A grammar of the Kadu (Asak) language

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A thesis submitted in total fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

School of Communication, Arts and Critical Enquiry
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

La Trobe University
Bundoora, Victoria 3086
Australia
February 2012
Abstract

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

David Sangdong
Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to many individuals who supported and contributed to the completion of this thesis. First and foremost, I would like to thank all the Kadu people who gave me the opportunity to study their beautiful language. Particularly, to the people of Settau village for opening their doors and spending many hours with me to record their language. Their openness and cheerful attitude made the research a joy. I will also never forget the love and hospitality they showed me during my field research in Settau village.

I express my heartfelt gratitude to all the Kadu leaders who were supportive toward this research, particularly ဗိုလ်ခင် (U Shwe Maung), who not only opened up his house to me but also helped me find all of my wonderful language consultants. Thank you. Knowing you has made my data collection a lot easier.

My language consultants, အေးရွာထူး (Aung Than Nwe), ဝင်င်း (Win Naing) အေးရွာထူး (Aung Kyaw Sein), အေးရွာထူး (Aung Than), နင်ဆောင် (Nin Su Khain), and အေးရွာထူး (Aye Myat Thu), you guys are remarkable. Thank you so much for leaving your work aside and helping me transcribe those wonderful Kadu stories. Though I asked the same question many times you never tired of answering me. This thesis would have never come into this shape without the help of these amazing people.

The pastor ကျောင်ကျွန်း (Khin Kyawng Sein) and his family in Banmauk Township provided us a place to stay and warmly welcomed Kadu speakers into their home.
Thank you for opening your home and making delicious food for us. Thank you and God bless you.

I express my deep gratitude to my supervisors Randy LaPolla and David Bradley. I am particularly grateful to Randy LaPolla, my main supervisor, for accepting me as his PhD student. Over time I have learned so much from his extraordinary knowledge of the linguistic literature and his profound understanding of Tibeto-Burman languages. He is not just a great linguist but also a good friend who takes an interest in my personal well-being as well.

During my PhD candidature funding was provided by a La Trobe University Postgraduate Scholarship and research grants from the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, and the Research Centre for Linguistic Typology. I am grateful for the scholarship, without which this research would have never been undertaken. Many friends from SIL International have also been a source of encouragement and support.

I thank my wife Sarzi for her love, understanding, patience and encouragement. Without her support, this research would not have come to completion.

My deepest gratitude to God not only for His provision, guidance, and protection, but also for giving me the wisdom and strength to complete this thesis.

David Sangdong
February 2012
Acknowledgments in Burmese

1. နောက်ပထားလောလောဆယ် သူတော်လှန်ရေး သီချင်းတစ်ပုဒ်ဖြင့် ကြာကြာ ပြောခဲ့သည်။

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3. ရှေးယူ သီချင်းတစ်ပုဒ်ဖြင့် ကြာကြာ ပြောခဲ့သည်။

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5. ရှေးယူ သီချင်းတစ်ပုဒ်ဖြင့် ကြာကြာ ပြောခဲ့သည်။

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7. အသိုင်းသားညှင်းစုပေါင်းမှုအတွက် စာရေးသူများ အပ်ပြင်များရှိသော အချက်အလက်များကို အဖြစ်စားသော သောက်ဥပြည် (La Trobe) အစိုးရပ်ပိုင် ပြင်သစ် Randy LaPolla ကို ပြင်သစ် David Bradley

8. စာရေးသူများကို ပြင်သစ်သော စာရေးသူများအစိုးရပ်ပိုင် သောက်ဥပြည် (SIL international)

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11. အချက်အလက်များကို ပြင်သစ်သော စာရေးသူများ အပ်ပြင်များရှိသော အပ်ပြင်များ စာရေးသူများ (Sarzi Dalanggin) ကို

ကျန်စဥ္ဒီယိုသင်္ချာပြိုင်နှစ် ပြင်သစ်သော စာရေးသူများကို အပ်ပြင်များရှိသော အပ်ပြင်များ အပ်ပြင်များ စာရေးသူများ (Sarzi Dalanggin) ကို

ထိုးစေ်မို့စ်အစိုးရပ်ပိုင် သောက်ဥပြည် (La Trobe) အစိုးရပ်ပိုင် ပြင်သစ် Randy LaPolla ကို ပြင်သစ် David Bradley

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<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*</td>
<td>ungrammatical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#</td>
<td>syllable boundary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>§</td>
<td>section</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>phonemic transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; &gt;</td>
<td>transliteration of written Burmese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;</td>
<td>derived from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ ]</td>
<td>phonetic transcription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.AG</td>
<td>anti-agentive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AKYS</td>
<td>Aung Kyaw Seing</td>
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<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allative</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATT</td>
<td>attributive</td>
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<tr>
<td>ATTW</td>
<td>Attendant word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFP</td>
<td>clause final particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLF</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLT</td>
<td>class term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>compound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COS</td>
<td>change of state marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>directional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUPH</td>
<td>euphonic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCL</td>
<td>exclamatory</td>
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<td>FINALLY</td>
<td>finally particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HORT</td>
<td>hortative</td>
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<tr>
<td>HS</td>
<td>hearsay</td>
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<td>IMMF</td>
<td>immediate future</td>
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<td>IMP</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRUSIVE</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPA</td>
<td>International Phonetic Alphabet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRLS</td>
<td>irrealis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.SUFF</td>
<td>loan verbal suffix</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lit.</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCN</td>
<td>locational noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIR</td>
<td>mirative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ONMT</td>
<td>onomatopoeic word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART</td>
<td>particle</td>
</tr>
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<td>PL</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>proper noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTB</td>
<td>Proto-Tibeto-Burman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RLS</td>
<td>realis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>speaker attitude particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIL</td>
<td>Summer Institute of Linguistics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBD</td>
<td>subordinator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUFF</td>
<td>suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPL</td>
<td>superlative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>Tibeto-Burman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCX</td>
<td>verb complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSM</td>
<td>verb sentence marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WH</td>
<td>wh-question word</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Burmese words are often cited in this thesis. In describing those Burmese words, I have adopted standard transliteration used in the Myanmar-English Dictionary, Myanmar Language Commission 2008. These are shown below.

Consonants

\[
\begin{array}{cccccccc}
\text{∞} & \text{k} & [k] & \circ & \text{hk} & [k^{h}] & \text{n/ŋ} & \text{g} & [g] & \circ & \text{ng} & [ŋ] \\
\circ & \text{s} & [s] & \infty & \text{hs} & [s^{h}] & \text{ə/ʔ} & \text{z} & [z] & \text{ə} & \text{nj} & [ŋ] \\
\infty & \text{t} & [t] & \infty & \text{ht} & [t^{h}] & \text{ə/ʔ} & \text{d} & [d] & \text{ə/ʔ} & \text{n} & [n] \\
\circ & \text{p} & [p] & \circ & \text{hp} & [p^{h}] & \text{ə/ʔ} & \text{b} & [b] & \circ & \text{m} & [m] \\
\infty & \text{j} & [j] & \circ & \text{r} & [ɾ] & \infty/ŋ & \text{l} & [l] & \circ & \text{w} & [w] \\
\infty & \text{th} & [t] & \infty & \text{h} & [h] & \text{ŋ} & \text{sh} & [ʃ] \\
\end{array}
\]

Medial Consonants

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{-r-} & \text{ŋ} & \text{-y-} & \circ & \text{-w-} & \text{i} & \text{h-} \\
\end{array}
\]

Vowels and Tones

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>creaky</th>
<th>mid</th>
<th>low</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ə:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>ɛ-</td>
<td>ei</td>
<td>ɛ-:</td>
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<td>/e/</td>
<td>ɛ-</td>
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<td>o</td>
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xxi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

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

1.1 Aims and scope

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

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

This work primarily uses three kinds of data: library-based data for theoretical studies, recorded wordlists, and language texts. First, all the available sources on Kadu, both in English and Burmese, were studied. Next, a wordlist of over 1000 items was collected from the Settau Kadu speakers. These words were transcribed and analysed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to determine syllable structure, phonemes, tones, stress, and intonation. Third, several texts were also recorded–primarily from the Settau
speakers and from speakers from other locations as well. These texts were double-checked and interlinearised with the help of two chief language consultants. Data was also collected during intimate contact with the language in the natural setting of actual day-to-day use.

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

The recorded texts were then broken down into clauses using the free digital audio editor Audacity 1.2.6. After that, three of my chief language consultants who were literate in Burmese used Burmese script to transcribe them. There were many shortcomings and difficulties encountered during this process—one of the reasons being a huge phonological gap between literary and colloquial Burmese. To Kadu language consultants, this is particularly true when it comes to representing Kadu final consonant sounds. For instance, written Burmese makes distinctions between final bilabial and alveolar nasals, however, in colloquial styles these distinctions are not heard. Therefore, Kadu speakers puzzle over which Burmese symbol to use when representing the sound of the final bilabial nasal consonant. This is just one illustration of the difference between written and colloquial Burmese. However, we continued using Burmese script
in spite of many drawbacks. Our main reason for doing this was just to get a general idea of the text. Those texts were later put into a language database, first in Toolbox database software and later SIL Fieldworks version 6.0.5, using a Roman-based orthography I developed in order to see the Kadu sound and grammar patterns accurately and to extract a glossary. Example sentences extracted from those recorded texts are cited in this thesis, as in the following example.

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngä} & = \text{TOP} \\
\text{ká phón-shā} & = \text{wood-small} \\
\text{wān} & = \text{chop} \\
\text{pán} & = \text{COS} \\
\text{kám} & = \text{lay} \\
\text{ip} & = \text{sleep} \\
\text{lakā} & = \text{MIR} \\
\text{é} & = \text{SAP}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

The second line provides the morpheme break-down and the third line gives morpheme-by-morpheme English glosses. Most, if not all, grammatical morphemes are abbreviated
using SMALL CAPS. The representations of these abbreviated forms are presented in the list of abbreviations and conventions on page xviii. The colon ‘:’ is used for a contracted syllable which contains two grammatical categories. For example, the term píng is analysed as a contraction of ing, a directional verbal particle, plus pán, a change of state aspectual particle. In this case, it will be glossed as ‘DIR,:COS’.

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

(2) ínnúkànghànpták ngaúpánkauí (18:31)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{í}-núk-àng-hà &= \text{pán} = \text{ták ngaú} = \text{pánkauí} \\
\text{NEG-flame-DIR,1-know.how} &= \text{COS} = \text{HS say} = \text{as.it.is.the.case}
\end{align*}
\]

‘As it is the case that (it) didn’t flame.’

However, standard hyphenated English words such as ‘sister-in-law’ will be used as is. In cases where items in English and Kadu correspond, in general, but have divergent semantic details, the difference is left for the reader to infer from the context. For example, words such as phí ‘to wash one’s face’, phaú ‘to wash vegetables’, chí ‘to wash clothes’, kazeú ‘to wash vegetables with a basket’, and sín ‘to wash one’s hand’ are all glossed with a single word ‘wash’ in English. Conversely, híng ‘third person
singular’ in Kadu has no gender distinction. In this case, it will be glossed as ‘3SG’ and in the English free translation it will be indicated either as ‘he’ or ‘she’ because it is normally obvious from the context whether the person referred to is male or female.

1.3 The land

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

1.3.1 Kadu in the larger context

Myanmar, formerly known as Burma, is one of the largest countries in Southeast Asia. It lies on the western edge of the large peninsula that used to be known as Indo-China and is now called Mainland Southeast Asia. The country is cut off from the outer world by hills in the North, West, and East and the sea on the South. It is probably one of the most culturally and linguistically rich and diverse regions in all Asia. According to a Myanmar Ministry of Foreign Affairs July, 2003 report, the population of Myanmar is estimated at over 52.4 million with 135 national races. Many small speech groups of a few thousand people still maintain their mother tongues in every-day life in many parts of the country. The country is bordered by China on the Northeast, Tibet on the North, India on the Northwest, Bangladesh on the West, Laos and Thailand on the East, and the Bay of Bengal and the Andaman Sea on the South and Southwest. Therefore,
Myanmar is not only a fascinating place for linguistic studies but also is positioned at the heart of the cultural-geographical crossroads of East, South and Southeast Asia (See Figure 1).

Figure 1: Map of Myanmar and surrounding countries

“The country lies between longitude 92° and longitude 102° east and between latitude 10° and latitude 29° north. Most of the country falls within the tropics, and the climate, flora, and fauna of the plains are accordingly tropical” (Donnison 1970: 22-27). The
country has two basic political delimitations: states and divisions. There are seven states, which are named after seven major races: Kachin, Kaya, Karen, Chin, Mon, Rakhine, and Shan. There is an equal number of divisions: Ayeyawaddy, Bago, Magway, Mandalay, Sagaing, Thintharyi and Yangon, most of which are in lowland areas and predominantly populated by ethnic Bamar/Burmese. Most of the states, on the other hand, are sparsely populated and are on highlands. The country is proud to embrace languages of the Austro-Asiatic, Tai-Kadai, Austronesian, and Tibeto-Burman families. The linguistic diversity is fascinating but seriously understudied. Thus, it attracts and invites modern scholars of linguistics and anthropology.

Sagaing Division, where this research took place, is the largest division in the country (See Figure 2). It is home to many Tibeto-Burman (TB) languages such as Bamar, Chin, Naga, and Kadu. Many Tai/Shan speaking people, particularly Tailiang (Red Shan), are also found in this state. It is bordered by Arunachal Pradesh of India on the North; Nagaland and Manipur states of India, and Chin state of Myanmar on the West; Magwe and Mandalay divisions on the South; Shan state on the East; and Kachin state on the Northeast. The northern part is mountainous and home to many Naga languages. The southern part, however, is relatively flat and home to Bamar, Karen, Tai and Mon speakers. The majority of the population in this division are Bamar speakers. In the southwest part, the area adjacent to Chin state, several Chin languages are spoken. The central part has been home to the Kadu and their related speech varieties for centuries.
The Chindwin is the main river in this division. Its source is in Kachin state in the north and it flows into the country’s principal river, the Irrawaddy, in the south. Agriculture is the chief occupation. The leading crops, as in many parts of the country, are rice, wheat, corn, sesame, peanuts, cotton, and tobacco. The division is one of the leading producers of wheat in Myanmar. Myanmar’s most significant border trade post with India, Tamu, is in this division. Many products of India and Myanmar are exchanged through this post. Figure 2 shows a map of the Sagaing division. The shaded area represents the extent of the historical homeland of the Kadu, according to their oral history (Luce 1985:36).

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

The speakers of the Kadu language live in Banmauk, Indau, and Pinlebu, which are three townships in Katha District, Sagaing Division, Myanmar (see Figure 3 and Figure 4). Among these three, Banmauk has the largest Kadu population and Pinlebu has the smallest Kadu population. See Figure 3 for a rough hand-drawn map showing the township boundaries. The current Kadu populated area is highlighted in gray.
All three townships are adjacent to and just west of the north-south Mandalay-
Myitkyina railroad, and about halfway between those two cities. The Mandalay-
Myitkyina railway tracks pass through Indau Township, so Indau has become a gateway
to reach the Kadu community. Travelling to these areas, one must rely on Mandalay-
Myitkyina trains. There are a couple of trains that depart from each location every day.
All trains departing Mandalay leave at different times in the afternoon. Travelling by
train to the Kadu community is not convenient, as most of the trains reach Indau
between 1 and 4 am.

There are some buses which run regularly between Indau and Banmauk but
transportation to villages around these townships is still very poor. Most of the roads are
just dirt tracks so they are dusty during the dry season and muddy during the wet
season. Ox carts (and in some area, horses), are still the main means of transportation but motor bikes from China are becoming an important means of local transportation. A lot of people travel on foot even for 10-15 miles. For example, for Kadu high school students, walking two to three miles during the school day is not considered a long distance. Nowadays, some of the roads have been upgraded to allow motor bikes to travel throughout the year.

Although the Kadu language speaking area falls in the tropical zone, it has cool, pleasant weather most of the year. The coldest months are November through January. The rainy season is May through October. The heaviest rain is usually expected in June and July. Rain in the dry season is rare.
Settau village, where most of the data used in this thesis was collected, is situated just about two miles west of Banmauk Township. It is inhabited purely by Kadu, except for a few intermarriages with other speakers. The elders from the village told me that the village was founded by their forefathers who migrated from Taungmau village in the 1780s. According to one of the recorded texts which explains the origin of Settau Kadu, there are two hypotheses regarding how they got this name.

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

(3) စော်က် တိုင်း စိုး ပိုးချိုမ်း နောက် ကခ်ဗ် ပါမ်သမ်း နောက်လက်တွ တွေ မျှော်စွာ ရှိ စွာ သိရှိ ပါ မျှော်စွာ ရှိ စွာ သိရှိ

za-yatá kón-yóyósàpè pókháû ngaükà cícèû pàítamà ngaúlakàé (10:25)

zayà = yí = tá kông-yóyó-sà = pè pókhá-û
some = also = EMPH hill-simple-DIM = LOC forest-fowl
ngaûkà cícèû paú-ta = mà ngaú = lakà = é
as.for very plenty-L.SUF = RLS say = MIR = SAP

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

The other hypothesis is that it may have derived from the term မုံတိုင်း <bwakto>, also a Burmese term, which literally means ‘muddy place’; see example (4) below.
Many local leaders favor the first hypothesis.

1.4 **The people and their language**

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

1.4.1 **The people**

The Kadu, who called themselves “Asak”, are well known among their neighbors for their hospitality. No traveler arriving in a village unannounced or a sick or old person will lack a roof or a meal. Partly it is the attitude of their Buddhist religion and partly it is the character of the people. The Kadu population in Banmauk Township is estimated to be at least 30,000 by the local Kadu leaders. There are also Kadu villages in Indau and Pinlebu Townships and elsewhere, but it is not known how many Kadu live in these places. The pronunciation of the word “Sak” in Burmese is ‘Thet’. Taylor (1922) claimed that the Sak inhabited the upper part of the Irrawaddy valley and might have...
also spread into Manipur and become the ancestors of the Andro and Sengmai tribes. Luce (1985:36) confirms this claim and says that the Sak languages were “once spread over the whole north of Burma, from Manipur perhaps to northern Yunnan.” Luce considers the Kadu to be the earliest settlers of the region, saying “a sure sign of antiquity is when one finds a language, unmistakably fragmented, spoken by minorities in remote places, widely separated from each other by major languages.” Linguistically, there is a strong connection between Kadu and the Thet or Sak, who are scattered parts of Rakhine State and also across the Bangladesh border (Ah Ko Saw 1988:1). They are also sometimes refer to as “Thau Kadu” and “Thet Kadu” (Nu Nu 1991:3). The native speakers of Sak in Bangladesh often refer to themselves as Chak or Chakma, however, linguistically, the Chak is a distinct group from Chakma (Maggard 2007:1). The Chak are unmistakably kin of the Kadu. Many Kadu leaders also acknowledge this fact.

The Kadu, under the name Kantu, were the dominant group in the Tagaung kingdom¹ of upper Burma (Ah Ko Saw 1975:12; Bradley 2002:86). The local people explained to me that the word Tagaung, with high tone on the second syllable, came from *ta-kàng* ‘leg-step on’ which literally means the stepping place in Kadu. Even today, Kadu use this expression to indicate a place belonging to someone. However, there is also a popular expression used by the Bamar which says အောင်းစောင်ခံခြင်း

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¹ According to the Burmese chronicles, Tagaung was the first Burmese kingdom in northern Myanmar. However, there is no archaeological evidence to prove the existence of this particular Burmese kingdom. If it existed, it could have been as early as 128 B.C. (Htin Aung 1967:6-7).
<mrangma asa.takong:ka.> which literally means Bamar begins from Tagaung. I leave it to the historians to do further research on the historical birthplace of the Kadu due to limited time and space, except for briefly looking at some available historical sources of the Kadu migration into Burma.

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

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

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

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

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

(5) \textit{azáq azáq maúkhwinkáqták máttáúpeúcí} (10:01)

\begin{align*}
\text{azák} & \quad \text{azáq} & \quad \text{maúkhwín} & = & \quad \text{káq} & \quad = & \quad \text{ták} & \quad \text{mát-taú-peú-cí} \\
\text{PN} & \quad \text{begin} & \quad \text{Maukhwin} & = & \quad \text{LOC} & \quad = & \quad \text{HS} & \quad \text{note-L\_SUFF-keep-PL}
\end{align*}

'Keep note that Kadu begins from Maukhwin.'

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

The name Sak or Thet is used in at least three ways in the literature. First, it refers to the Sak that live in the north of Rakhine State and eastern Bangladesh (Bradley 1997:25; Lewis 2010). This name also refers to “ancient Saks”, one of the first ethnic groups to inhabit Myanmar, and the ancestors of the Kadu and Kanan (Luce 1985:36-40). It is also the term the Kadu in Katha District use to refer to themselves.
Alternate names for the Kadu include Asak, Gadu, Gannan, Kado, Kadu-Gannan, Kato, Katu, Kudo, Mawteik, Puteik, Sak, That, Thet, Woni (Paul 2009).

1.4.2 Education

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

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

Local leaders from Settau village reported a continuously high drop-out rate at the high school level among the Kadu children. One of the reasons, they believe, is that most of the children cannot cope with the school education because teaching in the schools is all
in Burmese and the Burmese proficiency among the Kadu children is relatively low. Another reason for the high drop-out rate is the fact that the Kadu are poor and the schools charge various fees to support the teachers. As they live in a remote setting, it is difficult to find qualified school teachers. Also, education is still not a vital part of Kadu culture, so most of the young people quit school after completion of primary school.

1.4.3 Livelihood

The Kadu homeland is a rich land in which there is plenty of food and starvation is not known. Paddy rice is the main crop grown in the region and all the Kadu people practice a similar type of cultivation. The Kadu are hard working and expert rice growers. They practice both wet rice field and slash and burn cultivation. Both Kadu men and women are involved in paddy rice production. The cultivation of rice involves intensive and extremely arduous work from the time the monsoon rains soften the ground sufficiently to permit plowing and planting until the crop is reaped in the winter. Men do most of the plowing and the clearing of the fields, whereas women hoe the fields, spread the seeds, and transplant the rice seedlings. Planting of rice has to be done by hand, bent almost double, in tropical rain. Apart from paddy field planting, men are also responsible for gathering wood and building houses. Women, on the other hand, cook and do most of the housework. Traditionally, it is the responsibility of the women to weave and sew cloth. However, as modern clothing is available at cheap prices in nearby markets, traditional weaving is becoming a lost art among the Kadu women.
Modern methods of cultivation have had little effect on this area and they still use the old traditional ways of cultivation. Cotton and tea are also grown. Tea is used for drinking and welcoming guests. In addition, sesame, chili peppers, beans, tobacco, onions, garlic, eggplant, tomatoes, gourds, pumpkins, cucumbers, and many other varieties of vegetables are grown in the fields. A wide variety of fruits, mushrooms, roots, leaves, and other wild vegetables are also gathered from nearby forests.

![Figure 6: Paddy field cultivation in the Kadu region](image)

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

The most important domestic animals are the cow and water buffalo in terms of the people’s livelihood. They are the main means used to plow wet rice fields and carry goods. Other traditional domestic animals include chickens, ducks, and pigs, which provide meat for the family.
Young people, typically, leave their villages and go to nearby townships to earn money after the planting season is over. Some of the Kadu people travel all the way to the Chindwin river area and to northern Myanmar to labor in the private gold and jade mining businesses.

Most of the Kadu villages are located on spurs of hills just above the valley floor. The main road generally cuts through the middle of the village and houses are built on both sides of the road. As the area is abundant with teak (Tectona grandis), most of the Kadu houses are built with invaluable teak, or of a kind of ironwood tree *Xylopia dolabriformis* and bamboo. Thatch roofing is common, however, zinc roofing is becoming more common. Most of the houses are built on stilts and the area under the house is left open to keep the family’s animals and firewood. For some people, this place is used for weaving and storing some of the family’s property.
Modern Kadu houses are rectangular with wooden siding and high roofs. The older Kadu said that their traditional house was identical with Kanan houses with a more oval shape and low hanging roof. The traditional Kadu house was built without using a single nail. They use a locking joints system. Traditional construction of a house used cane/rattan and a thin strip of bamboo as rope, thatch for roofing, and timber or bamboo frames for partitions.

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

1.4.4 Religion and spiritual life

The Kadu, like most of the neighboring peoples, Kanan, Shan, and Burmese, have been practicing Buddhism for centuries. They are almost exclusively Buddhists. The exact time the Kadu converted to Buddhism is not clearly known. They first practiced
Mahayana Buddhism and probably had converted to Theravada Buddhism during the reign of Anawrahta (1044-1086 AD) or earlier (Maung Kyan Shin 1994:238-240). Luce (1985) and Than Htun (1994) suggested a much earlier date by saying that one of the early groups entering Burma, the Pyu, who, probably in AD 638, founded the first great Buddhist capital in Burma, had been converted to Buddhism by the Sak (Thet).

![A monastery in Settau village](image)

**Figure 8:** A monastery in Settau village

The Kadu are devoted to their religious teachings and believe that their good merit will bring good fortune and a better life in the next life cycle. The enormous monasteries are one of the signs of their generous almsgiving and devotion to their religion. The monks not only play important roles in religion but also within the social structure, from weddings to funerals. The \textit{hrangpru} novitation ceremony of male children is one of the most important religious activities among the Kadu. Unlike the Burmese, they conduct combined community novitiations, including over 30 novices in one
ceremony that normally takes place during the summer and lasts 4-5 days. During this ceremony, the whole community comes together and shares the tasks for the success of the ceremony.

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

Among the Kadu, <moung:tun hrangkri:> is the chief Nat of all. All the Kadu villages make sacrifices to this Nat at least once a year. It is a title in Burmese which may be translated (<moung:toung> ‘a mountain’s name’ <hrang> ‘master’ <kri:> ‘big’) as the master ruler of the Maindung mountain. According to some local leaders, his real name was euhám. In the story recorded about this man, he was a lazy and good-for-nothing type of person. However, fortunately, he happened to get a magical drum
which fulfilled all his desires and wishes and he later became a very powerful man. When he died, he was considered a supernatural being and the Kadu worship him even today. Look at the example below extracted from a story about euhám.

(6)  \[\text{maléq maîtùng ashín-cí = ká àng = panáq zi-seútcă} \]
\[\text{1PL PN lord-big = TOP that = NOM drum-magical.weapon} \]
\[\text{lùi-àng haíkkà hing = ká lakò hamán thà-àng = tá} \]
\[\text{get-DIR, and.then 3SG = TOP SAP spirit be-DIR, = EMPH} \]

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

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

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

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

\(^4\) I assume that the term Kachin here refers to the Jingphaw speakers. However, the term Kachin for referring to the Jingphaw alone should be avoided as it is now widely accepted as a collective term for six ethnic groups: Jingphaw, Lawngwaw, Lahi, Zaiwa, Rawang and Lisu.
cognate with both Shan and Jingphaw. However, looking at other linguistic features, Kadu is quite distant from Shan, however, the numerals one to ten (§3.2.2) and some kinship terms (§3.1.1.2.6) are certainly loanwords from Shan. It is highly possible that the presence of the Shan numbers in Kadu is the result of the Shan economic domination in the area for a long period. The Shan are the people who run the five-day bazaars, so all Kadu and Kanan counting is in Shan (Luce 1985:35). However, today the Kadu are shifting toward the Burmese counting system. Upon reaching the Kadu area, I found out that there are many Kadu words which are clear cognates with Jingphaw.

Linguistic relationships between Jingphaw and Kadu still need to be established. However, lexical and syntactic similarities between Jingphaw and Kadu are much more promising than with the Shan. The Burma Gazetteer (1900) also suggested that Kadu and Jingphaw are of the same stock. It says regarding the relationship of Jingphaw and Kadu, that “the Kadu came from the Pagan country before it fell from its position as the capital province. They gradually scattered. Those who ascended to the hills are called Kachins; those who settled in the plains became Kadu. They were all, however, of the same race and spoke the same tongue” (Gazetteer 1900:575). Just for the sake of comparison, I have compared some of the Kadu lexical items that are similar to Jingphaw (see Table 1 and Table 2). Jingphaw wordlist items are written in the standard orthography. The tones in Jingphaw are unmarked. The diacritic ‘˘’ marks a short vowel [ə].
The Kanan, who live along the Mu River to the southwest of the Kadu villages in Banmauk Township, are geographically the closest kin of the Kadu. The Kanan have
always been classified as a subgroup of Kadu and often associated under the name Kadu-Kanan. The Ethnologue (Lewis 2010) and many other sources group Kadu and Kanan together as one language. Culturally and linguistically they share many similarities and both people groups recognised these facts. Dawkins 2006 reported that there is a high degree of lexical similarity between Kadu and Kanan (see also Table 3 on page 34). Based on the statistics of 100 lexical items, the similarity between Kadu and Kanan varieties ranges from 82 to 92% (Dawkins 2006:14). Among the Kadu, the Maukwin Kadu have closer contact with the Kanan, as they live in closer proximity to the Kanan. The Kanan villages are located in very remote settings accessible only by foot for most of the year. The Kanan region in Banmauk Township is made up of 24 villages, (see Figure 5).
The Kadu lexicon also includes a massive number of loanwords from Burmese. The reason, obviously, is Burmese domination through religious (Buddhist) and government schools and Burmese mass media. Today, most of the Kadu, regardless of gender or age, with the exception of older people from remote villages, are bilingual in Kadu and Burmese. The Kadu people used to have a negative attitude toward the national language, Burmese. However, due to more freedom of travel, contact with outsiders,
and the education system, this attitude is changing and today Kadu are becoming more
and more bilingual in Burmese. Burmese words are frequently used either for the names
or ideas introduced by modern civilization or because they are considered more elegant.
Burmese influence on the Kadu is so great that we not only find an extremely large
number of Burmese loanwords in the Kadu lexicon, but also, typologically, Kadu is
becoming more like Burmese. This may be due to superstratum influence (see LaPolla
2009). Similarity of the structure of Kadu with Burmese is shown in (7). Notice in the
example below, although the forms of the words are different the structure is the same.

(7) **Burmese:** mi: hrou. =pri: prei:-hta: -louk =te =te.
**Kadu:** wān sūt =pān kāt -peú -āng =mā =tāk
  fire start.fire =COS run -keep -DIR₁ =RLS =HS

‘(She) burnt and ran away (from him), it is said.’

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

Some more examples of lexical comparison with other TB languages are presented in
Table 3. Bodo and Eastern Naga data was taken from Burling (1983). The data from
Burling (1971) is presented with a ‘^’ diacritic mark. The data from van Breugel
(2008) is represented with a superscript ‘s’. ‘x’ means no data is available. The Sak data are presented in two columns; one from Luce (1985) represented as Sak\textsuperscript{L}. and the other from Bernot (1966), represented as Sak\textsuperscript{B}. The Andro data was taken from Grierson (1928). The Kadu, Kanan, and Jingphaw data are my own. The PTB forms are from Matisoff (2003).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Kadu</th>
<th>Kanan</th>
<th>Sak¹</th>
<th>Sak²</th>
<th>Andro</th>
<th>Jingphaw</th>
<th>Boro</th>
<th>Atong</th>
<th>Garo</th>
<th>Konyak</th>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ripe</td>
<td>mɨŋ</td>
<td>mɨŋ</td>
<td>mc; âme</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>m’in</td>
<td>gumun</td>
<td>mən*</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>*s-min</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>tɕi</td>
<td>tɕi</td>
<td>kvu</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>gwi</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>gaiʔ</td>
<td>acak’</td>
<td>kui</td>
<td>hi</td>
<td><em>k</em>ʔy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>karpʰu</td>
<td>karpʰu</td>
<td>kɑfɾv</td>
<td>kafı</td>
<td>ləpu</td>
<td>zi-bau</td>
<td>dəbau</td>
<td>cipbu</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>puh</td>
<td>*s-b-rul</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>tɕim</td>
<td>tɕim</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>kiŋ</td>
<td>kem</td>
<td>ɲaʔ</td>
<td>nok</td>
<td>nok</td>
<td>nok</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>*kyim ~ *kyum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>takci</td>
<td>takʃiʔ</td>
<td>taʃi</td>
<td>taʔkuyh</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>lataq</td>
<td>yaosi</td>
<td>chaksi*</td>
<td>jaksi</td>
<td>yashao</td>
<td>jaksi</td>
<td>*m-yuŋ/*yuŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>we</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>w/i</td>
<td>me</td>
<td>kʰaʔ</td>
<td>dəi</td>
<td>dəi</td>
<td>ci</td>
<td>yiang</td>
<td>jung</td>
<td>*ti(y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>jok</td>
<td>jauk</td>
<td>tsa³</td>
<td>ca</td>
<td>šai</td>
<td>sha</td>
<td>zaʔ</td>
<td>saʔ</td>
<td>caʔ</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>*ʔam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>tʰon</td>
<td>tʰoŋ</td>
<td>to</td>
<td>tuã</td>
<td>ton</td>
<td>duŋ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>muʔ*</td>
<td>asoŋ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>tong</td>
<td>*m/d/tuŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kill</td>
<td>tanci</td>
<td>kaptʃi</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>sat</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>soʔot’</td>
<td>soʔot</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>tikduk</td>
<td>*g-sat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>əwa</td>
<td>əwa</td>
<td>əva</td>
<td>ava</td>
<td>àpə</td>
<td>əwa</td>
<td>piʔ-pa</td>
<td>a-wa</td>
<td>pagiʔa</td>
<td>pa</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td><em>p</em>ʔa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Comparison of Luish wordlists with other Sal TB languages and PTB forms
1.5 Previous research and linguistic classification

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

Brown (1920) wrote about Kadu and presented a brief description of its sound system. Brown appears to be the first one to acknowledge Kadu as a distinct language belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family: “clearly it is not a jargon of Burmese, Shan, and Kachin, but a member of the Tibeto-Burman family of legitimate and respectable descent.”

Brown (1920:12), however, suggested that Kadu closely resembles the Burmese structure and sound system. Prior to him, Houghton (1893), and a few decades later, Leach (1959), treated the Kadu and their language as mere hybrids. Houghton compared some vocabularies, and assigned Kadu to the Kachin-Kaga branch of the Tibeto-Burman family, and went on to say that its nearest relative was Sak. In his paper “Kadu and its relatives”, he presented some comparative vocabulary of Kadu and of Andro and Sengmai. Some of the vocabulary items in common with these languages are characteristic of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages.

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

Table 4: Brown’s phonetic description of Kadu sounds

Grierson (1921), another early linguist, assigned the Kadu language to the Lui or Loi5 group. He said, regarding this group “... there are certain servile tribes named Lui or Loi, who have languages of their own, which are quite distinct from Meitei, and, indeed, from any other form of speech found in the State of Manipur.” He compared some wordlist items and concluded that Kadu is closely connected with Andro (Undro) and Sengmai, omitting Chairel, and called them the Lui or Sak group. However, he was uncertain about whether these languages still existed in Manipur. Regarding the existence of these languages he said “I have spoken of these Loi languages as if they

5 It is known that there are three types of Loi/Lui. They are Andro, Sengmai and Chairel. Loi is a Meithei term which means slave (Than Htun 1994).
were current at the present day; but this is a matter of some doubt. During the last half-century the influence of Meit'ei has become widely spread over the whole State, and has apparently superseded them. For our present purposes we must therefore treat them as extinct” (Grierson 1921:39).

Benedict (1972), in his grouping of Sino-Tibetan, instead of presenting a conventional language tree, placed Kachin as the centre of the geographical and linguistic diversity in the family (See Figure 10). Although many researchers and scholars today will disagree with some of Benedict’s sub-group alignments, in fact, it was a commendable initial effort that introduced many newly discovered languages and gave the insight that languages can overlap and can be difficult to group. Benedict grouped Luish and Taman together. Tamans are now probably extinct but Brown (1911) did record the existence of the Taman. The village called Tamanthi, home of the Tamans, still exists today. It is located on the west bank of the upper Chindwin River but currently the people who live in Tamanthi village are all Nagas. The reason for the disappearance of the Tamans is unknown.
Shafer (1955) classified Tibeto-Burman languages into four groups; Bodic, Baric, Burmic and Karenic. He assigned Kadu and Sak under the Luish branch of the Burmic division.
Luce (1985) published wordlists for Sak, Kanan, Kadu, Andro, Sengmai, Chairel and Taman, which he called the “Sak group.” It is probably the most extensive Kadu language data that was recorded in the past. Apart from Brown’s and Luce’s records, there is little or no mention of Kadu in the field of linguistic studies. Luce characterised the Kadu language as being “a remarkably pure, as well as old, Tibeto-Burman type of language. I can detect little, if any, admixture of Mon-Khmer, and not very much of Burmese” (Luce 1985:43). He states that there is a recognizable phonetic connection between the Sak of Rakhine State and the Kadu and Kanan of Sagaing Division.

Matisoff (2003) has a different grouping of Sino-Tibetan languages (See Figure 12). The Nungish and Luish languages are grouped with Jingphaw. This grouping, Jingphaw-Nungish-Luish, is somewhat similar to Benedict’s grouping. He recognizes the Jingphaw language as having a special contact relationship with Northern Naga. However, he also acknowledges the comparative/historical research that still needs to be done on some of the Tibeto-Burman languages. “While some branches of the family are relatively well studied, … we have nothing approaching well-worked out reconstructions for such key subgroups as Qiangic, Baic, Luish, and Nungish” (Matisoff 2003:8). Based on my knowledge of these languages, there is an unmistakable historical connection between Jingphaw and Kadu. However, as a native speaker of Rawang (a Nungish variety), I find the connection between Nungish and Luish less promising. The morphological relationships among these languages still need to be established in order to have a clear understanding of this grouping.
David Bradley (2002), in his classification, sub-grouped Luish under the Sal branch, the term originally proposed by Burling (1983:4), and assigned Baric, Jingphaw, and Kuki-Chin together with Luish to this group (See Figure 13). The name for this group is derived from the word for ‘sun’, which in these languages is san, sal, or jan, sometimes preceded by the syllable for ‘sky’, which sets this group apart from other Tibeto-Burman languages (Burling 1983:11). The Kadu word for the ‘sun’ is zamïk [səmïk]. We may correlate the initial minor syllable as a reduced syllable of san or sal. Burling (1983) has provided a list of comparative vocabulary items which include languages such as Boro, Garo, Atong, and Wanang of the Bodo–Garo group, and Konyak, Nocte, and Tangsa of the Northern Naga group. By comparing these lexical items, it is evident that there are many lexical similarities that Kadu shares with other Sal languages. See Table 3 and also the lexical comparison of Kadu and Jingphaw in Table 1 and Table 2.
However, careful morphological analysis is needed in order to have a clearer understanding of the position of both Luish within Tibeto-Burman and the position of Kadu within Luish. It is imperative to complete an adequate grammatical description and to do a survey among this family to establish the effective criteria for sub-grouping while these languages are still spoken.

Figure 13: Bradley’s classification of Tibeto-Burman

Burling (2003) classified the Kadu as belonging to the Luish group of languages and assigned it under part of the Bodo-Konyak-Jingphaw super group of TB languages, as shown in Figure 14.
Some publications on the linguistic and socio-economic life of Sak/Thet of Rakhine State and Bangladesh have been done in different languages—Bernot (1967) in French, Thun Shwe Khain (1988) in Burmese, Huziwara (2008, 2009) in Japanese and English, and Maggard (2007) in English. The Luish wordlist Bernot compiled and presented at the end of the book was useful for comparative purposes. Thun Shwe Khain (1988), a native speaker of Burmese, provides some useful information about the socio-economic life of the Thet. He has also provided accounts of their migration and language and said that during the 9th century Kadu and Thet were once a single group and lived in Hukawng valley in the upper reaches of Uru river in Hukaung valley in Kachin State. He said, regarding the split and migration route of the Thet and Kadu:
Thun Shwe Khain also provided some wordlists in his book. However, his transcription lacks final consonants except the glottal stop. He noticed regular sound correspondences of the Burmese /t/ and /kh/ with Thet [sʰ] and [h], respectively. The same phenomenon is also attested in the Kadu of Katha District.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kadu</th>
<th>Sak, Thet or Chak</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ān</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>aň</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jāk</td>
<td>jak</td>
<td>yəʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kā</td>
<td>kədʒa</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kabeu</td>
<td>kəbik</td>
<td>kabi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaphū</td>
<td>kafu</td>
<td>kafi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kasā</td>
<td>kaʃa</td>
<td>kaθa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kweu</td>
<td>kəvũ</td>
<td>kũwu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papā</td>
<td>apaiŋ</td>
<td>apəŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phūn</td>
<td>phuŋphaŋ</td>
<td>phañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>satā</td>
<td>šada</td>
<td>ðada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāngną</td>
<td>taŋna</td>
<td>tana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wān</td>
<td>vaiŋ</td>
<td>veŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zamik</td>
<td>tʃômik</td>
<td>čami</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Comparison of Kadu and Sak nouns

Some verbs are also compared in Table 6. It must be noted that in Maggard (2007), most, if not all, the Chak verb forms are followed by the syllables, [he], [heka] or [ga]. These are probably verbal particles. In the comparison, I have omitted those verbal particles.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kadu</th>
<th>Sak, Thet or Chak</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maggard</td>
<td>Bernot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i/i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>íp</td>
<td>ik</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ká</td>
<td>ka</td>
<td>ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lā</td>
<td>la</td>
<td>naveň</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lí</td>
<td>vajŋ</td>
<td>veň</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mā</td>
<td>aʃi/aʃ'e</td>
<td>neň</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mí</td>
<td>mir</td>
<td>məri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāŋ</td>
<td>laŋ</td>
<td>laŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōm</td>
<td>toŋ</td>
<td>ċa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shí</td>
<td>akimanŋ</td>
<td>si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tǎk</td>
<td>taʔ</td>
<td>taʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thung</td>
<td>tuŋ</td>
<td>tuŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yōk</td>
<td>ŋa</td>
<td>ca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yū</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>yu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Comparison of Kadu and Sak verbs

I conducted the first socio-linguistic survey of the Kadu and Kanan people in 2003-2004. The purpose of that survey was to gain an overview of the sociolinguistic situation among these peoples. During the trip, I visited four Kadu villages in Banmauk Township and four Kanan villages. In each site, a 436-item wordlist was gathered and sociolinguistic questionnaires were administered to understand the language vitality, attitudes towards the mother tongue, and also other related varieties and languages. Lexical similarity among all these varieties was found to be very high (89-99%). (Dawkins 2006).
Follow-up sociolinguistic surveys were conducted in 2006 and 2008. During these trips, several Kadu leaders were interviewed. The main purpose of those surveys was to know more about the sociolinguistic situation among the Kadu and Kanan peoples and to identify people’s attitudes toward each other and attitudes toward their own speech varieties. I found that both Kadu and Kanan people felt their languages and culture were related to each other, however, they also indicated that they have identities as separate groups (Sangdong 2007). Among the Kadu there are some dialect differences. The Maukhwin Kadu dialect seems to be a little different from the Kwan or Kun and Mauteik Kadu. Further research among the Maukhwin Kadu is recommended.
CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY

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

2.1 Phonemic inventory

2.1.1 Consonants

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner</th>
<th>Place:</th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveo-palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td>p&lt;sup&gt;ʰ&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>t&lt;sup&gt;ʰ&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(k&lt;sup&gt;ʰ&lt;/sup&gt;)&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t&lt;sup&gt;Č&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t&lt;sup&gt;Č&lt;/sup&gt;&lt;sup&gt;ʰ&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>unaspirated</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aspirated</td>
<td>s&lt;sup&gt;ʰ&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>η</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approximant lateral</td>
<td>central</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2 Vowels

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monophthongs</th>
<th>Diphthong</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close mid</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-mid</td>
<td>ε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8: Kadu vowel phonemes

6 There is no unambiguous Kadu native word that begins with an aspirated velar stop [k<sup>ʰ</sup>]. I have included this consonant in the chart because it often appears in Burmese loanwords.
Seven vowel phonemes are monophthongs and one is a diphthong. All of the monophthongs can occur with the full set of final consonants. However, the diphthong is restricted to the final /k/ only. See the description of vowels in §2.3.

2.1.3 Tones

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

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

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

2.2.1 Single consonants

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

2.2.1.1 Stops

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

2.2.1.1.1 Voiceless unaspirated plosives

/p/ This phoneme is realised as a voiceless unaspirated bilabial plosive. When it occurs in syllable initial position with the low tone it may be realised as the allophone [b]. It is always realised as unreleased [p'] in syllable final position. It
can occur in word initial, medial, and final positions. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (8).

(8)  (a)  word initially

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pï} & \quad \text{‘smooth’} \\
\text{pït} & \quad \text{‘angle’} \\
\text{păng} & \quad \text{‘embark’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b)  word medially

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{apai} & \quad \text{‘tip top’} \\
\text{papă} & \quad \text{‘flower’} \\
\text{lapòk} & \quad \text{‘bamboo’}
\end{align*}
\]

(c)  word finally

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{püp} & \quad \text{‘suck (as candy)’} \\
\text{lăp} & \quad \text{‘catch’} \\
\text{kăp} & \quad \text{‘peel’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(/t/\)  This phoneme is realised as a voiceless unaspirated dental plosive. When it occurs in syllable initial position with the low tone it may be realised as the allophone \([d]\). It is always realised as unreleased \([t’]\) in syllable-final position. It occurs in word initial, medial, and final positions, as illustrated in (9).

(9)  (a)  word initially

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tí} & \quad \text{‘penis’} \\
\text{tăî} & \quad \text{‘morning’} \\
\text{taū} & \quad \text{‘wear’}
\end{align*}
\]
(b) word medially

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>satá</td>
<td>‘moon’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatí</td>
<td>‘egg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katù</td>
<td>‘forehand’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) word finally

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tät</td>
<td>‘release’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teút</td>
<td>‘listen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tút</td>
<td>‘cut’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(10) (a) word initially

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kā</td>
<td>‘soil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kū</td>
<td>‘steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kweú</td>
<td>‘monkey’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) word medially

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lakò</td>
<td>‘mirative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakaút</td>
<td>‘ladle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takà</td>
<td>‘rice seedling’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(c) word finally

\[ \text{caík} \] ‘cross’
\[ \text{hamúk} \] ‘under’
\[ \text{mōk} \] ‘cook’

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

(11) \[ \text{cinúq} \] ‘earthworm’
\[ \text{ikúq} \] ‘scarab beetle’s egg’
\[ \text{panáq} \] ‘nominaliser’

2.2.1.1.2 Voiceless aspirated plosives

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

(12) (a) word initially

\[ \text{phí} \] ‘sling’
\[ \text{phú} \] ‘silver/money’
\[ \text{phón} \] ‘wood’
\[ \text{phít} \] ‘sprinkle’
(b) word medially

kapheù ‘lizard
kaphú ‘snake’
taphā ‘foot’

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

(13) (a) word initially

theù ‘thick’
thí ‘scoop’
thām ‘near’
thōk ‘arrive’

(b) word medially

kathāng ‘fire fly’
katháp ‘stack’
tathú ‘knee’
yathú ‘axe’

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

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

(15) (a) word initially

ceú ‘buffalo’
ci ‘dog’
cak ‘mango’
céng ‘letter’

(b) word medially

aceú ‘vomit’
aci ‘elephant’
nacá ‘carefully’
saci ‘centipede’

/tɕʰ/ This phoneme, represented as <ch> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiceless aspirated alveo-palatal affricate. It does not show any allophonic variation and occurs word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (16).
variation and can occur word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (16).

(16)  (a)  word initially

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{chí} & \text{‘sour’} \\
\text{chî} & \text{‘excrement’} \\
\text{chô} & \text{‘bamboo inner layer’}
\end{array}
\]

(b)  word medially

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{achí} & \text{‘muntjac deer’} \\
\text{achi} & \text{‘chew’} \\
\text{achin} & \text{‘shake off’}
\end{array}
\]

2.2.1.3  Fricatives

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

(17)  (a)  word initially

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{sā} & \text{‘son’} \\
\text{saú} & \text{‘collect’} \\
\text{sín} & \text{‘spicy’} \\
\text{sún} & \text{‘sew’}
\end{array}
\]
(b) word medially

*kasà*  ‘tiger’
*kasù*  ‘gibbon’
*kasín*  ‘cold’
*pasát*  ‘carp (fish)’

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

(18) (a) word initially

*zà*  ‘build’
*zí*  ‘finish’
*zán*  ‘younger sister’
*zàp*  ‘stand’

(b) word medially

*mazí*  ‘gums’
*kazeú*  ‘wash’
*azàn*  ‘pity’
*pazàt*  ‘crumble’

/ʃ/ This phoneme, represented as <sh> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiceless alveo-palatal fricative and occurs word initially and medially. This tongue position is lower when occurring with low back vowels. This phoneme is illustrated in (19).
This phoneme is realised as a voiceless glottal fricative. It can occur word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (20).
This phoneme /h/, when preceded by stops /t/ or /k/, has the allophone [kʰ]. I will use the post-verbal modifier ṭhāṅg, glossed as ‘back’ or ‘again’, to illustrate this. The examples in (21a) illustrate this term following open syllables and nasal finals. The examples in (21b) illustrate it following stop finals.

(21) (a) combining ṭhāṅg with open and nasal finals

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{li} & + \text{ḥāṅg} > \text{liṭhāṅ} & \text{‘come back/again’} \\
\text{mī} & + \text{ḥāṅg} > \text{mīṭhāṅ} & \text{‘buy again’} \\
\text{ōm} & + \text{ḥāṅg} > \text{ōmṭhāṅ} & \text{‘do again’} \\
\text{kaūŋ} & + \text{ḥāṅg} > \text{kaūṅkḥāṅ} & \text{‘step on again’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) combining ṭhāṅg with /t/ and /k/ stop finals

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hīt} & + \text{ḥāṅg} > \text{hīṭkḥāṅ} & \text{‘hook again’} \\
\text{kāṭ} & + \text{ḥāṅg} > \text{kāṭkḥāṅ} & \text{‘run again’} \\
\text{yōk} & + \text{ḥāṅg} > \text{yōkkḥāṅ} & \text{‘eat again’} \\
\text{hāk} & + \text{ḥāṅg} > \text{hākkḥāṅ} & \text{‘shout again’}
\end{align*}
\]

2.2.1.4 Nasals

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

/m/ This phoneme is realised as a voiced bilabial nasal. It does not show any allophonic variation and can occur word initially, medially and finally. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (22).
This phoneme is realised as a voiced dental nasal. This does not show any allophonic variation and can occur word initially, medially and finally. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (23).

(23) (a) word initially

\begin{itemize}
\item[ná] ‘be able’
\item[nī] ‘lazy’
\item[nōm] ‘soft’
\item[nōp] ‘bury’
\end{itemize}
This phoneme, represented as <ny> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiced alveo-palatal nasal. It occurs in syllable initial position only. It frequently occurs in Burmese loanwords. The examples in (24a) illustrate /ny/ occurring in word initial position and the examples in (24b) illustrate some Burmese loanwords.

(24) (a) word initially

nyón \quad \text{‘to swallow’} \\
nyeût \quad \text{‘twist (rope)’} \\
nyînhân \quad \text{‘miss’}

(b) Burmese loanwords

nyân \quad \text{‘brain, wise’} \\
nyeüp \quad \text{‘clip’} \\
nyít \quad \text{‘squeeze’}
This phoneme, represented as <ng> in my Kadu orthography, is realised as a voiced velar nasal. This does not show any allophonic variation and can occur word initially, medially, and finally. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (25).

(25) (a) word initially

ngai ‘say’
ngóm ‘keep in mouth’
ngát ‘break’

(b) word medially

túngngú ‘bee’
tángngá ‘fish’
túngngák ‘to bow’

(c) word finally

míng ‘ripe’
tăng ‘knife’
sāng ‘enter’

2.2.1.5 Approximants

Kadu has one lateral approximant phoneme and two central approximant phonemes. The articulation of the lateral approximant is apical alveolar, but it will be treated phonologically as dental to accord with the phonemes of other series having a dental articulation. The two central approximants are the palatal /y/ and the labial-velar /w/.
The palatal /y/ involves an articulation similar to the high front vowel /i/, with the front of the tongue close to the palate; the labial-velar /w/ is similar to /u/, with rounded lips and the back of the tongue raised toward the velum.

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

(26) (a) word initially

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lā} & \quad \text{‘take’} \\
\text{li} & \quad \text{‘come’} \\
\text{lōn} & \quad \text{‘mud’} \\
\text{lúng} & \quad \text{‘white’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) word medially

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{halá} & \quad \text{‘husband’} \\
\text{kālun} & \quad \text{‘tree’ or ‘plant’} \\
\text{palán} & \quad \text{‘middle’} \\
\text{sālōng} & \quad \text{‘mat’}
\end{align*}
\]

/y/ This phoneme is realised as a voiced alveo-palatal approximant [j]. It can occur word initially and medially. It also occurs as the second member of an initial consonant cluster (§2.2.2). See the illustrations of this phoneme in (27).
This phoneme is realised as a voiced labio-velar approximant. It does not show any allophonic variation and can occur word initially and medially. See the illustrations of this phoneme in (28). It also occurs as the second member of an initial consonant cluster (§2.2.2).

