.

(4)	**Compound**	**Literal translation**	**Gloss**	**Type**
	dʒak po	machine fly	'airplane'	Subordinate
	mau tʃai	money spend	'money'	Subordinate
	ɹɔm ɲɤʔ	water drink	'drinking water'	Subordinate

Another type of compound is Verb-Noun compound. The structure is $[V+N]_V$ as shown in (5).

(5)	**Compounds**	**Literal Translation**	**Gloss**	**Type**
	lih ɹʰɔm	[appear mind]	'remember'	Subordinate
	sau ɹiaŋ	[put strength]	'force'	Subordinate

The following verbs are combined to form a single verb. The example below shows the Verb-Verb compound. The pattern for this type is $[V+V]_V$.

(6)	***Compounds***	**Literal Translation**	**Gloss**	**Types**
	plɔt plɔi	[end set.free]	'forgive'	Coordinate
	jɐ̯k jɔ	[lift praise]	'worship'	Coordinate
	kəʔ tʃoŋ	[firm tough]	'steadfast'	Coordinate
	gɯm naok	[complete full]	'perfect'	Coordinate

2.2.4.3 Elaborate expressions

In Wa, rhyming four syllable expressions are very common. The following Wa elaborate expression has a pattern of ABAC. Repetition occurs in this kind of expression. The first word is repeated.

(7) **ABAC Elaborate Expressions in Wa**

(a) *gə̱ʔ* *ɹʰɔm* *gə̱ʔ* *ɹʰi* ‘happy’
happy mind happy nonce

(b) *soŋ* *ɹʰɔm* *soŋ* *ɹʰi* ‘angry’
bitter mind bitter nonce

(c) *to* *tiak* *to* *tu* ‘animal’
creature forest creature forest

(d) *puʔ* *ʔaik* *puʔ* *o* ‘brothers and
sibling.younger brother.older sibling.younger sister.older sister’

Examples of AABB expressions in Wa are listed below.

(8) **AABB Elaborate expression**
hu *hu* *ʔiŋ* *ʔiŋ* ‘go back and forth’
go go return return

Wa also has ABCD pattern of four syllable expression. This type does not have repetition as in the above examples. However, rhyming still occurs.

(9) **ABCD Elaborate expression**
lai *liŋ* *ʔiŋ* *tiaŋ* ‘travel around’
travel return here and there

2.2.4.4 Productive affixes

Wa has some productive affixes. The first one is *tʃao* which change verbs into nouns. Another affix is *kɹaʔ* which also changes verbs and clauses into nouns. They are, therefore, marked as nominalizers. Nominalizers and nominalization are discussed in section (3.2).

Wa also has a diminutive affix *kɔn*. It is related to the word *kɔn* ‘child’, but it also marks ‘diminutive’. By attaching *kɔn* to the nouns, it makes a smaller form of the noun. Examples (10) and (11) show the diminutives affix *kɔn* attaching to nouns.

(10) *ʔia* → *kɔn ʔia*
chicken little chicken
(11) *kʰaoʔ* → kɔn kʰaoʔ
stick a small stick

2.3 Basic clause structure

This section presents an overview of clause structure of the Wa language. First, it outlines the structure of basic verbal clauses with full lexical verbs. Second, it discusses non-verbal clause structure and copula clauses. Third, this section presents the basic order of clause constituents in the language including some word order typology statements.

2.3.1 Basic order of constituents in clauses with full verbs

Clause word order in Wa is flexible, but not phrase level word order. Wa has two alternative clause word orders: SVO (subject-verb-object) and VSO. The subject either precedes or follows the verb. However, the object always comes after the subject and the verb.

The meaning of (12) and (13) is the same, but (12) is SVO and (13) is VSO.

(12) G15.2

ai kʰun	*pʰɛʔ*	*pliʔ*	*makmuŋ*	*tum*
Ai Khun	eat.fruit	fruit	mango	ripe
NPROP	V	N	N	VADJ

Free: Ai Khun eats a ripe mango.

(13) G15.2.1

pʰɛʔ	*ai kʰun*	*pliʔ*	*makmuŋ*	*tum*
eat.fruit	Ai Khun	fruit	mango	ripe
V	NPROP	N	N	VADJ

Free: Ai Khun eats a ripe mango.

This pattern is typical of Wa. Therefore, one hypothesis is that the alternation of word order in Wa depends on the transitivity of the verb. However, it can be shown that the transitivity of the verb does not determine the SV-VS alternation choice. For

example, the word orders in following sentences with the same intransitive verb *hu* ‘go’ are both VS (14) and SV (15).

(14) G18.2

hoik	***hu***	*ai kʰun*	*ka*	*dəʔ*	*kəŋ*	*nuʔ*
COMPL	**go**	Ai Khun	APPL	in	paddy field	past.near
ASPT	**V**	NPROP	PREP	PREP	N	ADV

Free: Ai Khun went his field already.

(15) G12.3

kʰeu	*tʃaiɯʰɔm*	*ai ka*	*nɔh*	***hu***	*dəʔ*	*diꞑk*
because	hungry	Ai Kar	3SG	**go**	in	forest
CONN	V	NPROP	PRO	**V**	PREP	N

saŋ	*puiŋ*	*dʒak*	*tiʔ*	*mu*
will.potential	shoot	deer	one	CLF.nonhuman
TAM	V	N	NUM	CLF

Free: Because Ai Kar (was) hungry; he went to the forest to shoot a/one deer.

Also, the word order is either SVO or VSO in transitive clauses as it can be seen in the following examples using the verb *giah* ‘slice’. In sentence (16), the subject precedes the verb *giah* ‘slice’ and in sentence (17) the subject follows the same verb. Therefore, as stated above the word order in Wa cannot be predicted by the transitivity of the verb.

(16) G15.4

kɔn ɲɔm	*ʔan kiʔ*	***giah***	*makmuŋ*	*kə*	*vaꞑk*
child	those	**slice**	mango	APPL	knife
N	DEM	**V**	N	PREP	N

Free: The child sliced/cut the mango with a knife.

(17) G15.5

jạ̣m	***giah***	*taʔ*	*nap*	*makmuŋ*
when	**slice**	uncle	Nap	mango
CONN	**V**	N	NPROP	N

lwe	*tiʔ*	*giah*	*taiʔ*	*tiʔ*
do.accidently	V.chain	slice	hand	POSSP
V	PRT	V	N	POSSP

Free: When uncle Nap sliced the mango, he cut his fingers accidently.

Another hypothesis is that a change in semantics governs the word order variation. For example, in some Karenic languages, if the word order changes from SV to VS, the meaning also changes. If (18) and (19) were in some Karenic languages, one will mean that 'he chose to be angry' and the other will mean 'somebody made him angry'. However, in Wa, changing the word order does not change the meaning. The meaning of both sentences (18) and (19) is the same.

(18) M48

nɔh	*soŋ ɻ^{h}ɔm*
3SG	angry
PRO	V

Free: He is angry.

(19) M49

soŋ ɻ^{h}ɔm	*nɔh*
angry	3SG
V	PRO

Free: He is angry.

Therefore, these examples show that a change in semantics does not govern the word order alternation.

One observation is that the word order in Wa varies depending upon clause types. Table 6 is included as a summary here, but discussed in more detail in Chapter 8.

Table 6: Occurrences of SV-VS constructions

SV construction occurs in	VS construction occurs in
main clauses – optionally	main clauses - optionally
dependent clauses (with subordinate conjunctions 'if' and 'although') – obligatory	dependent clauses (with subordinate conjunctions 'after' and 'when') - obligatory
serial verb constructions – optionally	serial verb constructions – optionally
complement clauses – obligatory	complement clauses –obligatory
	relative clauses-obligatory

2.3.1.1 Core argument

There are two core arguments in Wa—subject and object. Beneficiary, recipient, accompaniment, instrument and source arguments are usually non-core arguments in Wa.

2.3.1.2 Subject marking

In Wa, the subject is marked by its position. The subject can occur either before or after the verb depending upon the clause types. It is the first argument in a clause.

2.3.1.3 Object marking

There is no special way to morphologically mark objects. Objects are also predicted by the position. The object always occurs after the verb and after the subject. It is an optional argument for some types of sentences.

2.3.1.4 Non-core arguments

Non-core arguments in Wa are usually oblique objects. The position of the oblique objects, those containing a preposition, in Wa clauses is schematized as below. This schema refers to recipient and beneficiary arguments.

S: [--- V NP_{OBJ} *son* NP_{BEN} *ka* NP_{RECPT}]

The beneficiary is marked with *son* and recipient is marked with *ka*. The NP_{OBJ} follows the verb directly and only the subject can occur between the verb and the object. The constituent order of NP_{BEN} and NP_{RECPT} is interchangeable. Either can follow the NP_{OBJ}. In (21), NP_{RECPT} precedes NP_{BEN}, while the order is reversed in (20).

Sentences (20) and (21) show the use of *son* for marking the beneficiary argument and the use of *ka* for marking the recipient argument. In (20), *nan kʰun* 'Nan Khun' is the person who receives *lai* 'the letter', but *kuiŋ nan kʰun* 'Nan Khun's father' is the one who is advantaged or the final recipient.

(20) G22.4

tɔʔ	*lai*	***son***	*tʃɛ*	*kuiŋ*	*nan kʰun*	***kə***	*nan kʰun*
give	letter	**BEN**	POSS	father	Nan Khun	**APPL**	Nan Khun
V	N	**PREP**	PRT	N	NPROP	**PREP**	NPROP

Free: Give the letter to Nan Khun for her father.

(21) G15.23

tʃa	*tɔʔ*	*mau*	***ka***	*ʔəuʔ*
polite.MKR	give	money	**APPL**	1SG
PRT	V	N	**PREP**	PRO

son	*kɔn bon*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tʃwiʔ*
BEN	daughter	1SG	amount.little
PREP	N	PRO	QUANT

Free: Give me a small amount of money for my daughter.

In sentence (21), a quantifier *tʃwiʔ* which modifies the noun *mau* 'money' follows the NP_{BEN} and appears at the end of the clause. It is possible to have *tʃwiʔ* directly next to the noun that it modifies or to follow the NP_{RECPT}.

In Wa, the accompaniment constituent is marked with the accompaniment marker *mai*. The following schema shows the accompaniment constituent in a clause.

S : [--- V---- (NP_{OBJ}) (LOC) *mai* NP_{ACCOM}]

The sentences (22) and (23) provide examples of an accompaniment constituent in Wa clauses.

(22) G15.32

puʔ	*ʔəuʔ*	*səmɛ*	*ŋɛ*	*nɔh*	*tiʔ*	*hu*	*laih*
sibling.younger	1SG	want	only	3SG	V.chain	go	market
N	PRO	V	ADV	PRO	PRT	V	N

mai	*paọ̈ʔgɹɔm*	*tiʔ*	*ŋɛ*
with	friend	POSSP	only
PREP	N	POSSP	ADV

Free: my younger sister wants to go shopping only with her friends.

(23) C10

ʔəuʔ	*tom*	*dʒak*	*kɹaʔ*	*klɛh*	*kiʔ*
1SG	PRT.purpose	watch	NMLZR	play	3PL
PRO	MOD	V	NMLZR	V	PRO

klɛh	*kiʔ*	***mai***	*paọ̈ʔ tiʔ*
play	3PL	**with**	each other
V	PRO	**PREP**	RECPL

Free: I (was) watching their playing. They (were) playing with each other.

Instrument is marked with an applicative marker *ka*. NP_{INSTR} usually follows the affected object. The position of the instrument constituent is shown in the following schema.

S: [--- V---- NP_{OBJ} *ka* NP_{INSTR}]

Example (24) shows that the instrument *vaị̈k* 'knife' that the children used is coded with the applicative marker *kə*. In (25), *ka* indicates that *mwɛ* 'the cow' uses *səda*ʔ 'his tail' as an instrument when he hit the pig.

(24) G15.4

kɔn ɲɔm	*ʔan kiʔ*	*giah*	*makmuŋ*	***kə***	*vaị̈k*
child	those	slice	mango	**APPL**	knife
N	DEM	V	N	**PREP**	N

Free: The child sliced/cut the mango with a knife.

(25) G15.21

mwɛ	*tɔk*	*lig*	***ka***	*səda?*	*ti?*
cow	beat	pig	**APPL**	tail	POSSP
N	V	N	**PREP**	N	POSSP

Free: The cow hit the pig with his tail.

In Wa, the preposition *k^{h}aiŋ* marks the source. A clause with NP_{Source} can be schematized as below.

S : [----V ----- *k^{h}aiŋ* NP_{Source}]

Examples (26) and (27) express the 'source' occurring in the final position in a clause.

(26) G15.22

ɹu	*ɹauk^{h}ao?*	*ti?*	*mu*	***k^{h}aiŋ***	*k^{h}ao?*
fall	monkey	one	CLF.nonhuman	**from**	tree
V	N	NUM	CLF	**PREP**	N

Free: A monkey fell from the tree.

(27) C24

k^{h}ai?	*hoik*	*tui*	*ki?*	*ti?*	*?ih*	*ɹɔm hia*
after	finish	take	3PL	V.chain	eat	honey
CONN	V	V	PRO	PRT	V	N

ki?	*tom*	*hu*	***k^{h}aiŋ***	*?əu?*
3PL	PRT.purpose	go	**from**	1SG
PRO	MOD	V	**PREP**	PRO

Free: They went (away) from me after they had eaten honey.

2.3.1.5 Locator nouns

In this thesis, *plak* 'side' is marked as a locator noun. It has the following nominal characteristics.

(28) Nominal characteristics

a) can be counted

b) can be possessed

c) can be used as a classifier and

d) can be modified by demonstratives.

As it can be seen in sentence (29), *plak* is countable and is used as a classifier. In this example, it is also modified by the demonstratives *ʔan* and *ʔin*.

(29) M16

dʒak	*mau*	*kʰɔm*	***ɹa***	***plak***	*ʔɔʔ*
watch	money	both	**two**	**side**	Polite.IMR.Prt
V	N	QUANT	**NUM**	**N**	PRT

plak	***ʔan***	*mai*	***plak***	***ʔin***
side	**that**	and	**side**	**this**
N	**DEM**	CONN	**N**	**DEM**

Free: Look at both sides of the money; that side and this side

The locator noun *plak* is also possessible. The locator noun *plak* can be followed by a possessive pronoun or by $NP_{possessor}$ as in examples (30) and (31).

(30) M17

bɔ	*deuh*	*ʔin*	***plak***	***ʔəuʔ***
NEG.IMPER	place	this	**side**	**1SG**
NEG	V	DEM	**N**	**PRO**

Free: Don't place this (on) my side.

(31) M18

ʔin	*mn̥h*	***plak***	***paǫ̈ʔ ɲɛ̈ʔ***	***ʔəuʔ***
this	be	**side**	**relative**	**1SG**
DEM	COP	**N**	**N**	**PRO**

Free: this is (from) my relative side.

The locator noun *plak* 'side' also co-occurs with a preposition *kʰai*ʔ 'behind' as in the example (32). In this sentence, *plak* is followed by a prepositional phrase, but it *plak* is optional.

(32) G15.30

koe	*kʰao?*	*makmuŋ*	***(plak)***	*kʰai?*	*ɲɛ̰?*	*?əu?*	*tə*	*gɔŋ*
exist	tree	mango	**side**	behind	house	1SG	one	CLF.bamboo
COP	N	N	**N**	PREP	N	PRO	NUM	CLF

Free: There is a mango tree behind my house.

There is another *plak* that functions as a preposition. Examples (33) and (34) are sentences with *plak* in a preposition position. In these sentences, *plak* is obligatory and shows the direction or goal.

(33) G13.2

kʰi?	*kʰai?*	*sa?*	*?əu?*	*hu*	***plak***	*dʒu*
month	later	FUT	1SG	go	**side**	south
N	ADV	PRT	PRO	V	**N**	N

Free: Next month I will go to the south.

(34) G13.1

nu̱m	*?an*	*kɔ?*	*?əu?*	*hu*	***plak***	*blɤŋ*
year	that	PAST	1SG	go	**side**	north
N	DEM	ADV	PRO	V	**N**	N

Free: Last year I went north.

Locator noun *plak* not only shows the location but also can be used to indicate the time. In sentence (35), a noun *pon po* 'evening' is coded by *plak* and literally means 'I got hungry in the evening part'.

(35) C27

?əu?	*tom*	*tʃai ɹʰɔm*	***plak***	*pon bo*
1SG	PRT.purpose	hungry	**side**	evening
PRO	MOD	V	**N**	N

Free: In the evening, I got hungry.

This section outlined the structure of basic verbal clauses with full lexical verbs. It also discussed core argument and non-arguments in Wa. As mentioned above, the word order in Wa is free at the clause level. The following sections discuss the structure of non-verbal clauses.

2.3.2 Non-verbal and copula clauses

This section presents the construction of non-verbal and copula clauses in Wa. It discusses equative clauses, attributive clauses, locative clauses, existential clauses and possessive clauses in Wa. The copula *mꭓh* is used for equative and attributive clauses. The copulative verbs such as *koe*, *ʔot*, *nɛ* and *hun* are used for locative, existential and possessive clauses. Like other VO languages, in Wa, the copula also usually precedes the predicate in these clauses (Dryer, 2007: 91).

2.3.2.1 Equative clauses

The copula *mꭓh* links two noun phrases in Wa equative clauses. In Wa, the copula *mꭓh* is obligatary in equative clauses. The structure of equative clause in Wa is as follows.

$S_{Equative}$: [*mꭓh* PRO NP] or [NP *mꭓh* NP]

If the subject is a pronoun, the common structure tends to be [*mꭓh* PRO NP]. But PRO and *mꭓh* can be interchangeable. If the subject is a full noun phrase, the pattern is likely to be [NP *mꭓh* NP].

The following sentences are the examples of equative clauses in Wa. In (36), *nɔh* 'he' and *ai ka* 'Ai Kar' are the same referent. In (36) and (37), the copula *mꭓh* joins a pronoun and a noun phrase and in (38), *mꭓh* joins two noun phrases.

(36) G6.9

mꭓh	*nɔh*	*ai ka*
be	3SG	Ai Kar
COP	PRO	NPROP

Free: He is Ai Kar.

(37) G6:10

mꭓh	*nɔh*	*təkɛ*
be	3SG	village chief
COP	PRO	N

Free: He is the village chief.

(38) G18.4

ɲɛ̰ʔ	*ʔin*	*mɔ̰h*	*ɲɛ̰ʔ*	*koe*	*bɹa̰ʔ*	*koe*	*tiŋ*
house	this	be	house	have	roof	have	wall
N	DEM	COP	N	V	N	V	N

Free: This house is a house that has a roof and walls.

2.3.2.2 Attributive clauses

Attributive clauses in Wa consists of a noun phrase or pronoun and a predicate which indicates the attributes or qualities of the noun phrase or pronoun. The copula *mɔ̰h* is sometimes optional and sometimes obligatory in the attributive cluases in Wa. The attributive sentences in Wa can be schematized as below:

$S_{Attributive}$: [NP *mɔ̰h* Color]

$S_{Attributive}$: [Adj NP] or [NP Adj]

The pattern of the copula in some attributive sentences is as shown in Table 7.

Table 7: The optionality of *mɔ̰h* with adjectives

	Needs Copula *mɔ̰h*
color	yes
tall	no
fat	no
old	no

Example (39) states the color of the entity *mok* 'cap' by using copula *mɔ̰h*. In this sentence, the copula *mɔ̰h* is obligatory. Some speakers use *pa* in color terms but some do not.

(39) G15.34

mok	*am bra*	*mɔ̰h*	*(pə)*	*taitɛ*
cap	Am Bra	be	REL	blue
N	NPROP	COP	REL	VADJ

Free: Am Bra's cap is blue.

The following examples show attributive clauses in Wa without the copula *mɔ̰h*. The order can be either [Adj NP] or [NP Adj].

(40) G9.2

lhauŋ	*kʰauʔ*	*nɔh*
tall	height	3SG
ADJ	N	PRO

Free: He is tall.

(41) M1

mʰɔm	*nɔh*
beautiful	3SG
VADJ	PRO

Free: He/She is beautiful.

(42) M2

mʰɔm	*ʔin*
beautiful	this
VADJ	DEM

This is beautiful.

The sentence (43) demonstrates that having the copula *m̩h* in non-color attributive clauses is ungrammatical. However, the copula *m̩h* is allowed when the relativizer *pə* attaches to *mʰɔm* 'beautiful' in sentence (44). But then the sentence is no longer an attributive clause, it becomes an equative clause.

(43) M3

**mʰɔm*	*m̩h*	*ʔin*
beautiful	be	this
VADJ	COP	DEM

Intended: This is beautiful.

(44) M4

pə	*mʰɔm*	*mn̥h*	*ʔin*
REL	beautiful	be	this
REL	VADJ	COP	DEM

Free: This is the beautiful one.

2.3.2.3 Locative clauses

The copula *koe* 'be.at' which is related to the verb *koe* 'have' is used to state the location in locative clauses. The location of something is also expressed by using the copula *ʔot* 'be.at' which is also related to *ʔot* 'stay'. The locative copula *koe* and *ʔot* are obligatory in locative sentences. The use of the two copulas *koe* and *ʔot* are interchangeable in Wa locative clauses. The construction of the locative clause in Wa can be seen in the following schema.

S_{LOC}: [*koe/ʔot* NP_{SUB} XP_{LOC}]

Example (45) shows a locative clause composed of a copula, a noun phrase and a prepositional phrase. The locative predicate is described by the preposition phrase. In (46), the locative demonstrative is used in the predicate. In (47), only a noun phrase is used to indicate the location.

(45) G15.27

ʔot	*lai*	*ʔan*	*piŋ̣ŋ*	*pʰun*
be.at	book	that	on	table
COP	N	DEM	N	N

Free: The book is on the table.

(46) G10.1

ʔot	*kiʔ*	*ma tio*	*liŋ̣h*	*kauʔ*
be.at	3PL	there	six	CLF.human
COP	PRO	DEM	NUM	CLF

Free: The six of them are over there.

(47) G7.1

koe	*nɔh*	*meuŋmɔ*
be.at	3SG	Meung Maw
COP	PRO	NPROP

Free: He is in Meung Maw town.

2.3.2.4 Existential clauses

The copulas used for existential clauses are *koe* and *nɛ*. Existential clauses are usually used in the beginning of the story. The schematic construction of existential clauses in Wa is as below.

$S_{Exitential}$: [*koe/nɛ* NP_{SUB} (PP)]

In (48), the existence of a noun phrase *kaŋkoe ti? mu* 'one rabbit' is expressed by using *koe*.

(48) T7

di?di?	*?ah*	*ki?*	***koe***	*kaŋkoe*	*ti?*	*mu*
long.time.ago	say	3PL	**exist**	rabbit	one	CLF.nonhuman
ADV	V	PRO	**COP**	N	NUM	CLF

Free: A long time ago, there was a rabbit.

Lit: A long time ago they said that there was a rabbit.

In (49), the existence of *kʰao? makmuŋ* 'mango tree' is also expressed by using *koe*. The classifier phrase that modifies the noun phrase occurs at the end of the clause. It is also possible to follow directly next to the modified noun too.

(49) G15:30

koe	*kʰao?*	*makmuŋ*	*plak*	*kʰai?*	*ɲɛ̤?*	*?əu?*	*tə*	*gɔŋ*
exist	tree	mango	side	behind	house	1SG	one	CLF.bamboo
COP	N	N	N	PREP	N	PRO	NUM	CLF

Free: There is a mango tree behind my house.

Example (50) shows plurality in existential clauses. The verb *nɛ* 'exist.many' expresses plurality. It does not take any number phrases. Example (51) shows that adding a number phrase to an existential clause with the verb *nɛ* is ungrammatical.

(50) G6.6

nɛ	*kʰao?*	*dəu?*	*pansan*
exist.many	tree	in	Pan San
COP	N	PREP	NPROP

Free: There are many trees in Pan San.

(51)

****nɛ***	*kʰao?*	*dəu?*	*pansan*	*ɹa*	*gɔŋ*
exist.many	tree	in	Pan San	two	Clf.tree

2.3.2.5 Possessive clauses

One way of constructing Wa possessive clauses is using the copula *mǹ̥h* and attaching genitive marker *tʃɛ* to possessor noun phrase. The possesive clause construction can be schematized as below.

S_{POSS} : [$NP_{possessed}$ *mǹ̥h* *tʃɛ* $NP_{possessor}$]

Example (52) shows the copula *mǹ̥h* used in possesive construction together with a genitive marker *tʃɛ*. The genitive marker is obligatory in this clause.

(52) M15

lai rʰa?	*?in*	*mǹ̥h*	*tʃɛ*	*ai ka*
hymn.book	this	be	POSS	Ai Kar
N	DEM	COP	PRT	NPROP

Free: This hymn book is Ai Kar's.

Another way of constructing Wa possessive clauses is using the copula *koe* ‘be.at’ or ‘exist’ as in existential clauses. In (53), the copula *koe* is used in the possessive clause too. The schema for this kind of clause is as below.

S_{POSS}: [*koe/nɛ* NP_{POSS}]

The literal meaning of (53) is ‘my money have or exists’. Example (54) shows that it is not possible to construct a possessive clause like [#NP *koe* NP].

(53) M13

koe	*mau*	*ʔəuʔ*
exist	money	1SG
COP	N	PRO

Free: I have money.

Lit: My money exists.

(54) M14

#*ʔəuʔ*	***koe***	*mau*
1SG	**exist**	money
PRO	**COP**	N

Intended: I have money.

However, both [*ʔaŋ* $NP_{possessive}$ *koe*] and [*ʔaŋ* NP *koe* NP] can be used for negative possessive clauses as in (55) and (56) respectively.

(55)

ʔaŋ	*mau*	*ʔəuʔ*	***koe***
NEG	money	1SG	**exist**
NEG	N	PRO	**COP**

Free: I do not have money.

Lit: My money does not have.

(56) G16.27

ʔaŋ	*ʔəuʔ*	***koe***	*mau*
NEG	1SG	**exist**	money
NEG	PRO	**COP**	N

Free: I do not have money.

Example (57) uses *nɛ* in a possessive clause and expresses the plural form. As previously discussed, it does not take any number phrases. The copula *nɛ* 'exist.many' indicates an unspecified plural. As in existential clauses, it does not take any number phrase.

(57) G6.7

nɛ	*paǫ̈ʔgɹɔm*	*nɔh*
exist.many	friend	3SG
COP	N	PRO

Free: He has many friends.

The verb *nɛ* can be substituted with the verb *koe*. However, *koe* can take a number phrase as in (59) and (60). Having a classifier phrase with *nɛ* is ungrammatical as in (61).

(58) a

koe	*paǫ̈ʔgɹɔm*	*nɔh*
exist	friend	3SG
COP	N	PRO

Free: He has a friend.

(59) b

koe	*paǫ̈ʔgɹɔm*	*nɔh*	*ɹa*	*kauʔ*
exist	friend	3SG	two	Clf.human
COP	N	PRO	NUM	CLF

Free: He has two friends

(60) c

koe	*paǫ̈ʔgɹɔm*	*nɔh*	*tom nɛ*
exist	friend	3SG	many

Free: He has many friends.

(61) M5

**nɛ*	*paǫ̈ʔgɹɔm*	*nɔh*	*ɹa*	*kauʔ*
exist.many	friend	3SG	two	CLF.human

Sentence (62) uses *hun* ‘exist.many’ in a possessive clause. *hun*[5] is a dialectical variant of *nɛ*. They can be used interchangebly. The same speaker used both *hun* and *nɛ*.

[5] Presumably *hun* is a loan word from Shan.

(62) G12.5

kʰeɯ	***hun***	*kɔn*	*ai ka*
Because	**exist.many**	child	Ai Kar
CONN	**COP**	N	NPROP

nɔh	*tɤ*	*saŋ*	*gə̣ʔɹʰɔm*	*mai*	*kiʔ*
3SG	will.certain	will.potential	happy	with	3PL
PRO	TAM	TAM	V	CONN	PRO

Free: Because Ai Kar has many children, he must be happy.

2.4 Word order typology

The basic typological characteristics of the Wa language are presented in the following chart and the last column provides references to the Wa examples. Shan is added to this table because it is a language of wider communication. The national language, Burmese is also included. Chinese is also added to it because it is one of the contact languages with Wa. All of these contact languages are spoken around the Wa speaking area.

As it can be seen in Table 8, Wa is a head-initial language which is common to other Mon-Khmer languages. In head-initial languages, the verb precedes the object (Dryer, 2001). Wa is verb-initial and none of the contact languages are verb-initial like Wa. Wa uses prepositions. The head noun is in the first position in a noun phrase. The modifiers generally follow the modified noun.

Table 8: Word order typology

Grammatical Category	Wa	Shan	Burmese	Chinese	Link
main clause word order	VSO/SVO	SVO	SOV	SVO	(14)/(15)
adposition	Preposition	Preposition	Postposition	Preposition	(201)
adjective and noun:	NAdj	NAdj	NAdj/AdjN[6]	AdjN	(110)
relative clause and noun:	NRel	NRel	RelN	RelN	(120)
demonstrative and noun:	NDem	NDem	DemN	DemN	(108)
numeral and noun:	NNum	NNum	NNum	NumN	(113)
degree word and adjective:	DegAdj	AdjDeg	DegAdj	DegAdj	
negative and verb:	NegV	NegV	NegV	NegV	(129)

2.5 Summary

In summary, this chapter presented an overview of the Wa language including its phonology, morphology and basic grammar. There are 35 consonants, 9 vowels, 15 diphthongs and 2 tripthongs in Wa. Wa is a register language consisting of clear and breathy registers.

This chapter discussed basic clause patterns of Wa. Wa word order is variable at clause level, but not at phrase level. It has both VSO and SVO clause word order. The clause word order variation is not affected by the meaning of the verbs, the transitivity of the verbs and it does not depend on whether the subject is a full noun phrase or pronoun. The constructions of non-verbal or copula clauses in Wa were discussed too. The copulas are sometimes optional and sometimes obligatory in non-verbal clauses or copula clauses.

[6] AdjN is usually used for formal speech.

Chapter 3
Word Classes

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents word classes in Wa. It discusses open classes: noun, verb, adjective and adverb (Schachter and Shopen, 2007: 3) and closed classes: demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, auxiliaries/verbal particles, prepositions, and interrogative pronouns. Basically, it lists the members of closed word classes and discusses the potential properties of open word classes.

3.2 Nouns

Nouns usually refer to persons, things, places, ideas, abstract concepts and they function as subject and object of the verb and object of a preposition (Bickford, 1998: 8). There is no inflectional morphology of nouns in Wa. Nouns and noun phrases in Wa also occur in the subject and object position in a clause. They can be modified by adjective phrases, classifier phrases, relative clauses, pronouns and demonstratives. The internal structure of the Wa noun phrase is discussed in Chapter 4.

Nouns can be created through nominalization. Nominalization means 'turning something into a noun' (Comrie and Thompson, 2007: 334). Two nominalizers in Wa: *kɹa?* and *tʃao* are discussed in this study. These nominalizers change a verb or a verb phrase into a noun. *kɹa?* is used for action/state nominalization and *tʃao* is an agentive nominalizer. The pattern of nominalization is as below.

N : [*kɹa?* + VP/S]

N : [*tʃao* + VP]

Table 9 demonstrates nominalizations in Wa.

Table 9: Nominalization in Wa

	Action/State Nominalization			**Agentive Nominalization**		
	Examples		**Gloss**	**Examples**		**Gloss**
a.	*kɹaʔ*	*gau*	'teaching'	*tʃao*	*gau*	'teacher'
	NMLZR	teach		NMLZR	teach	
b.	*kɹaʔ*	*klɛh*	'playing'	*tʃao*	*klɛh*	'player'
	NMLZR	play		NMLZR	play	
c.	*kɹaʔ*	*jɥ̱h*	'doing/making'	*tʃao*	*jɥ̱h*	'doer/maker'
	NMLZR	do/make		NMLZR	do/make	

The nominalizer *kɹaʔ* nominalizes not only a verb phrase but also a full sentence that includes the subject as in (64) and (65). In (64), *kɹaʔ* nominalizes a sentence *klɛh kiʔ* 'they play' and turns into a noun 'their playing'. It also nominalizes a complex sentence. In (65), *kɹaʔ* changes a coordinate sentence into a noun.

(64) C10

ʔəuʔ	*tom*	*dʒak*	*kɹaʔ*	*klɛh*	*kiʔ*
1SG	PRT.purpose	watch	NMLZR	play	3PL
PRO	MOD	V	NMLZR	V	PRO

klɛh	*kiʔ*	*mai*	*paọ̱ʔ tiʔ*
play	3PL	with	each oth
V	PRO	PREP	RECPL

Free: I (was) watching their playing. They (were) playing with each other.

(65) C21

kʰeu	*koe*	*kɹaʔ*	*moh*	*kiʔ*	*paọ̯ʔ tiʔ*
because	have	NMLZR	love	3PL	each other
CONN	V	NMLZR	V	PRO	RECPL

mai	*tʃʰiʔ*	*guạ*	*kiʔ*	*paọ̯ʔ tiʔ*	*ʔih*	*ɹɔm hia*
and	can	share	3PL	each other	eat	honey
CONN	V	V	PRO	RECPL	V	N

Free: Because they loved each other and eat honey and could share honey to each other,

Lit: Because (they) have their loving to each other and their sharing to each other to eat honey.

3.2.1 Personal pronouns

Pronouns are a subclass of noun. They fill the position of a noun phrase (Payne, 2006: 119). Wa has singular, dual and plural distinctions in pronouns. Table 10 summarizes personal pronouns in Wa.

Table 10: Personal pronouns in Wa

	Singular	**Dual**		**Plural**	
		Exclusive	**Inclusive**	**Exclusive**	**Inclusive**
First Person	*ʔəuʔ*	*jɛ̯ʔ/jaʔ*[7]	*ʔaʔ*	*jị̯ʔ*	*ʔeʔ*
Second Person	*maị̯ʔ*	*paʔ*		*peʔ*	
Third Person	*nɔh*	*kɛʔ*		*kiʔ*	

[7] *jɛ̯ʔ* is a dialectal variant of *jaʔ*.

In Wa, personal pronouns occur in both subject and object positions. They also perform as genitive pronouns when they follow possessed nouns. They do not have a separate possessive form. There is no gender distinction in Wa personal pronouns[8]. There is an exclusive and inclusive distinction for the first person dual *jɛ̰ʔ* and *ʔaʔ* and for the first person plural *jɨ̰ʔ* and *ʔeʔ*.

As mentioned above, Wa personal pronouns function as subject, object and genitive. Examples (66), (67) and (68) demonstrate the same form of the third person singular pronoun *nɔh* functioning in several positions. In (66), *nɔh* is in the subject position, in (67), it is in the object position and in (68) it functions as a genitive pronoun.

(66) G6.3

nɔh	*tɔk*	*pwi*	*tiŋ*
3SG	beat	person	big
PRO	V	N	VADJ

Free: He hit the adult (or official).

(67) G5.1

hoik	*jaọʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	***nɔh***
COMPL	see	1SG	**3SG**
ASPT	V	PRO	**PRO**

Free: I met him.

[8] However, the second person dual pronoun *paʔ* and the third person dual pronoun *kɛʔ* are also used to refer to an older or married woman. For example, in the following sentence from Civet Cat story, *kɛʔ* refers to a married women 'she'.

C42

kɛʔ	*tom*	*ɹɛ̰p*	*tiʔ*	*klɛ̰n*	*pọh*
3DL	PRT.purpose	welcome	V.chain	help.carry	deer. barking
PRO	MOD	V	PRT	V	N

mai	*dɤ̰*	*dəuʔ*	*ɲɛ̰ʔ*
and	place	in	house
CONN	V	PREP	N

Free: She welcomed to help carrying the barking deer and putting (it) in the house.

(68) G20.1

mɛ̰ʔ	*tɔʔ*	*kɔn*	***nɔh***	*sɔm*
mother	give	child	**3SG**	eat rice
N	V	N	**PRO**	V

Free: Mother fed her child.

Examples (69) and (70) illustrate the exclusive and inclusive distinction in Wa personal pronouns. In (69), the first person dual pronoun *ʔaʔ* is used and the addressee is included in the event. But, sentence (70) uses the first dual pronoun *jɛ̰ʔ* and the addressee is excluded.

(69) G19.4

pəsaʔ	*hɯ*	***ʔaʔ***	*gaɪ̯k*	*pwɛ*
tomorrow	go	**1DL.INCL**	watch	show
ADV	V	**PRO**	V	N

Free: Tomorrow we (I and you) will go to see the show.

(70) G19.2

kɔʔ	*kɔʔ*	*hɯ*	***jɛ̰ʔ***	*gaɪ̯k*	*pwɛ*
yesterday	yesterday	go	**1DL.EXCL**	watch	show
ADV	ADV	V	**PRO**	V	N

Free: Yesterday we (not you) went to see the show.

Dual pronouns are commonly used together with a classifier phrase *ɹa kauʔ* 'two person' and first person plural inclusive pronoun *ʔeʔ* also occurs together with adverb *ʔuik* 'all'. In sentence (71), even though pronoun *paʔ* indicates dual number, a classifier phase *ɹa kauʔ* 'two person' is used again. Example (72) shows a sentence having both the first person plural inclusive pronoun *ʔeʔ* and *ʔuik*.

(71) G19.7

paʔ	***ɹa***	***kauʔ***	*jɯ̰h*	*kaɪ̯ŋ*	*sədaɪŋ*	*tʃʰɤŋ*
2DL	**two**	**CLF.human**	do	work	very	smart
PRO	**NUM**	**CLF**	V	N	ADV	V

Free: You two worked well.

(72) G19.3

pasaʔ	*hu*	***ʔeʔ***	*gaḭk*	*pwɛ*	***ʔuik***
tomorrow	go	**1PL.INCL**	watch	show	**all**
ADV	V	**PRO**	V	N	**ADV**

Free: Tomorrow we all will go to see the show.

3.2.2 Possessive pronouns

In Wa, *tiʔ* is also used in a possessive noun phrase to substitute for personal pronouns. It appears at a possessor position in example (73). A possessive phrase with *tiʔ* in possessor position is very common in Wa. In (73), NP_{SUB} *nɔh* 'he' and *tiʔ* are the same referent. *tiʔ* and *nɔh* can be used interchangeably in the possessor position. However, if the speaker uses *kɔn tiʔ*, the child who went to Pan San refers to the son of the NP_{SUB} *nɔh*. If the speaker uses *kɔn nɔh*, the child who went to Pan San could be the son of NP_{SUB} or someone else's son.

(73) G8.2

nɔh$_i$	*kɹai*	*ka*	*hu*	*kɔn*	***tiʔ***$_i$***/nɔh***$_{i/k}$	*pansan*
3SG	tell	APPL	go	child	**POSSP**	Pan San
PRO	V	PREP	V	N	**POSSP**	NPROP

Free: He said that his son went to Pan San.

In (74), *tiʔ* refers to *nɔh* 'he' and it is not related to the pronoun *ʔəuʔ* 'I'. *tiʔ* points to the higher subject in the clause.

(74)

nɔh	*kɹai*	*ka*	*ʔəuʔ*	*hu*	***kɔn***	***tiʔ***	*pansan*
3SG	tell	APPL	1SG	go	**child**	**POSSP**	Pan San
PRO	V	PREP	PRO	V	**N**	**POSSP**	NPROP

Free: He said to me that his son went to Pan San.

3.2.3 Interrogative pronouns

The following table provides the content interrogative pronouns in Wa that are used in content questions. Besides content question words, Wa also has a question particle *lɛ* that appears at clause final position. The question particle *lɛ* is optionally used in both 'Yes-No' question and content questions. Interrogative sentences are discussed more in section (7.3).

Table 11: Interrogative pronouns in Wa

Interrogative words	Gloss	Pattern
pui mɔʔ *mɔʔ*	'who'	'person' + *mɔʔ*
(pə) tiʔ	'what'	
jụ̈h ka mɔʔ	'why'	'do/happen' + *mɔʔ*
bɔg jạ̈m mɔʔ *jạ̈m mɔʔ* *lai mɔʔ*	'when'	'time' + *mɔʔ*
duu mɔʔ *mɔʔ*	'where'	'place' + *mɔʔ* *mɔʔ*
pə mɔʔ	'which one'	
mɛ̈ʔ diŋ	'how many'	*mɛ̈ʔ* + CLF
ka mɔʔ	'how'	APPL + *mɔʔ*

3.3 Verbs

In Wa, verbs function as predicates and follow or precede NP_{SUB} depending upon the clause type. The following properties are used to identify VERBS in Wa. Tests (a) and (b) identify both verbs and adjectives; test (c) only applies to verbs.

a) can directly follow the negative particles *lai*, *tɛ* and *ɲaŋ*

b) can be specified by an aspect marker (Schachter and Shopen, 2007: 9)

c) can occur with *tiʔ* in serial verbs.

Verbs directly come after negative particles. Negation in Wa has two parts. The first part has the negative word ʔ*aŋ* and the second part has an optional negative particle *lai*, *tɛ* or *ɲaŋ*[9]. Either a verb or a noun phrase can follow ʔ*aŋ*, but only a verb follows *lai*, *tɛ* or *ɲaŋ*. Therefore, words that occur after *lai*, *tɛ* or *ɲaŋ* can be identified as verbs in Wa.

In example (75), *puiŋ* 'shoot' is a verb and it is negated by the negative marker *ʔaŋ* and followed by the negative particle *lai*.

[9] Negation is discussed in section 5.2.

(75) C22

ʔəuʔ	***ʔaŋ***	***lai***	***puiŋ***	*ka*	*ka*	*ʔan kiʔ*
1SG	**NEG**	**NEG.anymore**	**shoot**	APPL	cat.civet	those
PRO	**NEG**	**MOD**	**V**	PREP	N	DEM

Free: I did not shoot those civet cats.

(76) G5.5

ʔaŋ	*ʔəuʔ*	***tɛ***	*jəuʔ*	*nɔh*
NEG	1SG	**NEG.explain**	see	3SG
NEG	PRO	**MOD**	V	PRO

Free: I didn't meet him.

Verbs also directly follow aspect makers in a clause. Sentence (77) demonstrates that a verb *hu* 'go' follows and is specified by a completive aspect marker *hoik*. It indicates that the action or the event is already completed by placing the completive aspect marker next to the verb *hu*.

(77) G18.2

hoik	***hu***	*ai kʰun*	*ka*	*dəʔ*	*kəŋ*	*nuʔ*
COMPL	**go**	Ai Khun	APPL	in	paddy field	past.near
ASPT	**V**	NPROP	PREP	PREP	N	ADV

Free: Ai Khun went his field already.

In Wa, *tiʔ* is commonly used to connect two verbs (full or auxiliaries) in serial verb constructions (See section 5.11 for Serial verb constructions). It is therefore marked as 'V.chain' a verb chain marker in this thesis. Therefore, only verbs appear after *tiʔ* as in (78).

(78) T52

sivai	*ʔan*	***hɔt***	***tiʔ***	***sub.nut***	***tiʔ***
tiger	that	**follow**	**V.chain**	**grasp**	**V.chain**
N	DEM	**V**	**PRT**	**V**	**PRT**

saŋ	***gɛ̤ʔ***	***giɛt***	*nɔh*
will.potential	**hold**	**bite**	3SG
TAM	**V**	**V**	PRO

Free: That tiger followed to grasp to hold and was going to eat him up.

3.4 Adjectives

Adjectives modify nouns or noun phrases. [N Adj] order is typical of VO languages (Dryer, 2001) and adjectives in Wa also come after the nouns that they modify. In this thesis, adjectives are considered a subclass of verbs (V_{ADJ}). The following properties are taken as criteria to distinguish the class of verbal adjectives from other verbs in Wa.

a) Adjectives occur in a comparative construction (Dixon 2010)

b) copula use is possible with adjective color terms

c) serve as modifiers in an NP (Dixon 2010)

Only adjectives are gradable. The constructions of comparative and superlative are as in (79) and (80). Only adjectives can go before *kʰaiŋ* and fill the blank. The comparative construction is formed by using *kʰaiŋ* 'than' followed by an NP. The combination of *kʰaiŋ paọ̯? ti?* 'than each other' forms a superlative construction.

(79) **Comparative Construction**
------- *kʰaiŋ* NP

(80) **Superlative construction**
------ *kʰaiŋ paọ̯? ti?*

Sentences (81) and (82) show examples of comparative and superlative constructions with adjectives.

(81) G21.1

ɹɔm	*klɔŋ*	*səŋa?*	***kʰaiŋ***	*ɹɔm*	*duŋ*
water	river	clean	**than**	water	lake
N	N	VADJ	**PREP**	N	N

Free: River water is cleaner than lake water.

(82) G21.2

ɹɔm	*kɹum*	*səŋa?*	***kʰaiŋ***	***paọ̯? ti?***
water	Salween	clean	**than**	**each other**
N	NPROP	VADJ	**PREP**	**RECPL**

Free: The Salween water is the cleanest.

Example (83) also shows a comparative construction in a sentence with the verb *to* 'run'. In this sentence, an adjective *pʰai* 'quick' comes before *kʰaiŋ*. Even though it was said that only adjective can come before *kʰaiŋ*, a verb *to* 'run' appears before

kʰaiŋ in (84). However, this kind of sentence needs an auxiliary verb that states the ability. *pọn* is obligatory in (84). Without *pọn*, the sentence would be ungrammatical. Therefore, if a verb appears before *kʰaiŋ*, it must co-occur with an auxiliary that express ability. It is impossible for the verb to appear alone before *kʰaiŋ* as in (85).

(83) M24

ai ka	*pọn*	*to*	*pʰai*	*kʰaiŋ*	*ai kʰun*
Ai Kar	able	run	quick	than	Ai Khun
NPROP	V	V	VADJ	PREP	NPROP

Free: Ai Ka can run faster than Ai Khun.

(84) M25

ai ka	*pọn*	*to*	*kʰaiŋ*	*ai kʰun*
Ai Kar	able	run	than	Ai Khun
NPROP	V	V	PREP	NPROP

Free: Ai Kar is more able to run than Ai Khun.

(85) M26

**ai ka*	*to*	*kʰaiŋ*	*ai kʰun*
Ai Kar	run	than	Ai Khun

Normally adjective cannot occur with the copula (See examples (40-42)). A few color adjectives can be used together with copulas. Example (86) shows the possibility of using a copula and color adjective together. It is not possible to use copula with other adjectives as in (87). It is not possible to use copula with a verb together in a clause. Example (88) shows that having copula *mə̣h* in a sentence with a verb *ŋə̣m* 'sit' is ungrammatical.

(86) G15.34

mok	*am bra*	***mə̣h***	***taitɛ***
cap	Am Bra	**be**	**blue**
N	NPROP	**COP**	**VADJ**

Free: Am Bra's cap is blue.

(87)

**mok*	*am bra*	***mn̥h***	***siŋaʔ***
cap	Am Bra	**be**	**clean**
N	NPROP	**COP**	**VADJ**

Free: Am Bra's cap is clean.

(88) G22.8

ŋn̥m	*(*mn̥h)*	*nɔh*
sit	be	3SG
V	COP	PRO

Free: He sat (down).

3.5 Adverbs and adverbial verbs

Adverbs modify verbs or the whole sentence and they usually appear at the initial or final position of a clause. Therefore, the position of adverbs in a clause is [S Adv] or [Adv S]. Some of the adverbs in other languages are verbs in Wa. For example, in Wa, there are two ways of expressing 'quick' – *pʰai* and *nʰjɛ̥*t. The first one is the word *pʰai* which occurs at the adverbial position as in (89). Therefore, the word *pʰai* is an adverb meaning 'quickly'. Also, the word *nʰjɛ̥*t contains the meaning of 'quick'. In (90), the word *nʰjɛ̥*t occurs with a verb chain marker *tiʔ*. Therefore, *nʰjɛ̥*t is a verb menaing 'do.quick.very'. It is not possible to have *tiʔ* and *pʰai* together in a serial verb construction.

(89) G5.1.2

ʔəuʔ	*hu*	*pʰai*	*pʰai*
1SG	go	quickly	quickly
PRO	V	ADV	ADV

Free: I (am) walking quickly.

(90) G5.1.3

ʔəuʔ	*njhɛt (*pʰai)*	*tiʔ*	*hu*	*pʰai*	*pʰai*
1SG	do.quick.very	V.chain	go	quickly	quickly
PRO	V	PRT	V	ADV	ADV

Free: I am walking very quickly.

There are some more adverbial verbs in Wa. In (91), the word *bɹe* is considered as a verb and it is glossed as 'do.nice'.

(91) C1

ʔəuʔ	*bɹe*	*tiʔ*	*pʰak*	*nạt*	*tʃeʔ*	*tiʔ*	*saŋ*
1SG	do.nice	V.chain	wash	gun	POSS	POSSP	in order to
PRO	V	PRT	V	N	PRT	POSSP	CONN

hu	*sɔ̣k*	*tiʔ*	*dʒɔ*	*tiʔ*	*puiŋ*	*totiak*	*dəuʔ*	*noŋ*
go	look for	V.chain	hunt	V.chain	shoot	animal	in	forest
V	V	PRT	V	PRT	V	N	PREP	N

Free: I washed my gun well to go hunting in the forest.

3.6 Demonstratives

Wa demonstratives can be classified by their distance from the speaker ('nearness' or farness') and according to the things they identify ('objects', 'locations', 'propositions') (Bickford, 1998: 9). The following table presents the demonstratives in Wa.

Table 12: Wa demonstratives

		Near	**Far**	**Very Far**
Objectives (Nominal)	**Singular**	*ʔin*	*ʔan*	
	Plural	*ʔinkiʔ*	*ʔankiʔ*	
Location (Adverbial)		*tin*	*tan*	*tio/tɛ*[10]
Proposition (Verbal)		*nin*	*nan*	
Others		*tit*		

The demonstratives *ʔin* 'this' and *ʔan* 'that' point to the objects and they usually appear at the final position in a noun phrase. Their plural forms are *ʔinkiʔ* and *ʔankiʔ* meaning 'these' and 'those' respectively.

The locative demonstratives *tin* and *tan* refer to a place. *tin* refers to a place which is near to the speaker and *tan* show the location which is far from the speaker. *tio* or *tɛ* is used if the place is very far from the speaker. The locative demonstratives in Wa usually go in the adverbial position in a clause.

The demonstratives that denote the whole proposition are *nin* and *nan*. Dixon refers to these kind of demonstratives as verbal demonstratives (Dixon, 2010: 224), but here they are termed propositional demonstratives. According to Dixon, these kinds

[10] *tio* and *tɛ* are dialect variants.

of demonstratives usually occur as the only verb in a predicate or together with a lexical verb (Dixon, 2010: 224), however, in Wa they usually occur together with a verb.

The sentences (92) and (93) show examples of the demonstratives *nin* and *nan* referring to entire propositions. As can be seen in example (93), *nin* is a cataphor and only refers to the later content. Using *nan* in sentence (93) is ungrammatical. *nan* is an anaphor and is used to refer to the previous proposition as in the example (92). The use of *nin* and *nan* is not interchangeable.

(92) G23.5

nɔh	*səmɛ*	*tiʔ*	*jɻ̩h*	*taoʔ*	*ʔah*	*nɔh*	***nan/*nin***
3SG	want	V.chain	do	vegetable curry	say	3SG	**like that**
PRO	V	PRT	V	N	V	PRO	**DEM**

Free: She said that she wants to cook vegetable curry.

(93)

ʔah	*nɔh*	***nin/*nan***	*nɔh*	*səmɛ*	*tiʔ*	*jɻ̩h*	*taoʔ*
say	3SG	**like this**	3SG	want	V.chain	do	vegetable curry
V	PRO	**DEM**	PRO	V	PRT	V	N

Free: She said that she wants to cook vegetable curry.

It is possible to have more than one demonstrative in a clause. Example (94) shows a sentence that takes three demonstratives. In this sentence, the demonstrative *ʔan* points to the noun *kɔŋɲɔm* ‘children’ that is far from the speaker. The demonstrative *tan* shows the location in an adverbial position. *nan* refers back to the entire content.

(94) M10

ʔot	*kɔn ɲɔm*	***ʔan***	***tan***	*ʔah*	*nɔh*	***nan***
stay	child	**that**	**there**	say	3SG	**like that**
V	N	**DEM**	**DEM**	V	PRO	**DEM**

Free: That child is there, he/she said like this.

The word *tit* also occurs at the demonstrative position as in (95) and functions as a demonstrative. No further discussion is made for the demonstrative *tit*. More research is required to understand its functions.

(95) T8

kaŋkoe	***tit***	*lu̱k*	*hu*	*sɔm*
rabbit	**Dem.mirative**	really	go	eat rice
N	**DEM**	ADV	V	V

beiŋ	*ma*	*ʔan*	*ku*	*ŋai̱ʔ*
field	field.dry	that	every	CLF.day
N	N	DEM	QUANT	CLF

Free: That rabbit went to the dried field and ate (something) everyday.

3.7 Numerals

Numerals indicate a precise quantity of the entities. Table 13 shows the cardinal numerals from one to ten in Wa. The cardinal numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed by putting the numbers after *kau* 'ten'. Therefore, the schematic construction of the cardinal number from eleven to nineteen will be [*kau* 'ten' + NUM] as it can be seen in Table 14.

Table 13: Wa numbers 1 to 10

Wa Numerals	**Gloss**
tiʔ	'one'
ɹa	'two'
lwe	'three'
pon	'four'
pʰwan	'five'
li̱h	'six'
ʔəli̱h	'seven'
sədaiʔ	'eight'
dim	'nine'
kau	'ten'

Table 14: Wa numbers 11 to 19

Wa Numerals	**Gloss**	**Literal Translation**
kau ti?	'eleven'	ten one
kau ɹa	'twelve'	ten two
kau lwe	'thirteen'	ten three
kau pon	'fourteen'	ten four
kau pʰwan	'fifteen'	ten five
kau liạh	'sixteen'	ten six
kau ʔəliạh	'seventeen'	ten seven
kau dai?	'eighteen'	ten eight
kau dim	'nineteen'	ten nine

Table 15 presents Wa number from twenty to ninety. Table 16 shows higher numbers in Wa. *ɹeiŋ* 'thousand', *mun* 'ten thousand' and *sɛn* 'hundred thousand' are borrowed words from Shan.

Table 15: Wa numbers 20 to 90

Wa Numerals	**Gloss**	**Literal Translation**
tə ŋa	'twenty'	one two
tə ŋwe	'thirty'	one three
tə pon	'forty'	one four
tə pʰwan	'fifty'	one five
tə glɛh	'sixty'	one six
ʔah tə glɛh	'seventy'	one seven
tə dai?	'eighty'	one eight
tə dim	'ninety'	one nine

Table 16: Wa higher numbers

Wa Numerals	Gloss	Literal Translation
tə jḛh	'one hundred'	one hundred
tə ɹeiŋ	'one thousand'	one thousand
tə mɯn	'ten thousand'	one ten-thousand
tə sɛn	'one hundred thousand'	one hundred-thousand
kau sɛn	'one million'	ten hundred-thousand

Table 17 shows how Wa numbers are combined for higher numbers. The connective *mai* 'and' is used to conjoin the numbers when they get longer.

Table 17: Combination of Wa numbers

Wa Numerals	Gloss	Literal translation
tə jḛh tə pʰwan (or) *tə jḛh mai tə pʰwan*	'one hundred and fifty'	one hundred one five (or) one hundred and one five
tə ɹeiŋ mai ɹa jḛh	'one thousand and two hundred'	one thousand and two hundred
tə mɯn mai pʰwan ɹheiŋ	'fifteen thousand'	one ten-thousand and five thousand

The number usually precedes classifier to form a classifier phrase as in (96) – [three + Clf.time] means 'three times'. However, the number follows classifier in the ordinal number construction as in (97) – [Clf + three] is 'the third time'.

(96) **Count Number Phrase**

loe	*bɔg*
three	CLF.time
NUM	CLF

Free: three times.

(97) **Ordinal Number Phrase**

bɔg	*loe*
CLF.time	three
CLF	NUM

Free: the third time.

3.8 Classifiers

Classifiers occur following numbers and quantifiers and the schematic construction is [{Num/Quant} Clf]. Classifier phrases (ClfP) usually come after the nouns that they modify and also appear at the end of the sentence in clause level.

The following table lists some sortal classifiers in Wa. The second column provided the example nouns for the classifiers and the third column gives the semantic properties for each classifiers.

Table 18: Classifiers in Wa

Classifier	Example nouns	Semantic property
gɔŋ	bamboo, sugar cane	small-long
pʰuk	book, story, poem, song	literature
dʒuŋ	clothes, shoes	a set of something
pʰun	shirt	a piece of cloth
[sə]ŋaḭʔ	day	day
laŋ	house	building
kəuʔ	person	human
mu	pig, dog, table	nonhuman (animal + non-living things)
dah	place	place
lon	stone	round objects
tʃɤ	things	types of inanimate
bɔ̤k	times	times
kloŋ	cup, bowl	round container for hot things

The following classifiers are used to measure small objects.

Classifiers	Use for	Example nouns
paŋ	Clumps of small-long object	bamboo, sugarcane
pjɛ̤ʔ	Measurement for grain	rice
kɔk	Measurement for grain and cold water	rice,water

3.9 Quantifiers

Quantifiers state the amount of the entity (Bickford, 1998: 9). Wa quantifiers can be categorized into two groups. One kind of quantifiers is fixed and they are in the classifier phrase. Another kind of quantifier is movable and occurs in the classifier phrase, but can appear elsewhere too. The following table lists both movable and fixed quantifiers in Wa.

Table 19: Quantifiers in Wa

Moveable			Fixed		
Quantifiers	**Gloss**	**Examples**	**Quantifiers**	**Gloss**	**Examples**
tom nɛ	'many'	M22	*plak*	'half'	G1.11
kʰɔm ʔuik	'all'	G15.8	*ku*	'every'	T11
tʃwiʔ	'few'	G15.23			
tiʔ plah	'some'				

Example (98) shows that the fixed quantifier *ku* 'every' appears in the classifier phrase. It cannot be moved out from the classifier phrase.

(98) T11

hu	*dʒ̤ɔm*	*nɔh*	*tan*	***ku***	*ŋaɨ̤ʔ*
go	peep	3SG	there	**every**	CLF.day
V	V	PRO	DEM	**QUANT**	CLF

Free: he was spying on (the rabbit) there everyday.

In sentence (99) the quantifier *tom nɛ* 'many' occurs within a noun phrase. However, it is movable to somewhere else and it sometimes appears in an adverbial position. It is possible for the quantifier *tom nɛ* to appear within a noun phrase, after the verb and at the clause final position. The possible positions for *tom nɛ* in a clause are marked as **X** in example (100).

(99) M19

pwi	***tom nɛ***	*hwet*	*dəuʔ*	*dʒɔŋ*
person	**many**	come	in	church
N	**QUANT**	V	PREP	N

Free: Many People come to church.

(100)

pwi	**X**	*hwet*	**X**	*dəuʔ*	*dʒɔŋ*	**X**
person		come		in	church	
N		V		PREP	N	

Free: Many people come to church.

Changing the order sometimes changes the meaning. In sentence (101), the order of the phrase is [Num Quant Clf] with the meaning 'half day' and in (102), the order changes to [Num Clf Quant] and the meaning becomes 'one and a half days'.

(101) G1.1

tə	*plak*	*ŋaị?*
one	half	CLF.day
NUM	QUANT	CLF

Free: half day.

(102) G1.9

tə	*ŋaị?*	*plak*
one	CLF.day	half
NUM	CLF	QUANT

Free: one and an half days.

3.10 Auxiliaries or TAM

Auxiliaries in Wa are not distinguishable from tense, aspect, or modal markers. Therefore, in this thesis they will all be called TAM markers. TAM markers always precede full verbs in a verb phrase. *ti?* is also optionally used to connect auxiliaries and matrix verbs. The position of TAM markers in a verb phrase is as shown in the following schema.

VP: [TAM (*ti?*) V_{Full}]

The following table lists the TAM markers in Wa. The second column gives a rough corresponding meaning to English. The last column provides a link to an example of each word.

Table 20: Auxiliaries/TAM markers in Wa

TAM	Gloss	Links
ʧe saŋ	'going to'	C34
ʔah tiʔ saŋ	'is going to'	(173)
maiŋ tiʔ saŋ	'is going to'	(173)
dụ	're-.again'	T107
ʧɔ	'should (suggestion)'	F40
kʰɔ	'should (obligation)'	(135)
tɤk	'will (certainty)'	(141)
saŋ	'will (potential)'	(145)
lɔk	'will (commit)'	(163)

3.11 Prepositions

Prepositions come before the noun phrase and are the head of the prepositional phrases. The schematic construction is [Prep NP]. Prepositions are used to encode non-core arguments in a clause. Non-arguments containing prepositions were discussed in section (2.3.1.4). Table 21 lists some of the prepositions in Wa.

Table 21: Prepositions in Wa

Prepositions	Gloss
dəuʔ	'in'
dẹ̈ʔ	'near'
hɔt	'beside'
hoik	'after'
ka	'Appl.MKR'
kə dəuʔ	'inside'
k^{h}aiŋ	'from'
k^{h}aiŋ	'than (comparative)'
k^{h}aiʔ	'behind'
ljoŋ	'above'
mai	'with'
pɹɔk	'beside'
sənaʔ	'among'
səvoe	'in front of'
son	'for'
tom	'since'
tom	'until'

The preposition *ka* is used in several functions: locative, goal, recipient, and instrument. Therefore, it is termed an applicative marker in this study.

3.12 Summary

This chapter presented the word classes in Wa including nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, auxiliaries, prepositions and interrogative pronouns. Forming nouns through nominalizations was discussed. Personal pronouns in Wa have the same forms for subject, object and possession. The potential properties to distinguish verbs and adjectives in Wa were also discussed. Wa demonstratives were listed. Quantifiers were divided into fixed and movable categories. Auxiliaries or TAM markers that precede the main verbs were listed.

Chapter 4
Noun Phrase

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the structure of the Wa noun phrase. It outlines the internal structures and constituent order within a noun phrase. It discusses some of the modifiers that appear in a noun phrase and different types of noun phrases are also discussed.

4.2 Structure and order of constituents

A noun phrase is a phrasal constituent whose head is a noun and functions as a subject, object or object of preposition (Kroger, 2005: 87). A Wa noun phrase consists of an obligatory head noun and optional modifiers. Constituents of an NP include a relative clause, an adjective phrase, a number or quantifier, a prepositional phrase, a possessive phrase, a classifier phrase and a demonstrative (Dixon, 2010: 106).

The most common structure of the noun phrase is presented in Table 22. This research will not explore every single variation. According to the position class chart in Table 22, the head noun precedes the modifiers, possessive, classifier phrase and demonstrative. Relative clauses, adjective phrases, number and prepositional phrase can optionally go in the modifier position. Several can co-occur at the modifier position. For example, two or three adjectives can modify a head noun in a single noun phrase.

Table 22: Common noun phrase structure in Wa

Head	Modifier	Possession	Deictic	Quantity
N	RELCL	NP	DEM	CLFP
	ADJP	PRON		
	NUM/QUAN			
	PP			

Examples (103) and (104) are noun phrase examples in Wa. Example (103) provides a noun phrase that consists of a head noun *ɲɛ̰?* 'house', an adjective, a possessor and a classifier phrase. In (104), a head noun *ka* 'civet cat' is modified by a demonstrative *ʔan ki?* 'those' and a classifier phrase *pon mu*. Demonstratives appear before the classifier phrase.

(103) G2.2

ɲɛ̰?	*tiŋ*	*ʔəu?*	*loe*	*laŋ*
house	big	1SG	three	CLF.house
N	VADJ	PRO	NUM	CLF

Free: my three big houses

(104) C33

ka	*ʔan ki?*	*pon*	*mu*
cat.civet	those	four	CLF.nonhuman
N	DEM	NUM	CLF

ki?	*tʃɔk*	*ti?*	*ʔih*	*ɹɔm hia*
3PL	scoop	v.chain	eat	honey
PRO	V	PRT	V	N

Free: The four civet cats, they, were scooping and eating honey.

4.3 Heads

The head noun always appears at the phrase initial position. The head of the noun phrase can be a noun, a compound noun, a nominalized predicate or nominalized adjective. Noun phrases are in bold in the following examples. In example (105), the head of the noun phrase is a noun *ka* 'civet' while it is a nominalized adjective, 'his tallness' in example (106).

(105) C36

ʔəu?	*ʔaŋ*	*lai*	*puiŋ*	*kə*	***ka***	***ʔan ki?***
1SG	NEG	NEG.anymore	shoot	APPL	**cat.civet**	**those**
PRO	NEG	MOD	V	PREP	**N**	**DEM**

Free: I didn't not shoot those civet cats.

(106) G10.2

koe	***kɹaʔ***	***lhaoŋ***	***kʰaoʔ***	***nɔh***	*pʰwan*	*kʰaoʔ kʰat*
have	**NMLZR**	**tall**	**height**	**3SG**	five	ruler
V	**NMLZR**	**ADJ**	**N**	**PRO**	NUM	N

Free: He is five feet tall.

Lit. His height/tallness is 5 rulers.

4.3.1 Pronouns

Pronouns can be modified by a classifier phrase[11]. In example (107), pronoun *kiʔ* 'them' is modified by a classifier phrase *loe mu* 'three persons'.

(107) C18

ʔəuʔ	*vait*	*nạt*	*tʃe saŋ*	*puiŋ*
1SG	aim at	gun	going to	shoot
PRO	V	N	TAM	V

kiʔ	*kʰɔm*	*loe*	*mu*	*kɛnɛ*
3PL	all	three	CLF	PRT
PRO	QUANT	NUM	CLF	PRT

Free: I aim the gun to shoot them, all three of them.

4.4 Demonstratives

Demonstratives occur at the end of the noun phrase[12] unless there is a classifier phrase. The schematic construction for a simple noun phrase with a demonstrative is as below.

NP: [N_{Head} Dem]

Example (108) consists of a simple noun phrase with a head noun and a demonstrative. The demonstrative *ʔin* directly follows the head noun *kɔn ɲɔm* 'child'. In (109), the same content is expressed by a complex noun phrase composed of a head noun, a relative clause and a demonstrative. The demonstrative appears in the phrase final position.

[11] Wa personal pronouns were listed in section 3.2

[12] See section (3.6) for Wa demonstratives.

(108) G3.2

kɔn ɲɔm	*ʔin*	*ʔaŋ*	*koe*	*kɹaʔ*	*lu̱t*
child	this	NEG	have	NMLZR	sin
N	DEM	NEG	V	NMLZR	V

Free: This child does not have sins.

(109) G3.19

kɔn ɲɔm	*ʔaŋ*	*koe*	*kɹaʔ*	*lu̱t*	*ʔin*
child	NEG	have	NMLZR	sin	this
n	NEG	v	NMLZR	v	dem

Free: This child who does not have sins

4.5 Adjectives

Adjectives immediately follow the nouns that they modify within a noun phrase. The schema for a simple noun phrase with an adjective is as follows.

NP: [N_{Head} AdjP]

There are strict distributional constraints on the order of adjectives. The adjectives cannot be separated from the rest of the noun phrase. If they are preposed or postposed, they will complete the sentence rather than modify the head noun.

Examples (110) and (111) show an adjective phrase modifying a head noun. The attributes of the noun are modified by the adjective phrase. Example (110) shows that an adjective *tiŋ* 'big' directly following the head noun *ɲɛ̱ʔ* 'house' and preceding the classifier phrase *loe laŋ*.

(110) G2.1

ɲɛ̱ʔ	***tiŋ***	*loe*	*laŋ*
house	**big**	three	CLF.house
N	**VADJ**	NUM	CLF

Free: three big houses.

(111) G15.2

ai kʰun	*pʰɛ̤?*	*pli?*	***makmuŋ***	***tum***
Ai Khun	eat fruit	fruit	**mango**	**ripe**
NPROP	V	N	**N**	**VADJ**

Free: Ai Khun is eating a ripe mango.

Example (112) illustrates that more than one adjective are allowed in a single noun phrase. In this sentence, the head noun *ɲɛ̤?* 'house' is modified by two adjectives: *tiŋ* 'big' and *mʰɔm* 'beautiful'.

(112) G2.6

ɲɛ̤?	***tiŋ***	***mʰɔm***	*loe*	*laŋ*
house	**big**	**beautiful**	three	CLF.building
N	**VADJ**	**VADJ**	NUM	CLF

Free: three big beautiful houses.

4.6 Classifier phrases

A classifier phrase occurs after a head noun in a simple noun phrase. Numerals come after the noun and must co-occur with a classifier; therefore they are considered part of the classifier phrase[13]. The schema for a noun phrase with a classifier phrase is as below.

NP: [N_{Head} ClfP]

Example (113) provides a simple noun phrase consisting of a head noun *puui* 'person' and a classifier phrase. A classifier phrase is composed of a number *pon* 'four' and a classifier *kəu?*.

(113) G1.1

puui	*pon*	*kəu?*
person	four	CLF.human
N	NUM	CLF

Free: four people.

The classifier phrase is much more movable than other constituents. However, only classifier phrase of NP_{OBJ} can be moved out of the NP to a clause final position. It is impossible to move a classifier phrase from the subject position or oblique position.

[13] Wa numerals were provided in section (3.7) and Wa classifiers were listed in section (3.8).

Example (114) shows that it is possible to move the classifier phrase *tə plah* of the object *lai* 'letter' to the end of the clause. In (115), the classifier phrase *tiʔ pʰuk* is moved out from the NP_{OBJ} *pʰuk lai* 'book' and appears after the recipient constituent. In this sentence, it is possible for the classifier phrase to move to the final position of the clause too.

(114) G15.19

ai sin	*tiam*	***lai***	*hu*	*kə*	*mɛ̰ʔ*	*tiʔ*
Ai Sin	write	**letter**	go	APPL	mother	POSSP
N	V	**N**	V	PREP	N	POSSP

kɔʔ	*kɔʔ*	***tə***	***plah***
yesterday	yesterday	**one**	**CLF.letter**
ADV	ADV	**NUM**	**CLF**

Free: Aik Sin wrote a letter to his mother yesterday.

(115) G11.2

ʔəuʔ	*tɔʔ*	***pʰuk lai***	*ka*	*ai ka*	***tiʔ***	***pʰuk***
1SG	give	**book**	APPL	Ai Kar	**one**	**CLF.book**
PRO	V	**N**	PREP	NPROP	**NUM**	**CLF**

son	*tʃɛ*	*kuiŋ*	*nɔh*
for	POSS	father	3SG
PREP	PRT	N	PRO

Free: I gave a/one book to Ai Kar for his father.

Examples (116), (117), (118) and (119) demonstrate sentences with three classifier phrases in subject, object and oblique positions. In (116), classifier phrases attach and come directly next to their noun phrases. In (117), the classifier phrase of the NP_{OBJ} is moved out and appears after the adverb. Sentence (118) proves that moving out the classifier phrase of NP_{SUB} is ungrammatical. The classifier phrase cannot also be moved out of NP in oblique position as in (119).

(116) M20

səɹa	*ti?*	*kau?*	*tɔ?*	*so?*	*ɹa*	*mu*
teacher	one	CLF.human	give	dog	two	CLF.nonhuman
N	NUM	CLF	V	N	NUM	CLF

ka	*kɔn*	*səmẹ?*	*loe*	*kau?*	*kɔ?*	*kɔ?*
APPL	child	male	three	CLF.human	yesterday	yesterday
PREP	N	N	NUM	CLF	ADV	ADV

Free: A teacher gave two dogs to three boys yesterday.

(117) M22

səɹa	*ti?*	*kau?*	*tɔ?*	***so?***	*ka*	*kɔn*	*səmẹ?*
teacher	one	CLF.human	give	**dog**	APPL	child	male
N	NUM	CLF	V	**N**	PREP	N	N

loe	*kau?*	*kɔ?*	*kɔ?*	***ɹa***	***mu***
three	CLF.human	yesterday	yesterday	**two**	**CLF.nonhuman**
NUM	CLF	ADV	ADV	**NUM**	**CLF**

Free: A teacher gave two dogs to three boys yesterday.

(118) M21

****səɹa***	*tɔ?*	*so?*	*ɹa*	*mu*	*ka*	*kɔn*	*səmẹ?*
teacher	give	dog	two	CLF.nonhuman	APPL	child	male
N	V	N	NUM	CLF	PREP	N	N

loe	*kau?*	*kɔ?*	*kɔ?*	***ti?***	***kau?***
three	CLF.human	yesterday	yesterday	**one**	**CLF.human**
NUM	CLF	ADV	ADV	**NUM**	**CLF**

Intended: A teacher gave two dogs to three boys yesterday.

(119) M23

**səɹa*	*ti?*	*kau?*	*tɔ?*	*so?*	*ɹa*	*mu*
teacher	one	CLF.human	give	dog	two	CLF.nonhuman
N	NUM	CLF	V	N	NUM	CLF

ka	***kɔn***	***səmɐ̯?***	*kɔ?*	*kɔ?*	***loe***	***kau?***
APPL	**child**	**male**	yesterday	yesterday	**three**	**CLF.human**
PREP	**N**	**N**	ADV	ADV	**NUM**	**CLF**

Intended: A teacher gave two dogs to three boys yesterday.

4.7 Relative clauses

The relative clause functions as a modifier of the noun and it follows the head noun in a noun phrase. The relative clause is introduced by a relativizer *pə*[14]. The schema for a noun phrase that consists of a relative clause as a modifier is as follow.

NP: [N_{HEAD} (*pə*) S_{RelCl}]

Examples (120) and (121) show noun phrases with modifiers that are relative clauses. The relative clause comes directly after the head noun. If there is an adjective modifier in a noun phrase with a relative clause modifier, the adjective goes after the head noun preceding the relative clause as in (122).

(120) G3.11

kɔn ɲɔm	***pə***	*koe*	*dʒɔmsau?*	*?an*	*hoik*	*jṵm*	*kɔ?*
child	**REL**	have	disease	that	COMPL	die	yesterday
N	**REL**	V	N	DEM	ASPT	V	ADV

Free: That child who had disease had died yesterday.

(121) C34

?əu?	*lih*	*ɹʰɔm*	*kə*	*lo?*	***pə***	*?ah*	*sijɛ?*
1SG	appear	mind	APPL	speech	**REL**	say	God
PRO	V	N	PREP	N	**REL**	V	N

Free: I remembered the words that God said.

[14] The internal structure of relative clauses are discussed more detail in section (8.3.3).

(122)

ʔəuʔ	*lih*	*ɹʰɔm*	*kə*	*loʔ*	*mʰɔm*	***pə***	*ʔah*	*sijɛʔ*
1SG	appear	mind	APPL	speech	good	**REL**	say	God
PRO	V	N	PREP	N	VADJ	**REL**	V	N

Free: I remembered the good words that God said.

4.8 Prepositional phrase modifiers

A preposition phrase can also modify a noun inside the noun phrase. However, this kind of modification is not frequently found. The schema for this kind of noun phrase is as below.

NP: [N_{Head} PP]

In sentence (123), a prepositional phrase appears in a noun phrase and modifies a noun *kɔn ɲɔm* 'child'.

(123) C38

kɔn ɲɔm	*dəuʔ*	*ɲɛ̰ʔ*	*ʔeʔ*	*kɛʔ*	*tom*	*ləʔ ɹʰɔm*	*ka*
child	in	house	1PL.INCL	3DL	PRT.purpose	feel up set	APPL
N	PREP	N	PRO	PRO	MOD	V	PREP

Free: The children in my house were also upset.

4.9 Possessive noun phrases

One type of noun phrase is a possessive noun phrase. Wa possessive noun phrases consist of a possessee which is the head of the phrase, a possessor and an optional possessive marker *tʃɛ*. The structure of possessive noun phrase is as below.

NP_{POSS} : [$NP_{Possessee}$ (*tʃɛ*) {PRO/$NP_{Possessor}$}]

As shown in the above schema, the possessee precedes the possessor. Nouns are filled in possesee position and nouns and pronouns are filled in possessor position (Block, 1996: 3). Example (124) shows a possessive noun phrase which consists of two nouns both in possessee and possessor positions. *ɲɛ̰ʔ* 'house' is a possessee and which is possessed by *ai ka* 'Ai Kar'. A possessive marker *tʃɛ* is used in a possessive noun phrase.

(124) G 3.8

ɲɛ̰ʔ	*(tʃɛ)*	*ai ka*
house	POSS	Ai Kar
N	PRT	NPROP

Free: Ai Kar's house.

The possessive maker *tʃɛ* is related to the verb 'possess' and it seems that it is restricted to use only for object entities. Examples (125) and (126) show that *tʃɛ* is not allowed for 'kinship' and 'part-whole' relationships.

(125) G4.2

kɯiŋ	**(tʃɛ)*	*ai ka*
father	POSS	Ai Kar
N	PRT	NPROP

Free: Ai Kar's father.

(126) G4.6

tʃauŋ	**(tʃɛ)*	*ʔəuʔ*
leg	POSS	1SG
N	PRT	PRO

Free: my leg.

4.10 Coordinate Noun Phrase

In Wa, there are two conjunctions that connect words, phrases, and clause. The first one is *mai* and it is used to conjoin noun phrases or pronouns and sentences. The latter one is *kɛʔ* and it is used to connect only two noun phrases or pronouns. The coordinator *kɛʔ* is a homonym of a third person dual pronoun *kɛʔ* and is restricted to conjoin only human entities, especially third person.

$NP_{Coordinate}$: [NP {*mai/kɛʔ*} NP]

In (127), *mai* conjoins two nouns and forms a coordinate noun phrase. In (128), the subject of the clause is a coordinate NP in which *kɛʔ* connects two NPs.

(127) M27

hu	*tɯi*	*ŋot*	***mai***	*tʃaʔ*
go	take	chair	**and**	tea
V	V	N	**CONN**	N

Free: Go (and) take chair and tea.

(128) G18.11

ai lu	***kɛʔ***	*ɲi nap*	*hu*	*gaḭk*	*pwɛ*
Ai Lu	**3DL**	Nyi Nap	go	watch	show
NPROP	**PRO**	NPROP	V	V	N

nuʔ	*kʰɔm*	*ɹa*	*tiʔ*
past.near	all	two	POSSP
ADV	QUANT	NUM	POSSP

Free: Ai Lu and Nyi Nap both went to watch the show.

4.11 Summary

In summary, this chapter presented the internal structure of a noun phrase. Different types of noun phrase such as pronouns, possessive noun phrases, coordinate noun phrases and nominal compounds were discussed. The head noun precedes modifiers. It is found that the classifier phrase is much more moveable than other constituents.

Chapter 5
Verb Phrase

5.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses elements that occur in the verb phrase like negation, agreement, ability, permission, directionals, tense, aspect, modality, politeness and adverbs. It also discusses different types of serial verb constructions.

The following position chart shows the linear position of negation, tense, aspect, modals, ability and main verb within a verb phrase. As can be seen in the chart, negators, tense, aspect, modality precede the main verb.