(28) (a) word initially

\[\begin{align*}
  \text{wá} & \quad \text{‘jump down’} \\
  \text{weú} & \quad \text{‘water’} \\
  \text{wān} & \quad \text{‘fire’} \\
  \text{wāngshi} & \quad \text{‘uncle’}
\end{align*}\]

(b) word medially

\[\begin{align*}
  \text{awā} & \quad \text{‘father’} \\
  \text{kawān} & \quad \text{‘immediate future marker’} \\
  \text{nawāng} & \quad \text{‘sister-in-law’}
\end{align*}\]
2.2.2 Consonant clusters

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

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

- aswē  အေးလှိုင်း  <ahswei>  ‘friend’
- atwāk  အေးလှိုင်း  <atwak>  ‘for’
- kókweū  ကျွန်း  <kou:kwe>  ‘worship’
- sweū  စောခေါက်  <swe:>  ‘obsess’
- thwáng  သွေး  <htwang:>  ‘carve’ or ‘clear’

(b) consonant clusters with /y/

- myān  မားနီစာစေ့  <mran>  ‘fast’
- nyān  နားနီစာစေ့  <njan>  ‘brain’
- nyī  နားနီစာစေ့  <nji>  ‘younger brother’
- pyān  ပေါ်နီစာစေ့  <pran>  ‘happy’
2.2.3 Illustration of consonant contrasts

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

| /p/ vs. /ph/ | pí  | ‘year’ | phí  | ‘sling’ |
|             | paú | ‘dye’  | phau | ‘wash’  |

| /t/ vs. /th/ | teú | ‘wait’ | theú | ‘thick’ |
|             | tóng | ‘big’  | thóng | ‘sit’   |

| /k/ vs. /kh/ | kán | ‘bad’  | khán | ‘room’  |
|             | kõ  | ‘body’ | khõ  | ‘pigeon’ |

The following minimal pairs demonstrate contrasts between voiceless unaspirated stops.

| /p/ vs. /t/ | paú | ‘collapse’ | taú | ‘wear’ |
|            | káp | ‘shoot’    | kât | ‘run’  |

| /p/ vs. /k/ | põ  | ‘emerge’  | kõ  | ‘steal’ |
|             | páp | ‘been’    | pák | ‘vagina’ |

| /p/ vs. /q/ | náp | ‘strips’   | náq | ‘this’  |
|             | kúp | ‘gulp down’ | íkuq | ‘beetle’s egg’ |

| /t/ vs. /k/ | tã  | ‘leg’     | kã  | ‘earth’ or ‘soil’ |
|             | tút | ‘cut’     | kút | ‘play’ |

| /t/ vs. /q/ | kút | ‘play’    | ikúq | ‘beetle’s egg’ |
|             | leütsíng | ‘seabean’ | aleúq | ‘portion’ |

| /k/ vs. /q/ | sh’ék | ‘CFP’ | išh’éq | ‘girl’ |
|            | kék | ‘smear’ | ikúq | ‘beetle’s egg’ |
The following minimal pairs demonstrate contrasts between voiceless aspirated stops.

As I have already mentioned, there are no native Kadu words that begin with /kh/.

However, with Burmese loanwords it appears frequently. I have included several here for comparison.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{/ph/ vs. /th/} & \text{pheú} & \text{‘carry’} & \text{theú} & \text{‘widen’} \\
& \text{kaphú} & \text{‘snake’} & \text{tathú} & \text{‘knee’} \\
\text{/ph/ vs. /kh/} & \text{phaú} & \text{‘wash’} & \text{khaú} & \text{‘call’} \\
& \text{phát} & \text{‘wither’} & \text{khát} & \text{‘add’} \\
\text{/th/ vs. /kh/} & \text{thó} & \text{‘push’} & \text{khó} & \text{‘pigeon’} \\
& \text{thún} & \text{‘harrow’} & \text{khún} & \text{‘CLF.word’} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{/c/ vs. /ch/} & \text{cí} & \text{‘dog’} & \text{chí} & \text{‘excrement’} \\
& \text{cit} & \text{‘pluck’} & \text{chít} & \text{‘hardly’} \\
\text{/ch/ vs. /ph/} & \text{chí} & \text{‘sour’} & \text{phí} & \text{‘sling’} \\
& \text{técháng} & \text{‘song’} & \text{sínhang} & \text{‘grubbing hoe’} \\
\end{array}
\]

The following minimal pairs demonstrate contrasts between fricatives.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{/s/ vs. /z/} & \text{sā} & \text{‘son’} & \text{zā} & \text{‘be far’} \\
& \text{sák} & \text{‘rest’} & \text{zák} & \text{‘be caught’} \\
\text{/s/ vs. /sh/} & \text{sā} & \text{‘son’} & \text{shā} & \text{‘small’} \\
& \text{sím} & \text{‘mess’} & \text{shím} & \text{‘cold’} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasal Pairs</th>
<th>Sample Words</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/s/ vs. /h/</td>
<td>sā ‘son’</td>
<td>hā ‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sīn ‘iron’</td>
<td>hīn ‘tease’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/ vs. /sh/</td>
<td>zí ‘finish’</td>
<td>shí ‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zīng ‘ask’</td>
<td>shīng ‘tie’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/ vs. /h/</td>
<td>zā ‘be far’</td>
<td>hā ‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zāng ‘put in’</td>
<td>hāng ‘sharp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sh/ vs. /h/</td>
<td>shā ‘small’</td>
<td>hā ‘walk’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shīng ‘tie’</td>
<td>hīng ‘2sg’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasal Pairs</th>
<th>Sample Words</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/m/ vs. /n/</td>
<td>mí ‘buy’</td>
<td>ní ‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nám ‘smelly’</td>
<td>nán ‘daughter-in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/ vs. /ng/</td>
<td>mā ‘sell’</td>
<td>ngā ‘1sg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>máng ‘date’</td>
<td>ngáng ‘look up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/ vs. /ng/</td>
<td>ná ‘able to’</td>
<td>ngá ‘steam’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zán ‘sister’</td>
<td>zāng ‘put in’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/ vs. /ny/</td>
<td>nón ‘mix’</td>
<td>nyón ‘swallow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nik ‘leech’</td>
<td>nyīt ‘quarrel’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following minimal pairs demonstrate phonemic contrasts between lateral and central approximants occurring word initially.

/w/ vs. /l/

weú ‘water’ leú ‘ox cart’
wā ‘plait’ lā ‘take’

/w/ vs. /y/

weú ‘water’ yeú ‘get up’
wāk ‘pig’ yāk ‘now’

/l/ vs. /y/

lá ‘take’ yá ‘bring’
lēk ‘askew’ yēk ‘hill field’

2.3 Vowels

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

2.3.1 Front vowels

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

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

(30). (a) with open syllables

\[ \text{i} \quad \text{‘give’} \\
\text{mí} \quad \text{‘buy’} \\
\text{tí} \quad \text{‘sweet’} \]

(b) with closed syllables

\[ \text{cit} \quad \text{‘come close’} \\
\text{mít} \quad \text{‘love’} \\
\text{típ} \quad \text{‘pack’} \]

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

\[ \text{atè} \quad \text{`sister'} \]
\[ \text{salè} \quad \text{`animal skin'} \]
\[ \text{tè} \quad \text{`plural marker'} \]

(b) with closed syllables

\[ \text{èk} \quad \text{`wife'} \]
\[ \text{nèk} \quad \text{`heavy'} \]
\[ \text{tèng} \quad \text{`transplant'} \]
\[ \text{satèng} \quad \text{`thatch'} \]
\[ \text{phèng} \quad \text{`full'} \]

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

(32) (a) with open syllables

\[ \text{ceû} \quad \text{`buffalo'} \]
\[ \text{heû} \quad \text{`resin'} \]
\[ \text{meû} \quad \text{`good'} \]

(b) with closed syllables

\[ \text{heûn} \quad \text{`reluctant'} \]
\[ \text{pèût} \quad \text{`lie'} \]
\[ \text{teûp} \quad \text{`throw'} \]
2.3.2 Low central vowels

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

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

(33) (a) with open syllables
   
   ahā  ‘crab’
   kā   ‘soil’
   mā   ‘sell’

   (b) with closed syllables
   
   hān  ‘flow down’
   kām  ‘lay’
   sāk  ‘itch’

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

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

(35) (a) with open syllables

\(\ddot{u}\) ‘drink’ or ‘fowl’
\(h\ddot{u}\) ‘burn’
\(kas\dot{u}\) ‘gibbon’

(b) with closed syllables

\(h\acute{u}p\) ‘peel’
\(kat\grave{u}ng\) ‘see’
\(t\ddot{u}m\) ‘clench’
/o/  This phoneme is realised as a back mid close rounded vowel. It doesn’t show any allophonic variation and may occur in both open and closed syllables. This vowel appears the least of the seven vowels. See the illustrations of this vowel in (36).

(36)  (a)  with open syllables

\[ \text{chō} \quad \text{‘outer layer of bamboo’} \]
\[ \text{pō} \quad \text{‘exist’} \]
\[ \text{thō} \quad \text{‘push’} \]

(b)  with closed syllables

\[ \text{halóng} \quad \text{‘small mat’} \]
\[ \text{hōk} \quad \text{‘pull off’ or ‘six’} \]
\[ \text{zón} \quad \text{‘leak’} \]

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

(37)  (a)  with open syllables

\[ \text{haū} \quad \text{‘strike’} \]
\[ \text{maū} \quad \text{‘plump’} \]
\[ \text{taū} \quad \text{‘perforate’} \]
(b) with closed syllables

\[ haút \quad \text{‘dig (by animals)’} \]
\[ maún \quad \text{‘pillow’} \]
\[ paúngká \quad \text{‘basket’} \]

2.3.4 Illustration of vowel contrasts

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
/i/ \text{ vs. } /e/ & tí \quad \text{‘penis’} \quad até \quad \text{‘sister’} \\
& thīng \quad \text{‘village’} \quad thèng \quad \text{‘deep’} \\
/i/ \text{ vs. } /eu/ & mí \quad \text{‘buy’} \quad meú \quad \text{‘good’} \\
& hín \quad \text{‘tease’} \quad heún \quad \text{‘reluctant’} \\
/i/ \text{ vs. } /a/ & tî \quad \text{‘sweet’} \quad tā \quad \text{‘leg’} \\
& ním \quad \text{‘stay’} \quad nám \quad \text{‘smelly’} \\
/i/ \text{ vs. } /u/ & ī \quad \text{‘give’} \quad ū \quad \text{‘drink’} \\
& míng \quad \text{‘ripe’} \quad múng \quad \text{‘hornet’} \\
/i/ \text{ vs. } /o/ & chī \quad \text{‘true’} \quad chō \quad \text{‘bamboo skin’} \\
& halīng \quad \text{‘behind’} \quad halóng \quad \text{‘small mat’} \\
/e/ \text{ vs. } /eu/ & até \quad \text{‘sister’} \quad teú \quad \text{‘wait’} \\
& sēt \quad \text{‘sleeping area’} \quad seūt \quad \text{‘scatter seed’} \\
/e/ \text{ vs. } /u/ & até \quad \text{‘sister’} \quad tú \quad \text{‘language’} \\
& sēk \quad \text{‘person’} \quad sük \quad \text{‘bark’}
\end{array}
\]
In summary, Kadu vowel phonemes are simple and this study proposes eight vowel phonemes. The only diphthong is /ai/; the rest are monophthongs. There are no vowel sequences in Kadu, therefore choosing <au> and <eu> to represent /ɔ/ and /e/ does not cause any ambiguity. It is rare to find a vowel appearing alone as a stem, except for a few occurrences of /i/ and /u/, in this language. The vowel /i/ as a stem, as in ḱ ‘give’,
appeared only one time in my corpus. The vowel \( \ddot{u} \) appeared three times, two sharing the same tone as in \( \ddot{u} \) ‘chicken’ and ‘drink’, and the other with high tone \( \dot{u} \) ‘deep’. The vowel /a/ is the most common vowel of all.

### 2.4 Distribution of consonant and vowel phonemes

Table 9 presents the distribution of initial consonants and vowels. The symbol ‘+’ indicates occurrences, whereas, the highlighted blank indicates no occurrences. The symbol ‘+’ in ( ) brackets indicates occurrences found only with loanwords.

According to Table 9, we can conclude that /p, ph, t, m, n, h/, and /l/ can occur with all the vowels while /th, z, s, c/, and /y/ occur with all the monothongs. The consonants /kh/ and /ny/ occur mainly in Burmese loanwords except in \( ny\ddot{o}n \) ‘swallow’, which does not resemble Burmese or Tai. The consonants /k/ and /ng/ do not occur with front vowels. The glide /w/ is not attested occurring with back vowels and /sh/ is not attested occurring with /eu, u/, or /ai/. 
Table 9: Distribution of initial consonants and vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>eu</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>au</th>
<th>ai</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<td>kh</td>
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<tr>
<td>p</td>
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<td>m</td>
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<td>ny</td>
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<td>ng</td>
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<td>s</td>
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<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final consonants, as mentioned above, are restricted to the unaspirated stops /p, t, and k/, and the nasals /m, n/, and /ng/ serial. Table 10 presents the distribution of final consonants and vowels in Kadu.
Referring to Table 10, it can be summarised that the vowel /e/ never occurs with /m/ or /n/, the vowel /eu/ never occurs with /k/ or /ng/, the vowel /u/ never occurs preceding /ng/, and the diphthong /ai/ occurs only with consonant final /k/ and /ng/.

As mentioned above, the two approximants /y/ and /w/ can occur as the second member of initial consonant clusters (§2.2.1.5). The distribution of these two consonants is given in Table 11.
Table 11 shows that /y/ is restricted to occurring with the labials /ph/, /p/, and /m/ and /w/ can occur with almost all the consonants except /ch/, /ny/, and /h/. It must be noted that most of the consonant clusters occur in Burmese loanwords.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>eu</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>u</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>au</th>
<th>ai</th>
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<td>phy</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Distribution of initial consonant clusters and vowels

Table 12 shows that the cluster /py/ occurs only with the back vowels but /phy/ occurs only with the front vowels and /a/. The cluster /my/ occurs with all the vowels except
/u/. All other clusters tend to occur only with front vowels. The central low vowel is the most common vowel to occur with initial consonant clusters.

2.5 Tones

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

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

The acute tone symbol, represented here with the low central vowel /ā/, represents the high tone, as in atá [ ata⁵⁵] ‘cooked rice’. The high-toned vowels are articulated with greater force of breath and are heard as tense and short (creaky phonation).

Phonetically, the high tone in monosyllabic (whether closed or open) words and the final syllable of multisyllabic words starts at [⁵⁵] and slightly falls down to [⁴⁴] at its end point (see Figure 15) or may start at [⁴⁴] and go slightly higher to [⁵⁵] and fall slightly to [⁴⁴] as with an open syllable word há ‘red’ in Figure 16.

![Figure 15: A pitch pattern of a closed syllable word with a high tone: sín ‘spicy’](image)

Figure 15: A pitch pattern of a closed syllable word with a high tone: sín ‘spicy’
Figure 16: A pitch pattern of an open syllable word with a high tone: há ‘red’

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

(38)  (a) high tone with open syllables

ní    ‘laugh’
heú   ‘tell’
áté   ‘sister’
amú   ‘older brother’

(b) high tone with closed syllables

míng  ‘ripe’
káp    ‘shoot’
halíng ‘behind’
samón ‘monk’
2.5.2 Mid tone

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

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

Figure 18: A pitch pattern of an open syllable word with a mid tone: *hā* ‘bitter’
This tone can occur in both open and closed syllables. Some examples of the mid tone with open and closed syllables are given in (39).

(39) (a) mid tone with open syllables

\[ \text{ā} \] ‘chicken’
\[ \text{heā} \] ‘climb’
\[ \text{ahā} \] ‘crab’
\[ \text{halū} \] ‘round (object)’

(b) mid tone with closed syllables

\[ \text{ān} \] ‘paddy rice’
\[ \text{hin} \] ‘tease’
\[ \text{tāng} \] ‘knife’
\[ \text{tōp} \] ‘stab’

2.5.3 Low tone

The grave tone symbol, /à/, represents the low tone as in achi [əcʰi²] ‘chew’.

Phonetically, the low tone starts at a low position of the voice range [²] and may fall slightly to extra low, [¹], at the end point.
This tone can occur in both open and closed syllables. Some examples of the low tone in open and closed syllables are given as (40).
(40) (a) low tone with open syllables

neù ‘taro’
tài ‘morning’
ahà ‘chin’
takà ‘rice seedling’

(b) low tone with closed syllables

cin ‘cucumber’
hàt ‘bed bug’
hamòk ‘sky’
kalàng ‘approximate’

2.5.4 Illustration of tonal contrasts

Three tonal contrast distinctions are found in Kadu. Although the three tonal distinctions are much more common in open syllables, they are also found with closed syllables.
Table 13 illustrates a set of minimal triplets with open syllables that demonstrate all three tone contrasts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>High</th>
<th>Mid</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shí ‘die’</td>
<td>shī ‘medicine’</td>
<td>shì ‘four’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>há ‘red’</td>
<td>hā ‘bitter’</td>
<td>hà ‘know how’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meú ‘good’</td>
<td>meū ‘CLF.female’</td>
<td>meû ‘choose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taú ‘carry’</td>
<td>taū ‘wear’</td>
<td>taù ‘perforate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tú ‘language’</td>
<td>tū ‘CLF.round’</td>
<td>tù ‘grow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Kadu three-fold tonal contrasts with open syllables
The Table 14 illustrates a set of minimal triplets with nasal finals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Mid</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cěng</td>
<td>‘letter’</td>
<td>cěng</td>
<td>‘rattan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mǎng</td>
<td>‘daytime’</td>
<td>mǎng</td>
<td>‘pride’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nǎng</td>
<td>‘compress’</td>
<td>nǎng</td>
<td>‘go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pǒn</td>
<td>‘muddy’</td>
<td>pǒn</td>
<td>‘teem’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sǐn</td>
<td>‘spicy’</td>
<td>sǐn</td>
<td>‘iron’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zǎn</td>
<td>‘sister’</td>
<td>zǎn</td>
<td>‘levitate’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High</th>
<th>Mid</th>
<th>Low</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāk</td>
<td>‘want’</td>
<td>kāk</td>
<td>‘taut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pǒk</td>
<td>‘help’</td>
<td>pǒk</td>
<td>‘hatch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kǎp</td>
<td>‘shoot’</td>
<td>kǎp</td>
<td>‘beat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zǔp</td>
<td>‘suck’</td>
<td>zǔp</td>
<td>‘test’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peút</td>
<td>‘eight’</td>
<td>peút</td>
<td>‘overflow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2.6 Practical orthography

The Kadu have never had a writing system of their own. There are, however, a few self-appointed individuals who are making some attempts to develop a writing system. One individual based in Indau Township created a script largely based on phonetic symbols with a mixture of Roman letters (Figure 23). He probably used the Mauteik Kadu variety as the base for his orthography, as he belongs to that group. He has produced a
few reading materials based on this script, most of which are mere translations of Burmese phrases or comparisons of these two languages. It must be noted that there are a lot of controversies regarding this script in other Kadu communities.

Another person, who is a monk from Khonan village in Banmauk Township, has attempted to use Burmese script to write the Kadu language and published a vocabulary of Kadu. However, not long after that he created a unique script. This script, however, still has one symbol corresponding to each consonant in the Burmese orthography and he tried to impose it on Kadu. This script is simply a modification of the Burmese script. This script, as in Burmese, employs the Indic writing style. It contains graphs for initial consonants and superscripts and subscripts represent vowels and tones (Figure 23).

**Figure 23: The script developed by HTMKY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonants</th>
<th>Vowels</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. ( k = \circ )</td>
<td>1. ( a = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ( c = \circ )</td>
<td>2. ( i = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ( g = \circ )</td>
<td>3. ( y = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. ( \eta = \circ )</td>
<td>4. ( e = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ( s = \circ )</td>
<td>5. ( \delta = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. ( e = \circ )</td>
<td>6. ( \xi = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. ( \gamma = \circ )</td>
<td>7. ( \nu = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. ( \kappa = \circ )</td>
<td>8. ( \theta = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. ( \lambda = \circ )</td>
<td>9. ( \rho = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. ( \tau = \circ )</td>
<td>10. ( \mu = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. ( \phi = \circ )</td>
<td>11. ( \pi = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. ( \chi = \circ )</td>
<td>12. ( \sigma = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. ( \psi = \circ )</td>
<td>13. ( \tau = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. ( \phi = \circ )</td>
<td>14. ( \lambda = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. ( \eta = \circ )</td>
<td>15. ( \pi = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. ( \chi = \circ )</td>
<td>16. ( \sigma = \circ )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. ( \psi = \circ )</td>
<td>17. ( \tau = \circ )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The upper chart in the figure shows the 33 Burmese consonants. The lower chart shows the corresponding 33 consonants proposed for Kadu.

Figure 24: A script developed by NTL

For the purposes of simplicity, readability, and practical writing system development, I have constructed a Romanised orthography that I will use throughout the rest of this thesis. There are several factors involved when choosing these symbols. As I mentioned earlier, Kadu never has had a writing system of their own (many people still can’t believe that their language can be written as others) and their literacy rate in the national language is considerably low. In addition, many Kadu have a very strong identity as Kadu and do not show a positive attitude toward the Burmese language. Therefore, choosing a Burmese based alphabet would not bring any motivation for the
Kadu people to learn to read and write. In addition, the literary style of Burmese does not accurately reflect colloquial style. The phonological difference between literary and colloquial Burmese is very large. Therefore, selecting Burmese script to represent Kadu will simply add much confusion. Some of the community leaders, seeing some other Romanised orthographies like Jingphaw and Rawang, requested their orthography be similar to those. They consider that Romanised alphabets have many advantages over other alphabets. Some of the reasons they mentioned were that they are easy to learn and they will have better access to computers, the internet, and type-writers, etc...

Young educated people are more interested in learning English than Burmese. They said that they want their children to learn to read and write Kadu and also added that using a Romanised alphabet will allow them to bridge toward learning English, to some extent. All these factors led to selecting a Romanised alphabet to represent Kadu.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>ph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰ</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕ</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɕʰ</td>
<td>ch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηη</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ηη</td>
<td>ny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sʰ</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>sh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɛ</td>
<td>eu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>au</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>ai</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17: Orthographic representation of Kadu vowels

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

The Kadu tone phonemes and their orthographic representations are as shown in Table 18.
Table 18: Orthographic representation of Kadu tones

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Orthography</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>ˊ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>ˉ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>ˋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2.7 Syllables

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

The syllable structure of Kadu can be represented as follows:

\[(C_1) (C_2) V (C_3)T\]

Figure 25: Kadu syllable structure
Table 19 presents the six possible major syllable types in Kadu.

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>VT</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>VC₃T</td>
<td>iṗ</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>CᵥVT</td>
<td>lī</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>CᵥCᵥVT</td>
<td>swá</td>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>CᵥVC₃T</td>
<td>lōn</td>
<td>‘mud’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>CᵥCᵥCᵥVT</td>
<td>swǎng</td>
<td>‘master’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19: Kadu major syllable structures

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

![Figure 26: Metrical structure of the Kadu syllable](image)

2.7.1 Major syllables

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

#v#  \( i \)  ‘give’  
\( u \)  ‘chicken’ or ‘drink’

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

CV#  \( i \)  ‘come’  
\( h \)  ‘walk’

CCV#  \( kwe \)  ‘monkey’  
\( sw \)  ‘tooth’

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

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

\( kwe \)  ‘monkey’  
\( pw \)  ‘multiply’  
\( pwe \)  ‘celebration’  
\( kw \)  ‘hoof’  
\( mw \)  ‘stir’
(b) consonant cluster with /w/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ywā</td>
<td>‘village’</td>
<td>ṣk &lt;rwa&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyaū</td>
<td>‘happy’</td>
<td>ɕm &lt;pjo&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyāŋ</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
<td>ɕ &lt;prang&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myān</td>
<td>‘quick’</td>
<td>ɕ &lt;mran&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myō</td>
<td>‘kind’</td>
<td>ɕ &lt;mro.&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nweū</td>
<td>‘lineage’</td>
<td>ɕm &lt;mwe&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(42)  lūkkhwé ‘son-in-law’
      zweū    ‘scale’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VC#</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>īp</td>
<td>‘narrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ȷk</td>
<td>‘grandfather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ān</td>
<td>‘paddy rice’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CVC#</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yim</td>
<td>‘catch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mān</td>
<td>‘face’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phātik</td>
<td>‘jump’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.7.2 Minor syllables

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

In minor syllables, the initials are generally restricted to /p, t, k, m, n, c, s, z, l, w/, and /y/. The aspirated consonants /ph, th, ch, kh/, and /sh/ are not attested in minor syllables in native Kadu words. However, there are two occurrences with the initial /ph/ as in phayá ‘god’ and phanaük ‘heel’. These are loanwords from Burmese ꦲꭧ: <hpara> and ꦲꭧ <hponong>, respectively. The nominalised -al- infix also creates many minor syllables. For example, terms such as maleú ‘good(ness)’ and phaleú ‘carrier’
are derived by -al- infixation from the verbs meú ‘be good’ and pheú ‘to carry’, respectively. See §3.1.1.2.10 for a more detailed discussion of -al- infixation. The following section illustrates minor syllables attested in Kadu.

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

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{ahà} ‘chin’
\item \textit{asin} ‘liver’
\item \textit{awà} ‘father’
\item \textit{achì} ‘chew’
\item \textit{aci} ‘elephant’
\item \textit{azàk} ‘Kadu’
\end{enumerate}

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

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{kasà} ‘tiger’
\item \textit{kaling} ‘two’
\item \textit{kaná} ‘ear’
\item \textit{kamà} ‘wound’
\end{enumerate}

\textit{ta-} This is the third most common minor syllable. It is difficult to suggest a common meaning for this syllable, however, occurrences of this syllable with
nouns are much more common than with verbs. The *ta-* minor syllable is illustrated in (45).

(45)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
  tací & \text{‘thigh’} \\
  taháù & \text{‘ladle’} \\
  taká & \text{‘bridge’} \\
  talêt & \text{‘bow (object)’} \\
  tamì & \text{‘other people’} \\
  tapauk & \text{‘speak’ or ‘calf of leg’}
\end{array}
\]

*sa-*

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

(46)  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
  sací & \text{‘centipede’} \\
  salâ & \text{‘banana’} \\
  salî & \text{‘tongue’} \\
  sanâ & \text{‘nose’} \\
  sanân & \text{‘snatch’} \\
  satá & \text{‘moon’} \\
  satún & \text{‘mouth’}
\end{array}
\]

*pa-*

This is probably the fifth most common syllable. It appears mostly with nouns. With this syllable, it is also difficult to suggest a common meaning, however, in some cases it appears before the names of fish. For example, *pacisá* ‘loach fish’, *pazingzú* ‘dwarf fish’, and *pasát* ‘carp fish’. The Kadu native word for fish is *tángngá*, within which the second syllable is clearly cognate with PTB *ŋa* or *ŋya* as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:162). However, unlike in many
other TB languages, neither the term *ngā* or *tángngā* is used as a generic name for fish in taxonomic compounds. It may be simply due to the fact the word for fish is a two syllable word in Kadu. I suspect *pa-* occurring before the names of some fish may have derived from the Tai or Shan *plaa ~ paa*. The *pa-* minor syllable is illustrated in (47).

(47)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>panaù</td>
<td>‘mix’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pazèk</td>
<td>‘fly (insect)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patùn</td>
<td>‘eel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patóng</td>
<td>‘boa snake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papá</td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pasát</td>
<td>‘carp (fish)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*na-*  

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

(48)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nacá</td>
<td>‘carefully’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nahū</td>
<td>‘mid day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayá</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nayóng</td>
<td>‘great grandchild’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nashī</td>
<td>‘younger sibling’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*ma-*  

This is the seventh most common syllable. It occurs mostly with nouns. The *ma-* minor syllable is illustrated in (49).
(49)  maeú  ‘long ago’
macháng  ‘unless’
malá  ‘flesh’
mamá  ‘maternal aunt’
mazí  ‘mushroom’

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

(50)  halí  ‘boat’
haláng  ‘sky’
alóng  ‘small mat’
hamán  ‘spirit’
hamök  ‘sky’
haníng  ‘2PL’
hayák  ‘so as to’

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

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

wa-  This syllable occurs five times in my corpus, always with nouns. The wa- minor syllable is illustrated in (52).
This syllable occurs mostly with nouns; only one occurrence with a verb, *yalán* ‘be long’, has been attested. Semantically, it seems to be appearing before lengthy objects. Words with *ya*- initial minor syllable are illustrated in (53).

(53)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>yahùng</em></td>
<td>‘water well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yalû</em></td>
<td>‘vine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yamâ</em></td>
<td>‘crocodile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>yapà</em></td>
<td>‘shoulder’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(54)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>zalâ</em></td>
<td>‘be healthy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zalaît</em></td>
<td>‘drift’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zalîn</em></td>
<td>‘frisky’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zamîk</em></td>
<td>‘sun’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zanà</em></td>
<td>‘light’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(55)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>caeú</em></td>
<td>‘yellow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>capû</em></td>
<td>‘a type of tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>cahaûng</em></td>
<td>‘coriander’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are also synchronically analysable minor syllables. These syllables are a result of an initial syllable weakening process in polysyllabic words. These may be considered compounding reduction.\(^7\) In this process, the first major syllable of a polysyllabic word, (either analysable or unanalysable) is reduced to a minor syllable. For example, the minor syllable \(ta\) in \(taphā\) ‘sole’ comes from the synchronically retrievable word \(tā\) ‘leg’. The initial syllable of other unanalysable polysyllabic words may also weaken, for example \(mīshi \sim mashi\), ‘sugarcane’, \(hūhū \sim hahū\) ‘snail’, and \(yīthū \sim yathū\) ‘axe’

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

(56)  
\begin{align*}
\text{takalāṭ} & \quad \text{‘root’} \\
\text{tapatīn} & \quad \text{‘vibrate’} \\
\text{tatawā} & \quad \text{‘animal’} & < \text{Pali. dhadawa} \\
\text{sakalā} & \quad \text{‘sound’ or ‘voice’} \\
\text{pathawī} & \quad \text{‘universal’} & < \text{Pali. pahtawi}
\end{align*}

2.8 Other phonological processes

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

---

\(^7\) This term was adapted from Antony Dubach Green (2005).
2.8.1 Fusion

I will use the symbol (S) to refer to a syllable here. Vowel fusion occurs when the syllable (S₂), beginning with a vowel is attached to an open syllable which has an identical vowel phoneme. The rule is $v_1 + v_2 = v$. For example, when phà, a numeral classifier for ‘bunch’, is followed by the numeral one, â, the vowel of S₂ is absorbed into the vowel of S₁. Look at the example in (57).

(57) (a) salàshi phà-naik luìnglá (08:107)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>salà-shi</th>
<th>phà-à</th>
<th>= naïk</th>
<th>lù-ing</th>
<th>= lá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>banana-CLF.fruit</td>
<td>CLF.bunch-one</td>
<td>= only</td>
<td>get-DIR₂</td>
<td>= NOM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I only got a bunch of bananas (nothing else).’

(b) cìm-hà

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cìm-hà-à</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house-CLF.building-one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘One house’

In the examples in (57), in the gloss line, I have separated the fused forms to present the underlying morphemes. However, in actual speech they are heard as a single mora. There is no lengthening of the vowels. The negative clitic = â, following a word with an identical vowel, also follows the same rule. Compare the two examples in (58).
(58)  (a)  sāngpaláng saēktē alākākā (25:169)

sāngpaláng  saēk  = të  a-lā-kák  = ā
king  daughter  = A. AG  NEG-take-want  = NEG
'I don’t want to take (marry) the king's daughter.'

(b)  aheūhā (25:52)

a-heū-hā  = ā
NEG-tell-know/how  = NEG
'I can’t tell or (I) don’t know (what) to tell.'

The tone for the negative clitic is high, however, in fused form it doesn’t retain its tone.

Similarly, the vowels of the two verbal directionals àng and ing, when preceded by a word with an identical vowel, are absorbed into the preceding vowel and the tone. Thus, hā ‘go’ + àng ‘DIR₁’ becomes hāng and mí ‘buy’ + ing ‘DIR₂’ becomes míng.

However, in cases where S₁ ends with a high front vowel /i/ and S₂ begins with a central low vowel /a/, in the fused form the vowel of S₂ is retained. Thus, cī ‘plural’ + àng ‘DIR₁’ becomes cāng, and zī ‘finish’ + àng ‘DIR₁’ becomes zāng. The examples in (59) illustrate this type of fusion.

(59)  weükú pūcāngthāmā (13:3)

weükú  pū-cī-àng  = thāmā
bathe  emerge-PL-DIR₁  = HORT
'Let’s go out for a bathe.'
What we have discussed so far is fusion of vowels when they occur next to each other. Fusion of $S_1$, an open syllable, with an $S_2$ which has an initial consonant has also been attested in Kadu. In this process, the resulting fused form is somewhat different in phonological shape. The rule is $S_1 + S_2 = S_3$. Consider the examples in (60).

(60)  (a)   $ngä'tè atánshíshók$ (15:61)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
ngā & =tè & a-tán-shí = sà = yók \\
1SG & = A.AG & NEG\text{-beat-die} = \text{NEG.IMP} = \text{INTRUSIVE} \\
\end{array}
\]

'\text{Don’t kill (beat to death) me yet.}'

(b)   $azaúnzónshík$ (18:105)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
a-zaún-zón & = sà & = zík \\
NEG\text{-follow.after-CONTINUE} & = \text{NEG.IMP} & = \text{FINALLY} \\
\end{array}
\]

'\text{Do not follow (it) anymore.}'

In the examples above, the negative imperative clitic $sà$ is followed by CFPs $yók$ ‘\text{INTRUSIVE}’ and $zík$ ‘\text{FINALLY}’. Here the vowel and coda of $S_2$ are retained and the initial of the combined form is /sh/.

2.8.2   Linking

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

nim-āng = mā
stay-DIR₁ = RLS
‘(He) stays/lives (there).’

(b) *nimingmā* [nīm̩m̩iŋm̩ā]

nim-ing = mā
stay-DIR₂ = RLS
‘(He) stays/lives (here).’

(c) *nāŋgāngmā* [nāngng̪āŋm̩ā]

nāŋg-āng = mā
go-DIR₁ = RLS
‘(He) went (there).’

If *S₁* ends with /p/ or /t/ and *S₂* starts with a vowel, the two syllables are linked by inserting the homorganic nasals /m/ and /n/, respectively. The two examples in (62) illustrate this.

(62) (a) *maeutōŋ laükleyaũk ūхаũ kāpmångmā* (19:1)

maeutōŋ lauklé = yaũk ūхаũ kāp-āŋg̪ = mā
long.ago sling.shot = COM owl *shoot-DIR₁* = RLS
‘Long ago, (someone) shot the owl with a sling.’

(b) *cūntōŋpě thōkkόn kān̪àn̪g peũpàn hīngkā* (12:57)

cūntōŋ = pě thōk = kōn kāt-āŋg̪-peũ = pān
island-big = LOC arrive = PURP run-DIR₁-keep = COS
‘(He) ran until he reached the island.’
If $S_1$ ends with one of the front vowels /i, e/, or /eu/ and $S_2$ starts with a vowel, the semi-vowel /y/ is inserted. See the illustrations in (63).

(63)  (a)  salâshi phà iỳàngmâ (08:123)

salà-shì phà-à i-àng = mâ
banana-CLF.fruit CLF.bunch-one give-DIR$_1$ = RLS

‘(I) gave a bunch of bananas.’

(b)  nàngyeûn ëuyàngkû (09:23)

nàng = yeûn ëû-àng = kû
2SG = BEN tell-DIR$_1$ = IRLS

‘(I) will tell (it) for you.’

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

(64)  (a)  anàq zòkshìwaleùtè ūwàng meûmâ (12:33)

anàq zòkshi-waleú = tè ū-àng meú = mâ
this breast-liquid = A.AG drink-DIR$_1$ good = RLS

‘Drink this milk. (It) is good.’

(b)  hîng halâ ngaúwàngmâtûk (24:3)

hîng halá ngaú-àng = mâ = ták
3SG husband say-DIR$_1$ = RLS = HS

‘Her husband said, it is said.’
CHAPTER 3: WORD CLASSES

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

3.1 Major word classes

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

3.1.1 Nouns

Syntactically nouns in Kadu can be followed by numeral classifier phrases to specify the type of referent (Chapter 5) or by various postnominal elements to indicate semantic roles such as an Agent, Patient (Chapter 6). There is no distinction of grammatical gender in nouns such as there is in Spanish. However, when reference to an animate noun does not provide gender, if need be, gender nouns such as pá ‘female’ and lá ‘male’ may follow the noun, as in acípá (elephant-female) ‘female elephant’ and ūlā (fowl-male) ‘rooster’.
A noun can function as the head of an NP and also as a core or peripheral argument of a clause. In attributive or equational clauses it can function as the predicate of a clause (see §8.2.1).

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

(65) (a) \textit{mitpanáq meúmā}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
mit & = panáq \\
love & = NOM \\
meú & = mā \\
good & = RLS \\
\end{tabular}

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

(b) \textit{tínhaútpanáq ameúyā}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
tínhaút & = panáq \\
angry & = NOM \\
a-meú-á & \\
NEG-good-NEG & \\
\end{tabular}

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

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

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

3.1.1.1.1 Simple nouns

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

(66)  
ci  
  ‘dog’  
kā  
  ‘earth’ or ‘soil’  
cím  
  ‘house’  
ceú  
  ‘buffalo’  
mōk  
  ‘cow’  
ngón  
  ‘gold’  
kweú  
  ‘monkey’  
maù  
  ‘leech’

Sesquisyllabic nouns, which make up the second largest noun type, are formed by a weak initial syllable plus a full syllable. We can further divide weak syllables into two: one that is analysable (§3.2.5), in which case the lexical meaning of one or both of the two morphemes is retrievable, and one that is not (§2.7.2). Some sesquisyllabic nouns are shown in (67).
Disyllabic nouns are composed of two full syllables. They cannot be further broken down into meaningful units. They are always considered as a single monomorphemic unit by the speakers of Kadu. Some examples of disyllabic nouns are exemplified in (68).

(68)  
\begin{align*}
\textit{kānzū} & \quad \text{‘mustard’} \\
\textit{mánhá} & \quad \text{‘summer’} \\
\textit{sāngsīng} & \quad \text{‘clothing’} \\
\textit{yāmpū} & \quad \text{‘banded snake head fish’} \\
\textit{hūnzaú} & \quad \text{‘spoon’} \\
\textit{hānghák} & \quad \text{‘toad’} \\
\textit{hāūheū} & \quad \text{‘corn’} \\
\textit{hānshí} & \quad \text{‘cat’} \\
\textit{kaúhán} & \quad \text{‘otter’}
\end{align*}
A few trisyllabic nouns have also been attested in Kadu, as exemplified in (69).

(69)  
\begin{align*}
\text{pòkweúsút} & \quad \text{‘some Ardsia shrubs’} \\
\text{uípháksā} & \quad \text{‘bat’} \\
\text{weúsāli} & \quad \text{‘Indian nightshade’} \\
\text{mùkchíthú} & \quad \text{‘pennywort’} \\
\text{kwuèlákzing} & \quad \text{‘oyster’}
\end{align*}

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

(70)  
\begin{align*}
\text{leútsaúng} & \quad \text{‘gift’} \\
\text{pòngzān} & \quad \text{‘pattern’} \\
\text{panyāshíq} & \quad \text{‘wise man’} \\
\text{amyóanweú} & \quad \text{‘tribe’} \\
\text{cùm} & \quad \text{‘slave’} \\
\text{ëngthaúng} & \quad \text{‘family’} \\
\text{tànlyeút} & \quad \text{‘regalia’}
\end{align*}

Some Pali loanwords are exemplified in (71). Most of these loanwords are recent and came via Burmese. Notice in the examples below that there is a regular sound correspondence between /t/ in Kadu and /s/ in Pali. This historical sound change from /s/ > /θ/ (θ > t in Kadu) and /r/ > /j/ in Burmese has been already identified (see
An exception to this is samón ‘monk’ or ‘priest’ which may be a direct, older loanword.

(71) Kadu Pali

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kadu</th>
<th>Pali</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tūkhāq</td>
<td>/dukkha/</td>
<td>‘suffering’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pātā</td>
<td>/bhasa/</td>
<td>‘language’ or ‘religion’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katē</td>
<td>/koti/</td>
<td>‘ten million’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yātanā</td>
<td>/ratana/</td>
<td>‘jewel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tānkā</td>
<td>/sangha/</td>
<td>‘member of Buddhist order’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>samón</td>
<td>/samana/</td>
<td>‘priest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myītā</td>
<td>/metta/</td>
<td>‘love’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(72) kónthaùng ‘bachelor’
zăwpá ‘chief’
meúzaúng ‘mother-in-law’
paízaúng ‘father-in-law’
thįngpālā ‘village’s chief’
heúttín ‘slipper’

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

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

\begin{verbatim}
(73)  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{tivi} & ‘TV’ \\
\textit{vídio} & ‘video’ \\
\textit{redio} & ‘radio’ \\
\textit{keútseút} & ‘cassette’ \\
\textit{beútayi} & ‘battery’ \\
\textit{saún} & ‘speaker’ (derived from sound box) \\
\textit{satí} & ‘steel’ \\
\textit{paú} & ‘ball’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{verbatim}
cross’) ‘locust’ and *yēk-zāk* (literally ‘hill field-be caught’) ‘grass’. However, this kind of compound is not common in Kadu, therefore our attention in the following section will be given to subordinate and coordinate compounds in Kadu.

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

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

(74)  (a)  *cím tè mímā*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kadu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>=tè mī = mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buy</td>
<td>= A.AG buy = RLS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I buy the house.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

118
(b) *ūtē mímā

ū = tē mí = mā
fowl = ā.AG buy = RLS

'I buy the fowl/bird.'

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

(75) (a) címūtē mímā

cím-u = tē mí = mā
house-chiken = ā.AG buy = RLS

'I buy a home grown chicken.'

(b) *címũtē mímā

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

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

In a NOUN + NOUN subordinate compound, the first member stands in a subordinate relationship to the second. The role of the first member of a compound word is to specify or narrow the reference. For example, *tí* ‘language’, is a generic term for language (any language), and can be modified by *azāk* ‘Kadu’ which narrows the reference to, specifically, the ‘Kadu language’. Some more examples of NOUN + NOUN compounds with ‘specific + generic’ classificatory are given in (76).
Another type of compound noun has a verb modifying the head noun. This is done by either a non-nominalised verb directly following the head noun or by a nominalised verb or verb phrase immediately preceding the head noun, as in a relative clause structure. See derived nouns in §3.1.1.2.10 and relative clauses in §8.2.3. In the HEAD NOUN + VERB compound, the attributive verb slot mostly comes from stative verbs or adjectival verbs. Some examples of HEAD NOUN + VERB compound nouns are given in (77).

(77)  

(cím-sèk) (house-person) ‘family member’
(sateù-műngkù) (lips-hair) ‘beard’
(swá-sweũ) (tooth-tusk/fang) ‘eyetooth’
(wān-salí) (fire-tongue) ‘flame’
(weũ-salí) (water-tongue) ‘wave’
(thĩng-palá) (village-leader) ‘chief’
(yēk-ān) (hill field-paddy) ‘rice from hill field’

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

(78)  

(kāntāt-ngá) (taro-steam) ‘steamed taro’
(pūk-zalaũt) (belly-drift) ‘diarrhea’
(ũ-kán) (fowl-bad) ‘wild fowl’
(waleũ-sín) (liquid-spicy) ‘liquor’
(weũ-lóm) (water-warm) ‘warm water’
(ān-saũ) (paddy-nutty taste) ‘sticky rice’
(pūk-theũ) (belly-widen) ‘navel’
Compound nouns with verb + verb structures are not attested, except one word, *lóm* ā ‘warm clothes’ (*lóm* ‘warm’ and probably *hà* ‘know, how’), where neither of the components is a noun.

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

Another type of compound noun is the imitative compound, which consists of two members: a noun member and an imitative member. Each member usually consists of two syllables. The first member can usually be used independently and has its own meaning, however, the second member can never be used independently. For example, the word *satũŋ* ‘grandchild’ can be followed by an expression such as *sazáng* which
has no semantic value in its own. These can be compared with ‘expressive compounds’ (Post 2006:278), and ‘elaborate expressions’ (Matisoff 1973:81). Matisoff noted that elaborate expressions are a typical construction of Southeast Asian languages in general. Many Kadu imitative compounds also contain four-syllable compound words, as in Burmese and Lahu. See the examples in (80).

(80) (a) အမြင်များ အမြင်များ (Burmese)
tong -po tong -ok
mountain -on.top mountain under
‘every where’ (lit. on the mountains and valleys)

(b) လာ-လာ (Lahu: Matisoff 1973:82)
‘custom, tradition’

(c) ကျမ်း-ကန်-ကျမ်း (Kadu)
cím zaük cím tôm
house on.top house under
‘every where’ (lit. on the top and below the house)

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

The A-B-A-C pattern is the most common. In this process, the first syllable of the second member is a duplication of the first syllable of the first member. The second syllable of
the second member is euphonic. Some examples of the A-B-A-C pattern are given in (81).

(81)  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{paungkà-paungtù} & ‘baskets’ \\
\text{phaíkhū-phaíktā} & ‘carriers’ \\
\text{kángpè-kángnà} & ‘deserted places’ \\
\text{satúng-sazáng} & ‘grandchild’ \\
\text{kamā-kapeút} & ‘wounds’ \\
\text{malíp-maláp} & ‘mushroom’ \\
\text{talát-talaú} & ‘vegetables’ \\
\text{üzík-uyá} & ‘birds’ \\
\text{talú-talā} & ‘tiny (stuff)’
\end{tabular}

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

(82)  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{salān-palān} & ‘meat’ \\
\text{òkthaung-thaung} & ‘parents-in-law’ \\
\text{mōksān-wāksān} & ‘beef and pork’ \\
\text{ngōnkā-phūkā} & ‘gold and silver’
\end{tabular}

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

(83)  
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{nanū-sapū} & ‘animal’ \\
\text{tatū-sapū} & ‘seeds’ \\
\text{kapáng-saláng} & ‘emptied’
\end{tabular}
3.1.1.2 Semantic classes of noun

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

3.1.1.2.1 Human

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

(84)  
halawà ‘man’  
tamisà ‘human’  
ishíq ‘girl’  
tamì ‘other people’  
saék ‘daughter’  
ék ‘wife’ or ‘woman’  
sā ‘child’ or ‘son’
3.1.2.1.1 Personal names

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

(85)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Female name</th>
<th>Male name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>é myét tu</td>
<td>aũng tān nweũ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khin yi</td>
<td>caũ zē yaq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laq seïng</td>
<td>aũng teĩn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maq naĩng</td>
<td>é maũng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nín zuq khaï</td>
<td>thũn laq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maq buq</td>
<td>paq maũng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tẽn sein</td>
<td>shwẽ maũng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tĩn tĩn laq</td>
<td>tĩn maũng</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Kadu, like the Burmese, do not have surnames or birth order names like the Rawang or Jingphaw. Some personal names that are probably of Kadu origin are also attested. One of my language consultant’s sons was named *ngōn-phẽng-katãm* (gold-full-beauty), which is not a common practice today among the Kadu. Some personal names in one of the recorded texts are probably Kadu, such as *phãkhûlû* and *phûlûthaû* in (86). The lexical meanings of these names are not transparent.
(86) phákhūlū phúluthaū ngaipanāq amúnashì eútpeúmaták (15:2)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{phákhūlū} & \text{phúluthaū} \\
\text{PN} & \text{PN} \\
\text{ngaú} & = \text{panáq} \quad \text{amú-nashì} \quad \text{eút-peú} & = \text{mā} = \text{ták} \\
\text{say} & = \text{NOM} \quad \text{brothers} \quad \text{drop-keep} = \text{RLS} & = \text{HS} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(87) Female names</th>
<th>Male names</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thaūlī</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaúlò</td>
<td>càngthaū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máqthaū</td>
<td>phóthaū</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweūsà</td>
<td>säsweūq</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(88)  
zaúng  ‘lord’ or ‘monk’  
samón  ‘monk’  
meúshiláq  ‘nun’  
sàngpaláng  ‘king’  
ósací  ‘teacher’  
palá  ‘leader’ or ‘elder’  
swáng  ‘rich person’ or ‘business man’

3.1.1.2.1.3 Other peoples’ names

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

(89)  
hāháng  ‘Jingphaw’  
hàkheü  ‘Chinese’  
kapaú  ‘Shan’  
kanán  ‘Kanan’  
khaüngsai  ‘Chin’  
pūháng  ‘sub-clan of Kadu’
3.1.1.2.1.4 Honorifics

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

The term swáng is used when addressing a supernatural being, such as a god or spirit. It is also used with an extremely respectable person, like a king or a monk, as exemplified in (90).
When directly addressing someone with one of those titles mentioned above, the term *swáng* follows the second person pronoun, which may be translated into English as ‘you, my lord’ as exemplified in (91).

\[(91)\] \[nāngswáng\] \[panáqathá\] \[phóngtakó\] \[tóngkákläyeù\] \((07:62)\)

\[\text{ng} \quad \text{swáng} \quad \text{panáq \ athá \ phóngtakó \ tong-kák} \quad = \text{lá} \quad = \text{yeù} \]

\[2\text{SG} \quad \text{master} \quad \text{DEM} \quad \text{more \ glory.power \ big-want} \quad = \text{Q} \quad = \text{SAP} \]

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

3.1.1.2.2 Body parts

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

\[(92)\]

(a) \[ahà\] \[‘chin’\]
\[asaìng\] \[‘intestines’\]
\[asin\] \[‘liver’\]

(b) \[katòk\] \[‘neck’\]
\[kapaiūti\] \[‘testicle’\]
\[kaaù\] \[‘throat’\]
\[kanà\] \[‘ear’\]

(90) \[phayáswáng\] ‘god’
\[hamánswáng\] ‘spirit’
\[samónswáng\] ‘monk’
\[sāngpalángswáng\] ‘king’
Terms referring to the hand typically occur with the initial formative root \( \text{ták} \) ‘hand’, which is clearly a reflex of PTB *\( \text{lak} \) ‘hand/arm’ as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:65), as in \( \text{tákshi} \) ‘finger’ and \( \text{tákkasú} \) ‘elbow’. Similarly, terms related to the leg typically occur with the initial formative root \( \text{ta}- \), which is a reduced form of \( \text{tā} \) ‘leg’ as in \( \text{tapaúk} \) ‘calf’ and \( \text{taphā} \) ‘foot’. These kinds of structures are discussed in great detail in §3.2.5. Other minor syllables are \( \text{ha-} \) and \( \text{la-} \), each occurring in one word as in \( \text{haláng} \) ‘head’ and \( \text{lapáng} \) ‘cheek’. These are also body part terms that are monosyllabic. These are given in (93).

(93) \( \text{pàng} \) ‘pancreas’
\( \text{púk} \) ‘belly’
\( \text{láng} \) ‘body’
\( \text{mán} \) ‘face’
\( \text{tí} \) ‘penis’
\( \text{pák} \) ‘vagina’

Some body part terms include the syllable \( \text{hú} \). The etymology of this syllable is unknown. These body terms are exemplified in (94).
3.1.1.2.3 Animals

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

(95)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ū</td>
<td>‘chicken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cí</td>
<td>‘dog’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wàk</td>
<td>‘pig’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mòk</td>
<td>‘cow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(96)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ací</td>
<td>‘elephant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>achí</td>
<td>‘muntjac deer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahā</td>
<td>‘crab’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mostly insect names occur with the sa- minor syllable, as illustrated in (97). An exception to this is sapù ‘horse’.
A large number of names for wild animals, insects, and small reptiles occur with the ka-
minor syllable, as illustrated in (98).

(98)  kasà ‘tiger’
      kayù ‘rat’
      kapí ‘mole(animal)’
      kaphü ‘snake’
      kapheù ‘monitor lizard’
      kasât ‘bear’
      kasök ‘frog’
      kapeù ‘goat’
      kahún ‘termite’
      kalêt ‘cricket’

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

(99)  (a) Disyllabic animal names

      túngün ‘bee’
      zàngkùk ‘lizard’
      phónzing ‘ant’
      hāngháng ‘toad’
      hûyá ‘firefly’
      taûktaû ‘gecko’
(b) Trisyllabic or quadrisyllabic animal names

- zíngzùksá  ‘dragonfly’
- zákkalíng  ‘grass lizard’
- taùnsaùkmú  ‘caterpillar’
- kalízípaùng  ‘pangolin’

Most bird names occur as a ‘generic-specific/attributive’ taxonomic compound, as in

ūkán  ‘wild chicken’ (ū  ‘generic-fowl’ + kán  ‘attributive-bad’). For further discussion of taxonomic word formations see §3.2.5.

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

(100) yānpū  ‘snake headed fish’
yānsapú  ‘catfish’
pacisá  ‘loach’
pazingzú  ‘dwarf catfish’
pasát  ‘carp’
paukqwá  ‘barbus chola’
aphú  ‘??’
pòktùt  ‘systomus’
atát  ‘??’
tıtèsăq  ‘catfish’
3.1.1.2.4 Plants and flowers

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

3.1.1.2.5 Places

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

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

leünétcí (yánákci) လျင်သောကိုး: <lenakkri:>
pégóng ပျင်း: <peikong:>
aleiuywā (pāngkáng) အလားအိုး: <alerwa>
kānywā ကြားဗို: <kangrwa>
ashéqkóng အီးကြီးဗို: <ahrei.kong:>
khōnán (khūnnán) ကျားနန်း: <hkonang:>
tayākóng (tóngyāyí) တားလပ်းဗို: <thajakong:>
nyaungtāyā (pāngmanāq) နိုင်းလိုးဗို: <nyongthaja>
3.1.1.2.6 Kinship terms

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

In the following section, I will discuss the word structures of kinship terms.

Subsequently, I will divide those kinship terms based on kinship relations. Kadu kinship terms can be analysed as monosyllabic, sesquisyllabic, or disyllabic. The monosyllabic kinship terms are illustrated in (102).

(102)  yόŋg  ‘brother (younger of female)’
zάn  ‘sister (younger of male)’
nάn  ‘daughter-in-law’
έk  ‘wife’
όk  ‘paternal grandfather’

Sesquisyllabic kinship terms are interesting. There are three different minor syllables (a, na, and sa) which attach to kinship terms and thus form sesquisyllabic words. The kinship terms with a-minor syllable are well attested, crosslinguistically, among many TB languages (Post 2007:214; van Breugel 2008:128). Matisoff (1973:65) called this a-prefix a vocative of kinship terms and noted that it is widespread in TB languages and Chinese, as well. Kinship terms with the minor initial a-syllable are also well attested in Burmese8 (Okell 1969:99). An interesting fact about this minor initial syllable a- is that, both in Kadu and Burmese, it occurs only with kinship terms that refer to an older generation. Therefore, we can assume that this syllable functions to denote respect and

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8  tάz < ahpei > ‘father’,  tάs < apei > ‘mother’,  tάdάk < akou > ‘older brother’, and  tάs < ama > ‘older sister’,
authority. It occurs with both genders. Kinship terms that have the *a*- initial syllable are shown in (103).

(103)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
awà & \quad \text{‘father’} \\
ameù & \quad \text{‘mother’} \\
até & \quad \text{‘older sister of male and female’} \\
amú & \quad \text{‘older brother of male and female’} \\
anáí & \quad \text{‘maternal grandmother’} \\
atauí & \quad \text{‘paternal grandmother’} \\
ashí & \quad \text{‘aunt (mother’s older sister’)} \\
\end{align*} \]

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

(104)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
sáék & \quad \text{‘daughter’} \\
satúng & \quad \text{‘grandchild’} \\
\end{align*} \]

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

(105)  
\[ \begin{align*} 
nashí & \quad \text{‘younger sibling’ (same gender)} \\
nayóng & \quad \text{‘great grandchild’} \\
\end{align*} \]
Other kinship terms are disyllabic terms as illustrated in (106).

(106) òkshi ‘father’s older brother’ (Lit. small paternal grandfather)  
òknaí ‘maternal grandfather’  
wángshí ‘father’s younger brother’  
paūzaúng ‘father-in-law’  
meūzaúng ‘mother-in-law’  
naūngzaúng ‘wife’s younger sister’

The Kadu kinship system is bilateral. Unlike a classificatory kinship system which distinguishes parallel and cross cousins⁹, the Kadu system is very similar to the Burmese kinship system. Even though, like Burmese, they distinguish paternal and maternal aunts and uncles, in actual practice both parents’ kin are treated with equal respect.

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

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⁹ The children of mother’s brother and father’s sister are cross cousins. The children of father’s brother and mother’s sister are parallel cousins.
Kadu kinship terms with Tai or Burmese ones, as it is not the focus of this research. However, for clarification I have added superscripts $^T$ or $^B$ for kinship terms that are similar or identical with Shna/Tai or Burmese, respectively. Consanguinal kinship terms are presented in (107).

(107) Consanguinal kinship terms

$\dot{d}k^T$  ‘paternal grandfather’
$ata\ddot{u}$  ‘paternal grandmother’
$\dot{d}kna\dot{i}^T$  ‘maternal grandfather’
$anai$  ‘maternal grandmother’
$aw\ddot{a}$  ‘father’
$ame\ddot{u}^B$  ‘mother’
$\dot{d}ksh\ddot{u}^T$  ‘father’s older brother and step father’
$w\ddot{a}ngsh\ddot{i}$  ‘father’s younger brother’
$ash\ddot{i}$  ‘mother’s older sister and step mother’
$mam\ddot{a}$  ‘mother’s younger sister’
$am\ddot{u}$  ‘elder brother’
$at\ddot{e}$  ‘elder sister and wife of older brother’
$nash\ddot{i}$  ‘younger sibling’
$yo\ddot{ng}$  ‘brother (younger of female)’
$z\ddot{a}n$  ‘sister (younger of male)’
Filial kinship terms are presented in (108).

(108) Filial kinship terms

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{halá} & \quad \text{‘husband’} \\
\text{ēk} & \quad \text{‘wife’} \\
\text{sā} & \quad \text{‘child or son’} \\
\text{saēk} & \quad \text{‘daughter’} \\
\text{satōng} & \quad \text{‘grandchild’} \\
\text{nayóng} & \quad \text{‘great grandchild’} \\
\text{nūklán}^T & \quad \text{‘nephew’ or ‘niece’}
\end{align*}
\]

Affinal kinship terms are presented in (109).

(109) Affinal kinship terms

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{paūzaúng}^T & \quad \text{‘father-in-law’} \\
\text{meūzaúng}^T & \quad \text{‘mother-in-law’} \\
\text{nán} & \quad \text{‘daughter-in-law’} \\
\text{nūkkhwē}^T & \quad \text{‘son-in-law’} \\
\text{yaūkphāq}^B & \quad \text{‘brother-in-law’}\^{10} \\
\text{nūktá}^T & \quad \text{‘brother-in-law’}\^{11} \\
\text{néng} & \quad \text{‘sister-in-law’}\^{12} \\
\text{naūngsaúng}^T & \quad \text{‘sister-in-law’}\^{13}
\end{align*}
\]

\^{10} \text{It refers to the older brother of one’s wife or the older sister’s husband.}
\^{11} \text{It refers to the younger brother of one’s wife or the younger sister’s husband.}
\^{12} \text{It refers to female’s older brother’s wife.}
\^{13} \text{It refers to the younger sister of one’s wife.}
There is one affix worth mentioning here. It is the form \( h\dot{e}^- \), which can be prefixed to any kinship term to express an affectionate or intimate relationship. All of my informants agreed on where this term may have derived from. They told me that Kadu people are superstitious. When they go to the jungle, they believe that evil spirits can imitate the human language and deceive them, particularly, by imitating human names or kinship terms. The evil spirit then uses the personal names or kinship terms to call and mislead the person, which may result in the person being lost in the jungle and not finding the way home. Kadu believe that the only sound the evil spirit from the forest cannot pronounce is the sound \( h\dot{e}^- \). Therefore, they attach it before names or kinship terms to notify the hearer that it comes from a friend or kin. When the form \( h\dot{e}^- \) is attached to \( a^- \)-prefix kinship terms, the weak syllable is obligatorily omitted, whereas there are no phonological changes with other fully disyllabic kinship terms. Look at some examples in (110).

(110)  
\( \dot{h}e\text{w}a \)  ‘father’  
\( \dot{h}e\text{me}\dot{u} \)  ‘mother’  
\( \dot{h}e\dot{t}\dot{e} \)  ‘older sister of male and female’  
\( \dot{h}e\text{m}\dot{u} \)  ‘older brother of male and female’  
\( \dot{h}e\text{n}\dot{a}\dot{i} \)  ‘maternal grandmother’  
\( \dot{h}e\text{nash}\dot{i} \)  ‘younger sibling (same sex)’  
\( \dot{h}e\text{nay}\dot{\alpha}\dot{o}\dot{g} \)  ‘grandchild’
3.1.1.2.7  Iconic nouns

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

(111)  ūkatú  ‘dove’
  paīwaú  ‘cuckoo bird’
  tītīweúq  ‘red-wattled lapwing bird’
  cékcéksā  ‘tailor bird’
  naūkchingkweú  ‘mynah bird’
  paūweú  ‘hay trunk’s flute’

3.1.1.2.8  Location nouns

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

Kadu LOCNs are divided into three groups, adopting Wheatley’s (1982) grouping of Burmese locational nouns: horizontal, vertical, and within and without LOCNs.
Horizontal LOCNS express locations such as ‘in front of’, ‘beside’, and ‘behind’. Kadu horizontal locational nouns are presented in (112).

(112)  
halíng  ‘behind’  
mán  ‘in front’ < ‘face’  
wánaūk  ‘east’  
wántòk  ‘west’  
címpák  ‘south’  
címmēù  ‘north’  
tahà  ‘right side’  
tapeû  ‘left side’

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

The example below exemplifies the use of halíng as a head noun modified by the 3rd person singular pronoun, as is (113). The modifying pronoun, the speaker himself in (113b), is omitted. The example (113a) is an afterthought sentence (§8.1). Therefore, a locational phrase occurs after the verb complex.
(113) (a)  *nängákszík hinghalíngpèyeù*  (08:42).

näng-à  = zìk  hing  *halíng*  = pè  = yeù  
go-EUPH = FINALLY  3SG  **behind** = LOC = SAP  
‘Go after/behind him.’

(b)  *hingpè tâtmí sanâmpânnaà halingpà anyeútöpmànglakàè*  (18:60)

hing  = pè  tâtmí  sanàn  = pán  = naà  
3SG  = LOC  torch  snatch  = COS  = only

*halíng*  = pà  an-yeù  töp-àng  = lakà  = é  
**behind**  = ALL  DEM-manner  stab-DIR  = MIR  = SAP

‘I snatched the torch from him and lit it behind (him) in this manner.’

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

(114)  *mán chipókhálúksà ömpánnaà liyákínhgánpánták*  (15:132)

*mán*  chipókhálúk-sà  öm  = pán  = naà  
face  worriedly-DIM  make  = COS  = only

li-à-háng  = pán  = ták  
come-EUPH-back  = COS  = HS

‘With a gloomy/dejected face (he) came home, it is said.’

It expresses a locational meaning when it occurs immediately following another noun.

Look at the example in (115) provided by one of my informants.
Although it is not common to find lexical overlap between nouns and verbs in Kadu, in the example in (117) the word *mán* is used as a verb meaning ‘facing’.

Although the term *halíng* ‘behind’ is never attested in my corpus expressing a temporal relation, my language consultants suggested that it is possible to say *halíng*-**satá** (behind-month) ‘last month’. Instead, semantically similar, the Burmese term *nauik*
is freely used to express the temporal meaning ‘after that’ or ‘later’. To illustrate this I have given Burmese examples in (118). Example (118a) provides locational usage of the term naúk and (118b) provides its usage for temporal relations.

(118) (a) အခြေခံမှု ကြီးမာရစ် (Burmese)

hkangbra: nok =hma hri.=te
2SG behind =LOC exist =RLS
'It is behind you.'

(b) အခြေခံမှု ကြီးမာရစ် (Burmese)

bwe. ra.-pri: =te. nok ma-twei.-kra.-to. =bu:
degree get-finish =NOM behind NEG-meet-PL-PART =NEG
'(We) haven’t met since (we) graduated.'

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

(119) ngātè azànpañnakà OMBREOLÉ naúktéká licípánták (24:58)

ngā =tè azan =pánnakà ôm-cí =yók =lé
1SG =A.AG pity =if make-PL =INTRUSIVE =EMPH

naúk =tè =ká li-cí =pán =ták
later =A.AG =TOP come-PL =COS =HS
‘“Do/help if you (plural) pity me” later (some people) came, it is said.’

Vertical LOCNs express locations such as ‘top’, ‘below’, ‘over’, and ‘above’. The Kadu vertical location nouns attested are illustrated in (120).
The terms mentioned in (120), like horizontal location nouns, may be optionally modified by another noun to indicate specific location. However, unlike *mán* ‘in front of’, none of these terms express temporal relations. The examples in (121) illustrate the usage of the term *zaūk* ‘on top’.

(121) (a) *phûnkalûnzaûkpè ᵇkalá* (18:53)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{phûn-kalûn} & \quad \text{*zaûk*} = \text{pè} = \text{ip} = \text{kû} = \text{là} \\
\text{wood-plant} & \quad \text{on.top} = \text{LOC sleep} = \text{IRLS} = \text{Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Shall (we) sleep on top of a tree?’

(b) *ô zaûkpàpë amînghà* (31:57)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ô} & \quad \text{*zaûk*} = \text{pà} = \text{pè} = \text{a-mîng-hà-á} \\
\text{EXCL} & \quad \text{on.top} = \text{ALL} = \text{LOC NEG-ripe-know/how-NEG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Well the top part is not cooked yet.’

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kā } & \text{haláng } = pā = pē \quad \text{ngā } = mā \\
\text{soil } & \text{head } = \text{ALL } = \text{LOC exist } = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘It exists in the upper parts/reaches of the area.’

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

(123)  *yahaungtalàpàpè ngāmā*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yahaung } & \text{talà } = pā = pē \quad \text{ngā } = mā \\
\text{river } & \text{lower } = \text{ALL } = \text{LOC exist } = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘It exists in the lower part/reaches of the river.’

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

(124)  *achiya nāngmanaik úngtalàpàpè* (07:4)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-chī } & = á \quad \text{nāng } = \text{manaik } \text{úng } \text{talà } = pā = pē \\
\text{NEG-true } & = \text{NEG } \text{go } = \text{only.if that lower } = \text{ALL } = \text{LOC}
\end{align*}
\]

‘This is not good. I will go down.’

The term *kamūk ~ hamūk* expresses the location ‘underneath’, as in (125).

(125)  *cím kamūkpàhaik tôpìnegmatàk* (25:99)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cím } & \text{kamūk } = pā = \text{haik } \text{tôp-ìneg } = mā = \text{ták}
\text{house } & \text{beneath } = \text{ALL } = \text{ABL stab-DIR}_2 = \text{RLS } = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) stabbed from underneath the house.’
The term *aũksesý*, glossed as ‘lower area’ is employed to indicate a place below another place. Therefore, it normally occurs following a locational phrase as shown in (126).

(126)  yàk wûntomyóq tôngpaulatlûkáq aũksesý kótânpaûkwáq (08:3)

`yàk` wûntô-myóq tôngpaulû =káq aũksesý kótânpaûkwáq
now PN-town PN = LOC lower.area PN

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

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

(127)  hamôkzaûkhaîkà tômpáqpe nãngpánnà (12:3)

`hamôk` zaûk = haík tôm = pà = pè nãng = pán = naà
sky on.top = ABL below = ALL = LOC go = COS = only

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

Aside from those LOCNs mentioned above, the Burmese form *aūk* <ok> ‘below’, my transcription *aûk*, also appears frequently in my corpus. Consider the examples in (128).

The Burmese example (128a) is taken from Okell 1969:251. Example (128b) is extracted from my corpus.
(128) (a) ကျောက်ချင်သည် ကျောက်ချင်သည် (Burmese: Okell 1969)
ku.tang  ok =ma  hta: -kra. =te
bed  under = LOC  keep  -must = RLS
‘(We) had to keep (them) under the bed.’

(b) အမျိုးသားက အင်ပန်းက စည် (12:25)
amú-tóng  aúk  =panáq  sèk
big.brother-big  below = NOM  person
‘the second oldest brother.’ (Lit. the one who is under the oldest brother)

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

(129) နို့ ‘inside’
pyāng  ‘outside’
pāi  ‘beside’

The term နို့, glossed as ‘inside’, expresses an interior location. The examples in (130) exemplify this.

(130) (a) သောင်ဖတ်က ပြားသားအင်္က စီး (25:97)
taúcī  =tè  =ká  pōkhú  naū  =pè  zāng  =mā  =ták
woman = A.AG = TOP  basket  inside = LOC  put.in = RLS  = HS
‘(He) put the woman inside a basket, it is said.’

(b) အနုဌ နို့ အင်္က နို့ေရေနေသာ (17:76).
an-yeù  ngā  asin  naū =pè  ngā  =panáq  = talé
DEM-manner  ISG  mind  inside = LOC  exist = NOM  = SAP
‘This manner that I have in mind.’
I have not attested a Kadu native word that expresses exterior location in my corpus. However, one of my informants told me the term pyāng, which is a clear Burmese loanword from ကောင်း <prang>, is used to express exterior location. Consider the examples provided by the Kadu informant in (131).

(131)  *hīng cǐm pyāngpè òmmā*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hīng  cǐm</th>
<th>pyāng</th>
<th>=pè</th>
<th>òm</th>
<th>=mā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3SG</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>outside</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>make</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'He is making it outside the house.'

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

(132)  (a)  *weú paıkpè atámúkpān yo kýmā* (18:07)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>weú</th>
<th>paık</th>
<th>=pè</th>
<th>atá</th>
<th>múk</th>
<th>=pán</th>
<th>yo ký</th>
<th>=mā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>beside</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>cook</td>
<td>=COS</td>
<td>eat-PL</td>
<td>=RLS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(b)  *anáq paıkpè ngāmā* (18:105)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>anáq</th>
<th>paık</th>
<th>=pè</th>
<th>ngā</th>
<th>=mā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>this</td>
<td>beside</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>exist</td>
<td>=RLS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Don’t follow it. (The tiger) is just near here.'
3.1.1.2.9 Time nouns

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit and dimension</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tài</em></td>
<td>‘morning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nahū</em></td>
<td>‘day or mid day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mángyák</em></td>
<td>‘day time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nákceū</em></td>
<td>‘night’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nákceūhăn</em></td>
<td>‘evening’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20: Time nouns in Kadu

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BACKWARD</th>
<th>Temporal shifter</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nakhátôngmák</td>
<td>‘two days before yesterday’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nakhâmák</td>
<td>‘the day before yesterday’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nakkamák</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRE</td>
<td>yàk</td>
<td>‘now’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yakhmák</td>
<td>‘today’ or ‘now/this day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FORWARD</td>
<td>phàkmák</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’ or ‘the next day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shînát</td>
<td>‘the day after tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shînów</td>
<td>‘two days after tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>shînéùn</td>
<td>‘three days after tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 21: Day temporal shifters

Referring to Table 21, most of the day temporal shifters occur with the form mák ‘day time’. The backward temporal shifters all contain the initial nàk, which means ‘night’ in this language (< PTB *nak ‘black’). However, time words related to days yet to come (forward) occur with the initial syllable shî. 
Year temporal shifters are as shown in Table 22.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Temporal shifters</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>BACKWARD</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tamânghá</td>
<td>‘the year before last year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tanînhá</td>
<td>‘two years before last year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talînghá</td>
<td>‘last year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CENTRE</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yàkpi or yàkning</td>
<td>‘this year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FORWARD</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nàtning</td>
<td>‘next year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zàtning</td>
<td>‘the year after next year’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 22: Year temporal shifters

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

(134)  *hîngkâ pînûnaîk phyeûtàklà* (17:23)

\[ \begin{align*}
3\text{sg} & = \text{TOP} \quad \text{year-one} & = \text{only} & \text{answer-L.SUFF-EUPH} & = \text{NOM} \\
\text{He took the exam only one year.}'
\]

The relic form which reflects the PTB word *s-ning* ‘year’ is also attested. Though it is never used in isolation, it shows up in words such as *yàkning* ‘this year’, *nàtnîng* ‘next year’, and *zàtnîng* ‘the year after next year’. Although the native speakers of Kadu were not able to give me the meaning of the last syllable *ning*, it is clearly a reflex of the PTB form. Below is an example provided by one of my language consultants.
Year temporal shifters related to past years (backward) occur with the syllable hā. The meaning of this form may not correspond well with an English calendar year. It expresses the general idea of an extended period of time or season, as it also occurs in mánghá ‘summer’ and shínhá ‘winter’. The Kadu lexicon lacks a name for a seven-day week. Time words related to month contain the word satá ‘moon’ as illustrated in (136).

(136) satá ‘this month’
    mánsatá ‘coming month’
    halíngpínsatá ‘last/past month’

Notice the word for moon is satá with a high tone on the last syllable. However, to say ‘this month’ it is satá with a clear mid tone. This is, once again, the result of a fusion of two identical vowels satá + à (moon + one), which resulted in satá ‘this month’.

The horizontal LOCNs mán ‘in front of’ and halíng ‘behind’ precede satá ‘moon’ to indicate ‘coming month’ and ‘last month’ respectively. See horizontal LOCNs in §3.1.1.2.8.
The prefix *ku-* attaches to time nouns to express the sense of ‘every’. My language consultants told me that this prefix is a Shan loanword. Some examples with this prefix are given in (137).

(137)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kūmāngyāk} & \quad \text{‘every day’} \\
\text{kūpí} & \quad \text{‘every year’} \\
\text{kūnākceū} & \quad \text{‘every night’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Months</th>
<th>In Burmese</th>
<th>European calendar equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tākū</em></td>
<td>ဒီနေ့</td>
<td>March-April</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kasing</em></td>
<td>မတိုက်</td>
<td>April-May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nayū</em></td>
<td>ဖီရှိ</td>
<td>May-June</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wāsō</em></td>
<td>ဇွေ</td>
<td>June-July</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wākhaung</em></td>
<td>နေ့စွမ်း</td>
<td>July-August</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tau talin</em></td>
<td>ဒေါ်စွမ်း</td>
<td>August-September</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tātincūt</em></td>
<td>စပါလွန်</td>
<td>September-October</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tasauungmyung</em></td>
<td>ဇိုးလွန်</td>
<td>October-November</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>natau</em></td>
<td>စော့</td>
<td>November-December</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>pyatō (tōnkān)</em></td>
<td>ရာဖေ</td>
<td>December-January</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tapōqtwēu</em></td>
<td>ရိုးဖြူ</td>
<td>January-February</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tapaung</em></td>
<td>စီးဖြင်</td>
<td>February-March</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 23: The twelve lunar months
The Kadu recognise three seasons and all the season names occur with the term há, as in (138). The names for summer and winter are Kadu native terms, however, the name for monsoon comes from Burmese ꯵꯹ꯕ꯹ <mou: twang> ‘monsoon’.

(138) mángá ‘summer’
    mótwángá ‘monsoon’
    shínhá ‘winter’

Time adverbials in Kadu are given in (139).

(139) yàk ‘now/day’
    meùtnáhá ‘a moment ago’
    meùtnátóng ‘a while ago’
    ìnháhá ‘a moment later’
    ìnátóng ‘a while later’
    maeùtóng ‘long ago’
    zaúngshì ‘early’
    là/halánglà ‘late’
    yàktánwán ‘the whole day’

3.1.1.2.10 Derived nominals

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

---

14 meùt could be a Shan loan, as in mû:awâ:n ‘yesterday’.
Nouns derived from class terms are given in (140).

(140) Class term to noun derivations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class term</th>
<th>Noun derivation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kák</td>
<td>kalák</td>
<td>‘stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hàk</td>
<td>halák</td>
<td>‘branch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùn</td>
<td>kalùn</td>
<td>‘tree’ or ‘plant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>húk</td>
<td>halúk</td>
<td>‘rounded object’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pōk</td>
<td>palōk</td>
<td>‘nest’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pūng</td>
<td>palūng</td>
<td>‘heap’ or ‘pile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāt</td>
<td>talāt</td>
<td>‘leaf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saúk</td>
<td>salaúk</td>
<td>‘feet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sān</td>
<td>salān</td>
<td>‘meat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pá</td>
<td>papá</td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá</td>
<td>talá</td>
<td>‘thread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tū</td>
<td>talū</td>
<td>‘circle’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(141) Noun derivations by reduplication

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class term</th>
<th>Noun derivation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shī</td>
<td>shīshī</td>
<td>‘fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pá</td>
<td>pápá (papá)</td>
<td>‘flower’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tí</td>
<td>tití (tatí)</td>
<td>‘eggs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tū</td>
<td>tūtū (tatū)</td>
<td>‘seeds’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some nouns are also derived from verbs. These are given in (142).

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ák</td>
<td>alák</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meú</td>
<td>maleú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paík</td>
<td>palaík</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pàk</td>
<td>palàk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saú</td>
<td>salaú</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>típ</td>
<td>talíp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pheú</td>
<td>paleú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taút</td>
<td>talaút</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haúk</td>
<td>halaúk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hám</td>
<td>halám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teút</td>
<td>taleút</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taùn</td>
<td>talaùn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phím</td>
<td>phalím</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

hang:  hkrak =te
curry  cook  =RLS
‘He cooked curry.’

(b) ႏိုင်က္ကော် ဗုဒ္ဓဓနိုင်ငံရော် (Burmese)

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

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

(145) (a)  atá mōkmā

atá  mōk  =mā
rice  cook  =RLS
‘He cooks rice.’

(b)  *atá malōk  antān meúmā

There are two productive nominalisers, panāq and ting, in Kadu that are suffixed to
verbs or verb complexes to form derived nominals. For example, the verb mōk ‘cook’,
mentioned in (145a) can be nominalised by attaching panāq, as illustrated in (146).
atá mōkpanáq āntān meúmā

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

‘(He) is quite good at cooking rice.’

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

(147) (a) hīŋ ngauímā

hīŋ ngau =mā
2SG say =RLS

‘He said.’

(b) hīŋ ngaúpanáq meúmā

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

‘What he said is good.’ Or ‘He is good at speaking’

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[yōk mēú = } & \text{panáq]} \\
\text{eat good = } & \text{NOM } \\
\text{eat} & \text{eat}
\end{array}
\]

'Eat what's good!'

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

(149) (a)  \[phú nátcíma\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{phú nát-cí = mā } \\
\text{silver use-PL = RLS }
\end{array}
\]

‘(They) are spending cash.’

(b)  \[phú nátcipánáqtè katúngmā (17:42)\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[phú nát-cí = } & \text{panáq]} \\
\text{silver use-PL = NOM } & \text{= A.AG see = RLS}
\end{array}
\]

‘(I) saw people spending cash.’

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

(150) (a)  \[atípanáqtè òmângkū (22:10)\]

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{[atí = panáq]} & \text{= tè ] } \\
\text{soft = NOM } & \text{= A.AG make-DIR} & \text{= IRLS}
\end{array}
\]

'I will do the soft one.'
(b) ōmhaútpanáqkā ngānímmā (17:85)

\[ [(\text{ōm-haút } = \text{panáq} = \text{kā}) \quad \text{ngā-ním} = \text{mā} \]

\text{make-want = NOM = TOP \ exist-stay = RLS}

‘(I) have the desire to do (it).’

(c) hīng kāpmàngpanáqpe yūwā (18:50)

\[ [\text{hīng } \text{kāp-àng} = \text{panáq} = \text{pē}] \quad \text{yū-à} \]

\text{3SG \ shoot-DIR = NOM = LOC \ look-EUPH}

‘Look at where he shot.’

In (150a) and (150b) the derived nominals are followed by the anti-agentive marker \text{tè} and the topic marker \text{kā}, respectively, to mark the \text{NPS} as Patient and Topic arguments of the clauses. The derived noun in example (150c) is marked by the locative marker \text{pē}, which expresses static location.

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

(151) hīng ngaúkūpanáq meúmā

\[ [\text{hīng } \text{ngaú} = \text{kū} = \text{panáq}] \quad \text{meú} = \text{mā} \]

\text{3SG \ say = IRLS = NOM \ good = RLS}

‘What he will say will be good.’
Nouns are also derived by suffixing *ting* to make simple deverbal nouns and can be followed by postpositions. Unlike *panaq*, *ting* appears only with a bare verb. Consider the examples in (153).

(153) (a) *itiŋ ngãmã*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[i} = \text{ting}] & \quad \text{ngã} = \text{mã} \\
\text{give} = \text{NOM} & \quad \text{exist} = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(I) have something to give.’

(b) *mungti nyîttating laingzikseû* (30:33)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[mungti nyît-ta} = \text{ting}] & \quad \text{lã-ìng} = \text{zîk} = \text{seû} \\
\text{noodle} & \quad \text{squeeze-L.SUFF} = \text{NOM} & \quad \text{bring-DIR}_{2} = \text{FINALLY} = \text{SAP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Bring something to squeeze the noodles.’

(c) *heûtîng sàttìngeû* (15:40)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[heû} = \text{ting}] & \quad [\text{sàt} = \text{ting}] = \text{pè} \\
\text{climb} = \text{NOM} & \quad \text{descend} = \text{NOM} = \text{LOC}
\end{align*}
\]

‘at the ladders’ (Lit. at to climb and to descend)

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

(155) yōkpanaq láing (referential)

[yōk = panaq] lā-ing
eat = NOM bring-DIR₂

'Bring what I ate (this morning).'

(156) yōkting láing (non-referential)

[yōk = ting] lā-ing
eat = NOM bring-DIR₂

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

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

3.1.2.1 Structure of verbs

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

3.1.2.1.1 Simple verbs

Simple verbs are those treated as monomorphemic words by the native speakers of Kadu. Structurally, they may be monosyllabic, sesquisyllabic, or disyllabic words. Monosyllabic forms are the most common of all Kadu verbs. They cannot be further broken down into meaningful units. Some monosyllabic verbs are shown in (157).
Sesquisyllabic verbs are made up of minor and major syllables (see syllable structures in §2.7). The most frequent sesquisyllabic verbs forming initial minor syllables in Kadu are: a-, ka-, sa-, and za-. The etymology of each is unknown. Verbs with sesquisyllabic structures are illustrated in (158).

(157)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ceū} & \quad \text{‘sing’} \\
\text{i} & \quad \text{‘give’} \\
\text{li} & \quad \text{‘come’} \\
\text{kā} & \quad \text{‘show’} \\
\text{kaū} & \quad \text{‘call’} \\
\text{nāng} & \quad \text{‘go’} \\
\text{pheū} & \quad \text{‘carry’} \\
\text{tān} & \quad \text{‘beat’} \\
\text{yōk} & \quad \text{‘eat’}
\end{align*}
\]

(158)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(a) \quad aceū} & \quad \text{‘vomit’} \\
\text{ahū} & \quad \text{‘to boil’} \\
\text{atī} & \quad \text{‘soft’} \\
\text{ashī} & \quad \text{‘skinny’} \\
\text{ayàn} & \quad \text{‘poor’} \\
\text{azàn} & \quad \text{‘pity’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(b) \quad kahū} & \quad \text{‘hot’} \\
\text{katām} & \quad \text{‘be beautiful’} \\
\text{kasīn} & \quad \text{‘cold’} \\
\text{katūng} & \quad \text{‘see’} \\
\text{kayā} & \quad \text{‘lose’} \\
\text{kazeū} & \quad \text{‘change’} \\
\text{kazīp} & \quad \text{‘wring’}
\end{align*}
\]
As shown in (158), the two most common minor syllables in sesquisyllabic verbs are \textit{a-} and \textit{ka-}. A few other minor syllables are also attested with just one or two occurrences in my corpus. They are \textit{ta-} as in \textit{tapaık} ‘speak’, \textit{na-} as in \textit{nayá} ‘be new’, and \textit{la-} as in \textit{lawaí} ‘to reach out’.

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

(159) \textit{lákzeút} ‘tear off’
\textit{mánták} ‘think’
\textit{túngák} ‘bow (head)’
\textit{peúnán} ‘be obstinate’

Only one trisyllabic verb, \textit{ùhánphám} ‘yawn’, has been attested in Kadu.
3.1.2.1.2 Complex verbs

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

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

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

(160) Noun + Verb compounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mán-katām</td>
<td>(face-beautiful) ‘shy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halā-nāng</td>
<td>(husband-go) ‘marry’¹⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ēḵ-lā</td>
<td>(wife-take) ‘marry’¹⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōk-pū</td>
<td>(cow-emerge) ‘tend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mōk-thū</td>
<td>(cow-pound) ‘gore’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shī-yeū</td>
<td>(medicine-get up) ‘be angry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

¹⁵ A woman marrying a man. (Lit. ‘go for a man’).
¹⁶ A man marrying a woman. (Lit. ‘take woman’).
compound words with the initial member wān ‘fire’. Some fire related verbs in Kadu are given in (161).

(161)  

- wān-mīt (fire-extinguish) ‘extinguish’
- wān-sūt (fire-burn) ‘burn’
- wān-zū (fire-add) ‘add firewood’
- wān-zék (fire-?) ‘to kindle’
- wān-tāt (fire-send) ‘to cast/shed light’

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

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

(162)  

- halāng-zèk (head-bite) ‘headache’
- pūk-hák (belly-shout) ‘gas in the abdomen’
- pūk-zèk (belly-bite) ‘have dysentery’
- pūk-zalaút (belly-drift) ‘have diarrhea’
- pūk-heū (belly-climb) ‘have flatulence’

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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{yū-nī} & \text{(look-lazy)} & \text{‘hate’} \\
\text{katùng-pá} & \text{(see-?)} & \text{‘imagine’} \\
\text{mīng-zāk} & \text{(spin-hook)} & \text{‘lose sense’} \\
\text{teút-pū} & \text{(hear-emerge)} & \text{‘hear’} \\
\text{tīn-haūt} & \text{(revile-want)} & \text{‘angry’} \\
\end{array}
\]

3.1.2.1.3 Reduplication and attaching attendant words

Kadu verbs may be reduplicated using the same morpheme or may take attendant words\(^{17}\). Reduplication of dynamic verbs in Kadu signals an iterative aspect—that is, the reduplication of an action verb has the semantic effect of signalling that the action is being done “frequently” or “repeatedly.”

(164) (a) \(\text{anáq sīngngeútshītè yōk yōk pán ním mā} \) (12:70)

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{anáq} & \text{sīngngeút-shī} & = & \text{tē} & \text{yōk} & \text{yōk} & \text{pán ním} & \text{mā} \\
\text{this} & \text{fig-CLT.fruit} & = & \text{A.AG eat} & \text{eat} & \text{COS stay} & \text{RLS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘The pig, time to time, eats fig fruit and stays.’

---

\(^{17}\) An attendant word is item that is not a free lexeme but occurs only with a steady partner word. (Ayoka 2010:41).
(b)  ámbnąq sækjaůk lāpánnaâ lapā ōm ōmmatâk (23:14)

 ámbnąq sæk  = yaůk  lā  = pán  = naâ
that daughter  = COM  take  = COS  = only

lapā  ōm  ōm  = mā  = tāk
field make make  = RLS  = HS

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

(c)  hîng sækshâpâpê mânsấtû tapaúk tapaúkmatâk (23:8)

hîng  sæk-shâ  = pâ  = pê  mânsâq-tú
3SG daughter-small  = ALL  = LOC maiden-language

tapaúk tapaúk  = mā  = tāk
speak speak  = RLS  = HS

‘(He) repeatedly expressed his love to her daughter.’

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

This pattern occurs with state verbs such as colour, weather condition and taste terms. The colour terms with their attendant members are illustrated in (165).
The taste terms with their attendant words are illustrated in (166).

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

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

(166)  túm pàungpàung  ‘a little fragrant’
       tì yùnyùn  ‘a little sweet’
       hà těktěk  ‘a little bitter’
       chí zìngzìng  ‘a little sour’
       chí òmòm  ‘a little lightly sour’

(167)  túmtúmsà  ‘pleasingly fragrant’
       tìtìsà  ‘pleasingly sweet’
       chíchísà  ‘pleasingly sour’
The weather terms with their attendant members are illustrated in (168).

(168)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kasín tük tük} & \quad \text{‘a little cold’} \\
\text{lúm paùk paùk} & \quad \text{‘a little warm’} \\
\text{yá taiktaik} & \quad \text{‘a little bright’} \\
\text{thì húng háng} & \quad \text{‘a little shiny’} \\
\text{ká taingtaing} & \quad \text{‘a little hot’} \\
\text{shím katük kákatük} & \quad \text{‘a little feel cold’} \\
\text{sacëì sín sín} & \quad \text{‘a little clear’} \\
\text{haláng sín sín} & \quad \text{‘a little rain’}
\end{align*}
\]

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

(169)  
\[
\begin{align*}
(\text{a}) & \quad \text{tön talón} & \quad \text{‘a little short’} \\
& \quad \text{pák salák} & \quad \text{‘a little wide’} \\
& \quad \text{íp kalìp} & \quad \text{‘a little narrow’} \\
& \quad \text{thàk salák} & \quad \text{‘a little ugly’} \\
(b) & \quad \text{zaùk pàtpàt} & \quad \text{‘a little tall’} \\
& \quad \text{nèk zìk zìk} & \quad \text{‘a little heavy’} \\
& \quad \text{núm tayùyù} & \quad \text{‘a little soft’} \\
& \quad \text{zák taiktaik} & \quad \text{‘a little hard’} \\
& \quad \text{zanà haúthaú} & \quad \text{‘a little light’} \\
& \quad \text{katùm shìshì} & \quad \text{‘a little beautiful’}
\end{align*}
\]
3.1.2.2 Serial verbs: v-v constructions

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

3.1.2.2.1 Resultative

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

(170) 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shí</td>
<td>‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tū</td>
<td>‘be cut off’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paík</td>
<td>‘be broken’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paū</td>
<td>‘be fallen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saík</td>
<td>‘be torn’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceú</td>
<td>‘be full’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbs in (170), as fillers of second verb in v-v resultative constructions, are illustrated in (171).
(171) (a)  *nāngtè tánshíkū* (25:173)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nāng} & = \text{tè} & \text{tán-shí} & = \text{kū} \\
\text{2SG} & = \text{A.AG} & \text{beat-die} & = \text{IRLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(They) will beat you to death.’

(b)  *hīng katòktè tūttūpānnaà lāing* (12:119)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hīng} & = \text{tè} & \text{tút-tū} & = \text{pán} & = \text{naà lā-ing} \\
\text{3SG} & = \text{A.AG} & \text{cut-be.cut.off} & = \text{COS} & = \text{only take-DIR}_2 \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

(c)  *ōngshi wānpāīk* (21:22)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ōng-shi} & \quad \text{wān-pāīk} \\
\text{coconut-CLF.fruit} & \quad \text{chop-be.broken} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Chop up the coconut.’

(d)  *phōnkalùntè thōpaūmā* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{phōn-kalùn} & = \text{tè} & \text{thō-pāī} & = \text{mā} \\
\text{wood-plant} & = \text{A.AG} & \text{push-be.fallen} & = \text{RLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) pushed over the tree.’

(e)  *salà hāsāïkpān* (31:20)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{salà} & \quad \text{hā-sāïk} & = \text{pán} \\
\text{banana.leaf} & \quad \text{grasp-be.torn} & = \text{COS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘I grasp the banana leaf (with my hand) to tear (it) apart.’
(f) \( yōkceúpán īpmā \) (12:70)

\[
\begin{align*}
yōk-ceú &= pān & \text{eat} & = \text{COS} \\
& & \text{full} & = \text{RLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) ate until he was full and slept.’

In all the examples in (171), the fillers of the second position are one-argument verbs. Kadu, unlike Burmese, does not have transitive and intransitive verb pairs. In order to express causative accomplishment, verbs like Burmese \( cōs <\text{prat}> \) ‘cut’ and English \( \text{break} \), the \( v-v \) resultative construction is used (for example, \( tūt-tū \) ‘cut-be cut off’).

The first verb in this type of construction can be filled by any transitive verb. The second verb can be any intransitive verb that expresses a change of state. A particular action verb could be used as the first verb if the speaker knows the action that causes the result stated by the second verb. If the speaker, however, does not know the exact action, then the verb \( lā \) ‘take’ is the most common verb to fill the first verb slot in \( v-v \) resultative constructions. Compare the examples in (172).

(172) (a) \( \text{lapòktè wānpaǐkmā} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
lapòk &= tē & \text{wān-paǐk} &= mā \\
\text{bamboo} &= \text{A.AG} & \text{chop-be.broken} &= \text{RLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Chop up the bamboo.’

(b) \( \text{lapòktè lāpaǐkmā} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
lapòk &= tē & \text{lā-paǐk} &= mā \\
\text{bamboo} &= \text{A.AG} & \text{take-be.broken} &= \text{RLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Break the bamboo.’
Most of the stative verbs that fill the second verb slot cannot take a patient argument. Compare the examples in (173).

\[(173) \text{ (a) } \text{lapòk paìkmà} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lapòk} & \quad \text{paìk} \quad = \text{mà} \\
\text{bamboo} & \quad \text{be.broken} \quad = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The bamboo is broken.’

\[(173) \text{ (b) } \*\text{lapòktè paìkmà} \]

The Kadu lexicon lacks causative accomplish verbs like to ‘kill’. To kill is ‘to cause something to die’ in Kadu. Therefore, the equivalent of ‘kill’ is expressed by a \text{V-V} resultative construction, which may be translated as ‘do something to death’. If the manner of killing is not known, the generic form to kill is \text{tànshí} (beat-die) ‘beat to death’. All the examples in (174) may be translated as ‘kill’ in English.

\[(174) \text{ tànshí} \quad \text{‘beat to death’} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wànshí} & \quad \text{‘chop to death’} \\
\text{kápsí} & \quad \text{‘shoot to death’} \\
\text{thòshí} & \quad \text{‘push to death’} \\
\text{tòpsí} & \quad \text{‘punch to death’}
\end{align*}
\]

It must be noted that the second verb, which expresses a change of state, may not necessarily be the final result, though it has a strong implication that it is. It can also be an intended or expected result. Whether the action expressed by the first verb really resulted or not is signalled by the \text{CFPs} \text{mà} ‘realis’ and \text{kū} ‘irrealis’.
3.1.2.2.2 Directional

Motion verbs frequently occur as the second member in a V-V directional construction. As in resultative constructions, the first verb expresses an action and the second verb provides the result, but in this case the result is a location. The first verb slot may be filled from an open set of verbs indicating the action. The second slot, however, is limited to a closed set of directional verbs indicating change of location. Motion verbs that can occur as the second verb in V-V directional constructions are given in (176). Based on different semantic interpretations and causal relationships these verbs are divided into two categories, as in (176a) and (176b).

(176) (a)  |
| sāt   | ‘descend’ |
| heū   | ‘ascend’  |
| eūt   | ‘drop’    |
| tāt   | ‘release’ |

(b)  |
| nāŋ   | ‘go’      |
| hā    | ‘walk’    |
| teū   | ‘walk/cross (bridge)’ |
| lī    | ‘come’    |
| pū    | ‘emerge’  |
The first set of verbs mentioned in (176a) describes the action which results from the first verb. When the second slot in a v-v directional construction is filled by sāt ‘descend’, eūt ‘drop’, or heū ‘ascend’ as illustrated in (177a, b, and c) there is a tight causal relation. The event described by the two verbs is realised as a single action. They are usually pronounced without a pause between them. See the illustrations of these motion verbs in (177).

(177) (a) takhāteú útsátnàngmā (08:14)

| Takhāteú | út -sāt-àng = mā |
| at.once  | abandon-descend-DIR₁ = RLS |

‘(He) threw (it) down (into the river) at once.’

(b) sīngngeútkūn zaúkpè phaukheūpàng (12:72)

| Sīngngeútkūn | zaúk = pè phauk-heū = pāng |
| fig-CLF.plant | on.top = LOC jump.up-climb = COS |

‘(He) jumped onto the fig tree.’

(c) phi-eūt-teūp = pāng = tāk

kick-drop-throw = DIR₂:COS = HS

‘(They) kicked (him) down, it is said.’

(d) cānsīttáhaíf tāntātnàngmā (07:117)

| Cānsīttá | haíf | tān-tāt-àng = mā |
| PN ABL | beat-release-DIR₁ = RLS |

‘Kyansitta beat him away.’
The other closed set of motion verbs, mentioned in (176b), is nāng ‘go’, hā ‘walk’, teū ‘walk’, lī ‘come’, and pū ‘emerge’. The verbs hā and teū are both glossed as ‘walk’ in my corpus. The semantic difference between them is that the verb hā correlates with English walk; teū, however, is used particularly with walking on a bridge or a long pole.

(178) (a) atá mōknāngmā (17:24)

atá mōk-nāng = mā
rice cook-go = RLS
‘(She) went cooking.’

(b) ngón ōmhācímā (17:13)

ngón ōm-hā-cí = mā
gold make-walk-PL = RLS
‘(They) went out to mine gold.’

(c) kaūlipín sèktāk pòkhāpè kasūmpānnà (7:28)

kaū-li = pín sèk-tāk pòkhá = pè kasūm = pán = naà
call-come = NOM person-PL forest = LOC hide = COS = only
‘The people (he) brought were hidden in the forest and ...’

The verbs nāng ‘go’ and hā ‘walk’ are interchangeably used in the second slot in V-V directional constructions. The verb hā is much more common than the verb nāng.

When the second slot is filled by one of the three motion verbs nāng ‘go’, hā ‘walk’, or lī ‘come’, as illustrated in (178), unlike the resultative and directional compounds
already mentioned in the examples in (171) and (177), it orders two actions and it is possible to pause between the two elements of the compound. It is realised as a \( v-v \) purposive construction which may be interpreted as ‘go to do’ or simply denote a movement to or away from the deictic centre.

Therefore, we summarize that the motion verbs given in (176a) describe the resulting location, whereas the motion verbs in (176b) describe an expected motion either to or away from the deictic centre. As with resultative constructions where the second verb expresses a change of state to a patient, in directional constructions the second verb may not necessarily represent the final result though it has the strong implication that this is the case. They can be either intended or expected results. Whether the change expressed by the first verb really resulted or not is signaled by the CFPs.

When the verb \( teū \) ‘walk’ fills the second slot in \( v-v \) directional construction, it denotes going to more than one place. It may be translated into English as ‘going from place to place’. Compare the examples in (179) and (180). Example (179) illustrates the verb \( teū \) as the head verb of the clause.

(179) \( takāzaūkpè teūmā \)

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{taká} & \text{zaūk} & = pè & \text{teū} & = mā \\
\text{bridge on.top} & = \text{LOC} & \text{walk} & = \text{RLS} \\
\text{‘(He) is walking on the bridge.’}
\end{array}
\]
The examples in (180) illustrate the verb *teū* as the filler of second verb in *V-V* directional constructions.

(180) (a)  *peūtyōkteūyāngmā* (25:78)

peūt-yōk-**teū-āng** = mā
lie-eat-*walk*-DIR, = RLS
‘(He) went about cheating.’

(b)  *zēmiteūmā* (AKYS)

zē  mī-**teū** = mā
market *buy-* **walk** = RLS
‘(He) went about shopping.’

The motion verb *sāng* ‘enter’ has never been attested as the second verb in *V-V* directional constructions. The verb *pū* ‘emerge’ occurs only one time in my corpus as the second verb in a *V-V* directional structure, as illustrated in (181).

(181)  *hamūktōngheūq kaūpūpānnaā* (18:40)

hamūk-tōng = hařk  kaū-**pū** = pān = naā
under-big = ABL  curl.up-*emerge* = COS = only
‘Having curled up and emerged from under ...’
3.1.2.2.3  Evaluative

In this V-V evaluative construction, the filler of the second verb gives an evaluative meaning. The verbs that give an evaluative meaning in V-V construction are given in (182).

(182)  meú  ‘good’  
yōkyá  ‘difficult’  
yākphēu  ‘aimless’  
kōm  ‘enough’

These verbs, unlike those in V-V resultative and directional constructions, do not denote change of state or location. They express evaluative descriptions related to the action of the first verb. In this structure, the two forms are realised as a tight unit and so adverbial modification must come before the whole unit, not before the evaluative terms, as in (183b). These verbs answer questions such as “how is that?.” The verb meú, which has the lexical meaning of ‘good’, denotes something appropriate, advisable, or enjoyable.

(183)  (a)  nāng nímmēupē nímàǎng (08:6)

nāng  ním-meú  =pē  ním-à-àng
2SG  stay-good  =LOC  stay-EUPH-DIR₁

‘Wherever is good/appropriate to live you may live.’
(b)  \textit{cîceû yôkmeûmatâk} (15:46)

\begin{verbatim}
cîceû  yôk-meû = mā = tâk
very  eat-good = RLS = HS
\end{verbatim}

'It was truly enjoyable/good to eat, it is said.'

The verb \textit{köm} as a second verb in \textit{v-v} construction denotes the meaning of ‘be sufficient to’ or ‘be enough of” the action expressed by the first verb, as illustrated in (184).

(184)  \textit{pâknûpaî saûngpâk ngâmûsû yôkkômû} (17:47)

\begin{verbatim}
pák-nû  paí saûng-pâk ngâ = màsû  yôk-kôm = mā
hundred-one over two-hundred exist = only.if eat-enough = RLS
\end{verbatim}

‘(It) will be enough to eat only when we have over 100 or 200 (tins of) paddy.’

The verb \textit{zeû} ‘easy’ as a second verb in \textit{v-v} construction expresses the idea that the action of the first verb is easy, as illustrated in (185).

(185)  \textit{phûn zûwing satûzeûzûngûûmû} (30:29)

\begin{verbatim}
phûn  zû-îng  satû-zeû-zûng-ång = thâmû
wood burn-DIR₂  boil-easy-JUSS-DIR₁ = HORT
\end{verbatim}

‘Burn more wood. Let’s make it boil easily.’

I have also included some verbal modifiers such as \textit{yôkyà} ‘difficult’ and \textit{yâkpeû} ‘indiscriminately’ under these \textit{v-v} evaluative constructions. These two verbs, unlike those mentioned above, never appear as head verbs. However, they are discussed here as they also provide evaluative meaning to the first verb.
When the form \( yōkyā \) follows action verbs such as ōm ‘make’ or nāng ‘go’ it denotes the meaning of ‘difficulty’ or ‘hardship’. However, following sense verbs (§3.1.2.3.2), it means ‘unpleasant’ or ‘not enjoyable’. Consider the examples in (186).

(186) (a) \( mōtwaŋghā \ thōkpānnakā lān hāyōkyāmā \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mōtwaŋghā thōk} & = \text{pānnakā lān hā-}\text{yōkyā} = \text{mā} \\
\text{rainy.season arrive} & = \text{if road walk-difficult} = \text{RLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘If the rainy season arrives, it is difficult to walk on the roads.’

(b) \( cēttaukā \ teūyōkyāmā \) (10:42)

\[
\begin{align*}
cēttau & = \text{kā teū-}\text{yōkyā} = \text{mā} \\
\text{PN} & = \text{TOP listen-difficult} = \text{RLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(The name) Kyetthaw is unpleasant to hear.’

When the second slot in a \( V-V \) construction is filled by the term \( yākpheū \), glossed as ‘indiscriminately’, it denotes no clear intention or direction. Its usage is somewhat similar to that of the verb \( teū \) ‘walk’ that I discussed in the section on directional constructions. The semantic difference between these two is that the verb \( teū \) denotes purposeful action, whereas \( yākpheū \) does not.

(187) (a) \( hāyākpheūyāŋkū \) (21:1)

\[
\begin{align*}
hā-\text{yākpheū-} & = \text{āŋg} = \text{kū} \\
\text{walk-indiscriminately-} & = \text{DIR, IRLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(I) will walk indiscriminately (around that mountain).’
(b)  \textit{tapaúkyákpheúmā} (25:91)
\begin{align*}
\text{tapaúk-} & \text{yákpheú} = \text{mā} \\
\text{speak-} & \text{indiscriminately} = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}

‘(He) speaks indiscriminately.’

3.1.2.2.4 Explanatory

Only one verb, \textit{kā} ‘show’, in \textit{v-v} constructions which denote the meaning of demonstration or explanation of the action expressed by the first verb has been attested, as in (188).

(188)  
(a)  \textit{maléq heúkākūseúe ngaúmatāk} (15:139)
\begin{align*}
\text{maléq} & \text{heú-} \text{kā} = \text{kū} = \text{seúe} = \text{ngaú} = \text{mā} = \text{ták} \\
1\text{PL} & \text{tell-show} = \text{IRLS} = \text{SAP} \quad \text{say} = \text{RLS} = \text{HS}
\end{align*}

‘(They) said, “we will tell-show (explain it to you)”, it is said.’

(b)  \textit{ngā tánkākū} (25:115)
\begin{align*}
\text{ngā} & \text{tán-} \text{kā} = \text{kū} \\
1\text{SG} & \text{beat-show} = \text{IRLS}
\end{align*}

‘I will beat-show (show you how to beat).’

3.1.2.2.5 Manner

Fillers of the second verb in \textit{v-v} manner constructions are few in number. The complete listing is given in (189).
When the verbs mentioned in (189) are used in the second slot in V-V constructions, they have a ‘kind of manner’ adverbial meaning. They have undergone a certain degree of grammaticalisation. They answer the question, “In what manner or how is the action being done?.” Their grammaticalised meanings are illustrated in (190).

(190)  
- *teúp* ‘swiftly’
- *út* ‘impetuously’
- *yū* ‘try out’

The verb *teúp* has the adverbial meaning of ‘swiftly, suddenly’, as illustrated in (191).

(191) (a)  
*teúp* athútalə *tongteúmpingmatāk* (7:66)  
*teúp*-ing = mā = tāk
at.once unusually big-throw-DIR₁ = RLS = HS
‘(It) swiftly and unusually became big, it is said.’

(b)  
*wak ngaúkà minteupping* (12:74)  
wa̱k ngaúkà *min-*teúp = píng
pig as.for awake-throw = DIR₂:COS
‘The pig suddenly awoke.’

The verb *út* denotes the adverbial meaning of how impetuously the action expressed by the first verb is done. See the illustrations in (192) and (193).
(192) tākši shileúŋkaląŋ yātaúpánaà tűtűnàngmaták seùé (07:65)

\[
\text{tākši shi-leún kaląŋ yā-ta } = \text{pán } = \text{naà} \\
\text{finger four-CLF. stick approximate gauge-L.SUFF } = \text{COS } = \text{only}
\]

\[
\text{tűt-út-ång } = \text{mā } = \text{ták } = \text{seùé} \\
\text{cut-toß-DIR}_1 = \text{RLS } = \text{HS } = \text{SAP}
\]

‘(He) gauged (the drum to be) about four fingers length and cut (it) impetuously, it is said.’

(193) zökšiwaleú tēkšīpā lāungtaútákhāngpāng (12:127)

\[
\text{zökši-waleú tēkšī pā lāung-ta-út-å-hång } = \text{pång} \\
\text{breast-liquid pot include pour-L.SUFF-toß- EUPH-back } = \text{COS}
\]

‘(He) poured (it) down including the milk pot.’

The verb yū denotes the meaning of ‘try to’ or ‘carefully’, as in (194). It is also known as ‘probative’ or ‘conative’ in the literature. Probative or conative sense deriving from the verb ‘see’ or ‘look’ is attested in other TB languages as well. See Coupe (2007:332) and Myit Soe (1999:225).

(194) hîng halá shìyàngkà cîmpè nîmhånyaúmåseùé (17:5)

\[
\text{hîng halá shì-ång } = \text{kå } = \text{cîm } = \text{pē} \\
\text{3SG husband die-DIR}_1 = \text{TOP } = \text{house } = \text{LOC}
\]

\[
\text{nîm-hång-yū } = \text{må } = \text{seùé} \\
\text{stay-back-look } = \text{RLS } = \text{SAP}
\]

‘As her husband died she is living at home.’ (She will stay until she finds a permanent place.)
Example (194) may be translated, also, as ‘She is temporarily living with us.’ or ‘She is trying to see how she would fit living with a family again.’. When the verb yū follows a cognition verb such as sínzá ‘think’, yū denotes an adverbial meaning something like ‘to v-carefully’, as in (195).

(195) anaïyathā mïnkāq sínzátaïyūwàngmatákseùé (07:09)

anaïyathā mïn = káq sínzá-ta-yū-àng = má = ták = seùé
PN king = LOC think-L.SUFF-look-DIR₁ = RLS = HS = SAP

‘The king, Anawyatha, was thinking carefully (about it), it is said.’

yū is also frequently attached to the verb zìng ‘ask’, as in (196).

(196) (a) taïcïtë hïngká zìngyùmâ seùé (08:115)

taïcï = tê hïng = ká zìng-yù = má = seùé
woman = A.AG 3SG = TOP ask-look = RLS = SAP

‘He tried asking the woman.’

(b) hïng chïthaïuingtë zìngyùheúqmaták (25:59)

hïng chïthaïung = tê zìng-yù-hâng-ìng = má = ták
3SG bag = A.AG ask-look-back-DIR₂ = RLS = HS

‘(They) tried asking his bag, it is said.’