Negation	TAM	Ability	Main verb	V-chain
ʔaŋ	*lai*	*tʃʰiʔ*	V	***tiʔ***
bɔ	*tɛ*	*pn̩*		
	ɲaŋ			

5.2 Negation

There are two negators in Wa: *ʔaŋ* for the declarative sentences and *bɔ* for the imperative sentences. *ʔaŋ* licenses other negative markers *lai*, *tɛ*, *ɲaŋ* and *kɔʔ*. *lai*, *ɲaŋ* and *tɛ*[15] are the particles that go with the negator *ʔaŋ*. They are optional in the negative sentences. *kɔʔ* is a negative quantifier and modifies a noun phrase. The structure of negative declarative sentences are schematized as belows.

$S_{NEG.DECL}$:	(a)	[S	*ʔaŋ*	(*lai/tɛ/ɲaŋ*)	V	O]
	(b)	[*ʔaŋ*	S	(*lai/tɛ/ɲaŋ*)	V	O]
	(c)	*[*ʔaŋ*	*lai/tɛ/ɲaŋ*	V	S	O]
	(d)	*[*ʔaŋ*	*lai/tɛ/ɲaŋ*	S	V	O]

The negative word *ʔaŋ* always comes before the verbs; therefore, negation in Wa is pre-verbal. However, the subject usually occurs after the negator as in in above

[15] The particles *lai*, *ɲaŋ* and *tɛ* are discussed more in section 5.8.

schema (b). The negative particles *lai*, *tɛ* and *ɲaŋ* also precede the main verb and follow the negative word *ʔaŋ*. The word order in negative declarative sentences is SVO. The VSO construction is not allowed in negative sentences as shown in (c). Schiller considers a negative marker as a verb. Therefore, there would be VS constructions in negative sentences if the negative is considered a verb.

In (129) and (130), the negative operator *ʔaŋ* negates sentences with eventive predicates. In (129), the negative operator *ʔaŋ* goes inside the clause and in (130), it appears at the initial position of the clause.

(129) G16.4

kɔn ɲɔm	*ʔin*	*nɔh*	***ʔaŋ***	***tɛ***
child	this	3SG	**NEG**	**NEG.explain**
N	DEM	PRO	**NEG**	MOD

tɔk	*puʔ*	*tiʔ*
beat	sibling.younger	POSSP
V	N	POSSP

Free: This child, he did not hit his/her sister.

(130) G16.2

ʔaŋ	*jɨʔ*	***lai***	*hu*	*pansan*	*pəsaʔ*
NEG	1PL.EXCL	**NEG.anymore**	go	Pan San	tomorrow
NEG	PRO	**MOD**	V	NPROP	ADV

Free: We will not go to Pan San tomorrow.

Examples (131) and (132) illustrate negation with adjectival predicates. Negatives in adjectival predicates and copula clauses work the same way as in the eventive predicates that are previously presented.

(131) M28

ʔaŋ	*pliʔ*	*ʔin*	***ɲaŋ***	*tum*
NEG	fruit	this	**NEG.yet**	ripe
NEG	N	DEM	**MOD**	VADJ

Free: This fruit is not ripe yet.

(132) G18.13

i nɔm	*viaŋ*	*nɔh*	*mʰɔm*	*kɔʔ*
Ei Nawm	although	3SG	beautiful	even
NPROP	CONN	PRO	V	ADV

ʔaŋ	*dəʔ*	*ɹʰɔm*	*nɔh*	*mʰɔm*
NEG	in	mind	3SG	good
NEG	PREP	N	PRO	VADJ

Free: Ei Nawm is beautiful but ill natured.

Lit. Although Ei Nawm (is) beautiful, her mind's inside (is) not good.

In (133), *kɔʔ* is a negative quantifier and it modifies a noun phrase. In this sentence, *kɔʔ* must co-occur with a classifier phrase. It also must co-occur with the negator *ʔaŋ*.

(133) G16.24

ʔaŋ	*səmaᵒʔ*	*tiŋ*	*tə*	*lon*	***kɔʔ***
NEG	stone	big	one	CLF.round things	**Quan.Neg.Polar**
NEG	N	V	NUM	CLF	**QUANT**

Free: Not one stone is big.

Negatives in imperative sentences use a negative operator *bɔ*. The simple schema for negative construction in Wa imperative clause is as below[16]. The subject is not normally expressed in negative imperative clauses.

$S_{NEG.IMPR}$: [*bɔ* VP ---]

In (134), the negative imperative operator *bɔ* appears at the clause initial position and precedes the verb. No subject is expressed in this negative imperative sentence.

(134) G15.36

bɔ	*sibl̪̈h*	*səda?*	*soʔ*	*nɔh*
NEG.IMPER	pull	tail	dog	3SG
NEG	V	N	N	PRO

Free: Don't pull his dog's tail.

[16] Imperative sentences are discussed more detail in section 7.4.

5.3 Agreement

There is no special agreement system in Wa. However, there is some number agreement between some copulative verbs and subjects (See Section 2.3.2.4).

5.4 Ability and permission

In Wa, the ability to do something is expressed by using *tʃʰiʔ* 'can' and *pǫn* 'able' which is derived from the verb *pǫn* meaning 'get' or 'receive'. The meaning of *tʃʰiʔ* and *pǫn* are very similar and they can be used interchangeably for some sentences. However, there are some cases that only allow *tʃʰiʔ* or *pǫn.* Table 23 shows the usage of *tʃʰiʔ* and *pǫn* with different cases.

Table 23: Observation of *tʃʰiʔ* and *pǫn*

Types of ability	***tʃʰiʔ***	***pǫn***
Speak a language	Yes	No
Do well in the exam	No	Yes
Able to sit	Yes	Yes

Example (135) and (136) illustrate the ability construction with *pǫn* and examples (137) and (138) demonstrate ability with *tʃʰiʔ.*

(135) G18.10

pʰan	*nɔh*	***pǫn***	*hwet*	*nɔh*	*kʰɔ*	*tiʔ*	*hwet*
if	3SG	**can**	come	3SG	should	V.chain	come
CONN	PRO	**V**	V	PRO	TAM	PRT	V

Free: If he (is) able come, (then) he should come.

(136) T78

hu	*ʔaŋ*	***pǫn***	*ʔaŋ*	*pǫn*	*tiʔ*	*tah*
go	NEG	**can**	NEG	can	V.chain	play.musical instrument
V	NEG	**V**	NEG	V	PRT	V

Free: 'Go, you can't, you can't play'.

(137) M11

ʔaŋ	*ʔəuʔ*	***tʃʰiʔ***	*loʔ*	*man*
NEG	1SG	**can**	speech	Burmese
NEG	PRO	**V**	N	NPROP

Free: I cannot speak Burmese.

(138) M16

ʔaŋ	*lai*	***tʃʰiʔ***	*tiʔ*	*ʔih*
NEG	NEG.anymore	**can**	V.chain	eat
NEG	MOD	**V**	PRT	V

Free: (We) cannot eat (that) anymore.

Permission is expressed by the permission verbs – *tʃu* 'allow' and *tɔʔ* 'give'. The permission verbs precede the main verbs. In (139), the grandfather gives permission to the friend to sit. This means that the friend now has the ability, *tʃʰiʔ,* to sit. A sentence final particle *hɤ* appears in this sentence and it is optionally found in both declarative and imperative sentences.

(139) T39

pao̤ʔgɹɔm	*tʃʰiʔ*	*tʃʰiʔ*
friend	can	can
N	V	V

tʃu	*taʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*mai̤ʔ*	*ŋɔ̰m*	*ka*	*hɤ*
allow	grandfather	1SG	2SG	sit	APPL	PRT.SF
V	N	PRO	PRO	V	PREP	PRT

Free: 'Oh…friend, you can, you can, my grandfather allows you to sit (there)'.

In (140), the permission *tʃu* is negated, and the subject of the embedded clause *mai̤ʔ* 'you' is not allowed to do the action *hu* 'go'. The subject in the matrix clause is omitted and it can either precede or follow *ʔaŋ*.

(140) G16.2

ʔaŋ	***tʃu***	*mai̤ʔ*	*hu*
NEG	**allow**	2SG	go
NEG	**V**	PRO	V

Free: (I command) you not to go.

A verb *tɔʔ* ‘give’ which is used for ‘giving something to someone’ is also used for ‘permission’. Sentences (141) and (142) are examples of permission with the verb *tɔʔ* ‘give’. In (141), *tɔʔ* shows that Ai Khun is permitted to sing a song. In (142), *tɔʔ* expresses that the speaker was given the permission to look after the drum by the grandfather.

(141) G18.5

tɔʔ	*ʔah*	*ai kʰun*	*lai ɹhaʔ*	*kɛh*
give	sing	Ai Khun	song	uhm
V	V	NPROP	N	INTERJ

ai ka	*tɤk*	*gɹaoh*	*kʰaiʔ*
Ai Kar	will.certain	dance	later
NPROP	TAM	V	ADV

Free: Let Ai Khun sing, then Ai Kar will (certainly) dance.

(142) T67

taʔ	*ʔəuʔ*	*dɔ̣k*	***tɔʔ***	*ʔəuʔ*	*bau*	*klɔŋ mɔŋ*	*ʔin*
grandfather	1SG	PAST.NC	**give**	1SG	look.after	drum	this
N	PRO	ASPT	**V**	PRO	V	N	DEM

hoik	*ɹhuiŋ*	*ʔah*	*nan*
already	lasts.long	say	like.that
ADV	V	V	DEM

Free: ‘my grandfather has permitted me to look after this drum, it has been a long time already’ (the rabbit) said like that.

5.5 Directionals

Wa has fewer use of directionals than Burmese—only *hu* and *hwet*. *hu* has the directional meaning ‘to’ when it follows after verbs, but when it occurs alone by itself, it is a verb ‘go’. The position of directionals in a verb phrase is schematized as below.

VP: [V_{Main} $V_{Direction}$]

Sentence (143) shows the optional use of directional verb *hu* ‘go’ with a manner of motion verb like *to* ‘run’. The same thing happens in (144).

(143)

kiʔ	*tom*	***to***	***(hu)***	***kʰaiŋ***	*ʔəuʔ*
3PL	PRT.purpose	**run**	**go**	**from**	1SG
PRO	MOD	**V**	**V**	**PREP**	PRO

Free: They ran (away) from me.

(144) G15.19

ai sin	***tiɛm***	*lai*	***hu***	*kə*	*mɛ̰ʔ*	*tiʔ*
Ai Sin	**write**	letter	**go**	APPL	mother	POSSP
N	**V**	N	**V**	PREP	N	POSSP

kɔʔ	*kɔʔ*	*tə*	*plah*
yesterday	yesterday	one	CLF.letter
ADV	ADV	NUM	CLF

Free: Aik Sin wrote a letter to his mother yesterday.

5.6 Tense or temporal markers

Wa does not mark tense inflectionally, however, some TAM markers indicate the time of the situation that happens[17]. Temporal marking of the past is with *hoik,* but because it is more aspectual it will be discussed in the Aspect section (5.7). This section looks at several ways Wa indicates the future. Table 24 summarizes these future markers. Examples for each marker are provided.

Table 24: Future markers

TAM	Gloss	Examples
saŋ	'will (irrealis)'	(145)
tɤ/tɤk	'will (certainty)'	(149)
lɔk	'will (commit)'	(150)
tʃe saŋ	'will (intend)'	(146)
ʔah tiʔ saŋ	'will (intend)'	(147)
maiŋ tiʔ saŋ	'will (intend)'	(148)

In (145), *saŋ* indicates that the situation has not happened yet and it will happen in the future. Therefore, in this sentence, 'the mother' has not gone yet. The

[17] Auxiliaries/TAM markers were listed in section (3.10).

constructions in (146-148), in comparison, increase the sense of purpose on the part of the subject.

(145) G15.13

mɛ̤ʔ	***saŋ***	*hu*	*pʰao*
mother	**will.potential**	go	now
N	**TAM**	V	ADV

Free: Mother will leave now.

(146) *mɛ̤ʔ* ***tʃe saŋ*** *hu* *pʰao*

Free: Mother intends to leave now.

(147) *mɛ̤ʔ* ***ʔah tiʔ saŋ*** *hu* *pʰao*

Free: Mother intends to leave now.

(148) *mɛ̤ʔ* ***mʰaiŋ tiʔ saŋ*** *hu* *pʰao*

Free: Mother intends to leave now.

In (149), *tɤ* expresses the certainty in the future. *tɤ* in the second part of this sentence shows that the speaker will surely cry. This sentence ends a clause with the applicative marker and that is very common in many Wa constructions. The noun phrase after the preposition *ka* is not usually expressed and in this case refers to the previous content of beating.

(149) G18.7

pʰan	*tɔk*	*maɨ̤ʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	***tɤ***	*jɛ̤m*	*ka*
if	beat	2SG	1SG	1SG	**will.certain**	cry	APPL
CONN	V	PRO	PRO	PRO	**TAM**	V	PREP

Free: If you hit me I will (certainly) cry.

Another TAM marker *lɔk* indicates the future plus commitment. *lɔk* in (150) expresses that the subject *ʔəuʔ* 'I' commits to do the action exclusively.

(150) T81

e	*paọ?gɹɔm*	*pʰan*	*maị?*	*ɹuk*
uhm	friend	if	2SG	really
INTERJ	N	CONN	PRO	ADV

saŋ	*tạh*	*nɛ*	*tit*
will.potential	play.music	uhm	DEM
TAM	V	INTERJ	DEM

ʔəuʔ	***lɔk***	*hu*	*tʃʰɔk*	*taʔ*	*tiʔ*	*ka*	*tivud*	*haŋ*
1SG	**will.commit**	go	ask	grandfather	POSSP	APPL	a while	uhm
PRO	**TAM**	V	V	N	POSSP	PREP	ADV	INTERJ

Free: ‘Ok, friend, if you really want to play this, I will go and ask my grandfather for a moment’.

5.7 Aspect

The following TAM makers listed in Table 25 in the first column are more aspect-like markers in Wa. The aspect particles come before the main verbs. Table 25 lists most of the aspect particles.

Table 25: Aspect markers in Wa

TAM	Categories
hoik	Completive
kɔn	Durative
dɔ̰k	Non-contiguous past
jaọ̰k	Inceptive
saʔ	Experiential past

Table 26 demonstrates the interactions between aspect particles and six different types of events and states: *kʰraoʔ* 'new', *lʰauŋ* 'tall', *maʔ* 'broken', *pauh* 'break', *to* 'run' and *sum* 'build.house'.

Table 26: Wa aspect particles with different types of eventuality

TAM	Eventuality					
	kʰraoʔ **'new'**	***lʰauŋ*** **'tall'**	***maʔ*** **'broken'**	***viah, baụ̰h*** **'break'**	***to*** **'run'**	***sum*** **'build.house'**
hoik	*	ok (has grown)	ok	ok	ok	ok
kɔn	ok	ok (changeable)	*	ok (repeated)	ok	ok (incomplete house)
dɔ̰k	*	ok	ok	ok	ok	ok (completion not entailed)
jaọ̰k	*	*	*	ok	ok	ok
saʔ	*	*	*	ok	ok	ok

In Wa, the completive aspect is expressed by a marker *hoik* and the word *hoik* by itself means 'finish'. Example (151) shows that *hoik* is a completive aspect and not a past tense marker because when it occurs together with *lhauŋ* 'tall', it means that the event of growing is completed, not that the state of tall held in the past.

(151) M30

kʰao?	*ʔin*	***hoik***	***lhauŋ***
tree	this	**COMPL**	**tall**
N	DEM	**ASPT**	**VADJ**

Free: This tree has grown.

The durative aspect is expressed by *kɔn* which occurs only in the positive declarative sentences. *kɔn* is incompatible with *hoik*. It can be used for both events and states. However, *kɔn* does not go well with the unchangeable state 'broken'.

The particle *dɔ̰k* expresses that the action or state happened before the speech time. It is similar to the 'present perfect' in English. It can be used for both events and states except with unchangeable state 'new'. *dɔ̰k* usually co-occurs with the completive aspect marker *hoik*.

Sentences (152), (153) and (154) compare the different interactions of the aspect markers *kɔn* and *dɔ̰k* with *lɔm* 'sharp'. In (152), the knife is sharp at the speaking time. In (153), the state of being sharp is true now and was true before the speech time. It might or might not be true in the future. The action or state begins at an unspecified time in the past and continues to be true at the speech time. In (154), the state of being sharp was true sometime before the speech time and it might be true until the speech time. But, it does not relate to the future.

(152) M36

vaɨ̰k	*ʔin*	*lɔm*
knife	this	sharp
N	DEM	VADJ

Free: This knife is sharp.

(153) M37

vaɨ̰k	*ʔin*	*kɔn*	*lɔm*
knife	this	DUR	sharp
N	DEM	ASPT	VADJ

Free: This knife is still sharp.

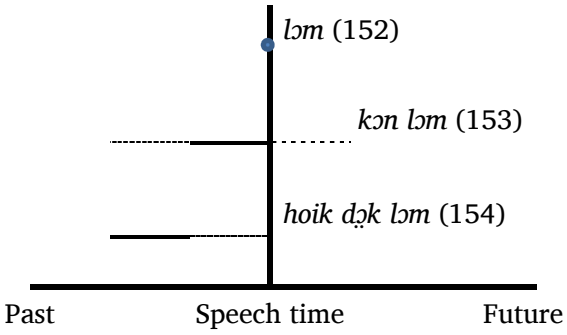
(154) M38

vaiʲk	*ʔin*	*hoik*	*dɔ̰k*	*lɔm*
knife	this	COMPL	PAST.NC	sharp
N	DEM	ASPT	ASPT	VADJ

Free: This knife is already sharp.

Figure 4 summarizes the meaning of (152), (153) and (154) in relation in to time.

Figure 4: The meaning of *lɔm* 'sharp' in relation to time



The inceptive marker *jaɔ̰k* is derived from the verb *joak* 'lift up'. It expresses that the action is going to start. It only occurs with events as in (155). Sentence (156) demonstrates that it is not possible to use *jaɔ̰k* with the state *lhauŋ* 'tall'.

(155) T49

kaŋkwɛ	*ʔan*	*jaɔ̰k*	*tiʔ*	*to*
rabbit	that	INCEP	V.chain	run
N	DEM	ASPT	PRT	V

Free: The Rabbit began to run away.

(156) M41

**nɔh*	*jaɔ̰k*	*tiʔ*	*lhauŋ*	*kʰaoʔ*
3SG	INCEP	V.chain	tall	height
PRO	ASPT	PRT	VADJ	N

Intended: He began to be tall.

saʔ is marked as an experiential maker and it expresses that the speaker has an experience of doing the action. It is also only compatible with events as in (157) and does not occur with states. However, some states are acceptable with negatives. For instance, *saʔ* occurs in a negative sentence with *lhaoŋ* 'tall' as in (158).

(157) M39

nɔh	*saʔ*	*sum*	*ɲɛ̤ʔ*
3SG	EXP	build	house
PRO	ASPT	V	N

Free: He has built (a) house.

(158) M40

nɔh	*ʔaŋ*	*tɛ*	*saʔ*	*lhauŋ*	*k^{h}aoʔ*
3SG	NEG.DECL	NEG.explain	EXP	tall	height
PRO	NEG	MOD	ASPT	VADJ	N

Free: He has not been tall.

5.8 Modality/Mood

Some of the modalities in Wa are presented in Table 27. The second column provides the gloss and the third column summarizes partial definitions for each particle.

Table 27: Wa modality

Modality	**Gloss**	**Partial Definition**
lai	NEG.anymore	The eventuality is not now true but it was
tɛ	NEG.explain	The eventuality is not true which explains something else
ɲaŋ	NEG.yet	The eventuality is not true now, but it might be in the future
tom	purpose	The eventuality is true/not true for a reason
ʔɔʔ	hortative mood	The eventuality expressed should be done by the addressee

lai, *ɲaŋ* and *tɛ* are the particles that go with the negator *ʔaŋ* in negative clauses. *lai* and *ɲaŋ* cannot co-occur but *tɛ* can co-occur before either of them. *lai* is glossed as 'NEG.anymore' since it expresses that the eventuality is not now true but was true in the past. *tɛ* is marked as 'NEG.explain' and it expresses the eventuality is not true which explains something else in context. This is similar to a counter-expectation sense in other languages. *ɲaŋ* indicates that the eventuality is not true now, but it might be in the future, therefore it is marked as 'NEG.yet'. The particle *tom* provides explanation and expresses the event or state is true for a reason. It only allows SVO

constructions. The particle *ʔɔʔ* occurs at the final position of imperative clauses and it expresses that the speaker encourage someone to do the action.

lai in sentence (159) indicates that the speaker was planning to shoot the civets in the past, but he canceled executing the action.

(159) C22

ʔəuʔ	*ʔaŋ*	***lai***	*puiŋ*	*ka*	*ka*	*ʔan kiʔ*
1SG	NEG	**NEG.anymore**	shoot	APPL	cat.civet	those
PRO	NEG	**MOD**	V	PREP	N	DEM

Free: I did not shoot those civet cats.

In sentence (160), *tɛ* expresses that the situation does not really happen as expected. This sentence might be used as an answer to a question like 'Did you give a letter to him?'.

(160) G5.5

ʔaŋ	*ʔəuʔ*	***tɛ***	*jəuʔ*	*nɔh*
NEG	1SG	**NEG.explain**	see	3SG
NEG	PRO	**MOD**	V	PRO

Free: I didn't meet him.

ɲaŋ in (161) shows that *saŋ* 'the elephant' has not died yet, but it might die in the future.

(161) G16.7

saŋ	*tiŋ*	*ʔaŋ*	***ɲaŋ***	*jụ̈m*
elephant	big	NEG	**NEG.yet**	die
N	VADJ	NEG	**MOD**	V

Free: The big elephant has not died yet.

5.9 Politeness

Politeness is expressed by using different particles. The particle *tʃa* is marked as a polite marker and it attaches to the verb. The sentence final particles *ʔɔʔ* and *liạ̈k* are also used to express politeness. *liạ̈k* is usually used in formal speech while *ʔɔʔ* is used in informal speech. They both appear at the end of imperative clauses. Another politeness maker is *jụ̈h bwan son* and it is also glossed as 'please'. It occurs at the beginning of the clause or it appears by itself.

The polite marker *tʃa* is used to make a sentence more polite in both declarative clauses as in (163) and in imperative clauses as in (162). *tʃa* also expresses that the speaker is speaking in a humble way.

(162) T3

tʃa	*ŋhɛt*	*ku*	*kəuʔ*
Polite.MKR	listen	every	CLF.human
PRT	V	QUANT	CLF

Free: (Please)everyone listen (to me).

(163) T68

ʔəuʔ	*lɔk*	***tʃa***	*bəu*	*pot*
1SG	will.commit	**Polite.MKR**	look.after	PRT
PRO	TAM	**PRT**	V	PRT

Free: 'I commit to look after (this)'.

In (164), the speaker commands someone to wash the cloth in a polite manner. It uses two polite particles: *jụh bwan son* and *ʔɔʔ*. *ʔɔʔ* in this sentence expresses that the speaker is persuading someone to do the action that they may not want to do.

(164) G15.18

jụh bwan son	*sədəʔ*	*gɹəŋ*	***ʔɔʔ***
please	wash	cloth	**SF.PRT**
INTERJ	V	N	**PRT**

Free: Wash the clothes please.

5.10 Adverbs

Adverbs are not arguments in a clause. In (165), an adverb *jụh luŋ* modifies the verb *to* 'run' and appears at the clause final position.

(165) T59

kaŋkwɛ	*ʔin*	*to*	*to*	*jụh luŋ*
rabbit	this	run	run	emphatically
N	DEM	V	V	ADV

Free: This rabbit ran quickly.

(166) G5.1.2

hu	*ʔəuʔ*	*pʰai*	*pʰai*
go	1SG	quickly	quickly
V	PRO	ADV	ADV

Free: I (am) walking quickly.

The apparent adverb *njhɛt* is different because it is actually a verb (See Section 3.5) and it precedes the verb.

(167) G5.1.3

njhɛt	*ʔəuʔ*	*tiʔ*	*hu*	*pʰai*	*pʰai*
do.quick.very	1SG	V.chain	go	quickly	quickly
V	PRO	PRT	V	ADV	ADV

Free: I am walking very quickly.

(168) G5.1.4

njhɛt	*ʔəuʔ*	*tiʔ*	*hu*	*pʰai*	*pʰai*	*tete*
do.quick.very	1SG	V.chain	go	quickly	quickly	indeed.truly
V	PRO	PRT	V	ADV	ADV	ADV

Free: I am walking very quickly indeed.

If there is negation in a sentence with adverbs, the meaning of the adverb is usually negated. For example, *ʔaŋ* negates the adverb part in (169). It does not mean that NP_{SUB} *nɔh* 'he' does not do the action *hu* 'go'. The meaning of this sentence is 'he is going, (but) not quickly'.

(169)

ʔaŋ	*nɔh*	*hu*	*pʰai*	*pʰai*
NEG	3SG	go	quickly	quickly
NEG	PRO	V	ADV	ADV

Free: He is not going quickly.

5.11 Serial verb constructions

Serial verb constructions can be seen very frequently in Wa. A verb chain marker *tiʔ* is optionally used to connect verbs in a series of verbs. When *tiʔ* connects two or more verbs in a series, all the verbs in a sequence usually share the same subject. However, there are some serial verb constructions where *tiʔ* is omitted even though

verbs share the same subject. Also *ti?* is not allowed in imperative clauses. The structure of serial verb construction is schematized as in (170).

(170) **Serial verb construction**

(a) TAM *ti?* V

(b) V *ti?* V

(c) V V

There is no limitation on how many verbs are permitted in verb serialization within a single clause. Either NP_{SUB} or NP_{OBJ} may optionally go inside the first part of serial verb construction. Different types of serial verb construction and optionality of *ti?* will be discussed in the following sub-sections. Some of them might be subordinate constructions.

5.11.1 Simultaneous motion

In simultaneous motion serial verb constructions, events happen at the same time or about at the same time. Example (171) and (172) demonstrate the serial verb constructions that indicate simultaneous motion. In (171), the action of scooping and eating honey happens at about the same time. In (172), the mother welcomed the speaker and she also asked the speaker about something at the same time. *ti?* is obligatory in (171) and (172).

(171) C33

ki?	***ʧɔk***	****(ti?)***	***ʔih***	*ɹɔm hia*	*mai*
3PL	**scoop**	**V.chain**	**eat**	honey	and
PRO	**V**	**PRT**	**V**	N	CONN

ki?	***guạ***	*paọ? ti?*	***ʔih***	*kɛʔnɛ*
3PL	**share**	each other	**eat**	uhm
PRO	**V**	RECPL	**V**	INTERJ

Free: ‘They were scooping and eating honey and sharing it with each other.’

(172) C29

mɛ̰ʔ	*kɔn ɲɔm*	*ʔeʔ*	*kɛnɛ*	*tom*	***ɹɛ̰p***	****(tiʔ)***
mother	child	1PL	uhm	PRT.purpose	**welcome**	**V.chain**
N	N	PRO	INTERJ	MOD	**V**	**PRT**

tʃʰɔk	*ʔəuʔ*	*ʔaŋ*	*maɪ̰ʔ*	*pọn*	*patiʔtiʔ*	*lɛ*
ask	1SG	NEG	2SG	get	something	Prt.Q
V	PRO	NEG	PRO	V	N	Q

Free: The mother of our children welcomed (and) asked me ‘didn’t you get anything?.

5.11.2 Sequential motion

Sequential motion is expressed with a verb *hu* ‘go’ plus the other action verb. Two verbs in a verb phrase share the same subject. It is not possible to have *tiʔ* between *hu* ‘go’ and *tʰoʔ* ‘shut’ in (173). Sentence (174) does not allow *tiʔ* to connect two verbs – *hu* ‘go’ and *gaɪ̰k* ‘watch’.

(173) C13

ʔəuʔ	*tom*	*ʔah tiʔ saŋ*	***hu***	***tʰoʔ***	*kə dəuʔ*	*dɔhkʰaoʔ*	*kɛnɛ,*
1SG	PRT.purpose	is going to do	**go**	**shut**	inside	hole.tree	uhm
PRO	MOD	TAM	**V**	**V**	PREP	N	INTERJ

maiŋ tiʔ saŋ	*gɛ̰ʔ*	*tiʔ*	*vɛʔ*	*ʔim*	*kɛnɛ*
is going to do	catch/hold	V.chain	bring	alive	uhm
TAM	V	PRT	V	VADJ	INTERJ

Free: I was going to go (and) shut that hole and going to catch and bring him alive.

(174) G19.4

pəsaʔ	***hu***	*ʔaʔ*	***(*tiʔ)***	***gaɪ̰k***	*pwɛ*
tomorrow	**go**	1DL.INCL	**V.chain**	**watch**	show
ADV	**V**	PRO	PRT	**V**	N

Free: Tomorrow we will go to watch the show.

5.11.3 Motion with goal

Another type of serial verb construction is motion with goal as in (175). There are six verbs in a single clause. All the verbs share the same NP_{SUB} *ʔəuʔ* 'I'. As can be seen in the example *tiʔ* is obligatory.

(175) C1

ʔəuʔ	***bɹe***	****(tiʔ)***	***pʰak***	*nɑ̯t*	*tʃeʔ*	*tiʔ*	*saŋ*
1SG	**do.nice**	**V.chain**	**wash**	gun	POSS	POSSP	in order to
PRO	**V**	**PRT**	**V**	N	PRT	POSSP	CONN

hu	***sɔ̯k***	****(tiʔ)***	***dʒɔ***	****(tiʔ)***	***puiŋ***	*totiak*	*dəuʔ*	*noŋ*
go	**look.for**	**V.chain**	**hunt**	**V.chain**	**shoot**	animal	in	forest
V	**V**	**PRT**	**V**	**PRT**	**V**	N	PREP	N

Free: I washed my gun well to go hunting in the forest.

Literal: I did nice to wash my gun to go to look for to hunt to shoot for animals in the forest.

5.11.4 Motion with reached goal

The motion with reached goal verb serialization is composed of the motion verb *hu* 'go' and *hwet* 'arrive'. In (176), *hwet* 'arrive' indicates the reached goal. The verb *hwet* 'arrive' is a homonym of *hwet* 'come'. Without *hwet* 'arrive', the sentence will be only 'going to the mountain'. *tiʔ* occurs between *jaɔ̯k* and *hu*, but it is ungrammatical if *tiʔ* appears between *hu* 'go' and *hwet* 'arrive'.

(176) T85

kaŋkwɛ	*ʔin*	***jaɔ̯k***	***tiʔ***	***hu***	***(*tiʔ)***	***hwet***
rabbit	this	**INCEP**	**V.chain**	**go**	**V.chain**	**arrive**
N	DEM	**ASPT**	**PRT**	**V**	**PRT**	**V**

piɑ̯ŋ	*gɔŋ*	*siŋaɪ̯ʔ*	*pʰao*
on, above	mountain	day	now
N	N	N	ADV

Free: That Rabbit arrived on the mountain now.

5.11.5 Action-effect

In action-effect type serial verb constructions, the first verb is the action verb that causes the NP to do something. In (177), the agent of a verb *vɛʔ* which is the third person singular *nɔh* 'he' is not mentioned. This sentence means that he causes *kɛʔ* 'them' to enter the cluster of bamboo.

(177) T51

vɛʔ	*kɛʔ*	***laḭk***	*dəuʔ*	*paŋʔoʔ*
bring	3DL	**enter**	in	cluster.bamboo
V	PRO	**V**	PREP	N

Free: (He) caused both of them to enter the cluster of bamboo.

5.11.6 Action with intended effect

The action with intended effect serial verb construction consists of an action verb and effect or result of the action. Sentences (178) and (179) illustrate the action with intended effect verb serialization, having *tiʔ* in these sentences will be ungrammatical. Two verbs in this sentence do not share the subject. The result of the action (i.e broken) has to be mentioned. Therefore, the meaning of (178) is 'I broke the bottle to be broken' and the meaning for (179) is 'I did/caused the table to be broken'.

(178) G20.8

ʔəuʔ	***baṵh***	*kɔŋ*	***(*tiʔ)***	****(maʔ)***
1SG	**break**	bottle	**V.chain**	**broken**
PRO	**V**	N	**PRT**	**V**

Free: I broke the bottle.

(179) M31

jṵh	*ʔəuʔ*	*pʰɯn*	***(*tiʔ)***	****(pot)***
do	1SG	table	**V.chain**	**broken**
V	PRO	N	**PRT**	**V**

Free: I broke the table.

5.11.7 Action with patient motion

The serial verb construction in (180) indicates the action with patient motion. The subject of two verbs *tiɛm* 'write' and *hu* 'go' are not the same. Ai Sin is NP_{SUB} of a verb *tiɛm* 'write' and *lai* is the NP_{OBJ}. *hu* 'go' is not related to NP_{SUB} Ai Sin. This sentence does not mean that Ai sin wrote a letter and went to his mother. NP_{SUB} does the action of writing, *hu* 'go' indicates that only NP_{OBJ} *lai* 'letter' moves. *hu* in this sentence is a directional and it expresses the directions of NP_{OBJ}. In this sentence, the NP_{OBJ} *lai* 'letter' appears within the serial verbs. The classifier phrase of NP_{OBJ} appears at the clause final position following the adverb. *ti?* is not allowed to connect two verbs in this sentence.

(180) G15.19

ai sin	***tiɛm***	*lai*	***hu***	*kə*	*mɛ̣?*	*ti?*
Ai Sin	**write**	letter	**go**	APPL	mother	POSSP
N	**V**	N	**V**	PREP	N	POSSP

kɔ?	*kɔ?*	*tə*	*plah*
yesterday	yesterday	one	CLF.letter
ADV	ADV	NUM	CLF

Free: Aik Sin wrote a letter to his mother yesterday.

As it can be seen in above examples, the word order is both SV and VS in serial verb constructions. If the first verb is a full lexical verb, the subject goes either before or after the first full lexical verb. The subject will not appear after a sequence of verbs.

5.12 Summary

This chapter presented various clausal operators in Wa which include negation, agreement, ability, permission, directional, TAM, polite particles and adverbs.

Negation, TAM and ability precede the main verb within a verb phrase. Negation in Wa is pre-verbal. There are two different negators: *ʔaŋ* for declarative clauses and *bɔ* for imperative clauses. Ability is expressed by *tʃʰiʔ* and *pọn* and permission is expressed by *tʃu* and *tɔʔ*. There is no grammatical tense in Wa. Wa expresses future by using *saŋ, tɤ/tɤk, lɔk, tʃe saŋ, ʔah tiʔ saŋ* and *maiŋ tiʔ saŋ*. The particles *liạk*, *ʔɔʔ, jụh bwan son* and *tʃa* are used to express politness.

Finally, various types of serial verb constructions, such as simultaneous motion, sequential motion, motion with goal, motion with reached goal, action-effect and action with patient motion, were discussed.

Chapter 6
Voice and Valence Changing

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents valence alternations in Wa. It discusses how argument structure changes through passive, causative, reflexive and reciprocal constructions. First, it discusses the valence-decreasing constructions such as passives in section (6.2), reflexives and reciprocals in section (6.3). Secondly, it discusses valence-increasing constructions such as causatives in section (6.4) and applicatives in section (6.5) (Payne, 2006: 240).

6.2 Passive-like constructions

Syntactic passives are not frequently found in Wa. However, there are some constructions that have the semantic properties of passives. Core semantic properties of passives include emphasis on the result of the event and de-emphasis on the agent of the event. This section discusses different kinds of semantically passive-like constructions: zero passives, adversative passives with *kʰam*, passive constructions with *jaᵚ?*, and passives constructions that use *ki?* and *pui* as dummy subjects.

6.2.1 *kʰam* adversative passives

Kroger describes adversatives as a special type of passive construction (Kroger, 2005: 279). Wa also has an adversative construction using the verb *kʰam* 'suffer'. In this kind of sentence, the patient is the subject of the clause and the 'patient' suffers the effect of the action. There is a special emphasis on the affectedness of the patient. The effect of the action is nominalized with *kɹa?*. The adversative passive construction is schematized as below.

$S_{Passive.Adversative}$: [*kʰam* $NP_{SUB.Patient}$ $NP_{Norminalzied}$]

Examples (181) and (182) illustrate adversative passive constructions. In (181), the speaker *ʔəu?* 'I' suffers the result of beating by the bad people. In (182), the 'patient' Ai Khun is at the subject position and suffers a dog's biting.

(181) G20.9

kʰam	*ʔəuʔ*	*kɹaʔ*	*pə*	*tɔk*	*pwi*	*ʔaŋ*	*mʰɔm*
suffer	1SG	NMLZR	REL	beat	person	NEG	good
V	PRO	NMLZR	REL	V	N	NEG	VADJ

Free: I was beaten by the bad people.

(182) G20.10

ai kʰun	***kʰam***	*kɹaʔ*	*pə*	*giʂt*	*soʔ*
Ai Khun	**suffer**	NMLZR	REL	bite	dog
NPROP	**V**	NMLZR	REL	V	N

Free: Ai Khun was bitten by a dog.

6.2.2 *jaọ̈ʔ* passives

Another passive construction is formed by using the verb *jaọ̈ʔ* 'forced.to'. The patient has to be animate. The passive construction with *jaọ̈ʔ* is schematized as below.

$S_{Passive}$: [*jaọ̈ʔ* $NP_{SUB.Patient}$ V --]

In (183), the patient *nɔh* 'he' is at the subject position and is forced to do something. In this sentence, it is not possible to express an overt 'agent'.

(183) G20.5

jaọ̈ʔ	*nɔh*	*tiʔ*	*lih*	*kʰaiŋ*	*kaị̈ŋ*
forced.to	3SG	V.chain	leave	from	work
V	PRO	PRT	V	PREP	N

Free: He was fired.

Literal: He was forced to leave from work.

6.2.3 *kiʔ* and *pui*—dummy subject passives

kiʔ 'they' and *pui* 'people' are used as dummy subjects in a passive-like construction. For instance, in a sentence like 'the house is built ', *kiʔ* or *pwi* appears in the subject position and refer to non-specfic people as in (184). This sentence seems syntactically more like an active voice, but it is semantically passive. The same thing also happens in (185).

(184) M29

hoik	*sum*	*ki?/pwi*	*ɲɛ̰?*	*tin*
COMPL	build	3PL/people	house	here
ASPT	V	PRO/N	N	ADV

Free: The house is built here.

Lit: They built the house here.

(185) G1.15

bɯɛ̰?	*pwi*	*pʰuk lai*	*ɹa*	*pʰuk*	*hu*
steal	person	book	two	CLF.book	go
V	N	N	NUM	CLF	V

Free: Two books were stolen.

Lit: People stole two books (and) went.

6.2.4 Zero agent passives (causative/resultative)

Zero agent passive constructions focus on the result of the event. The agent of the event is not expressed as an argument. In this case, Wa has different 'cause' and 'result' forms for some action verbs as in Table 28. The verbs listed in the first column take two arguments: agent as a subject and a patient as an object. They are more agentive. The verbs listed in the second column take only one argument; the patient as a subject. If the agent is expressed, it becomes an oblique.

Table 28: Lexical causatives and resultatives

Cause		**Result**	
baụ̈h	'break'	*ma?*	'broken'
kuụ̈t	'burn'	*pɹuih*	'got burned'
ɹait	'break'	*pot*	'broken (thin-long objects)'
glʰat	'frighten'	*lʰat*	'frightened'
plak	'uncover'	*blak*	'uncovered'

The schematic construction for Zero Agent passives that indicate the result of the event is as below. This construction is similar to syntactic passives.

$$S_{Passive.Result}: [V_{Result}\ \ NP_{SUB.Patient}\ (NP_{OBL.Agent})]$$

The passive construction in (187) is similar to English passives. Sentence (186) is an active voice and uses the verb *baụ̈h* 'break' that indicates the causative. Sentence

(187) is a passive voice in Wa focusing on the result. It uses the resultative verb *maʔ* ‘broken’ and the patient *kɔŋ* ‘bottle’ is promoted to the subject position; and, it is optional to express the agent *ʔəuʔ* ‘I’.

(186) G20.8b

ʔəuʔ	*baụh*	*kɔŋ*	*maʔ*
1SG	break	bottle	broken
PRO	V	N	V

Free: I broke the bottle.

(187) G20.8

hoik	*maʔ*	*kɔŋ*	*(dʒao*	*ʔəuʔ)*
COMPL	broken	bottle	because.of	1SG
ASPT	V	N	PREP	PRO

Free: The bottle was broken (by me).

6.3 Reflexives and reciprocals

A pronoun *tʃao* is used together with *tiʔ* to express the reflexive relationship. In (188), *nɔh* ‘he’ is both the one who feeds and the one who benefits. The word *taŋ* also appears together with *tʃao* in reflexive constructions as in (189). The word *taŋ* contains a number of meanings—seperately, oneself, not relying on others, alone, no need help from others. In (189), *nɔh* ‘he’ dressed himself without getting any help from others. In (190), *nɔh* ‘he’ is the one who does the action of beating and the one who is acted upon (Kroger, 2005: 275).

(188) M32

nɔh	*sɔm*	***tʃao***	***tiʔ***
3SG	eat rice	**oneself**	**REFLX**
PRO	V	**PRO**	**REFLX**

Free: He ate by himself.

(189) M33

nɔh	***taŋ***	*tʃub*	*gɹəŋ*	***tʃao***	***tiʔ***
3SG	**do.alone**	dress	cloth	**oneself**	**REFLX**
PRO	**V**	V	N	**PRO**	**REFLX**

Free: He dressed himself.

(190) G11.4

taŋ	*kɹoʔ*	*tɔk*	*nɔh*	*ka*	***tʃao***	***tiʔ***
do.alone	affect	beat	3SG	APPL	**oneself**	**REFLX**
V	V	V	PRO	PREP	**PRO**	**REFLX**

Free: He hit himself.

The reciprocal relationship is expressed using reciprocal pronoun *pao̤ʔ tiʔ*. In (191), the first person dual pronoun *jɛ̤ʔ* refers to the person who is speaking and the other third person. The hearer is excluded in this sentence and *jɛ̤ʔ ai ka* refers to the speaker (the first person) and Ai Kar. Therefore, in (191), the speaker hit Ai Kar and Ai Kar hit the speaker.

(191) G11.5

jɛ̤ʔ	*ai ka*	*pə*	*tɔk*	***pao̤ʔ tiʔ***
1DL.EXCL	Ai Kar	REL	beat	**each.other**
PRO	NPROP	REL	V	**RECPL**

Free: Ai Kar and I hit each other.

6.4 Causatives

Causatives are formed using causative verbs *kɛ̤h* 'cause', *tɔʔ* 'give', *vɛʔ* 'bring', and *mʰaiŋ* 'command'. They add a new participant in a clause (Kroger, 205: 277). The causative verb usually precedes the main verb. The constructions of causatives are periphrastic and take sentential complement clauses. The schematic construction for causatives is as below.

$S_{Causative}$: $[NP_{Causer}\ V_{Causative}\ S]$

A relative clause in (192) is a simple causative; *kɛ̤h* indicates that *kɔnɲɔm* 'child' is the causer of an event of breaking.

(192) G3.12

kok	*kɔn ɲɔm*	***kɛ̤h***	|	*kloŋ*	*tʃʰaʔ*	***maʔ***	|	*hwet*
call	child	**cause**	|	cup	tea	**broken**	|	come
V	N	**V**	|	N	N	**V**	|	V

Free: Call the child who broke the glass to come.

In (193), Ai Kar is the agent of the verb *tɔk* 'beat' and Ai Khun is the patient. Example (194) is a causative of (193) with *kɛ̤h*. *kɛ̤h* adds a new argument *ʔəuʔ* 'I' to

the clause. Therefore, in (194), *ʔəuʔ* 'I' is the causer and the agent of *kɻ̥h*, Ai Kar is a causee and Ai Khun is the effected patient.

(193)

ai ka	*lwe*	*tiʔ*	***tɔk***	*ai kʰun*
Ai Kar	do.accidently	V.chain	**beat**	Ai Khun
NPROP	V	PRT	**V**	NPROP

Free: Ai Kar accidently beat Ai Khun.

(194) G11.1

ʔəuʔ	***kɻ̥h***	*ai ka*	*lwe*	*tiʔ*	***tɔk***	*ai kʰun*
1SG	**cause**	Ai Kar	do.accidently	V.chain	**beat**	Ai Khun
PRO	**V**	NPROP	V	PRT	**V**	NPROP

Free: I caused Ai Kar to accidently beat Ai Khun.

Another causative construction is formed by *tɔʔ* 'give'. *tɔʔ* expresses more agency on the part of embedded subject.

(195) G15.17

tɔʔ	*bɹuŋ*	*sɔm*
give	horse	eat rice
V	N	V

Free: Let the horse eat.

(196) G20.1

mɻ̥ʔ	***tɔʔ***	*kɔn*	*nɔh*	*sɔm*
mother	**give**	child	3SG	eat rice
N	**V**	N	PRO	V

Free: Mother fed her child.

vɛʔ 'bring' in (197) also contains a causative meaning. The embedded part of the clause is intransitive with a verb *laɻ̥k* 'enter' and an agent *kɛʔ* 'them'. But when a causative verb *vɛʔ* 'bring' is added to the clause, the agent of *laɻ̥k* 'enter' which is *kɛʔ* '3DL' becomes the patient. The agent of *vɛʔ* is mentioned in this sentence. The meaning of (197) is 'he caused them to enter the cluster of bamboo'.

(197) T51

vɛʔ	*kɛʔ*	***laa̤k***	*dəuʔ*	*paŋʔoʔ*
bring	3DL	**enter**	in	cluster.bamboo
V	PRO	**V**	PREP	N

Free: (He) caused both of them to enter the cluster of bamboo.

Causatives are also formed using *m^{h}aiŋ* 'command'. The result is not entailed in this kind of causative. Example (198) is a simple transitive clause consisting of NP_{SUB} *kɔn ɲɔm* 'child', a verb *p^{h}at* 'read' and NP_{OBJ} *lai* 'book'. In example (199), the causer *səɹamaʔ* 'teacher' is added to form a causative construction of the sentence (198). The agent *kɔn ɲɔm* 'child' of *p^{h}at* 'read' in (198) becomes the patient for the verb *m^{h}aiŋ* 'command' in (199). The meaning of (199) is 'the teacher made the children study'. The same pattern is also found in (200).

(198) M6

kɔn ɲɔm	*p^{h}at*	*lai*
child	read	book
N	V	N

Free: The children (are) read(ing) the book (or the children are studying).

(199) G20.4

səɹamaʔ	***m^{h}aiŋ***	*kɔn ɲɔm*	*p^{h}at*	*lai*
teacher	**command**	child	read	book
N	**V**	N	V	N

Free: The teacher commanded the child to read the book.
(The teacher made the children study)

(200) G20.2

mɛ̤ʔ	***m^{h}aiŋ***	*puʔke*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tɔʔ*	*kɔn ɲɔm*	*sɔm*
mother	**command**	elder siblings	1SG	give	child	eat rice
N	**V**	N	PRO	V	N	V

Free: Mother made my sister feed the child.

6.5 Applicatives

There is no applicative marking on verbs; however, *ka* is used like a preposition to license additional NPs or PPs and expresses location, goal, recipient and instrument constituents (See Section 2.3.1.4).

6.6 Summary

This chapter discussed both valence increasing and valence decreasing constructions in Wa.

Valence decreasing constructions occur in passives and Wa has several passive like constructions. The agent is usually left out of the clause in passives. A zero passive construction is made using lexical resultative verbs and this kind of passive is more syntactic than the other. *jaọ?* is used to construct passives in Wa when an event is forced to happen. Adversative constructions are formed using *k^{h}am*. A final way of making passive construction is with *ki?* or *pui* as a dummy subject. In reflexive constructions both the agent and the patient refer to the same entity. The pronoun *paọ? ti?* is used to express reciprocal meaning in Wa.

Valences increase in causative constructions. In causatives, a new argument is added to a clause. The causer and causative verb precede the causee and the main verb. The applicative marker *ka* also allows adding peripheral constituents such as locative, recipient, instrument and goal.

Chapter 7
Sentence Types

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents various sentence types in Wa. The discussion includes declarative sentences in (7.2), interrogative sentences in (7.3) and imperative sentences in (7.4). Lastly, it talks briefly about extraposition in (7.5).

7.2 Statements (Declarative)

The word order of declarative sentences is normally regarded as the basic word order of a language and has been discussed through the thesis (Konig and Siemund, 2007: 284). The word order in declarative sentences in Wa can be either SVO or VSO. See section (2.3) and (8.3).

The structure of a declarative sentence is schematized as below and optionality is not marked. The order of verb and NP_{SUB} is interchangeable. The object follows both NP_{SUB} and a verb. Locative and temporal adjuncts occur at the end of the clause.

S: [V NP_{SUB} NP_{OBJ} $PP_{LOC/GOAL}$ NP_{TIME}]

Sentence (201) illustrates a simple declarative sentence in Wa. It consists of NP_{SUB} *i sin* 'Ei Sin', a verb *pʰɛ̰ʔ,* NP_{OBJ} *makmuŋ* 'mango', PP_{LOC} *piạŋ lɔʔ* 'on the cart' and NP_{TIME} *kɔʔ* 'yesterday'.

(201) G15.6

i sin	*pʰɛ̰ʔ*	*makmuŋ*	*piạŋ*	*lɔʔ*	*kɔʔ*	*kɔʔ*
Ei Sin	eat.fruit	mango	on	cart	yesterday	yesterday
NPROP	V	N	PREP	N	ADV	ADV

Free: Ei Sin ate the mango on the cart yesterday.

7.3 Questions (Interrogative)

Different ways of question formations in Wa are discussed in this section. It discusses 'Yes-No' questions, 'Tag' questions, 'Or-Not' questions and content questions.

7.3.1 'Yes-No' question

'Yes-No' questions are typically used to inquire about the truth or falsity of the proposition they express (Konig and Siemund, 2007: 291). In Wa, the word order of 'Yes-No' questions is the same as that of declarative sentences. The particle *lɛ* is added at the end of the clause in 'Yes-No' questions and *lɛ* signals that sentence is interrogative. However, it is optional. If there is no particle *lɛ* in a 'Yes-No' question, a special intonation pattern – raising the pitch sentence-final – is used to distinguish between declarative sentences and 'Yes-No' questions. The general schema for 'Yes-No' questions in Wa is as below.

$S_{\text{Yes-No Question}} = [S\ (l\varepsilon)]$

The sentence (202) is an example of 'Yes-No' question in Wa. The question particle *lɛ* is optional in this sentence.

(202) C29

ʔaŋ	*maị̈ʔ*	*pǫ̣n*	*pa tiʔ tiʔ*	***(lɛ)***
NEG	2SG	get	something	**Quest.PRT**
NEG	PRO	V	N	**QP**

Free: 'Didn't you get anything?'

7.3.2 Tag question

Tag questions are formed by adding *ʔaŋ mm̩h lɛ* to the declarative sentences. Tag questions are composed of two parts, the first part is a simple declarative part and the second part is an interrogative part composed of *ʔaŋ mm̩h lɛ* as in (203). The word order in the first part is VS. The structure of tag question is schematized as below.

$S_{\text{Tag Question}}$: [S *ʔaŋ mm̩h lɛ*]

(203) M35

hu	*maɨʔ*	*ʔaŋ*	*mɔ̰h*	*lɛ*
go	2SG	NEG	be	QUEST.PRT
V	PRO	NEG	COP	QP

Free: Will you go, won't you?

7.3.3 'Or-Not' question

Example (204) is an interrogative 'Or-Not' sentence in which the speaker asks someone for a choice. An 'Or-Not' question is formed by combining two parts. The first part of the clause is repeated in the second part with the negative word *ʔaŋ*. 'Or-Not' questions prefer a short form of sentence even with the transitive verbs. The schema for 'Or-Not' question formation is as below.

$S_{\text{'Or-Not' Question}}$: [$V_1$ S_1 *ʔaŋ* S_1 V_1]

(204) M34

hu	*maɨʔ*	*ʔaŋ*	*maɨʔ*	*hu*
go	2SG	NEG	2SG	go
V	PRO	NEG	PRO	V

Free: Will you go or not?

7.3.4 Content question

In content questions, question words are used to replace one of the constituents of the corresponding declarative clause (Kroeger, 2005: 205). Question words in Wa content questions appear near either the initial position or the final position. A question word can also be used by itself to form a content question. Section (3.2.3) listed interrogative pronouns, or content question words.

Noun phrases, verb phrases, prepositional phrases, and adverbial phrases can be questioned (Bickford, 1998: 232). The question particle *lɛ* is also optionally used in content questions. Some of the question words change their meanings depending on the contexts. For example, *jɯ̰h ka mɔʔ* can be used for several functions: 'how', 'why' and 'what happened'.

The following sentences demonstrate only some of the content questions. In (205), *pəti?* 'what' is used to get information about a 'thing'.

(205) G14.9

tʃɤ kəuʔ	*maɻʔ*	*mn̥h*	***pətiʔ***
name	2SG	be	**what**
N	PRO	COP	**QW**

Free: What is your name?

The sentence (206) demonstrates a content question on 'time'. The question words *bn̥k jɻm mɔʔ, jɻm mɔʔ* and *lai mɔʔ* are used to get information about 'time'.

(206) G14.6

(*mn̥h*)	***bn̥k jɻm mɔʔ***	*nɔh*	*kɤm*	*hu*	*dəʔ*	*kəŋ*	*tiʔ*
be	**when**	3SG	PRT.purpose	go	in	paddy field	POSSP
COP	**QW**	PRO	MOD	V	PREP	N	POSSP

Free: When did he go to his field?

Sentence (207) illustrates a content question about 'place'. In order to know the location of a situation, the question words *du mɔʔ* or *mɔʔ* are used.

(207) G14.10

(mn̥h)	*ʔot*	*maɻʔ*	***du mɔʔ***
be	stay	2SG	**where**
COP	V	PRO	**QW**

Free: Where do you stay?

As it can be seen from the above examples, the copula *mn̥h* optionally appears at the beginning of question sentences. A copula at the initial position of the interrogative clauses signifies an intense desire to know.

7.4 Commands (Imperative)

In Wa imperative clauses, the addressee who is being told to do something is usually omitted. However, it may be optionally expressed.

Sentences (208-209) compare declarative and imperative sentences. Example (208) is the declarative sentence while (209) and (210) are examples of imperative sentences. In the imperative constructions in (209 and 210), the subject is omitted.

(208) M8

tik	*ʔəuʔ*	*kak*	*kʰaoʔ*	*pə*	*pot*	*ʔan*
throw.away	1SG	branch	tree	REL	broken	that
V	PRO	N	N	REL	V	DEM

Free: I throw away that branch that is broken.

(209) G3.14

tik	*kak*	*kʰaoʔ*	*pə*	*pot*	*ʔan*
throw.away	branch	tree	REL	broken	that
V	N	N	REL	V	DEM

Free: Throw away that broken branch!

(210) G17.8

hu	*dəʔ*	*laih*	*pʰao*	*hɤ*
go	in	market	now	PRT.SF
V	PREP	N	ADV	PRT

Free: Go to the market now!

The commands can be made softer by using polite particles or other markers. One way of softening the command is by attaching a polite particle *tʃa* to the verb as in (211).

(211) G15.23

tʃa	*tɔʔ*	*mau*	*ka*	*ʔəuʔ*
polite.MKR	give	money	APPL	1SG
PRT	V	N	PREP	PRO

son	*kɔn bon*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tʃwiʔ*
for	daughter	1SG	amount.little
PREP	N	PRO	QUANT

Free: Please give me a small amount of money for my daughter.

In (212), the *verb* vɛʔ ‘bring’ softens a command and makes it sound more polite. *vɛʔ* is optional in this sentence.

(212) G14.8

ai kʰun	***(vɛʔ)***	*maị̀ʔ*	*hu*	*dəʔ*	*kəuŋ*
Ai Khun	**bring**	2SG	go	in	paddy field
NPROP	**V**	PRO	V	PREP	N

Free: Ai khun, Go to the field.

Literal: Ai Khun, bring (yourself and) go to the field.

In Wa, negative commands are formed using a special negative word *bɔ* which is only used for imperative sentences. *bɔ* always appears in the initial postion of the clause. Example (213) demonstrates a negative imperative in Wa.

(213) G15.36

bɔ	*sibl̥̀uh*	*səda?*	*soʔ*	*nɔh*
NEG.IMPER	pull	tail	dog	3SG
NEG	V	N	N	PRO

Free: Don't pull his dog's tail.

7.5 Extraposition

Extraposition also occurs in Wa. In sentence (214), 'You coming here' is a complement object and is extraposed from its normal position to the clause initial position. The word order in bold part is VS. If the word order changes to SV, then the meaning will change to two independent statements 'You come here. I do not like'.

(214) G23.1

hwet	***maị̀ʔ***	***tin***	*ʔaŋ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*muh*
come	**2SG**	**here**	NEG	1SG	love
V	**PRO**	**ADV**	NEG	PRO	V

Free: I don't like you coming here.

In (215), a noun phrase 'the four civet cats' is extraposed to the beginning of the clause. *tʃɔk* 'scoop' can go in front of *kiʔ* 'they', but it is not possible for *tʃɔk* 'scoop' to appear at the clause initial position and have two NPs together following it.

(215) C33

ka	*ʔan ki?*	*pon*	*mu*	*ki?*
cat.civet	those	four	CLF.nonhuman	3PL
N	DEM	NUM	CLF	PRO

tʃɔk	*ti?*	*ʔih*	*ɹɔm hia*
scoop	V.chain	eat	honey
V	PRT	V	N

Free: The four civet cat, they, (were) scooping and eating honey.

7.6 Summary

This chapter discussed simple sentences including declarative sentences, interrogative sentences and imperative sentences. The word order in declarative sentences is both SVO and VSO. The interrogative formations, which include 'Yes-No' questions, Tag questions, 'Or-Not' questions and content questions were discussed. It discussed positive and negative imperatives and presented the constructions for softening commands. Two extraposition processes were also briefly discussed.

Chapter 8
Complex Clauses

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents complex clause constructions in Wa. It discusses coordinate clauses in (8.2) and subordinate clauses in (8.3). The discussion goes a little bit further on subordinate clauses and discusses the constituent structures in complement clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses.

8.2 Coordination

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. The coordinated units may be words, phrases, clauses or sentences (Haspelmath, 2007: 1). In Wa coordinate clauses, the conjunction *mai* 'and' is used to join two independent clauses. A conjunction *kɛ?* allows joining two noun phrases or pronouns[18]. The coordinate clauses can be schematized as below.

$S_{Coordinate}$: [S *mai* S]

If the subject of clause one and two are the same, the subject is not normally mentioned in the latter sentence.

In (216), *mai* conjoins two independent clauses. The subject of the verb *kaoh* 'wake up' in the first clause and *hu* 'go' in the second clause is the same.

[18] Noun phrase coordination was discussed in section 4.10.

(216) C2

kʰai?	*pʰak*	*ʔəu?*	*nạt*	*kənɛ*	*ʔəu?*	*tom*	*kaoh*
after	wash	1SG	gun	uhm	1SG	PRT.purpose	wake up
CONN	V	PRO	N	INTERJ	PRO	MOD	V

ʤau	*ʤau*	***mai***	*hu*	*dəu?*	*noŋ*
early	early	**and**	go	in	forest
ADV	ADV	**CONN**	V	PREP	N

Free: After I had washed my gun, I woke up very early and went to the forest.

In (217), the subject for both clauses is the same *kɛ?*. The subject and object is not mentioned in the second clause.

(217) C42

kɛ?	*tom*	*ɹɛ̣p*	*ti?*	*klɛ̣n*	*pọh*
3DL	PRT.purpose	welcome	V.chain	help.carry	barking deer
PRO	MOD	V	PRT	V	N

mai	*dɤ̣*	*dəu?*	*ɲɛ̣?*
and	place	in	house
CONN	V	PREP	N

Free: She welcomed helping to carry the barking deer and putting (it) in the house.

8.3 Subordination

A subordinate clause is a clause that does not stand alone as a sentence. Three basic types of subordinate clauses such as complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses are discussed (Kroger, 2005: 219). They have different constituent structures from the main clauses.

Chapter 2 outlined the word order in Wa main clauses. As previously discussed, Wa has two alternative word orders and the variation of word order does not depend on the semantic domain or transitivity of the verb. It also cannot be determined based on whether the subject is a noun phrase or pronoun. The word order variation in Wa seems to be affected by the clause types.

Table 29 summarizes these VS-SV patterns.

Table 29: Clause types and VS-SV patterns

Clause Types	SV	VS	Examples	Sections
Main clauses	ok	ok	(16), (14)	2.3
Dependent clauses (Time)		ok	(221)	8.3.2.1
Dependent clauses (Reason)		ok	(225)	8.3.2.2
Dependent clauses (Conditional)	ok	[19]	(226)	8.3.2.3
Complement clauses	ok	ok	(220), (218)	8.3.1
Relative clauses		ok	(228)	8.3.3
Nominalization		ok	(64)	3.2
Serial verb constructions	ok	ok	(175), (174)	5.11

Some of the patterns were discussed in the previous chapters. The last column provides a heading number in which each of those was discussed. Some of them are discussed in the following sections.

8.3.1 Complementation

Complement clauses function as the subject or object of the main clause (Kroger, 2005: 219). In Wa, the internal constituent structure of the complement clause is different from the matrix clause depending upon the verbs in the matrix clause. There is no complementizer to introduce the complement clause.

$$S_{Complex}: [NP_{SUB}\ V_{Matirx}\ [S_{Complement}]]$$

Table 30 demonstrates the word order in complement clauses with different types of matrix verbs.

[19] One speaker uses VS, when it was checked with other speakers, they prefer SV.

Table 30: Word order in embedded clauses

Matrix verbs	Word order in complement clauses		
	SV	**VS**	**Examples**
see		ok	(218)
watch		ok	(219)
want	ok		(220)
choose	ok		G6.11
know	ok		M13.1
love/like		ok	(214)
believe		ok	
cause/break	ok		(194), (186)
allow	ok		(139)
give(permission)	ok	ok	(142), (141)

It is found that the internal structure of complement clauses seems to vary depending upon the matrix very types.

Examples (218), (219) and (220) illustrate complement clause constructions. In (218), the matrix word order is SV and the embedded word order is VS. The same pattern occurs in (219). But in (220), both the matrix clause and embedded clause have SV word order.

(218) C14

ʔəuʔ	*tom*	*jaoʔ*	*tʃɔk*	*nɔh*	*ɹɔm hia*
1SG	PRT.purpose	see	scoop	3SG	honey
PRO	MOD	V	V	PRO	N

Free: I saw that he was scooping honey.

(219) C12

ʔəuʔ	*tom*	*dʒak*	*laɪ̯k*	*nɔh*	*kə*	*dəuʔ*	*dɔ kʰaoʔ*	*kɛnɛ*
1SG	PRT.purpose	watch	enter	3SG	APPL	in	tree.hole	PRT
PRO	MOD	V	V	PRO	PREP	PREP	N	PRT

Free: I was watching at him as he entered into it.

(220) M9

ʔəuʔ	*səmɛ*	*tiʔ*	*kɛ̣h*	*maị̣ʔ*	*ʔih*	*kaʔ*
1SG	want	V.chain	cause	2SG	eat	fish
PRO	V	PRT	V	PRO	V	N

Free: I want you to eat fish.

8.3.2 Adverbial clauses

An adverbial clause is a type of subordinate clause that functions as an adjunct of the main clause (Kroger, 2005: 219). Adverbial clauses are divided into clauses that can be substituted by a single word and clauses that cannot be substituted by a single word (Tompson, Longacre and Hwang, 2007: 243). This section, however, only looks at the latter.

The position of adverbial subordinate clause is as shown in the following schema.

$S_{Complex}$: [$S_{Subordinate}$ S_{Main}]

Adverbial clauses usually precede the main clause. Subordinate adverbial conjunctions are used to introduce adverbial clauses.

8.3.2.1 Temporal adverbial clauses

The word order in temporal adverbial clauses is VS. Subordinate conjunctions that express temporal relationship are *jạ̣m, kʰaiʔ, hoik, səvoe.* These adverbial subordinators appear at the beginning of a subordinate clause.

***jạ̣m* 'when' and *hoik* or *kʰaiʔ* 'after' Adverbial Clauses**

In (221), the subordinate conjunction *jạ̣m* is used to introduce the adverbial clause. The adverbial clauses precede the main clauses and the constituent order in adverbial clause is VS. It is not possible to have SV word order in the adverbial clause in (221).

(221) G15.5

jm̩	*giah*	*taʔ*	*nap*	*makmuŋ*
when	slice	uncle	Nap	mango
CONN	V	N	NPROP	N

lwe	*tiʔ*	*giah*	*taiʔ*	*tiʔ*
do.accidently	V.chain	slice	hand	POSSP
V	PRT	V	N	POSSP

Free: When uncle Nap sliced the mango, he cut his fingers accidently.

Sentence (222) uses a subordinate conjunction *kʰaiʔ*. The VS pattern is used for both main clause and adverbial clause. It is ungrammatical to have SV word order in the first subordinate part.

(222) G15.38

kʰaiʔ	*kaoh*	*ʔəuʔ*	*kʰaiŋ*	*ɲɛ̤ʔ*	*təkɛ*	*ʔit*	*ʔəuʔ*
after	come back	1SG	from	house	village chief	sleep	1SG
CONN	V	PRO	PREP	N	N	V	PRO

Free: After coming back from the village leader's house, I slept.

In (223), VS pattern occurs in the adverbial clause and SV pattern occurs in main clause. If the subject comes directly after *hoik*, it will make the sentence ungrammatical. The verb has to appear before the subject in this adverbial clause.

(223) F19

hoik	*pɹah*	*ʔeʔ*	*nɔh*
after	leave	1PL.INCL	3SG
CONN	V	PRO	PRO

ŋʰoʔ	*tom*	*hoik*	*ŋhe*	*pʰao*
paddy.rice	PRT.purpose	already	bear.fruit	now
N	MOD	ADV	V	ADV

Free: After leaving it, the (rice) plant is ready to bear fruit now.

səvoe 'before' Adverbial Clauses

Another temporal adverbial clause is a 'before' clause whose construction is different from 'when' and 'after' clauses as discussed above. Since the event in the

subordinate ‘before’ clause has not happened from the time of event in the main clause, the ‘before’ clause contains negation (Tompson, Longacre and Hwang, 2007: 247). The *səvoe* ‘before’ adverbial clause is schematized as below.

$S_{\text{‘Before’ Clause}}$: [*səvoe* S_{NEG}, S_{Main}]

The word order in *səvoe* ‘before’ adverbial clause seems to be SV. However, as discussed in section (5.2), all negative sentences are SV. Schiller wonders if the negative might be considered a verb and therefore this would be a VS clause like the other temporal adverbials.

In (224), the first part is an adverbial clause with *səvoe* ‘before’ and is followed by a main clause. The event of ‘going’ has not happened at the time of ‘changing clothes’.

(224) G15.37

səvoe	*ʔaŋ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*ɲaŋ*	*hu*	*ɲɛ̤ʔ*	*nɔh*
before	NEG	1SG	NEG.yet	go	house	3SG
CONN	NEG	PRO	MOD	V	N	PRO

ʔəuʔ	*lɔh*	*gɻəŋ*	*tiʔ*
1SG	change	cloth	POSSP
PRO	V	N	POSSP

Free: Before I went to her house I changed my clothes.

8.3.2.2 Reason adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses for ‘reason’ use the subordinate conjunction *kʰɤ*. If it is a positive adverbial clause, the word order in this kind of adverbial clause is VS. Sentence (225) provides an example of a ‘reason’ adverbial clause.

(225) G12.3

kʰɤ	*tʃaiuʰɔm*	*ai ka*	*nɔh*	*hu*	*dəuʔ*	*diạk*
because	hungry	Ai Kar	3SG	go	in	forest
CONN	V	NPROP	PRO	V	PREP	N

saŋ	*puiŋ*	*dʒak*	*tiʔ*	*mu*
will.potential	shoot	deer	one	CLF.nonhuman
TAM	V	N	NUM	CLF

Free: Because Ai Kar (was) hungry, he went to the forest to shoot a/one deer.

8.3.2.3 Conditional adverbial clauses

Conditional adverbial clauses are also composed of a dependent conditional clause and an independent main clause. The word order in conditional subordinate clauses is mostly SV. However, there is one example with VS construction (See FN 19). The subordinate conjunctions that are used in conditional clauses are *viaŋ* and *pʰan*.

In (226), subordinate conjunction *pʰan* is used for conditional clauses and the SV construction is used in adverbial clause. In (227), *viaŋ* 'although' introduces the adverbial clause. The word order with the adverbial clause is SV.

(226) G18.8

pʰan	*nɔh*	*hwet*	*dʒau*	*dʒau*	*nuʔ*
if	3SG	come	early	early	past.near
CONN	PRO	V	ADV	ADV	ADV

nɔh	*tɤ*	*jaọʔ*	*lai*	*ʔin*
3SG	will.certain	see	letter	this
PRO	TAM	V	N	DEM

Free: If he had come earlier, he would have seen the letter.

(227) G18.1

viaŋ	*ai ka*	*hoik*	*lih*	*kɔʔ*
although	Ai Kar	COMPL	go out	even
CONN	NPROP	ASPT	V	ADV

ai kʰun	*kɔn*	*ʔot*	*dəʔ*	*ɲɛ̤ʔ*
Ai Khun	DUR	stay	in	house
NPROP	ASPT	V	PREP	N

Free: Although Ai Kar went out, Ai Khun stayed at home.

8.3.3 Relative clauses

A relative clause is a clause that functions as a modifier of the head noun in a noun phrase. There are three basic parts of a relative clause construction: the head noun, the modifying clause and the relativizer (Kroeger, 2005: 230). Relative clauses in Wa always follow their heads, therefore they are postnominal.

In Wa, the relativizer *pə* is optionally used to introduce relative clause. *pə* is used for both animate and inanimate entities. The relativized position can be only the subject and the object. The oblique cannot be relatived. The schematic construction for the relative clause is as below.

$S_{Relative}$: [(*pə*) S]

In the internal structure of relative clauses, only VS constructions are allowed.

Example (228) demonstrates a relative clause modifying the head noun *kɔn ɲɔm* 'child' and it gives additional information about it. The head noun *kɔn ɲɔm* 'child' is the subject of both clauses – the relative clause and the matrix clause. There is a gap in the subject position in the relative clause. The word order within the relative clause is VS. The verb has to appear directly after the relativizer *pə* within the relative clause. Therefore, the gap for the subject is marked after the verb in (228).

(228) G3.11

kɔn ɲɔm	***pə***	*koe*	*ø*	*dʒɔmsauʔ*	*ʔan*	*hoik*	*jṵm*	*kɔʔ*
child	**REL**	have		disease	that	COMPL	die	yesterday
N	**REL**	V		N	DEM	ASPT	V	ADV

Free: That child who had a disease had died yesterday.

In sentence (229), the subject of the matrix clause *səɹama?* 'teacher' is the object of the relative clause. There is a gap in object position in the relative clause. Again, the VS construction occurs in the relative clause. If the word order had been SV, the sentence would be unacceptable.

(229) M7

səɹama?	***pə***	*moh*	*ʔəu?*	*ø*	*hoik*	*ʔiŋ*	*laʃio*
teacher	**REL**	love	1SG		COMPL	return	Lashio
N	**REL**	V	PRO		ASPT	V	NPROP

Free: The teacher who I love already went back to Lahsio.

Examples (230) and (231) demonstrate the possibility of the relative clause without the relativizer *pə*. In (230), no relativizer is used to introduce the relative clause and a gap occurs at the subject position within the relative clause. The same phenomenon happens in (231); but in this sentence, a gap occurs at the object position within a relative clause. The word order within the relative clause is also VS.

(230) G3.17

kok	*kɔn ɲɔm*	*ɲaɻ̩ʔ*	*ø*	*tʃʰaʔ*	*ʔan*	*hwet*	*tin*
call	child	drink		tea	that	come	here
V	N	V		N	DEM	V	DEM

Free: Call the child who drank that tea to come here.

(231) G3.3

soʔ	*tɔʔ*	*paǫ̣ʔgɻɔm*	*ʔəuʔ*	*ø*
dog	give	friend	1SG	
N	V	N	PRO	

Free: the dog that my friend gave me.

Sentence (232) contains a headless relative clause in which no head noun is expressed. Headless relative clauses are frequently found in Wa.

(232) T71

ʔaŋ	*sivai*	*ʔin*	*tʰiaŋ*	*mɔ̤h*	*mai̤ʔ*	***pə***	***lɔk lɔ***	***ʔəuʔ***	***nuʔ***
NEG	tiger	this	reject	be	2SG	**REL**	**ridicule**	**1SG**	**Past.near**
NEG	N	DEM	V	COP	PRO	**REL**	**V**	**PRO**	**ADV**

Free: ‘No’ the Tiger rejected. ‘You are the one who ridiculed me’.

8.4 Summary

In this chapter, coordinate clauses and three kinds of subordinate clauses (complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses) were discussed. The constituent order for each type of clause was described.

In coordinate sentences, *mai* is used to connect two independent clauses. The constituent order in complement clauses is both VS and SV. There is no complementizer. Adverbial subordinate clauses come before the main clauses. The VS construction occurs in temporal adverbial clauses while SV construction mostly occurs in conditional adverbial clauses. Relative clauses in Wa are postnominal. They use *pə* to introduce a relative clause. The relativized position can be from both subject and object. The word order within a relative clause is VS.

This study only discusses the word order changes with different clause types. Further research is needed to prove that which one is the primary word order. Schiller comments that the word order change is from VSO to SVO since Head/Modifier order encourages VSO-SVO change (Schiller, 1985: 118).

Chapter 9
Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the analysis presented in the previous chapters. It also provides recommendations for further studies.

9.2 Summary of analysis and recommendations

Chapter 1 presented general information about the Wa language and the Wa people. It presented how the research was conducted. It included the information about the data and informants. Limitations, scope and benefits of the study were given. It also discussed linguistic materials written about Wa and other related languages. Major research on Wa was done by Watkins. His analysis focuses on phonetics and phonology of Wa. Schiller studied the word order changes in Wa.

Chapter 2 provided an overview of the Wa language including phonology and basic grammar. Wa phonology and morphological processes were briefly presented. It outlined the word order in verbal and non-verbal clauses. It also described the constructions for equative clauses, attributive clauses, existential clauses, locative clauses and possessive clauses.

Chapter 2 showed that the copula *mɔ̰h* is used for equative and attributive clauses while the different copulas—*koe*, *ʔot*, *nɛ* are used for other non-verbal clauses. The function of copulas *koe* and *ʔot* is also needed to be investigated. The optional use of possessive particle *tʃɛ* in possessive clauses is suggested for further study.

Chapter 3 presented Wa word classes which include noun, verb, adjective, adverb, demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, auxiliaries (or TAM), prepositions and interrogative pronouns.

One of the interesting features in Chapter 3 was that some of the adverbs in other languages are verbs in Wa. Therefore, it is recommended to do further study on distinguishing verbs and adverbs. Another interesting feature is that Wa has verbal demonstratives *nin* and *nan* which is not common in other languages. But the word

tit functioning as a demonstrative needs to be explained. It is also suggested to examine the particles in Wa, especially *kɛʔnɛ* and *hɤ*. *kɛʔnɛ* occurs after a word, a phrase and a clause. It seems that the particle *kɛʔnɛ* is used to mark the topic. The particle *kɛʔnɛ* is glossed as 'uhm' and marked as 'interjection'. But, its functions need to be studied in detail. The particle *pot* which is not discussed in this thesis is also suggested for further study. The meaning of two TAM markers *kʰɔ* and *tʃɔ* need to be investigated.

Chapter 4 presented the internal structure of Wa noun phrases. It discussed the structures for different types of noun phrases. It also discussed the positions and functions of noun modifiers – demonstratives, adjectives, classifier phrases, relative clauses, prepositional phrases, and pronouns. Possessive noun phrases and coordinate noun phrases were discussed too.

One interesting finding in Chapter 4 was that some of the constituents can be moved out of their NP. This is another area for further research on limitations of constituents that can be moved out.

Chapter 5 focused on verbal and clausal operators. There was discussion of negation, agreement, ability, permission, directional, tense, aspect, modality, polite particles and adverbs. Finally, it discussed various types of serial verb constructions.

Interesting findings in Chapter 5 include the behavior of the particle *tom*. It does not allow VS constructions and its functions need to be explained in further study. The optionality of *tiʔ* in serial verb construction would be an interesting topic for further research. Two ability particles – *tʃʰiʔ* and *pn̥n* can be sometimes used interchangeably, but sometimes not. Their limitations need to be discussed in detail in further study. It is also recommended to do further research on the negative quantifier *kɔʔ*.

Chapter 6 discussed voice and valence changing processes in Wa including valence-increasing and valence-decreasing processes. It discussed several ways of constructing passives in the language. It described reflexives and reciprocal relationship in Wa. It also discussed how causatives are formed.

Further research from chapter 6 includes the particles that contain reflexive meaning such as *taŋ*, *tʃao* and *tiʔ*. Their meanings and usages need to be explained more in detail.

Chapter 7 presented three different types of sentences such as declarative sentences, interrogative sentences and imperative sentences. The interrogative constructions for 'Yes-No' questions, tag questions, 'Or-Not' questions and content questions were also discussed. Finally, the process of extraposition was discussed.

One recommendation for chapter 7 is to do detailed research on sentences that end with a preposition. This pattern is common in Wa. The noun phrase following the preposition is not explicitly expressed at the clause final position.

Chapter 8 described complex clauses that have more than one clause. It focused on coordinate clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses and relative clauses. It discussed the constituent order in different types of sentences.

The VSO alternation discussed in chapter 8 needs more research. One recomendation is to do statistical contrast of VSO and SVO in main clauses and find out which pattern is more common than the other. The word order variation within the complement clauses depending upon the matrix verbs needs to be clarified by further research.

This thesis is an initial work on the grammar of Wa, but not a complete description of a Wa grammar. Therefore, many features need to be investigated in detail.

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APPENDIX A
ELICITATED GRAMMAR SENTENCES

1.1 *puɯi* *pon* *kəuʔ*
person four CLF.human
N NUM CLF

four people

1.2 *soʔ* *pon* *mu*
dog four CLF.nonhuman
N NUM CLF

four dogs

1.3 *ɲɛ̤ʔ* *pon* *lhaŋ*
house four CLF.building
N NUM CLF

four houses

1.4 *pon* *ŋaɻ̤ʔ*
four CLF.day
NUM CLF

four days

1.5 *ɹom* *pon* *kɔk*
water four CLF.cup
N NUM CLF

4 cups of water

1.6 *gaɻ̤ʔ* *pon* *pjɛʔ*
rice four CLF.meaurement for grain
N NUM CLF

four measure of rice

1.7	*ɲɛ̤ʔ*	*tə*	*lhaŋ*
	house	one	CLF.building
	N	NUM	CLF

one house

1.8	*tə*	*ŋaɨ̤ʔ*
	one	CLF.day
	NUM	CLF

one day

1.9	*tə*	*ŋaɨ̤ʔ*	*plak*
	one	CLF.day	half
	NUM	CLF	QUANT

one and a half days

1.10	*tə*	*plak*	*ŋaɨ̤ʔ*
	one	half	CLF.day
	NUM	QUANT	CLF

half day

1.11	*ɹom*	*ɹa*	*kɔk*	*plak*
	water	two	CLF.cup	half
	N	NUM	CLF	QUANT

two and a half cups of water

1.12	*ɹa*	*tʃɤ*
	two	CLF.things
	NUM	CLF

two kinds

1.13	*səbɛ̤ʔ*	*tə*	*pʰɯn*
	shirt	one	CLF.cloth
	N	NUM	CLF

one shirt

1.14	*gɹəŋ*	*pərək*	*tə*	*dʒɯ̟ŋ*
	cloth	Wa people	one	CLF.cloth
	N	N	NUM	CLF

a set of Wa costumes

1.15	*bɹɛ̟ʔ*	*pwi*	*pʰuk lai*	*ɹa*	*pʰuk*	*hu*
	steal	person	book	two	CLF.book	go
	V	N	N	NUM	CLF	V

Two books were stolen.