The example in (196b) is taken from a story where the bag was able to speak like a human. When the verb yū is attached to zìng, it has the meaning of ‘ask (for information)’. Whereas the verb zìng itself means ‘ask (for something)’, the verb zìngyù is lexicalised as one unit by the native speaker of Kadu.
3.1.2.3 Verb classes

Morphosyntactically, there are no grammatical devices to signal voice or transitivity alterations in Kadu. A transitive verb can take a patient argument which may be marked by the anti-agentive marker te (6.2) if the patient is animate, as exemplified in (197).

(197) (a)  *kasàtóngtè zàkmaták* (09:4)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kasà-tóng} & \quad = \text{tè} & \text{zàk} & \quad = \text{mā} & \quad = \text{ták} \\
\text{tiger-big} & \quad = \text{A.AG} & \text{afraid} & \quad = \text{RLS} & \quad = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(The rabbit was) afraid of the tiger, it is said.’

(b)  *nāng sā-tàktè tánshīkū* (15:4)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nāng} & \quad \text{sā-tàk} & \quad = \text{tè} & \quad \text{tán-shí} & \quad = \text{kū} \\
2SG & \quad \text{son-PL} & \quad = \text{A.AG} & \quad \text{beat-die} & \quad = \text{IRLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(I) will kill your sons.’

The distinction between stative and dynamic verbs in Kadu is largely based on semantics. Using the marking of progressive aspect, such as *v-ing* in English, to distinguish stative and dynamic verbs does not work in Kadu. In Kadu, both progressive and durative aspects are marked by a single auxiliary verb, *núm* ‘stay’, e.g., *ōm-núm* ‘do-ing’ and *món-núm* ‘being-happy’.

On distributional grounds, the most noticeable distinction between stative and dynamic verbs in Kadu is their position when they are attributive modifiers of NPs. Dynamic verbs, used as nominal modifiers require derivation as nominals via = *panāq* to function
as attributives, precede the head, shown in the \{\} brackets in the examples in (198), in a relative clause structure.

(198)  (a)  \textit{tacámín īpanáq cēngseútcā} (07:100)

\[
\{\text{tacámín } \overset{\text{PN}}{i} \ = \overset{\text{PN}}{\text{panáq}}\} \text{ cēng-seútcā} \\
\overset{\text{PN}}{\text{give}} = \overset{\text{PN}}{\text{NOM}} \text{ rattan-weapon}
\]

'The rattan weapon that Tacamin gave'

(b)  \textit{eūhám wánpeúpanáq phónkalùntē} (08:59)

\[
\{\text{eūhám } \overset{\text{PN}}{\text{wán-peú } = \overset{\text{PN}}{\text{panáq}}\} \text{ phón-kalùn-tē} \\
\overset{\text{PN}}{\text{chop-keep}} = \overset{\text{PN}}{\text{NOM}} \text{ wood-plant-PL}
\]

'The tree that Euham cut down ...'

(c)  \textit{mángsátāk nēkpanáq kasé sāngsāng} (08:79)

\[
\{\text{mángsá-tāk } \overset{\text{PN}}{\text{nēk } = \overset{\text{PN}}{\text{panáq}}\} \text{ kasé sāngsāng} \\
\overset{\text{PN}}{\text{prince-PL }} \text{dress.up } = \overset{\text{PN}}{\text{NOM}} \text{ sarong shirt}
\]

'The clothes that princes wore'

(d)  \textit{kātē ōmpānāq laūkzā}, (19:8)

\[
\{\overset{\text{AG}}{\text{kā } = \overset{\text{AG}}{\text{tē }} \overset{\text{AG}}{\text{om } = \overset{\text{AG}}{\text{panáq}}} \text{ laūkzā} \\
\overset{\text{AG}}{\text{soil}} = \overset{\text{AG}}{\text{AG}} \text{ make } = \overset{\text{PN}}{\text{NOM}} \text{ mud.stone}
\]

'The mud stone that was made from the dirt/soil'

However, stative verbs immediately follow the head noun which they modify. This type of adjectival verb modifying the head noun is mentioned in the section on NOUN + VERB compounds in §3.1.1.1.2. More examples are given in (199).
3.1.2.3.1 Transitive verbs

Transitive verbs in Kadu can take a patient argument. Some of the monotransitive verbs in Kadu have a prototypically default body part associated with the verb as an Instrument/Manip. For example, the verbs tāk ‘lick’ and phi ‘kick’ have body parts ‘tongue’ and ‘leg’ as part of their lexical meaning. In the following section, I examine verb classes that have monotransitive interpretations. These verbs may be further divided into: AFFECT, PLACEMENT, MENTAL EXPERIENCE, LIKING, and UTTERANCE verbs.

Adopting Dixon’s (1991) analysis, AFFECT verbs are prototypically transitive verbs. These verbs, quoting Dixon (1991:110), involve three semantic roles:

(a) an Agent moves or manipulates something (Manip)
(b) so that it comes into contact with some thing or person (Target)
(c) either the Manip or Target will be physically affected by the activity.

In this type, the Agent is typically a human and the Target may be either human or non-human. The term Manip is used as a cover term for instrument, an object usually held by the Agent, or a body part of the Agent. Under the AFFECT verbs, I have examined verb types such as TOUCH, RUB, HIT, SEVER, STRETCH, WRAP, BREAK, and CREATE.
Under the category of **TOUCH** verb, only one verb, *thōk* ‘touch something slightly with something else’, has been attested. The prototypical Manip is, by default, a body part—the hand. It denotes a light contact with the Target. The Target may be marked by locative marker = *pè* (200) or anti-agentive = *tè* as in (201). The Manip may be either implicit or explicit. For example, the Manip which is the body part–hand in (200) is implicit.

(200) *caikshūtē lāpānnaà hīṅ īpēq thōkāngmatāk* (08:12)

\[
\begin{align*}
caiks-hī & = tē & lā & = pān = naā \\
mango-CLT.fruit & = A.AG & take & = COS = only \\
hs & = pē & thōk-āng & = mā = tāk \\
3SG penis & = LOC touch-DIR₂ & = RLS = HS \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) took the mango and touched it on his penis, it is said.’

However, if the Manip is explicit, and is an instrument rather than a human body part, it must be explicitly marked with the comitative *yaūk*, as illustrated in (201).

(201) *kaphūtē ashī shī mīnṣāhālūyāk haūntuyaūk thōkyūmā* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
kaphū & = tē & a-shī & shī & mīnṣāhā-lū & = yāk \\
\text{snake} & = A.AG & NEG-die & die & know -get & = PURP \\
haūntu & = yaūk & thōk-yū & = mā \\
\text{stick} & = COM & touch-look & = RLS \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) touches the snake with a stick to see if it is dead or alive.’
RUB verbs describe the Manip being operated to affect the surface of the Target. RUB verbs attested in Kadu are given in (202).

(202)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>pì</em></td>
<td>‘stroke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aheú</em></td>
<td>‘scratch with hand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>né</em></td>
<td>‘rub’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tāk</em></td>
<td>‘lick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>phaík</em></td>
<td>‘scratch with feet’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbs *né* ‘rub’, *phaík* ‘scratch with feet’, and *aheú* ‘scratch with hand’ may involve greater force, whereas, *pì* ‘stroke’ and *tāk* ‘lick’ may involve lesser force to the surface of the Target. The Manip for the first three verbs in (202) is a default body part—the hand. The Manip of *tāk* ‘lick’ and *phaík* ‘scratch’ are default body parts—the tongue and animal’s legs (particularly the chicken’s feet), respectively. It is awkward and redundant to explicitly mention the Manip with these verbs. Some examples are shown in (203).

(203)  

(a) *zünte salíyaúk tākmā (AKYS)*

zūn = tè   salí = yaúk tāk = mā
salt = A.AG tongue = COM lick = RLS

‘(He) licks the salt with his tongue.’

(b) *üté haúkté phaíkpeúmālé (AKYS)*

ū- tè haúk = tè tā = yaúk phaík-peú = mā
fowl-PL field = A.AG leg = COM scratch-keep = RLS

‘The chickens have scratched the field with their legs.’
HIT verbs involve a degree of force coming into contact with the Target. Here again, like the TOUCH and RUB verbs, the default Manip is usually a specific body part unless otherwise explicitly clarified. HIT verbs in Kadu are given in (204).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(204)} & \text{\textit{phi}} & \text{‘kick’} \\
& \text{\textit{phi’t}} & \text{‘kick’} \\
& \text{\textit{tan}} & \text{‘beat/hit’} \\
& \text{\textit{top}} & \text{‘punch’ or ‘stab’} \\
& \text{\textit{ha’u}} & \text{‘strike’} \\
& \text{\textit{mok-thu}} & \text{‘gore’}
\end{array}
\]

The verbs mentioned in (204) describe a volitional Agent using a Manip to make forceful contact with the Target. The prototypical Manip of \textit{phi} ‘kick’, \textit{tan} ‘beat’, and \textit{top} ‘punch’ is a default human body part—the leg for the first and the hand for the last two. The Manip of \textit{phi’t} ‘kick’ is a default animal body part—the leg. The Manip of \textit{mok-thu} (cow-pound) ‘gore’ or ‘butt’ is, prototypically, a cow body part—the horn. The first word may be replaced by any horn-bearing animal.

The prototypical Manip of \textit{ha’u} ‘strike’ is a long object, such as \textit{peik’ut} ‘adze’ or \textit{yi’thu} ‘axe’. It also occurs with an animate Manip—the snake. Semantically, we can consider these related because a snake uses its body as a Manip to make forceful contact with the Target. With inanimate Manips, the representation of the Manip must be explicitly marked with the comitative marker \textit{yat’ik}. However, with an animate object such as in the case of the snake’s strike, the Manip is implicit. Compare the examples in (205).
(205) (a) \textit{kaphú hašhīyāngmatāk} (09:101)

\begin{center}
haṭkmā kaphú haũ-shī-āng = mā = tāk
\end{center}
that.time snake \begin{center} strike-die-DIR\textsubscript{1} = RLS = HS\end{center}

'That time, the snake killed (the tiger), it is said.'

(b) \textit{phónkalùntê yithúyaũk haũmā} (AKYS)

\begin{center}
phón-kalùn = tē yithú = yaũk haũ = mā
\end{center}
wood-plant = A.AG axe = COM strike = RLS

'Chop the tree with an axe.'

The Manip of \textit{tān} and \textit{tōp} may also be instruments. In that case the Manip must be explicitly mentioned and marked with the comitative marker \textit{yaũk}, as illustrated in (206).

(206) \textit{hĩng cĩtê zaũngwafyaũk tānnā} (AKYS)

\begin{center}
3SG dog = A.AG rattan = COM beat = RLS
\end{center}

'He hits the dog with a rattan.'

The Manip may also occur as a topic of the clause which may be marked by the topic marker \textit{kā} in Kadu. In my corpus, there is one story in which the adze had a magical power and was treated like a faithful servant-instrument of a certain man. Look at the example in (207a) in which the master orders the adze to go and cut someone’s neck. In this context, the Manip-adze is marked by the topic marker \textit{kā} and take the role of agent referent, as in (207b).
(207) (a)  \textit{keù peükút hìng katòkè wántūpānnaà lāhāngìngyók} (12:93)

\begin{verbatim}
keù peükút hìng katòk =tè
right! adze 3SG neck =A_AG

wán-tū = pán = naà lā-hāng-ìng = yók
chop-be.cut.off = COS = only take-back-DIR$_2$ = INTRUSIVE

‘Adze, go and cut his neck and bring back (the magic ball).’
\end{verbatim}

(b)  \textit{peükútka wántūpānnaà tātlúng lāhāngpìng} (12:94)

\begin{verbatim}
peükút =ká wán-tū = pán = naà
adze =TOP chop-be.cut.off = COS = only

tātlúng lā-hāng = píng
magic.ball take-back = DIR$_2$;COS

‘The adze cut off (the neck) and brought the magic ball.’
\end{verbatim}

\textit{SEVER} and \textit{BREAK} verbs involve an Agent using a Manip to change the physical unity or the shape of the Target. These verbs can be divided into two groups—one which takes non-human instruments as Manips by default and one that takes human body parts as Manips by default. Verbs that take non-human instrument as Manip are given in (208).
The prototypical Manips of the verbs mentioned in (208) are, by default, sharp metal objects. The Manips of \textit{wán} and \textit{haū} are ‘knife’ and ‘axe’, respectively. The verbs \textit{yáp} and \textit{thaū} take the same Manip, a sickle, but have different typical patients. The Manip may be implicit or explicit. If the Manip is explicitly mentioned, it must be marked with the comitative marker \textit{yaūk}. Compare the sentences in (209) and (210).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{haū} ‘strike’
\item \textit{phék} ‘break off (hard cover)’
\item \textit{taū} ‘prune’
\item \textit{tút} ‘cut’
\item \textit{thaū} ‘reap (thatch)’
\item \textit{thaū} or \textit{tháng} ‘carve’ or ‘gouge’
\item \textit{thít} ‘nick’
\item \textit{wán} ‘chop (with knife)’
\item \textit{wát} ‘shave’
\item \textit{yáp} ‘reap (paddy)’
\item \textit{yúp} ‘reap (leaves)’
\end{itemize}

(208)

\begin{align*}
\text{(208)} & \quad \text{\textit{haū}} & \quad \text{‘strike’} \\
& \text{\textit{phék}} & \quad \text{‘break off (hard cover)’} \\
& \text{\textit{taū}} & \quad \text{‘prune’} \\
& \text{\textit{tút}} & \quad \text{‘cut’} \\
& \text{\textit{thaū}} & \quad \text{‘reap (thatch)’} \\
& \text{\textit{thaū}} \text{ or } \text{\textit{tháng}} & \quad \text{‘carve’ or ‘gouge’} \\
& \text{\textit{thít}} & \quad \text{‘nick’} \\
& \text{\textit{wán}} & \quad \text{‘chop (with knife)’} \\
& \text{\textit{wát}} & \quad \text{‘shave’} \\
& \text{\textit{yáp}} & \quad \text{‘reap (paddy)’} \\
& \text{\textit{yúp}} & \quad \text{‘reap (leaves)’}
\end{align*}

\begin{itemize}
\item The prototypical Manips of the verbs mentioned in (208) are, by default, sharp metal objects. The Manips of \textit{wán} and \textit{haū} are ‘knife’ and ‘axe’, respectively. The verbs \textit{yáp} and \textit{thaū} take the same Manip, a sickle, but have different typical patients. The Manip may be implicit or explicit. If the Manip is explicitly mentioned, it must be marked with the comitative marker \textit{yaūk}. Compare the sentences in (209) and (210).
\end{itemize}
(210) *phónkalùntè táŋkaítóngyaúk wánmā* (15:22)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{phón-kalùn} & = \text{tè} & \text{táŋkaítóng} & = \text{yaúk} & \text{wán} & = \text{mā} \\
\text{wood-plant} & = \text{A.AG sword-big} & = \text{COM} & \text{chop} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

'Cut the tree with a big sword.'

**BREAK** verbs that take human body parts as Manips are given in (211).

(211) *ngât* ‘break (branches)’

*chèk* ‘break (leaves)’

*kàp* ‘break off (soft shell)’

The Manips of *ngât* and *kàp* are human body parts—the hands. The Manip of the verb

*chèk* is usually finger tips, however, it may also be a non-body part—a sharp tiny

instrument. If the Manip of the verb *chèk* is a non-human body part, it must be marked

by a comitative marker *yaúk*. If the Target is clear from the context it can be omitted.

Compare the two example sentences in (212).

(212) (a) *kâñzù tèkmā* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kâñzù} & \text{ tèk} & = \text{mā} \\
\text{mustard} & \text{ break} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

'Break off the mustard leaves (from the plant).'

(b) *táŋshiyaúk kâñzù tèkmā* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{táŋ-shi} & = \text{yaúk} & \text{kâñzù} & \text{ tèk} & = \text{mā} \\
\text{knife-DIM} & = \text{COM} & \text{mustard} & \text{ break} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

'Cut the mustard leaves with a knife.'
NPs before the verb have pragmatically determined word ordering (§8.1). Notice in example (212) the Manip occurs in clause initial position.

Only a few stretch verbs, theú ‘be widened’, kāk ‘make taut’, and phāk ‘twist’, have been attested in my corpus. The prototypical Manip for these verbs is a human body part—the hand. These are illustrated in (213).

(213) (a) zāngkōk salētē kākmā (06:35)

zāngkōk-salē = tē kāk = mā
lizard-leather = a.AG make.taut = RLS
‘Tighten the lizard skin.’

(b) shīthaungtē theūmā

shīthaung = tē theū = mā
bag = a.AG be.widened = RLS
‘(He) opened/stretched the bag.’

(c) yāmpāk phākmā

yāmpāk phāk = mā
hemp twist = RLS
‘(He) twists the hemp.’

Wrap verbs involve an Agent using a Manip to wrap or cover a Target. The wrap verbs attested in my Kadu data are given in (214).
Notice that the Kadu lexicon includes many wrap verbs which may be translated into English as ‘wear’ or ‘put on’. A lot of these verbs are tightly linked with specific NPs.

For example, the verb *phú* is associated only with an umbrella or bamboo hat, *phún* is associated only with blankets or sheets, and *nēk* is associated only with clothes worn on the lower part of the body. These NPs usually occur immediately before the verbs.

The Manips of wrap verbs are conventionalised to the extent that they don’t take the comitative marker *yaúk*, as was the case with hit and sever verbs.

(214)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{phú} & \quad \text{‘cover (with umbrella)’} \\
\text{sūp} & \quad \text{‘wear (hat)’} \\
\text{nēk} & \quad \text{‘wear (lower garments)’} \\
\text{taū} & \quad \text{‘wear (upper garments)’} \\
\text{pí} & \quad \text{‘put on (sandal)’ or ‘ride’} \\
\text{phún} & \quad \text{‘wrap’} \\
\text{típ} & \quad \text{‘pack’} \\
\text{nōp} & \quad \text{‘bury’ or ‘cover’}
\end{align*}
\]

Notice that the Kadu lexicon includes many wrap verbs which may be translated into English as ‘wear’ or ‘put on’. A lot of these verbs are tightly linked with specific NPs.

For example, the verb *phú* is associated only with an umbrella or bamboo hat, *phún* is associated only with blankets or sheets, and *nēk* is associated only with clothes worn on the lower part of the body. These NPs usually occur immediately before the verbs.

The Manips of wrap verbs are conventionalised to the extent that they don’t take the comitative marker *yaúk*, as was the case with hit and sever verbs.

(215)  

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{(a) } \text{halángweúmā phūkná phúiyók (AKYS)} \\
&\quad \text{haláng-weú} = \text{mā phūkná } \text{phú i} = \text{yók} \\
&\quad \text{sky-water} = \text{RLS bamboo.hat put.on give INTRUSIVE} \\
&\quad \text{‘(It is) raining. Put a bamboo hat on him.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{(b) } *\text{halángweúmā phūkná yaúk phúiyók} \\
&\quad \text{haláng-weú} = \text{mā phūkná } = \text{yaúk phú-i} = \text{yók} \\
&\quad \text{sky-water} = \text{RLS bamboo.hat COM put.on-give INTRUSIVE}
\end{align*}
\]
However, when the Manip is followed by an attributive element to indicate contrast or emphasis, the comitative *yaúk* may optionally be added. The Manip with the comitative *yaúk* occurs as clause initial as illustrated in (216a-b).

(216) (a)  *phūknáyaúk phúimá* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{phūkná} &= \text{yaúk} \quad \text{phú} \quad \text{i} \quad \text{= mā} \\
\text{bamboo.hat} &= \text{COM} \quad \text{put.on} \quad \text{give} \quad \text{= RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(They) put a bamboo hat (not the umbrella) on him.’

(b)  *satēngyaúk cím nōpmá*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{satēng} &= \text{yaúk} \quad \text{cím} \quad \text{nōp} \quad \text{= mā} \\
\text{thatch} &= \text{COM} \quad \text{house} \quad \text{cover} \quad \text{= RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(They) are roofing the house with thatch (not with zinc).’

In some contexts, the conventionalised Manip can be left out and still be retrievable from the context. See the illustrations in (217).

(217) (a)  *atá tékshítè ōpmànglé* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{atá} \quad \text{tékshī} &= \text{tè} \quad \text{ōp-àng} \quad \text{= lé} \\
\text{rice pot} &= \text{A.AG} \quad \text{close-DIR₁} \quad \text{= EMPH}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Oh! cover/put the rice pot(’s lid).’
(b) *h英寸 phún imásà ipkū*

\[\text{hingga phun} \ i \ = \ \text{masa} \ \text{ip} \ = \ \text{kū} \]

\[\text{3sg \ wrap \ give \ = \ only \ sleep \ = \ IRLS} \]

'I will sleep only if he covers me (with the blanket).'

**CREATE** verbs refer to creating or manufacturing objects from some other materials.

These verbs use a Manip to produce some new entity. The prototypical Manips of these verbs are human body parts. The **CREATE** verbs attested in my Kadu data are shown in (218).

(218)  
- **za**  ‘build’
- **öm**  ‘make’
- **mōk**  ‘cook’
- **wā**  ‘plait (of bamboo or cane strips)’
- **tāk**  ‘weave (of thread)’

The verb **mōk** ‘cook’ is tightly linked with specific NPs. The prototypical Manip of the verb **mōk** ‘cook’ is an instrument—a pot. The Manip is conventionalised and usually left out. See the illustration in (219).

(219)  
\[\text{hingga apomákha pu pān mōktalē} \ (15:52) \]

\[\text{hingga \ a-po} \ = \ \text{makhà} \ \text{pu} \ = \ \text{pān} \ \text{mōk} \ = \ \text{talē} \]

\[\text{3sg \ NEG-exist \ = \ time/when \ emerge \ = \ COS \ cook \ = \ SAP} \]

‘(She) cooked when (he) was absent.’

205
However, when the Manip is followed by an attributive element or is something other than a prototypical pot, the comitative marker *yaúk* is obligatorily added. See the illustrations in (220).

(220) (a) \textit{átá thòmpòkyaúk mōkmā}

atá thòmpòk = \textit{yaúk} mōk = mā
rice bamboo.tube = \textit{COM} cook = \textit{RLS}

‘The rice was cooked in a bamboo tube.’

(b) \textit{watéktonyaúk mōkmā}

waték tón = \textit{yaúk} mōk = mā
steam.pot big = \textit{COM} cook = \textit{RLS}

‘(It was) cooked in a big steam pot.’

PLACEMENT verbs in Kadu are further divided into MOVE, PLACE, HANG, TAKE IN/OUT, and SEND verbs.

MOVE verbs, which cause objects to change their location, can be used transitively. The prototypical Manip of most of these verbs is by default a human body part—the hand. The MOVE verbs attested in Kadu are shown in (221).
The Manip of the verb *káp* ‘shoot’ is a non-body part–an instrument. Therefore, it is obligatorily marked by the comitative marker *yaúk*. It is illustrated in (222).

(222)  *laúkléyaúk ühaú kápàngmā* (19:1)

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{laúklé} & = & \text{yaúk} & \text{ühaú káp-àng} = \text{mā} \\
\text{sling.shot} & = & \text{COM} & \text{owl shoot-DIR} & = & \text{RLS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(He) shot (the owl) with a sling shot.’

*PLACE* verbs, similar to *MOVE* verbs, also cause objects to change their location. The prototypical Manip is by default a human body part–the hand. *PLACE* verbs attested in my Kadu data are given in (223).

(223)  *peú* ‘keep’

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{tăng} & & \text{put onto} \\
\text{thaú} & & \text{put down} \\
\text{pám} & & \text{soak in liquid} \\
\text{haút} & & \text{put in} \\
\end{array}
\]

These verbs have lexicalised locative meanings. Therefore, an overt locative argument is not necessary unless the speaker wants to give a specific locative meaning.
(224) (a)  maningyeù peúcikalá (11:35)

mà = ningyeù peú-cí = kū = lá
WH = manner keep-PL = IRLS = Q

‘How shall (we) keep/put (them)?’

(b)  anáq paíkpè peú (08:63)

anáq paík = pè peú
this beside = LOC keep

‘Just keep/put (them)!’

The verb thaù ‘put down’ has the conventionalised meaning of putting down a cooking pot from a fireplace. Compare the sentences in (225). The first sentence, (225a), is grammatical while (225b) is not.

(225) (a)  yàkká thaùwàngmák (30:49)

yàk = ká thaù-àng = mák
now = TOP put.down-DIR₁ = HORT

‘Now. let’s put down (the pot).’

(b)  *mōksūp thaùwàng

mōksūp thaù-àng
hat put.down-DIR₁

For putting down objects other than cooking pots, the speakers of Kadu more frequently use the verb cháq, which is a loanword from Burmese stdClass <hkra.> ‘put down’.

208
(226) (a) *ngayeú cháqtakū* (26:28)

ngayeú  *cháq-ta* = kū
hell  *put.down*-L.SUFF = IRLS
‘(I) will put (you) in hell.’

(b) *phàkmák kazi cháqtamák* (29:12)

phàkmák  kazi  *cháq-ta* = mák
tomorrow  trap  *put.down*-L.SUFF = HORT
‘Let’s put traps tomorrow.’

The verb *pám* ‘soak in liquid’ has a lexicalised locative meaning, therefore, it is not necessary to mention a location unless the type of liquid is worth mentioning. Compare the two sentences in (227).

(227) (a) *thông zángpán cwēuqtè pám* (21:10)

thông  záng  = pán  cwēûq  = tè  *pám*
lime  put.in  = COS  wild.yam  = A.AG  soak
‘Put (in) lime and soak the wild yam (in the water).’

(b) *shilákshītè zūnwetpè pámpānnákà yōkmeúmā* (AKYS)

shilák-shī  = tè  *zūn-weú*  = pè
gooseberry-CLF.fruit  = A.AG  salt-water  = LOC
*pám*  = pánnákà  yōk-meú  = mā
soak  = if  eat-good  = RLS
‘If (you) soak gooseberry in salty water (it is) good to eat.’
\textsc{Hang} verbs such as \textit{weū} ‘hang’, \textit{cēk} ‘suspend’, and \textit{hit} ‘hang’ have specific locations associated with the lexical verb so a locative argument is not necessarily overtly expressed. The prototypical Manip of these verbs is a human body part—the hand. The semantic difference between \textit{weū} and \textit{hit} is that the former is used when hanging an object on a hook and the latter is used when the object which contains a hook is hung on the wall. Compare the example sentences in (228).

(228) (a) \textit{shīthaúngtē weūyāng} (AKYS)
\begin{align*}
\text{shīthaúng} &= tē \quad \textit{weū-āng} \\
\text{bag} &= \text{A.AG} \quad \textit{hang-\text{DIR}_{1}} \\
\text{‘Hang the bag! (on the wall/post).’}
\end{align*}

(b) \textit{yithūtē phōnkalūnpē hītnāng} (AKYS)
\begin{align*}
\text{yithū} &= tē \quad \textit{phōn-halāk} = \text{pē} \quad \textit{hit-āng} \\
\text{axe} &= \text{A.AG} \quad \text{wood-branch} = \text{LOC} \quad \textit{hang-\text{DIR}_{1}} \\
\text{‘Hang the axe on the tree branch!’}
\end{align*}

The verb \textit{cēk} has the meaning of hanging something from the neck. Therefore, a locative phrase is redundant and unnecessary.

(229) \textit{úng shīshā cēkpeúpanāq katāmmā} (AKYS)
\begin{align*}
\text{úng} \quad \text{shīshā} \quad \textit{cēk} -\text{peú} = \text{panāq} \quad \text{katām} = \text{mā} \\
\text{that child} \quad \text{suspend-keep} = \text{NOM} \quad \text{beautiful} = \text{RLS} \\
\text{‘The one that kid is wearing/suspended (on his neck) is beautiful.’}
\end{align*}
TAKE IN/OUT verbs such as *nòk* ‘take out something by putting a hand into a bag/hole’ and *záng* ‘put in’, involve a locative source and goal, respectively. The locative source and goal may be marked by the locative enclitic =pè as in (230) and (231).

(230) *kalùng¹⁸ shitàuŋpè nòkpán ićišták* (20:22)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PN} & \quad \text{kalùng} \quad \text{=pè} \quad \text{nòk} \quad \text{=pán} \quad \text{ići} \quad \text{=mā} \quad \text{=ták} \\
\text{bag} & \quad \text{=LOC} \quad \text{take.out} \quad \text{=COS} \quad \text{give-PL} \quad \text{=RLS} \quad \text{=HS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘They took (it) out of Kalung’s bag and gave (it), it is said.’

(231) *lōngzātēsā shitàuŋpè zāngpán nāngmā* (16:11)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PN} & \quad \text{lōngzā} \quad \text{=tē} \quad \text{sā} \quad \text{shitàuŋ} \quad \text{=pè} \quad \text{záng} \quad \text{=pán} \quad \text{nāng} \quad \text{=mā} \\
\text{honing.stone} & \quad \text{=A.A} \quad \text{merely} \quad \text{bag} \quad \text{=LOC} \quad \text{put.in} \quad \text{=COS} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{=RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) put the honing stone only in the bag and went away.’

However, the locative source or goal may be omitted if they are recoverable from the context as in (232).

(232) (a) *ahā nōkkā nûwâzeú alùwā* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{PN} & \quad \text{ahā} \quad \text{nòk} \quad \text{=kā} \quad \text{nû-à} \quad \text{=zeû} \quad \text{a-lû} \quad \text{=á} \\
\text{crab} & \quad \text{take.out} \quad \text{=TO} \quad \text{CLF.animal-one} \quad \text{=even} \quad \text{NEG-get} \quad \text{=NEG}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(I went) taking crabs out (of their holes) but didn’t get even one.’

---

¹⁸ Kalùng is a mythical king of birds and also the enemy of the dragon.
(b)  *cwēúqtè kazíppán záng* (21:18)

\[
\begin{align*}
cwēúq &= tè & kazíp &= pán & záng \\
\text{wild.yam} &= \text{A.AG} & \text{squeeze} &= \text{COS} & \text{put.in}
\end{align*}
\]

'Squeeze the wild yam and put (them) in (the pot).'

**SEND** verbs such as *tāt* ‘release, send someone/something’ and *sák* ‘send something.’ have a lexicalised locative meaning related to sending something/someone to some place. If the locative source or goal is retrievable from the context, it may be implicit as illustrated in (233).

(233)  (a)  *hīng ęktè tātpán* (08:85)

\[
\begin{align*}
hīng &= čk = tè & tāt &= pán \\
3\text{SG} & \text{wife} &= \text{A.AG} & \text{release} &= \text{COS}
\end{align*}
\]

'*(He) sent his wife.*'

(b)  *nāng saēktè lákákmāyeù céng sākingmatāk* (04:12)

\[
\begin{align*}
nāng &= saēk = tè & lá-kāk &= mā &= yeù \\
2\text{SG} & \text{daughter} &= \text{A.AG} & \text{take-want} &= \text{RLS} = \text{SAP}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
céng &= sāk-ing &= mā &= tāk \\
\text{letter} &= \text{send-DIR} &= \text{RLS} = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]

'*(They) sent a letter which says “(We) want to take your daughter (for our son)”, it is said.*'

If there is an noun representing the goal or source, it may be optionally marked by the allative *pā* or ablative *haïk* to mark a locative goal and source, respectively. They are illustrated in (234) and (235).
(234) \( \text{āngnáq mandalayha ík tätningmā} \) (AKYS)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{āngnáq} & \text{mandalay} = \text{haík} & \text{tät-ing} = \text{mā} \\
\text{that} & \text{Mandalay} = \text{ABL} & \text{send-\text{DIR}_2} = \text{RLS}
\end{array}
\]

'This was sent from Mandalay.'

(235) \( \text{nāng sātāktē tachápà sākkákpán sākà} \) (15:6)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{nāng} & \text{sā-tāk} = \text{tē} & \text{tachá} = \text{pà} \\
\text{2SG} & \text{son-\text{PL}} = \text{A.AG} & \text{other.place} = \text{ALL}
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{sāk-kāk} = \text{pān} & \text{sāk-à} \\
\text{send-want} & = \text{if} & \text{send-\text{EUPH}}
\end{array}
\]

'Send your sons to wherever you want.'

Mental experience verbs, a term used by Croft (1991:169), generally take two arguments with the thematic roles of an experiencer and a stimulus (Perceiver and Impression in Dixon’s terminology 1991:131). The reference to the experiencer, which is usually human, always occurs before that of the stimulus in Kadu. The mental experience verbs attested in my Kadu corpus are given in (236).

(236) \( \text{katùng} \) ‘see’

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{yū} & \text{‘look’} \\
\text{teút} & \text{‘hear’} \\
\text{teút̂pū} & \text{‘listen’} \\
\text{zōpyū} & \text{‘taste’} \\
\text{mit} & \text{‘love’} \\
\text{yūnī} & \text{‘hate’} \\
\text{zài} & \text{‘fear/afraid’} \\
\text{leútkān} & \text{‘accept’}
\end{array}
\]
The first five mental experience verbs in (236) describe straightforward acts of perception, in which an experiencer uses eyes, ears, nose, or tongue to experience the stimulus. If the stimulus is recoverable from the context it may be omitted, as in (237).

(237) *nacá teútñà yūzipánnaà lìháng* (04:15)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nacá} & \quad \text{teút-à} & \quad \text{yū-zi} & \quad \text{pán} & \quad \text{naà} & \quad \text{lì-háng} \\
\text{carefully} & \quad \text{listen-EUPH} & \quad \text{look-finish} & \quad \text{COS} & \quad \text{=} & \quad \text{only come-back}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Go listen and look carefully (to what he said) and come back!’

These verbs, *teút* ‘listen’ and *teútpū* ‘hear’, take nominals (including nominalised clauses) as complements. Complement clauses are shown in \{\} brackets in the following examples. In the following examples reference to the experiencer (second person in (238a) and first person in (238b)) is omitted.

(238) (a) *ósací ngaúpanáq teútpūànglá* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
\{\text{ósací} \quad \text{ngaú} \quad = \quad \text{panáq}\} & \quad \text{teútpū-àng} & \quad = \quad \text{lá} \\
\text{teacher} & \quad \text{say} & \quad = \quad \text{NOM} & \quad \text{hear-DIR₁} & \quad = \quad \text{Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Did (you) hear what the teacher said?’

(b) *hìng tècháng ceùpanáqtè teútnìmmà* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
\{\text{hìng} \quad \text{tècháng} \quad \text{ceù} \quad = \quad \text{panáq}\} & \quad \text{=} & \quad \text{tè} & \quad \text{teút-nìm} & \quad = \quad \text{mà} \\
\text{3SG} & \quad \text{song} & \quad \text{sing} & \quad = \quad \text{NOM} & \quad \text{=} & \quad \text{A.AG} & \quad \text{listen-stay} & \quad = \quad \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(I) am listening to his singing.’

On the other hand, with the last four verbs, *mít* ‘love’, *yūnì* ‘hate’, *zàk* ‘fear/afraid’ and *leútkàn* ‘accept’, an experiencer expresses an attitude of remembrance or fear that
the complement proposition has been realised (Noonan 2007:130). The Experiencer may be optionally marked by the topic marker ká. The Stimulus may be realised as a simple NP, as in (239), or may be a complement NP, which may be marked by the anti-agentive tè, as in (239b).

(239)  (a)  
\[ \text{myáqmyáqtè mítnā} \ (\text{AKYS}) \]
\[ \text{myáqmyáq} = \text{tè} \quad \text{mít} = \text{mā} \]
\[ \text{PN} \quad = \text{3SG} \quad \text{love} = \text{RLS} \]
\[ \text{‘(I) love Mya Mya.’} \]

(b)  
\[ \text{hīngtè yūnīmā} \ (\text{AKYS}) \]
\[ \text{hīng} = \text{tè} \quad \text{yūnī} = \text{mā} \]
\[ \text{3SG} \quad = \text{3SG} \quad \text{hate} = \text{RLS} \]
\[ \text{‘(I) hate him.’} \]

(c)  
\[ \text{kāqtapanáqtè caíktamā} \ (\text{AKYS}) \]
\[ \text{kāq-ta} \quad = \text{panáq} \quad = \text{tè} \quad \text{caík-ta} \quad = \text{mā} \]
\[ \text{dance-\text{L.SUFF}} \quad = \text{NOM} \quad = \text{3SG} \quad \text{like-\text{L.SUFF}} \quad = \text{RLS} \]
\[ \text{‘(I) like the dance.’} \]

Utterance verbs such as ngaú ‘say’, tapaúk ‘speak’, heú ‘tell’, zíngyú ‘ask’, and sàng ‘instruct’ involve three semantic roles—the speaker, the addressee, and the message. The speaker role may be optionally marked by the topic marker ká. The addressee is usually marked by the anti-agentive marker tè. The message can be an NP or a complement clause (see §8.3).

(240)  (a)  ‘sayáci kaúwàyók’ ūkaútè ngaúmā (19:5)
\[ \text{sayáci} \quad \text{kaú-à} \quad = \text{yók} \quad \text{ūkaú} \quad = \text{tè} \quad \text{ngaú} \quad = \text{mā} \]
\[ \text{sir} \quad \text{call-\text{EUPH}} \quad = \text{INTRUSIVE} \quad \text{koel} \quad = \text{3SG} \quad \text{say} \quad = \text{RLS} \]
\[ \text{‘(It) said to the koel (bird) “Go and call the master.’”} \]
(b) “katùngingmā” heúmā (8:120)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{katùng-} & = \text{mā} \quad \text{heú} & = \text{mā} \\
\text{see-} & = \text{RLS} \quad \text{tell} & = \text{RLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) told (them) “I saw (them).”’

Arguments of the utterance verbs are omitted if they are retrievable from the context.

The following examples in (241) are natural expressions in Kadu.

(241)  
(a)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hîng ngâu} = & \text{mā} \\
\text{3SG say} = & \text{RLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He says/said.’

(b)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hîng zîngû} = & \text{mā} \\
\text{3SG ask} = & \text{RLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘He asks/asked.’

3.1.2.3.2 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs may be either stative or dynamic. These verbs do not have a patient argument. The examples in (242) exemplify intransitive clauses with stative verbs.

(242)  
(a)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mōksalë cîceû zé} & \text{ meû} = \text{mā} \\
\text{cow-leather very market good} & = \text{RLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The cow leather price is good.’

(b)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{anáq nêyë} & \text{ meû} = \text{mā} \\
\text{this place good} & = \text{RLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘This place is good.’
(b) \( ngā \) mónnā (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
ngā & \quad mōn = mā \\
1SG & \quad happy = RLS
\end{align*}
\]

'I am happy.'

The examples in (243) exemplify intransitive clauses with dynamic verbs.

(243) (a) nahūtēkā kasatākkā īpmā (09:12)

\[
\begin{align*}
satēng-kān-tōng & = pē \quad i-cī = mā = tāk \\
thatch-CLT.field-big & = LOC \quad sleep-PL = RLS = HS
\end{align*}
\]

‘(The tiger and rabbit) slept in the big thatch field, it is said.’

(b) hīng saēk shīkā hāpmā (16:27)

\[
\begin{align*}
hīng & \quad saēk \quad shī = kā \quad hāp = mā \\
3SG & \quad daughter \quad die = TOP \quad weep = RLS
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) wept because his daughter died.’

Verbs that take one argument (primary-B verb types in Dixon’s (1991) typology) in a clause may be subcategorised as HUMAN PROPENSITY, PHYSICAL SENSATION, SENSE, DIMENSION and VALUE, WEIGHT, MOTION, UTTERANCE, PROPOSITIONAL ATTITUDE, EVALUATION, POSTURE, THE WEATHER, and IMITATIVE verbs.

HUMAN PROPENSITY verbs such as \( mōn \) ‘happy’, \( nī \) ‘laugh’, \( hāp \) ‘cry’, and \( nī \) ‘lazy’ have a single argument. In most cases, the experiencer is a human.
(244) Emotion verbs

(a) ngā mónnā  

ngā mó = mā  
1SG happy = RLS

'I am happy.'

(b) hīng hāpmā  

hīng hāp = mā  
3SG weep = RLS

'He weeps/wept.'

(245) Physical sensation verbs

(a) láng sākmā  

lāng sāk = mā  
body itch = RLS

'(My) body itches.'

(b) halāng kanāmā  

halāng kanā = mā  
head hurt = RLS

'(I) have a headache.'

(c) ngakatōk nāngmā  

nga-katōk nāng = mā  
1SG-neck stiff = RLS

'My neck is stiff.'
Sense verbs that describe senses such as smell, taste, and temperature also take a single argument, as in (246).

(246) Sense verbs

(a) *sapáksà túmmā*  
   sapáksà *túm* = mā
   dish *fragrant* = RLS
   'The dish is fragrant.'

(b) *caikši chīmā*
   caik-shī *chī* = mā
   mango-CLT.fruit *sour* = RLS
   'The mango is sour.'

(c) *weú lómmā*
   weú *lóm* = mā
   water *warm* = RLS
   'The water is warm.'

(d) *weú kasīnnā*
   weú *kasīn* = mā
   water *cold* = RLS
   'The water is cold.'

Dimension and value verbs include dimension, value, weight, and texture. If a state of something expressed by one of these verbs is relatively well established and known to the speaker, the verb is immediately followed by the realis marker *mā*, as in (247a).

However, if the state of the thing is an unexpected state, the progressive marker *ním* ‘stay’ will immediately follow the verb. It may carry a certain degree of mirativity.

(247) (a) *hîng zaūkmā*

   hîng *zaūk* = mā
   3SG *tall* = RLS
   'He is tall.'

(b) *hîng zaūknîmmā*

   hîng *zaūk-nîm* = mā
   3SG *tall-stay* = RLS
   'He is tall (to my surprise!).'

(248) Dimension and value verbs

(a) lán wákũmā                 (b) lán ḫpũmā
   lán wák = mā                 lán ḫp = mā
   road wide = RLS              road narrow = RLS
   ‘The road is wide.’          ‘The road is narrow.’

(c) anáq atá meúmā             (d) anáq cí kánnā
   anáq atá meú = mā           anáq cí kán = mā
   this rice good = RLS        this dog bad = RLS
   ‘This rice is good.’        ‘This dog bites.’ (Lit. bad dog)

Weight verbs include verbs nék ‘heavy’, zanà ‘be light’, theũ ‘thick’, and phã ‘thin’ as illustrated in (249).

(249) Weight and texture verbs

(a) sāngsũng theũmā             (b) anáq sāngsũng phãmā
   sāngsũng theũ = mā           anáq sāngsũng phã = mā
   shirt thick = RLS             this shirt thin = RLS
   ‘This shirt is thick.’       ‘This shirt is thin.’
Motion verbs such as năng ‘go’, hā ‘walk’, kát ‘run’, phauk ‘jump’, pī ‘fly’, zalaút ‘float/drift on water’, and ká ‘dance’ usually take a single argument. They may be optionally preceded by locative phrases to specify goal, source, or general location. However, when the source or goal location is common knowledge between the speaker and hearer, it is usually omitted.

(250) Motion verbs

(a) hîng nãngmâ

hîng năng = mâ
3SG go = RLS
'He goes/went.'

(b) hîng kâmîmmâ

hîng kât-nîm = mâ
3SG run-stay = RLS
'He is running.'

(c) ūhá pîmâ

ūhá pî = mâ
crow fly = RLS
'The crow flies.'

(d) pyînpalâk zalaûknîmmâ

pyîn-palâk zalaûk-nîm = mâ
timber-flat.item drift-stay = RLS
'The timber is drifting.'

Propositional attitude verbs express an attitude concerning the truth of the statement made in their complement. These verbs include mântâk ‘guess’, yûng ‘believe’, yûsâq
‘consider’, and míngsàhà ‘know’. These verbs take a nominalised clause as their complements if they take an overt complement.

(251) Propositional attitude verbs

(a)  hîng mîngsâhâmâ  
    hîng  mîngsâhà = mâ
    3SG  know = RLS

(b)  ngâ mântâkmâ
    ngâ  mânták = mâ
    1SG  guess = RLS

‘He knows/knew.’

‘I suppose/guess.’

(c)  hîng acângkànpanâq mîngsâhâmâ (AKYS)
    hîng  acâng  kán = panâq  mîngsâhà = mâ
    3SG  behaviour  bad = NOM  know = RLS

‘(I) know his bad behaviour.’

POSTURE verbs include thông ‘sit’ and zâp ‘stand’. They may be optionally preceded by locative phrases to specify a specific location. However, when the location is common knowledge between the speaker and hearer, it is usually omitted.

(252) Posture verbs

(a)  hîng thôngmâ
    hîng  thông = mâ
    3SG  sit = RLS

(b)  hîng zâpmâ
    hîng  zâp = mâ
    3SG  stand = RLS

‘He is sitting.’

‘He is standing.’

WEATHER verbs in Kadu always occur with noun + verb compound constructions.

The noun slot is filled by halâng ‘sky’ except with the rainy verb halângweú (sky-
water) which is NOUN + NOUN compound. Some of the morphemes that come second in these compounds can occur independently in other contexts. The weather verbs in Kadu are given in (253).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(253)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>halángweů</td>
<td>(sky-water)</td>
<td>‘be rainy’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halángmůn</td>
<td>(sky-blow)</td>
<td>‘be windy’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halángká</td>
<td>(sky-hot)</td>
<td>‘be sunny’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halángnůk</td>
<td>(sky-dark)</td>
<td>‘be dark’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halángtháng</td>
<td>(sky-overcast)</td>
<td>‘be cloudy’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>halángyá</td>
<td>(sky-bright)</td>
<td>‘be bright’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamòkphá</td>
<td>(sky-thunder)</td>
<td>‘to thunder’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamòkalúm</td>
<td>(sky-thundering)</td>
<td>‘be thundering’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamòkziháp</td>
<td>(sky-lightning)</td>
<td>‘be lightning/flash’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notice in the examples (253), the term weů ‘water’ is compounded with haláng ‘sky’ and results in the verbal meaning ‘to rain’. The verbs můn ‘blow’ and kalúm ‘thunder’ don’t appear by themselves. To say ‘it is dark’ is halángnůkmů in Kadu. The lexical source for the term nůk may not be identifiable in the Kadu lexicon but it is obvious to TB linguists that it is a reflex of PTB *núk ‘black’ as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:326). See also §3.1.1.2.9.

3.1.2.3.3 Ditransitive verbs

Ditransitive verbs take three arguments: Donor, Gift, and Recipient (Dixon 1991). The order of these arguments in Kadu is determined by the information structure but the most common order is Donor > Recipient > Gift. In Kadu, like in many other TB
languages, the marking on arguments, either direct or indirect, is semantically based and based on an actor vs. non-actor contrast (LaPolla 1992). Verbs that take two non-agentive direct arguments are usually giving verbs (Dixon 1991:113). The ditransitive verbs attested in my Kadu data are shown in (254).

(254) 

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{\textit{\textit{i}}} & \quad \text{‘give’} \\
\text{\textit{\textit{naút}}} & \quad \text{‘feed’} \\
\text{\textit{\textit{taík}}} & \quad \text{‘offer drink’} \\
\text{\textit{\textit{kát}}} & \quad \text{‘offer gift to monk’} \\
\text{\textit{\textit{lú}}} & \quad \text{‘offer’} 
\end{align*} \]

The donor or agent who transfers an item can be optionally marked by the topic marker \textit{ká}. The Recipient is marked by anti-agentive \textit{tè}. The Gift is unmarked.

(255) \textit{\textit{híng(ká) tamísá hawátè misán imá}} (AKYS)

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{3SG (=} \text{TOP}) \text{ human-CLF-person-one} & = \text{A.AG} \text{ arrow give} = \text{RLS} \\
\text{'He gave an arrow to someone.'} 
\end{align*} \]

(256) \textit{\textit{haníngtè maléq pweúq îting apòwà}} (04:36)

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{2PL } = \text{A.AG} \text{ 1PL degree give} = \text{NOM NEG-exist } = \text{NEG} \\
\text{'We don’t have to give you (PL) a title/degree.'} 
\end{align*} \]

The Gift may optionally be marked with the anti-agentive marker \textit{tè} when there is no explicit Recipient for an emphatic purpose. Compare the examples in (257a-b). See the detailed discussion on the anti-agentive marking in §6.2.
(257) (a)  ꦗ ꦰ ꦇ ꦖ ꦈ ꦔ ikū (25:6)

önnág ceú ī = kū
dowry buffalo give = IRLS
‘(I) will give a dowry buffalo.’

(b)  ꦗ ꦰ ꦇ ꦖ ꦈ ꦔ ceú tè ikū (AKYS)

önnág ceú = tè ī = kū
gift buffalo = A,AG give = IRLS
‘(I) will give the dowry buffalo (not anything else).’

3.1.2.3.4 The copulas

There are two copula verbs in Kadu–equational and existential. An equational statement may be signaled by either copula thà or by a zero copula. Consider the examples in (258).

(258) (a)  upáq thingphûceû (AKYS)

upáq thingphûceû
PN village.chief
‘U Ba (is) a village chief.’

(b)  upáq thingphûceû thàmā (AKYS)

upáq thingphûceû thà = mā
PN village.chief be = RLS
‘U Ba is a village chief.’
Negating the copula *thà* has an intended meaning which may be translated in English as ‘be possible’, as in (259).

\[(259)\] (a)  *ngá akeïtaïyeü ínatha* (05:15)
\[
\begin{align*}
[ngá & \quad a-keù-ta & = yeù] & \quad ñ-a-thà & = á \\
1SG & \quad \text{NEG-save-L.SUFF} & = \text{SAP} & \quad \text{NEG-NEG-be} & = \text{NEG}
\end{align*}
\]
'I must save (him).’ (Lit. It’s not possible for me not to help.)

(b)  *úpáq thïngphuceë athà* (AKYS)
\[
\begin{align*}
[úpáq] & \quad [\text{thingphuceë}] & \quad a-thà & = á \\
\text{PN} & \quad \text{village.chief} & \quad \text{NEG-be} & = \text{NEG}
\end{align*}
\]
'U Ba is not possible/fit to be a village chief.’

In order to negate the equational clause given in (258) the verb *chì* ‘true’ is used, as in (260). The Kadu verb *chì* ‘true’ resembles the Thai verb *chäï* ‘true’. However, it is never attested occurring with the loanverb suffix –*ta* (§3.1.2.3.5), therefore, it may not be a loanword.

\[(260)\]  *úpáq thïngphuceë achïyä* (AKYS)
\[
\begin{align*}
úpáq & \quad \text{thingphuceë} & \quad a-\text{chì-á} \\
\text{PN} & \quad \text{village.chief} & \quad \text{NEG-true-NEG}
\end{align*}
\]
'U Ba is not a village chief.’

The copula *ngá*, glossed as ‘exist’, is used to mark the existence or location of a referent. The existential *ngá* in examples in (261a-b) and (262) indicates that the referent is present or exists.
(261)  (a)  ūpáq ngālā  (b)  ngāmā

ūpáq  ngā  =  lá  
PN  exist  =  Q  
‘Is U Ba present?’  ‘(Yes, he) is (in).’

(262)  ângpanáq yahaùng kótān ngāmatákseüé  (08:3)

[âng  panáq  yahaùng]  [kó-tān]  ngā  =  mā  =  ták  =  seüé  
that  NOM  river  nine-CLF.river  exist  =  RLS  =  HS  =  SAP  
‘That river has nine outlets. it is said.’

The copula ngā also is used for possession. The interpretation of ngā as existential or possession is pragmatically determined. Compare the two examples in (263a-b).

(263)  (a)  thingpè alúk ngāmā  (17:66)

thing  =  pè  alúk  ngā  =  mā  
village  =  LOC  work  exist  =  RLS  
‘(There) is work in the village.’

(b)  pahángcháng kalaúngtóng híng(pè) ngāmā  (AKYS)

pahángcháng  kalaúngtóng  híng  (=  pè)  ngā  =  mā  
friend  many  3SG  (=  LOC)  exist  =  RLS  
‘He has many friends.’

The existential verb ngā ‘exist’ cannot be negated, as in (264b). In order to express non-existence the verb pò, also glossed as ‘exist’, is used, as in (264a). The use of the pò verb in an affirmative sentence is not attested.
(264) (a) *hamàngkazeú apòwá* (08:117)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ hà-màng} & = kà = \text{zeú} \quad \text{a-pò} = \text{á} \\
\text{WH-thing} & = Q = \text{even} \quad \text{NEG-exist} = \text{NEG}
\end{align*}
\]

'Nothing is there.'

(b) *hamàngkazeú angā*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ hà-màng} & = kà = \text{zeú} \quad \text{a-ngā} = \text{á} \\
\text{WH-thing} & = Q = \text{even} \quad \text{NEG-exist} = \text{NEG}
\end{align*}
\]

3.1.2.3.5 Loan verbs

The Kadu lexicon contains many loanwords from neighboring languages. The great majority of the loanwords come from Burmese but loanwords from Shan and Pali have also been attested. Burmese loanwords are identified basically in two ways. First, from the researcher’s proficiency in Burmese and Jingphaw and, secondly, by the particular appearance of post-verbal morpheme -tā ~ -taú, glossed as ‘L.SUFF’ (loan (verb) suffix), which suffixes to Shan and Burmese loan verbs.

The lexical source of this morpheme, -ta, is not retrievable in Kadu. However, we can assume that this morpheme -ta may have come from Burmese, the source of most Kadu loan verbs, as it resembles the Burmese realis nominaliser 〈ta〉. Consider the Burmese examples in (265). Example (265a) illustrates a clause final particle 〈te〉 (verb sentence marker (VSM) in Okell 1969) and example (265) illustrates the realis nominaliser 〈ta〉 (265b).
When the same verb *pyaū* ‘happy’ is used as a loanword in a Kadu sentence the morpheme *ta* is obligatorily attached immediately after the head verb. However, *ta* is never used with a native verb. Compare the two sentences in (266) and (267).

\[
(266) \quad \text{hīng pyaūtamā} \\
\text{hīng pyaū-ta} \quad = \text{mā} \\
3\text{SG} \quad \text{happy-L.SUFF} = \text{RLS} \\
'\text{He is happy.}'
\]

\[
(267) \quad \text{hīng mōnnā} \\
\text{hīng món} \quad = \text{mā} \\
3\text{SG} \quad \text{happy} = \text{RLS} \\
'\text{He is happy.}'
\]

Both the examples in (266) and (267) are considered grammatical by the speakers of Kadu. The verb in (266) is *pyaū*, which is borrowed from Burmese *pjo*, therefore, the suffix -*ta* must be attached after the head verb. Without the suffixation of -*ta* the sentence is not acceptable to the speakers of Kadu.
(268) *hīng pyaũmā

hīng  pyaũ  =mā
3SG  happy  =RLS

The morpheme -ta has the allomorph of -taũ when it is followed by verb modifiers or other verbal particles as illustrated in (269) and (270).