1.16	*ɹəu*	*ʔoʔ*	*laŋ*	*tə*	*gɔŋ*
	fall	bamboo	long	one	CLF.long-objects
	V	N	VADJ	NUM	CLF

A long bamboo was lying there.

1.17	*kʰiʔ*	*lɔmle*	*tə*	*mu*
	month	round	one	CLF.nonhuman
	N	VADJ	NUM	CLF

a round moon

1.18	*kɔn ɲɔm*	*səmɛ̟ʔ*	*tə*	*kəuʔ*
	child	male	one	CLF.human
	N	N	NUM	CLF

One boy

2.1	*ɲɛ̟ʔ*	*tiŋ*	*loe*	*laŋ*
	house	big	three	CLF.building
	N	VADJ	NUM	CLF

three big houses

2.2	*ɲɛ̟ʔ*	*tiŋ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*loe*	*laŋ*
	house	big	1SG	three	CLF.building
	N	VADJ	PRO	NUM	CLF

my three big houses

2.3	*ɲɛ̤ʔ*	*tiŋ*	*tio*	*loe*	*laŋ*
	house	big	there	three	CLF.building
	N	VADJ	DEM	NUM	CLF

those three big houses

2.4	*tio*	*tio*	*ɲɛ̤ʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*loe*	*laŋ*
	there	there	house	1SG	three	CLF.building
	DEM	DEM	N	PRO	NUM	CLF

my three houses over there

2.5	*ʔan*	*ɲɛ̤ʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*loe*	*laŋ*	
	that	house	1SG	three	CLF.building	
	DEM	N	PRO	NUM	CLF	

those three houses of mine

2.6	*ɲɛ̤ʔ*	*tiŋ*	*mʰɔm*	*loe*	*laŋ*	
	house	big	good	three	CLF.building	
	N	VADJ	VADJ	NUM	CLF	

three big beautiful houses

3.1	*soʔ*	*lṳŋ*	*səda̤ʔ*	
	dog	black	tail	
	N	VADJ	N	

the dog with a black tail

3.2	*soʔ*	*ʔot*	*gɯum*	*pʰun*	
	dog	stay	under	table	
	N	V	N	N	

the dog under the table

3.3	*soʔ*	*tɔʔ*	*paọ̤ʔgɯɔm*	*ʔəuʔ*	
	dog	give	friend	1SG	
	N	V	N	PRO	

the dog that my friend gave me

3.4	*soʔ*	*lu̱ŋ*	*səda?*	*ʔan*
	dog	black	tail	that
	N	VADJ	N	DEM

that dog with a black tail

3.5	*tʃu̱b tʃɔ*	*kiʔ*	*pwi*	*tiŋ*	*lwe*	*kəuʔ*
	group	3PL	person	big	three	CLF.human
	N	PRO	N	VADJ	NUM	CLF

three adults/officials of the group

3.6	*kə*	*dəuʔ*	*pwi*	*tiŋ*	*liạh*	*kauʔ*	*,*	*kiʔ*	*pwi*	*lwe*
	APPL	in	person	big	six	CLF.human		3PL	person	three
	PREP	PREP	N	VADJ	NUM	CLF		PRO	N	NUM

kəuʔ

CLF.human

CLF

three of the six adults/officials

3.7	*ɲɛ̱ʔ*	*tʃɛ*	*ai ka*	*loe*	*laŋ*
	house	POSS	Ai Kar	three	CLF.building
	N	PRT	NPROP	NUM	CLF

Ai Kar's three houses

3.8	*ɲɛ̱ʔ*	*tʃɛ*	*ai ka*
	house	POSS	Ai Kar
	N	PRT	NPROP

Ai Kar's house

3.9	*ɲɛ̱ʔ*	*təkɛ*	*pə*	*kəuʔ*	*kiʔ*	*ai ka*
	house	village chief	REL	name	3PL	Ai Kar
	N	N	REL	V	PRO	NPROP

the house of village chief who was called Ai Kar

3.10 *ɲɛ̱ʔ* *tʃʰɛ* *təkɛ* *ai ka*

house POSS village chief Ai Kar

N PRT N NPROP

village chief, Ai Kar's house

3.11 *kɔn ɲɔm* *pə* *koe* *dʒɔmsauʔ* *ʔan* *hoik* *jɯ̱m* *kɔʔ*

child REL have disease that COMPL die yesterday

N REL V N DEM ASPT V ADV

That child who had a disease had died yesterday.

3.12 *kok* *kɔn ɲɔm* *kɛ̱h* *kloŋ* *tʃʰaʔ* *maʔ* *hwet*

call child cause cup tea broken come

V N V N N V V

Call the child who broke the glass to come.

3.13 *kok* *kɔn ɲɔm* *pə* *kɛ̱h* *kloŋ* *maʔ* *ŋaɯ̱ʔ* *ʔan* *naɯ̱ʔ* *hwet*

call child REL cause cup broken CLF.day that Past time come

V N REL V N V CLF DEM ADV V

Call to come the child who broke the glass the day before yesterday.

3.14 *tik* *kak* *kʰaoʔ* *pə* *pot* *ʔan*

throw away branch tree REL broken that

V N N REL V DEM

Throw away that broken branch!

3.15 ***

3.16 *ɻɤ* *mok* *pə* *vok* *kə* *ɻiɛm* *ʔan*

fall cap REL hang APPL nail that

V N REL V PREP N DEM

The cap which was hung on the nail fell.

3.17 *kok* *kɔn ɲɔm* *ɲaɻ̩ʔ* *tʃʰaʔ* *ʔan* *hwet* *tin*

call child drink tea that come here

V N V N DEM V DEM

Call the child who drank that tea to come here.

3.18 *hoik* *ɹeu* *mok* *pə* *vok* *maɻ̩ʔ* *ʔan*

COMPL fall cap REL hang 2SG that

ASPT V N REL V PRO DEM

That cap that you hung already fell.

3.19 *kɔn ɲɔm* *ʔaŋ* *koe* *kɹaʔ* *lu̯t* *ʔin*

child NEG have NMLZR sin this

N NEG V NMLZR V DEM

This child who does not have sins.

3.20 *kɔn ɲɔm* *ʔin* *ʔaŋ* *koe* *kɹaʔ* *lu̯t*

child this NEG have NMLZR sin

N DEM NEG V NMLZR V

This child does not have sins.

4.1 *jəŋ* *təkɛ*

village village chief

N N

the chief (village head) of the village

4.2 *kwiŋ* *ai ka*

father Ai Kar

N NPROP

Ai Kar's father

4.3 *twe̯h* *mjɛt*

top arrow

N N

the tip of the arrow / arrowtip

4.4 *pwi* *tiŋ* *tant jan* *ʔan*

person big Tant Yan that

N VADJ NPROP DEM

that adult/official from Taunggyi

4.5 *jəŋ* *ʔot* *ʔəuʔ*

village stay 1SG

N V PRO

my village

4.6 *tʃauŋ* *ʔəuʔ*

leg 1SG

N PRO

my leg

5.1 *hoik* *jaọʔ* *ʔəuʔ* *nɔh*

COMPL see 1SG 3SG

ASPT V PRO PRO

I met him.

5.2 *tɤk* *jaọʔ* *ʔəuʔ* *nɔh* *kɔʔ* *kɔʔ*

just see 1SG 3SG yesterday yesterday

ADV V PRO PRO ADV ADV

I just met him yesterday.

5.3 *tɤ* *jəuʔ* *ʔəuʔ* *nɔh* *pəsaʔ*

will.certain see 1SG 3SG tomorrow

TAM V PRO PRO ADV

I will meet him tomorrow.

5.4 *hoik* *jəuʔ* *ʔəuʔ* *nɔh* *nuʔ* *nuʔ*

COMPL see 1SG 3SG Past.near Past.near

ASPT V PRO PRO ADV ADV

I already met him.

5.5 *ʔaŋ* *ʔəuʔ* *tɛ* *jəuʔ* *nɔh*

NEG 1SG NEG.explain see 3SG

NEG PRO MOD V PRO

I didn't meet him.

5.6 *səmɛ* *ʔəuʔ* *tiʔ* *jəuʔ* *nɔh*

want 1SG V.chain see 3SG

V PRO PRT V PRO

I want to meet him.

5.7 *jəuʔ* *ʔəuʔ* *nɔh*

see 1SG 3SG

V PRO PRO

I am meeting him.

5.8 *ʔaŋ* *ʔəuʔ* *ɲaŋ* *saʔ* *jəuʔ* *nɔh*

NEG 1SG NEG.yet EXP see 3SG

NEG PRO MOD ASPT V PRO

I haven't ever met him (yet).

5.9 *tɤ* *tʃʰiʔ* *jaọʔ* *nɔh*

will.certain can see 3SG

TAM V V PRO

I am able to meet him.

5.1.1 *gwɛ̰* *hu* *ʔəuʔ* *gwɛ̰* *gwɛ̰*

slowly walk 1SG slowly slowly

ADV V PRO ADV ADV

I am walking slowly.

5.1.2 *hu* *ʔəuʔ* *pʰai* *pʰai*

go 1SG quickly quickly

V PRO ADV ADV

I (am) walking quickly.

5.1.3	*nʰjɛ̟t*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tiʔ*	*hu*	*pʰai*	*pʰai*	
	do.quick.very	1SG	V.chain	go	quickly	quickly	
	V	PRO	PRT	V	ADV	ADV	

I am walking very quickly.

5.1.4	*nʰjɛ̟t*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tiʔ*	*hu*	*pʰai*	*pʰai*	*tete*	
	do.quick.very	1SG	V.chain	go	quickly	quickly	indeed.truly	
	V	PRO	PRT	V	ADV	ADV	ADV	

I am walking very quickly indeed.

6.1	*lhɛʔ pɹɛʔ*	
	rain	
	V	

It is raining.

6.2	*kaoh*	*nɔh*	*tʃuŋ*
	get up	3SG	stand up
	V	PRO	V

He stood up.

6.3	*nɔh*	*tɔk*	*pwi*	*tiŋ*
	3SG	beat	person	big
	PRO	V	N	VADJ

He hit the adult or official.

6.4	*tɔʔ*	*nɔh*	*lai*	*ka*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tiʔ*	*pʰuk*
	give	3SG	book	APPL	1SG	one	CLF.book
	V	PRO	N	PREP	PRO	NUM	CLF

He gave a/one book to me.

6.5	*nɔh*	*tɔʔ*	*pʰuk*	*lai*	*ka*	*pwi*	*tiŋ*	*ʔan*	*tə*	*pʰuk*
	3SG	give	book	APPL	person	big	that	one	CLF.book	
	PRO	V	N	PREP	N	VADJ	DEM	NUM	CLF	

He gave a/one book to that adult/official.

6.6	*nɛ*	*kʰaoʔ*	*dəuʔ*	*pansan*	
	exist.many	tree	in	Pan San	
	cop	N	PREP	NPROP	

There are many trees in Pan San.

6.7	*nɛ*	*paọ̈ʔgɻɔm*	*nɔh*	
	exist.many	friend	3SG	
	cop	N	PRO	

He has many friends.

6.8	*ʔah*	*ʔəuʔ*	*ai ka*	*ka*	*nɔh*
	call	1SG	Ai Kar	APPL	3SG
	V	PRO	NPROP	PREP	PRO

I call him Ai Kar.

6.9	*mọ̈h*	*nɔh*	*ai ka*	
	be	3SG	Ai Kar	
	COP	PRO	NPROP	

He is Ai Kar.

6.10	*mọ̈h*	*nɔh*	*təkɛ*	
	be	3SG	village chief	
	COP	PRO	N	

He is the village chief.

6.11	*ɻwɛh*	*jɻ̈ʔ*	*nɔh*	*mọ̈h*	*təkɛ*	
	choose	1PL.EXCL	3SG	be	village chief	
	V	PRO	PRO	COP	N	

We chose him to be the village chief.

7.1	*koe*	*nɔh*	*meuŋmɔ*	
	be.at	3SG	Meung Maw	
	cop	PRO	NPROP	

He is in Meung Maw town.

7.2 *hu* *nɔh* *tant jan*

go 3SG Tant Yan

V PRO NPROP

He went to Tant Yan.

7.3 *vɛʔ* *nɔh* *kɔn ɲɔm* *hu* *tant jan*

bring 3SG child go Tant Yan

V PRO N V NPROP

He took the child to Tant Yan.

8.1 *kɹai* *nɔh* *loʔ*

tell 3SG speech

V PRO N

He is speaking.

8.2 *nɔh* *kɹai* *ka* *hu* *kɔn* *tiʔ* *pansan*

3SG tell APPL go child POSSP Pan San

PRO V PREP V N POSSP NPROP

He said that his son went to Pan San.

8.3 *nɔh* *kɹai* *ʔəuʔ* *mhoŋ* *ka* *hu* *pwi* *tiŋ* *pansan* *tiʔ*

3SG tell 1SG hear APPL go person big Pan San one

PRO V PRO V PREP V N VADJ NPROP NUM

kəuʔ

CLF.human

CLF

He told me that the adult/official went to Pan San.

9.1 *koek* *haʔ* *ŋaị̈ʔ*

be hot get burnt CLF.day

V V CLF

It is hot today.

9.2 *lʰauŋ* *kʰauʔ* *nɔh*

tall height 3SG

V N PRO

He is tall.

9.3 *gə̰ʔrhɔm* *nɔh*

happy 3SG

VADJ PRO

He (is) happy.

9.4 *ai ka* *ɻɛ̰ʔ* *lhaoŋ* *kʰaoʔ* *kʰaiŋ* *ai kʰun*

Ai Kar be in excess tall height than Ai Khun

NPROP V VADJ N PREP NPROP

Ai Kar is taller than Ai Khun.

9.5 *dəʔ* *jəŋ* *ʔin* , *ai ka* *pə* *ɻɛ̰ʔ* *lhaoŋ* *kʰaoʔ* *kʰaiŋ*

in village this Ai Kar REL be in excess tall height than

PREP N DEM NPROP REL V VADJ N PREP

pwi

person

N

In this village, Ai Kar is the tallest one.

9.6 *ʔɔm* *nɔh* *pə* *ɻɛ̰ʔ* *lhaoŋ* *kʰaoʔ* *kʰaiŋ* *ʔəuʔ*

resemble 3SG REL be in excess tall height than 1SG

V PRO REL V VADJ N PREP PRO

He looks taller than me.

10.1 *ʔot* *kiʔ* *ma tio* *liə̰h* *kauʔ*

be.at 3PL there six CLF.human

cop PRO DEM NUM CLF

The six of them are over there.

10.2	*koe*	*kɹaʔ*	*lhaoŋ*	*kʰaoʔ*	*nɔh*	*pʰwan*	*kʰaoʔ kʰat*
	have	NMLZR	tall	height	3SG	five	ruler
	V	NMLZR	V	N	PRO	NUM	N

He is five feet tall.

10.3	*lai*	*ʔin*	*tʃi*	*ɹa*	*jɛ̰*
	book	this	cost	two	hundred
	N	DEM	V	NUM	DET

The price/value of the book is 200 kyat.

10.4	*kjɛp*	*ʔin*	*ŋuạh*	*kʰaiŋ*	*pʰuk lai*	*ʔin*	*ɹa*	*jɛ̰*
	shoe	this	expensive	than	book	this	two	hundred
	N	DEM	V	PREP	N	DEM	NUM	DET

The price/value of the sandals is 200 kyat more than the book.

11.1	*ʔəuʔ*	*kɛ̰h*	*ai ka*	*lwe*	*tiʔ*	*tɔk*	*ai kʰun*
	1SG	cause	Ai Kar	do.accidently	V.chain	beat	Ai Khun
	PRO	V	NPROP	V	PRT	V	NPROP

I caused Ai Kar to accidently beat Ai Khun.

11.2	*ʔəuʔ*	*tɔʔ*	*pʰuk lai*	*ka*	*ai ka*	*tiʔ*	*pʰuk*	*son*	*tʃɛ*	*kuiŋ*
	1SG	give	book	APPL	Ai Kar	one	CLF.book	BEN	POSS	father
	PRO	V	N	PREP	NPROP	NUM	CLF	PREP	PRT	N

nɔh

3SG

PRO

I gave a/one book to Ai Kar for his father.

11.3 *taŋ* *kɹo?* *lwe* *ʔəu?* *ti?* *tɔk* *(kə* *tʃao)*

do.alone affect do.accidently 1SG V.chain beat APPL oneself

V V V PRO PRT V PREP PRO

ti?

POSSP

POSSP

I hit myself.

11.4 *taŋ* *kɹo?* *tɔk* *nɔh* *ka* *tʃao* *ti?* *(or)* *taŋ*

do.alone affect beat 3SG APPL oneself REFLX do.alone

V V V PRO PREP PRO REFLX V

kɹo? *lwe* *nɔh* *ti?* *tɔk* *ka* *tʃao* *ti?*

affect three 3SG V.chain beat APPL oneself REFLX

V NUM PRO PRT V PREP PRO REFLX

He hit himself.

11.5 *jɛ̰?* *ai ka* *pə* *tɔk* *paọ? ti?*

1DL.EXCL Ai Kar REL beat each.other

PRO NPROP REL V RECPL

Ai Kar and I hit each other.

12.1 *hu* *ai ka* *dəu?* *kəŋ* *nɔh* *səvoe* *,* *nɔh* *dụ* *hwet*

go Ai Kar in paddy field 3SG firsly 3SG re-.again come

V NPROP PREP N PRO ADV PRO verbprt V

kə *ɲɛ̰?* *kʰai?*

APPL house later

PREP N ADV

Ai Kar went first to his paddy field, then he came back home.

12.2	*pʰan*	*ai ka*	*hu*	*dəuʔ*	*diạk*	*,*	*nɔh*	*saŋ*	*puiŋ*	*tʃak*
	if	Ai Kar	go	in	forest		3SG	will.potential	shoot	deer
	CONN	NPROP	V	PREP	N		PRO	TAM	V	N

tiʔ	*mu*
one	CLF.nonhuman
NUM	CLF

If Ai Kar goes to the forest he will shoot a/one deer.

12.3	*kʰɤ*	*tʃairhɔm*	*ai ka*	*,*	*nɔh*	*hu*	*dəuʔ*	*diạk*	*saŋ*	*puiŋ*
	because	hungry	Ai Kar		3SG	go	in	forest	will.potential	shoot
	CONN	V	NPROP		PRO	V	PREP	N	TAM	V

dʒak	*tiʔ*	*mu*
deer	one	CLF.nonhuman
N	NUM	CLF

Because Ai Kar (was) hungry, he went to the forest to shoot a/one deer.

12.4	*son saŋ*	*pon*	*ai ka*	*nẹʔ*	*,*	*nɔh*	*puiŋ*	*tʃak*	*tiʔ*
	in order to	get	Ai Kar	meat		3SG	shoot	deer	one
	ADV	V	NPROP	N		PRO	V	N	NUM

mu
CLF.nonhuman
CLF

In order to get meat, Ai Kar shot a/one deer.

12.5	*kʰɤ*	*hun*	*kɔn*	*ai ka*	*,*	*nɔh*	*tɤ*	*saŋ*
	because	exist.many	child	Ai Kar		3SG	will.certain	will.potential
	CONN	cop	N	NPROP		PRO	TAM	TAM

gạʔrʰɔm	*mai*	*kiʔ*
happy	with	3PL
VADJ	PREP	PRO

Because Ai Kar has many children, he must be happy.

12.6 *ai ka* *səu ɹiaŋ* *tiʔ* *to* *səŋeik* , *nɔh* *ɲjɛt*

Ai Kar enforce/exert V.chain run 3SG do.quick.very

NPROP V PRT V PRO V

tiʔ *tɤk* *səŋeik*

V.chain tired

PRT V

The harder Ai Kar ran, the more tired he got.

13.1 *nu̯m* *ʔan* *kɔʔ* *ʔəuʔ* *hu* *plak* *blɤŋ*

year that PAST 1SG go side north

N DEM ADV PRO V N N

Last year I went north.

13.2 *kʰiʔ* *kʰaiʔ* *saʔ* , *ʔəuʔ* *hu* *plak* *dʒu*

month later FUT 1SG go side south

N ADV PRT PRO V N N

Next month I will go South.

13.3 *haktɛʔ* *pərok* *ku* *sidu̯h* *gə̯ʔrʰɔm* *kɔn pwi*

country Wa people every place happy people

N N QUANT N VADJ N

Everywhere in Wa State, people are happy.

14.1 *kɤm* *mu̯h* *hoik* *hu* *ai ka* *dəuʔ* *kəŋ* *tiʔ*

PRT.purpose be already go Ai Kar in paddy field POSSP

MOD COP ADV V NPROP PREP N POSSP

lɛ

QUEST.PRT

QP

Did Ai Kar already go to his field?

14.2 *hu* *ai kʰun* *dəuʔ* *kəŋ* *nɔh* *sidaiŋ* *mu̯h*

go Ai Khun in paddy field 3SG surely be

V NPROP PREP N PRO ADV COP

it is certain that Ai Khun went to this field.

14.3 *hu ai kʰun duu mɔʔ*
go Ai Khun where
V NPROP QW

Where did Ai Khun go?

14.4 *dəʔ kəŋ nɔh mɔʔ mɔʔ pə hu*
in paddy field 3SG who REL go
PREP N PRO PRO REL V

Who went to his field?

14.5 *mn̥h jɥ̥h kə mɔʔ nɔh kɤm hu dəuʔ kəŋ nɔh*
be why 3SG PRT.purpose go in paddy field 3SG
COP QW PRO MOD V PREP N PRO

Why did he go to his field?

14.6 *mn̥h bn̥k jɑ̥m mɔʔ nɔh kɤm hu dəʔ kəŋ tiʔ*
be when 3SG PRT.purpose go in paddy field POSSP
COP QW PRO MOD V PREP N POSSP

When did he go to his field?

14.7 *mn̥h saŋ hu nɔh dəʔ kəuŋ tiʔ lai mɔʔ*
be will.potential go 3SG in paddy field V.chain when
COP TAM V PRO PREP N PRT ADV

When will he go to his field?

14.8 *ai kʰun , maɨʔ hu dəʔ kəuŋ*
Ai Khun 2SG go in paddy field
NPROP PRO V PREP N

Go to the field, Ai khun!

14.9 *tʃɤ kəuʔ maɨʔ mn̥h pətiʔ*
name 2SG be what
N PRO COP QW

What is your name?

14.10	*mǹ̥h*	*ʔot*	*maɨ̀ʔ*	*ɗu mɔʔ*
	be	stay	2SG	where
	COP	V	PRO	QW

Where do you stay?

14.11	*ɲum*	*ʔot*	*maɨ̀ʔ*	*lɛ*
	good	stay	2SG	QUEST.PRT
	V	V	PRO	QP

How are you?

14.12	*saŋ*		*ʔiŋ*	*maɨ̀ʔ*	*kə*	*ɲɛ̰ʔ*	*lai mɔʔ*
	will.potential		return	2SG	APPL	house	when
	TAM		V	PRO	PREP	N	ADV

When will you go back to home?

14.13	*mǹ̥h*	*jɯ̀h kə mɔʔ*		*maɨ̀ʔ*	*kɤ̀m*	*saŋ*	*hu*	*meuŋmɔ*
	be	why		2SG	PRT.purpose	will.potential	go	Meung Maw
	COP	QW		PRO	MOD	TAM	V	NPROP

Why are you going to Meung Maw?

14.14	*mǹ̥h*	*mǹ̥h*	*nɔh*	*mɔʔ*
	be	be	3SG	who
	COP	COP	PRO	PRO

Who is he/she?

14.15	*mǹ̥h*	*pon*	*maɨ̀ʔ*	*mɛ̰ʔɗɨ̀ŋ*
	be	get	2SG	how much
	COP	V	PRO	QW

How much did you get?

14.16	*hwet*	*peʔ*	*mɛʔ*		*kəuʔ*
	come	win	how much		CLF.human
	V	V	QW		CLF

How many people came?

14.17 *ɹau?* *ɹom* *?in* *mɛ?dɨŋ*

deep water this how much

V N DEM QW

How deep is this water?

14.18 *mɔ̰h* *?aŋ* *maɨ?* *lai* *hu* *lɛ*

be NEG 2SG NEG.anymore go QUEST.PRT

COP NEG PRO MOD V QP

Are you not going anymore?

14.19 *hoik* *sɔm* *maɨ?* *lɛ*

COMPL eat rice 2SG QUEST.PRT

ASPT V PRO QP

Have you eaten?

14.20 *mɔ̰h* *?aŋ* *maɨ?* *ɹʰɔm* *sɔm* */* *?ih* *lɛ*

be NEG 2SG want eat rice eat QUEST.PRT

COP NEG PRO V V V QP

Don't you want to eat?

14.21 *mɔ̰h* *saŋ* *hu* *maɨ?* *lɛ*

be will.potential go 2SG QUEST.PRT

COP TAM V PRO QP

Will you go?

14.22 *mɔ̰h* *saŋ* *tʃʰi?* *hwet* *?əu?* *pəsa?* *naŋ*

be will.potential can come 1SG tomorrow PRT.QUES

COP TAM V V PRO ADV PRT

lɛ

QUEST.PRT

QP

Shall I come tomorrow?

14.23	*mo̤h*	*jaọ?*	*pe?*	*tʃe*	*lai*	*ʔəu?*	*ŋaị?*	*naŋ*	*lɛ*
	be	see	2PL	paper	book	1SG	CLF.day	PRT.QUES	QUEST.PRT
	COP	V	PRO	N	N	PRO	CLF	PRT	QP

Did you see the papers today?

14.24	*mo̤h*	*saŋ*	*jụh*	*pe?*	*pɯɛ?*	*kə*	*ɲɛ̣?*	*pəsa?*
	be	will.potential	do	2PL	meal	APPL	house	tomorrow
	COP	TAM	V	PRO	N	PREP	N	ADV

naŋ	*lɛ*
PRT.QUES	QUEST.PRT
PRT	QP

Will you cook tomorrow at home?

14.25	*kɤ̣t*	*nɔh*	*ɻʰɔm*	*ti?*	*mo̤h*	*kɤ̣t*	*maị?*	*nɔh*	*jụh ka mɔ?*
	think	3SG	mind	POSSP	be	think	2SG	3SG	what/how
	V	PRO	N	POSSP	COP	V	PRO	PRO	ADV

How do you think of what he was thinking?

14.26	*mɔ?*	*pwi*	*jụh kə mɔ?*	*pə*	*mo̤h*	*pəke*	*maị?*
	QW, who	person	what	REL	be	elder siblings	2SG
	QW	N	QW	REL	COP	N	PRO

Which one is your brother?

15.1	*ai kʰun*	*pʰɛ?*	*makmuŋ*
	Ai Khun	eat.fruit	mango
	NPROP	V	N

Aik Khun eats a mango.

15.2	*ai kʰun*	*pʰɛ?*	*pli?*	*makmuŋ*	*tɯm*
	Ai Khun	eat.fruit	fruit	mango	ripe
	NPROP	V	N	N	VADJ

Ai Khun eats a ripe mango.

15.2.1 *pʰɛʔ* *ai kʰun* *pliʔ* *makmuŋ* *tum*

eat.fruit Ai Khun fruit mango ripe

V NPROP N N VADJ

Ai Khun eats a ripe mango.

15.3 *ai kʰun* *giah* *makmuŋ*

Ai Khun slice mango

NPROP V N

Aik Khun sliced the mango.

15.4 *kɔn ɲɔm* *ʔan kiʔ* *giah* *makmuŋ* *kə* *vaịk*

child those slice mango APPL knife

N DEM V N PREP N

Those child sliced/cut the mango with a knife.

15.5 *jạm* *giah* *taʔ* *nap* *makmuŋ* , *lwe* *tiʔ* *giah*

when slice uncle Nap mango do.accidently V.chain slice

CONN V N NPROP N V PRT V

tai? *tiʔ*

hand POSSP

N POSSP

When uncle Nap sliced the mango, he cut his fingers accidently.

15.6 *i sin* *pʰɛʔ* *makmuŋ* *piaŋ* *lɔʔ* *kɔʔ* *kɔʔ*

Ei Sin eat.fruit mango on cart yesterday yesterday

NPROP V N PREP N ADV ADV

Ei Sin ate the mango on the cart yesterday.

15. 7 *ɲi nap* *pʰɛʔ* *makmuŋ* *pon ŋ̣ɔb* *ʔɛh*

Nyi Nap eat.fruit mango morning PRT.past time

NPROP V N N PRT

Nyi Nap ate the mango in the morning.

15.8	*kɔn ɲɔm*	*ʔan*	*kiʔ*	*ʔih*	*namʔwɛ*	*lɔmlɛ*	*kʰɔm ʔuik*
	child	those	eat	candy	round	all	
	N	DEM	V	N	VADJ	ADV	

The child ate up all the sweets.

15.9	*kɔn ɲɔm*	*səmɛ̰ʔ*	*ʔan*	*klɛh*	
	child	male	that	play	
	N	N	DEM	V	

That boy is playing.

15.10	*kɔn ɲɔm*	*səmɛ̰ʔ*	*ʔan*	*klɛh*	*pliʔ*	
	child	male	that	play	ball	
	N	N	DEM	V	N	

That boy is playing with a ball.

15.11	*kɔn ɲɔm*	*ʔan*	*ʔih*	*muạh*	
	child	that	eat	banana	
	N	DEM	V	N	

That child ate a banana.

15.12	*kɔn ɲɔm*	*ʔan*	*kiɛ̰t*	*səu ɹiaŋ*	*tiʔ*	*klɛh*
	child	that	emphatically	enforce/exert	V.chain	play
	N	DEM	ADV	V	PRT	V

That child played very hard.

15.13	*mɛ̰ʔ*	*saŋ*	*hu*	*pʰao*
	mother	will.potential	go	now
	N	TAM	V	ADV

Mother will go now.

15.14	*sədaiŋ*	*lạ̰ʔ ɹʰɔm*	*ʔəuʔ*	
	very	feel up set	1SG	
	ADV	V	PRO	

I felt upset.

15.15 *tʃai ɹʰɔm* *ai nap*

hungry Ai Nap

V NPROP

Ai Nap is hungry.

15.16 *sut* *lai* *ʔan* *,* *ʔɯn* *piaŋ* *pʰɯn*

pick up book that keep on table

V N DEM V PREP N

Pick up the book and put it on the table!

15.17 *tɔʔ* *bɹɯŋ* *sɔm*

give horse eat rice

V N V

Let the horse eat.

15.18 *jɥ̩h bwan son* *,* *sədəʔ* *gɹəŋ* *ʔɔʔ*

please wash cloth Polite.IMR.Prt

INTERJ V N PRT

Please, wash the clothes!

15.19 *ai sin* *tiam* *lai* *hu* *kə* *mɛ̤ʔ* *tiʔ* *kɔʔ* *kɔʔ*

Ai Sin write letter go APPL mother POSSP yesterday yesterday

N V N V PREP N POSSP ADV ADV

tə *plah*

one CLF.letter

NUM CLF

Aik Sin wrote a letter to his mother yesterday.

15.20 *jɥ̩h* *blạh* *ka* *gaɥ̩ʔ* *bị̈d*

do Khawpoke APPL rice sticky

V NPROP PREP N VADJ

Khawpote is made from sticky-rice.

15.21 *mwɛ* *tɔk* *l̪̈k* *ka* *sədaʔ* *tiʔ*

cow beat pig APPL tail POSSP

N V N PREP N POSSP

The cow hit the pig with his tail.

15.22 *ɹu* *ɹauk^{h}aoʔ* *tiʔ* *mu* *k^{h}aiŋ* *k^{h}aoʔ*

fall monkey one CLF.nonhuman from tree

V N NUM CLF PREP N

A monkey fell from the tree.

15.23 *tʃa* *tɔʔ* *mau* *ka* *ʔəuʔ* *son* *kɔnbon* *ʔəuʔ*

Polite.MKR give money APPL 1SG BEN daughter 1SG

PRT V N PREP PRO PREP N PRO

tʃwiʔ

amount.little

QUANT

Give me a small amount of money for my daughter.

15.24 *ʔaŋ* *pwi* *tɛ* *koe* *ka* *ɲɛ̤ʔ*

NEG person NEG.explain have APPL house

NEG N MOD V PREP N

Nobody is at home.

15.25 *hoik* *lï̤k* *ʔəuʔ* *nɔh* *k^{h}ɔm* *ʔuik* *tə* *ɹeiŋ*

COMPL buy 1SG 3SG all one thousand

ASPT V PRO PRO ADV NUM DET

I bought everything for 1000 kyat.

15.26 *pɹuih* *tai* *dəuʔ* *pṳ̈m*

bloom flower in garden

V N PREP N

Flowers are blooming in the garden.

15.27	*ʔot*	*lai*	*ʔan*	*piaŋ*	*pʰun*
	be.at	book	that	on	table
	cop	N	DEM	PREP	N

The book is on the table.

15.28	*dɤ̈*	*ʔəuʔ*	*gɹəŋ*	*ʔan kiʔ*	*piaŋ*	*kʰwe*
	place	1SG	cloth	those	on	box to keep clothes
	V	PRO	N	DEM	PREP	N

I kept those clothes on the box.

15.29	*dɤ̈*	*ʔəuʔ*	*lai*	*ʔan kiʔ*	*gɹum*	*tɤ̈k*
	place	1SG	book	those	under	box
	V	PRO	N	DEM	N	N

I kept those books under the box.

15.30	*koe*	*kʰaoʔ*	*makmuŋ*	*plak*	*kʰaiʔ*	*ɲɛ̈ʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tə*	*gɔŋ*
	exist	tree	mango	side	behind	house	1SG	one	CLF.long-objects
	cop	N	N	N	PREP	N	PRO	NUM	CLF

There is a mango tree behind my house.

15.31	*koe*	*kʰaoʔ*	*makmuŋ*	*plak*	*səvoe*	*ɲɛ̈ʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tə*
	be.at	tree	mango	side	in front of	house	1SG	one
	cop	N	N	N	PREP	N	PRO	NUM

gɔŋ

CLF.long-objects

CLF

There is a mango tree in front of my house.

15.32	*puʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*səmɛ*	*ŋɛ*	*nɔh*	*tiʔ*	*hu*	*laih*	*mai*	
	sibling.younger	1SG	want	only	3SG	POSSP	go	market	with	
	N	PRO	V	ADV	PRO	POSSP	V	N	PREP	
paọ̈ʔgɹɔm	*tiʔ*	*ŋɛ*								
friend	POSSP	only								
N	POSSP	ADV								

My sister only wanted to go shopping only with her friends.

15.33	*kəpaọ̈ʔ*	*puʔ*	*sam jwam*	*mɔ̈h*	*pəsaʔ*
	wedding	sibling.younger	Sam Ywan	be	tomorrow
	N	N	NPROP	COP	ADV

Sam Ywan's sister's wedding is tomorrow.

15.34	*mok*	*am bra*	*mɔ̈h*	*taitɛ*
	cap	Am Bra	be	blue
	N	NPROP	COP	VADJ

Am Bra's cap is blue.

15.35	*liɔ̈k*	*namʔwɛ baiŋ*	*tə*	*jɛ̰*	*mau*
	buy	sugar	one	hundred	money
	V	N	NUM	DET	N

Buy one hundred kyat of sugar [i.e. for 100 Kyat.].

15.36	*bɔ*	*siblu̱h*	*sədaʔ*	*soʔ*	*nɔh*
	NEG.IMPER	pull	tail	dog	3SG
	NEG	V	N	N	PRO

Don't pull his dog's tail.

15.37	*səvoe*	*ʔaŋ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*ɲaŋ*	*hu*	*ɲɛ̤ʔ*	*nɔh*	*ʔəuʔ*	*lɔh*	*gɹəŋ*	
	before	NEG	1SG	NEG.yet	go	house	3SG	1SG	change	cloth	
	CONN	NEG	PRO	MOD	V	N	PRO	PRO	V	N	

tiʔ

POSSP

POSSP

Before I went to her house I changed my clothes.

15.38	*kʰaiʔ*	*kaoh*	*ʔəuʔ*	*kʰaiŋ*	*ɲɛ̤ʔ*	*təkɛ*	,	*ʔit*	*ʔəuʔ*
	after	come back	1SG	from	house	village chief		sleep	1SG
	CONN	V	PRO	PREP	N	N		V	PRO

After coming back from the village leader's house, I slept.

16.1	*ʔaŋ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*lai*	*hu*	*ɲɛ̤ʔ ʔah lai*	
	NEG	1SG	NEG.anymore	go	school	
	NEG	PRO	MOD	V	N	

I don't go to school.

16.2	*ʔaŋ*	*jɨ̤ʔ*	*lai*	*hu*	*pansan*	*pəsaʔ*
	NEG	1PL.EXCL	NEG.anymore	go	Pan San	tomorrow
	NEG	PRO	MOD	V	NPROP	ADV

We will not go to Pan San tomorrow.

16.3	*kɔʔ*	*kɔʔ*	*ʔaŋ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*lai*	*hu*	*ʔah lai*	
	yesterday	yesterday	NEG	1SG	NEG.anymore	go	school	
	ADV	ADV	NEG	PRO	MOD	V	N	

I did not go to school yesterday.

16.4 *kɔn ɲɔm ʔin , nɔh ʔaŋ tɛ tɔk puʔ*

child this 3SG NEG NEG.explain beat sibling.younger

N DEM PRO NEG MOD V N

tiʔ

POSSP

POSSP

This child, he did not hit his/her sister.

16.5 *kʰɤ ʔaŋ kiʔ tɛ lək ɻɔm ka tai tiʔ*

because NEG 3PL NEG.explain water water APPL flower POSSP

CONN NEG PRO MOD V N PREP N POSSP

, tai kiʔ kɤm jṵm

flower 3PL PRT.purpose die

N PRO MOD V

Because they did not water the flower, their flower died.

16.6 *mɛ̤ʔ ʔaŋ kɛʔ pəke ʔəuʔ ʔaŋ tɛ hwet*

mother NEG 3DL elder siblings 1SG NEG NEG.explain come

N NEG PRO N PRO NEG MOD V

Neither my mother came nor my sister.

16. 7 *saŋ tiŋ ʔaŋ ɲaŋ jṵm*

elephant big NEG NEG.yet die

N VADJ NEG MOD V

The big elephant has not died yet.

16.8 *ʔaŋ ʔəuʔ lai hu*

NEG 1SG NEG.anymore go

NEG PRO MOD V

I won’t go anymore.

16.9 *ʔaŋ ʔəuʔ lai hu tiʔ bɔ̤k kɔʔ*

NEG 1SG NEG.anymore go one CLF.time even

NEG PRO MOD V NUM CLF ADV

I will never go.