(269) kaphūyí khweũtaũnimmatāk (09:67)

kaphū  =yí  khweũ-ta-ním  =mā  =tāk
snake  =also  coil-L.SUFF-stay  =RLS  =HS

'The snake, as well, was coiling, it is said.'

(270) zīchūŋtē thwángtaũpānwā nīmmā (10:37)

zī-chūŋ  =tē  thwáng-ta  =pān  =nām  nīm  =mā
plump-bush  =A.AG carve-L.SUFF  =COS  =only  stay  =RLS

'(They) cleared the plump bush and lived.'

Some Burmese loan verbs attested in my corpus are shown in (271).

(271) léqlā  ‘study’  ɛ̀ɛ́ɛ̀ɛ̀ <lei.la>
zūqzí  ‘compile’  ʃʊq: <su.siny>
pinpán  ‘tire’  ʃʃₚₚₚₚ <pangpan>
cózā  ‘try hard’  ʃʃₚₚₚₚ <krou:sa>
phānsín  ‘create’  ʃʃₚₚₚₚ <hpanhsin>
tisaũk  ‘establish’  ʃʃₚₚₚₚ <tanjhsauk>
lēngmā  ‘be clever’  ɛ̀ɛ́ɛ̀ɛ̀ <leimma>
aingmyin  ‘succeed’  ɛ̀ɛ́ɛ̀ɛ̀ <ongmrang>
phékhaũ  ‘invite’  ɛ̀ɛ́ɛ̀ɛ̀ <hpeithko>
3.2 Minor word classes

In Kadu, like in many other languages, nouns and verbs are the two largest word classes. Apart from these, several other word classes are considered minor word classes in this thesis, presented in the following order: 3.2.1 Adverbs, 3.2.2 Numerals, 3.2.3 Pronominals, 3.2.4 Quantifiers, and 3.2.5 Noun class terms.

3.2.1 Adverbs

The structure of adverbs, like verbs and nouns, may be analysed as simple or complex. Simple adverbs are words that function as adverbs and nothing else. Complex adverbs, on the other hand, are derived from verbs or nominals by the processes of reduplication or semi-reduplication. Adverbials, unlike reduplication of volitional verbs (§3.1.2.1.3), may be followed by a diminutive marker–sà to soften or to delimit adverbials, which may be translated in English as “a bit V-ly.” Both types of adverbials precede the head verb. Furthermore, there are some Post-verbal modifiers that have adverbial functions. These are discussed under verbal modifiers in §7.2. Temporal and locational forms are treated as nouns and were already discussed under time nouns in §3.1.1.2.9.

3.2.1.1 Simple adverbs

Simple adverbs in Kadu are few in number. They usually occur immediately before the verb complex (VCX) they modify, however, they do not have a fixed order of occurrence
The etymologies of the degree adverbials ̀ac̀i ̀cìcèu ‘extremely’ and ̀āntān ‘quite, somewhat’, and one manner adverb ̀nac̀a ‘carefully’. These are illustrated in (272).

(272) (a) ̀àngnung ̀iśhiqshā ̀cìcèu katàmmàtāk (15:45)

```
àngnung ̀iśhiq-shā  cìcèu  katàm = mà = ták
that girl-small extremely beautiful = RLS = HS
```

'This girl was extremely beautiful, it is said.'

(b) ̀maléq amèūtāk ̀maléq awàtāk ̀āntān thaùngtapān (17:09)

```
maléq ameūtāk  maléq awàtāk òāntān  thaùng-ta = pán
1PL  mother-PL 1PL father-PL  quite old-L.SUFF = COS
```

'Our parents are quite old.'

(c) ̀nac̀a ̀yùwing ̀nac̀a teút à yùzīpānnà lihāng (04:15)

```
nac̀a  yù-ing  nac̀a  teút-à
carefully  take-DIR₂  carefully  listen-EUPH
```

```
yù-zí = pán = naà  li-hang
look-finish = COS = only  come-back
```

'Look carefully, listen carefully, and come back.'

The etymologies of the degree adverbials ̀ac̀i ̀cìcèu ‘extremely’ and ̀āntān ‘quite’ or ‘somewhat’ are not known. They are probably Burmese loanwords of ̀òtàng <akri:akye> and ̀òtàng <ato>. 
3.2.1.2 Complex adverbs

All the complex adverbials consist of two members and each member consists of two syllables, thus forming a four syllable pattern. Some adverbials have clear relatable lexical meanings, however, for many, I have not been able to identify the meanings. In this thesis, the two members of adverbials will be hyphenated. Partial or semi-reduplications, as in (274), are much more common than reduplication, as in (273), with adverbials. One of my language consultants said that the stative verb *kazeút* ‘quick’ may be reduplicated, as in (273).

(273)  *ngã lán kazeút-kazeút hāmā* (AKYS)

ngâ  lán  *kazeút-kazeút*  hâ  = mā  
1SG  road  *quickly-REDUP*  walk  = RLS

'I walk quickly.'

However, the reduplication of *kazeút* in (273) may be due to Burmese influence, since it is a common practice in Burmese to derive adverbials from stative verbs (Okell 1969:35; Wheatley 1982:34-39). Other language consultants said that, for them semi-reduplication of *kazeút*, as in (274), is more natural in Kadu.

(274)  *ngã lán kazeút-kapeúk hāmā* (AKYS)

ngâ  lán  *kazeút-kapeúk*  hâ  = mā  
1SG  road  *quickly-REDUP*  walk  = RLS

'I walk quickly.'
Some of the adverbials are reduplications of nominals. For example, the -al- infix form of pán ‘CLT.times’ is reduplicated to function as an adverbial, which may be translated in English as “frequently”, as illustrated in (275).

(275) ʰɪŋká palán-palán teútpúpánták  (07:2)

hing  = ká  palán-palán  teútpú = pán = ták
3SG  = TOP frequently-REDUP hear  = COS = HS

‘He heard (it) frequently, it is said.’

There are also some reduplicated -al- infix forms for which I was unable to identify the lexical meaning. These include halán-halán ‘(fold) repeatedly’, salán-salán ‘(say) repeatedly’, and yalún-yalún ‘(queue) in rows’. I suspect some adverbials are reduplications of an onomatopoeic word, such as kaphaɪk-kaphaɪk ‘(keep) in vicinity’ and zizák-zizák ‘(grow) tightly’.

The great majority of adverbials come from semi-reduplication. These patterns resemble imitative nouns (§3.1.1.2), however, unlike imitative nouns, these adverbials cannot be followed by postpositions. Semi-reduplicated adverbials consist of two members and each member consists of two syllables thus forming four syllable patterns. The first member is generally analysable; the second member is usually not. The four syllables will be represented using the English upper case letters A, B, C and D. Generally, there are three patterns: A-B-A-C (the first and the third syllables are identical), A-B-C-B (the second and the fourth syllables are identical), and A-B-C-D (none of the syllables are
identical). Out of these, the A-B-A-C pattern is the most common. Example sentences with semi-reduplicative adverbials are illustrated in (276).

(276) (a) kōyítá maleú malásà ōmnaútánängekāmā seúé (17:75).

kō =yí = tá maleú-malà-sà ōm-naút-àng-kák = mā
self = also = EMPH well-REDUP-DIM make-feed-DIR₁-want = RLS

'I also want to look after (do to feed them) (them) well.'

(b) palī palák hāmā (AKYS)

palī-palák hā = mā
idly-REDUP walk = RLS

'(He) walks idly.'

More semi-reduplicative adverbials with the A-B-A-C pattern are given in (277).

(277) kathī-kathaū ‘curlicue’
kánshī-kánsaít ‘battered’
palīng-palāng ‘tiny/small’
salāù-salāt ‘violently’ < salāù
‘rough’
sapūt-sapát ‘soakingly (wet)’
tūtpāt-tūtzaúk ‘upside down’
yaleū-yalān ‘suffuse’
zali-zalāt ‘neatly’ < zali ‘clean’
kazeūt-kaphaúk ‘quickly’ < kazeūt ‘quick’
peúzi-peúzāk ‘perversely’
A few A-B-C-B (278a) or A-B-C-D (278b) examples have also been attested, as shown below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(278)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zizák-kánzák</td>
<td>‘impediment’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chipük-halük</td>
<td>‘worriedly’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wîlû-wânglû</td>
<td>‘vaguely’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salaú-malaú</td>
<td>‘soothingly’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapáng-salâng</td>
<td>‘empty’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapû-salû</td>
<td>‘deteriorate’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2 Numerals and numerical approximations

Most of the native numerals in Kadu are lost. Only one through four of native Kadu numerals were identified. When I requested Kadu numerals from older Kadu speakers, the forms they provided were very similar to Tai/Shan numerals. These numerals never appear in isolation. They are always attached to classifiers (Chapter 5), however, classifiers do not occur with multiples of ten. No native ordinal numbers are attested in Kadu. They simply use Burmese ordinal numbers. The numerals found in the Kadu lexicon are shown in (279) together with the generic classifier teûn, glossed as ‘CLF.thing’. Many classifiers are also borrowed from Shan and they usually occur with Shan numerals. However, native classifiers may occur with both numeral systems. The native numerals attested in my corpus are given in (279a) and Shan borrowed numerals are given in (279b). There is a tone sandhi pattern such that any classifier following the numeral kaling ‘two’ changes to high tone.
The Kadu have been using Shan numerals since the early 20th century (Brown 1920). Many Kadu didn’t realise how similar many of their numerals are to the Tai and consider them as their native numerals. Some older Kadu expressed their disappointment that these counting systems are swiftly disappearing in day-to-day speech. It is very probable that they will disappear soon, as younger Kadu speakers have switched to using Burmese counting systems. Numerals above ten are all Burmese.

We can correlates the numerals *kaling* ‘two’, *sóm* ‘three’ and *pí* ‘four’ with PTB numerals *g-ni-s, *g-sum and *b-liy as reconstructed by Matisoff (1997:119). Examples in (280) illustrate the use of two forms of the numeral four in Kadu.
(280) (a) *amūnashī shīkāú* (12:1)

amūnashī shī-kaú
brothers *four-CLF.person*
‘four sibling brothers’

(b) *leūtneūt ngaūkā pīteūn Ṽūpāng hīngkā* (12:113)

lētnēt ngaūkā pī-teūn lū = pān hīng = kā
weapon as.for *four-CLF.thing* get = COS 3SG = TOP
‘As for the weapons, (he) got four.’

The numeral one in Kadu has two forms: ̀ and *nū*. The latter form mostly occurs with Shan loanwords and has come from the Shan/Tai numeral *nyį* ‘one’, as in (281).

(281) (a) mā tua-nyį
dog *clf.animal-one*
‘a dog’

(29:26) (Kadu)

(b) *kayā hūkā*
mountain *clf.round-one*
‘one mountain’

(31:8) (Kadu)

(c) *ānsaū zalaūtnū*
sticky.paddy *measurement-one*
‘One measurement’ (a measurement equivalent to roughly 0.14 bushel or a regular 16 oz. condensed milk tin)

---

19 In Thai, both –CLF-numeral or numeral-CLF structures are possible with difference in meaning.
Numerical approximation in Kadu, like in many TB languages, is expressed using two classifier phrases where the second contains a numeral that is one greater than the first. It is simply a numeral approximation much like the English ‘one or two’. The example in (282) illustrates this type. Notice the example in (282) contains two forms for classifying humans –*hú* and *kaú*, both glossed as ‘clf.person’. (See the detailed discussion of numeral classifiers in Chapter 5).

(282) *haningká sómhú shikaútóng lamá* (13:27)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{haníng} &= \text{ká sóm-}hú \\
\text{š} &= \text{káú-tóng} \\
\text{TOP} &= \text{lamá}
\end{align*}
\]

‘You are three or four people.’

Although the use of two numerical phrases for numerical approximation as mentioned in (282) is common, it is also possible to have up to three classifier phrases, as in (283). However, examples consisting of four or more classifier phrases to express numerical approximation have not been attested.

(283) *hàwà kalínghú sómhú nàngmaták* (04:06)

\[
\begin{align*}
hú-à & \quad \text{kalíng-hú} \quad \text{sóm-hú} \quad \text{nàng} = \text{má} = \text{ták} \\
\text{CLF.person-one} & \quad \text{two-CLF.person} \quad \text{three-CLF.person} \quad \text{go} = \text{RLS} = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘A few people went there.’ (Lit. one person, two persons, and three persons)

The term *kalàng* may be attached to a classifier phrase to indicate numerical approximation of measurement. See the illustrations of this in (284).
3.2.3 Pronouns

Pronouns, like nouns, may be followed by postnominal relational markers (Chapter 6). However, unlike NPs, they cannot be modified by demonstratives and other attributive noun modifiers. Kadu personal pronouns, like in many other languages, encode the persons first (speaker), second (addressee), and third (person other than the speaker

\[\text{èangpàpè thémpòk chátìnu saünstchat kalàng kápphàng sóngthàmà (18:76)}\]

\[\text{èang = pà = pè thémpòk chátìnu}
\]
\[\text{that = ALL = LOC gun CLF.shot-one}
\]
\[\text{saünstchat = kalàng kápphàng-àng-thà = mā}
\]
\[\text{two-CLF.shot = approximate shoot-prior-DIR₁-must = RLS}
\]
\[\text{‘(We) have to make one or two gun shots to that side.’}
\]

\[\text{khaý tôngmaïkalàng kátningthàmà (18:80)}\]

\[\text{khaý tông = kalàng kát-ìng-thà = mā}
\]
\[\text{journey three-CLF.mile = approximate run-DIR₂-must = RLS}
\]
\[\text{‘We had to come running about three miles distance/journey.’}
\]

\[\text{táksh̀ shìleùnkalàng taìtaùpánnaà tútùtìngyeù (07:65)}\]

\[\text{táksh̀ shì-leùn = kalàng tâì-ta = pàn = naà}
\]
\[\text{finger four-CLF.stick = approximate measure-L.SUFF = COS = only}
\]
\[\text{tút-ùt-àng = yeù}
\]
\[\text{cut-abandon-DIR₁ = SAP}
\]
\[\text{‘Measure approximately four fingers’ length and cut it!’}
\]

\[\text{This is a Burmese numeral.}\]

20 This is a Burmese numeral.
and addressee) and the numbers singular and plural. There is no evidence of an exclusive vs. inclusive distinction in the first person pronouns or dual marking on any pronouns in Kadu. Pronouns are not pluralised in Kadu. The number distinctions are straightforward—singular and plural—each having independent forms. The personal pronoun forms in Kadu are shown in Table 24.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>ngā</td>
<td>maléq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>nāng</td>
<td>haning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>hīng</td>
<td>ântāk ~ matāk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24: Kadu personal pronouns

All of the singular forms are monosyllabic words and the plural forms are sesquisyllabic or disyllabic words. The first person and the second person singular pronouns are reflexes of the PTB forms *ŋa and *nāŋ (Benedict 1972:93). The third person singular pronoun hīng and all the plural pronoun forms are different from other TB languages. The third person plural ântāk ~ matāk is interesting in that the final syllable is identical with the animate plural marker tàk. However, the speakers of Kadu perceived the form as monomorphemic. There is no equivalent word for the English pronoun ‘it’ in Kadu. They use demonstratives, instead. The third person plural pronoun mentioned in Table 24 is always used for animate referents and usually refers to a human. This is illustrated in (285) and (286).
(285) *matákyítá pyúng ngôn ömpàpè nāngmā* (17:25)

\[
\text{ànták} = \text{ý} \quad \text{tá} \quad \text{pyúng-ngôn} \quad \text{öm} \quad \text{pà} \quad \text{pè} \quad \text{nāng} \quad \text{mā}
\]

3PL = also = EMPH gems.soil-gold make = ALL = LOC go = RLS

‘They also went to the muddy-gold mining area.’

(286) *àntákká kōsātak cíng paútząnghayák ngaúpánnaà peúyákım* (17:20)

\[
\text{ànták} = \text{ká} \quad \text{kō-sā-tāk} \quad \text{ćing} \quad \text{paút-zäng-hà} \quad = \text{yák}
\]

3PL = TOP body-son-PL letter skill-JUSS:DIR₂-know.how = PURP

\[
\text{ngaú} = \text{pán} = \text{naà} \quad \text{peú-i-à} \quad = \text{mā}
\]

\[
\text{say} = \text{COS} \quad = \text{only} \quad \text{keep-give-EUPH} \quad = \text{RLS}
\]

‘They sent/kept us to school because they want us to be educated.’

All personal pronouns are used as address terms in Kadu. However, using them while addressing someone higher in status is considered rude. In this case, the personal pronouns are replaced by kinship terms. Using kinship terms instead of personal pronouns is considered polite and affectionate by the native speakers of Kadu. The following examples in (287) and (288) illustrate pronominal usage in Kadu. All sentences may be translated as ‘I will cook (for you)’.

(287) *ngā mōkikū*

\[
\text{ngā} \quad \text{mōk-i} \quad = \text{kū}
\]

1SG cook-give = IRLS

‘I will cook (for you).’
The first person singular form *ngā* may be replaced by any kinship term, as in (288a), or personal name, as in (288b). Among these usages, kinship pronominal usage is more common than personal names.

(288) (a) *awà mōkikū*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>awà</em></th>
<th>mōk-i</th>
<th>=kū</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father</td>
<td>cook-give</td>
<td>IRLS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I/father will cook (for you).'

(b) *wíntin mōkikū*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>wíntin</em></th>
<th>mōk-i</th>
<th>=kū</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PN</td>
<td>cook-give</td>
<td>IRLS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'I/Win Tin will cook (for you).'

It must be noted that, semantically, pronominal usage of kinship terms differs from that of personal pronouns. The personal pronouns, regardless of context, always refer to referents in terms of their involvement in the speech act (speaker or addressee) where as the pronominal reference of kinship terms can only be determined by the context. For example, the kinship term *awà* in (288a) may mean ‘I/father’, ‘you/father’, ‘he/father’, or just simply ‘father’, depending on which context the utterance is used in.

Pronouns, except in a few cases, are used to refer to animals in the context where the animal has the human attribute of speaking. The examples in (289) and (291) illustrate pronouns with non-human referents.
Example (289) is taken from a narrative where the pig and dog were able to speak like humans. In this narrative, they were discussing how thankful they are to their masters for their generosity of providing food to them. Example (290) is taken from another narrative where the tiger and rabbit were friends. They also spoke like humans. At some point, the rabbit became scared of the tiger and made a plan to burn and run away from the tiger. Example (290) sets the background for the conversation between the tiger and the rabbit in (291).

(290)  wānsútpán káteúyàngmaták kasátéá. kasá ngaúkà shíyeúpánnaà zaúntapánták
(09:15,20)

wān  sú  =pán kát-peú-àng =mā =ták kasà =tè
fire start.fire =COS run-keep-DIR₁ =RLS =HS tiger =A.AG

kasà ngaúkà shíyeú =pán =nà zaún-ta =pán =ták
tiger as.for angry =COS only run.after-L.SUFF =COS =HS

‘(The rabbit) burnt the tiger and ran away. it is said. (As for) the tiger he got angry and followed the rabbit, it is said.’
(291)  \textit{ateu nāng ngātē wānsūtpān līpeūkā lāppān yākkā nāngtē ngā yōkkū} \\
(09:25, 26) \\
\text{ateū nāng ngā = tē wān sūt = pān lī-peū = kā} \\
Oh! \text{ 2SG 1SG = A.AG fire start.fire = COS come-keep = TOP} \\
lāp = pān yāk = kā nāng = tē ngā yōk = kū \\
catch = COS now = TOP 2SG = A.AG 1SG eat = IRLS \\
'Oh you, you burnt me and (then) came here. Now, I am going to eat you.'

Pronouns frequently occur in conversations and narratives. They (particularly the first and second person pronouns) may be omitted freely if they are retrievable from the context. The omission of first and second person pronouns is also common in Burmese (Bradley 1993; 2005:68). In making a statement, the first person pronoun may be omitted, as in (292).

(292)  \textit{aswē hāhāng yaà nāngyeyūn (ngā) heūyāngkū} (09:23) \\
\text{aswē hāhāng yaà nāng = yeūn(ngā) heū-àng = kū} \\
friend Kachin now 2SG = BEN (1SG) tell-DIR₁ = IRLS \\
'My Kachin friend. now (I) will tell (it) for you.'

In asking a direct question, the second person pronoun may be omitted, as in (293).

(293)  \textit{(nāng) hāpā nāngkalā} (05:19) \\
\text{(nāng) hā = pā nāng = kū = lá} \\
(2SG) WH = ALL go = IRLS = Q \\
'Where are you going?'}
Unlike in English, there is no separate class of possessive pronouns or a genitive marker in Kadu (see the discussion on genitive modification in §4.1.2). The system for referring to oneself and others, unlike that of Burmese, lacks denominal stems, which are very common in Burmese. For instance, in Burmese the first person singular and the second person singular pronouns can be replaced by ဗူး<kwjunto> ‘slave’ + royal or respectful suffix’ and ဗကြို<hkangbya> derived from ဗကြို<thakhanghpara> ‘Bodhisattva’ respectively (see Bradley 1993). It has been observed that the Kadu, however, being devoted Buddhists, borrowed denominal terms from Burmese (such as သပ္ဗူး to refer to oneself as a layman in relation to a monk and အောင်နီးဗု ‘lord or god’. 21 to address Buddhist monks). These words are analysable in the source language but not in Kadu.

3.2.4 Quantifiers

Quantifiers follow the head noun they quantify and limit or increase the scope of NP. Quantifiers are not numerous in Kadu. The following list in Table 25 shows all the Kadu quantifiers attested in my corpus.

---

21 Burmese ဗူး ‘servant’ + သာ ‘honorific’ and အောင် ‘master’ + ဗု ‘lord or god’.
The term *ngānaïkngá* denotes something like ‘all, every single one, nothing is left behind’. Its structure is v + *naik* + v. In general, the v slot is filled by the same verb and the second token always has a high tone. The most frequent verb that appears in this construction is the existential verb *ngā*, as in (294).

(294) (a)  *ngónkā phūkā ngānaïkngátē iktē* (07:21)

*[ngónkā phūkā ngānaïkngá] =tē* iktē=kū
gold so.on silver so.on all =A.AG give =IRLS
'Such as gold and silver (I) will give (them) all.'

(b)  *shishīpalīq ngānaïkngá zōkmā* (08:8)

*[shishī palīq ngānaïkngá] zōk =mā*
fruit ATTW all plant =RLS
'(He) planted all the fruit (trees).'</n

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantifiers</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ngānaïkngá</em></td>
<td>‘all, everything’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>haing</em></td>
<td>‘entirely, exclusively’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kalaũng (tóng)</em></td>
<td>‘much, many, a lot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zeùyà ~ zayà</em></td>
<td>‘some’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>zītsāq</em></td>
<td>‘few’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 25: Quantifiers in Kadu
If the head noun phrase is recoverable from the context, it can be omitted, as in (295)

(295) \textit{ngānaíkgá tamyóqneúlng lipánnà} (08:33)

\begin{verbatim}
[ngānaíkgá] [tamyóqneúlng] li = pán = naà
all the.whole.towhsip come = COS = only
\end{verbatim}

'All (the people), the whole township, came and...'

The verb slot in the \textit{\textbf{V}+ naík + \textbf{V}} construction may be filled by another verb or even a series of verbs, as illustrated in (296).

(296) \textit{shishipaliq yökmeúnaík yökmeútè zökma} (08:7)

\begin{verbatim}
[[shishí-palíq yök-meú = naík yök-meú] = tè] zök = mā
fruit-REDUP eat-good = only eatgood = A.AG plant = RLS
\end{verbatim}

'(He) planted all the edible fruit (trees).'

The other form that very often occurs in my corpus that expresses ‘all and totality’ is \textit{álóng}, which clearly is a Burmese loanword, \textit{a:öm}: \textit{<a:lum>}. (297a) illustrates a Burmese example and (297b) shows its occurrence in a Kadu text.

(297) (a) \textit{a:lum: kong: =te} (Burmese)

\begin{verbatim}
 a:öm: kong: = te
all good = RLS
\end{verbatim}

'All are good.'
(b)  *eúhám wánzánaq phónkalùntè álóng zãphãngsõming* (08:50)

[[eúhám wán-zí = panáq phón kalùn = tê] álóng]
PN chop-finish = NOM wood plant = PL all

zãp hâng sôm-ing
stand back finish.up-DIR₂

‘All the trees Euham cut down stood up!’

In order to express the idea of entirety the term *haing*, glossed as ‘EXCLUSIVE’, is employed following the head noun, as illustrated in (298) and (299).

(298) *kalaú kãmãkà zãwãngmãsãq wánnúkinghâlà phóntaing athà* (30:31)

kalaú kãmãkà zú-ãng = másã wãn nûk-ing-hà = lá
small.wood so.on burn-DIR₁ = only.if fire flame-DIR₂-know.how = NOM

phón = haing a-thà = ã
wood = EXCLUSIVE NEG-be = NEG

‘Only when you add small dried wood will (it) burn. (Large) wood alone won’t burn.’

(299) *kayãhúkà lûnglung põkweûsûtkalûnhaing thànimnã* (18:20).

kayã hûk-à lûnglung
mountain CLF.round-one throughout

põkweûsût-kalûn = haing thà-ním = mã
tree-plant = EXCLUSIVE be-stay = RLS

‘The whole mountain was filled with only *Pukweusut* trees.’
In order to express a large mass or numerous countable items, the term *kalaúngtóng* is employed after the head noun, as illustrated in (300). Notice in (300b), the plural marking on the head noun is optional.

(300)  (a)  címtwē kalaúngtóng ngāmā (AKYS)

[cím-tē  kalaúngtóng] ngā = mā
house-PL  many  exist = RLS

‘(There are) many houses.’

(b)  pahángcháng kalaúngtóng híngpè ngāmā  (AKYS)

[pahángcháng  kalaúngtóng] híng = pè ngā = mā
friend  many  3SG = LOC  exist = RLS

‘He has many friends.’

In order to express an approximation of a small number or quantity, the form *zeûyà ~ zayà* is employed. It may be translated into English as ‘some’. The head noun may be omitted, as in (301b) if it is retrievable from the context.

(301)  (a)  tamisà zayà ngäuímā (AKYS)

tamisā zayà  ngaū = mā
human some  say = RLS

‘Some people said.’

(b)  zayàyítá pwát ngámâyítá ngaúcímā  (10:44)

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

‘Some (people) said there was mud.’
The form \textit{zítsáq} is employed to indicate an approximation of a small amount.

(302) \textit{salaú zítsáq záng} (21:23)

\begin{verbatim}
salaú  zítsáq záng
oil little  put.in
‘Add a bit of oil.’
\end{verbatim}

3.2.5 Noun class terms

We have already discussed the structures of compound nouns under complex nouns in §3.1.1.1.2 and this section deals with similar structures. However, in this section special attention is given to special classes of nouns which are employed in compound nouns to express a kind of categorisation or specific members of a word family. I call this class of words \textbf{CLASS TERMS (CLT)} in this thesis. It is not uncommon to find this type of categorising terms in \textit{TB} languages. In this section, I propose there are two types of \textbf{CLTs} in Kadu: one which occurs pre-nominally and one that occurs post-nominally. The former can be analysed as a combination of ‘whole-part’ or ‘class-kind’ (\textit{CLT} + \textit{NOUN})’ and the latter simply as ‘kind-class’ (\textit{NOUN} + \textit{CLT}).

3.2.5.1 \textbf{CLASS TERM} + \textbf{NOUN} compound

The process of adding one or more syllables to an initial \textit{CLT} to form a word family or a specific member of a category seems to be a common phenomenon not only in Kadu but among many, if not all other, \textit{TB} languages. It is also found in Garo (Burling
2004:168-173) and Burmese (Vitrant 2005). Burling treated the initial class terms as a “category prefix” of compound noun. He describes it as “… the use of numerous noun compounds constructed from a categorizing initial (portion) to which is added one or more syllables that indicate the specific member of the category” (Burling 1985:14).

Like Burmese and Garo, many initial CLTs are also attested in Kadu. Kadu CLT + NOUN compounds are formed by an analysable initial syllable which provides generic meaning and a noun (which may or may not be analysable) which provides specific meaning. For example, most of the names that are categorised with ‘leg’ are formed by the initial syllable *ta*, e.g. *tapaik* ‘calf’. It is obvious that the first syllable *ta*, a reduced form of *tā*, is relatable to its lexical meaning of ‘leg’. However, the syllable *paik* is never used in isolation. Some of the CLT + NOUN constructions can also be seen as a sesquisyllabic word. If the first syllable is an open syllable, the vowel is reduced to schwa. However, a sesquisyllabic word with a class term differs from a sesquisyllabic word in simple nouns. The lexical meaning of reduced syllables, in many cases, is relatable to its lexical meaning in CLT + NOUN, whereas the initial reduced or weak syllable of sesquisyllabic words in simple nouns is not.

CLT + NOUN compounds that exhibit ‘whole-part’ classification are discussed in the following section.

---

22 Similar to Garo, Burmese class terms include a category of animal names. Bernot’s dictionary (1979-92), as cited in (Vitránt 2005), included around 70 fish nouns starting with the class term /ŋə/. The generic name for fish is /ŋá/. Concerning bird names, about 30 entries have the generic noun /ŋɛʔ/ as a first syllable.
Names that are categorised with leg are formed by the initial syllable *ta*, which has a lexical meaning ‘leg’. The examples in (303) exemplify the names that are associated with ‘leg’ in Kadu.

(303)  *tā* ‘leg’ compounds

- *taphā*  ‘sole’
- *tací*  ‘thigh’
- *tapaúk*  ‘calf’
- *tathū*  ‘knee’

Names that are categorised with ‘hand’ are formed by using the syllable *tāk*. It is a reflect of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) root *l(y)ak* as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:51). Synchronously, the word for hand in Kadu is *tahū*. This protoform of hand is retained as an initial class term in Kadu, whereas the word for hand contains an innovative stem. However, we may still explain the first syllable *ta* in the word *tahū* as a reduced form of *tāk*. Some words associated with hand are exemplified in (304).

(304)  *tāk* ‘hand’ compounds

- *tākpaúŋ*  ‘arm’
- *tākkasú*  ‘elbow’
- *tākmíŋ*  ‘finger nail’
- *tākshí*  ‘finger’
- *tākseú*  ‘finger ring’

Names related to the category of eye are formed by using the syllable *mík*, which has the lexical meaning of ‘eye’. The syllable *mík* reflects the PTB word for ‘eye’ *mik*.
Some examples of names that are associated with eyes are given in (305).

(305)  *mík* ‘eye’ compounds

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
    míkweú & \text{‘tear’} & \text{(eye + water)} \\
    míksateù & \text{‘eye lid’} & \text{(eye + lips)} \\
    míkhú & \text{‘eyebrow’} & \text{(eye + hair?)} \\
    míkceú & \text{‘blind’} & \text{(eye + mature or overripe)} \\
    míktú & \text{‘eye ball’} & \text{(eye + CLT.round)} \\
\end{array}
\]

CLT + NOUN compounds that exhibit the ‘class-kind’ classificatory structure are illustrated below. Many bird names are formed by using the syllable *u*, which by itself has the lexical meaning ‘chicken’ or ‘domestic fowl’. The PTB etyma for ‘chicken’ in Matisoff 2003:392 are *ha:ra*, *ra:k*, and *ra:x*. This clearly shows that the Kadu word for chicken does not reflect the PTB root. However, it does reflect the PTB word for ‘egg’ *t(w)i(y)*, *ʔu* as reconstructed by Matisoff 2003:195). Some names that are associated with chicken or fowl, with its categorising initial *u*, are exemplified in (306).
(306)  ù ‘chicken’ compounds

    ùhá      ‘crow’
    ùhaú     ‘owl’
    ùkatú     ‘dove’
    ùkaú     ‘koel’
    ùpháксà  ‘bat’
    ùlèk     ‘pheasant bird’

Similarly, names related to rice are formed by the initial syllable ān, which is a generic name for husked rice in Kadu. These names are given in (307).

(307)  ānkû     ‘a type of husked rice’
    ānmeû     ‘paddy’
    ānsoû     ‘sticky rice’
    ānpanpaûk ‘first time pounded rice’
    ānzapông  ‘second time pounded rice’

Names related to the category of wood are formed by using the syllable phôn, which has a lexical meaning of ‘tree’ or ‘wood’. This syllable, phôn, reflects the PTB word for ‘wood’ *bul or *pul as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:416). Some names that are associated with trees are given in (308).

(308)  phôn ‘tree’ compounds

    phônhalák    ‘branch’
    phônmaûn     ‘wooden pillow’
    phôntalât    ‘leaf’
    phôntanûk    ‘tree trunk’
Beside these analysable initials, a few other synchronically unanalysable initial CLTs have been attested. For example, many terms denoting animals may be roughly grouped into four: names that occur as monosyllabic words and names that occur with initial reduced syllables: \( a-, sa-, \) and \( ka- \). These syllables may be remnants of old pre-nominal CLTs. These were already discussed under minor syllables in §2.7.2; see also §3.1.2.3.

3.2.5.2 NOUN + CLASS TERM compound

Post nominal class terms follow a noun, forming an \( N + CLT \) structure. Similar to ‘whole-part’ compound nouns (§ 3.2.5.1), these terms also denote specific members of a category. They are somewhat similar to NOUN + NOUN compound nouns with a SPECIFIC + GENERIC classificatory structure. However, unlike compound nouns which are made up of two independent nouns, these CLTs usually don’t occur as independent words. In order for the class terms to be used independently they must be nominalised with the -\( al- \) infix form.

Names that can be categorised as plants and trees take the CLT \( kùn \). This term covers everything from giant trees to tiny plants, as given in (309).

(309) \( \text{phõngtõngkùn} \) ‘jackfruit tree’
    \( \text{caikkùn} \) ‘mango tree’
    \( \text{thànktùn} \) ‘palm plant’
    \( \text{salàkùn} \) ‘banana plant’
    \( \text{kãnzùkùn} \) ‘mustard plant’
    \( \text{cahaùngkùn} \) ‘coriander plant’
Names that can be categorised under fruits and vegetables that have rounded shapes take the CLT shi. Some fruit names are given in (310).

(310)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>salâshî</td>
<td>‘banana’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caîkshî</td>
<td>‘mango’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maûshî</td>
<td>‘plum’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mipákshî</td>
<td>‘pumpkin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mángcûngshî</td>
<td>‘tamarind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mûkneûshî</td>
<td>‘chili’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A noun may contain two class terms, e.g. caîk-shî-kûn (e.g. caîk-shî-kûn (mango-fruit-tree) may be translated as ‘mango fruit bearing tree’). I have not come across a noun followed by more than two categorising class terms in Kadu.

All the fruit bearing trees mentioned in (310) can be followed by the class term kûn. However, the other way around is not allowed. This indicates that, in general, the more specific class term precedes the general. If the specific class term such as shî ‘fruit’ is obvious from the context, it can be omitted. I have repeated some examples already mentioned in (310) to illustrate this.

(311)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sal(â)(shî)kûn</td>
<td>‘banana plant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caîk(â)(shî)kûn</td>
<td>‘mango tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maû(â)(shî)kûn</td>
<td>‘plum plant’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The class term shî is not restricted to fruit names alone. It also occurs with nouns that have rounded shapes. These are exemplified in (312). Notice the term mûk-tû-shî (eye-round-fruit) ‘eye ball’ contains a prenominal and a postnominal class term.
Names that can be categorised under creeper plants or vines take the already infixed CLT 
yalù. Some names of this type are given in (313)

(313) ceûyalù ‘thorny creeper vine’
malauûyalù ‘oblong fruit vine’
mîpákylaû ‘pumpkin vine’
hôhônyalû ‘ash pumpkin vine’
cînshiyalû ‘cucumber vine’

Names that can be categorised under flowers take the CLT pâ ~ papâ as given in (314).

Most flora names in Kadu are loanwords from Burmese.

(314) heûtlápá ‘star flower’
nêcâpá ‘sun flower’
nînsîpá ‘rose’
zapeûpá ‘jasmine’
kântamâpá ‘aster’
tîtsîpá ‘gladiola’

All the names of meat take the class term sâm as given in (315).

(315) môksâm ‘beef’
wâksâm ‘pork’
ûsâm ‘chicken’
ceûsâm ‘buffalo meat’
There are two terms glossed as ‘field’ in the list. The term *kān* is used for human grown fields (e.g. *kān-zū-kān* ‘mustard-field’ and *haūngheū-kān* ‘corn-field’). The other term, *tā*, may be also glossed as ‘clump’ when it describes a cluster of trees (e.g. *lapōk-tā* and *sakāu-tā* ‘bamboo field’ and ‘teak field’, respectively.) However, its scope is not only for trees and can be used for other places (e.g. *zūn-tā* ‘salt field’). Therefore, I have glossed it as ‘field’ in my corpus.

### 3.3 Particles

There is a large number of morphemes which I simply called particles in this thesis. Particles do not occur as the heads of phrases. They only have grammatical and no lexical meaning. They follow words, phrases, or clauses and provide important grammatical information. Phonologically they may be clitics or independent syllables.

#### 3.3.1 Nominal relational markers

Nominal relational markers are case marking particles which provide the grammatical and semantic role of NPs at the phrasal and clausal levels. These include postpositions such as *kā* ‘topic’, *tē* ‘anti-agentive’, and *pē* ‘locative’. They are dealt with in Chapter 6.
3.3.2 Verbal particles

The post-verbal particles presented in §7.2.2 include the plural marker, *cif*, and the two directional markers, *âng* ‘away from the deictic centre’ and *îng* ‘toward the deictic centre’.

3.3.3 Clausal particles

Clausal particles are analysed as including two categories—subordinating particles and clause final particles (CFP). Subordinating particles are a category of morphemes that occur at the end of dependent clauses. The function of these particles is to mark subordinate relationship such as condition, temporal relation, or purpose to the main clause. These subordinating particles are presented in §11.1. Clause final particles (CFP) occur with independent clauses and are a class of morphemes that occur at the end of independent clauses. The function of clause final particles is to express mood, aspect, or other features such as an actual vs. hypothetical event and they are discussed in §7.1. Another small class of clausal particles are *tûn/yûn* ‘still’, *yûk* ‘intrusive’, and *zîk* ‘finally’, which express the relationship between two time frames (§7.3).

3.3.4 Utterance final particles

Syntactically, utterance final particles follow the CFPs. They mark utterances as questions, reported speech or miratives (surprise or unexpected situations). These
particles include the particles *lá* ‘question’, *ták* ‘hearsay’ and *laká* ~ *lakaú* ~ *lamà* ‘mirative’. They are discussed in §7.4.

3.3.5 Speaker attitude particles

Speaker attitude particles (SAP) are a small class of morphemes which occur at the end of the utterances. It is impossible to give English translations for these particles, therefore, they are simply glossed as SAP in my corpus. They are frequently used to express the emotional commitment or attitude of the speaker. The list in (316) shows SAPs with possible English translations. Some references where these SAP are attested are provided in ( ) brackets (see Appendix B). The text number and clauses within that particular texts and separated by colon (:).

(316) *lakò* ‘indeed, of course’ (17:1, 33, 42)
    *lé* ‘of course’ (17:8, 10, 11)
    *lèð* ‘don’t you know? of course’ (13:5, 8, 61, 63)
    *letà* ‘emphatic, of course’ (9:97, 25:105)
    *ná ~ naú* ‘agree, right?’ (15:100, 101, 25:45)
    *seù* ‘euphonic, sympathetic, you see?’ (17:5, 6, 12)
    *talé* ‘yes, you see?, emphatic’ (17:2, 7, 15)
    *yeù* ‘quotative?, ‘is it said?’ (17:32, 77, 90)

These particles, except those which end with the vowel [e] = *lé* and = *talé* may be additionally followed by a euphonic = *é* which has high falling tone. The vowel may be lengthened and may be pronounced as = *e*³⁴⁵⁴²¹. The SAP *seù* is the most common and
occurs in most of the utterances and the SAPs \textit{lēō} and \textit{letē} are the least common. The SAP \textit{na} occurs only in female’s speech.
CHAPTER 4: THE NOUN PHRASE

This chapter examines the elements that constitute a noun phrase (NP). The only obligatory element in a Kadu NP is the head noun. A head noun may be simple (§3.1.1.1) or complex (§3.1.1.2). A demonstrative (DEM), genitive (GEN) phrase, complement (COMPL) phrases or relative (REL) clause occur preceding the head noun while an attributive verb (ATT.V), plural (PL) marking or classifier (CLF) phrase follows the head noun. The structure of a Kadu NP may be presented as:

```
DEM
GEN_phrase
COMPL_phrase
(HEAD.NOUN) (ATT.V) (PL) (CLF_phrase)
REL_clause
```

Figure 27: The structure of the Kadu noun phrase

A large number of nominal classifiers have been identified and they will be dealt with in Chapter 5. Numerals have been discussed in 3.2.2 above.

4.1 Pre-head nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers that precede the head noun are presented in the following order:
4.1.1 Demonstratives, 4.1.2 Genitive modification and 4.1.3 Complement phrases.
Relative clauses and complement clauses also precede the head noun and are discussed in §8.2.3.
4.1.1 Demonstratives

All the demonstratives in Kadu prototypically express a spatial relation to the speaker and an addressee. In addition, they can also indicate, anaphorically, a referent that has already been mentioned in the preceding discourse context. There are three demonstratives in Kadu an-, àng- and úng-. They show three degrees of distance, proximal, distal and remote. They are bound roots; they cannot occur without something following after them. The most common form that follows the demonstrative is the nominaliser naq ~ panáq, as in àngpanáq ‘that one’ and úngpanáq ‘that one (over there)’. There are no special locative forms of demonstratives like here and there in English. The same form is used with locative postpositions. These derived demonstrative forms can be used on their own to refer to any object which is clear from the context. Table 26 lists the demonstrative pronouns in Kadu.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstratives</th>
<th>Derived forms</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td>anáq ~ panáq</td>
<td>‘this (near the speaker)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>àng-</td>
<td>àngnáq ~ àngpanáq</td>
<td>‘that (near the hearer)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>úng-</td>
<td>úngnáq ~ úngpanáq</td>
<td>‘that (away from both)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 26: Demonstratives in Kadu

Referents that are closer to the speaker at the time of speaking and may or may not be visible are identified with the demonstrative anáq ~ panáq. Unlike distal and remote demonstratives, an- cannot be immediately followed by panáq, as in (317c). However, the form náq frequently occurs with the proximal demonstrative an-, as in (317a) and (317b). The form panáq by itself may also function as proximal demonstrative, as in
(317d). The *an*-proximal demostrative is reduced to schwa *a* [ə] when it is followed by the form *náq*, the rule is *an + naq = anáq*.

(317) (a)  *anáq* phonkaluntë (08:55)  (b)  *anáq* pòkhá

- *anáq* phon-kalún-tē  
- *anáq* pòkhá  
- this wood-plant-PL  
- this forest

'These trees'  
'This forest.'

(c)  *apánáq* phontë

(d)  panáq paingtaí ngatë peúttaúlakāyèù (09:60)

- *panáq* pāngtaí ngā =tē peút-ta =lākā =yeù  
- *this* rabbit  
- 1SG =A.AG lie-L.SUFF  
- =MIR =SAP

'This rabbit lied to me.'

The form *anáq* can be used to refer anaphorically to a referent that has been already mentioned, as in (318).

(318)  *anáq* neuyā meúmā. *anáqtë* thwángtacúthāmā (10:28)

- *anáq* neuyā meú =mā  
- this place good =RLS

- *anáq* =tē thwáng-ta-cí =thāmā  
- *this* =A.AG clear.away-L.SUFF-PL =HORT

'This place is good. Let's clear/cultivate this (place)._'

Referents which are closest to the hearer at the time of speaking and are still at a visible distance and are identified with the demonstrative *àngpanáq* ~ *àngnáq*, as in (319).
The demonstrative àngpanáq, like anáq, can also be used anaphorically to refer to a referent that has been mentioned, as in (320).

(320) nakápipèà naká zökshiwaleú láthàkúták ngatè (15:93)

naká-pí =pè naká zökshi-waleú
dragon-country =LOC dragon breast-liquid

lä-thà =kū =ták ngā =tè
take-must =IRLS = HS 1SG = A.AG

‘(He told) me that (I) must get dragon milk at the dragon kingdom.’

àngnáq ínlúpánñakà tánshikúták (15:94)

àng =panáq ín-lū =pánnakà tán-shí =kū =ták
that =NOM NEG-get = if beat-die =IRLS = HS

‘If I cannot get that (dragon milk), (he) will kill (me), it is said.’

If the referents are far away from both the speaker and hearer at the time of speaking they are identified with the demonstrative üngpanáq ~ üngnáq, as in (321).
There are no special forms of locative demonstratives. The same demonstratives, with or without attaching the form *panaq*, are used with the locative postposition, *pe* ($\S$6.3), to form locative demonstratives in Kadu, as in (322) and also (319a).
Unlike the distal and remote demonstratives mentioned above, when the proximal demonstrative *an-* is followed by *pè* it takes the allomorph *aú-* as in (323).

(323) (a) \( aúpè li \)

\[
\begin{align*}
aú & = pè \quad \text{li} \\
\text{here} & = \text{LOC} \quad \text{come}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Come here!’

(b) \( aúpè ōnnímámā ngakā \) (17:30)

\[
\begin{align*}
aú & = pè \quad \text{ōm-ním-à} \quad \text{= mā ngā}=ká \\
\text{here} & = \text{LOC} \quad \text{make-stay-EUPH} \quad \text{= RLS 1SG = TOP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I am doing (it) here.’

A proximal location may be also expressed by the derived demonstrative form *anáq* followed by the locative *pè*, as in (324).

(324) \( anáqpè taúpcàngmák seùé \) (17:93)

\[
\begin{align*}
anáq & = pè \quad \text{taúp-ci-àng} \quad \text{= mák}=\text{seùé} \\
\text{this} & = \text{LOC} \quad \text{end-PL-DIR}_{1} \quad \text{= HORT = SAP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Let’s stop (it) here.’

If the speaker considers the entity they are referring to to be really far away, and almost invisible, the form *myán* is used, as in (325).

---

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Manner demonstratives are formed by combining a demonstrative and the manner postposition nìng, yeù, or ningyeù (§11.1.6), as (326) and (327). The forms nìng and yeù can immediately occur with the bound demonstrative forms, as in (326a) and (326b).

(326) (a) phótëngaûntë anyeù yūnīmmā (18:34)

phótëngaûng = tê an-yeù yū-ním = mā
PN = A.AG DEM-manner look-stay = RLS

‘(The tiger) was looking at Photeingaung like this.’

(b) ângning acân thûkpatântâk (09:41)

àng = nìng acân thûk-ta = pán = tâk
that = manner plan take.out-L.SUFF = COS = HS

‘(The rabbit) extracts/makes plans that way, it is said.’

However, the form ningyeù follows derived demonstrative forms, as in (327).

(327) anáqningyeù pinpinpânpân òmyökthâkû (17:50)

anáq = ningyeù pinpinpânpân òm-yök-thâ = kû
this = manner be.wearily make-eat-must = IRLS

‘(I) will have to work hard this way for my living.’
4.1.2 Genitive modification

There is no overt marking of genitives in Kadu. Thus, a genitive phrase plus head noun resembles a compound noun. For example, *thëng tamisā* ‘villager’ could be viewed as *ATT.N+N* ‘someone from the village’ or a with genitive interpretation ‘village person’. In addition, Kadu doesn’t have possesive adjectives such as ‘my’ and ‘our’ as in English. Therefore, it is often difficult to determine whether the pronoun is the subject of the clause or possessor of the noun that follows it. Consider the examples in (328).

(328) *ngā thëngpalā thâmā*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngā} & \quad \text{thingpalā} & \quad \text{thà} & = \text{mā} \\
1\text{SG} & \quad \text{village.chief} & \quad \text{be} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I am the village’s chief.’ or
‘(He) is my village chief.’

The sentence in (328) has two possible interpretations: one as a genitive phrase and the other as an equational clause. The choice of interpretation is determined by context. If the context is not clear, the topic marker *ká* is inserted to distinguish the independant pronoun from a genitive interpretation.

(329) *ngāká thëngpalā thâmā*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngā} & = \text{ká} & \quad \text{thingpalá} & \quad \text{thà} & = \text{mā} \\
1\text{SG} & = \text{TOP} & \quad \text{village.chief} & \quad \text{be} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I am the village chief.’
As in the above example, the genitive always precedes the head noun. Another example is illustrated in (330).

(330)  *nāŋg̃ saēkt̪e lâkâmâyeû* (04:12)

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāŋg̃</td>
<td>saēk</td>
<td>tê</td>
<td>lâ-kâk</td>
<td>mā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG daughter</td>
<td>=A.AG</td>
<td>take-want</td>
<td>=RLS</td>
<td>=SAP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(We) want to take your daughter.’

When the possessor is the first person singular pronoun *ngâ*, it gets reduced to a minor syllable *nga* [ŋɔ], as in (331) and (332).

(331)  *ngaēkt̪e ngâ sântâttahângmanaîk* (08:88)

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngâ</td>
<td>ēk</td>
<td>tê</td>
<td>ngâ</td>
<td>sântât</td>
<td>-ta-hâng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG wife</td>
<td>A.AG</td>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>try.out</td>
<td>L.SUFF-back</td>
<td>only.if</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I will test my wife.’

(332)  *ngateûpê acîpá sāsēk ngaûkâ chînēkmâ* (12:19)

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngâ</td>
<td>teû</td>
<td>=pê</td>
<td>acî-pá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1SG hut</td>
<td>=LOC elephant-female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sāsēk</td>
<td>chinēkmî</td>
<td>=mā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother.son</td>
<td>defecate</td>
<td>=RLS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The mother elephant and its baby defecated near my hut.’

The Kadu genitive construction can have multiple possessors preceding the possessed noun. Each possessor noun modifies the noun immediately following, as in (333a) and (333b).
There are two types of noun complements in Kadu: postpositional phrases and non-finite complement clauses. Both complement types precede the head. See Chapter 6 for a detailed discussion of postpositions. Some examples of postpositional complement phrases are given in (334).

(333) (a) \( azàk sàngpalàng míqphyátóng \) (07:124)

\[
\text{azàk sàngpalàng míqphyá-tóng}
\]
\[
\text{PN king queen-big}
\]

‘The queen of Kadu’s king’ (Lit. the head queen of Azak’s king)

(b) \( maléq \text{ amú } cím \text{ tóngmā (AKYS)} \)

\[
\text{maléq amú cím tóng } =\text{ mā}
\]
\[
\text{1PL big.brother house big } =\text{ RLS}
\]

‘Our big brother’s house is big.’

4.1.3 Noun complements

(334) (a) \( mòksūpyaúk \text{ tamisā} \)

\[
\text{mòksūp } =\text{ yaúk tamisā}
\]
\[
\text{hat } =\text{ COM human}
\]

‘a person with (a) hat’

(b) \( panmaúkhaúk \text{ sàt} \)

\[
\text{panmaúk } =\text{ hafk sàt}
\]
\[
\text{PN } =\text{ ABL rice}
\]

‘rice from Banmauk’
(c)  awâyeün zâük

awâ = yeün  zâük
father = BEN  book
‘a book for father’

A non-finite clause may complement the head in an attributive relation. See the discussion on relative clauses in 8.2.3.

4.2  Post-nominal modifiers

Nominal modifiers that follow the head noun are presented in two section: 4.2.1 Attributives and 4.2.2 Plural marking. Classifier phrases are dealt with in Chapter 5.

4.2.1  Attributives

Post-head verb attributives are discussed in §3.1.2.1.2. Some more examples of noun with attributive verb members are illustrated in (335) again.

(335)  (a)  maúshítê  ácí yókmā  ūkántâk  (10:36)

maú-shí = tê  ácí  yók = mā  ū-kán-tâk
plum-CLT.fruit = A.AG extremely  eat = RLS  fowl-bad-PL
‘The fowls ate a lot of plums.’
(b) \textit{kasátóngtè zákmaták} (09:4)

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l l l l l}
\textbf{kasà-tóng} & = tè & zák & = mā & = ták \\
\textbf{tiger-big} & = a.ag afraid & = rls & = hs \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

‘(The rabbit was) afraid of the big tiger, it is said.’

4.2.2 Plural marking

Kadu has two plural markers in the NP: \textit{tāk} and \textit{tē \~ t웨}, plus a separate optional plural marker that occurs in the verb complex. The plural marking in the verb complex is discussed in §7.2.2.1. The etymologies of the plural forms that occur within the NP are not apparent. The form \textit{tāk} occurs only with living beings, whereas \textit{tē \~ t웨} does not have any restriction on its use and may occur following an NP referring to any type of referent. Consider (336) where (336a) and (336b) are grammatical, but (336c) is not.

(336) (a) \textit{hīng sātāk atá yōknímcímnā} (15:13)

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l l l l l l l}
\textbf{hīng} & sā-\textbf{tāk} & atá & yōk-nímcí & = mā \\
3\textbf{SG} & son-\textbf{PL} & rice & eat-stay-\textbf{PL} & = RLS \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

‘His sons are eating rice.’

(b) \textit{kasátàkká nākkeítë hámäták} (09:9)

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{l l l l l l l l}
\textbf{kasà-\textbf{tāk}} & = kā & nākkeū = tè & hā & = mā & = ták \\
\textbf{tiger-PL} & = TOP & night & = A.AG & walk & = RLS & = HS \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

‘The tigers go out in the night, it is said.’
(c) \textit{*cím-tàk zāmā}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cím-tàk} & \quad \text{zā} \quad = \text{mā} \\
\text{house-PL} & \quad \text{build} \quad = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

\textit{tàk} can also occur with personal names to mark plurality indicating “\textit{X} and those associated with them.”

(337) (a) \textit{maungmaung-tàk awà}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maungmaung-tàk} & \quad \text{awà} \\
\text{PN-PL} & \quad \text{father}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Maung Maung and his siblings’ father.’