16.10 *ʔaŋ* *ʔəuʔ* *ɹʰɔm* *hu*
NEG 1SG mind go
NEG PRO N V

I don’t want to go

16.11 *ʔaŋ* *ʔəuʔ* *ɲaŋ* *tɛn* *tiʔ* *hu*
NEG 1SG NEG.yet free V.chain go
NEG PRO MOD V PRT V

I did not free to go.

16.12 *ʔaŋ* *ʔəuʔ* *lai* *tʃʰɤŋ* *tiʔ* *hu*
NEG 1SG NEG.anymore V.chain go
NEG PRO MOD PRT V

I will not go anymore.

16.13 *ʔaŋ* *ʔəuʔ* *jao̯ʔ* *tiʔ* *hu*
NEG 1SG forced.to V.chain go
NEG PRO V PRT V

I didn’t happen to go.

16.14 *ʔaŋ* *ʔəuʔ* *ɲaŋ* *hu*
NEG 1SG NEG.yet go
NEG PRO MOD V

I haven’t gone yet.

16.15 *ʔaŋ* *ʔəuʔ* *ɲaŋ* *saʔ* *hu*
NEG 1SG NEG.yet EXP go
NEG PRO MOD ASPT V

I have never gone.

16.16 *piʔɔm* *hu* *ʔəuʔ*
forget go 1SG
V V PRO

I accidently didn’t go.

16.17 *ʔaŋ* *kʰɔ* *tiʔ* *hu*
NEG should V.chain go
NEG MOD PRT V

(I) shouldn’t go.

16.18 *ʔaŋ* *pon* *hu*
NEG can go
NEG V V

(I) can’t go.

16.19 *ʔaŋ* *ʔəuʔ* *ɻʰɔm* *kɛ̤h* *hu*
NEG 1SG want cause go
NEG PRO V V V

I don’t want (him) to go.

16.20 *ʔaŋ* *tʃu* *maɨ̤ʔ* *hu*
NEG allow 2SG go
NEG V PRO V

(I command) you not to go.

16.21 *ʔaŋ* *mɔʔ* *mɔʔ* *tiʔ* *hwet* *kə* *ɲɛ̤ʔ* *ʔəuʔ*
NEG who who something come APPL house 1SG
NEG QW QW PRO V PREP N PRO

Nobody came to my house.

16.22 *ʔaŋ* *ʔəuʔ* *hu* *duu* *mɔʔ* *tiʔ*
NEG 1SG go where something
NEG PRO V QW PRO

I didn’t go anywhere.

16.23 *ʔaŋ* *lik* *jɯ̤m* *tiʔ* *mu* *kɔʔ*
NEG pig die one CLF.nonhuman Neg.Quan
NEG N V NUM CLF QUANT

Not one pig died.

16.24	*ʔaŋ*	*səmaǫ̱ʔ*	*tiŋ*	*tə*	*lon*	*kɔʔ*
	NEG	stone	big	one	CLF.round things	Neg.Quan
	NEG	N	V	NUM	CLF	QUANT

Not one stone is big.

16.25	*ʔaŋ*	*jụ̱h kə mɔʔ*	*tiʔ*
	NEG	what	POSSP
	NEG	QW	POSSP

I don’t feel any thing.

16.26	*ʔaŋ*	*tiʔ*	*tiʔ*	*koe*
	NEG	something	something	exist
	NEG	PRO	PRO	cop

There is nothing.

16. 27	*ʔaŋ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*koe*	*mau*
	NEG	1SG	exist	money
	NEG	PRO	cop	N

I do not have money.

17.1	*laik*	*hɤ*
	enter	PRT.SF
	V	PRT

Come in.

17.2	*bɔ*	*laik*
	NEG.IMPER	enter
	NEG	V

Don’t come in.

17.3	*ʔaŋ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*laik*
	NEG	1SG	enter
	NEG	PRO	V

I didn’t come in.

17.4 *ʔaŋ* *ʔəuʔ* *ɹʰɔm* *laik* *liᷝk*

NEG 1SG want enter Prt

NEG PRO V V PRT

I won’t come in.

17.5 *jᷝuh bwan son* *ŋom*

please sit

INTERJ V

Please sit down.

17.6 *ŋᷝm*

sit

V

Sit/sit down.

17. 7 *ŋᷝm* *hɤ*

sit PRT.SF

V PRT

Sit down now!

17.8 *hu* *dəʔ* *laih* *pʰao* *hɤ*

go in market now PRT.SF

V PREP N ADV PRT

Go to the market now!

18.1 *viaŋ* *ai ka* *hoik* *lih* *kɔʔ* , *ai kʰun* *kɔn* *ʔot* *dəʔ*

although Ai Kar COMPL go out even Ai Khun DUR stay in

CONN NPROP ASPT V ADV NPROP ASPT V PREP

ɲᷝʔ

house

N

Although Ai Kar went out, Ai Khun stayed at home.

18.2	*hoik*	*hu*	*ai kʰun*	*ka*	*dəʔ*	*kəŋ*	*nuʔ*
	COMPL	go	Ai Khun	APPL	in	paddy field	Past.near
	ASPT	V	NPROP	PREP	PREP	N	ADV

Ai Khun went his field already.

18.3	*ai kʰun*	*viaŋ*	*ʔaŋ*	*ʔah*	*lai ɹhaʔ*	*kɔʔ*	*,*	*ai ka*	*nɔh*
	Ai Khun	although	NEG	say	song	even		Ai Kar	3SG
	NPROP	CONN	NEG	V	N	ADV		NPROP	PRO

tɤ	*gɹaoh*	*hɤ*
will.certain	dance	PRT.SF
TAM	V	PRT

Although Ai Khun did not sing, Ai Kar will (certainly) dance.

18.4	*ɲɛ̰ʔ*	*ʔin*	*mo̰h*	*ɲɛ̰ʔ*	*koe*	*bɹa̰ʔ*	*koe*	*tiŋ*
	house	this	be	house	have	roof	have	wall
	N	DEM	COP	N	V	N	V	N

This house is a house that has a roof and walls.

18.5	*tɔʔ*	*ʔah*	*ai kʰun*	*lai ɹhaʔ*	*kɛh*	*ai ka*	*tɤk*	*gɹaoh*	*kʰaiʔ*
	give	sing	Ai Khun	song	uhm	Ai Kar	will.certain	dance	later
	V	V	NPROP	N	INTERJ	NPROP	TAM	V	ADV

Let Ai Khun sing, then Ai Kar will (certainly) dance.

18.6	*pʰan*	*maḭʔ*	*ʔaŋ*	*tɔʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*ʔih*	*namʔwɛ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*jɛ̰m*	*hɤ*
	if	2SG	NEG	give	1SG	eat	candy	1SG	cry	PRT.SF
	CONN	PRO	NEG	V	PRO	V	N	PRO	V	PRT

If you don't give me the sweets, I will cry.

18. 7	*pʰan*	*tɔk*	*maḭʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*,*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tɤ*	*jɛ̰m*	*ka*
	if	beat	2SG	1SG		1SG	will.certain	cry	APPL
	CONN	V	PRO	PRO		PRO	TAM	V	PREP

If you hit me I will cry.

18.8	*pʰan*	*nɔh*	*hwet*	*dʒau*	*dʒau*	*nuʔ*	,	*nɔh*	*tɤ*	*jaọʔ*
	if	3SG	come	early	early	Past.near		3SG	will.certain	see
	CONN	PRO	V	ADV	ADV	ADV		PRO	TAM	V

lai	*ʔin*
letter	this
N	DEM

If he had come earlier, he would have seen this letter.

18.9	*pʰan*	*nɔh*	*hwet*	*tʃʰɔk*	*ʔəuʔ*	*ka*	*gɻ̣gɻɔŋ*		*ʔin*	,	*ʔəuʔ*
	if	3SG	come	ask	1SG	APPL	subject/ matter		this		1SG
	CONN	PRO	V	V	PRO	PREP	N		DEM		PRO

tɤ	*kɻai*	*nɔh*	*mhoŋ*	*ʔuik*
will.certain	tell	3SG	hear	all
TAM	V	PRO	V	ADV

If he asks me about this I will certainly tell the whole story.

18.10	*pʰan*	*nɔh*	*pon*	*hwet*	,	*nɔh*	*kʰɔ*	*tiʔ*	*hwet*
	if	3SG	can	come		3SG	should	V.chain	come
	CONN	PRO	V	V		PRO	MOD	PRT	V

If he (is) able to come, (then) he should come.

18.11	*ai lu*	*kɛʔ*	*ɲi nap*	,	*hu*	*gaị̈k*	*pwɛ*	*nuʔ*	*kʰɔm*	*ɻa*	
	Ai Lu	3DL	Nyi Nap		go	look at	show	Past.near	all	two	
	NPROP	PRO	NPROP		V	V	N	ADV	QUANT	NUM	

tiʔ	
POSSP	
POSSP	

Aik Lu and Nyi Nap both went to watch the festival.

18.12 *kɔn ɲɔm ʔan kiʔ* *pʰan* *kiʔ* *hoik* *sɔm* , *kiʔ* *ɲaụ̈ʔ* *ʁom*

child those if 3PL finish eat rice 3PL drink water

N DEM CONN PRO V V PRO V N

kʰaiʔ

then

ADV

After those children ate rice, then they drank water.

18.13 *i nɔm* *viaŋ* *nɔh* *mʰɔm* *kɔʔ* , *ʔaŋ* *dəʔ* *ʁʰɔm* *nɔh*

Ei Nawm although 3SG beautiful even NEG in mind 3SG

NPROP CONN PRO ADJ ADV NEG PREP N PRO

mʰɔm

beautiful

VADJ

Ei Nawm is beautiful but ill natured.

18.14 *ɲi sin* *viaŋ* *nɔh* *tɯm* *kɔʔ* *ai kʰwat* *ʔaŋ* *tɯm*

Nyi Sin although 3SG help even Ai Khwat NEG help

NPROP CONN PRO V ADV NPROP NEG V

Nyi Sin will help but not Ai Khwat.

19.1 *kɔʔ* *kɔʔ* *hu* *jụ̈ʔ* *gaụ̈k* *pwɛ*

yesterday yesterday go 1PL.EXCL look at show

ADV ADV V PRO V N

Yesterday we (not you) went to see the show.

19.2 *kɔʔ* *kɔʔ* *hu* *jɛ̱ʔ* *gaụ̈k* *pwɛ*

yesterday yesterday go 1DL.EXCL look at show

ADV ADV V PRO V N

Yesterday we two (not you) went to see the show.

19.3 *pasaʔ* *hu* *ʔeʔ* *gaụ̈k* *pwɛ* *ʔuik*

tomorrow go 1PL.INCL look at show all

ADV V PRO V N ADV

Tomorrow we all will go to see the show.

19.4	*pəsaʔ*	*hu*	*ʔaʔ*	*gaiʲk*	*pwɛ*
	tomorrow	go	1DL.INCL	look at	show
	ADV	V	PRO	V	N

Tomorrow we will go to see the show.

19.5	*kɔʔ*	*kɔʔ*	*hu*	*kɛʔ*	*gaiʲk*	*pwɛ*
	yesterday	yesterday	go	3DL	look at	show
	ADV	ADV	V	PRO	V	N

Yesterday they went to see the show.

19.6	*kɔʔ*	*kɔʔ*	*hu*	*kiʔ*	*gaiʲk*	*pwɛ*	*ʔuik*
	yesterday	yesterday	go	3PL	look at	show	all
	ADV	ADV	V	PRO	V	N	ADV

Yesterday they went to see the show.

19. 7	*paʔ*	*ɹa*	*kauʔ*	*jiʲh*	*kaiŋ*	*sədaiŋ*	*tʃʰɤŋ*
	2DL	two	CLF.human	do	work	very	smart
	PRO	NUM	CLF	V	N	ADV	V

You two worked well.

19.8	*jiʲh*	*peʔ*	*kaiŋ*	*ʔaŋ*	*tʃʰɤŋ*
	do	2PL	work	NEG	well
	V	PRO	N	NEG	ADV

You worked badly.

20.1	*mɛʲʔ*	*tɔʔ*	*kɔn*	*nɔh*	*sɔm*
	mother	give	child	3SG	eat rice
	N	V	N	PRO	V

Mother fed her child.

20.2	*mɛʲʔ*	*mhaiŋ*	*puʔke*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tɔʔ*	*kɔn ɲɔm*	*sɔm*
	mother	command	elder siblings	1SG	give	child	eat rice
	N	V	N	PRO	V	N	V

Mother commanded my sister feed the child.

20.3	*ʔok nan*	*mhaiŋ*	*pəke*	*ʔəuʔ*	*so*	*ai kʰun*	*kaoh*
	Oak Nan	command	elder siblings	1SG	wake	Ai Khun	wake up
	NPROP	V	N	PRO	V	NPROP	V

Oak Nan command my brother to make Ai Sin wake up.

20.4	*səɹamaʔ*	*mhaiŋ*	*kɔn ɲɔm*	*pʰat*	*lai*
	teacher	command	child	read	book
	N	V	N	V	N

The teacher commanded the child to read the book (The teacher made the children study).

20.5	*jaọʔ*	*nɔh*	*tiʔ*	*lih*	*kʰaiŋ*	*kaịŋ*
	see	3SG	V.chain	leave	from	work
	V	PRO	PRT	V	PREP	N

He was fired.

20.6	*pʰan*	*jeʔ nan*	*kẹh*	*nɔh*	*ʔah lai*	*naụʔ*	*,*	*nɔh*	*tɤ*
	if	Yex Nan	cause	3SG	school	Past time		3SG	will.certain
	CONN	NPROP	V	PRO	V	ADV		PRO	TAM

hoik	*jaọʔ*	*tiʔ*	*jụh*	*kaịŋ*
COMPL	have-to	V.chain	do	work
ASPT	V	PRT	V	N

If Yex Nan had made him study, he would have got a job (by now).

20.7	*mẹʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*mhaiŋ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*jụh*	*mwoit*
	mother	1SG	command	1SG	do	porridge
	N	PRO	V	PRO	V	N

My mother made me cook porridge.

20.8	*hoik*	*maʔ*	*kɔŋ*
	COMPL	broken	bottle
	ASPT	V	N

The bottle broke.

20.8 b ʔəuʔ baụ̈h kɔŋ maʔ
1SG break bottle broken
PRO V N V

I broke the bottle

20.9 kʰam ʔəuʔ kɹaʔ pə tɔk pwi ʔaŋ mʰɔm
suffer 1SG NMLZR REL beat person NEG good
V PRO NMLZR REL V N NEG VADJ

I was beaten by the bad people.

20.10 ai kʰun kʰam kɹaʔ pə gi̱t̲ soʔ
Ai Khun suffer NMLZR REL bite dog
NPROP V NMLZR REL V N

Ai Khun was bitten by a dog.

20.11 hoik gwe̱ kʰaoʔ
COMPL be fallen tree
ASPT V N

The tree was fallen.

20.12 nɔh jụ̈m ka gut kʰaoʔ tiʔ
3SG die APPL be pressed down tree POSSP
PRO V PREP V N POSSP

He was killed by the tree.

20.13 – hoik pot pʰɯn
COMPL broken table
ASPT V N

The table was broken.

20.14 hoik pot səʔaŋ
COMPL broken bone
ASPT V N

The bone was broken.

21.1	*ɹɔm*	*klɔŋ*	*səŋaʔ*	*kʰaiŋ*	*ɹɔm*	*duŋ*
	water	river	clean	than	water	lake
	N	N	VADJ	PREP	N	N

River water is cleaner than lake water.

21.2	*ɹɔm*	*kɹum*	*səŋaʔ*	*kʰaiŋ*	*paọ̯ʔ tiʔ*
	water	Salween	clean	than	each.other
	N	NPROP	VADJ	PREP	RECPL

The Salween water is the cleanest.

21.3	*tant jan*	*sədaiŋ*	*səʔao*	*pɹaiʔ*	*viaŋ mɔ nan*	*laʃio*	*ɹɛ̯ʔ*
	Tant Yan	very	warn	weather	however	Lashio	be in excess
	NPROP	ADV	VADJ	N	CONN	NPROP	V

səkɛ̯t	*tʃwiʔ*
cold	amount.little
VADJ	QUANT

Tant Yan weather is hot but Lahsio weather is a bit cooler.

21.4	*səbɛ̯ʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*ɹɛ̯ʔ*	*paịŋ*	*kʰaiŋ*	*səbɛ̯ʔ*	*nɔh*
	shirt	1SG	be in excess	white	than	shirt	3SG
	N	PRO	V	VADJ	PREP	N	PRO

My shirt is whiter than his shirt.

22.1	*saŋ*	*kwạt*	*hoik*	*jụm*
	elephant	old	COMPL	die
	N	VADJ	ASPT	V

The old elephant died.

22.2	*jạm*	*hwet*	*sam nap*	*kə*	*ɲɛ̯ʔ*	*paọ̯ʔgɹɔm*	*nɔh*	*dụ*	*hu*
	when	arrive	Sam Nap	APPL	house	friend	3SG	re-.again	go
	CONN	V	NPROP	PREP	N	N	PRO	verbprt	V

When Sam Nap came home, his friend had gone.

22.3	*tɔʔ*	*lai*	*kə*	*ʔəuʔ*
	give	letter	APPL	1SG
	V	N	PREP	PRO

Give me the letter!

22.4	*tɔʔ*	*lai*	*son*	*tʃɛ*	*kuiŋ*	*nan kʰun*	*kə*	*nan kʰun*
	give	letter	BEN	posses	father	Nan Khun	APPL	Nan Khun
	V	N	PREP	V	N	NPROP	PREP	NPROP

Give the letter to Nan Khun for her father.

22.5	*lih*	*hɤ́*	
	go out	PRT.SF	
	V	PRT	

Get out!

22.6	*dʒaiŋ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*ʔih*	*səbe̤ʔ*
	sew	1SG	wear	shirt
	V	PRO	V	N

Sew a shirt (for) me.

22.7	*dʒaiŋ*	*səbe̤ʔ*	
	sew	shirt	
	V	N	

Sew a shirt!

22.8	*ŋm̤*	*nɔh*
	sit	3SG
	V	PRO

He sat down.

22.9	*hoik*	*sɔm*	*nɔh*	*kuiŋ*	*nɔh*	*lih*	*plak*	*pɹaiʔ*
	COMPL	eat rice	3SG	father	3SG	go out	side	weather
	ASPT	V	PRO	N	PRO	V	N	N

After having the meal, his father went out.

22.10 *pʰat* *lai* *tiŋ* *tiŋ*

read letter big big

V N VADJ VADJ

Read the letter loudly.

22.11 *jaọ?* *maị?* *ɲɛ̰?* *mʰɔm* *mʰɔm* *naŋ* *lɛ*

see 2SG house good good PRT.QUES QUEST.PRT

V PRO N VADJ VADJ PRT QP

Can you see the house well?

22.12 *hu* *gaị̈k*

go look at

V V

Go and see!

22.13 *kʰai?* *hoik* *tɔk* *nɔh* *ʔəu?* *,* *nɔh* *lih* *plak* *pɹai?* *hɤ*

after finish beat 3SG 1SG 3SG go out side outside PRT.SF

CONN V V PRO PRO PRO V N N PRT

After he hit me, he ran away.

23.1 *hwet* *maị?* *tin* *ʔaŋ* *ʔəu?* *moh*

come 2SG here NEG 1SG love

V PRO DEM NEG PRO V

I don’t like your coming here.

23.2 *mɔ?* *pə* *ʔaŋ* *ɹʰɔm* *ʔih* *pə* *ɲɔ̰m* *lɛ*

QW, who REL NEG want eat REL good QUEST.PRT

QW REL NEG V V REL VADJ QP

Who does not want to eat well?

23.3	*kʰɤ*	*dʒao*	*dụ̈*	*nɔh*	*hwet*	*,*	*mɛ̤?*	*nɔh*
	because	in order that	re-.again	3SG	come		mother	3SG
	CONN	ADV	verbprt	PRO	V		N	PRO

tom	*dụ̈*	*bɹa?*
PRT.purpose	re-.again	recover
MOD	verbprt	V

Because of his coming back, his mother could survive.

23.4	*nɔh*	*kɹai*	*ʔəu?*	*mhoŋ*	*ʔaŋ*	*lai*	*ɹuiŋ*		*nɔh*
	3SG	tell	1SG	hear	NEG	PRT.Time	take much time		3SG
	PRO	V	PRO	V	NEG	PRT	V		PRO

saŋ	*dụ̈*	*də?*	*veŋ*
will.potential	re-.again	in	town
TAM	verbprt	PREP	N

He told me that he was leaving the town soon.

23.5	*nɔh*	*səmɛ*	*ti?*	*jụ̈h*	*tao?*		*ʔah*	*nɔh*	*nan*
	3SG	want	V.chain	do	vegetable curry		say	3SG	like that
	PRO	V	PRT	V	N		V	PRO	DEM

She said that she likes to cook.

23.6	*pu?*		*ʔəu?*	*kɹai*	*ʔəu?*	*mhoŋ*	*bo*	*kɔ?*	*kɔ?*
	sibling.younger		1SG	tell	1SG	hear	night	yesterday	yesterday
	N		PRO	V	PRO	V	N	ADV	ADV

sədaiŋ	*tiŋ*	*lhɛ?*	
very	big	rain	
ADV	VADJ	V	

My sister told me that it rained heavily last night.

24.1	*ti?*	
	one	
	NUM	

one

24.2 ɹa

two

NUM

two

24.3 lwe

three

NUM

three

24.4 pon

four

NUM

four

24.5 pʰwan

five

NUM

five

24.6 liạh

six

NUM

six

24. 7 ʔəliạh

seven

NUM

seven

24.8 daiʔ

eight

NUM

eight

24.9 *dim*

nine

NUM

nine

24.10 *kaɯ*

ten

NUM

ten

24.11 *kaɯ* *ti?*

ten one

NUM NUM

eleven

24.12 *kaɯ* *ɻa*

ten two

NUM NUM

twelve

24.13 *kaɯ* *lwe*

ten three

NUM NUM

thirteen

24.14 *kaɯ* *pon*

ten four

NUM NUM

fourteen

24.15 *kaɯ* *p^hwan*

ten five

NUM NUM

fifteen

24.16 *kaɯ* *liḷh*
ten six
NUM NUM

sixteen

24.17 *kaɯ* *ʔəliḷh*
ten seven
NUM NUM

seventeen

24.18 *kaɯ* *daiʔ*
ten eight
NUM NUM

eighteen

24.19 *kaɯ* *dim*
ten nine
NUM NUM

nineteen

24.20 *tə ŋa*
twenty
NUM

twenty

24.21 *tə ŋwe*
thirty
NUM

thirty

24.22 *tə* *pon*
one four
NUM NUM

fourty

24.23 *tə* *pʰwan*

one five

NUM NUM

fifty

24.24 *tə* *glɛh*

one six

NUM NUM

sixty

24.25 *ʔah tə glɛh*

seventy

NUM

seventy

24.26 *tə* *daiʔ*

one eight

NUM NUM

eighty

24. 27 *tə* *dim*

one nine

NUM NUM

ninety

24.28 *tə* *jɛ̈*

one hundred

NUM DET

one hundred

24.29 *tə* *jɛ̈* *mai* *tə* *pʰwan*

one hundred and one five

NUM DET CONN NUM NUM

one hundred and fifty

24.30 *tə* *ɻeiŋ*
one thousand
NUM DET

one thousand

24.31 *tə* *ɻeiŋ* *mai* *ɻa* *jɛ̯*
one thousand and two hundred
NUM DET CONN NUM DET

one thousand and two hundred

24.32 *tə* *ɻeiŋ* *mai* *pʰwan* *jɛ̯* *tə* *dai?*
one thousand and five hundred one eight
NUM DET CONN NUM DET NUM NUM

(1580) one thousand five hundred and eighty

24.33 *tə* *mɯn*
one ten thousand
NUM DET

(10000) ten thousand

24.34 *tə* *mɯn* *mai* *pʰwan* *ɻheiŋ*
one ten thousand and five thousand
NUM DET CONN NUM DET

(15000) fifteen thousand

24.35 *tə* *sɛn*
one one hundred thousand
NUM N

(100,000) one hundred thousand

24.36 *kaɯ* *sɛn*
ten one hundred thousand
NUM N

(1,000,000) one hundred thousand

APPENDIX B
FOUR CIVET CATS

1. *koe tə səŋaiʔ , ʔəuʔ bɹe tiʔ pʰak nạt tʃeʔ tiʔ*
exist one Clf.day 1SG do.nice V.chain wash gun POSS POSSP
cop NUM CLF PRO V PRT V N PRT POSSP

saŋ hu sɔ̰k tiʔ dʒɔ tiʔ puiŋ totiak dəuʔ noŋ
in order to go look for V.chain hunt V.chain shoot animal in forest
CONN V V PRT V PRT V N PREP N

One day, I washed my gun well to go hunting in the forest.

2. *kʰaiʔ pʰak ʔəuʔ nạt kənɛ , ʔəuʔ tom kaoh dʒau*
after wash 1SG gun uhm 1SG PRT.purpose wake up early
CONN V PRO N INTERJ PRO MOD V ADV

dʒau , mai hu dəuʔ noŋ
early and go in forest
ADV CONN V PREP N

After I had washed my gun, I woke up very early and went to the forest.

3. *ʔəuʔ tom ŋɔ̰m ka dəuʔ noŋ kənɛ , bəu tiʔ puing*
1SG PRT.purpose sit APPL in forest uhm wait V.chain shoot
PRO MOD V PREP PREP N INTERJ V PRT V

totiạk totu , tʃak pwe kʰankiʔ , kʰaiʔ ʔan kɛnɛ , pə
animal animal deer deer.barking all after that uhm REL
N N N N PRO CONN DEM INTERJ REL

mɔ̰h sim tom hwet ka ʔəuʔ
be bird PRT.purpose come APPL 1SG
COP N MOD V PREP PRO

When I was sitting in the forest (waiting) to shoot the animals- all of the deer and barking deer, after a while, birds came to me.

4.	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*ʔaŋ*	*tɛ*	*puiŋ*	*dʒao*	*kɔn*	*ʔiak*	
	1SG	PRT.purpose	NEG	NEG.explain	shoot	in order that	DUR	small	
	PRO	MOD	NEG	MOD	V	ADV	ASPT	VADJ	
dəuʔ	*ɻʰɔm*	*ʔəuʔ*	,						
in	mind	1SG							
PREP	N	PRO							

I didn't shoot them because they are too small in my mind.

5.	*kʰaiʔ*	*ʔan*	*kɛnɛ*	, *lhai*	*hwet*	*ka*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*ʔaŋ*
	after	that	uhm	squirrel	come	APPL	1SG	PRT.purpose	NEG
	CONN	DEM	INTERJ	N	V	PREP	PRO	MOD	NEG
tɛ	*puiŋ*	*dʒao*	*kɔn*	*ʔiak*	*dəuʔ*	*ɻʰɔm*	*ʔəuʔ*		
NEG.explain	shoot	in order that	DUR	small	in	mind	1SG		
MOD	V	ADV	ASPT	V	PREP	N	PRO		

After a while, the squirrels came to me, I didn't shoot them because they looked so small in my mind.

6.	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*ŋn̈m*	*tan*	*kɛnɛ*	*bɻaiʔ*	*tom*	*ɻiang*	*mʰɔm*
	1SG	PRT.purpose	sit	there	uhm	weather	PRT.purpose	shine	good
	PRO	MOD	V	DEM	INTERJ	N	MOD	V	VADJ
mʰɔm									
good									
VADJ									

As I was sitting there, the sun rose brightly.

7.	*ka*	*kɛnɛʔ*	*tom*	*hwet*	*ka*	*ʔəuʔ*	*koe*	*kiʔ*	*pon*
	cat.civet	uhm	PRT.purpose	come	APPL	1SG	exist	3PL	four
	N	INTERJ	MOD	V	PREP	PRO	cop	PRO	NUM
mu									
CLF.nonhuman									
CLF									

The civet cats came to me, there were 4 of them.

8.	*kiʔ*	*tom*	*hwet*	*klɛh*	*hɔt*	*ʔəuʔ*	*dẹ̈ʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tan*
	3PL	PRT.purpose	come	play	beside	1SG	near	1SG	there
	PRO	MOD	V	V	PREP	PRO	PREP	PRO	DEM

They came and played just near me.

9.	*klɛh*	*kiʔ*	*hɔt*	*ʔəuʔ*	*kɛnɛ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*jaọ̈ʔ*	*ɲn̈m*	*klɛh*	*kiʔ*
	play	3PL	beside	1SG	uhm	1SG	see	good	play	3PL
	V	PRO	PREP	PRO	INTERJ	PRO	V	VADJ	V	PRO

As they were playing near me, I saw their playing were good.

10.	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*dʒak*	*kɹaʔ*	*klɛh*	*kiʔ*	*,*	*klɛh*	*kiʔ*	*mai*
	1SG	PRT.purpose	watch	NMLZR	play	3PL		play	3PL	with
	PRO	MOD	V	NMLZR	V	PRO		V	PRO	PREP

paọ̈ʔ tiʔ

each.other

RECPL

I (was) watching their playing. They (were) playing with each other.

11.	*kʰaiʔ*	*klɛh*	*kiʔ*	*mai*	*paọ̈ʔ tiʔ*	*kɛnɛ*	*,*	*ʔan*	*tə*
	after	play	3PL	and	each.other	uhm		that	one
	CONN	V	PRO	CONN	RECPL	INTERJ		DEM	NUM

mu	*kɛnɛ*	*,*	*tom*	*laị̈k*	*kə dəuʔ*	*dn̈ kʰaoʔ*
CLF.nonhuman	uhm		PRT.purpose	enter	inside	hole.tree
CLF	INTERJ		MOD	V	PREP	N

After they played with each other, one of them entered in the hole of the tree.

12.	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*dʒak*	*laị̈k*	*nɔh*	*kə dəuʔ*	*dn̈ kʰaoʔ*	*kɛnɛ*
	1SG	PRT.purpose	watch	enter	3SG	inside	hole.tree	uhm
	PRO	MOD	V	V	PRO	PREP	N	INTERJ

I was watching at him as he entered into it.

13.	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*ʔah tiʔ saŋ*	*hu*	*t^hoʔ*	*kə dəuʔ*	*do̤ k^haoʔ*	*kɛnɛ*	*,*
	1SG	PRT.purpose	going.to	go	shut	inside	hole.tree	uhm	
	PRO	MOD	TAM	V	V	PREP	N	INTERJ	

maiŋ tiʔ saŋ	*gɛ̤ʔ*	*tiʔ*	*vɛʔ*	*ʔim*	*kɛnɛ*
going.to	catch/hold	V.chain	bring	alive	uhm
TAM	V	PRT	V	VADJ	INTERJ

I was going to go (and) shut that hole and going to catch and bring him alive.

14.	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*jao̤ʔ*	*tʃɔk*	*nɔh*	*ɹɔm hia*
	1SG	PRT.purpose	see	scoop	3SG	honey
	PRO	MOD	V	V	PRO	N

I saw that he was scooping honey.

15.	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*ʔaŋ*	*lai*	*hu*	*t^hoʔ*	*dəuʔ*	*do̤ k^haoʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*
	1SG	PRT.purpose	NEG	NEG.anymore	go	shut	in	hole.tree	1SG
	PRO	MOD	NEG	MOD	V	V	PREP	N	PRO

tom	*dʒak*	*ka*	*jṳh*	*tiʔ*
PRT.purpose	watch	APPL	do	POSSP
MOD	V	PREP	V	POSSP

I didn't shut that hole. I was gazing at what he was doing.

16.	*nɔh*	*tom*	*tʃɔk*	*ɹɔm hia*	*kɛnɛ*	*,*	*baṳʔ*	*hu*	*nɔh*	*loe*
	3SG	PRT.purpose	scoop	honey	uhm		again	go	3SG	three
	PRO	MOD	V	N	INTERJ		ADV	V	PRO	NUM

mu	*kɛnɛʔ*	*tom*	*dia*	*tiʔ*	*hɔt*	*nɔh*
CLF.nonhuman	uhm	PRT.purpose	stay.in.queue	V.chain	beside	3SG
CLF	INTERJ	MOD	V	PRT	PREP	PRO

He scooped honey and then he went to the three of them who are in a queue.

17.	*nɔh*	*tom*	*tʃɔk*	*ɹɔm*	*tom*	*tɔʔ*	*ka*	*kiʔ*	*tiʔ*	
	3SG	PRT.purpose	scoop	water	PRT.purpose	give	APPL	3PL	one	
	PRO	MOD	V	N	MOD	V	PREP	PRO	NUM	

mu	*hoik*	*tə*	*mu*	*tiʔ*	*mu*	*hoik*	*tə*		
CLF.nonhuman	after	one	CLF.nonhuman	one	CLF.nonhuman	after	one		
CLF	PREP	NUM	CLF	NUM	CLF	PREP	NUM		

mu	*kiʔ*	*tom*	*ʔih*	*ɹɔm hia*	*ʔan*	*tau*	*kɛnɛ*	
CLF.nonhuman	3PL	PRT.purpose	eat	honey	that	altogether	uhm	
CLF	PRO	MOD	V	N	DEM	ADV	INTERJ	

He scooped honey and gave to them, one after one, and they ate honey together.

18.	*ʔəuʔ*	*vait*	*nạt*	*tʃe saŋ*	*puiŋ*	*kiʔ*	*kʰɔm*	*loe*	*mu*	
	1SG	aim.at	gun	going to	shoot	3PL	all	three	CLF.nonhuman	
	PRO	V	N	TAM	V	PRO	QUANT	NUM	CLF	

kɛnɛ

uhm

INTERJ

I aimed the gun and was going to shoot them, all three of them.

19.	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*lih ɹʰɔm*	*ka*	*loʔ*	*pə*	*dɤ̣*	*sijɛʔ*	*,*	*sijɛʔ*	
	1SG	PRT.purpose	remember	APPL	words	REL	place	God		God	
	PRO	MOD	V	PREP	N	REL	V	N		N	

moh	*ka*	*pwi*	*pə*	*moh*	*ka*	*piaŋ*	*paoʔ tiʔ*	
love	APPL	person	REL	love	APPL	on	each.other	
V	PREP	N	REL	V	PREP	PREP	RECPL	

Then, I remembered the words that God said; God loves the people who love each other.

20. *ʔəuʔ* *tom* *lih ɹʰɔm* *ka* *loʔ* *pə* *dɣ̱* *sijɛʔ* , *ʔəuʔ*

1SG PRT.purpose remember APPL speech REL place God 1SG

PRO MOD V PREP N REL V N PRO

tom *ʔaŋ* *lai* *puiŋ* *ka* *kiʔ*

PRT.purpose NEG NEG.anymore shoot APPL 3PL

MOD NEG MOD V PREP PRO

I remembered God's words, I didn't shoot them.

21. *kʰɤ* *koe* *kɹaʔ* *moh* *kiʔ* *paoʔ tiʔ* *mai* *tʃʰiʔ* *guạ* *kiʔ*

because exist NMLZR love 3PL each.other and can share 3PL

CONN cop NMLZR V PRO RECPL CONN V V PRO

paoʔ tiʔ *ʔih* *ɹɔm hia*

each.other eat honey

RECPL V N

Because they loved each other, they eat honey and could share honey to each other.

22. *ʔəuʔ* *ʔaŋ* *lai* *puiŋ* *ka* *ka* *ʔan kiʔ*

1SG NEG NEG.anymore shoot APPL cat.civet those

PRO NEG MOD V PREP N DEM

I did not shoot those civet cats

23. *ʔəuʔ* *tom* *ʔot* , *ʔəuʔ* *tom* *ʔot* *tan* *kɛnɛ*

1SG PRT.purpose stay 1SG PRT.purpose stay there uhm

PRO MOD V PRO MOD V DEM INTERJ

I was staying there (I was doing nothing).

24. *kʰaiʔ* *hoik* *tɯi* *kiʔ* *tiʔ* *ʔih* *ɹɔm hia* , *kiʔ* *tom* *hu*

after COMPL take 3PL V.chain eat honey 3PL PRT.purpose go

CONN ASPT V PRO PRT V N PRO MOD V

kʰaiŋ *ʔəuʔ*

from 1SG

PREP PRO

They went (away) from me after they had eaten honey.

25. *ʔəuʔ* *tom* *ŋm̥* *tan* *leiŋ laŋ* *səŋaiʔ*
1SG PRT.purpose sit there whole Clf.day
PRO MOD V DEM QUANT CLF

I was sitting there the whole day.

26. *tid tiʔ* *tom* *ʔaŋ* *lai* *hwet* *ka* *ʔəuʔ*
anything PRT.purpose NEG NEG.anymore come APPL 1SG
ADV MOD NEG MOD V PREP PRO

No (animals) came to me again.

27. *ʔəuʔ* *tom* *tʃai ɻʰɔm* *plak* *pon bo*
1SG PRT.purpose hungry side evening
PRO MOD V N N

In the evening, I got hungry.

28. *tom* *ʔiŋ* *jaʊ̯k* *tiʔ* *ʔiŋ* *tom* *hwet* *,* *kə dəuʔ* *ɲɛ̝ʔ*
PRT.purpose return INCEP V.chain return until arrive inside house
MOD V ASPT PRT V PREP V PREP N

plak *pon bo*
side evening
N N

I went back to home in the evening.

29. *mɛ̝ʔ* *kɔn ɲɔm* *ʔeʔ* *kɛnɛ* *tom* *ɻɛ̝p* *tiʔ* *,*
mother child 1PL.INCL uhm PRT.purpose welcome V.chain
N N PRO INTERJ MOD V PRT

tʃʰɔk *ʔəuʔ* *,* *ʔaŋ* *maiʔ* *pǫn* *pa tiʔ tiʔ* *lɛ* *,* *ʔah* *nan*
ask 1SG NEG 2SG get what/something QUEST.PRT say like that
V PRO NEG PRO V N QP V DEM

kə *ʔəuʔ*
APPL 1SG
PREP PRO

The mother of our children welcomed me and asked me ‘didn’t you get anything?’ She said to me like that.

30.	*ʔaŋ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tɛ*	*po̱n*	,	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*ʔah*
	NEG	1SG	NEG.explain	get		1SG	PRT.purpose	say
	NEG	PRO	MOD	V		PRO	MOD	V

‘I didn’t get anything’ I said.

31.	*viaŋ mɔ nan*	*mo̱h*	*ʔaŋ*	*totiq̣k*	*tɛ*	*hwet*	*ka*	*maị̈ʔ*
	if so	be	NEG	animal	NEG.explain	come	APPL	2SG
	CONN	COP	NEG	N	MOD	V	PREP	PRO

lɛ	,	*nɔh*	*tom*	*ʔah*	*nan*	*ka*	*ʔəuʔ*
QUEST.PRT		3SG	PRT.purpose	say	like that	APPL	1SG
QP		PRO	MOD	V	DEM	PREP	PRO

‘If so, didn’t animal come to you?’ She said to me like that.

32.	*hwet*	,	*mo̱h*	*ka*	*pə*	*hwet*	,	*koe*	*kiʔ*	*pon*	*mu*
	come		be	cat.civet	REL	come		exist	3PL	four	CLF.nonhuman
	V		COP	N	REL	V		cop	PRO	NUM	CLF

‘Yes, (They) came (to me). The civet cats came to me. There were four of them'.

33.	*ka*	*ʔan kiʔ*	*pon*	*mu*	*kiʔ*	*tʃɔk*	*tiʔ*	*ʔih*	*ɹɔm hia*
	cat.civet	those	four	CLF.nonhuman	3PL	scoop	V.chain	eat	honey
	N	DEM	NUM	CLF	PRO	V	PRT	V	N

mai	*kiʔ*	*guą̈*	*paoʔ tiʔ*	*ʔih*	*kɛʔnɛ*
and	3PL	share	each.other	eat	uhm
CONN	PRO	V	RECPL	V	INTERJ

‘The four civet cats were scooping and eating honey and sharing it with each other.’