(b) \textit{myáqmyáqtak cím-tè satēngyaúk nōpmā}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{myáqmyáq-tàk} & \quad \text{cím} \quad = \text{tè} \quad \text{satēng} \quad = \text{yaúk} \quad \text{nōp} \quad = \text{mā} \\
\text{PN-PL} & \quad \text{house} \quad = \text{A.AG thatch} \quad = \text{COM} \quad \text{cover} \quad = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘\textit{(They) are roofing Mya Mya’s and (her family’s) houses with thatch.}’

The plural marker \textit{tè \sim twè} is probably derived from the Burmese plural marker \textit{awG}, \textit{-twei}. Look at the Burmese example in (338).

(338) \textit{wà-twei} \text{(Burmese: Okell 1964:430)}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nwa:} & \quad \text{twei} \\
\text{cow} & \quad \text{-PL}
\end{align*}
\]

‘cows’

In Kadu, it is common to find the plural marker \textit{tè} following Burmese loanwords, as in (339).
(339) \textit{sítátë} lipán yántüë lipán (07:113)
\[
\text{sítá-të} & \text{lï} = \text{pán} & \text{yántü-të} & \text{lï} = \text{pán} \\
\text{soldier-PL} & \text{come} = \text{COS} & \text{enemy-PL} & \text{come} = \text{COS} \\
\end{array}
\]
'Soldiers are coming. Enemies are coming.'

The plural marker \textit{të}, occurring with reference to living beings, is illustrated in (340).

(340) (a) \textit{acítwë kaúteúpsömëng} (15:168).
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ací-të} & \text{kaú-teúp-söm-ing} \\
\text{elephant-PL} & \text{call-throw-finish.up-DIR}_2 \\
\end{array}
\]
‘(She) brought elephants.’

(b) \textit{zalít zalàt tamisätwëlakà} (04:30)
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{zalit-zalàt} & \text{tamisà-të} = \text{lakà} \\
\text{disgusting} & \text{human -PL} = \text{MIR} \\
\end{array}
\]
'Disgusting people'

However, the form \textit{tàk} is not attested with loan nominals. My language consultants insisted that it is not natural to use the plural marker \textit{tàk} with loanwords like \textit{síttá} ‘soldier’.

(341) *\textit{sítátàk} lipán yántütàk lipán

The plural marker \textit{tàk} is obligatorily omitted when it is followed by classifier phrases (see Chapter 5), as illustrated in (342).
(a) *ēk kalinghū ngāpántāk* (15:113)

ēk kaling-hú ngā = pán = ták
wife two-CLF.person exist = COS = HS

‘(He) has two wives. it is said.’

(b) *aténashī sómhū* (24:7)

aténashī sóm-hú
sibling.sisters three-CLF.person

‘Three sibling sisters’

(c) *leútneút píteūn lūpáng hīngkā* (12:113)

leútneút pí-teūn lū = páng hīng = kā
weapon four-CLF.thing get = DIR1:COS 3SG = TOP

‘He got four weapons.’
Kadu has a highly developed nominal classifier system. The use of classifiers is obligatory when a noun is modified by a numeral. Since these terms occur only with numerals, they will be referred to as numeral classifiers (NCLF) or simply classifiers in this thesis. The use of NCLFs has been widely attested across Asia (Jones 1970). NCLFs are one of the common features of Southeast Asia languages regardless of their genetic affiliation. Matisoff (1973:88) defines NCLFs in Southeast Asia as “a type of limited noun that occurs only after numerals or after another classifier and whose selection is determined by a preceding noun.” In Kadu, a single noun may occur with different NCLFs, for example, cím-lük-à (house-CLF.round-one) or cím-hà-à (house-CLF.building-one) ‘one house’. Therefore, the choice of NCLF is constrained by the nature of the referent of the preceding noun. “The choice of NCLF is rather predominantly semantic ... the range of semantic oppositions employed in numeral classifiers varies; it most often involves animacy, shape, size, and structure.” (Aikhenvald 2003:98).

In terms of word order, two orders are most common in Southeast Asia: numeral-classifier-noun and noun-numeral-classifier. The former type is found in languages like Chinese and Vietnamese. The latter type is common with languages such as Burmese and Thai. The following examples in (343) illustrate the Burmese numeral classifier construction.
A typical Kadu classifier construction is, like in Burmese, a combination of a noun followed by a numeral and then the classifier. An exception to this rule is with the numeral ‘one’, like in Thai (Haas 1942) or Garo–Sal language (Burling 2004:244) which has the reverse order of numeral and classifier when the numeral is ‘one’. The numeral ‘one’ in Kadu has two forms \( \text{ù} \) as in (344a) and \( \text{nù} \) as in (345a) a native and a borrowed form from Shai respectively (see §3.2.2). It must also be noticed that the Kadu numeral \( \text{ù} \) ‘one’ is fused into a preceding identical vowel. See the discussion of vowel fusion in §2.8.1.

(343)  
\[
\text{kjaun ta kaun} \quad \text{(cat one \ CLF.animal)} \quad \text{‘one cat’} \\
\text{lu hna jau’} \quad \text{(person two \ CLF.human)} \quad \text{‘two people’} \\
\text{hpja thoun: cha’} \quad \text{(mat three \ CLF.flat)} \quad \text{‘three mats’}
\]

(344) (a)  
\[
\text{kám húkà} \\
kám \quad \text{húk-à} \\
\text{plate \ CLF.round-one} \\
\text{‘one plate’}
\]

(b)  
\[
\text{kám kalinghúk} \\
kám \quad \text{kaling-húk} \\
\text{plate \ two-CLF.round} \\
\text{‘two plates’}
\]

(345) (a)  
\[
\text{pínù} \\
pí-nù \quad \text{year-one} \\
\text{‘one year’}
\]

(b)  
\[
\text{kalingpí} \\
kaling-pf \quad \text{two-year} \\
\text{‘two years’}
\]

Notice in examples (344a) and (345a), even though only the form \( \text{nù} \) is clearly borrowed from Shai/Tai, both forms for ‘one’ follow the Tai word order pattern. The
head noun can undergo deletion if it is pragmatically recoverable from the context. For example, instead of (346) it is also possible to say (347).

(346)  \textit{amúnashi kalinghú nāngmā} (AKYS)

\begin{tabular}{llll}
amúnashì & \textit{kaling-hú} & nāng & = mā \\
brothers & \textit{two-CLF.person} & go & = RLS \\
\end{tabular}

'Two brothers go/are going.'

(347)  \textit{kalinghú nāngmā} (AKYS)

\begin{tabular}{llll}
\textit{kaling-hú} & nāng & = mā \\
two-CLF.person & go & = RLS \\
\end{tabular}

'Two people go/are going.'

It is common to delete the noun when the same referent is referred to again in the course of the same utterance, as in (348).

(348) \textit{maléq atétóng kalinghú ngātalé hawàká halánāngzipán} (17:04)

\begin{tabular}{llllll}
maléq & até-tóng & kaling-hú & ngā & = talé \\
1PL & sister-big & two-CLF.person & exist & = SAP \\
\textit{(até-tóng)} & hú-à & = ká & halá & nāng-zí & = pán \\
\textit{(sister-big)} & CLF.person-one & = TOP & husband & go-finish & = COS \\
\end{tabular}

'I have two older sisters. One person/of them got married.'

Notice in (348) the form \textit{hú} ‘CLF.person’ is reduced to [hə] and the semi vowel -\texttt{w}- is inserted as a linker between the classifier and numeral. See the discussion of phonological processes in §2.8. Some numeral classifiers in Kadu exhibit two forms:
one that occurs with the native Kadu numerals one to four, and the other that occurs with the Shan loan numerals. Note that the highest Kadu numeral we have found that reflects a PTB form is the numeral for ‘four’. See §3.2.2 for the discussion of numerals in Kadu. Most, if not all the classifiers that occur with Shan numerals are clearly Shan loanwords. For example, the two forms hú and katú classify a human entity. The former occurs with native Kadu numerals (one to four) and the latter occurs with borrowed Shan numerals. Nominal classifiers that exhibit two forms are given in Table 27. They are separated by /. The first form occurs with the native Kadu numerals (one to four) and the latter form occurs with borrowed Shan numerals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun classifiers</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teùn/zá</td>
<td>‘general classifier’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hú/kaú</td>
<td>‘person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nù/tú</td>
<td>‘animal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yák/wán</td>
<td>‘day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kák/leún</td>
<td>‘stick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>húk/lúk</td>
<td>‘round’ or ‘globular’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táp/tú</td>
<td>‘thin’ or ‘flat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pák/peún</td>
<td>‘currency’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 27: Noun classifiers that exhibit two forms

Classifiers do not occur with multiples of ten. Any classifier following the numeral kaling ‘two’ changes to high tone. Classifiers used with higher numerals are not described in the thesis. The reason being, simply, that for the numerals eleven and higher the Kadu use Burmese numerals and freely borrow classifiers from Burmese as well. Therefore, I have focused on the numerals one to nine only.
Some numeral classifiers also occur as CLTs (§3.2.5.2) and may take -al- infixation to form nominals. See the illustrations in examples (349a-b).

(349) (a) \( \text{phónhalák hàkà} \) (halák < hàk)

phón-\text{halák} \quad \text{hàk-à}

wood-\text{branch} \quad \text{CLF.branch-one}

‘one branch’

(b) \( \text{phóntalát tātnà} \) (talát < tāt)

phón-\text{talát} \quad \text{tāt-à}

wood-\text{leaf} \quad \text{CLF.leaf-one}

‘one leaf’

Most of the classifiers are monosyllabic words in Kadu. So far, I have identified at least 58 of them. Just for the sake of convenience in analysing classifiers in Kadu I have categorised them into four types broadly based on semantic domains. These are Sortal, Collective, Measure and Event classifiers. The first type, in general, classifies objects based on shape-specific, but often arbitrary, characteristics. The second type classifies objects based on an arranged group, and the third type indicates measurement of volume, quantity, and length. The last type quantifies activities described by verbs.

5.1 Sortal classifiers

Sortal classifiers are semantically based in Kadu. A sortal classifier, quoting (Lyons 1977:463), “individuates whatever it refers to in terms of the kind of entity that it is.”
They are further broadly divided by semantic subcategories as follows: 5.1.1 Generic and type/kind classifiers, 5.1.2 Human and animal classifiers, 5.1.3 Shape related classifiers, and 5.1.4 Plants, vegetal, and field classifiers.

5.1.1 Generic and type/kind classifiers

There are two classifiers which express a non-specific and a kind/type reading as opposed to a specific reading, as in (350).

(350) teùn ‘thing, general all purpose classifier’ (Kadu)
zá ‘kind’ (Shan)

The use of the classifier teùn in Kadu is similar to that of <hku.> in Burmese and mà in Lahu. It is used with a non-specific object as in anāq teùnà meúmā ‘this one is good’. It can also freely be a substitute for more specific classifiers. For example, the specific classifier for rounded objects hūk in kām hūkà ‘one bowl or plate’ can be substituted by teùn as kām teùnà. For counting nonspecific objects, the general classifier is used with numbers, e.g. teùnà, kalìngteùn, sómteùn ‘one, two, three (things)’. teùn is also used to generalise the different types of nouns, as in (351).

(351) leútneút ngaúkà píteùn lūpáng (12:113)

létneút ngaúkà pí-teùn lū = páng
weapon as.for four-CLF.thing get = DIR₁;COS
‘(He) got four weapons.’
When one does not want to make a specific indication, the head noun may be omitted, as in (352).

(352) **kalingteún lü̈wàngká** (12:98)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kaling-teún} & \quad \text{lū-àng} & = \text{ká} \\
\text{two-CLF.thing} & \quad \text{get-DIR} & = \text{TOP}
\end{align*}
\]

'Having gotten two (weapons)'

The term *zá* is employed when the speaker wants to express the ‘kind’ reading. It generally occurs with the numeral one and takes the form *nù*.

(353) **alúk zánù lṻkū ngaúpanáq amyóyítá phú cíceúsòtthamá** (17:40)

\[
\begin{align*}
alúk & \quad \text{zá-nù} \quad \text{lū} = \text{kū} \quad \text{ngaú} = \text{panáq} \quad \text{amyó} = \text{yí} = \text{tá} \\
\text{work} & \quad \text{CLF.kind-one} \quad \text{get} = \text{IRLS} \quad \text{say} = \text{NOM} \quad \text{kind/type} = \text{also} = \text{EMP} \\
\text{phú} & \quad \text{cíceū} \quad \text{sòt} - \text{thà} = \text{mā} \\
\text{silver} & \quad \text{extremely} \quad \text{bribe} - \text{must} = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

'Even to get a kind/type of job (we) have to bribe with a lot of money.'

5.1.2 Human and animal classifiers

Human and animal classifiers attested in Kadu are listed in (354).

(354) **hú** ‘person’ (Kadu)

**kauú** ‘person’ (Shan)

**nù** ‘animal’ (Kadu)

**tú** ‘animal’ (Shan)
As shown in (354), each type–human and animal–exhibits two forms. The classifiers for
humans are \( hu \) and \( kau \). The first is used with the native numerals and the latter is
used with borrowed Shan numerals. These are used when counting any human,
regardless of social status. For example, \( sangpalang \ hu-\) (king CLF.peron-one) ‘one
king’ and \( samon \ hu-\) (monk CLF.person-one) ‘one monk’. The form \( hu \) is reduced to
\( ha \) [ho] when it is followed by -\( \ddot{a} \), the numeral ‘one’ and the linker -\( w \) is inserted
between the two vowels (§2.8.2). Compare the examples in (355) and (356). The
example in (355) is grammatical, as the classifier occurs with the native numerals.
However, the example in (356) is not grammatical because the classifier and numeral do
not match.

(355) \( haw \ kaling\ hu \ som\ hu \ anye\-\) (04:6)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{hu-} & \text{kaling-hu} & \text{som-hu} \\
\text{CLF.person-one} & \text{two-CLF.person} & \text{three-CLF.person} \\
an-yeu-sa & nang & =m\ =tak \\
\text{DEM-manner-DIM} & \text{go} & =\text{RLS}=\text{HS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘A couple of people like this went (there), it is said.’

(356) *\( ka\-w \ kalingka\-u \ somka\-u \ anye\-\)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{ka-} & \text{kaling-ka-} & \text{som-ka-} \\
\text{CLF.person-one} & \text{two-CLF.person} & \text{three-CLF.person} \\
an-yeu-sa & nang & =m\ =tak \\
\text{DEM-manner-DIM} & \text{go} & =\text{RLS}=\text{HS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘A couple of people like this went there, it is said.’
The classifier *kaú* is used with the borrowed Shan numbers, as in (357) and (358).

(357) *amúnashi shiKAÚ tayá áthüktaúnímmá* (12:1)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{amúnashì} & \quad \text{shi-kaú} \\
\text{brothers} & \quad \text{four-CLF.person} \\
\text{law} & \quad \text{try-L.SUFF-stay} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'Four brothers are studying the law.'

(358) *ngapèká cúmsèk peútkaú ngálakúqé* (17:1)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngā} = pè & = ká \quad \text{cím} \\
1SG & = \text{TOP} \\
\text{house} & \quad \text{person} \\
\text{eight-CLF.person} & \quad \text{exist} = \text{SAP} = \text{SAP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'I've got eight people (in my family).'

In some stories, these classifiers occur with animals when they are able to speak like humans, as in (359).

(359) *àngnàq tayéksàn sómhûtè ngaúkà wänzûpânnàqè íphângkâkmâyeù* (13:29)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{àngnáq} & \quad \text{tayéksàn} \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{animal} \\
\text{three-CLF.person} & \quad \text{as.for} \\
\text{wänzû} & \quad = pán = naà \\
\text{make.fire} & \quad = \text{COS} = \text{only} \\
\text{i-phâng-kák} & \quad = mā = yeù \\
\text{give-prior-want} & \quad = \text{RLS} = \text{SAP} \\
\end{align*}
\]

'As for these three animals, I will make a fire and give (them) first.'

The classifier for animal referents also exhibits two forms: *né* (Kadu) and *tú* (Shan).

They are used with all kinds of animals, from tiny mosquitoes to giant elephants. The distribution of *né* and *tú*, like with the human classifiers, is dependent on the numerals they follow. Kadu numbers one to four take the form *né*, as in (360).
The Shan numerals take the classifier tú, as in (361).

(361) (a) *kasà nùwà*

kasà  nù-à
tiger  CLF.animal-one
‘one tiger’

(b) *kasà kalingnù*  ‘two tigers’

*kanùn sómnù*  ‘three termites’

The Burmese animal classifier *kaûng* is used together with numerals borrowed from Burmese, as in (362).

(362) *cîwâtôngtê lé ngá shîtkaûng* (18:98)

cî-wâ-tông-tê  lé  ngá  shît-kaûng
dog-male-big-PL  four  five  eight-CLF.animal
‘A pack of big dogs.’ (Lit. four, five, eight big dogs)
5.1.3 Shape related classifiers

Shape related classifiers attested in Kadu are given in (363).

\[
\begin{align*}
(363) & \quad tåp & \text{‘thin and flat objects’} \\
& \quad tå & \text{‘thin and flat objects’} \\
& \quad håk & \text{‘globular things’ (Kadu)} \\
& \quad låk & \text{‘globular things’ (Shan)} \\
& \qquad kák & \text{‘sticks’ (Kadu)} \\
& \quad leån & \text{‘sticks’ (Shan)} \\
& \quad hå & \text{‘buildings’} \\
& \quad haâ & \text{‘long-handled tools’} \\
& \quad tå & \text{‘long, thin things’}
\end{align*}
\]

The classifier for counting thin and flat objects takes two forms: \textit{tåp} and \textit{tå}. Both classifiers occur with both native and borrowed Shan numerals. The former is used when counting thin and flat (both flexible and non flexible) objects that are usually not rounded. This classifier usually occurs when counting items such as wooden planks, mats, mirrors, slices of bread, and sheets of paper.

\[
\begin{align*}
(364) & \quad (a) \quad sån \ kaling\text{-}tåp \\
& \quad \quad \quad \quad sån \quad kaling\text{-}tåp \\
& \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{mirror two-CLF.flat} \\
& \quad \quad \quad \quad \text{‘two mirrors’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(364) & \quad (b) \quad pyån \ kaling\text{-}tåp & \text{‘two planks’} \\
& \quad \quad \quad \quad låpång \ kaling\text{-}tåp & \text{‘two cheeks’} \\
& \quad \quad \quad \quad kåm \ sómtåp & \text{‘three (flat) plates’}
\end{align*}
\]
The latter form *tú* is used only with flexible flat objects such as mats, clothing, and bamboo hats as illustrated in (365).

(365) (a) \textit{salaúng túwà}

\begin{verbatim}
salaúng  tú-à
mat     CLF.flat-one
'one mat'
\end{verbatim}

(b) \textit{phúkná kalingtú} \hspace{1cm} 'two bamboo hats'  
\textit{sāngsūng sómtú} \hspace{1cm} 'three shirts'

The classifier for counting globular objects also takes two forms: *húk* (Kadu) and *lúk* (Shan). The former occurs with the Kadu numerals one to four and the latter with Shan numerals. These classifiers are used in counting spherical, cubical, or round objects, such as plates, fruit, houses, heads, eyes, mountains, and bags.

(366) (a) \textit{kámhúkà}

\begin{verbatim}
kám   húk-à
plate  CLF.round-one
'one bowl/plate'
\end{verbatim}

(b) \textit{yalúcaíkši kalinghúk} \hspace{1cm} 'two cucumbers'  
\textit{kám hàlúk} \hspace{1cm} 'five bowls/plates'  
\textit{paláng hōkńúk} \hspace{1cm} 'six bottles'

The classifier for ‘stick’ or ‘long slender object’ also takes two forms: *kák* (Kadu) and *leún* (Shan). They are used in counting small long slender objects such as pencils,
sticks, spoons, needles, rope, small pieces of bamboo, firewood, and tails. The
distribution of kák and leún, like that of the human and animal classifiers, is dependent
on the numerals they follow. The Kadu numerals one to four take the form kák, as in
(367).

(367) (a) tā kákà
    tā  kák-à
    leg  CLF.stick-one
    ‘one leg’

(b) sīn kalimgkák  ‘two nails’
    phón sómkák  ‘three wood sticks’

The Shan numerals take the classifier leún. These are illustrated in (368).

(368) tākshí shileúnkalàng ōmpánnágà tútnàng  (07:64)
    tākshí  shi-leún  kalàng  ōm  =pán  =naà  tút-àng
    finger  four-CLF.stick  approximate  make  =COS  =only cut-DIR,
    ‘Cut the length to about four finger lengths.’

The classifier hà is used in counting long buildings such as houses, halls, and
monasteries, as in (369).

(369) (a) cím hà
    cím  hà-à
    house  CLF.building-one
    ‘one house’
The classifier *haū* is used in counting certain elongated hand tools and weapons, such as knives, guns, hoes, hammers, brooms, and umbrellas, as in (370). Notice linker -w-between the vowels.

(370) (a)  
\[\text{tāng haūwā} \]
\[\text{tāng haū-ā} \]
\[\text{knife CLF.tool-one} \]
\[\text{‘one knife’} \]

(b)  
\[\text{sinphäng somhaū} \]
\[\text{saūthū háhaū} \]
\[\text{‘two grubbing hoes’} \]
\[\text{‘five brooms’} \]

The term *ta* is used to classify counting vines, thread, wires, and ropes, as in (371). In fused form it is usually heard with a low tone *tà*.

(371) (a)  
\[\text{ītalā tá} \]
\[\text{ītalā tá-ā} \]
\[\text{thread CLF.thread-one} \]
\[\text{‘a string of thread’} \]

(b)  
\[\text{halānghū tá} \]
\[\text{mihāk somtá} \]
\[\text{‘a string of hair’} \]
\[\text{‘three strings of bamboo ties’} \]
5.1.4 Plants, vegetables, and field classifiers

Classifiers for plants, vegetables, and fields attested in Kadu are given in (372). All these classifiers can occur both with Kadu and Shan numerals.

(372) kaú ‘long vegetables and fruits’
ák ‘blossoms’
tū ‘seeds’ or ‘grain’
tāt ‘leaves’
kūn ‘plants’
kān ‘fields (human grown)’
tā ‘fields (natural)’

The classifier kaú is used for counting vegetables and fruits that have a long shape. This classifier is identical with the human classifier kaú, however, there seems to be no semantic correlation between them. A few examples are illustrated in (373).

(373) (a) salāshī kaúwà
    salā-shī kaú-à
    banana-CLF.fruit CLF.piece-one
    ‘one banana’

    (b) yapāshī kalingkaú
        mōkneushī sómkaú
        ‘two string beans’
        ‘three chilis’

The classifier ák, which is derived from the verb for ‘bloom’ or ‘open up’, is used for counting numbers of blossoms, as in (374).
The classifier *tū* is also used for counting seeds, grain, and kernels. Notice below in (375) it can also occur as a class term.

(375) (a)  *mípáktū tūwà*

mipák-*tū*  tū-à
pumpkin-seed  CLF.seed-one
‘one pumpkin seed’

(b)  *mípáktū kalingtū*  ‘two pumpkin seeds’

*haūheū sòmtū*  ‘three corn seeds’

The classifier *tât* is used only when counting numbers of leaves or sheets of papers. It can occur as a CLT and can be nominalised with the *-al*- infix, as in (376b).

(376) (a)  *salàpaïtaúng kalingtât ópháng*  (31:57)

salà  païtaúng  kaling-*tât*  óp-háng
banana.leaf  tip  two-CLF.leaf  close-back
‘Cover with two upper part of leaves again.’
(b)  \textit{phóntalāt kalingtát} \hspace{1cm} (talāt < tāt)

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
phón & talāt & kaling tāt \\
wood & leaf & two CLF.leaf \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\'two leaves\'

The classifier \textit{kùn} is used when counting plants. It can occur as \textit{CLT} and can be
nominalised with the \textit{-al}- infix.

(377) (a)  \textit{phónkalùn kalingkùn} \hspace{1cm} (kalùn < kùn)

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
phón-kalùn & kaling-\textbf{kùn} \\
wood-plant & two-CLF.plant \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\'two trees\'

(b) \textit{caikshìkùn kalingkùn} \hspace{1cm} \textquoteleft two mango trees\textquoteright

\begin{center}
kānzū sómkùn \hspace{1cm} \textquoteleft three mustard plants\textquoteright
\end{center}

There are two numeral classifiers, \textit{kān} and \textit{tā} that are used in counting fields. The
former is used when counting human-grown fields such as a field of mustard, corn,
beans, sugarcane, as illustrated in (378).

(378) (a)  \textit{kānzū kānà}

\begin{center}
kānzū & kān-à \\
mustard & CLF.field-one \\
\end{center}

\'one mustard field\'

(b) \textit{cínwàn kalingkán} \hspace{1cm} \textquoteleft two pineapple fields\textquoteright

\begin{center}
cahaìng sómkán \hspace{1cm} \textquoteleft three coriander fields\textquoteright
\end{center}
The latter form, however, is used when counting non-human-grown fields, mainly with larger plants, and clusters of many things, as in (379).

(379) lapòk pī-tā

| lapòk | pī-tā |
| bamboo | four-CLF.field |
| 'four bamboo fields' |

5.2 Collective classifiers

Collective classifiers are used to describe an arranged group of referents such as bunches, clusters, pairs, heaps, and stacks. Based on a broad semantic classification, collective classifiers are further divided into three groups: Bundles, Pairs, and Groups.

5.2.1 Bundle classifiers

Classifiers discussed under ‘bundle’ are listed in (380). These classifiers are used with items that are neatly arranged and can be counted. These classifiers can occur both with native and borrowed Shan numerals.

(380) phà ‘bunch (banana)’
    hūng ‘stalks (banana)’
    haũk ‘bunches’
    paũ ‘bunches (collection of bunches)’
    thū ‘bunches (straw)’
    kazǐŋ ‘clusters’
The classifier *phà* is used only when counting hands of bananas, as in (381).

(381) (a)  *saləšhī phà*

   saləšhī  *phà*-à
   banana  _CLF.hand_-one
   ‘one hand of bananas’

   (b)  *saləšhī kalingphà*  ‘two hands of banana’

The classifier *hūng* is used in counting stalks of bananas, as in (382).

(382) (a)  *saləšhī hūngà*

   saləšhī  *hūng*-à
   banana  _CLF.bunch_-one
   ‘one branch of banana’

   (b)  *saləšhī kalinghūng*  ‘two branches of banana’

There are three classifiers for counting tied up bunches. They are *haǔk*, *paũ* and *thū*.

The term *haǔk* seems to occur with any kind of bunch. The term *paũ* is used when counting bunches that are made up of somewhat larger items, or collections of many small bunches, as in (383).

(383) (a)  *papá haǔkà*

   papá  *haǔk*-à
   flower  _CLF.bunch_-one
   ‘one bunch of flowers’
The term *thū* occurs only with counting bunches of straw. Consider the examples in (384), where (384a) is grammatical but (384b) is not.

(384) (a)  ām thūwà

ām thū-à
paddy CLF.bunch-one
'one bunch of paddies'

(b)  *satēng thūwà

The classifier *kazīng* is employed to describe clusters of fruit and flowers, as in (385).

(385) (a)  papá kazīngà

papá kazīng-à
flower CLF.cluster-one
'one cluster of flowers'

(b)  maúshi kaling kazīng

ōngshi sóm kazīng
‘two clusters of plums’
‘three clusters of coconuts’
5.2.2 Pair classifiers

Four classifiers under the category of pairs have been attested in Kadu as listed in (386). These classifiers usually take borrowed Shan numerals, but may also occur with native numerals.

(386) kät ‘yoke’
kün ‘pairs’
pheú ‘pair of loads’
pàn ‘one of a pair’

The classifier kät is used in counting pairs of draught cattle, as in (387).

(387) (a) mōk kätnù
mōk kätnù
cow CLF.yoke-one
‘a pair of oxen’

(b) mōk kalinkingkát
ceú sómdkát ‘two yokes of oxen ‘three yokes of buffaloes’

The classifier kün is used in counting pairs of personal ornaments, such as shoes, earrings, and bracelets, as in (388).
(388) (a)  *heúttin kùnnù*

*heúttin*  kùn-nù

slipper  **CLF.pairs-one**

‘a pair of shoes/slippers’

(b)  *heúttin kalingkùn*  ‘two pairs of shoes/slippers’

*peūpaūng sómkùn*  ‘three pairs of earrings’

The classifier *pheú* is lexically relatable to the verb ‘carry’. It is used in counting pairs of loads carried with a shoulder pole, as in (389). It can be used with any kind of goods which weigh approximately 25-30 kilograms.

(389) (a)  *zūn pheúyà*

*zūn*  pheú-à

salf  **CLF.carrier-one**

‘a carrier of salt’

(b)  *phòn kalingpheú*  ‘two carriers of wood’

*satēng sómpheú*  ‘three carriers of thatch’

The classifier *pàn* is used to count one article of things which are generally in pairs.

For example, one load of a *pheú* is counted as *pàn*. See the illustrations in (390).

(390) (a)  *heúttin pànnù*

*heúttin*  pàn-nù

slipper  **CLF_half-one**

‘one slipper’
5.2.3 Group classifiers

These classifiers, unlike the bundle classifiers discussed in §5.2.1, are used with items that are not neatly arranged and are usually counted as piles or heaps. Four classifiers under the category of ‘group’ have been attested in Kadu so far, as given in (391). These are native terms, therefore they usually occur with native numerals.

(391) \( \text{tàp} \) ‘stack of wood’
\( \text{pūng} \) ‘heap’
\( \text{pōk} \) ‘swarm’
\( \text{zūq} \) ‘group’

The classifier \( \text{tàp} \) is used for counting stacks of firewood, as in (392).

(392) (a) \( \text{phôn tàpmà} \)
\text{phûn} \( \text{tàp-à} \)
\text{wood} \( \text{CLF.stack-one} \)
\text{‘a stack of wood’}

(b) \( \text{phôn kalingtàp} \) ‘two stacks of wood’
The classifier \textit{pūng} is used for counting heaps or piles, as in (393).

(393) (a) \textit{phú pūngà}

phú \textit{pūng}-à
silver \texttt{CLF.heap}-one
‘a heap of silver’

(b) \textit{phú kalingpūng nōppán peúmatáκ} (25:108)

phú kaling-pūng nōp = pán peú = mā = ták
silver two-\texttt{CLF.heap} bury = COS keep = RLS = HS
‘(He) has hidden two heaps of silver, it is said.’

The classifier \textit{pōk} is used for counting a colony of bees, an army of ants, or a swarm of insects, as in (394).

(394) (a) \textit{túngün pōkà}

túngún pōk-à
bees \texttt{CLF.group}-one
‘one swarm of bees’

(b) \textit{tahà kalingpōk} \hspace{1cm} ‘two armies of red ants’
\textit{pazèk sómpōk} \hspace{1cm} ‘three swarms of flies’

The classifier \textit{zúq} is used for counting a family or group of people, as illustrated in (395). It is clearly a Burmese loanword from \texttt{<su.>} ‘collect or gather’. Therefore, it takes Burmese numerals.
5.3 Measure classifiers

Measure classifiers are used to measure weight, length, area, and capacity. The Kadu lexicon lacks a metric system of units so words such as pound, kilogram, centimeter, meters, and kilometer are foreign to Kadu speakers. Rather they use a non-metrical system of units, many of which are general approximations. I have divided measuring classifiers into two: volume and length.

5.3.1 Volume measurements

Numeral classifiers for measuring volume have two types: one that indicates specific amounts and one that indicates general approximations or non-specific amounts. The former are discussed under container classifiers. In the following sections I will first look at some non-specific volume measurements. Many CONTAIN verbs can also occur as classifiers. Some contain verbs, except ħáng, which can also occur as classifiers are illustrated in (396).
The term *ngóm* is relatable to a lexical verb ‘to keep something in the mouth’. It can also occur as a numeral classifier for counting a small amount of something. This term may correlate with the English phrase one tablespoonful, as in (397).

(397) (a) \( \text{weú ngómà} \)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{weú ngóm-à} \\
\text{water CLF.keep.in.mouth-one} \\
\text{‘one mouthful of water’}
\end{array}
\]

(b) \( \text{sapáksàwaleú kalingngóm} \) ‘two mouthfuls of soup’

The volume measurement classifier *tūm* is relatable to the lexical verb ‘to clench the fist’. It is usually used with a mass noun in counting a handful of items, such as rice, corn, wheat, or sugar.

(398) (a) \( \text{sát tūmà} \)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{sát tūm-à} \\
\text{rice CLF.handful-one} \\
\text{‘a handful of rice’}
\end{array}
\]

(b) \( \text{zün kalingtūm} \) ‘two handfuls of salt’

\( \text{samát sómtūm} \) ‘three handfuls of sand’
The volume measurement classifier *phîm* ‘armful’ is relatable to a lexical verb ‘to embrace’. It is used in counting a number of things carried or held in one’s arms. It is commonly used for carrying firewood, flowers, or vegetables.

(a) \( phôn phîmà \)

phôn \*phîm*-à
wood \*CLF.armful\-one
‘an armful of wood’

(b) \( pûnsûn kalingphîm \)

\( mîshî sôm phîm \)
‘two armfuls of hay’
‘three armfuls of sugarcane’

The volume measurement classifier *hâng* is an auto-classifier (§5.5), a repetition of the second syllable of *kûnhâng* ‘basket’. It is used in counting a basketful of such items as taro, potatoes, wood, or fish. It is often reduced to *hà*, as in (400a). It is conventionalised, therefore, it is not necessary to mention the word ‘basket’.

(a) \( kûnhâng hà(à) \)

kûnhâng \*hà*-à
basket \*CLF.basket\-one
‘a basket’

(b) \( neû hângà \)

\( phôn kalinghâng \)
‘one basketful of taro’
‘two basketfuls of wood’
5.3.2 Container classifiers

Grain and crops are not weighed, but they are measured by containers. Many of the containers discussed in this section are standard measurements throughout Myanmar. Unsurprisingly, the source for many of these terms for containers in Kadu come from their long time neighboring language, Burmese. As in Burmese, the standard smallest unit for volume measuring grain in Kadu is the size of a regular condensed milk tin. The Kadu lexicon contains different terms for the equivalent of two, four, eight, and sixteen tins. Container measurement classifiers are given in (401).

(401)  

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{húk} & \text{‘one condensed milk tin’} \\
\text{zaleù} & \text{‘two húk equal to one zaleù’} \\
\text{kwák} & \text{‘two zaleù equal to one kwák’} \\
\text{pē} & \text{‘two kwák equal to one pē’} \\
\text{zalaúk} & \text{‘two pē equal to one zalaúk’} \\
\text{zék} & \text{‘two zalaúk equal to one zék’} \\
\text{kwaing} & \text{‘two zék equal to one kwaing’} \\
\text{táng} & \text{‘two kwaing equal to one táng’}
\end{array}
\]

(1 tin) (2 tins) (4 tins) (8 tins) (16 tins/two pē) (32 tins/four pē) (64 tins/eight pē) (128 tins/sixteen pē)

It is evident that most of these terms mentioned above in (401) come from Burmese. The only Kadu term is the term húk (§5.1.3). All others are relatable to Burmese. For example, the term <pranj> (my transcription pē) is used to measure grain. It is about 2.5 cubic litres, equal to eight regular condensed milk tins.
5.3.3 Length measurements

Numeral classifiers for measuring length are few in number. In general, the Kadu lexicon lacks specific units of length such as centimeter, inch, or yard. Many length measurements in Kadu simply use body parts that may be equal or close to the same unit of length. For example, the smallest length measurement is the horizontal width of a man’s finger that may be equal or close to half an inch. Almost all the specific units of length are borrowed from Burmese. We will not deal with those loanwords in this study. Some native metric units of length measurement attested in Kadu are given in (402).

(402) tākshī ‘inch?’ < ‘finger’
    saūk ‘CLF.cubit’ < ‘arm’ (Shan loan?)
    phāk ‘CLF.step’ < ‘to stride’

The term tākshī ‘finger’, together with numeral classifiers for stick kāk (Kadu) and leún (Shan) is probably the smallest length measurement unit in Kadu. The standard is usually a man’s fingers’ width. Look at the example in (403).

(403) tākshī shileünkalàng ōmpānnāqà tútnàng (07:64)

    tākshī shi-leún kalàng ōm = pán = naà tút-àng
cut-DIR,
    finger four-CLF.stick approximate make = cos = only
tūt-àng
    “Measure approximately four fingers’ (width) and cut (it).”

The numeral classifier saūk ‘cubit’ or ‘foot’ is used to measure the distance from the elbow to the tip of the extend middle finger.
(404) (a)  *manaíksaúk ngălă*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mà} & = \text{naík-\textbf{saúk}} & \text{ngă} & = \text{lá} \\
\text{WH} & = \text{many-CLF.cubit} & \text{exist} & = \text{Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘How many cubits are there?’

(b)  *saünstaúk ngămă*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{saünst-saúk} & \quad \text{ngă} = \text{mă} \\
\text{two-CLF.cubit} & \quad \text{exist} = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Two cubits/feet’

The verb *phăk*  ‘stride’ is also used as a numeral classifier to indicate the approximate length of a medium length step.

(405)  *taphă phăkā*  ‘one step’

* taphă kalingphăk  ‘two steps’

The term *maĭ*  ‘mile’, which is an English loanword, has also been attested in my corpus. This term has come into the Kadu lexicon via Burmese and it occurs with the Burmese numeral *ō< thum:>* (my transcription *tŏng*)  ‘three’ in (406).

(406)  *khayí tŏngmaïkalăng kătningthămă*  (18:80)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{khayí} & \quad \text{tŏng} & \text{-maï} = \text{kalăng} \\
\text{journey} & \quad \text{three} & \text{-mile} = \text{approximate}
\end{align*}
\]

‘We have to run about three miles.’
Other non-specific length measurement classifiers are those that indicate certain portions of a particular item. Equivalent expressions in English are one half, one third, or one fourth of something. These measurement classifiers are given in (407).

(407)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{taùn} & \quad \text{‘one piece of an item’} \\
\text{paìk} & \quad \text{‘half of an item’} \\
\text{shíq} & \quad \text{‘one fourth of an item’}
\end{align*}
\]

The classifier taùn is relatable to the lexical verb ‘to make portion’. It is used in counting half units or cross-sectional pieces of a unit, such as logs, bamboo, or fish, as in (408).

(408)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(a) } & \quad \text{fon taùnnù} \\
\text{fon} & \quad \text{taùn-nù} \\
\text{wood} & \quad \text{CLF.piece-one} \\
& \quad \text{‘half portion/section of wood’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(b) } & \quad \text{fon kalingtaùn} \\
& \quad \text{lapòk sómtaùn} \\
& \quad \text{‘two sections of wood’} \\
& \quad \text{‘three sections of bamboo’}
\end{align*}
\]

The classifier paìk is used in counting half or one of two parts, not necessarily equal parts, of spherical or cubical objects, such as fruit, bamboo, as illustrated in (409).

(409)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{(a) } & \quad \text{cinshì paìkà} \\
\text{cinshì} & \quad \text{paìk-à} \\
\text{cucumber} & \quad \text{CLF.half-one} \\
& \quad \text{‘a half portion of cucumber’}
\end{align*}
\]
(b)  \textit{cinshi kalingpaìk} \quad \text{‘two half portions of cucumber’}

\textit{lapòk sòmpaìk} \quad \text{‘three half pieces of bamboo’}

The classifier \textit{shìq} is used in counting a slice or a piece smaller than half. It generally indicates one fourth or less of a unit. It is also used with counting segments of fruit and cloves of garlic.

(410)  (a)  \textit{cinshi shìqà}

\begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{cinshi} & \textit{shìq}-à  \\
\textit{cucumber} & \text{CLF.quarter-one} \\
\end{tabular}

\text{‘a quarter of a cucumber’}

(b)  \textit{cinshi kalingshìq} \quad \text{‘two quarters of a cucumber’}

\textit{sùnhìlùng sòmshìq} \quad \text{‘three cloves of garlic’}

### 5.4 Event classifiers

The event classifiers are those that quantify activities which may be translated as ‘times’

These are few in number. Event classifiers attested in Kadu are listed in (411).

(411)  \textit{chàt} \quad \text{‘shot’}

\textit{làp} \quad \text{‘frequency’}

\textit{pàn} \quad \text{‘frequency’ or ‘times’}

The classifier \textit{chàt}, a Burmese loanword ကြား < chak >, is used when counting a number of shots, as in (412).
(412)  *chátnù saũngchát kápmā* (18:76)

\[
\text{chát-nù} \quad \text{saũng-chát} \quad \text{káp} \quad = \text{mā} \\
\text{CLF.shot-one} \quad \text{two-CLF.shot} \quad \text{shoot} \quad = \text{RLS}
\]

'Shoot once or twice.'

The classifiers *pán* and *láp*, both glossed as ‘CLF.times’, are used when counting a number of repeated actions. The term *pán* occurs with borrowed Shan numerals. *láp*, on the other hand, is attested only with native numeral one and may be translated into English as ‘once more’. See illustrations of these two classifiers in (413) and (414).

(413)  (a)  *pánnù nãŋ ínõmũsã* (07:106)

\[
\text{pán-nù} \quad \text{nãŋ} \quad \text{ín-õm-zón} \quad = \text{sà} \\
\text{CLF.times-one} \quad 2\text{SG} \quad \text{NEG-make-continue} \quad = \text{NEG.IMP}
\]

'(You) don’t do again!'

(b)  *sãmpán lîtì anyeù tûngãkãntãk* (06:16)

\[
\text{sãm-pán} \quad \text{lî} \quad -\text{tí} \quad \text{an-yeù} \quad \text{tûngãk} = \text{pán} = \text{tãk} \\
\text{three-CLF.times} \quad \text{come} \quad -\text{also} \quad \text{DEM-manner} \quad \text{bow} = \text{COS} = \text{HS}
\]

'Even the third time (the lizard) bows its head (to the king) in this manner, it is said.'

(414)  *lápmā tîpmângkû* (31:23)

\[
\text{láp-à} \quad \text{tîp-àng} \quad = \text{kû} \\
\text{CLF.times-one} \quad \text{pack-DIR} \quad = \text{IRLS}
\]

'Pack one (more) time'
5.5 Auto-classifiers

Some nouns can be repeated using the same phonological form to classify themselves. These kinds of classifiers are also found in Lahu, Burmese and in many other languages. I have adopted the term auto-classifiers from Matisoff (1973:89). Wheatley (1982) following Okell (1969) simply called them repeaters in his Burmese grammar. Auto-classifiers are often used if the noun has no salient physical features to classify it with.

(415) (a)  
\[ cɪ̞m \ cɪ̞mmà \]  
\[ cɪ̞m \ cɪ̞m-à \]  
\[ \text{house} \quad \text{CLF.auto-one} \]  
\[ '\text{one house}' \]

(b)  
\[ cɪ̞m \ kalingcɪ̞m \]  
\[ cɪ̞m \ kaling-\text{cɪ̞m} \]  
\[ \text{house} \quad \text{two-CLF.auto} \]  
\[ '\text{two houses}' \]

(c)  
\[ cɪ̞m \ hácɪ̞m \]  
\[ cɪ̞m \ há-cɪ̞m \]  
\[ \text{house} \quad \text{five-CLF.auto} \]  
\[ '\text{five houses}' \]

Most often with sesquisyllabic or disyllabic nouns only the second syllable is repeated, as in (416).

(416) (a)  
\[ \text{lapòk} \ pòkà \]  
\[ \text{lapòk} \quad \text{pòk-à} \]  
\[ \text{bamboo} \quad \text{CLF.auto-one} \]  
\[ '\text{one piece of bamboo}' \]
(b) \( yameù \ meùyà \)

\[
\begin{align*}
yameù & \quad \text{meù-à} \\
dipper & \quad \text{CLF.auto-one} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘one dipper’

A few more examples of partially repeated classifiers are shown in (417).

(417) \( \begin{align*}
lapá \ pà-à & \quad \text{‘one (wet rice) field’} \\
papá \ pà-à & \quad \text{‘one flower’} \\
zăúk \ úk-à & \quad \text{‘one book’} \\
\end{align*} \)
CHAPTER 6: NOMINAL RELATIONAL MARKERS

This chapter looks at the relational markers attested in Kadu. They are cliticised after the NP to signal the phrase as topic, anti-agentive, allative, ablative, locative, benefactive or comitative. The nominal realational markers attested in Kadu are shown in (418).

(418)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kadu</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ká</td>
<td>‘topic’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tê</td>
<td>‘anti-agentive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe</td>
<td>‘locative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pà</td>
<td>‘allative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hafaík</td>
<td>‘ablative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaúk</td>
<td>‘comitative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yeún</td>
<td>‘benefactive’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.1 \textit{ká} ‘topic’

The particle \textit{ká}, glossed as ‘topic’, may follow the initial NP of a clause to introduce it as a topic, as in (419).
(419) (a)  hìngkà sapùpà mìnìwùtasàpà akônglóng lànìpè kasùmpeùlakàè (08:81)

hìng =ká  sapù =pà  mìnìwùtasà =pà  akônglóng
3SG =TOP horse =include royal.dress =include all

lám =pè  kasùm-peú =lakà =é
road =LOC hide-keep =MIR =SAP

‘He has hidden the horse as well as the royal dress on the road.’

(b)  ngà heúkààngkùpanàq kàsàtòŋyàuk pàìngtaí asteel-tàŋgeúchìn
thàcípanàq ngaúkà nìmúmatàk (09:2).

[ngà  heú-kà-ång =kú =panàq] =ká
1SG tell-show-DIR =IRLS =NOM =TOP

kasà-tòŋ =yaúk  pàŋtái  asteel-tàŋgeúchìn
tiger-big =COM rabbit friend-friend

thà-cí =panàq  ngaúkà  nìm-cí =mà =ták
be-PL =NOM as.for stay-PL =RLS =HS

‘The story I am going to tell is about the friendship between a tiger and a rabbit. (They) lived together. it is said.’

The term ká also functions to contrast the referent with other possible referents, as in

(420).

(420) (a)  ngàhalikà eúhám kàumà (08:95)

ngà-halà =ká  eúhám  kaú =mà
1SG-husband =TOP PN call =RLS

‘My husband is called Eham.’ (not anybody else)
(b)  \textit{kasàká wánhùångmaták} (09:16)

\begin{align*}
\text{kasà} & = \text{ká} \quad \text{wān} \quad \text{hù-ång} \quad = \text{mā} \quad = \text{ták} \\
\text{tiger} & = \text{TOP} \quad \text{fire} \quad \text{burn-DIR}_1 \quad = \text{RLS} \quad = \text{HS}
\end{align*}

'The tiger got burned.' (not anything else)

The topic marker can also be used at the clausal level, and frequently occurs in tail-head linkage structures. In this type, the verb complex of the preceding sentence is repeated, setting a topic for the sentence that will follow. See more detailed discussion on ‘tail-head linkage’ in §11.3.

(421) \textit{àngníngyeùzáng nímcíká paíngtaí ngaúkà zàkmaták} (09:3).

\begin{align*}
\text{[ång-ningyeù} & = \text{záng} \quad \text{nîm-cí]} = \text{ká} \\
\text{that-manner} & = \text{EMPH} \quad \text{stay-PL} = \text{TOP} \\
\text{pañgtái} \quad \text{ngaúkà} \quad \text{zàk} & = \text{mā} \quad = \text{ták} \\
\text{rabbit} \quad \text{as.for} \quad \text{afraid} & = \text{RLS} \quad = \text{HS}
\end{align*}

'Having lived like that the rabbit was afraid, it is said.'

6.2 \textit{tè ‘anti-agentive’}

I have adopted the term ‘anti-agentive’, glossed as ‘\textit{A.AG}’, which was proposed by LaPolla (1992). He argued that in many TB languages the same marking is used for the animate patient referent \textit{NP} in a monotransitive clause and the goal or beneficiary in a ditransitive clause to disambiguate a non-actor from the actor. The term \textit{tè} in Kadu, like anti-agentive marking in many other TB languages, almost exclusively occurs with
animate and human participants to distinguish a non-actor from an actor. The examples in (422) illustrate the $tē$ marking animate patient of a monotransitive clause in Kadu.

(422) (a) $sāngpaláng nāngtè tánshīkū$ (15:89)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sāngpaláng } & \text{nāng } = tē \\
\text{king } & \text{2SG } = A.AG \\
\text{beat-die } & \text{= IRLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘The king will kill (beat to death) you.’

(b) $n̓gˀåktè sāntāttahàŋmanaík$ (08:88)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngā } & \text{čk } = tē \\
\text{wife } & \text{= A.AG } \\
\text{try.out-L.SUFF-back } & \text{= only.if}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(I) will test my wife.’

The goal or beneficiary referents may be marked by either $tē$, as in (423) or by benefactive marker $yeún$, as in (424). I still need more data to understand whether there is any contrast in meanings with these markings.

(423) (a) $hān̓ingtè maləq pweúq īt̓iŋ ap̓ówáyeů$ (04:36)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{haning } & \text{ = tē} \\
\text{2PL } & \text{ = A.AG} \\
\text{degree } & \text{give } = \text{NOM}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a } & \text{ = pò } = á \\
\text{NEG } & \text{ = exist } = \text{NEG } = \text{SAP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘We have no title/degree to give you.’
(b) *hîng tamisā hawátè misān iýingmā* (AKYS)

*hîng* tamisā hú-à = tô misān i-ing = mā  
3SG human CLF.person-one = A.AG arrow give-DIR₂ = RLS  
He gave an arrow to a man.

(424) (a) *ânpîn tâtmí ngayeûn iûng* (18:73)

àng = pín tâtmí ngä = yeûn i-ing  
that = NOM torch 1SG = BEN give-DIR₂  
Give that torch to me.

(b) *nâng hânhšîyeûn ngä atá anaútyeûnâ* (16:9)

nâng hânhšî = yeûn ngä atá a-naút yeûn = á  
2SG cat = BEN 1SG rice NEG-feed-can = NEG  
I cannot feed your cat.

The anti-agentive marker usually does not occur with inanimate arguments. This is possibly because the semantic role of agent and patient is clear from the context. In example (425), it is clear that the animate referent of the NP *hîng* ‘3SG’ is the only possible agent to do the chopping.

(425) *hîng sétkëùtân wànnā* (17:58)

*hîng* sétkëùtân wán = mā  
3SG thatch-CLT.stick chop = RLS  
He chops (bamboo) for making a thatch stick.

When the anti-agentive marker * tô* occurs with an NP with an inanimate referent it has a different semantic interpretation. Kadu does not have definite or indefinite articles such
as *a* or *an* and *the* in English. The anti-agentive marker carries a degree of
definiteness or emphatic interpretation when it occurs with an NP with an inanimate
referent.

(426)  *hìŋŋ atá tè yòkànglùpánták* (15:144)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hìŋŋ} & \quad = \text{tè} \quad \text{yòk-àng-lù} \quad = \text{pán} \quad = \text{ ták} \\
3SG & \quad \text{rice} \quad = \text{A.AG} \quad \text{eat-DIR, get} \quad = \text{COS} \quad = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(We) ate his food.’ (not regular food)

(427)  *pálú zòkshìwaletè láthákù* (15:130)

\[
\begin{align*}
pálú & \quad \text{zòkshí-waleú} \quad = \text{tè} \quad \text{là-thà} \quad = \text{kū} \\
ogre & \quad \text{breast-liquid} \quad = \text{A.AG} \quad \text{take-must} \quad = \text{IRLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(You) must bring an ogre’s milk.’

In ditransitive clauses, the order of arguments is determined by information structure.
See the detailed discussion on ditransitive verbs in §3.1.2.3.3 and on constituent order in
§8.1. If the agent or anti-agent or both arguments are retrievable from the context, they
may be omitted. See the examples in (428) and (429). In example (428) both agent and
anti-agent NPs are omitted. In example (429) only the recipient NP is omitted.

(428)  *salàshi phà ìyàngmā* (08:123)

\[
\begin{align*}
[\text{salà-shí} & \quad \text{phà-à}] \quad \text{i-àng} \quad = \text{mā} \\
\text{banana-CLT.fruit} & \quad \text{CLF.bunch-one} \quad \text{give-DIR,} \quad = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(She) gave (him) a bunch of bananas.’
(429) tacámín leútneút īpeúmā (12:82)

\[
\begin{align*}
tacámín & \quad leútneút & \quad ī-pee & = mā \\
\text{PN} & \quad \text{weapon} & \quad \text{give-keep} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]
'Takyamin gave a weapon (to three brothers).'

The patient NP may be fronted to topic position, as in (430) and (431), for reasons of focus. See the detailed discussion on constituent order of the clause in §8.1.

(430) haningtè ngakā yūheúqmā (12:28)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{haning} & = tè \\
\text{ngā} & = kā \quad \text{yū-heúq} & = mā \\
\text{2PL} & = \text{A.AG} \quad \text{1SG} & = \text{TOP} \quad \text{look-back:DIR}_{2} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]
'I came back and looked for you.'

(431) hīng taūcītè hīngkā zingyūmā (08:115)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hīng} & = tè \\
\text{taūcī} & = tè \quad \text{hīng} = kā \quad \text{zing-yū} & = mā \\
\text{3SG} & = \text{A.AG} \quad \text{3SG} & = \text{TOP} \quad \text{ask-look} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]
'He asked his wife.'

The anti-agentive marker tè may be followed by topic marker kā for contrastive and emphatic purposes as illustrated in (432).

(432) (a) ngā saēktēkā patōng ngómnímpān (23:23)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngā} & \quad \text{saēk} = tè \quad = kā \quad \text{patōng} \quad \text{ngómn-ním} \quad = \text{pán} \\
\text{1SG} & \quad \text{daughter} = \text{A.AG} \quad \text{=TOP} \quad \text{boa} \quad \text{keep.in.mouth-stay} \quad = \text{COS}
\end{align*}
\]
'The boa is swallowing (Lit. keeping in mouth) my daughter.'
The term tè also frequently occurs following time nouns (§3.1.1.2.9) to mark location in time.

(433) (a) kasátàkká nākceūtèhāmatá́k (09:9)

kasà =ták =ká nākceū =tè hā =mā =ták

tiger =PL =TOP night =A.AG walk =RLS =HS

'The tigers go out in the night, it is said.'

(b) yàkàtè pànnùkà ōmpeùpán (21:11)

yàk-à =tè pàn-nù =ká ōm-peù =pàn

now/day-one =A.AG CLF.times-one =TOP make-keep =COS

‘(I) have done (it) once a day.’

6.3 pè ‘locative’

The term pè following the noun marks a static location. This term does not resemble other locative markers in TB languages and the lexical source for this term is not apparent. See the illustrations in (434).
(434) (a) *lánpè kasúmpéulakāé* (08:81)

lán = pè kasúm-peú = lakā = ē
road = LOC hide-keep = MIR = SAP

'It is hidden on the roadside.'

(b) *weúpè lāzalāútńăng ngaúmaták* (24:3)

weú = pè lā-zalaút-āng ngaú = mā = ták
water = LOC take-drift-DIR1 say = RLS = HS

'Take and float/drift (it) on the water, it is said.'

The form *pè* can also appear directly after verbs. When it does, it functions as a locative nominaliser which can be interpreted as ‘at the place of V’. Some examples of *pè* as a locative nominaliser are exemplified in (435).

(435) (a) *zalaútpè pātaháŋping* (13:21)

zalaút = pè pā-ta-háng = ping
drift = LOC carry.away-L.SUFF-back = DIR2:COS

‘(He) was carried away in the current.’

(b) *nāng nīmmeúpè nīmàáŋ* (08:6)

nāng nīm-meú = pè nīm-ā-āng
2SG stay-good = LOC stay-EUPH-DIR1

‘You can just live at a suitable place (Lit. good living place).’
(c) \( tānlyeūt \ lāhāngpē \ čngtapánták \ (04:32) \)

tānlyeūt \ lā-hāng = pē \ cūng-ta = pān = tāk
regalia \ take-back = LOC \ meet--L.SUFF = COS = HS

'(He) saw (the situation) at a place where (he) came back and took the regalia.'

\( pē \) may also occur following demonstratives (§4.1.1), wh-words (§9.4), and pronouns (§3.2.3).

6.4 \( pā \) ‘allative’

The allative case, which expresses motion to or toward the referent of the noun, is marked by the morpheme \( pā \) in Kadu. See the examples in (436).

(436) (a) \( héq \ amaūngsā \ hàpā \ nāngkalā \ (07:32) \)

\( héq \ \) amaūng-sā \ hà = pā \ nāng = kū = lá
EXCL \ boy-DIM \ WH = ALL \ go = IRLS = Q

'Hey, boy, where are you going?'

(b) \( yaū \ ngākā \ lapāpāq \ nāngkū \ (07:33) \)

\( yaū \ \) ngā = kā \ lapā = pā \ nāng = kū
EXCL \ 1SG = TOP \ field = ALL \ go = IRLS

'Well, I am going to the field.'
When the allative case \( pâ \) is used with motion verbs, as in (436b), the \( \text{NP} \) to which \( pâ \) attaches is interpreted as the end point or final destination of the motion expressed by the verb. Some more examples are given in (437).

(437)  (a) \textit{yēkpâ nāngthāmā} (07:30)

\begin{align*}
\text{yēk} & = pâ \\
\text{hill.field} & = \text{ALL} \\
\text{go} & = \text{HORT}
\end{align*}

'Let’s go to the field.'

(437)  (b) \textit{hīngkâ pōkhāpâ nāngmatāk} (15:29)

\begin{align*}
\text{hīng} & = kâ \\
\text{forest} & = \text{ALL} \\
\text{go} & = \text{RLS} \quad \text{HS}
\end{align*}

'He went to the forest, it is said.'

The form \( pâ \) cannot be used after \( \text{NPs} \) in clauses with existential verbs, as in (438b), unless it is immediately followed by a locative marker \( pè \).

(438)  (a) \textit{hīng cūmpāpē ngāmā}

\begin{align*}
\text{hīng} & = pâ \\
\text{2SG} \quad \text{house} & = \text{ALL} \\
\text{exist} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}

'He is at home.'

(b) \*\textit{hīng cūmpâ ngāmā}

\begin{align*}
\text{hīng} & = pâ \\
\text{2SG} \quad \text{house} & = \text{ALL} \\
\text{exist} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
The sequence of pà plus pè has different interpretations depending on which type of noun it follows. Following human referents, it has the sense of definite goal, as in (439).

(a)  hìng saěkshàpàpè mànsátì tappaúkmatàk (23:8)

\[
\text{hìng saęk-shà} = \text{pà } = \text{pè} \text{ mānsáq-tú } \text{ tappaúk} = \text{mā} = \text{ták}
\]

3SG daughter-small = ALL = LOC maiden-language speak = RLS = HS

‘(He) expresses his love to the younger daughter.’

(b)  samónpàpè kàtcímàk (07:76)

\[
\text{samón } = \text{pà } = \text{pè} \text{ kát-cí } = \text{mák}
\]

monk = ALL = LOC run-PL = HORT

‘Let’s run to the monk.’

However, when the sequence of pà + pè follows an NP with an inanimate referent that is a locality, it has a general directional meaning such as ‘toward that area’.

(440)  nwëyèk kayàpàpè yàkká cwëúq tàmànkgù (21:1)

\[
\text{nwëyèk kayá } = \text{pà } = \text{pè} \text{ yák } = \text{ká} \text{ cwëúq } \text{ tám-àng } = \text{kù}
\]

PN mountain = ALL = LOC now = TOP wild.yam search-DIR = IRLS

‘As for now, I will go and search for wild yam in the area of Nwëyèk mountain.’

(441)  yëkpàpè nānghàngmatàk (15:42)

\[
\text{yëk } = \text{pà } = \text{pè} \text{ nāng-hàng } = \text{mā} = \text{ták}
\]

hill.field = ALL = LOC go-back = RLS = HS

‘(He) returned toward/to the field, it is said.’
6.5 *haïk* ‘ablative’

The ablative case, which marks the NP as expressing the source location, is marked by the morpheme *haïk* in Kadu, as in (442).

(442) (a) \[ haïk \text{ } tōmpáqpe \text{ } nāngpānnaà \] (12:3)

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{hamök}-zaïk & = & \text{haïk} & \text{tōm} & = & \text{pè} \text{ } \text{nāng} = \text{pān} = \text{naà} \\
\text{sky-on.top} & = & \text{ABL} & \text{below} & = & \text{ALL} = \text{LOC} \text{ go} & = \text{COS} \text{ only} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(I) from the sky above will go down and...’

(b) \[ maléq \text{ } záktaïká \text{ } zikónghaïk \text{ } záqtamá \] (10:24)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
\text{maléq} \text{ } záktaú & = & \text{ká} & \text{zikóng} & = & \text{haïk} & \text{záq-ta} & = & \text{mā} \\
1\text{PL} \text{PN} & = & \text{TOP} \text{PN} & = & \text{ABL} & \text{begin-} \text{L.SUFF} & = & \text{RLS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘We, Settau, begin/come from Zikong.’

Although it is not very frequent, the form *haïk* occasionally occurs immediately after an NP with an animate referent to mark the referent as the agent in Kadu. This is not an uncommon phenomenon in TB languages. Regarding the development of case markers in TB languages, LaPolla (2004) said “… none of the case marking… in TB languages can confidently be reconstructed to the PTB level. When we find marking of some time depth, it is generally a locative or ablative case at the earliest stages … in many languages the same form is used for the agentive and the ablative …” (LaPolla

23 Some Kadu speakers, who seem to be speakers of the Mauteik variety, pronounce this as *heúq*.  

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2004:56). It is probably the case in Kadu that the ablative marker *haîk* is in the initial stage of developing into an agentive marker, as illustrated in (443).

(443) (a) *cânsîtâhaîk tântânàngmâ* (07:112)

cânsîtâ = **haîk** tân-tât-àng = mā
PN = **ABL** beat-send-**DIR**1 = **RLS**

'Kyansitta beat (him) and sent him away.'

(b) *hîng ēkhaîk ngâumâtâk* (15:95)

hîng ēk = **haîk** ngâû = mā = tâk
3SG wife = **ABL** say = **RLS** = **HS**

'His wife said, it is said.'

(c) *mapâ nânglá mângsâhaîk zingyûmâ* (08:90)

mà = pâ nâng = lá mângsâ = **haîk** zing-yû = mâ
WH = **ALL** go = **Q** prince = **ABL** ask-LOOK = **RLS**

'The prince asked “where are (you) going?”'

The sequence of *pâ* plus *haîk* is also attested in Kadu. However, the sequence of *pè* plus *haîk* has not been attested in my corpus. The sequence of *pâ + haîk* expresses a general directional meaning such as ‘from that area’. This is illustrated in (444) and (445).

(444) *cîmkamûkpâhaîk tôpîmîngmatâk* (25:99)

cîm kamûk = **pâ** = **haîk** tôp-îng = mâ = tâk
house beneath = **ALL** = **ABL** stab-**DIR**2 = **RLS** = **HS**

‘(He) stabbed in from underneath the house, it is said.’
(445) *kasà ngaúkà halíngpàháik wáhángpìng* (18:56)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kasà} & \quad \text{ngaúkà} & \quad \text{halíng} & \quad = & \quad \text{pà} & \quad = & \quad \text{háik} & \quad \text{wá-háng} & \quad = & \quad \text{píng} \\
\text{tiger} & \quad \text{as.for} & \quad \text{behind} & \quad = & \quad \text{ALL} & \quad = & \quad \text{ABL} & \quad \text{jump.down-back} & \quad = & \quad \text{DIR}_2:\text{COS}
\end{align*}
\]

'The tiger jumps down behind, again.'

6.6 *yaúk* ‘comitative’

The comitative, which expresses a semantic meaning of accompaniment such as ‘with’ or ‘accompanied by’, is indicated by the postposition *yaúk* in Kadu. See the illustrations in (446).

(446) (a) *awàyaúk nāngcíthāmā* (15:10)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{awà} & \quad = & \quad \text{yaúk} & \quad \text{nāng-cí} & \quad = & \quad \text{thāmā} \\
\text{father} & \quad = & \quad \text{COM} & \quad \text{go-PL} & \quad = & \quad \text{HORT}
\end{align*}
\]

'Let’s go with father.'

(b) *haníngyaúk tú tapaúkcángmákyeù* (11:32)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{haníng} & \quad = & \quad \text{yaúk} & \quad \text{tú} & \quad \text{tapaúk-cí-àng} & \quad = & \quad \text{mák} & \quad = & \quad \text{yeù} \\
2\text{PL} & \quad = & \quad \text{COM} & \quad \text{language} & \quad \text{speak-PL-DIR}_1 & \quad = & \quad \text{HORT} & \quad = & \quad \text{SAP}
\end{align*}
\]

'Let’s debate (it) with you.'
The term *yaúk* also has an instrumental function, as in (447).

(447) (a) *tāngkaūtòngyaúk yēk wán-yōkmatāk* (15:22)

\[
\text{tāngkaū-tōng} = \text{yaúk} \quad \text{yēk} \quad \text{wán-yōk} = \text{mā} \quad = \text{tāk}
\]
\[
\text{sword-big} = \text{COM} \quad \text{hill.field} \quad \text{chop-eat} = \text{RLS} \quad = \text{HS}
\]

'With a big sword (they) cultivated, it is said.'

(b) *laúkléyaúk ūhaū kāpmāngmā* (19:1)

\[
\text{laúklé} = \text{yaúk} \quad \text{ūhaū} \quad \text{kāp-àng} = \text{mā}
\]
\[
\text{sling.shot} = \text{COM} \quad \text{owl} \quad \text{shoot-DIR}_1 = \text{RLS}
\]

'(He) shot the owl with a sling shot.'

6.7 *yeún* ‘benefactive’, or ‘for’

The recipient or benefactive argument of the action expressed by the verb is marked by the form *yeún*, as in (448). It may be also translated in some contexts into English as ‘on behalf of’.

(448) (a) *hāhāngyeúnnaà heûkāàngkākmā* (09:1)

\[
\text{hāhāng} = \text{yeún} = \text{naà} \quad \text{heû-kā-àng-kāk} = \text{mā}
\]
\[
\text{Kachin} = \text{BEN} \quad = \text{only} \quad \text{tell-show-DIR}_1\text{-want} = \text{RLS}
\]

'For the sake of Kachin I want to tell it.'

(b) *salàshiká ngayeún ikáklá* (08:108)

\[
\text{salà-shi} = \text{kā} \quad \text{ngā} = \text{yeún} \quad \text{i-kāk} = \text{lā}
\]
\[
\text{banana-CLT.fruit} = \text{TOP} \quad \text{1SG} = \text{BEN} \quad \text{give-want} = \text{Q}
\]

'Can you give the banana to me?'
6.8 *athá* and *neúq* ‘comparison’

The comparative construction contains two NPS: the entity being compared and the standard of comparison, followed by the verb. The NP representing the entity being compared may be marked by the topic marker *ká*, and the NP representing the standard of comparison is obligatorily marked by the comparative marker *athá*. The order is NP (entity being compared which is the topic), NP (standard of comparison), then a verb though the topic can be left out, as in (450). See the illustrations in (449) and (450).

(449) *hingká myáqmyáqathá zaǔkmā* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hing} & =ká \quad \text{myáqmyáq} \quad = \text{athá} \quad \text{zaǔk} \quad = mā \\
3SG & = \text{TOP PN} \quad = \text{more.than} \quad \text{tall} \quad = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He is taller than Mya Mya.’

(450) *nängswáng panáqathá phóngtakó tóngkákláyeù* (07:62)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{näng-swáng} & = \text{athá} \quad \text{phóngtakó} \quad \text{tóng-kák} \quad = lá \quad = yeù \\
2SG-master & = \text{more.than} \quad \text{glory.power} \quad \text{big.want} \quad = Q \quad = \text{SAP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘You, master, do you want to be more powerful than this?’

The term *neúq* is also attached to the noun phrase representing the standard of comparison to indicate approximation of measurement as illustrated in (451).

(451) (a) *tóngmóta mōkshāneúq tóngpíngták* (06:25)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tóngmóta} & = \text{neúq} \quad \text{tóng} \quad = \text{píng} \quad = \text{ták} \\
3yr.old & = \text{calf(cow)} \quad = \text{as.much.as} \quad \text{big} \quad = \text{DIR};\text{COS} \quad = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(It) became about the size of a three year/season old cow.’
(b)  \( \text{maléq}kà \text{ hìngneúq \text{ lakò} \text{ ínpaútmá} } \) (11:43)

\[
\text{maléq} = \text{ká} \text{ hìng} = \text{neúq} \text{ lakò} \text{ ínpaút} = \text{á}
\]

\[
1\text{PL} = \text{TOP} \text{ 3SG} = \text{as.much.as} \text{ SAP} \text{ NEG-skill} = \text{NEG}
\]

'We don’t know as much as he does.'

6.9  \( \text{yaëngpàng} \) ‘reason’

The form \( \text{yaëngpàng} \) after an \text{NP} indicates that the referent of the \text{NP} is the cause of something that has happened. It seems to be mostly used with an answer to a ‘why’ question, as in (452).

(452) (a)  \( \text{ngàyaëngpàng myáqmyáq paúmà} \) (AKYS)

\[
\text{ngà} = \text{yaëngpàng} \text{ myáqmyáq paú} = \text{mà}
\]

\[
1\text{SG} = \text{because.of} \text{ PN} \text{ fall} = \text{RLS}
\]

'Mya Mya falls because of me.'

(b)  \( \text{sàŋgpàlàŋ saëktè ínlàkàkàseùèë \text{èngyaëngpàng hàpmàseùè} } \) (25:160)

\[
\text{sàŋgpàlàŋ} \text{ saëk} = \text{tè} \text{ ín-là-kàk} = \text{á} = \text{seùè}
\]

\[
\text{king} \text{ daughter} = \text{a.AG} \text{ NEG take-want} = \text{NEG} = \text{SAP}
\]

\[
\text{àng} = \text{yaëngpàng} \text{ hàp} = \text{mà} = \text{seùè}
\]

\[
\text{that} = \text{because.of} \text{ weep} = \text{RLS} = \text{SAP}
\]

'I don’t want to take the king’s daughter therefore (I am) crying.'
CHAPTER 7: THE VERB COMPLEX

The verb complex (VCX) in Kadu can be defined as the nucleus of the clause. Arguments of the clause, such as topics, agents or anti-agent complements, and other constituents are often omitted if they are recoverable from the context. Therefore, we can say that the verb, or the VCX itself, is a meaningful clause in Kadu. The VCX in Kadu consists of an obligatory head verb, which may be preceded by an optional negative marker and followed by one or more optional post-verbal modifiers, an optional aspectual particle (ASP), and a clause final particle (CFP). In this chapter I also discuss the utterance final particles (§7.4). They are not structurally part of the VCX, but often phonologically fuse with the CFPs, so I am including the discussion at the end of this chapter. The order of elements in the Kadu verb complex is illustrated in (453).

(453) VCX = (NEG) VH (V.MOD) (ASP) (CFP)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>Negation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VH</td>
<td>Verb head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.MOD</td>
<td>Verb modifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASP</td>
<td>Aspectual particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CFP</td>
<td>Clause final particle</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Before I describe each element within the VCX in Kadu, I shall briefly discuss the terminology I use here. The structure of verb head may be simple or complex (§3.1.2). I use the term ‘verb modifier’ to cover a number of elements which occur between the head verb and CFPs. These include auxiliary verbs (§7.2.1), verbal particles (§7.2.2), and modal auxiliaries (§7.2.3). All verbal modifiers, except the negative proclitics (see chapter 10), are restricted to occurring post verbally only.
The ASPs discussed in §7.3 are pán ‘change of state’ tún/yún ‘STILL’, yók ‘INTRUSIVE’, and zík ‘FINALLY’. They are treated as a separate class within the verb complex. They occur between modal auxiliaries and CFPs. The CFPs occur at the end of the VCX and they indicates the types of clauses, such as realis, irrealis, imperative, and hortative.

This chapter is divided into three sections presented in the following order: 7.1 Clause final particles, 7.2 Verbal modifiers, 7.3 Aspectual particles and 7.4 Utterance final particles.

7.1 Clause final particles

We want to start with CFPs because they normally must occur with a head verb except in imperative and negative clauses. They are a class of morphemes that mark clauses as irrealis vs. realis or hortative. Each CFP attested in my Kadu data is discussed below.

7.1.1 kū ‘irrealis’

A clause ending with the CFP kū refers to an unrealised or a hypothetical event, as illustrated in (454).
\((454)\) (a) \(nāngtē\ ngā\ yōkkū\ (09:26)\)

\[
\begin{align*}
nāng &= tē\ ngā\ yōk &= kū \\
2SG &= A.AG\ 1SG\ eat &= \text{IRLS}
\end{align*}
\]

'I will eat you.'

(b) \(hīng\ saēkākkā\ ngā\ lākū\ (24:24)\)

\[
\begin{align*}
hīng\ saēk-tāk &= kā\ ngā\ lā &= kū \\
3sg\ daughter-\text{PL} &= \text{TOP}\ 1SG\ take &= \text{IRLS}
\end{align*}
\]

'As for his wives I will take (them).'</n

The CFP \(kū\) is reduced to \(ka\ [kə]\) when it is followed by another clitic, as in \((455)\).

\[(455)\) (a) \(hāpē\ ūpkalā\ (18:15)\)

\[
\begin{align*}
hā &= pē\ īp &= kū &= lā \\
\text{WH} &= \text{LOC}\ sleep &= \text{IRLS} &= Q
\end{align*}
\]

'Where shall we sleep?'

The CFP \(kū\) may also occur in clauses which have no future time implication, and are used to show lack of certainty, as in \((456)\).

\[(456)\) (a) \(chīttīseū\ sōpāng\ thākū\ (10:55)\)

\[
\begin{align*}
chīttī &= sēu\ shī &= pāng\ thā &= kū \\
\text{PN} &= \text{SAP}\ die &= \text{DIR};\text{COS}\ be &= \text{IRLS}
\end{align*}
\]

'Chitti may be dead.'

(b) \(cēttaū\ āthākū\ (10:48)\)

\[
\begin{align*}
cēttaū\ thā-thā &= kū \\
\text{PN} &= \text{be-must} &= \text{IRLS}
\end{align*}
\]

'It must be Cettau.'
(c)  *takhintë shísömkü zàkmã* (07:109)

\[
takhín- të  \; \text{shí-só̄m} \; = \; kū \; \text{zàk} \; = \; mā
\]

master-PL \; die-finish.up \; = \; IRLS \; afraid \; = \; RLS

'I fear that all my masters might die.'

The CFP *kū* may also be used in a relative clause construction, as in (457). The relative clause is bracketed with \{ \} \text{RL} (§8.2.3).

(457) (a)  *ípkúpanáq nêyâtê tâmcímák* (18:8)

\[
\{\text{íp} \; = \; kū \; = \; \text{panáq}\}_\text{RL} \; nêyâ \; = \; tê \; tâm-cí \; = \; mák
\]

sleep \; = \; IRLS \; = \; NOM \; place \; = \; A.AG \; search-PL \; = \; HORT

'Let’s search for a place to sleep.'

(b)  *takà zökkūpanáq lapā* (32:40)

\[
\{\text{takà} \; = \; kū \; = \; \text{panáq}\}_\text{RL} \; \text{lapā}
\]

rice.seedling transplant \; = \; IRLS \; = \; NOM \; field

'the field for planting rice seedlings'

*kū* may be followed by morphemes such as *wàn* and *pán* to indicate immediate realisation or imminent occurrence. I have not been able to identify the lexical and grammaticalised meaning of *wàn*, however, we may correlate the later item, *pán*, to the change of state aspect (see §7.3.1). It is quite logical to analyse the combination of these two markers, *kū* + *pán* ‘irreals’ plus ‘change of state’, as near realisation or fulfillment of the action at the time of speaking. *kū* is reduced to [kə] thus forming the sesquisyllabic words *kawàn* and *kapán*. They are always considered a single monomorphemic unit by the speakers of Kadu, therefore, I have analysed them as a single item and glossed them as ‘immediate future (IMMF)’. The speakers of Kadu
express that *kawàn* and *kapán* can be used interchangeably. See the sentences in (458).

(458) (a)  *haning tánshísömkapán* (07:108)

haning  tán-shí-söm = kapán
2PL  beat-die-finish.up = IMF

'You are about to kill (all my masters).'

(b)  *ngātè tánshíkawàn* (24:56)

ngā  = tè  tán-shí = kawàn
1SG  = A.AG  beat-die = IMF

'(They) are about to kill (Lit. beat to death) me.'

7.1.2  *mā* ‘reals’

Clauses ending with the CFP *mā* indicate events that have come to realisation. It indicates actuality, a generic event that has happened or is happening, or a state that exists or has existed. See illustrations of the CFP *mā* in (459).

(459) (a)  *samón àngpanáqpè nímmā* (07:43)

samón  ang  = panáq  = pè  ním = mā
monk  that  = NOM  = LOC  stay  = RLS

'The monk lives there.'

(b)  *ngā haláká eúhám kaúmā* (08:95)

ngā  halá  = ká  eúhám  kaū = mā
1SG  husband  = TOP  PN  call  = RLS

'My husband is called Eham.'
(c) *maúshítè ácí yókmā* (10:36)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maú-shi} &= \text{tè} \quad \text{ácí} \quad \text{yók} = \text{mā} \\
\text{plum-CLT.fruit} &= \text{A.AG} \quad \text{extremely eat} = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]
‘(The birds) eat a lot of plums.’

*mā* is also used to mark ngomic situations—events that are true for all time, see examples in (545).

The CFP *mā*, as mentioned above, marks non-future events. The distinction between past or present is inferred from the context or can be specified by an adverbial time phrase. Compare the clauses in (460). The first clause, (460a), does not contain a time adverbial so it can be translated as “Well, I had medicine” or “Well, I have medicine.” The second clause, (460b), on the other hand, contains a time adverbial (*maeútón* ‘long ago’), so the translation of the clause is straightforward.

\[(460)\quad (a)\quad \text{yaú ngapè shí ngámā} \quad (16:39)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yaú} \quad \text{ngā} &= \text{pè} \quad \text{shī} \quad \text{ngā} = \text{mā} \\
\text{EXCL} \quad \text{1SG} &= \text{LOC} \quad \text{medicine exist} = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Well, I have medicine.’ or ‘Well, I had medicine.’

\[(460)\quad (b)\quad \text{maeútón maléq sāŋpaláng úqyín-tóng ngámā} \quad (06:1)\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maeútón} &= \text{maléq} \quad \text{sāŋpaláng} \quad \text{úqyín-tóng} \quad \text{ngā} = \text{mā} \\
\text{long.ago} &= \text{1PL} \quad \text{king} \quad \text{garden-big exist} = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]
‘Long ago, there existed our king’s big garden.’

*mā*, unlike *kū*, is not used in relative clauses; the bare form is understood as realis. See the discussion on relative clauses in §8.2.3.
7.1.3 *thāmā* and *mák* ‘hortative’

There are two CFPs that express hortative mood in Kadu. The default time frame for a hortative expression is the moment of speaking. The form *thāmā* indicates a hortative speech act, and has a similar sense to English *shall we* or *let’s*. Though the speaker always includes himself in the suggested action, it is not obligatory to use the verbal plural particle *cí* (§7.2.2) with *thāmā*. See the examples in (461).

(461) (a) *múngshī yōkthāmā* (31:1)

    múngshī      yōk  = thāmā  
    rice.cake   eat   = HORT

'Shall we eat rice cake?'

(b) *awāyaúk nāngcǐthāmā* (15:10)

    awā       =yaúk       nāng-cǐ = thāmā 
    father   =COM       go-PL    = HORT

'Let’s go with daddy.'

Except for a difference in tone, the structure of the hortative marker *thāmā* is similar to the *thā* ‘must’ plus *mā* ‘realis’ construction, which carries the meaning of obligation or compulsion as in (462) (and (547) in §7.2.3). The semantic distinction can only be inferred from the context and the tone.

(462) *ngā ōmhthāmā angaúnǐmsā* (12:52)

    ngā     ōm-thā  = mā      a-ngaú-nǐm = sà
    1SG    make-must = RLS     NEG-say-stay = NEG.IMP

'Don’t say that I have to do (it).'

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In example (462), *thà* ‘must’ is used as a verb modifier having the meaning of obligation, necessity, and compulsion. However, *thà* in (461) doesn’t indicate obligation or compulsion. It, together with *mà*, indicates a hortative meaning.

The other CFP that denotes a hortative meaning is *mák*. It, unlike the term *thàmà*, indicates the speaker’s strong suggestion, one that is difficult to reject. It may be interpreted as the ‘final suggestive’. The speaker always includes himself in the suggested action. However, unlike with *thàmà*, it always occurs with the verbal plural particle *cí*. Look at the example sentences in (463) and (464).

(463) *kái yèk kònnäng ömcímák* (28:7)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kái yèk kònnäng öm-cí} &= \text{mák} \\
\text{well! hill.field fence make-PL} &= \text{HORT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Well, let’s make the field’s fence.’

(464) *nàŋg peúkútyaúk maléq tátlúngyaúk caíkcímák* (12:89)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nàŋg peúkút =yaúk maléq tátlúng =yaúk caík-cí} &= \text{mák} \\
\text{2SG adze =COM 1PL magic.ball =COM exchange-PL} &= \text{HORT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Let’s exchange my adze and your magic ball.’

7.1.4 Imperatives

Imperatives in positive and negative sentences are marked differently in Kadu. Positive imperative mood is marked by the absence of a CFP. Negative imperative mood is marked by the enclitic *sà*. The default time frame for both positive and negative
Imperative sentences is the moment of speaking. Affirmative imperative clauses are illustrated in (465).

\[(465)\]  
\[\begin{array}{lll}
\text{(a)} & yōk & \text{(b)} nāng & \text{(c)} lī \\
yōk & nāng & lī \\
eat & go & come \\
'Eat!' & 'Go!' & 'Come!' \\
\end{array}\]

One or more speaker attitude particles (SAP) (§3.3.5) may optionally follow the verb to soften the illocutionary force. The examples in (466) contain three SAPs: \(nā\), yeù in (466a), lé in (466b) and \(seù \sim seùé\) (466c). As shown by (466a) more than one SAP can be used at one time.

\[(466)\]  
\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(a)} & "anáq ataí nāngnáyeù" ngaúmaták (15:102) \\
anáq ataí nāng = ná = yeù = ngaú = mā = ták \\
\text{this pattern go = SAP = SAP = say = RLS = HS} \\
\text{‘(The wife) said, ‘Please, go in this manner’, it is said.’} \\
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(b)} & atá yōklé \\
\text{atá yōk = lé} \\
rice eat = SAP \\
'Please, eat rice’ \\
\end{array}\]

\[\begin{array}{ll}
\text{(c)} & atá yōkseú \\
atá yōk = seù \\
rice eat = SAP \\
'Please, eat rice’ \\
\end{array}\]

Imperative negative clauses are formed by attaching one of the negative proclitics \(ín\)- or \(a\)-(§10.2) immediately before the head verb and attaching the prohibitive clitic = \(sà\) at the end of the \(v\) \(c\) \(x\), as illustrated in (467). See the detailed discussion on negation in Chapter 10.
Ín-ngaú = sà  
a-ōm-zón = sà
NEG-say = NEG.IMP  
NEG-make-CONTINUE = NEG.IMP
‘Don’t say (it)!’  
‘Don’t do (it) anymore!’

7.2 Verbal modifiers

As mentioned earlier, the term ‘verb modifier’ is used as a cover term for a number of elements which occur after the head verb and before the CFP. It is very common to find a head verb in Kadu followed by one or two verbal modifiers. However, in day to day speech it is not common to find more than three or four morphemes occurring in a single VCX. The examples in (468) illustrate VCXs that contain verbal modifiers. Verbal modifiers are highlighted in bold.

(468) (a) *átá yōknímcína* (15:13)

átá  yōk-ním-cf = mā
rice  eat-stay-PL = RLS
‘(They) are eating cooked rice.’

(b) “lāhānɡāngkákma” *ngaúmatāk* (25:144)

lā-hānɡ-āng-kák = mā  ngaú = mā = ták
take-back-DIR, want = RLS  say = RLS = HS
‘(He) said, “(I) want to take (it) back”, it is said.’

As in the examples above, if the lexical or etymological meaning of a verbal modifier is relatable it will be glossed using the lexical source. For example, the verbal modifier *ním*, as in (468a), which indicates progressive aspect, is glossed using its lexical meaning, ‘stay’. All the verbal modifiers in Kadu follow the head verb. Semantically,
they are always in a subordinate relationship to the head. Furthermore, unlike the head verb, the verbal modifiers may or may not have a lexical meaning and do not allow direct negation. These modifiers, like in Lahu, “... serve to provide several sorts of information that, in the grammar of languages like English, may be handled by subordinating devices such as complementary infinitives, -ing complements, modal auxiliaries, adverbs, prepositional phrases, or even whole subordinate clauses” (Matisoff 1973:200).

Languages such as Burmese and Lahu allow verb modifiers to occur before the head as well as after the head. Matisoff (1973) called the class of verbs that are juxtaposed to the head verb in Lahu versatile verbs. He identified two types of versatile verbs: those that appear before the head verb (pre-head versatiles) and those that appear after the head verb (post-head versatiles). However, Kadu verbal modifiers are restricted to the post-head position only.

In Kadu, many auxiliary verbs are also used as full verbs. To avoid ambiguity, the CFP pán may be inserted after the first verb to block an auxiliary reading of the second verb. Consider the examples in (469).

---

24 The example below shows the use of three pre-head verbs, ‘return’, ‘assemble’ and ‘ask’, in Burmese.

*pyan su taun: sa: ca. te* (Myit Soe 1999:162)
again gather ask eat PL RLS
‘We again asked together to eat (it).’
In example (469a), the verb *nim* immediately occurs following the head verb to mark the action as progressive. The event in (469a) is seen as a single event, an action in progress. However, in example (469b) the two verbs *yok* and *nim* are separated by the CFP *pan*. Therefore, example (469b) is interpreted as having two sequential events. Most of the verbal modifiers are also true verbs and can function as the head verb in a sentence.

The degree of abstractness of a verbal modifier depends upon the degree of grammaticalisation it has undergone. Furthermore, the semantic interpretation of auxiliary verbs may vary depending on the verb types they follow. Some main verbs allow the auxiliary verb to retain its lexical meaning, whereas others do not. For example, when the verb *yok* ‘eat’ is preceded by the verb *i* ‘give’ it has a grammaticalised benefactive meaning, which may be translated as ‘give something for someone’s benefit.’ However, when the verb *yok* ‘eat’ is used following food processing verbs such as *mok* ‘cook’, as in (470), it retains its lexical meaning.
Therefore, we can say that the auxiliary verbs in Kadu can be more or less grammaticalised, depending on the head verb they follow.

(470) *atá mókyökcímák* (18:08)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{atá} & \quad \text{mók-}yôk-\text{cí} = \text{mák} \\
\text{rice} & \quad \text{cook-}\text{eat-PL} = \text{HORT} \\
& \quad \text{‘Let’s cook (for our benefit).’}
\end{align*}
\]

The verbal modifiers which occur between the head verb and the CFPs are many. It is impossible to establish an exact order for them. Without strictly following the order of the verb modifiers, we may group them into three categories, presented in the following order: 7.2.1 Auxiliary verbs, 7.2.2 Verbal particles, and 7.2.3 Modal auxiliaries.

7.2.1 Auxiliary verbs

Syntactically, all the auxiliary verbs in Kadu follow the head verb and precede the verbal particles. Traditionally, the term “auxiliary” is used to refer to elements that provide information such as tense, aspect, and modality (Payne 1997:84). The auxiliary verbs in Kadu embrace a wider range of semantic domains than these. Some domains in Kadu may correlate with the function of adverbs in other languages. For example, auxiliary verbs such as *zíp* ‘always’, and *pháng* ‘prior’ have adverbal functions and *zíngyök* ‘order’ and *maïk* ‘together’ have a causative and an associative function respectively. Although I don’t claim that the list is complete, in this thesis I propose 20 auxiliary verbs in Kadu.
Based on their position within the VCX and semantic domain, auxiliary verbs in Kadu are further divided into ten categories and presented in the following order: 7.2.1.1 Benefactives, 7.2.1.2 Associative, 7.2.1.3 Jussive and causative, 7.2.1.4 Frequency and additive, 7.2.1.5 Aspectuals, 7.2.1.6 Degrees, 7.2.1.7 Excessive, 7.2.1.8 Experiential, 7.2.1.9 Totality, and 7.2.1.10 Discontinuity.

Table 28 presents the auxiliary verbs attested in my Kadu data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Semantic domain</th>
<th>Auxiliary verb</th>
<th>Lexical meaning</th>
<th>Grammaticalised meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benefactive</td>
<td>yōk</td>
<td>‘eat’</td>
<td>‘benefactive (self-benefactive)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ī</td>
<td>‘give’</td>
<td>‘benefactive (other benefactive)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associative</td>
<td>maūk</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>‘associative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jussive and Causative</td>
<td>zīng</td>
<td>‘ask’</td>
<td>‘jussive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zīngyōk</td>
<td>‘order’</td>
<td>‘causative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency/Time</td>
<td>hāng</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>‘back, again, repeatedly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phōt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>‘additionally’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>phāng</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>‘do prior to something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zīp</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>‘always’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspectual</td>
<td>nīm</td>
<td>‘stay’</td>
<td>‘progressive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>peū</td>
<td>‘keep’</td>
<td>‘resultative’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>zī</td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
<td>‘completive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>māt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>‘truly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pheū</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>‘suppose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excessive</td>
<td>hām</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>‘be.exceed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pōt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>‘exceed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Experiental</td>
<td>pāp</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>‘experiential’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totality</td>
<td>sūm</td>
<td>‘finish’</td>
<td>‘totality’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuity</td>
<td>zōn</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>‘discontinuity’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 28: Attested auxiliary verbs in Kadu

Table 28 is arranged, from top to bottom, in their general order of occurrence within the VCX. The auxiliary verbs that appear closest to the head verb are presented at the top.
Lexically irretrievable items are represented by ‘x’. It is also evident from Table 28 that, in general, auxiliary verbs that are closest to the head verb and aspectuals have a clearer retrievable lexical meaning. A clause, in general, may contain two or three auxiliary verbs, however, though not natural, my language consultants approved a clause which contains five auxiliary verbs, as illustrated in (471).

(471)  ōmyōdzǐngyōkphòthāngpeúmā (AKYS)

ōm
yōk-zǐngyōk-phòt-háng-peú = mā
make/do  eat-order-dd.more-back-keep = RLS

‘He has made (him) do once more again (for his benefit).’

7.2.1.1 Benefactives

Two auxiliary verbs, yōk ‘eat’ and ī ‘give’, add a benefactive meaning to the head verb they follow. These auxiliary verbs occur closest to the head verb. These verbs do not change the transitivity of the verb. If the benefactive argument is made explicit, it may be optionally marked by yéun ‘benefactive’, as in (472a), or unmarked, as in (478c). A VCX containing more than one benefactive auxiliary verb is not attested. The semantic interpretation of the benefactive meaning of these two verbs may be explained as ‘self-benefactive’ and ‘other-benefactive’.

The verb yōk is used for self-benefactive (V for a living) and ī is used for ‘other-benefactive’ (V-to do for other’s benefit). To confirm that the semantic interpretations are self-benefactive and other-benefactive, I tested the two forms using the benefactive nominal particle, yeún, glossed as ‘benefactive (BEN)’, with the argument of the verb.
The native Kadu speakers said example (472a) is acceptable and natural but example (472b) is awkward.

(472) (a)  \textit{hǐngyeün atá mōkīkū (AKYS)}

\begin{align*}
\text{hǐng} & = \text{yeún } \text{atá } mōk-\text{I} = kū \\
3\text{SG} & = \text{BEN } \text{rice cook-} \text{give} = \text{IRLS}
\end{align*}

'I will cook rice for him.'

(b)  *\textit{hǐngyeün atá mōkyōkkū (AKYS)}

\begin{align*}
\text{hǐng} & = \text{yeún } \text{atá } mōk-\text{yōk} = kū \\
3\text{SG} & = \text{BEN } \text{rice cook-} \text{eat} = \text{IRLS}
\end{align*}

'I will cook rice for him.'

The benefactive meaning of the auxiliary verb \textit{yōk} is even clearer when it follows a verb expressing an action that is something a person does on a regular basis as a profession or livelihood. Look at the example sentences in (473) and (474).

(473) \textit{hǐng phú heūyōkimā (AKYS)}

\begin{align*}
\text{hǐng } & = \text{phú } heū-\text{yōk} = mā \\
3\text{SG} & = \text{silver borrow-} \text{eat} = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}

'He lends money.' or 'He lends money for a living.'

(474) \textit{azáktākkā lapā ōmyōkkā myátamā (17:11)}

\begin{align*}
\text{azāk-tāk} & = kā \text{ lapā ōm-} \text{yōk} = kā \text{ myá-ta} = mā \\
\text{PN-PL} & = \text{TOP field make-} \text{eat} = \text{TOP plenty-}\text{L.SUFF} = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}

'Most Kadu practice wet-rice field cultivation.'

Or 'Most Kadu do wet-rice field cultivation for their living.'
The verb *yök* following head verbs that express activities related to processing food or actions that are done for the purpose of food consumption retains the lexical meaning. This is illustrated in (475).

(475) (a) *atá mokyökcínmák* (18:7)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{atá} & \quad \text{mök-}yök-\text{cí} = \text{mák} \\
\text{rice cook-} & \quad \text{eat-PL} = \text{HORT}
\end{align*}
\]

'Let’s cook to eat the rice.'

(b) *tängkaütôngyaúk yèk wányökmaták* (15:22)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tängkaú-tông} & \quad = \text{yaúk yèk} \\
\text{sword-big} & \quad = \text{COM} \\
\text{hill.field chop-} & \quad \text{eat} = \text{RLS} = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(They) clear/chop the hill field (for their livelihood) with a sword, it is said.’

Cross-linguistically, it is not uncommon to find verbs of consumption to have such an extended meaning (Newman 2009). Clearly, using the ‘eat’ verb as an auxiliary verb for a benefactive meaning is an areal feature; it is also attested in many other TB languages in Burma. For comparison, I have constructed Rawang, Burmese and Jingphaw examples, as in (476).

(476) (a) *rômà wàame* (Rawang)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rômà} & \quad \text{wà-am} = \text{e} \\
\text{field} & \quad \text{do-eat} = \text{CFP}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) cultivates field for (his) livelihood.’
(b) တိုက်ခိုက်နိုင်သည်တစ်ခါ (Burmese)

tong-ja  loup-sa:  =te
field  do-eat  =CFP
'id'

(c) yi  galawsháai (Jingphaw)

yi  galaw-shá  =ai
field  do-eat  =CFP
'id'

The verb *ī* ‘give’, like the verb *yōk* ‘eat’, adds a benefactive meaning to the head verb. However, it is mostly associated with non-food related verbs and the semantic function is always ‘other benefactive’. Example (477) exemplifies *ī* as the head verb of the clause, whereas the examples in (478) exemplify *ī* as an auxiliary verb.

(477) օննաင်း ကြိုး ကြား (25:6)

օնန်း ကြိုး  ဗီ  =ကြား
dowry  buffalo  give  =IRLS
'I will give you a dowry buffalo.'

(478) (a) မေးခွန်ကြောင် မော်ရွာ (25:102)

မေးခွန်ကြောင်  မော် =ရွာ
pestle  sell-give  =INTRUSIVE
'Sell your pestle (for us).'

(b) ဟူလှိုယ် ပေါ်မှ ပါးဌား (AKYS)

ဟူလှိုယ်  မော် ပေါ်-ဗီ  =ရွာ
sky-water  =RLS bamboo.hat  put.on-give  =INTRUSIVE
'(It is) raining, put a bamboo hat on him.'

350
(c)  ámbákká kóosátak cíng pautzánghayak ngaupánna peuîyákmá (17:20)

 ámbák = ká kó-sä-ták cíng paut-záng-há = yák
3PL = TOP self-son-PL letter skill-JUSS:DIR2-know.how = PURP

ngaú = pán = naà peú-î-à = mā
say = COS = only keep-give-EUPH = RLS

'They sent/kept us in school because they want their children to be educated.'

7.2.1.2  Associative

The term maûk, glossed as ‘together’, synchronically not relatable to a lexical source, is employed to add an associative meaning to the head verb. Syntactically, it occurs following benefactive auxiliary verbs and preceding jussive and causative auxiliary verbs. It may be translated into English as ‘V-together’.

(479)  (a)  hîngyaûk atá yökmaûkmášâ hîng saêk (04:14)

hîng = yaûk atá yök-maûk = másá hîng saêk
3SG = COM rice eat-together = only.if 3SG daughter

'The only one who eats together with him (the king) is his (own) daughter.'

(b)  sàtûkyaûk ngaupán ngà inanimmaûkkáká (15:5)

sà-tàk = yaûk ngà in-a-nîm-maûk-kák = ã
son-PL = COM 1SG NEG-NEG-stay-together-want = NEG

'I don’t want to live together with your sons.'
The term posé, glossed as ‘jussive’ (JUSS), is employed to add a speaker’s command or permission. It is relatable to the lexical verb posé ‘ask’. The only minor difference between these two is the tone. The implication is mostly found with the first person directly signaling his or her proposition to the third person. Consider the examples in (480) and (481). The examples in (480) exemplify the use of posé as a head verb.

(480)  (a)  léq tashitàkpàpè ceú posékú (25:7)

maléq tashì-tàk =pà =pè ceú posé =kú
1PL uncle-PL =ALL =LOC buffalo ask =IRLS
'I will ask for a buffalo from my uncles.'

(b)  zaúpwàpè posématák (08:4)

zaúpwá =pè posé-à =mà =ták
Shan.chief =LOC ask-EUPH =RLS =HS
'(They) asked the Shan chief. it is said.'
The following examples in (481) illustrate the use of *zing* as an auxiliary verb.

(481) (a) “ngäzing” ngaúmaták (08:26)

“ngä-zing” ngaú = mā = ták
exist-JUSS say = RLS = HS
‘(The chief) said. “Let (her) stay”, it is said.’

(b) ñngnáq eksaháláte kaúzingákkákmá (15:72)

ångnáq eksahalá = tè kaú-zing-á-kák = mā
that husband.wife = A.AG call-JUSS-EUPH-want = RLS
‘(I) want to let (someone) call that couple.’

When the term *zing* is used in hortative clauses, it functions as a causativiser. It may be translated into English as ‘to cause/make v’. Consider the examples in (482).

(482) (a) híngtè sängpaláng ömzingthámá (15:30)

híng = tè sängpaláng öm-zing = thámá
3SG = A.AG king make-JUSS = HORT
‘Let’s make him a king.’

(b) híngtè shízingángthámá (15:117)

híng = tè shí-zing-áng = thámá
3SG = A.AG die-JUSS-DIR = HORT
‘Let’s cause/make him to die.’

Another term that denotes causative meaning to the head verb is the verb *zingyök* ‘order’. It may have derived from a combination of the verbs *zing* ‘ask’ and *yök* ‘eat’. However, I have glossed it as a single verb ‘order’ because most Kadu speakers see it as a single unit. The examples in (483) exemplify the use of *zingyök* as a head verb.
(483) (a)  
\[ hìngtè \ zìngyōkmā \ (AKYS) \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hìng} & = \text{tè} \quad \zìngyōk & = \text{mā} \\
3\text{SG} & = \text{A.AG order} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]
‘(He) ordered him.’

(b)  
“palú zōkši\-waleú lā\-thākū” zìngyōkmátāk (15:127)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{palú} & = \text{mā} \quad \text{zìngyōk} & = \text{ták} \\
\text{ogre breast-liquid take-must} & = \text{IRLS order} & = \text{RLS = HS}
\end{align*}
\]
‘(The king) ordered “You have to bring the ogre’s milk”, it is said.’

When the verb \textit{zìngyōk} is used as an auxiliary verb, it adds a causative meaning to the action expressed by the head verb. The following examples in (484) illustrate the use of \textit{zìngyōk} as an auxiliary verb.

(484) (a)  
\[ tānshízìngyōkmā \ seùé \ hìngtè \ (15:150) \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tān-shí-} & = \text{mā} \quad \text{zìngyōk} & = \text{seùé} \\
\text{beat-die-order} & = \text{RLS = SAP} \quad 3\text{SG} & = \text{A.AG}
\end{align*}
\]
‘(The king) made (his official) kill him.’

(b)  
\[ ngatè ōnnāng cēu \ zìngzìngyōkingmā \ (25:9) \]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngā} & = \text{tè} \quad \text{ōnnāng cēu} \quad \text{zìng-} & = \text{mā} \\
1\text{SG} & = \text{A.AG dowry buffalo ask-order-} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]
‘They made me ask the dowry buffalo.’

7.2.1.4 Frequency and additive

The auxiliary verbs which indicate frequency, repetition, and the order in which the action expressed by the head verb happens relative to some other event are given in (485). Synchronously, they are not relatable to lexical meanings.
The term hâng denotes repetitive action, as in (486).

(486)  (a)  hanîŋtê  yûhângmâtalê  (12:16)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{haning} & = \text{tê} & \text{yû-hâng} & = \text{mâ} & \text{talê} \\
\text{2PL} & = \text{A.AG} & \text{look-again} & = \text{RLS} & = \text{SAP}
\end{align*}
\]
'I am looking after you, again.'

(b)  acân  ômhângpântâk  (09:68)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{acân} & = \text{om-hâng} & = \text{pán} & = \text{ták} \\
\text{plan} & = \text{make-again} & = \text{COS} & = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]
'(The rabbit) made a plan again.'

However, it may also mean ‘back’ when it follows motion verbs such as nâng ‘go’ and lí ‘come’, as in (487).

(487)  (a)  phâkmâknîngyeù  yêkpâpê  nânhângmâtalê  (15:42)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{phâkmák} & = \text{ningyeù} & \text{yêk} & = \text{pâ} & = \text{pê} \\
\text{tomorrow} & = \text{manner} & \text{hill.field} & = \text{ALL} & = \text{LOC}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nâng-hâng} & = \text{mâ} & = \text{ták} \\
\text{go-back} & = \text{RLS} & = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]
'The next day, (he) went back to the field, like that, it is said.'
The term *phôt*, glossed as ‘more’, adds an additive meaning to the head verb. It occurs only three times in my data, each time following the verb *kaū* ‘call’, in one of the narratives. It can be translated as ‘more of V’ in English, as in (488).

(488)  *tamisā kaūphôt-àngthāmā*  (18:93)

\[
\begin{align*}
tamisā & \quad kaū-\text{phôt-} & \quad = & \quad \text{thāmā} \\
\text{human} & \quad \text{call-} & \quad \text{DIR}_{1} & \quad \text{=} & \quad \text{HORT}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Let’s make more calls to people.’

My language consultants, however, said that it is not restricted to following the verb *kaū* ‘call’ only, but may follow any other verb. Some more examples with *phôt* provided by Kadu language consultants are given in (489).

(489)  (a)  *ōmphôtma*  (b)  *yōkphôtma*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ōm-} & \quad \text{phôt} & \quad = & \quad \text{mā} \\
\text{do-} & \quad \text{more} & \quad \text{=} & \quad \text{RLS} \\
\text{‘do more’} & \quad & \quad & \\
\text{yōk-} & \quad \text{phôt} & \quad = & \quad \text{mā} \\
\text{eat-} & \quad \text{more} & \quad \text{=} & \quad \text{RLS} \\
\text{‘eat more’}
\end{align*}
\]

The term *phāng*, glossed as ‘prior’, denotes that an action expressed by the head verb is prior to some other action and temporary in most cases, compared to the other action, which is more permanent. The action which may follow may or may not be explicit. In most cases, it is pragmatically determined. Consider the examples in (490).
(490) (a) *awà sī làphàngkū* (24:19)

awà sī là-phàng = kū  
father medicine take-prior = IRLS  
‘(I)-father will bring medicine, (and heal him).’

(b) *múngshī hā ēmphàngkū* (31:30)

múngshī-há ēm-phàng = kū  
noodle-red make-prior = IRLS  
‘I will make red noodles first (and do others later).’

It also denotes that the action expressed by the head verb is not a permanent but, rather,  
a temporary action. This is particularly true with posture verbs such as *nīm* ‘stay’, and  
*thóng* ‘sit’. Consider the examples in (491).

(491) (a) *nāngká tamisā thàmā, píkpè nīmphángyók* (13:28)

nāng = kā tamisā thà = mā, pik = pè nīm-phàng = yók  
2SG = TOP human be = RLS beside = LOC stay-prior = INTRUSIVE  
‘You are a human, (therefore) stay aside (for a while).’

(b) *aüpè thóngphàngkū* (AKYS)

aú = pè thóng-phàng = kū  
here = LOC sit-prior = IRLS  
“(I) will sit here (for a while).”

7.2.1.5 Aspectuals

The verbs *nīm* ‘stay’, *peú* ‘keep, put’, or ‘to place’, and *zí* ‘finish’ express the  
aspectual meanings ‘progressive’, ‘resultative’, and ‘completive’, respectively, when
they are used as auxiliary verbs. Each verb is dealt with in detail in the following section.

Continuity in Kadu is marked by the use of the verb *nim* ‘stay’ as an auxiliary verb. Continuity is a semantic notion that describes states as enduring and non-states as ongoing situations. Continuity, quoting Comrie (1976:24), is defined as “... imperfectivity not occasioned by habituality.” He divided continuity into two morphological categories: *non-progressive* for stative verbs and *progressive* for non-stative verbs. In Kadu, continuity, both non-progressive and progressive, is handled by a single auxiliary verb, *nim* ‘stay’. It can occur both with dynamic, ongoing durative events (activities, achievements, and accomplishments) and states but is not used for habitual action. When used with achievement verbs it has iterative sense. The following examples in (492) exemplify the use of the intransitive verb of location *nim* in Kadu.

(492) (a)  Ḋantāk ēksāhalā nimcīmā (15:69)

\[
\text{āntāk ēksāhalā } \text{nim}-cī = mā \\
3\text{PL husband.wife stay-PL} = \text{RLS}
\]

'They, husband and wife, live (there).'

(b)  ngakā kōtānpaúkwāqpe nimmā (08:93)

\[
\text{ngā } = \text{kā kōtānpaúkwāq } = \text{pē} \quad \text{nim} = \text{mā} \\
1\text{SG TOP PN} = \text{LOC stay} = \text{RLS}
\]

'I live at Kothanpaukwaq.'

---

The semantics of the verb *nín* ‘stay’ in the examples in (492) imply the existence of an animate entity (the actor) being at a specific location and the maintenance of this situation over a certain period of time. The phenomenon of a marker of imperfectivity deriving from grammaticalisation of the location verb ‘stay’ or ‘live’ is well attested cross-linguistically. This phenomenon is found in Burmese, Lahu, Thai, and Chinese (Matisoff 1991: 415-418). For comparison, I have given examples from Burmese and Lahu. The Burmese example in (493) is my own and the Lahu example in (494) is from Matisoff (1973).

(493) Burmese examples

(a) ဗေဒ်: ရွှေကြက်ကို ပါ နိုင် (b) ဗေဒ်: နိုင်ကြက်ကို ပါ နိုင်

htamang: sa:-nei =te  htamang: =ka. pu-nei =te
rice  eat-stay =RLS  rice  =TOP hot-stay =RLS

‘(He) is eating rice.’  ‘The rice is (being) hot.’

(494) Lahu examples

(a) ဝတ် -ချ  (b) ချ -ချ

wear -stay  be.fat -stay

‘is wearing’  ‘is still fat’

As shown in examples (493) and (494), in both languages continuity is marked by a post-verbal auxiliary which derives from the main verb ‘live’ or ‘stay’, Burmese -<nei> and Lahu *chê*. Matisoff (1973:240) glossed *chê* as ‘be in the act or state of *v*-ing or be still *v*-ing’, clearly stating that it is used with verbs that describe both states and non-states.
In Kadu, the auxiliary verb *nîm* is attested occurring both with state and non-state verbs. For example, in the examples in (495) two stative verbs, *ngâ* ‘exist’ and *hâ* ‘red’, are unmarked for aspect. They are simply followed by the realis marker *mâ* to indicate that the situations expressed in the clauses are happening or known to have happened at the speech time or prior to the speech time.

(495) (a)  *thingpè alûk ngâmâ* (17:66)

thing = pè alûk  ngâ  = mâ
village = LOC work  exist = RLS
‘(I) have work to do in the village.’ Or ‘(There) is work in the village.’