34. *ʔəuʔ* *tʃe saŋ* *puiŋ* *ka* *kiʔ* *viaŋ mɔ nan* , *kʰɤ* *tʃʰiʔ* *guạ*
1SG going to shoot APPL 3PL however because can share
PRO TAM V PREP PRO CONN CONN V V

kiʔ *ɹɔm hia* *kɛʔnɛ* , *ɹʰɔm* *ʔəuʔ* , *ʔəuʔ* *lih ɹʰɔm* *ka* *loʔ* *pə* *ʔah*
3PL honey uhm mind 1SG 1SG remember APPL speech REL say
PRO N INTERJ N PRO PRO V PREP N REL V

sijɛʔ
God
N

‘I (was) going to shoot them, but, because they were sharing honey, I remembered the words that God said’.

35. *sijɛʔ* *moh* *ka* *piaŋ* *pwi* *pa* *moh* *ka* *piaŋ* *paoʔ tiʔ*
God love APPL on person REL love APPL on each.other
N V PREP PREP N REL V PREP PREP RECPL

‘God loves the people who love each other’.

36. *ʔəuʔ* *ʔaŋ* *lai* *puiŋ* *kə* *ka* *ʔan kiʔ*
1SG NEG NEG.anymore shoot APPL cat.civet those
PRO NEG MOD V PREP N DEM

‘I didn’t not shot those civet cats.’

37. *ʔəuʔ* *tom* *kɹai* *jụh* *nan* *ka* *mɛ̣ʔ*
1SG PRT.purpose tell do like that APPL mother
PRO MOD V V DEM PREP N

I said to my wife like that.

38. *kɔn ɲɔm* *dəuʔ* *ɲɛ̣ʔ* *ʔeʔ* *kɛʔ* *tom* *lạ̈ʔ ɹʰɔm* *ka*
child in house 1PL.INCL 3DL PRT.purpose feel up set APPL
N PREP N PRO PRO MOD V PREP

The children in my house were also upset.

39.	*koe*	*tiʔ*	*səŋaɻ̈iʔ*	*,*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*bauʔ*	*jaǫ̈ʔ*	*tiʔ*	*hu*
	have	one	Clf.day		1SG	PRT.purpose	again	forced.to	V.chain	go
	V	NUM	CLF		PRO	MOD	ADV	V	PRT	V

kɛʔnɛ	*,*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*hu*	*dʒɔ*
uhm		1SG	PRT.purpose	go	early
INTERJ		PRO	MOD	V	ADV

One day, I went again, I went early.

40.	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*səbɻ̈b*	*pǫ̈h*	*tə*	*mu*	*ʔəuʔ*
	1SG	PRT.purpose	meet	deer.barking	one	CLF.nonhuman	1SG
	PRO	MOD	V	N	NUM	CLF	PRO

tom	*puiŋ*	*pǫ̈h*	
PRT.purpose	shoot	deer.barking	
MOD	V	N	

I met a deer, I shoot that deer.

41.	*ʔəuʔ*	*tom*	*,*	*pǫ̈n*	*pǫ̈h*	*tom*	*vɛʔ*	*ʔiŋ*	*kə*
	1SG	PRT.purpose		get	deer.barking	PRT.purpose	bring	return	APPL
	PRO	MOD		V	N	MOD	V	V	PREP

ɲɛ̈ʔ
house
N

I got a barking deer and I brought that back to home.

42.	*kɛʔ*	*tom*	*ɻɛ̈p*	*tiʔ*	*klɛ̈n*	*pǫ̈h*	*mai*
	3DL	PRT.purpose	welcome	V.chain	help.carry	deer.barking	and
	PRO	MOD	V	PRT	V	N	CONN

dɤ̈	*dəuʔ*	*ɲɛ̈ʔ*	
place	in	house	
V	PREP	N	

She welcomed helping to carry the barking deer and putting (it) in the house.

43.	*mai*	*kɛʔ*	*tom*	*mʰɔm*	*ɹʰɔm*	*,*	*gə̤ʔrhɔm*	*ka*	*pọn*	*ʔəuʔ*
	and	3DL	PRT.purpose	good	mind		happy	APPL	get	1SG
	CONN	PRO	MOD	VADJ	N		V	PREP	V	PRO

pọh

deer.barking

N

And they were happy that I got the deer.

44.	*kɛʔ*	*tom*	*kok*	*paọʔblə̣k*	*kwạt*	*tə*	*ɲɛ̣ʔ*	*tə*	*jəŋ*	*,*
	3DL	PRT.purpose	call		old	in	house	in	village	
	PRO	MOD	V		VADJ	PREP	N	PREP	N	
səɹa	*ʔeʔ*	*tom*	*jụh*	*kɹaʔ*	*ɹə̣k*	*bwan*	*ka*	*nẹʔ*		
pastor	1PL.INCL	PRT.purpose	do	NMLZR	beg	blessing	APPL	meat		
N	PRO	MOD	V	NMLZR	V	N	PREP	N		
pọh	*ʔan*									
deer.barking	that									
N	DEM									

She invited friends, aged people, pastors, and we did a thanksgiving service at our house with that barking deer meat.

45.	*mai*	*ʔeʔ*	*jə̣k jɔ*	*bwan son*	*sijɛʔ*
	and	1PL.INCL	praise	blessing	God
	CONN	PRO	V	N	N

And we praised God.

46.	*kʰɤ*	*hoik*	*dụ*	*kɛʔ*	*tiʔ*	*mʰɔm*	*ɹʰɔm*	*ka*	*pọn*	*ʔəuʔ*
	because	finish	re-.again	3DL	V.chain	good	mind	APPL	get	1SG
	CONN	V	verbprt	PRO	PRT	VADJ	N	PREP	V	PRO

pọh

deer.barking

N

Because they feel good for getting barking dear.

47.	*ʔin*	*mn̥h*	*pə*	*hoik*	*jaǫʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*kə*	*ŋai*	*mai*	*pə*	*hoik*	*pǫn*
	this	be	REL	finish	see	1SG	APPL	eye	and	REL	finish	get
	DEM	COP	REL	V	V	PRO	PREP	N	CONN	REL	V	V

ʔəuʔ	*kɔʔ*	*səmɛ*	*tiʔ*	*kɹai*	*ʔeʔ*	*mhoŋ*
1SG	yesterday	want	V.chain	tell	1PL.INCL	hear
PRO	ADV	V	PRT	V	PRO	V

This is what I want to tell to all of us about what I saw with my eyes and about when I got a barking dear.

APPENDIX C
HOW TO CLEAN A FIELD

1. *Pʰan mɔ bu̯n pə ju̯h ʔeʔ tiʔ ʔih ma ,*
   if be procedure REL do 1PL.INCL V.chain eat field.dry
   CONN COP N REL V PRO PRT V N

ʔeʔ soh duu mʰɔm tɛʔ
1PL.INCL hack place good earth/land
PRO V N VADJ N

The procedure (by which) that we earn a living by working in the dried-field is --we hack the good land.

2. *ʔeʔ soh duu mʰɔm tɛʔ , hoik soh ʔeʔ duu*
   1PL.INCL hack place good earth/land After hack 1PL.INCL place
   PRO V N VADJ N CONN V PRO N

mʰɔm tɛʔ , ʔeʔ tom ʔuin kɹoh bu̯n kao pʰwan
good earth/land 1PL.INCL PRT.purpose keep dry measure ten five
VADJ N PRO MOD V V N NUM NUM

ŋai̯ʔ
CLF.day
CLF

We hack the good land. After we hack the good land, we leave that for about 15 days to get them dried.

3. *hoik kɹoh ʔeʔ tom kui̯t*
   After dry 1PL.INCL PRT.purpose burn
   CONN V PRO MOD V

After (they) got dried, we burn (them).

4. *hoik kuu̯t ʔeʔ nɔh , tʃan pa səda? pə ʔaŋ ɲaŋ*
After burn 1PL.INCL 3SG things REL remain REL NEG NEG.yet
CONN V PRO PRO N REL V REL NEG MOD
ʔuik pɹuuih , ʔeʔ tom ba u̯ʔ kʰɹɔm
all burned 1PL.INCL PRT.purpose again gather
ADV V PRO MOD ADV V

After we have burned them, we gathered the leftover from burning that didn't get burned.

5. *ba u̯ʔ kuu̯t , hoik kwit ʔeʔ nɔh , ʔeʔ tom hak*
again burn After burn 1PL.INCL 3SG 1PL.INCL PRT.purpose invite
ADV V CONN V PRO PRO PRO MOD V
paoʔbi̯ʔ tiʔ hu tʃia̯k , son saŋ kɹup ʔeʔ bɔ̯k ja̯m ,
colleague V.chain go till in order to get.in.time 1PL.INCL time
N PRT V V ADV V PRO N
son saŋ pʰai hoik
in order to quickly finish
ADV ADV V

(We) burn (them) again, After we had burned them, we invite our colleague to till the land in order to finish in time.

6. *ʔeʔ tom tʃia̯k ka ma ʔan kɛnɛ tə*
1PL.INCL PRT.purpose till APPL field.dry that uhm one
PRO MOD V PREP N DEM INTERJ NUM
ŋai̯ʔ ʔeʔ tom tʃɔ tiʔ vɛʔ paoʔ tiʔ , tə
CLF.day 1PL.INCL PRT.purpose should V.chain bring friend POSSP one
CLF PRO MOD MOD PRT V N POSSP NUM

ŋaị?	*pʰwan*	*kəu?*	*ki?*	*,*	*kao*	*kəu?*	*tə ŋa*	*kəu?*	*,*
CLF.day	five	CLF.human	3PL		ten	CLF.human	twenty	CLF.human	
CLF	NUM	CLF	PRO		NUM	CLF	NUM	CLF	

son saŋ	*jụh*	*ʔe?*	*ti?*	*pon*	*kɹup*	*ka*	*bo̱k jạm*
in order to	do	1PL.INCL	V.chain	can	get.in.time	APPL	time
ADV	V	PRO	PRT	V	V	PREP	N

We till the land, one day we had to invite and bring our friends, 5 friends for a day, or 10 friends for a day, or 20 friends for a day in order to finish (it) in time.

7.	*hoik*	*tʃiạk*	*ʔe?*	*nɔh*	*,*	*ʔe?*	*tom*	*dụ*	*tɔk*	*lon*
	After	till	1PL.INCL	3SG		1PL.INCL	PRT.purpose	re-.again	beat	round
	CONN	V	PRO	PRO		PRO	MOD	verbprt	V	VADJ

tɛ?	
earth/land	
N	

After (we had) tilled it, we beat the clods of dirt.

8.	*hoik*	*tɔk*	*ʔe?*	*lon*	*tɛ?*	*,*	*ʔe?*	*tom*	*dụ*
	After	beat	1PL.INCL	round	earth/land		1PL.INCL	PRT.purpose	re-.again
	CONN	V	PRO	VADJ	N		PRO	MOD	verbprt

ki	*ɲhɯ*	*pə*	*lhaoh*	*ʔe?*	
drag.with.rake	drrt	REL	dig	1PL.INCL	
V	N	REL	V	PRO	

After we had beaten the big pieces of earth, we dragged the dirt that we raked by using the rake.

9.	*hoik*	*ki*	*ʔe?*	*ɲhɯ*	*ʔan ki?*	*,*	*ʔe?*	*tom*
	After	drag.with.rake	1PL.INCL	drrt	those		1PL.INCL	PRT.purpose
	CONN	V	PRO	N	DEM		PRO	MOD

bauʔ	*kuị̈t*
again	burn
ADV	V

After we had dragged the ground, we burned (them) again.

10.	*hoik*	*kɯi̤t*	*ʔeʔ*	*nɔh*	*,*	*ʔeʔ*	*tom*	*dɯ̤*	*ɹɯɹai*
	After	burn	1PL.INCL	3SG		1PL.INCL	PRT.purpose	re-.again	spread
	CONN	V	PRO	PRO		PRO	MOD	verbprt	V

ɲaiŋ ŋu	*ʔan kiʔ*	*kə*	*dəuʔ*	*ma*
ashes	those	APPL	in	field.dry
N	DEM	PREP	PREP	N

After we had burned them, we spread those ashes into the field again.

11.	*k^{h}aiʔ*	*ɹɯɹai*	*ɲiaŋ ŋu*	*ʔan kiʔ*	*kə*	*dəuʔ*	*ma*	*ʔeʔ*
	after	spread	ashes	those	APPL	in	field.dry	1PL.INCL
	CONN	V	N	DEM	PREP	PREP	N	PRO

tom	*hu*	*səu*	*səmɛ*	*kə*	*dəuʔ*	*k^{h}iʔ*	*p^{h}wan*
PRT.purpose	go	put	seed	APPL	in	month	five
MOD	V	V	N	PREP	PREP	N	NUM

After we had spread out the ashes into the field, we went and put the seeds in during the fifth month.

12.	*hoik*	*səu*	*ʔeʔ*	*səmɛ*	*kə*	*dəuʔ*	*k^{h}iʔ*	*p^{h}wan*
	After	put	1PL.INCL	seed	APPL	in	month	five
	CONN	V	PRO	N	PREP	PREP	N	NUM

After we put the seeds during the fifth month,

13.	*dəuʔ*	*k^{h}iʔ*	*lia̤h*	*,*	*ŋoʔ*	*hoik*	*guah*	*p^{h}ao*
	in	month	six		paddy.rice	COMPL	come out	now
	PREP	N	NUM		N	ASPT	V	ADV

In the sixth month, they became the seedlings.

14. *glauh* *tom* *hoik* *pon* *tiʔ* *koe* *kə* *dəuʔ* *ma* ,
weeds PRT.purpose already can V.chain have APPL in field.dry
N MOD ADV V PRT V PREP PREP N

ʔeʔ *tom* *hu* *tɯi* *ʔan* *tə* *bo̱k*
1PL.INCL PRT.purpose go take that one CLF.time
PRO MOD V V DEM NUM CLF

(At that time) weeds are already in the field, we have to go and get rid of them once.

15. *hoik* *tɯi* *ʔeʔ* *glauh* *kə* *dəuʔ* *tə* *kʰiʔ* *plak* ,
After take 1PL.INCL weeds APPL in one month half
CONN V PRO N PREP PREP NUM N QUANT

ʔeʔ *dɯ̣ɯ* *ɹɛm*
1PL.INCL re-.again weeding
PRO verbprt V

After we had got rid of the weeds, in one and a half months, we do weeding.

16. *ʔan* *mɔ* *ɹɛm* *nambɑ̣t* *ɹa*
that be weeding number two
DEM COP V N NUM

That is the weeding for the second time.

17. *ɹɛm* *nambɑ̣t* *loe* , *ɹɛm* *bo̱k* *loe* , *hoik* *ɹɛm*
weeding number three weeding CLF.time three After weeding
V N NUM V CLF NUM CONN V

ʔeʔ *kɛnɛ* ,
1PL.INCL uhm
PRO INTERJ

Weeding for the third time, weeding for the third time, after weeding for the third time,

18. *ʔeʔ* *tom* *baɰ̈ʔ* *prah* *ŋʰoʔ*
1PL.INCL PRT.purpose again leave paddy.rice
PRO MOD ADV V N

We leave them again.

19. *hoik* *pɹah* *ʔeʔ* *nɔh* *,* *ŋʰoʔ* *tom* *hoik*
After leave 1PL.INCL 3SG paddy.rice PRT.purpose already
CONN V PRO PRO N MOD ADV

ŋhe *pʰao*
bear fruit now
V ADV

After leaving it, the (rice) plant is ready to bear fruit now.

20. *hoik* *ŋhe* *,* *ŋʰoʔ* *hoik* *lih* *,* *hoik* *lih*
After bear fruit paddy.rice COMPL appear COMPL appear
CONN V N ASPT V ASPT V

After beaing fruit, the paddy rice plant produces rice.

21. *nɔh* *tom* *baɰ̈ʔ* *hoik* *lih* *,* *ŋʰoʔ* *hoik* *kəuʔ*
3SG PRT.purpose again already appear paddy.rice already matured
PRO MOD ADV ADV V N ADV V

The paddy rice appears again, the rice is ripe or matured.

22. *ʔeʔ* *tom* *soh* *pɹɔk* *ma* *son saŋ* *ʔaŋ* *lə̤ʔ*
1PL.INCL PRT.purpose hack beside field.dry in order to NEG destroy
PRO MOD V PREP N ADV NEG V

kə *sim* *,* *ʔaŋ* *sim* *ʔih*
APPL bird NEG bird eat
PREP N NEG N V

We hack (the place) beside the field , so that it will not be destroyed by the birds, (so that) the birds will not eat them.

23.	*hoik*	*kəuʔ*	*ŋʰoʔ*	*kʰaiʔ*	*ʔan*	*,*	*ʔeʔ*	*tom*	*vɔ̤k*
	After	matured	paddy.rice	after	that		1PL.INCL	PRT.purpose	reap
	CONN	V	N	CONN	DEM		PRO	MOD	V

After the rice is ripen, we reap (them).

24.	*hoik*	*vɔ̤k*	*ʔeʔ*	*nɔh*	*,*	*ʔeʔ*	*ʔuin*	*bṳn*	*daiʔ*	*dim*
	After	reap	1PL.INCL	3SG		1PL.INCL	keep	measure	eight	nine
	CONN	V	PRO	PRO		PRO	V	N	NUM	NUM

kao	*ŋai̤ʔ*
ten	CLF.day
NUM	CLF

After we harvested, we leave for 8 or 9 or 10 days.

25.	*hoik*	*kɹoh*	*pʰao*	*,*	*ʔeʔ*	*tom*	*kʰɹɔm*	*lhiam*	*ŋʰoʔ*	*,*
	After	dry	now		1PL.INCL	PRT.purpose	gather	straw	paddy.rice	
	CONN	V	ADV		PRO	MOD	V	N	N	

After (the stalks) dried, we gathered the paddy rice straw.

26.	*mai*	*ʔeʔ*	*səu*	*kə*	*dəuʔ*	*pum*
	and	1PL.INCL	put	APPL	in	a pile
	CONN	PRO	V	PREP	PREP	N

And we put it in a pile.

27.	*hoik*	*səu*	*ʔeʔ*	*nɔh*	*kə*	*dəuʔ*	*pum*	*kɛnɛ*
	After	put	1PL.INCL	3SG	APPL	in	a pile	uhm
	CONN	V	PRO	PRO	PREP	PREP	N	INTERJ

After we put it in the pile,

28.	*ʔeʔ*	*tom*	*dṳ*	*baṳʔ*	*ʔuin*	*bɔ̤k ja̤m*	*nɔh*	*,*	*daiʔ*
	1PL.INCL	PRT.purpose	re-.again	again	keep	time	3SG		eight
	PRO	MOD	verbprt	ADV	V	N	PRO		NUM

dim	*kao*	*ŋa̤i̤ʔ*
nine	ten	CLF.day
NUM	NUM	CLF

We leave them for 8 or 9 or 10 days.

29.	*ʔeʔ*	*tom*	*dṳ*	*jṳh*	*ka̤i̤ŋ*	*taŋ*	*tʃɤ*
	1PL.INCL	PRT.purpose	re-.again	do	work	other	CLF.things
	PRO	MOD	verbprt	V	N	DET	CLF

(At that time) we do some the other work.

30.	*k^{h}aiʔ*	*hoik*	*jṳh*	*ʔəuʔ*	*ka̤i̤ŋ*	*ʔan*	*kεʔnε*
	after	finish	do	1SG	work	that	uhm
	CONN	V	V	PRO	N	DEM	INTERJ

After we are done with other works,

31.	*bɔ̤k ja̤m*	*hoik*	*pə̤h*	*ʔeʔ*	*nɔh*	*,*	*di̤k*	*ʔeʔ*	*nɔh*	*p^{h}ao*
	time	COMPL	strike	1PL.INCL	3SG		step on	1PL.INCL	3SG	now
	N	ASPT	V	PRO	PRO		V	PRO	PRO	ADV

Then we strike them, and step on them.

32.	*ʔeʔ*	*tom*	*dṳ*	*hak*	*paoʔbeʔ*	*tiʔ*
	1PL.INCL	PRT.purpose	re-.again	invite	colleague	POSSP
	PRO	MOD	verbprt	V	N	POSSP

We invite our colleagues again.

33.	*ʔeʔ*	*tom*	*vɛʔ*	*ʔia*	*,*	*vɛʔ*	*nẹʔ*	*lịk*	*,*	*nẹʔ*	*mwɛ ,*
	1PL.INCL	PRT.purpose	bring	chicken		bring	meat	pig		meat	cow
	PRO	MOD	V	N		V	N	N		N	N

ʔeʔ	*tom*	*kʰɹɔm*	*paoʔ tiʔ*	*hu*	*dụkdịk*	*ŋʰoʔ*
1PL.INCL	PRT.purpose	gather	each.other	go	step on	paddy.rice
PRO	MOD	V	RECPL	V	V	N

We bring chicken, pork, beef, and meet together to go to step on the paddy rice.

34.	*ʔeʔ*	*gə̣ʔrʰɔm*	*tau*	*mai*	*paoʔ tiʔ*
	1PL.INCL	happy	altogether	and	each.other
	PRO	VADJ	ADV	CONN	RECPL

We are happy with each other.

35.	*hoik*	*gə̣ʔrʰɔm*	*tau*	*mai*	*paoʔ tiʔ*
	After	happy	altogether	and	each.other
	CONN	VADJ	ADV	CONN	RECPL

After we had a happy time with each other,

36.	*hoik*	*dụkdịk*	*,*	*ʔeʔ*	*tom*	*bwe*
	After	step on		1PL.INCL	PRT.purpose	winnow
	CONN	V		PRO	MOD	V

After we had stepped on (them), we winnow the rice.

37.	*pə*	*vɛʔ*	*mwɛ*	*ka*	*vɛʔ*	*,*	*pə*	*vɛʔ*	*ka*	*tʃao*	*tiʔ*	*ka*
	REL	bring	cow	also	bring		REL	bring	also	oneself	POSSP	also
	REL	V	N	ADV	V		REL	V	ADV	PRO	POSSP	ADV

vɛʔ	*,*	*pa*	*gao*	*piaŋ*	*kʰlip*	*tiʔ*	*ka*	*gao*	
bring		REL	carry on shoulder	on	shoulder	POSSP	also	carry on shoulder	
V		REL	V	PREP	N	POSSP	ADV	V	
,									

People carry the paddy rice with cows, by themselves, or on their shoulders.

38. *ʔeʔ* *tom* *vɛʔ* *ŋʰoʔ* *ʔan* , *ʔiŋ* *səu* *dəuʔ*

1PL.INCL PRT.purpose bring paddy.rice that return put in

PRO MOD V N DEM V V PREP

kɹaoh

rice.storage

N

We carry them and put (them) in the rice storage house.

39. *hoik* *səu* *ʔeʔ* *nɔh* *kə* *dəuʔ* *kɹaoh* , *ʔeʔ* *hoik*

After put 1PL.INCL 3SG APPL in rice.storage 1PL.INCL finish

CONN V PRO PRO PREP PREP N PRO V

pon *tiʔ* *pɹɛʔ* *ŋʰoʔ* *ʔan* *mɔm* *mɔm*

can V.chain keep/store paddy.rice that good good

V PRT V N DEM VADJ VADJ

After we put them in the rice storage house, we can keep them well.

40. *ʔan* *mɔ* *bu̱n* *pə* *tʃɔ* *ʔeʔ* *tiʔ* *ju̱h* *tiʔ* *ʔih*

that be procedure REL should 1PL.INCL V.chain do V.chain eat

DEM COP N REL MOD PRO PRT V PRT V

ma

field.dry

N

This is the procedure that we should do to earn a living by working the field.

41. *bu̱n* *pə* *ju̱h* *ʔeʔ* *kɔn* *pərɔk* *ʔih* *ma* *ʔeʔ*

procedure REL do 1PL.INCL child Wa people eat field.dry 1PL.INCL

N REL V PRO N N V N PRO

tʃɔ *tiʔ* *ju̱h* *ju̱h* *nan*

should V.chain do do like that

MOD PRT V V DEM

The procedure of Wa people's working in the dried-field is like this, we do this way.

42.	*ʔin*	*mɔ*	*pə*	*səmɛ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tiʔ*	*kɹai*	*mɔ*	*diŋ*	,
	this	be	REL	want	1SG	V.chain	tell	be	that much	
	DEM	COP	REL	V	PRO	PRT	V	COP	ADV	

tiŋ bwan son

thank

V

This is what I want to say. That's all. Thank you.

APPENDIX D
THE TIGER AND THE RABBIT

1. *ʔin* *pʰao*
   this now
   DEM ADV

Ok, now

2. *pə* *səmɛ* *tiʔ* *kɹai* *ʔeʔ* *mhoŋ* *gɹɔŋ* *bu̱n* *ʔin* *mu̱h* *bu̱n*
   REL want V.chain tell 1PL.INCL hear about story this be story
   REL V PRT V PRO V PREP N DEM COP N

kaŋkwɛ *kɛʔ* *sivai*
rabbit 3DL tiger
N PRO N

The story that I want to tell to all of you is the story about the tiger and the rabbit.

3. *tʃa* *ŋhɛt* *ku* *kəuʔ*
   Polite.MKR listen every CLF.human
   PRT V QUANT CLF

Please everyone listen (to me).

4. *tʃɔ* *ka* *rhɔm* *kə* *rhi* *ʔeʔ* *tʃa* *ŋhɛt*
   suitable APPL mind APPL mind 1PL.INCL Polite.MKR listen
   V PREP N PREP N PRO PRT V

If you like this, please listen to me.

5. *ʔaŋ* *tʃɔ*
   NEG suitable
   NEG V

If you don't like it,

6. *bɔ* *ʔot* *tɯi* *pʰi maɒ* *koe* *kə* *piaŋ* *ʔəuʔ* *ka*

NEG.IMPER stay take sin have APPL on 1SG APPL

NEG V V N V PREP PREP PRO PREP

Don’t blame me.

7. *diʔdiʔ* *ʔah* *kiʔ* *koe* *kaŋkwɛ* *tiʔ* *mɯ*

long.time.ago say 3PL exist rabbit one CLF.nonhuman

ADV V PRO cop N NUM CLF

A long time ago, they said there was a rabbit.

8. *kaŋkwɛ* *tit* *lu̱k* *hu* *sɔm* *beiŋ* *ma* *ʔan* *ku*

rabbit Dem.mirative really go eat rice field field.dry that every

N DEM ADV V V N N DEM QUANT

ŋaɻ̱ʔ

CLF.day

CLF

That rabbit went to the dried field and ate (something) everyday.

9. *hu* *nɔh* *sɔm* *kɛh* *,*

go 3SG eat rice uhm

V PRO V INTERJ

As he went and ate.

10. *səvai* *tit* *koe* *naŋ* *tiʔ* *mɯ* *,* *səmɛ* *tiʔ*

tiger Dem.mirative exist PRT one CLF.nonhuman want V.chain

N DEM cop PRT NUM CLF V PRT

gi̱t *nɔh* *,* *səmɛ* *tiʔ* *ʔih* *nu̱ʔ* *nɔh*

bite 3SG want V.chain eat meat 3SG

V PRO V PRT V N PRO

A tiger was (there) and the tiger wanted to bite and eat him (as meat).

11. *hu* *dʒu̱m* *nɔh* *tan* *ku* *ŋaɻ̱ʔ*

go peep 3SG there every CLF.day

V V PRO DEM QUANT CLF

He was spying on (the rabbit) there everyday.

12.

hoik	*hu*	*dʒə̤m*	*dʒə̤m*	*pot*	*nɔh*	*kɛ*
COMPL	go	peep	peep	PRT	3SG	uhm
ASPT	V	V	V	PRT	PRO	INTERJ

He was syping on (him).

13.

kaŋkwɛ	*ʔan*	*tɔŋ*	*pot*	*ka*	*dʒə̤m*	*səvai*	*tiʔ*
rabbit	that	know	PRT	APPL	peep	tiger	POSSP
N	DEM	V	PRT	PREP	V	N	POSSP

That rabbit also knew about the tiger's spying.

14.

ŋa̤i̤ʔ	*tit*	*,*	*ja̤o̤k*	*səvai*	*tiʔ*	*hwet*	*ka*	*nɔh*	*,*	*nɔh*
CLF.day	Dem.mirative		INCEP	tiger	V.chain	come	APPL	3SG		3SG
CLF	DEM		ASPT	N	PRT	V	PREP	PRO		PRO

to	*pot*
run	PRT
V	PRT

One day the tiger came to him and he ran away.

15.

to	*kɛ*	*,*	*hu*	*ja̤o̤ʔ*	*ʔaiŋ*	*kɹak*	*tə*	*dah*
run	uhm		go	see	excrement	water buffalo	one	Clf.place
V	INTERJ		V	V	N	N	NUM	CLF

As (the rabbit) ran, (he) found a pile of water buffalo excrement at one place.

16.

nɔh	*bɹɛʔ*	*tɯi*	*pot*	*sɔ*	*pə tiʔ*
3SG		take	PRT	stick.sharp	someting
PRO		V	PRT	N	PRO

He took a stick that is sharp at the top.

17.

taoŋ	*ka*	*ʔaiŋ*	*kɹak*	*ʔan*
trap	APPL	excrement	water buffalo	that
V	PREP	N	N	DEM

(he) put (it) in that pile of buffalo excrement.

18. *jaʊ̯k* *səvai* *tiʔ* *hwet* *kə* *nɔh* *kɛ* , *tʃʰɔk* *kə* *nɔh*

INCEP tiger V.chain come APPL 3SG uhm ask APPL 3SG

ASPT N PRT V PREP PRO INTERJ V PREP PRO

The tiger came to him and asked him.

19. *ɤ* *kɤm* *maɪ̯ʔ* *pə* *sɔm* *ma* *nuʔ*

Expressive PRT.purpose 2SG REL eat rice field.dry Past.near

＜Not Sure＞ MOD PRO REL V N ADV

Are you the one who ate the food at the dried field?

20. *sɔ̯k* *ʔəuʔ* *tiʔ* *giɛ̯t* , *tui* *ʔih* *maɪ̯ʔ*

look for 1SG V.chain bite take eat 2SG

V PRO PRT V V V PRO

I am looking for you to bite (and) eat you.

21. *hu* … *bɔ* *ʔah* *nan* *taʔ*

go NEG.IMPER say like that master

V NEG V DEM N

'Go away,... don't say that, master'.

22. *maɪ̯ʔ* *lai* *tʃʰiʔ* *nɛ* *ʔəuʔ* *sɔm* *ma* *pə tiʔ*

2SG NEG.anymore can say 1SG eat rice field.dry someting

PRO MOD V V PRO V N PRO

'Why are you accusing me of eating the food from the field?

23. *jʊ̯h* *nin* *jʊ̯h* *nan* , *ʔaŋ* *mɔ̯h* , *ʔaŋ* *mɔ̯h* *loʔ*

do like this do like that NEG be NEG be speech

V DEM V DEM NEG COP NEG COP N

tit

Dem.mirative

DEM

Like this, like that, no, what you said is wrong.

24. *pɛ* *maị?* *ʔəu?* *ʔah* *nan* *ka* *səvai* *ʔan*

tell a lie 2SG 1SG say like that APPL tiger that

V PRO PRO V DEM PREP N DEM

'You told a lie to me' (the rabbit) said to the tiger.

25. *ʔah dʒu ʔah blaoŋ* *səvai* *ʔan* *glub* *pot* *ka*

evasive tiger that go with the words/ believe PRT APPL

V N DEM V PRT PREP

loʔ *nɔh*

speech 3SG

N PRO

(The rabbit) tricked (the tiger). That tiger believe what the rabbit said.

26. *taʔ* *ʔəuʔ* *dɔ̣k* *ʔəuʔ* *bəu* *pot* *ŋot* *ʔin* *hoik*

grandfather 1SG PAST.NC 1SG look.after PRT chair this already

N PRO ASPT PRO V PRT N DEM ADV

ɹeiŋ *tom* *diʔ* *lhat* *pwi* *ŋɔ̣m* *ka*

take much time since long.time.ago fear person sit APPL

V PREP ADV V N V PREP

(The rabbit said) As my grandfather is afraid of people sitting here, he asked me to wait(look after) this chair since long time ago'.

27. *lhat* *pwi* *hwet* *jụh* *nin* *jụh* *nan* *,* *la li* *tiʔ* *mhaiŋ*

fear person come do like this do like that deceive POSSP ask

V N V V DEM V DEM V POSSP V

tiʔ *ŋɔ̣m* *jụh* *nin* *jụh* *nan* *ʔah* *,* *ʔaŋ* *dʒu* *pot* *nɔh* *ŋɔ̣m*

V.chain sit do like this do like that say NEG agree PRT 3SG sit

PRT V V DEM V DEM V NEG V PRT PRO V

ka

APPL

PREP

(My grandfather) is afraid of somebody's coming (here). like this..., like that... he deceived (him),(people) asked to sit here, like this..., like that..., he did not agree (people) sittting here.

28.	*səvai*	*ʔan*	*mhaiŋ*	*tiʔ*	*ŋ̟m*	*ka*	*glup*		*ka*
	tiger	that	ask	V.chain	sit	APPL	go with the words/ believe		APPL
	N	DEM	V	PRT	V	PREP	V		PREP
loʔ	*nɔh*								
speech	3SG								
N	PRO								

The tiger also request to sit there as he thought his words are true.

29.	*e*	…	*jɯ̟h*	*nan*	*paǫ̟ʔgɹɔm*
	uhm		do	like that	friend
	INTERJ		V	DEM	N

(the tiger said) 'O friend, do like this,'

30.	*tʃa*		*tɔʔ*	*jaǫ̟ʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*ŋ̟m*	*ka*	*kʰɔm*	*ʔah*
	Polite.MKR		give	try	1SG	sit	APPL	also	say
	PRT		V	V	PRO	V	PREP	ADV	V

'Please allow (me) to try to sit here' (the tiger) also said.

31.	*ʔaŋ*	*pon*	*ʔaŋ*	*pon*	*tiʔ*	*ŋ̟m*	*,*	*hoik*	*mo̟h*	*loʔ*	*tɯm*
	NEG	can	NEG	can	V.chain	sit		already	be	speech	command
	NEG	V	NEG	V	PRT	V		ADV	COP	N	V
taʔ		*ʔəuʔ*	*ka*	*ʔəuʔ*							
grandfather		1SG	APPL	1SG							
N		PRO	PREP	PRO							

'(you) can't, (you) can't sit, this is what my grandfather commanded to me' (said the rabbit).

32.	*səvai*	*ʔan*	*tɤŋ*	*tiʔ*	*ŋ̟m*	*kɛʔ*
	tiger	that	hope	V.chain	sit	uhm
	N	DEM	V	PRT	V	INTERJ

The tiger wanted to sit there.

33.	*nɔh*	*tom*	*ɻ̥k*	*ʔəkʰwaŋ*	*kə*	*səvai*	*ʔan*	
	3SG	PRT.purpose	beg	agreement	APPL	tiger	that	
	PRO	MOD	V	N	PREP	N	DEM	

He asked the agreement from the tiger .

34.	*tʃʰiʔ*	*,*	*tʃʰiʔ*	*,*	*pʰan*	*maɻ̥ʔ*	*lu̥k*	*ʔah*	*saŋ*	*ŋ̥m*	*tiʔ*	*ka*
	can		can		if	2SG	really	say	will.potential	sit	V.chain	APPL
	V		V		CONN	PRO	ADV	V	TAM	V	PRT	PREP

tete	*,*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tʃʰɔk*	*taʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*ka*	*ʔah*
indeed.truly		1SG	ask	grandfather	1SG	APPL	say
ADV		PRO	V	N	PRO	PREP	V

‘Yes, yes, you can, if you really want to sit here indeed, I will go and ask my grandfather’ (said the rabbit).

35.	*pʰan*	*taʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*tʃu*	*kʰaiʔ*	*,*	*maɻ̥ʔ*	*tɤk*	*ŋ̥m*
	if	grandfather	1SG	accept	later		2SG	will.certain	sit
	CONN	N	PRO	V	ADV		PRO	TAM	V

ʔɔʔ	*ʔah*
Polite.IMR.Prt	say
PRT	V

‘If my grandfather accepted then, you can sit (here)’ (the rabbit) said.

36.	*tʃʰiʔ*	*tʃʰiʔ*	*,*	*maɻ̥ʔ*	*hu*	*pot*	*tʃʰɔk*	*taʔ*	*maɻ̥ʔ*
	can	can		2SG	go	PRT	ask	grandfather	2SG
	V	V		PRO	V	PRT	V	N	PRO

‘OK, OK, you go and ask your grandfather’.

37.	*jaɻ̥k*	*kaŋkwɛ*	*tiʔ*	*hu*	…	*hwet*	*ka*	*gɔŋ*	*kɛ*
	INCEP	N	V.chain	go		come	APPL	mountain	uhm
	ASPT		PRT	V		V	PREP	N	INTERJ

The rabbit went and reached on the mountain.

38.	*kɤm*	*dɻ̩*	*jo*	*tiʔ*	*ʔah*	*nin*	*ka*	*sivai*	*ʔan*
	PRT.purpose	re-.again	shout	V.chain	say	like this	APPL	tiger	that
	MOD	verbprt	V	PRT	V	DEM	PREP	N	DEM

(the rabbit) shouted to say that to the tiger.

39.	*ɤ*	…	*paǫ̣ʔgɹɔm*	,	*tʃʰiʔ*	*tʃʰiʔ*	*tʃu*	*taʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*maɻ̩ʔ*
	Expressive		friend		can	can	allow	grandfather	1SG	2SG
	<Not Sure>		N		V	V	V	N	PRO	PRO

ŋ̩ɔ̣m	*ka*	*hɤ*
sit	APPL	PRT.SF
V	PREP	PRT

'Oh… my friend, you can, you can, my grandfather allow you to sit there'.

40.	*pʰan*	*maɻ̩ʔ*	*ŋ̩ɔ̣m*	,	*maɻ̩ʔ*	*səu ɹiaŋ*	,	*tah ɲaok*	*kɹe*	*tiʔ*
	if	2SG	sit		2SG	enforce/exert		move	hips	POSSP
	CONN	PRO	V		PRO	V		V	N	POSSP

tʃwiʔ
amount.little
QUANT

'If you sit, you have to firmly sit and you move your hips a little bit'.

41.	*səu ɹiaŋ*	*ŋ̩ɔ̣m*	*piaŋ*	*ʔah*	*pə*	*tɔm*	*loʔ*
	enforce/exert	sit	on	say	REL	command	speech
	V	V	PREP	V	REL	V	N

'you have to force to sit, this is the word that are commanded'.

42.	*kok*	*jo*	*tiʔ*	*ʔah*	*nan*	*ka*	*nɔh*	*kɛ*
	call	shout	V.chain	say	like that	APPL	3SG	uhm
	V	V	PRT	V	DEM	PREP	PRO	INTERJ

(The rabbit) shouted and said like that to him.

43.	*sivai*	*ʔan*	*ɹuk*	*tʃʰu*	*loʔ*	*kaŋkwɛ*
	tiger	that	be real	accept	speech	rabbit
	N	DEM	V	V	N	N

That tiger accepted/believed the rabbit's words .

44.	*jaọk*	*tiʔ*	*səu ɹiaŋ*	,	*tiʔ*	*ŋ̣m*	*piaŋ*	*ʔan*	*kɛ*
	INCEP	V.chain	enforce/exert		V.chain	sit	on	that	uhm
	ASPT	PRT	V		PRT	V	PREP	DEM	INTERJ

And he stood up and attempted to sit on that (pile).

45.	*pa*	*mọh*	*ʔaiŋ*	*kɹak*	*hoik*	*taoŋ*	*nɔh*	*sɔ*
	REL	be	excrement	water buffalo	already	trap	3SG	stick.sharp
	REL	COP	N	N	ADV	V	PRO	N

ka	*gɹum*
APPL	under
PREP	N

the pile of buffalo excrement that has a sharp stick under (it).

46.	*tʃon ɲuk*	*kɹe*	*nɔh*	*kɛ*
	stuck	hips	3SG	uhm
	V	N	PRO	INTERJ

His hips were stuck.

47.	*sivai*	*ʔin*	*soŋ*	*ɹʰɔm*	*pʰao*	*pə*	*pɹai*	*ʔin*	*kɛ*	,	*lụk*	*tʃʰiʔ*
	tiger	this	angry		now	REL	bad.dirty	this	uhm		really	can
	N	DEM	V		ADV	REL	V	DEM	INTERJ		ADV	V

jụh	*kɹaʔ kumvhi*	*ka*	*pɛ lʰɛn*	*ʔəuʔ*	*jụh*	*nan*	*ʔan*
do	cunning things	APPL	tell a lie	1SG	do	like that	that
V	N	PREP	V	PRO	V	DEM	DEM

The Tiger got so angry now (because of) this bad things, (He said) why did he do the cunning things and tell a lie to me to get me to do that?

48.	*dụ̈u*	*səu ɹiaŋ*	*kɹuut*	*ka*	*kaŋkwɛ*	*ʔan*	*tə*	
	re-.again	enforce/exert	chase to bite	APPL	rabbit	that	one	
	verbprt	V	V	PREP	N	DEM	NUM	

bò̤k

CLF.time

CLF

(The tiger) chased the rabbit one more time.

49.	*kaŋkwɛ*	*ʔan*	*jaọ̤k*	*tiʔ*	*to*	*,*	*to*	*,*	*to*	*səvoe*	*nɔh*	*, tʃʰɤ*
	rabbit	that	INCEP	V.chain	run		run		run	in front of	3SG	
	N	DEM	ASPT	PRT	V		V		V	PREP	PRO	

hoik *lhat*

COMPL fear

ASPT V

The rabbit began to run away in front of him as (he) was afraid (of him).

50.	*ke*	*,*	*hu*	*hu*	*kʰam*	*ka*	*sənaʔ*	*paŋʔoʔ*
	uhm		go	go	stick	APPL	among	cluster of bamboo
	INTERJ		V	V	V	PREP	PREP	N

(The rabbit) went, went and he got stuck in between a cluster of bamboo.

51.	*vɛʔ*	*kɛʔ*	*laị̈k*	*dəuʔ*	*paŋʔoʔ*
	bring	3DL	enter	in	cluster of bamboo
	V	PRO	V	PREP	N

(He caused) both of them to enter the cluster of bamboo.

52.	*sivai*	*ʔan*	*hɔt*	*tiʔ*	*suubɹụ̈ut*	*tiʔ*	*saŋ*	*gɛ̤ʔ*
	tiger	that	follow	V.chain	grasp	V.chain	will.potential	catch/hold
	N	DEM	V	PRT	V	PRT	TAM	V

gï̤t *nɔh*

bite 3SG

V PRO

That tiger followed to grasp to hold and and was going to eat him up.

53. *kʰam dəʔ paŋʔoʔ*
stick in cluster of bamboo
V PREP N

(The tiger) was stuck in the cluster of bamboos.

54. *kaŋkwɛ ʔan dụ̱ hwet tiʔ tʃʰweiŋ tʃʰwiŋ nɔh ,*
rabbit that re-.again come V.chain provoke provoke 3SG
N DEM verbprt V PRT V V PRO
dụ̱ lɔk lɔ nɔh jụ̱h tiʔ , pe ɲeik kɹe nɔh , tʃɔk ɲeik kɹe
re-.again ridicule 3SG do V.chain poke hips 3SG scoop poke hips
verbprt V PRO V PRT V N PRO V V N
nɔh , dʒu blaoŋ blaoŋ
3SG evasively
PRO ADV

That rabbit came to provoke him again and ridicule him, poked his hips and did evasively.

55. *sivai ʔin ʔah ka nɔh , nɔh ʔaŋ tʃu , njɛ̱t*
tiger this say APPL 3SG 3SG NEG accept do.quick.very
N DEM V PREP PRO PRO NEG V V
tiʔ jụ̱h nin jụ̱h nan lɔk lɔ sivai
V.chain do like this do like that ridicule tiger
PRT V DEM V DEM V N

That tiger told him (not to do like that), but the rabbit did not stop teasing him.

56. *səu ɹiaŋ sivai ʔin bluut tiʔ lulaʔ dʒu lu laʔ blaoŋ gɹuum*
enforce/exert tiger this struggle V.chain rock under
V N DEM V PRT V N
sənaʔ paŋʔoʔ ʔin kɛ , jụ̱h nin nan
among cluster of bamboo this uhm do like this like that
PREP N DEM INTERJ V DEM DEM

That Tiger exerted to struggle under the cluster of bamboo, like this like that.

57. *jaọk* *pon* *bluut* *tiʔ* *pʰao*
INCEP can struggle V.chain now
ASPT V V PRT ADV

Now, he could struggle from that.

58. *dụ* *kɹut* *kaŋkwɛ* *ʔin* *tiʔ* *bọk*
re-.again chase to bite rabbit this one CLF.time
verbprt V N DEM NUM CLF

(The tiger) chased the rabbit one more time.

59. *kaŋkwɛ* *ʔin* *to* *to* *jụh luŋ*
rabbit this run run emphatically
N DEM V V ADV

That rabbit ran very quickly.

60. *kɤm* *hwet* *,* *hu* *jaọʔ* *hia* *tiʔ* *dah*
PRT.purpose arrive go see bee one Clf.place
MOD V V V N NUM CLF

(The rabbit) arrived and saw a bee hive at one place.

61. *jụh* *tiʔ* *hu* *ŋọm* *nan* *mai* *hia* *ʔan* *,* *bəu* *pot* *nɔh*
do V.chain go sit like that and bee that look.after PRT 3SG
V PRT V V DEM CONN N DEM V PRT PRO

He pretended to sit under the bee hive and wait them.

62. *jaọk* *sivai* *tiʔ* *hwet* *ka* *nɔh*
INCEP tiger V.chain come APPL 3SG
ASPT N PRT V PREP PRO

The tiger came to him.

63. *hɤ* *ʔin* *nɔh* *mọh* *maịʔ* *nuʔ* *pə* *lak lɔ* *ʔəuʔ*
PRT.SF this 3SG be 2SG Past.near REL ridicule 1SG
PRT DEM PRO COP PRO ADV REL V PRO

‘e… are you the one who ridicule me?’

64. *jʉh nin* *jʉh nan* , *ʔəuʔ* *saŋ* *gɛ̱ʔ*

do like this do like that 1SG will.potential catch/hold

V DEM V DEM PRO TAM V

‘Like this, like that, I will catch (you)’ .

65. *saŋ* *ʔih* *ʔəuʔ* *nɛ̱ʔ* *nɔh* *pʰao* , *mɔ̱h* *nin*

will.potential eat 1SG meat 3SG now be like this

TAM V PRO N PRO ADV COP DEM

‘I will eat (your) flesh now, so’

66. *bɔ* *bɔ* *paɔ̱ʔgɻɔm* , *ʔəuʔ* *ʔaŋ* *tɔŋ* *tid tiʔ*

NEG.IMPER NEG.IMPER friend 1SG NEG know anything

NEG NEG N PRO NEG V ADV

‘Don’t, Don’t, my friend, I don’t know anything’.

67. *taʔ* *ʔəuʔ* *dɔ̱k* *tɔʔ* *ʔəuʔ* *bəu* *klɔŋ mɔŋ* *ʔin* ,

grandfather 1SG PAST.NC give 1SG look.after drum this

N PRO ASPT V PRO V N DEM

hoik *ɻhuiŋ* *ʔah* *nan*

already lasts.long say like that

ADV V V DEM

‘my grandfather has permitted me to look after this drum, it has been a long time already’ (the Rabbit) said like that.

68. *ʔəuʔ* *lɔk* *tʃa* *bəu* *pot*

1SG will.commit Polite.MKR look.after PRT

PRO TAM PRT V PRT

‘I commit to look after (this)’.

69. *ʔaŋ* *tʃu* *pwi* *tʃʰoh* , *lhat* *pwi* *tʃʰoʔ*

NEG accept person touch fear person touch

NEG V N V V N V

‘(I) don’t allow people to touch and (I) am afraid of that people might touch this’.

70. *mn̥h* *nin* *mn̥h* *nan* *ʔah* *nan* *ka* *sivai*
be like this be like that say like that APPL tiger
COP DEM COP DEM V DEM PREP N

'It was this and that' (the rabbit) said to the tiger.

71.‘ *ʔaŋ* *’* *sivai* *ʔin* *tʰiaŋ* *,* *mn̥h* *maị̯ʔ* *pə* *lɔk lɔ* *ʔəuʔ* *nuʔ*
NEG tiger this reject be 2SG REL ridicule 1SG Past.near
NEG N DEM V COP PRO REL V PRO ADV

'No' the Tiger rejected. 'You are the one who ridiculed me'.

72. *ʔih* *ʔəuʔ* *nẹ̯ʔ* *maị̯ʔ* *pʰao* *,* *mn̥h* *nin* *mn̥h* *nan* *,* *ʔah*
eat 1SG meat 2SG now be like this be like that say
V PRO N PRO ADV COP DEM COP DEM V

nan *ka* *nɔh* *kɛ*
like that APPL 3SG uhm
DEM PREP PRO INTERJ

'I will eat your flesh now' It was this,,,, that,,,, (the tiger) told to him.

73. *nɔh* *ɲɔ* *poʔ* *sivai* *,* *kɹai* *,* *ʔaŋ* *mn̥h* *ʔaŋ* *mɔ* *,* *loʔ*
3SG comfort PRT tiger tell NEG be NEG be speech
PRO V PRT N V NEG COP NEG COP N

maị̯ʔ *tit* *pɛ*
2SG Dem.mirative tell a lie
PRO DEM V

He comforted the Tiger. (he) told that 'It is not true, it is not true, your words lie to me'.

74. *ʔot* *ʔəuʔ* *tin* *ɹạ̯ʔ* *hoik* *ɹhɯiŋ*
stay 1SG here ASPECT already lasts.long
V PRO DEM ASPT ADV V

'I have been staying here for a long time'.

75. *mo̤h* *klɔŋ mɔŋ* *tɛh* *taʔ* *ʔəuʔ* *,*

be drum play grandfather 1SG

COP N V N PRO

This is the drum (that) my grandfather played.

76. *nin* *nan* *sivai* *glob* *ka* *loʔ* *nɔh*

like this like that tiger go with the words/ believe APPL speech 3SG

DEM DEM N V PREP N PRO

pʰao *,* *kɤm* *dṳ* *tʃʰɔk* *nɔh* *,* *e* … *kɛ̤h* *jṳh* *nin*

now PRT.purpose re-.again ask 3SG uhm cause do like this

ADV MOD verbprt V PRO INTERJ V V DEM

pao̤ʔgɻɔm

friend

N

The tiger believed his words now, (he) asked again, 'o... friend, do this..'.

77. *kʰeʔ* *mo̤h* *klɔŋmɔŋ* *dɤ̤* *taʔ* *maḭʔ* *,* *ʔaŋ* *maḭʔ* *tʃʰɤ* *tɔʔ* *jo̤ʔ*

if so be drum place grandfather 2SG NEG 2SG try give try

ADV COP N V N PRO NEG PRO V V V

ʔəuʔ *tah* *jo̤ʔ*

1SG hit try

PRO V V

‘if it is the drum that your grandfather put, why don’t you let me try to play?’

78. *hu* …… *ʔaŋ* *pon* *,* *ʔaŋ* *pon* *tiʔ* *tah*

go NEG can NEG can V.chain play-musical instrument

V NEG V NEG V PRT V

‘Go, you can’t, you can’t play’.

79.	*pʰan*	*maị?*	*tah*		*kɛ*	*,*	*ta?*	*ʔəu?*	
	if	2SG	play-musical instrument		uhm		grandfather	1SG	
	CONN	PRO	V		INTERJ		N	PRO	

lih	*ʔah*	*kə*	*ʔəu?*	*,*	*tɔk*	*ʔəu?*	*ka*	*,*	*ʔaŋ*	*pon*
come down	say	APPL	1SG		beat	1SG	APPL		NEG	can
V	V	PREP	PRO		V	PRO	PREP		NEG	V

‘If you play this, my grandfather will come and scold me and beat me. You can’t (play)’.

80.	*ʔaŋ*	*kɤŋ*	*ti?*	*saŋ*	*hu*	*tạh*			*,*	*mn̥h*	
	NEG	deserve	V.chain	will.potential	go	play-musical instrument				be	
	NEG	V	PRT	TAM	V	V				COP	

nin	*mn̥h*	*nan*	*,*	*nɔh*	*kɤm*	*ʔah*		
like this	be	like that		3SG	PRT.purpose	say		
DEM	COP	DEM		PRO	MOD	V		

‘(You) do not deserve to go and play’ he said.

81.	*e*	*…*	*paọ?gɹɔm*	*,*	*pʰan*	*maị?*	*ɹuk*	*saŋ*	
	uhm		friend		if	2SG	really	will.potential	
	INTERJ		N		CONN	PRO	ADV	TAM	

tạh			*nɛ*	*tit*	*,*	*ʔəu?*	*lɔk*	*hu*	*tʃʰɔk*
play-musical instrument			uhm	Dem.mirative		1SG	will.commit	go	ask
V			INTERJ	DEM		PRO	TAM	V	V

ta?	*ti?*	*ka*	*tivud*	*,*	*haŋ*
grandfather	POSSP	APPL	a while		uhm
N	POSSP	PREP	ADV		INTERJ

‘Ok, friend, if you really want to play this, I will go and ask my grandfather for a moment’.

82.	*ʔot*	*ta?*	*mɛ?*	*duu mɔ?*	*po?*	*,*
	stay	grandfather	2SG	where	PRT	
	V	N	PRO	QW	PRT	

‘Where is your grandfather?’

83.	*ʔot*	*mn̥h*	*titio*	,	*ʔah*	*nin*	,	*piaŋ*	*kɔŋ*	*ljoŋ*	,
	stay	be	over there		say	like this		on	mountain	above	
	V	COP	ADV		V	DEM		PREP	N	PREP	

‘He is overthere', He said, 'on the mountain’.

84.	*tʃʰiʔ*	*tʃʰiʔ*	*maɻiʔ*	*hu*	*tʃʰɔk*	*jaǫʔ*	,	*pʰan*	*tʃʰiʔ*	,	*maɻiʔ*	*dɯ*	*kɹai*	*ʔəuʔ*
	can	can	2SG	go	ask	try		if	can		2SG	re-.again	tell	1SG
	V	V	PRO	V	V	V		CONN	V		PRO	verbprt	V	PRO

mhoŋ	*ʔɔʔ*	
hear	Polite.IMR.Prt	
V	PRT	

OK, OK you go and ask, if your grandfather said ‘yes’, you tell me back again’.

85.	*nan*	…	*kaŋkwɛ*	*ʔin*	*jaǫk*	*tiʔ*	*hu*	*hwet*	*piaŋ*	*gɔŋ*
	like that		rabbit	this	INCEP	V.chain	go	arrive	on	mountain
	DEM		N	DEM	ASPT	PRT	V	V	PREP	N

dəʔ	*siŋaɻiʔ*	*pʰao*	,	*kok*	*jo*	*tiʔ*	*ʔah*	*nin*	*ka*	*nɔh*
in	day	now		call	shout	V.chain	say	like this	APPL	3SG
PREP	N	ADV		V	V	PRT	V	DEM	PREP	PRO

This rabbit arrived on the mountain now, (he) called and shouted to the tiger and said like that.

86.	*e*	*paǫʔgɹɔm*	,	*tʃʰiʔ*	,	*tɔʔ*	*taʔ*	*ʔəuʔ*	*ʔəkʰwaŋ*	*ka*
	uhm	friend		can		give	grandfather	1SG	agreement	APPL
	INTERJ	N		V		V	N	PRO	N	PREP

maɻiʔ	*pʰao*	,	*nhɛ*	*maɻiʔ*	*tɑ̨h*		
2SG	now		allow	2SG	play-musical instrument		
PRO	ADV		V	PRO	V		

‘Uhm, friend, Yes, my grandfather gave permission to you just now, you can play’.

87.	*pʰan*	*maị?*	*tạh*		*klɔŋmɔŋ*	*ʔin*	*,*	*kẹ̣h*	*maị?*	*tạh*
	if	2SG	play-musical instrument		drum	this		cause	2SG	hit
	CONN	PRO	V		N	DEM		V	PRO	V

bai	*nɔh*	*, pụ pị̣n*	*nɔh*	
scratch	3SG	rub	3SG	
V	PRO	V	PRO	

‘If you play that drum, you have to stratch it, and rub it’.

88.	*tạh*	*pụ pị̣n*	*pụ pị̣n*	*mai*
	play-musical instrument	rub	rub	and
	V	V	V	CONN

‘You played it by rubbing it. and’

89.	*jək*	*sivai*	*ʔin*	*tiʔ*	*hu*	*tom*	*ka*	*hia*	*,*	*pụ pị̣n*	*nɔh*	*kẹ̣h*	*,*
	INCEP	tiger	this	V.chain	go	until	APPL	bee		rub	3SG	cause	
	ASPT	N	DEM	PRT	V	PREP	PREP	N		V	PRO	V	

hia	*ʔin kiʔ*	*tom*	*jaọ̣k*	*hɤ́k*	*sivai*	*ʔuik*	
bee	these	PRT.purpose	INCEP	sting	tiger	all	
N	DEM	MOD	ASPT	V	N	ADV	

This tiger went to the bees and rubbed them, the bees came out and stung him everywhere.

90.	*hoik*	*hɤ́k*	*sivai*	*,*	*sivai*	*ʔan*	*pụ piạt*	*tiʔ*	*tan*	*,*	*soŋ ɹhom*	*pʰao*
	After	sting	tiger		tiger	that	wipe	V.chain	there		angry	now
	CONN	V	N		N	DEM	V	PRT	DEM		V	ADV

,

After the tiger got stung (by the bees), he wiped .. there and he got angry immediately.

91.	*dṳ*	*gut*	*kaŋkwɛ*	*,*	*gut*	*poʔ*	*kaŋkwɛ*	*ʔan*	*,*	*tɤk*
	re-.again	chase to bite	rabbit		chase to bite	PRT	rabbit	that		tired
	verbprt	V	N		V	PRT	N	DEM		V

kaŋkwɛ	*p^hao*	*,*	*de̤ʔ*	*pon*	*nɔh*
rabbit	now		almost	get	3SG
N	ADV		ADV	V	PRO

(He) chased the rabbit again, the rabbit got tired so, (he) almost caught/got him.

92.	*kaŋkwɛ*	*nhe*	*tiʔ*	*hu*	*tʃɔ*	*dəʔ*	*poŋ*	*tiʔ*	*mu*
	rabbit	think	V.chain	go	hide	in	hole	one	CLF.nonhuman
	N	V	PRT	V	V	PREP	N	NUM	CLF

The rabbit got a thought to go and hide in a hole.

93.	*hwet*	*ka*	*dəʔ*	*poŋ*	*,*	*sivu*	*kaŋkwɛ*	*ʔin*	*,*	*ɹɤ*	*dəʔ*	*poŋ*	*,*	*ke̤h*
	arrive	APPL	in	hole		slip	rabbit	this		fall	in	hole		cause
	V	PREP	PREP	N		V	N	DEM		V	PREP	N		V

lua̤n	*riaŋ*	*ɹəu*	*dəʔ*	*poŋ*
gone away	strength	fall	in	hole
V	N	V	PREP	N

When (he) arrived near the hole, the Rabbit slipped and fell into the hole accidently.

94.	*hwet*	*sivai*	*tiʔ*	*simi*	*nɔh*	*kɛ*
	come	tiger	V.chain	hold head down to look	3SG	uhm
	V	N	PRT	V	PRO	INTERJ

The tiger came and held his head down to look (him) in the hole.

95.	*nɔh*	*dṳ*	*tɛh loʔ*	*ka*	*sivai*	*ʔan*
	3SG	re-.again	convince	APPL	tiger	that
	PRO	verbprt	V	PREP	N	DEM

He convinced that tiger.

96.	*ɤ*	*paọ?gɹɔm*	*paọ?gɹɔm*	*njɛ̣t*		*ti?*	*lih*
	Expressive	friend	friend	do.quick.very		V.chain	come down
	<Not Sure>	N	N	V		PRT	V
maị?	*, lih*	*kə*	*ʔəu?*	*tin*			
2SG	come down	APPL	1SG	here			
PRO	V	PREP	PRO	DEM			

‘Friend, friend, come down here very quickly, come down to me here,

97.	*jụh kə mɔ?*	*ʔaŋ*	*maị?*	*gaị̈k*	*lɛ*	*,*	*saŋ*		*gɹub*	
	why	NEG	2SG	look at	QUEST.PRT		will.potential		collapse	
	QW	NEG	PRO	V	QP		TAM		V	
ɹauma	*ljoŋ*	*, mọ̈h*	*diaŋ*		*ʔəu?*	*ti?*	*mo?*	*ti?*	*tin*	
heaven	above	be	make oneself down		1SG	V.chain	hide	V.chain	here	
N	PREP	COP	V		PRO	PRT	V	PRT	DEM	
dʒao										
in order that										
ADV										

‘Why didn’t you see that the heaven is going to collapse?, so that’s why I came down here and am hiding here’.

98.	*pʰan*	*ʔe?*	*ʔot*	*tin*	*,*	*ɹauma*	*gɹub*	*ʔaŋ*	*lai*	*tʃʰi?*
	if	1PL.INCL	stay	here		heaven	collapse	NEG	NEG.anymore	can
	CONN	PRO	V	DEM		N	V	NEG	MOD	V
tum	*ʔe?*	*, ʔah*								
hurt	1PL.INCL	say								
V	PRO	V								

‘If we stay here, (if) the we will not be hurt’.

99.	*ɹaoma*	*du mɔ?*	*pə*	*tʃʰi?*	*gɹub*	.
	sky	where	REL	can	collapse	
	N	QW	REL	V	V	

(The tiger said) 'heaven from where can collapse?’

100.	*maị?*	*bwan*	*ljo*	*ljoŋ*	*tʃɔ*	*jạm*	*hu*	*poʔ*	*paiʔɔm*	*,*	*ʔah*
	2SG	look above	above	above	right	when	go	PRT	cloud		say
	PRO	V	PREP	PREP	V	CONN	V	PRT	N		V

nan	*paiʔɔm*	*ʔin*	*hu*	*jụh*	*nin* *,*
like that	cloud	this	go	do	like this
DEM	N	DEM	V	V	DEM

‘you look up over there when the cloud is moving' said that ‘The cloud is moving’.

101.	*sivai*	*jaọk*	*tiʔ*	*bwan*	*,*	*lụk*	*tʃe*	*nɔh*	*mɔ̣h*	*,*	*jaọk*
	tiger	INCEP	V.chain	look above		really	think	3SG	be		INCEP
	N	ASPT	PRT	V		ADV	V	PRO	COP		ASPT

vu	*tiʔ*	*lih*	*ka*	*kaŋkwɛ*	*ʔan*	*tan*
immediately	V.chain	come down	APPL	rabbit	that	there
ADV	PRT	V	PREP	N	DEM	DEM

The tiger looked it up and he thought it was real, so he went down to that rabbit immediately.

102.	*hwet*	*ka*	*kaŋkwɛ*	*kɛ*	*,*	*kaŋkwɛ*	*ʔan*	*ɲʰa*
	come	APPL	rabbit	uhm		rabbit	that	laugh
	V	PREP	N	INTERJ		N	DEM	V

When (the Tiger) arrived at the rabbit, the rabbit laughed (at him).

103.	*lɔk lɔ*	*nɔh*	*,*	*tʃʰweik*	*nɔh*	*dʒu blaoŋ blaoŋ*	*,*	*tʃak*	*tʃʰweiŋ*	*nɔh*
	ridicule	3SG		provoke	3SG	evasively		push	provoke	3SG
	V	PRO		V	PRO	ADV		V	V	PRO

dʒu blaoŋ blaoŋ
evasively
ADV

He ridiculed (him) and provoked him evasively.

104. *sivai* *ʔin* *ʔah* *ka* *nɔh* , *bɔ* *lɔk lɔ* *ʔəuʔ* *jɥh*

tiger this say APPL 3SG NEG.IMPER ridicule 1SG do

N DEM V PREP PRO NEG V PRO V

nan , *bɔ* *tʃʰoʔ* *jɥh* *nan*

like that NEG.IMPER touch do like that

DEM NEG V V DEM

The tiger said to him ‘Do not ridicule to me like that, do not poke me like that’.

105. *lai* *kɛ̯h* *ʔəuʔ* *sivun* *tiʔ* *kɛ* , *ʔah* *poʔ* *nin* , *ʔin*

PRT cause 1SG toss V.chain uhm say PRT like this this

PRT V PRO V PRT INTERJ V PRT DEM DEM

mɔ̯h *kɹai* *ʔeʔ* *nɔh* *dɔ̯t* *ɲɛ*

be tell 1PL.INCL 3SG shortly only

COP V PRO PRO ADV ADV

‘I will toss you up, (he) said like that, I will only say that much’.

106. *nɛ* *kaŋkwɛ* *ʔah* *nin* , *sivun* *jɔ̯ʔ* , *pon* *maɰ̯ʔ* *sivun* *ʔəuʔ* , *bɹɛ*

say rabbit say like this toss try can 2SG toss 1SG if

V N V DEM V V V PRO V PRO ADV

pon *sivun* *maɰ̯ʔ* *ʔəuʔ* *kɛ* , *maɰ̯ʔ* *ʔaŋ* *sivun* *jɔ̯ʔ*

can toss 2SG 1SG uhm 2SG NEG toss try

V V PRO PRO INTERJ PRO NEG V V

The Rabbit said that, ‘Ok, toss me, try to toss me up’. ‘If you can toss me up, why don't you try to toss me’.

107. *mɛ̯ʔ* *sivai* *dɯ̯* *ŋɔ̯m* *dɯ̯* *bwan* *ka* *jɥh* *paiʔom*

female tiger re-.again sit re-.again look above APPL do cloud

ADJ N verbprt V verbprt V PREP V N

kɛ , *hu* *jɥh* *nin* *jɥh* *nan*

uhm go do like this do like that

INTERJ V V DEM V DEM

‘The female tiger sat down and looked up to the cloud that is moving here and there'.

108.	*nɔh*	*duu̯*	*ʔah*	*dẹ̯ʔ*	*gɹub*	*dẹ̯ʔ*	*gɹub*	*pʰao*	,
	3SG	re-.again	say	almost	collapse	almost	collapse	now	
	PRO	verbprt	V	ADV	V	ADV	V	ADV	

njɛ̯t	*ɹian*	*ʔaʔ*
do.quick.very	prepare to be ready	1DL.INCL
V	V	PRO

He (the rabbit) said, ‘It’s going to collapse, it’s going to collapse now, prepare quickly to be ready’.

109.	*nɔh*	*hu*	*tʃʰweik*	*poʔ*	,	*tʃak*	*tʃweiŋ*	*poʔ*	*sivai*	,
	3SG	go	provoke	PRT		push	provoke	PRT	tiger	
	PRO	V	V	PRT		V	V	PRT	N	

koŋ kwet	*poʔ*	*sivai*	*ʔan*	*dʒu blaoŋ*	
scratch with only one finger	PRT	tiger	that	evasively	
V	PRT	N	DEM	ADV	

He went and provoked (him) and poked the tiger with only one finger evasively.

110.	*sivai*	*ʔan*	*soŋ ɹhom*	*pʰao*	,	*ɹuk*	*gɛ̯ʔ*	*tiʔ*	*sivun*	
	tiger	that	angry	now		really	catch/hold	V.chain	toss	
	N	DEM	V	ADV		ADV	V	PRT	V	

tete	*nɔh*	*lih*	*kʰaiŋ*	*dəʔ*	
indeed.truly	3SG	go out	from	in	
ADV	PRO	V	PREP	PREP	

That tiger got angry now, in fact, he caught him and tossed him up to get out of from (the hole).

111.	*jaọk*	*tiʔ*	*sivun*	*nɔh*	*kɛ*	,	*hwet*	*nɔh*	*plak*	*pɹɛʔ*	,
	INCEP	V.chain	toss	3SG	uhm		arrive	3SG	side	outside	
	ASPT	PRT	V	PRO	INTERJ		V	PRO	N	N	

As he tossed him up, he reached to the outside of the hole.

112. *nɔh* *gə̤?* *pʰao* , *nɔh* *ɲɛ̤h* *pʰao*

3SG happy now 3SG laugh now

PRO V ADV PRO V ADV

He was so happy now and he laughed now,

113. *o* *paọ?gɹɔm*

uhm friend

INTERJ N

'Uhm.... friend'

114. *maị?* *gaih* *ti?* *pẹ?* *lhak* *?əu?* *?ah* *nan*

2SG how V.chain win wisdom 1SG say like that

PRO ADV PRT V N PRO V DEM

'how can you be as intelligent as me?'

115. *nɔh* *kɤm* *jo* *pao?* *?e?* *kɔn pwi* *kɔn toŋ* *hwet*

3SG PRT.purpose shout friend 1PL.INCL people creatures come

PRO MOD V N PRO N N V

He yelled and called the people to come.

116. *kɹai* *ka* *ɹɤ* *sivai* *də?* *tʰan* *?in* *kɛnɛ* , *ki?* *hwet*

tell APPL fall tiger in hole.dirt this uhm 3PL come

V PREP V N PREP N DEM INTERJ PRO V

puiŋ *ti?* *?ih* *nɔh* *?ah* *nan*

shoot V.chain eat 3SG say like that

V PRT V PRO V DEM

(He) told them about that the tiger is in this hole, come and shoot him and eat him.

117. *kʰɤ* *ti?* , *kaŋkwɛ* *pẹ?* *sivai* *tan* *ka* *sivai* *?an*

because POSSP rabbit win tiger there APPL tiger that

CONN POSSP N V N DEM PREP N DEM

In this way the rabbit won the tiger there.

118.	*pwi*	*hwet*	*kɛh*	*ti?*	*puiŋ*	*nɔh*
	person	come	uhm	V.chain	shoot	3SG
	N	V	INTERJ	PRT	V	PRO

People came and shot him.

119.	*jṵm*	*gɛ̰?*		*ɲɛ*	*tan*	*,*	*?ih*	*nɛ̰?*	*pʰao*
	die	catch/hold		only	there		eat	meat	now
	V	V		ADV	DEM		V	N	ADV

(The Tiger) died just there and (people) ate the (tiger's) meat now.

120.	*mɔ̰h*	*ɲɛ*	*nan*	*ɲɛ*	*hoik*	*mɤ*	*?in*
	be	only	like that	only	finish	that's all	this
	COP	ADV	DEM	ADV	V	V	DEM

That's all. It's over.

APPENDIX E
MORE GRAMMATICAL AND UNGRAMMATICAL SENTENCES

1. *mʰɔm* *nɔh*
   beautiful 3SG
   VADJ PRO

He/She is beautiful.

2. *mʰɔm* *ʔin*
   beautiful this
   VADJ DEM

This is beautiful.

3 * *mʰɔm* *mɔh* *ʔin*
   beautiful be this
   VADJ COP DEM

This is beautiful.

4 *pə* *mʰɔm* *mɔh* *ʔin*
   REL beautiful be this
   REL VADJ COP DEM

This is the beautiful one.

5. * *nɛ* *paot̪ʔgɹɔm* *nɔh* *ɹa* *kauʔ*
   exist.many friend 3SG two CLF.human
   cop N PRO NUM CLF

6. *kɔn ɲɔm pʰat lai*
   child read book
   N V N

Children (are) read(ing) the book.

7. *səɹamaʔ pə moh ʔəuʔ hoik ʔiŋ laʃio*
   teacher REL love 1SG COMPL go.back Lashio
   N REL V PRO ASPT V NPROP

The teacher who I love already went back to Lahsio.

8. *tik ʔəuʔ kak kʰaoʔ pə pot ʔan*
   throw away 1SG branch tree REL broken that
   V PRO N N REL V DEM

I throw away that branch that is broken.

9. *ʔəuʔ səmɛ tiʔ kɛ̰h maḭʔ ʔih kaʔ*
   1SG want V.chain cause 2SG eat fish
   PRO V PRT V PRO V N

I want you to eat fish.

10. *ʔot kɔn ɲɔm ʔan tan ʔah nɔh nan*
    stay child that there say 3SG like that
    V N DEM DEM V PRO DEM

That child is there, he/she said like this.

11. *ʔaŋ ʔəuʔ tʃʰiʔ loʔ man*
    NEG 1SG can speech Burmese
    NEG PRO V N NPROP

I can not speak Burmese.

12. *ʔaŋ lai tʃʰiʔ tiʔ ʔih*
    NEG NEG.anymore can V.chain eat
    NEG MOD V PRT V

(We) can not eat (that) anymore.

13 *koe* *mau* *ʔəuʔ*
exist money 1SG
cop N PRO

I have money.

14 *#* *ʔəuʔ* *koe* *mau*
1SG exist money
PRO cop N

I have money.

15. *lai rʰaʔ* *ʔin* *mn̥h* *tʃɛ* *ai ka*
hymn.book this be POSS Ai Kar
N DEM COP PRT NPROP

This hymn book is Ai Kar's.

16. *dʒak* *mau* *kʰɔm* *ɹa* *plak* *ʔɔʔ* *plak* *ʔan* *mai*
watch money both two side Polite.IMR.Prt side that and
V N QUANT NUM N PRT N DEM CONN

plak *ʔin*
side this
N DEM

Look at both two sides of the money, that side and this side.

17. *bɔ* *dɤ̯* *ʔin* *plak* *ʔəuʔ*
NEG.IMPER place this side 1SG
NEG V DEM N PRO

Don't place this (on) my side.

18. *ʔin* *mn̥h* *plak* *paọʔ* *ɲɛ̯ʔ* *ʔəuʔ*
this be side relative 1SG
DEM COP N N PRO

This is (from) my relative side.

19. *pwi* *tom nɛ* *hwet* *dəuʔ* *dʒɔŋ*
person many come in church
N QUANT V PREP N

Many people come to church.

20. *səɹa* *tiʔ* *kauʔ* *tɔʔ* *soʔ* *ɹa* *mu* *ka* *kɔn*
teacher one CLF.human give dog two CLF.nonhuman APPL child
N NUM CLF V N NUM CLF PREP N
səmę̱ʔ *loe* *kauʔ* *kɔʔ* *kɔʔ*
male three CLF.human yesterday yesterday
N NUM CLF ADV ADV

A teacher gave two dogs to three boys yesterday.

21. * *səɹa* *tɔʔ* *soʔ* *ɹa* *mu* *ka* *kɔn* *səmę̱ʔ* *loe*
teacher give dog two CLF.nonhuman APPL child male three
N V N NUM CLF PREP N N NUM
kauʔ *kɔʔ* *kɔʔ* *tiʔ* *kauʔ*
CLF.human yesterday yesterday one CLF.human
CLF ADV ADV NUM CLF

A teacher gave two dogs to three boys yesterday.

22. *səɹa* *tiʔ* *kauʔ* *tɔʔ* *soʔ* *ka* *kɔn* *səmę̱ʔ* *loe*
teacher one CLF.human give dog APPL child male three
N NUM CLF V N PREP N N NUM
kauʔ *kɔʔ* *kɔʔ* *ɹa* *mu*
CLF.human yesterday yesterday two CLF.nonhuman
CLF ADV ADV NUM CLF

A teacher gave two dogs to three boys yesterday.

23. * *səɹa* *tiʔ* *kauʔ* *tɔʔ* *soʔ* *ɹa* *mu* *ka*

teacher one CLF.human give dog two CLF.nonhuman APPL

N NUM CLF V N NUM CLF PREP

kɔn *səmɛ̰ʔ* *kɔʔ* *kɔʔ* *loe* *kauʔ*

child male yesterday yesterday three CLF.human

N N ADV ADV NUM CLF

A teacher gave two dogs to three boys yesterday.

24. *ai ka* *pon* *to* *pʰai* *kʰaiŋ* *ai kʰun*

Ai Kar able run quick than Ai Khun

NPROP V V VADJ PREP NPROP

Ai Ka can run faster than Ai Khun.

25. *ai ka* *pon* *to* *kʰaiŋ* *ai kʰun*

Ai Kar able run than Ai Khun

NPROP V V PREP NPROP

Ai Kar can more able to run than Ai Khun (does).

26. * *ai ka* *to* *kʰaiŋ* *ai kʰun*

Ai Kar run than Ai Khun

NPROP V PREP NPROP

27. *hu* *tɯi* *ŋot* *mai* *tʃaʔ*

go take chair and tea

V V N CONN N

Go and take chair and tea.

28. *ʔaŋ* *pliʔ* *ʔin* *ɲaŋ* *tɯm*

NEG fruit this NEG.yet ripe

NEG N DEM MOD VADJ

This fruit is not ripe yet.

29. *hoik* *sum* *ki?* *ɲɛ̯?* *tin*
COMPL build 3PL house here
ASPT V PRO N DEM

The house is built here.

30. *kʰao?* *?in* *hoik* *lʰauŋ*
tree this COMPL tall
N DEM ASPT V

This tree has grown.

31. *jɥ̯h* *?əu?* *pʰɯn* *pot*
do 1SG table broken
V PRO N V

I broke the table.

32. *nɔh* *sɔm* *tʃao* *ti?*
3SG eat rice oneself REFLX
PRO V PRO REFLX

He ate by himself.

33. *nɔh* *taŋ* *tʃub* *gɹəŋ* *tʃao* *ti?*
3SG do.alone dress cloth oneself REFLX
PRO V V N PRO REFLX

He dressed himself.

34. *hu* *maɪ̯?* *?aŋ* *maɪ̯?* *hu*
go 2SG NEG 2SG go
V PRO NEG PRO V

Will you go or not?

35. *hu* *maɪ̯?* *?aŋ* *mɔ̯h* *lɛ*
go 2SG NEG be QUEST.PRT
V PRO NEG COP QP

Will you go, won't you?

36. *vaɻk* *ʔin* *lɔm*
knife this sharp
N DEM VADJ

This knife is sharp.

37. *vaɻk* *ʔin* *kɔn* *lɔm*
knife this DUR sharp
N DEM ASPT VADJ

This knife is still sharp.

38. *vaɻk* *ʔin* *hoik* *dɔ̣k* *lɔm*
knife this COMPL PAST.NC sharp
N DEM ASPT ASPT VADJ

This knife is already sharp.

39. *nɔh* *saʔ* *sum* *ɲɛ̣ʔ*
3SG EXP build house
PRO ASPT V N

He has built (a) house.

40. *nɔh* *ʔaŋ* *tɛ* *saʔ* *lʰauŋ* *kʰauʔ*
3SG NEG NEG.explain EXP tall height
PRO NEG MOD ASPT V N

He has not been tall.

41. * *nɔh* *jaọk* *tiʔ* *lʰauŋ* *kʰauʔ*
3SG INCEP V.chain tall height
PRO ASPT PRT V N

He began to be tall.

42 *nɔh* *kɛ̣h* *yaʔ* *ʔan* *tɔk* *kɔn* *tiʔ*
3SG cause woman that beat child POSSP
PRO V N DEM V N POSSP

He caused that woman to beat his child.

RESUME

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