(b)  *anâq papâ hâmâ* (AKYS)

anâq  papâ  hâ  = mâ
this  flower red  = RLS
‘The flower is/was red.’ (timeless truth)

The auxiliary verb *nîm* can be added, as in (496), to describe the continuity of the stative situation at the moment of speaking.

(496) (a)  *ôhmhaupt pamphâkñ phêngkôè ngânîmmâ* (17:85)

ôm-haút = pamph = ká  phêng = kôè  ngâ-*nîm* = mâ
make-want = NOM = TOP full = PURP exist-stay = RLS
‘(I) have full desire to do (it).’ (Lit. I am having full desire.)

(b)  *anâq papâ hânîmmâ* (AKYS)

anâq  papâ  hâ-*nîm*  = mâ
this  flower red-stay = RLS
‘The flower is/was red.’ (temporary truth)’
The same term *nim* is also used to express the continuity of a non-state situation, as shown in (497).

(497) (a) *atá yōkníncímá* (15:13)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{atá} & \quad \text{yōk-ním-cí} \quad = \text{mā} \\
\text{rice} & \quad \text{eat-stay-PL} \quad = \text{RLS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(They) are eating rice.’

(b) “sāngpaláng saěktè lākākmaléyeü” ngaúpánnaà hāpnímmaták (25:172)

“sāngpaláng saēk \quad = \text{tē} \quad lā-kāk \quad = \text{mā} \quad = \text{lé} \quad = \text{yeü}”

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{king} & \quad \text{daughter} \quad = \text{A.AG} \quad \text{take-want} \quad = \text{RLS} \quad = \text{SAP} \quad = \text{SAP} \\
\text{ngaú} & \quad = \text{pán} \quad = \text{naā} \quad \text{hāp-ním} \quad = \text{mā} \quad = \text{ták} \\
\text{say} & \quad = \text{COS} \quad = \text{only} \quad \text{weep-stay} \quad = \text{RLS} \quad = \text{HS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) said “I want the princess” and was crying, it is said.’

The resultative or perfective aspect is marked by the post-verbal modifier *peú*, which is derived from the lexical verb ‘to keep’ or ‘to place’. The lexical usage of *peú* is illustrated in (498).

(498) (a) *anáqpaíkpápè peú* (08:63)

\[
\begin{align*}
anáq \quad \text{paík} \quad = \text{pà} \quad = \text{pè} \quad \text{peú} \\
\text{this} \quad \text{beside} \quad = \text{ALL} \quad = \text{LOC} \quad \text{keep} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Keep (it) around here!’

(b) *pəkhápè peúmaták* (24:29)

\[
\begin{align*}
pəkhá \quad = \text{pè} \quad \text{peú} \quad = \text{mā} \quad = \text{ták} \\
\text{forest} \quad = \text{LOC} \quad \text{keep} \quad = \text{RLS} \quad = \text{HS} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) had kept (the princess) in the forest, it is said.’
When the verb *peú* is used as an auxiliary verb it adds the sense of perfective aspect. It patterns like the Burmese *<hta>*: which “marks the state of the undergoer resulting from the activity expressed by the main verb—a state that is seen as stable and permanent” (Romeo 2008:183). The focus in this type of sentence is the undergoer, the affected entity. It indicates that the activity brought about by the actor has been completed and is kept in that state. The examples in (499) exemplify the auxiliary usage of the verb *peú*.

(499) (a)  *hîng tamisātâktè kasùmpeūmā* (07:27)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hîng} & \quad \text{tamisā-tâk} & = & \quad \text{tè} & \quad \text{kasùm-peú} & = & \quad \text{mā} \\
3\text{SG} & \quad \text{human-PL} & = & \quad A\text{.AG} & \quad \text{hide-keep} & = & \quad \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) has hidden his people/followers.’

(b)  *mâlēq ëktâk heûpeûmā* (09:22)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mâlēq} & \quad \text{ëk-tâk} & = & \quad \text{heû-peú} & = & \quad \text{mā} \\
1\text{PL} & \quad \text{grandfather-PL} & = & \quad \text{tell-keep} & = & \quad \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Our forefathers had told (us).’

The situation which resulted from the activity is realised as a permanent state unless it gets interfered with or modified by other events, as illustrated in (500).

(500) “*mâlēqkā manâkceūkā kasà kâppeûmā liyâkcîkalā*” *ngaûlakà* (18:86)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{“mâlēq} & \quad = & \quad \text{kâ} & \quad \text{manâkceû} & = & \quad \text{kà} & \quad \text{kâp-peú} & = & \quad \text{mâ} \\
1\text{PL} & \quad = & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad \text{last.night} & = & \quad \text{TOP} & \quad \text{tiger} & \quad \text{shoot-keep} & = & \quad \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{li-âk-cí} & = & \quad \text{kû} & = & \quad \text{lâ} & = & \quad \text{lakà} & = & \quad \text{EUPH-PL} & \quad \text{IRLS} & \quad = & \quad \text{Q} & \quad \text{say} & \quad \text{MIR}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(We) told them, “Last night we shot a tiger. (We’re going to look for it). and will you come with us?.”’
The post-verbal *peú* is also used to express enduring qualities of the state or situation. It can even extend its scope to events that may hold true for any time (*gnomic*). For example, the speakers of Kadu believe that they all migrated from a place called Maukhwin, as in (501). Notice the ablative *káq* in (501) is a Burmese loan word.

(501)  *azák azáq maúkhwínkáqták* (10:1)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{azák} & \quad \text{azáq} & \quad \text{maúkhwín} & = \text{káq} & = \text{ták} \\
\text{PN} & \quad \text{begin} & \quad \text{PN} & = \text{LOC} & = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]

'Kadu begins from Maukhwin, it is siad.'

Therefore, based on the fact that all the Kadu migrated from Maukhwin, it is appropriate to use the sentence in (502).

(502)  *azákták maúkhwínhaík lipeúmā* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{azákták} & \quad \text{maúkhwín} & = \text{haík} & \text{lt-peú} & = \text{mā} \\
\text{PN-PL} & \quad \text{PN} & = \text{ABL} & \text{come-keep} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

'The Kadu had come from Maukhwin.'

The post-verbal modifier *peú* is also used when a present state provides evidence of a past event. For example, if the wet grass evidently indicates that it has rained, example (503b) is possible.

(503) (a)  *halángweúmā* (AKYS)  (b)  *halángweúpeúmā* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{haláng-weú} & = \text{mā} & \text{haláng-weú-peú} & = \text{mā} \\
\text{sky-water} & = \text{RLS} & \text{sky-rain-keep} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(It) rains.’ or ‘It is raining.’  ‘It has rained.’ (It is still wet).
When the post-verbal modifier *peú* is followed by the irrealis marker *kū*, it denotes a future perfect, as in (504).

(504)  *ósací alíći anáq alúk zíkón ōmpeúkū* (AKYS)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ósací</th>
<th>a-li-cĭ</th>
<th>anáq</th>
<th>alúk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>NEG-come-before</td>
<td>this work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| zí | ōm-peú | =kū |
| finish | =PURP | make-keep | =IRLS |

'I will solve this problem before the teacher comes.' Or 'By the time the teacher comes I will have finished the work.'

The completive aspect is defined by Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994:57) as “to do something thoroughly and completely and the completive sometimes carries the semantic sense that the object of the action is totally affected, consumed, or destroyed by the action.” In Kadu the auxiliary verb *zí*, which is synchronically relatable to the lexical source *zí* ‘finish’, is employed to indicate the completive aspect, which also includes the sense of total affectedness of the patient of the action.

The verb *zí* ‘finish’ is commonly found as a full lexical verb when the situation expressed is shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer and it would be redundant to repeat it, as in (505).

(505) (a)  *maíkmà zíkalá* (AKYS)

| mà | =naík | mà | zí | =kū | =lá |
| WH | =only | time | finish | =IRLS | =Q |

'When are you finishing (it)’?
A similar situation can also be found in English when someone says “I finished the whole glass of wine.” This does not mean that the person has completed the object (the glass) but, rather, it is the completion of the activity or process. The only implied activity or process in this case would be the drinking of the wine. If the speaker, however, is asking about a specific activity or process, it is obligatory to use the specific verb. Consider the examples in (506)–conversations which are frequently used as greetings among the speakers of Kadu in their day to day lives.

(506) \( \text{atá yöökzípánlá} \) \( \text{(b) (yöök) zípán} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{atá} & \quad \text{yöök-zí} = \text{pán} = \text{lá} \\
\text{rice} & \quad \text{eat-finish = COS = Q} \\
\text{‘Have (you) finished eating?’} & \quad \text{‘(I am) finished (eating).’}
\end{align*}
\]

Omission of the main verb is often found in non-final clauses, as in (507).

(507) \( \text{weúkúmā, zípán tanákhá paúmā (AKYS)} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{weúkú} & \quad \text{mā} \quad \Ø \quad \text{zí} = \text{pán tanákhá} \quad \text{paú} = \text{mā} \\
\text{bathe} & \quad \text{= RLS (bathe) finish = COS cosmetic.paste apply = RLS} \\
\text{‘She bathed. After (bathing) she put on cosmetic paste.’}
\end{align*}
\]
When the form *zí* is used post verbally, it indicates the completion of the situation. It is common to find the post-verbal modifier *zí* followed by the change of state CFP to express the completion of the situation and the state of having changed the situation, as in (509).

(509) (a)  *ān zōkzípán* (30:1)

ān  zōk-zí  =pán
      paddy  transplant-**finish**  =cos

‘The paddy transplantation is done.’

(b)  *ēklāzípán* (17:3)

ēklā-zí  =pán
      marry-**finish**  =cos

‘(He) is married.’

The post-verbal usage of the verb *zí* ‘finish’ is not restricted in terms of the semantics of the verb it attaches to. I have tested this auxiliary verb with different verb classes and my language consultants said that all the examples in (510) are grammatical.

---

26 This is a Burmese verbal plural form.
7.2.1.6 Degrees

This section deals with adverb-like auxiliary verbs such as māt ‘truly’ and pheù ‘suppose’. These auxiliary verbs indicate degrees of certainty and likelihood. We may also analyse these two auxiliaries as epistemic modals.

The auxiliary verb māt denotes a degree of certainty about the action expressed by the main verb. It shares the same form with the verb māt ‘forget’, however, the adverbial meaning of ‘truly’ or ‘really’ does not seem to have any semantic relationship with this
form. More data is needed to understand the origin of māt. It is not restricted to state or action verbs. It may be translated into English as ‘really, certainly, surely, actually, or definitely’. It is illustrated in (511).

(511) (a)  
\[
\text{chimātlā nāng (09:91)}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{chi-} & \text{māt} = \text{lā nāng} \\
\text{true-} & \text{truly} = Q \, 2\text{SG} \\
\text{‘Are you really sure?’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b)  
\[
\text{hīngtè yōkmātkūnaǐk (09:62)}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hīng} & = \text{tè yōk-} & \text{māt} & = kū & = nāĩk \\
3\text{SG} & = A.AG \, \text{eat-} & \text{truly} & = IRLS & = \text{only} \\
\text{‘(I) will certainly eat him now.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Unlike other auxiliary verbs, the order of the auxiliary māt within the VCX is less fixed. It generally occurs toward the end of the VCX following the benefactive, jussive/causeative, aspectual, and frequency and additive auxiliaries. Consider the examples in (512). Example (512a) is grammatical but example (512b) is not.

(512) (a)  
\[
\text{līzingyōkmātnā (AKYS)}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{li-} & \text{zingyōk-} & \text{māt} & = mā \\
\text{come-order-} & \text{truly} & = RLS \\
\text{‘(He) truly orders (him) to come.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b)  
\[
\text{*limātzīngyōkmā}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{li-} & \text{māt-} & \text{zingyōk} & = mā \\
\text{come-} & \text{truly-order} & = RLS
\end{align*}
\]
However, its position relative to the benefactive, jussive/causative, aspectual, and frequency and additive auxiliaries is fixed, but not fixed relative to the verbal particles and modal auxiliaries. Kadu language consultants said that all the examples illustrated in (513) and (514) are grammatical. Notice *māt* occurring before or after verbal particles, as illustrated in (513).

(513) (a)  \( {\text{o}m\text{-cí-àngmātnā} \)}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o姆-cí-àng-} & \text{mā} = \text{mā} \\
\text{do-PL-DIR₁-} & \text{truly} = \text{RLS} \\
'\text{(They) really did (that).}'
\end{align*}
\]

(b)  \( {\text{o}mmātcíangmā} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o姆-} & \text{māt-cí-àng} = \text{mā} \\
\text{do-} & \text{truly-PL-DIR₁} = \text{RLS} \\
'\text{(They) really did (that).}'
\end{align*}
\]

It may also occur either before or after modal auxiliaries as illustrated in (514).

(514) (a)  \( {\text{o}mkākmātnā} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o姆-kāk-} & \text{mā} = \text{mā} \\
\text{do-want-} & \text{truly} = \text{RLS} \\
'\text{(I) want to really do.' Or '}(I)\text{ really want to do.'}
\end{align*}
\]

(b)  \( {\text{o}mmātkākmā} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o姆-} & \text{māt-kāk} = \text{mā} \\
\text{do-} & \text{truly-want} = \text{RLS} \\
'\text{(I) want to really do.' Or '}(I)\text{ really want to do.'}
\end{align*}
\]
The auxiliary verb *pheù* denotes the speaker’s supposition about the likelihood of the action represented in the predicate. It is restricted to occurring with a negative verb only. It occurs only once in my corpus. More data is needed to understand this auxiliary verb.

(515) (a) *lámzā anāngpheùyá* (18:106)

{lámzā a-nāng-\textbf{pheù} = á
be.far NEG-go-\textbf{suppose} = NEG}

‘(I) suppose (the wounded tiger) did not go far.’

(b) *hīng alīpheùyá* (AKYS)

{hīng a-li-\textbf{pheù} = á
3SG NEG-come-\textbf{suppose} = NEG}

‘(I) suppose (he) is not coming.’

7.2.1.7 Excessive

There are two terms, *hām* ‘excess’ and *pōt* ‘exceed’, that express a comparative or excessive sense. The former is used to indicate a comparative degree of quality, as in (516).

(516) (a) *hīng litī meūhāmlakuí* (02.18)

{hīng lī = tī meū-hām = lakuí
3SG come = also good-be.excess = MIR}

‘It’s better if he comes too.’
(b) **tônghàmpín sèk** (11:4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tông-hàm</th>
<th>=</th>
<th>pín</th>
<th>sèk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>big-be.excess</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'The older person'

The latter, *pōt*, is mostly used to indicate an unintended or uncontrollable excess situation. Look at the example sentences in (517).

(517) (a) **yōkpōtnā** (AKYS)

| yōk-pōt | = | mā |
| eat-exceed | = | RLS |

'I ate more (than I needed).'

(b) **ngākā ippátpōtnímtún** (18:29)

| ngā | = | ká | ip-pāt-pōt-ním | = | tün |
| 1SG | = | TOP | sleep-asleep-exceed | -stay | = | STILL |

'I was still asleep.' (more than I was supposed to)

7.2.1.8 Experiential

The auxiliary verb *páp*, glossed as ‘been’, indicates the action of the main verb was unintended or experienced previously, as illustrated in (518). It does not occur as a head verb in my data.

(518) (a) **ngayítā ömákpáptalé** (17:15)

| nga | = | yí | = | tá | öm-à-páp | = | talé |
| 1SG | = | also | = | EMPH | make-EUPH-been | = | SAP |

'I, as well, have done that before (experience of mining gold).’
(b) *katùngpápmákkákmá ngãyítá* (07:49)

katùng-*pápm-â-kák* = mā ngā = yí = tá  
see-**been**-EUPH-want = RLS exist = also = EMPH  
'I want to be (able to say) I've seen the monk before.' Lit. I, as well, want to have experienced seeing (the monk)'.

(c) *ata yōkpápmákpáng* (15:110)

ata yōk-*pápm-â* = páng  
rice eat-**been**-EUPH = COS  
'(S/he) happened to eat rice.' (ate without considering the consequences)

7.2.1.9 Totality

The term *sōm*, relatable to the lexical verb *sōm* ‘used up’, indicates the totality of the relevant participants of the action expressed by the head verb are affected by the action. The example (519) exemplifies the use of *sōm* as a head verb.

(519) *talùshiyítá sōmkapánlē* (18:68)

talù-shí = yí = tá  
seed-CLF.fruit = also = EMPH  
sōm = kapán = lē  
used.up = IMMF = SAP  
'(We) are running out of bullets as well.' (Lit. we are running out seeds)

The auxiliary usage of the verb *sōm* may be translated into English as ‘V-all’ or ‘V-utterly’. These are illustrated in (520) and (521).
(520)  *ngā ashín takhīntāktē hanīng tānshísōmkapán* (07:108)

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ngā} & \text{ashín} & \text{takhīn-tāk} & = & \text{tē} & \text{hanīng} \\
1\text{SG} & \text{lord} & \text{master-PL} & = & \text{A.AG} & 2\text{PL} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[\text{beat-die-used.up} = \text{IMMF}\]

‘(You) are going to kill all my masters.’

(521)  *phāklānkōlān nahāngsōmpán* (13:48)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
\text{phāk-lān} & \text{kō-lān} & \text{nāng-hāng-sōm} & = & \text{pān} \\
?\text{-road} & \text{body-road} & \text{go-back-used.up} & = & \text{COS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘(They) all went back to their respective places.’

The term *sōm* may be preceded by the plural marker *cī* to mark the totality of plural referents. The function of the verbal plural marker *cī* is discussed under verbal particles in §7.2.2.

(522)  *anyeū ōmnīncīsōmpán* (04:34)

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{an-yeū} & \text{ōm-nīm-cī-sōm} & = & \text{pān} \\
\text{DEM-manner} & \text{make-stay-PL-finish.up} & = & \text{COS} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘All (people) are doing (it) in this manner.’

7.2.1.10 Discontinuity

The term, *zōn*, glossed as ‘CONTINUE’, never occurs as a head verb in my data. It is restricted to occurring only with negative verbs and is employed to indicate a discontinuative notion to the main verb event. See the illustrations in (523).
In order to express a positive continuative proposition the clause final aspectual particle *tún* is employed (see the discussion of Aspectual particles in §7.3).

7.2.2 Verbal particles

This section discusses three verbal particles: *cǐ* ‘PL’, *ìng* ‘DIR₁’, and *àng* ‘DIR₂’. They are highly grammaticalised. Synchronically it is not possible to relate them to any lexical sources. I have grouped them together simply because of their syntactic position within the VCX. They all occur following auxiliary verbs (§7.2.1) and preceding modal auxiliaries (§7.2.3). The directional particles *àng* and *ìng* occur in the same slot, following the particle *cǐ* within the VCX. In the following sections I will discuss each of them in turn.
7.2.2.1 *cít* ‘plural’

If the agent referent that performs the action is more than one person, the verbal particle *cít* can be added to the predicate to mark plurality, as in (524).

(524) (a)  *pòkhá nāngcítā* (18:2)

*pòkhá nāng-cít* = mā
forest  go-PL  = RLS
‘(We) went to the forest.’

(b)  *maníng ōmcikálá* (12:121)

ma = nīng  ōm- *cít* = kū  = lá
WH = manner  make-PL = IRLS  = Q
‘What shall (we) do?’

(c)  *atá yōkcítzik* (15:12)

atá  yōk-cít = zīk
rice  eat-PL = FINALLY
‘(You plural) can eat rice now.’

The function of *cít* resembles that of Burmese *<kja.*. Consider the Burmese and Kadu examples in (525). The Burmese example in (525a) is my own and I repeat the Kadu example given in (524a) as (525b).

(525) (a)  *to: thwa:-kra. =te*

forest  go-PL  = RLS
‘(We) went to the forest.’
However, the position of these particles within the VCX in the respective languages differ. In Burmese <kja.> follows most of the auxiliaries, however, it preceds the auxiliary q <ra.> ‘permission’ (Wheatley 1982:232). The position of the particle cí, unlike <kra.>, within the vcx in Kadu is stable. It follows the auxiliaries and precedes the two directional particles, ing and âng, and the modal auxiliaries. See cí followed by the directional verbal particles in (538).

The insertion of the particle cí in the predicate is optional. Its usage seems to depend on the speakers’ free will. For example, although the particle cí was not present in the natural sentence, my language consultants said that it is possible to insert it without any changes in meaning.

(526) ângpanáq pèká tapântâk nîmmâ (10:12)

àng = panáq = pè = ká tapântâk nîm-(cî) = mā
that = NOM = LOC = TOP PN-PL stay-(PL) = RLS

‘Tapan people live there.’

Using the term cí with a singular agentive referent is ungrammatical. Consider the examples in (527). Example (527a) is grammatical as the verbal plural particle cí is used with a plural referent malêq ‘1PL’, however, (527b) is not grammatical since a singular agentive referent is used with the verbal plural particle cí eventhough there a plural non-agentive is mentioned.
(527) (a)  \textit{malēq hanīngtè yūhángcímā}

\begin{verbatim}
malēq haning = tè yū háng-cí = mā
1PL  2PL = A.AG look back-PL = RLS
'We are looking after you.'
\end{verbatim}

(b)  \textit{*ngā hanīngtè yūhángcímā}

\begin{verbatim}
ngā haning = tè yū háng-cí = mā
1SG  2PL = A.AG look back-PL = RLS
\end{verbatim}

7.2.2.2  àng  ‘directional: away from the deictic centre’

The particle àng, glossed ‘DIR’, indicates an action or movement away from the deictic centre. Look at the example in (528).

(528)  \textit{hīngpè thōkàngmā} (10:56)

\begin{verbatim}
hīng = pè thōk-àng = mā
3SG = LOC arrive-\textsc{dir}_1 = RLS
‘(They) reached towards him.’
\end{verbatim}

The deictic centre is determined by pragmatic and shared knowledge between speaker and addressee. Example (528) indicates an action or movement away from the deictic centre. In this case the deictic centre could be the speaker. When the action or movement is happening toward the third person, using àng ‘\textsc{dir}_1’ is grammatical but not \textit{ìn̂g} ‘\textsc{dir}_2’. We repeat the example (528) in (529a) to show the contrast of these two directionals. The first example is grammatical but example (529b) is not.
(529)  (a)  \( hîngpê \, \text{thôkingmã} \) (10:56)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hîng} & \, = \, \text{pê} \, \text{thôk-\text{-\text{ang}}} \, = \, \text{mã} \\
\text{3SG} & \, = \, \text{LOC} \, \text{arrive-\\text{DIR}_1} \, = \, \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(They) reached towards him.’

(b)  *\( hîngpê \, \text{thôtingmã} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hîng} & \, = \, \text{pê} \, \text{thôk-\text{-\text{ing}}} \, = \, \text{mã} \\
\text{3SG} & \, = \, \text{LOC} \, \text{arrive-\\text{DIR}_2} \, = \, \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

Some more examples of \( \text{\text{\text{-\text{ang}}} \) with motion verbs to denote the action or movement away from the deictic centre, the speaker, are given in (530).

(530)  (a)  \( \text{\text{weyahaungpê}} \, \text{takhâteu} \, \text{\text{útsâtnångmã}} \) (08:14)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\text{weú}} \, \text{yahaung} & \, = \, \text{pê} \, \text{ú-t-sât-\text{-\text{ang}}} \, = \, \text{mã} \\
\text{water} \, \text{river} & \, = \, \text{LOC} \, \text{abandon-descend-\\text{DIR}_1} \, = \, \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Throw (it) down to the river.’

(b)  \( \text{cånsítåhaík} \, \text{tåntåtnångmã} \) (07:112)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cånsítå} & \, = \, \text{haík} \, \text{tån-tå-t-\text{-\text{ang}}} \, = \, \text{mã} \\
\text{PN} & \, = \, \text{ABL} \, \text{beat-release-\\text{DIR}_1} \, = \, \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Kyansitta beat and sent (him) away.’

The particle \( \text{\text{\text{-\text{ang}}} \) also indicates spatial displacement ‘away’, as in (531).

(531)  (a)  \( \text{zîngyökpånaqtë} \, \text{îyångmã} \) (05:4)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{zîngyök} & \, = \, \text{panåq} \, = \, \text{të} \, \text{i-\text{-\text{ang}}} \, = \, \text{mã} \\
\text{order} & \, = \, \text{NOM} \, = \, \text{A.\text{-\text{AG}}} \, \text{give-\\text{DIR}_1} \, = \, \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(We) gave away a slave girl.’ (Lit. the ordered one)
(b)  \textit{salâshi phà iỳàngmā} (08:123)

\begin{align*}
\text{salà-shi-phà-à} & \quad \text{I-àng} = \text{mā} \\
\text{banana-CLT.fruit-CLF.bunch-one} & \quad \text{give-DIR}_1 = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}

‘(I) gave away a bunch of bananas (to him).’

With action verbs, it indicates actions performed with self volition or strong intention.

See illustration in (532).

\begin{itemize}
\item[(532) (a)] \textit{laúkléyaúk ûhaū kápmàngmā} (19:1)

\begin{align*}
\text{laúklé} & \quad = \text{yaúk} \quad ûhaū \quad \text{ká-p-àng} = \text{mā} \\
\text{sling.shot} & \quad = \text{COM} \quad \text{owl shoot-DIR}_1 = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}

‘(Someone) shot an owl with a sling shot.’

\item[(b)] \textit{hîng awàtè yîmàngmā} (25:32)

\begin{align*}
\text{hîng} & \quad \text{awà} = \text{tè} \quad \text{yîm-àng} = \text{mā} \\
\text{3SG father} & \quad = \text{A.AG} \quad \text{arrest-DIR}_1 = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}

‘(The man) arrested his father.’
\end{itemize}

7.2.2.3  \textit{îng} ‘directional: toward the deictic centre’

The particle \textit{îng}, in contrast to \textit{àng}, indicates an action or movement toward the deictic centre\textsuperscript{27}. The idea of movement toward the speaker’s location is particularly true when \textit{îng} follows motion verbs in Kadu, as illustrated in (533).

---

\textsuperscript{27} This particle resembles Burmese .SqlClient <hke.>, which Allott says is used when “the speaker associates a specific action carried through in one location (in space or time) with another location.” As it is related to the speaker, she called it “speaker oriented” (Allot 1965:299).
(533) (a) \( \text{àngpanáq sàtningmā kasà} \) (18:44)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{àng} & = \text{panáq} & \text{sat-} & \text{ing} & = \text{mā} & \text{kasà} \\
\text{that} & = \text{NOM} & \text{descend-} & \text{DIR}_2 & = \text{RLS} & \text{tiger}
\end{align*} \]

'That tiger came down (toward us).'

(b) \( \text{tóngmaïkalàng kátningthàmā} \) (18:80)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{tóng} & \text{ maï kalàng} & \text{kát-} & \text{ing-thà} & = \text{mā} \\
\text{three mile approximate run-} & \text{DIR}_2 & \text{-must} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*} \]

'(We) came running about three miles.'

(c) \( \text{paúlaú paúlaú zalaútningmaták} \) (08:16)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{paúlaú-paúlaú} & \text{ zalaút-} & \text{ing} & = \text{mā} & = \text{ták} \\
\text{floating-REDUP} & \text{ drift-} & \text{DIR}_2 & = \text{RLS} & = \text{HS}
\end{align*} \]

'(The raft) came drifting (towards them), it is said.'

When \( \text{ing} \), together with the realis marker \( \text{mā} \), follows activity verbs it indicates a

‘speaker oriented’ deictic sense, usually with ‘past’ reference. It may be interpreted as

‘to v elsewhere and be here now’ in English. Consider the examples in (534).

(534) (a) \( \text{ata yōkmā} \) (AKYS)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ata} & \text{ yōk} & = \text{mā} \\
\text{rice eat} & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*} \]

'I ate/eat rice.' or 'I am eating rice.'

(b) \( \text{ata yōkingmā} \) (AKYS)

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{ata} & \text{ yōk-} & \text{ing} & = \text{mā} \\
\text{rice eat-} & \text{DIR}_2 & = \text{RLS}
\end{align*} \]

'I ate rice (before I came here).’
The example in (534a) simply indicates a realis situation, which may be interpreted with past or present reference. However, when ing is used together with the realis marker mā, the interpretation with present time reference is not possible.

The time reference with ing may be ‘remote past’ or ‘near past’. It is usually determined by time adverbials such as yàkmák ‘today’, maeùtón ‘long ago’ or simply the pragmatics of the situation. Consider the examples in (535).

(535) (a) yàkmák pùhángìngmā (25:130) (near past time reference)

yàkmák pù-háng-ìng = mā
today emerge-back-DIR = RLS
‘(I) came out (of the prison) today.’

(b) àntákkáé ngáywā teùtingmā (10:31) (remote past time reference)

ànták = ká = é ngá ywā teù-ta-ìng = mā
3PL = TOP = SAP five village establish-L.SUFF-DIR = RLS
‘They had founded/established five villages.’

Unlike with action verbs, when ing occurs with state verbs (particularly true with mental perception verbs), the sense of physical movement is blocked and it simply indicates the situation happened in a past time frame.

(536) (a) mòksótàk ngaúkà katùngìngmaták (15:64)

mòksó-tàk ngaúkà katùng-ìng = mā = ták
hunter-PL as.for see-DIR = RLS = HS
‘Hunters saw (them), it is said.’
I have already mentioned that the plural particle ći precedes ʾing and ʾang within the Vcx. When ći is followed by one of these particles, it results in vowel fusion. See the discussion on fusion in §2.8.1. I will not repeat the discussion of this phonological process here but, instead, simply illustrate it with a few examples, as in (538).
(538) (a)  *hamàngkà ömnímcànglá* (30:41)  
\[(cì + àng > câng)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ha} &= \text{màng} = \text{kà} & \text{öm-ním-càng} &= \text{lá} \\
\text{WH} &= \text{thing} = Q & \text{make-stay-\text{PL}:\text{DIR}_1} &= Q
\end{align*}
\]
'What are (they) doing?'

(b)  *taleú zàngcing* (30:41)  
\[(cì + ing > cing)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
taleú &\quad \text{zàng-\text{cing}} \\
dangling &\quad \text{put.in-\text{PL}:\text{DIR}_2}
\end{align*}
\]
'(You plural) put (the noodle) in dangling position!'  

Any of the CFPs discussed in §7.1 can follow the directional verbal particles *ing* and àng. However, when pán ‘COS’ immediately follows one of these particles, the two forms result in fusion thus forming a monosyllabic word. The rule is *ing + pán > pìng* and àng + pán > pàng. There is tone sandhi with fused forms. If the preceding syllable is a high tone e.g. ‘á’ the fused form takes the low tone. However, if the preceding syllable is either a low or mid tone (e.g. ‘à’ or ‘ä’) the fused form takes the high tone. The examples in (539) illustrate the fused form of àng + pán > pàng.

(539) (a)  *ózítóngtè sanàñpán lāpángták* (08:73)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ózì-tóng} &= \text{tè} & \text{sanàn} &= \text{pán lā} = \text{páng} = \text{ták} \\
\text{drum-big} &= \text{A,AG} & \text{snatch} &= \text{COS take} = \text{DIR}_1:\text{COS} = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]
'(He) snatched the drum and took (it) away, it is said.'

(b)  *cihai³ ngaúpángták* (12:51)
\[
\begin{align*}
cì &= \text{haík} & \text{ngaú} &= \text{páng} = \text{ták} \\
dog &= \text{ABL} & \text{say} &= \text{DIR}_1:\text{COS} = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]
'The dog said, it is said.'
The examples in (540) illustrate the fused form of \( \text{ing} + \text{pán} > \text{ping} \).

(540) (a) \textit{kaphúká pūpíngták} (13:50)

\begin{align*}
\text{kaphú} & = \text{á} \quad \text{pū} & = \text{ping} & = \text{ták} \\
\text{snake} & = \text{TOP} \quad \text{emerge} & = \text{DIR}_2:\text{COS} & = \text{HS} \\
\end{align*}

'The snake came out. it is said.'

(b) \textit{tátlúng lāhángping} (12:94)

\begin{align*}
\text{tátlúng} & \quad \text{lā-háng} & = \text{ping} \\
\text{magic.ball} & \quad \text{take-back} & = \text{DIR}_2:\text{COS} \\
\end{align*}

'(He) took back the magic ball.'

7.2.3 Modal auxiliaries

Syntactically, modal auxiliaries occur following verbal particles (§7.2.2) and preceding CFPs (§7.1). In English they convey “the relationship between the referent of the subject NP and the action” (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:41). In general, two types of modals may be classified: deontic and epistemic. The former provides information on the obligation, capacity, ability, possibility, and permission of the actor to perform the action. The latter, on the other hand, conveys “the extent to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition” (Bybee 1994:179). Deontic and epistemic modalities are discussed in §7.2.3.1 and §7.2.3.2, respectively.

7.2.3.1 Deontic modality

Modal auxiliaries with a deontic reading attested in Kadu are shown in (541). Each will be discussed subsequently.
(541)  hà  ‘be accustomed to, habitual, know how’
    kák  ‘desiderative’
    haút  ‘desiderative’
    thà  ‘permission, obligation, necessary’
    yeūn  ‘can, ability, permission’

The question, “Does the referent know how to do the action expressed by the
predicate?” is answered by the term hà, glossed as ‘know how’. It indicates the agent
referent’s learned ability, skill, and knowledge. It may be translated into English as
‘know how’ or ‘able to’, as illustrated in (542).

(542) (a)  tākpáyi yūh mà (07:35)

tākpá  = yí  yū-hà  = mā
palm  = also  look-know how  = RLS

‘(He) knows how to read palms, as well.’ Or ‘He is able to read palms,
as well.’

(b)  chithaúng tú tapaúkh mà (25:128)

chithaúng  tú  tapaúk-hà  = mā
bag  language  speak-know how  = RLS

‘The bag knows how to speak.’ Or ‘The bag can speak.’

The term hà has other functions as well. It is used to mark a customary or habitual
action. Habituality is defined as “…a situation which is characteristic of an extended
period of time–so extended, in fact, that the situation referred to is viewed not as an
incidental property of the moment but precisely as a characteristic feature of a whole
period” (Comrie 1976:27-28). In English, habituality includes two types: present and
past. E.g., ‘He goes to the office’ and ‘He used to go to the office’. The former indicates
that the event is taking place regularly at speech time and beyond. The latter, however,
indicates that the event was a customary action in the past but it no longer holds true at speech time. Kadu, unlike English, does not distinguish present and past habituality. The only way to make the present and past habituality distinction is to use a time adverbial phrase like talinghā ‘last year’, as in (543b).

(543) (a)  
\[
\text{hīng mandalaypā nāngmā (AKYS)}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{hīng} & \text{mandalay} &= \text{pā} & \text{nāng-hā} &= \text{mā} \\
3\text{SG} & \text{PN} &= \text{ALL} & \text{go-} & \text{know.how} = \text{RLS}
\end{array}
\]
'He goes/used to go to Mandalay.'

(b)  
\[
\text{talinghā hīng mandalaypā nāngmā (AKYS)}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{talinghā} & \text{hīng} & \text{mandalay} &= \text{pā} & \text{nāng-hā} &= \text{mā} \\
\text{last.year} & \text{3SG} & \text{PN} &= \text{ALL} & \text{go-} & \text{know.how} = \text{RLS}
\end{array}
\]
'Last year, he went/used to go to Mandalay.' (but not anymore)

The interpretation of hā as either as a modal auxiliary or a marker of habituality is pragmatically determined. Consider the examples in (544).

(544) (a)  
\[
\text{kweú ngaúkā shīshīpaliq yōk-hālakāé (08:62)}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{kweú} & \text{ngaúkā} & \text{shīshī-paliq} & \text{yōk-hā} &= \text{lakā} &= \text{é} \\
\text{monkey} & \text{as.for} & \text{fruit-ATTW} & \text{eat-} & \text{know.how} &= \text{MIR} &= \text{SAP}
\end{array}
\]
'Monkeys eat fruit (from time to time).’ Or ‘The monkey knows how to eat fruit.’

(b)  
\[
\text{hīng mandalaypā nānghāmā (AKYS)}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{hīng} & \text{mandalay} &= \text{pā} & \text{nāng-hā} &= \text{mā} \\
3\text{SG} & \text{PN} &= \text{LOC} & \text{go-} & \text{know.how} = \text{RLS}
\end{array}
\]
'He goes to Mandalay (from time to time).’ Or 'He knows how to go to Mandalay.'
Unlike temporary habitual action with ḥā, ngomic situations, “events that are regarded as timeless because they hold true for all time, but they still can be regarded as in effect at the moment of speech” (Bybee, Perkins et al. 1994:141), are expressed with the realis CFP mā, as illustrated in (545).

(545) (a)  

cī sūkmā

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{cī} & \quad \text{sük} \quad = \text{mā} \\
\text{dog} & \quad \text{bark} \quad = \text{RLS} \\
\text{‘Dogs bark.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b)  
	tamisā atā yōkmā

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tamisā} & \quad \text{atā} \quad \text{yōk} \quad = \text{mā} \\
\text{people} & \quad \text{food} \quad \text{eat} \quad = \text{RLS} \\
\text{‘People eat/ate food.’}
\end{align*}
\]

The question, “Does the referent have an obligation to do the action mentioned by the predicate?” is answered by the modal thā, glossed as ‘must’. It denotes compulsion, permission, and obligation. The modal thā has an identical form with the copula thā, however synchronically it is not the copula, as there are cases where the copula thā is followed by the modal thā, as in (546c). When the modal thā is followed by the irrealis marker kū it indicates a strong suggestion or compulsion, as in (546).

(546) (a)  

nāng nāngthākū (07:19)

\[
\begin{align*}
nāng & \quad \text{nāng-thā} \quad = \text{kū} \\
\text{2SG} & \quad \text{go-must} \quad = \text{IRLS} \\
\text{‘You must go.’}
\end{align*}
\]
(b) \textit{nakà zökhši\-waleú lāthùkùták ngatè} (15:93)

\begin{align*}
nakà & \quad zökhši\-waleú \quad lā\text{-}thà \quad = kû \quad = ták \\
dragon & \quad breast-liquid \quad take\text{-}must \quad = IRLS \quad = HS \\
\end{align*}

‘(You) must bring dragon’s milk, it is said.’

(c) \textit{cēttau thàthùkù} (10:48)

\begin{align*}
cēttau & \quad thà \quad = kû \\
PN & \quad be \quad -\text{must} \quad = IRLS \\
\end{align*}

‘(It) must be Cettau.’

However, when it is followed by the realis marker \textit{mā}, it simply denotes a strong obligation which can be translated as ‘must’ or ‘have to’, as in (547).

(547) (a) \textit{haúk ōmthàmā} (40:35)

\begin{align*}
haúk & \quad ōm\text{-}thà \quad = mā \\
hill\_field & \quad make\text{-}must \quad = RLS \\
\end{align*}

‘We have to cultivate the hill field.’

(b) \textit{maūtekkatù sëktàk àngpè lùhùmā} (11:9)

\begin{align*}
maūtekkatù & \quad sèk \quad -tāk \quad àng \quad = pè \quad li\text{-}thà \quad = mā \\
PN \quad Kadu & \quad person\text{-}PL \quad that \quad = LOC \quad come\text{-}must \quad = RLS \\
\end{align*}

‘The Mauteik Kadu have to come to that place.’

The question, “Does the referent have the desire or willingness to do the action expressed in the predicate?” is answered by the modal \textit{kák} \textsuperscript{28} or \textit{haūt}. Both are glossed as ‘want’ and they can be used interchangeably in many cases to denote a desiderative

\textsuperscript{28}This particle has the same semantic sense as Burmese \textit{hkrang}, \textit{thwa:hhrang} ‘want to go’, \textit{thi:hkrang} ‘want to know’; and also Lahu \textit{gà}: \textit{qay gà} ‘want to go’, \textit{śi gà} ‘want to know’. Matisoff supposed that it may have once had an independent verbal meaning like ‘think of conatively; desire’ (Matisoff 1991:394).
meaning. However, *kát* is used more frequently than *haút*. They both can be translated into English as ‘want to V’. The modal *kák* is illustrated in (548).

(548) (a)  

\[
\text{aswē hāhāngyeūnnaā heú-kā-āng-kák = mā}
\]

friend Kachin = BEN = only tell-show-DIR, want = RLS  
‘I want to tell (the story) for (my) Kachin friend.’

(b)  

\[
táŋngā yōkkákāmā (26:4)
\]

\[
táŋngā yōk-kák = mā
\]

\[
\text{fish eat-want} = \text{RLS}
\]

‘(I) want to eat fish.’

The desire for food, water and to do something is expressed by the modal *haút* \(^{29}\). The examples in (549) exemplify the desiderative construction with *haút*.

(549) (a)  

\[
\text{atá yōkhaútping maūng ngakā (18:7)}
\]

\[
atá yōk-haút = píng maūng ngā = kā
\]

\[
\text{rice eat-want} = \text{DIR}:COS boy 1SG = TOP}
\]

‘I am hungry.’ (Lit. Boy! I am hungry)

(b)  

\[
\text{weú yōkhaútmā (AKYS)}
\]

\[
\text{weú yōk-haút = mā}
\]

\[
\text{water eat-want} = \text{RLS}
\]

‘(I) am thirsty.’

The question, “Does the referent have the ability to do the action expressed by the predicate?” is answered by the modal *yeūn*, glossed as ‘can’. It is also not relatable to a

\(^{29}\) It may have derived from the Tai (Shan) word *hiw* ‘hungry’.

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lexical meaning. Unlike *hà* in (542), which indicates referent’s learned ability, it
denotes semantic notions such as physical ability or capability, as in (550).

(550) (a)  *azàk taípî náyeün pán* (07:97)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{azàk} & \quad \text{taípî} & \quad \text{= tè} & \quad \text{ná-yeün} & \quad \text{= pán} \\
\text{PN} & \quad \text{country} & \quad \text{= A.AG} & \quad \text{win-} & \quad \text{can} & \quad \text{= COS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(We) can win the Kadu kingdom.’

(b)  *hìng cíng ceúyeünā* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hìng} & \quad \text{cíng} & \quad \text{ceú-yeün} & \quad \text{= mā} \\
\text{3SG} & \quad \text{letter} & \quad \text{read-} & \quad \text{can} & \quad \text{= RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘He can read the letter.’

(c)  *leúzǐyeü tayā lūayeünā* (13:60)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{leú-} & \quad \text{zǐyeü-tayā} & \quad \text{lū-ta-yeün} & \quad \text{= mā} \\
\text{ox.cart-CLF.cart-one.hundred} & \quad \text{offer-L.SUFF-} & \quad \text{can} & \quad \text{= RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) can offer a hundred ox carts.’

It also denotes the semantic notion of permissibility, as in (551).

(551)  *nāng pūháng sānháng ōmyeünā* (07:54)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nāng} & \quad \text{pū-háng} & \quad \text{sānháng} & \quad \text{ōm-yeün} & \quad \text{= mā} \\
\text{2SG} & \quad \text{emerge-back} & \quad \text{enter-back} & \quad \text{make-} & \quad \text{can} & \quad \text{= RLS}
\end{align*}
\]

‘You may/can freely go in and out of my palace.’

7.2.3.2 Epistemic modality

The question, “What is the speaker’s assessment of the likelihood of the action
mentioned by the predicate?” may be answered in several ways. One structure is to use
the copula followed by the modal *thā* ‘must’ and the realis *kū*. See the examples in (546). The auxiliary verbs *māt* ‘truly’ and *pheú* ‘suppose’, which also have epistemic meanings, are discussed in §7.2.1.6. The auxiliary *lū*, which is relatable to the lexical verb *lū* ‘get’ or ‘obtain’ also has an epistemic sense. Consider the examples in (552). Example (552a) illustrates *lū* as the main verb of the clause, whereas example (552b) illustrates the word *lū* as a modal auxiliary with an epistemic meaning.

(552) (a) *sā lūwangmā* (11:13)

\[
\text{sā} \quad \text{lū-àng} \quad = \text{mā} \\
\text{son} \quad \text{get-DIR₁} \quad = \text{RLS}
\]

‘She got pregnant.’ (Lit. She got a child)

(b) *hīng shímasā hīng ěktē lālūkū* (15:81)

\[
\text{hīng} \quad \text{shī} = \text{māsā} \quad \text{hīng} \quad ěk = \text{tē} \quad \text{lā-lū} \quad = \text{kū} \\
3\text{SG} \quad \text{die} = \text{only.if} \quad 3\text{SG} \quad \text{wife} = \text{A.AG} \quad \text{take-get} \quad = \text{IRLS}
\]

‘It is probable that he will take the wife when he dies.’

Reduplication of *ning* (§11.1.6) following a *vcx* also has an epistemic reading, which may be interpreted in English as ‘seems to be’, or ‘looks like’, as illustrated in (553).

(553) (a) *hīng zaūknīningning* (AKYS)

\[
\text{hīng} \quad \text{zaūk} = \text{ning} = \text{ning} \\
3\text{sg} \quad \text{tall} = \text{manner} = \text{REDUP}
\]

‘He seems tall.’
7.3 Aspectual particles

Five verbal particles that indicate aspectual meaning are \textit{tún/yún} ‘still’, \textit{yók} ‘intrusive’, \textit{zík} ‘finally’ and \textit{pán} ‘change of state’. Syntactically the particles \textit{tún} and \textit{zík} occur in the same slot as \textit{mā} ‘realis’ and \textit{kū} ‘irrealis’ in the \textit{VCX}. However, with the particles \textit{yók} and \textit{pán} the irrealis marker \textit{kū} may follow to indicate irrealis situation.

The particles \textit{tún/yún} have similar functions to Burmese \texttt{<thei>}, and the use of \textit{yók} and \textit{zík} are similar to Burmese \texttt{<um>} and \texttt{<to>} respectively. The functions of these particles in Burmese are best explained by Okell (1979). Okell, adopting Michael Morrisey’s (1973) view, pointed out that these morphemes, similar to ‘still’, ‘yet’ and ‘anymore’ in English, “have to do with a primary time of reference, often ‘now’, and an implied secondary time, which is previous to the first” (Okell 1976:69). Adapting Okell’s approach, I will use symbols \(\Omega\) and \(\Delta\) to represent two time frames and occurrence or non-occurrence of a situation is symbolised as ‘+’ and ‘-’ respectively. Quoting examples from Okell (1976), for example ‘Mr. Jones is still tampering with the lock’ was represented as \(+\Omega +\Delta\), which includes both ‘Mr. Jones is (now) tampering \((+\Omega)\)’, and ‘Mr. Jones was (previously) tampering \((+\Delta)\)’. Similarly, ‘Mr. Jones isn’t tampering with the lock anymore’ can be represented as \(-\Omega +\Delta\).
is not tampering (now’), and +Δ ‘he was tampering (previously)’. Each aspectual particle that relates two time frames in Kadu is discussed in the following sections.

7.3.1  pán ‘change of state’

The CFP pán, glossed as ‘change of state (COS)’, marks a change of state or situation. This concept of COS may be unusual in European languages, however, it is well attested in Southeast and East Asian languages (Wheatley 1982:220). This particle pán, like ကျပ် <pri> in Burmese, indicates that at the moment of speaking the point of realisation of the action or state indicated by the verb has been reached (Allot 1965:289). It may be translated as with a sense of inchoative meaning ‘already’ in English. In this section, I will use the Greek alphabets omega (Ω) and delta (Δ) to represent two time frames, present and past respectively. This change of situation in positive clauses with pán may be represented as +Ω -Δ, and conversely, -Ω +Δ in negative clauses. Clauses with the CFP pán are illustrated in (554). For the expressions of -Ω –Δ and +Ω +Δ in Kadu see also mā ‘realis’ (§7.1.1) and kū ‘irrealis’ (§7.1.2).

(554)  (a)  yatéq lipán (13:64)

yatéq lí = pán
hermit come = COS
'The hermit has come.' or 'The hermit is coming.'

(b)  sínngneútsí cúnpè thök pán (12:61)

sínngneút-shí cúng = pè thök = pán
fig-CLT.fruit island = LOC arrive = COS
'(He) reached fig tree island.'
(c) ngatè haláng atüngåkpán (06:30)

ngā  = tè    haláng  a-tüngåk  = pán  
1SG  = A.AG    head    NEG-bow  = COS

‘(He) no longer bows his head to me.’

(d) amíká alihángpán (15:38)

amú  = kâ      a-li-hång  = pán
brother=TOP   NEG-come-back  = COS

‘(The) older brother did not come back.’

General affirmative responses to questions such as “has it/s/he v-ed?” in Kadu would be sentences like those just mentioned above. The implication can be made from the examples in (554) that at the time of speaking, the anticipated action has finally come to fulfillment and the activity is now in progress. Therefore translation to render this construction in English would be “has v-ed”, or “is v-ed.” For example with a process like cook or ripen: ‘has cooked/is cooked’ or ‘has ripened/is ripe’.

pán may occur both with stative and dynamic verbs. When it occurs with stative verbs like katùng ‘see’, and míngsåhå ‘know’, it indicates the situation has entered into a new stage or state at the speech time. For example, compare the two examples below.

(555) (a) phú nátçipanáqtè katùngmå (17:42)

phú    nát-cî = panåq = tè    katùng  = må
silver use-PL = NOM = A.AG    see  = RLS

‘(I) see/saw (people) spending money.’
(b) **húng nát ngaúkà katùngpánták** (07:101)

húng nát ngaúkà katùng =pán = ták
PN spirit as.for see = COS = HS

'The Hung spirit saw (the people who are in trouble), it is said.'

Example (555a) simply states that the entity has seen or sees a situation (people spending money). However, (555b) indicates a change of state from a non-seeing stage to seeing stage. Similar situations can be also exemplified by the verb of knowing, as in (556).

(556) (a) **hĩng míngsáhãmā**

hĩng míngsáhã = mā
3SG know = RLS

'He knows.'

(b) **hĩng míngsáhãpán**

hĩng míngsáhã = pán
3SG know = COS

'He knows (it now).’ (He didn’t know before.)

However, when the **COS** pán is used with action verbs, it has a different semantic interpretation. Unlike with stative verbs, it denotes the meaning of ‘now, it has started/begun to v’ or ‘now it is v-ing’. Consider the examples in (557). Depending on the context, clauses with **pán** may indicated imminent action.
7.3.2 /ill/ ‘still’

The particles /tún/ and /yún/, glossed as ‘STILL’, are in complementary distribution. The former occurs with positive situations and the latter occurs with negative situations. See the examples in (558a) and (558b) respectively.

(558) (a) **maléq ömtün hátün yōktün ayweù** (17:44)

\[
\text{maléq} \quad \text{öm} = \text{tún} \quad \text{hā} = \text{tún} \quad \text{yōk} = \text{tún} \quad \text{ayweù}
\]

\[
\text{1.PL} \quad \text{make} = \text{STILL} \quad \text{walk} = \text{STILL} \quad \text{eat} = \text{STILL} \quad \text{age}
\]

'We are still active/strong.' (Lit. We who are in the age of still working, walking and eating.)

(b) **tángngätêkâ ayōkângyùn** (26:12)

\[
\text{tángngâ} = \text{tē} \quad = \text{ká} \quad \text{a-yōk-àng} = \text{yún}
\]

\[
\text{fish} = \text{A.AG} = \text{TOP} \quad \text{NEG-eat-DIR} \quad = \text{STILL}
\]

‘(I) still haven’t eaten the fish (yet).’
Syntactically, they appear in the same position as CFPs. A clause which ends with *tún* indicates an action/state that was previously occurring and is still occurring at the reference time “now.” This situation may be represented as $+\Omega +\Delta$. The examples in (559) illustrate clauses with the particle *tún*.

(559) (a) *sapùká lùpán mínwūtasà lōtātūn* (08:79)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sapù} &= \text{horse} = \text{TOP} \\
\text{lù} &= \text{get} = \text{COS} \\
\text{pán} &= \text{royal.dress} \\
\text{mínwūtasà} &= \text{need-L.SUFF} \\
\text{lō-ta} &= \text{STILL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(I) got the horse, (I was needing the royal dress) (I) still need the royal dress now.’

(b) *tamisāyaà zātūnlā* (24:15)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tamisā} &= \text{human} = \text{EUPH} \\
\text{yaà} &= \text{alive} = \text{STILL} \\
\text{zā} &= \text{still} = \text{Q} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(the person was alive previously,) Is the person still alive?’

Conversely, a clause which ends with *yún* indicates a situation which had not occurred previously and has still not occurred now. It may be represented as $-\Omega -\Delta$. The examples in (560) illustrate clauses with the particle *yún*.

(560) (a) *tamisā ašìyūn* (24:18)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tamisā} &= \text{human} \\
\text{a-shí} &= \text{NEG-die} = \text{STILL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(The person hadn't died previously,) and hasn't died yet.’

(b) *a-yōkāngyūn* (26:7)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-yōk-àng} &= \text{NEG-eat-DIR}_1 = \text{STILL} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He didn't eat previously,) He hasn't eaten yet.’
Example (560b) can be read as implying ‘the preceding not + v-ing (not eating) and further continuation of the same action. The meaning of the sentence may be understood as ‘(though the time has come for him to eat), he has not eaten yet’.

7.3.3  \( \text{yók} \) ‘intrusive’ or ‘interruptive’

The particle \( \text{yók} \), glossed as ‘\text{INTRUSIVE}’, indicates an intrusive or interrupting situation. This particle informs the hearer that an action or situation that is going to take place is a new, intrusive, and mostly a temporary situation. The previous action or situation (usually inferred from context) may resume shortly. Look at the example in (561). This example was taken from the context of a Kadu speaker who was on his way to a paddy field when a fake monk invited him to come to do palmistry.

(561)  \text{li-phángyók nāng tākpásà kāmākā yūwàngthāmā} (07:31)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{li-pháng} & \quad = \text{yók} \\
\text{come-prior} & \quad = \text{INTRUSIVE} \\
\text{nāng} & \quad \text{tākpá-sà} \\
\text{2SG} & \quad \text{palm-DIM} \\
\text{kāmākā} & \quad \text{so.on} \\
\text{yū-àng} & \quad = \text{thāmā} \\
\text{look-DIR} & \quad = \text{HORT} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘Come here first. Let’s do palmistry.’ (Later you can continue your journey).

The clause with \( \text{yók} \) may be interpreted in English as ‘I’ve been working/doing this for some time, and now I will do something else and may continue that later’. It occurs only in future non-realised situations. Therefore, it can be followed by the CFP \( kū \) ‘irrealis’ but hasn’t been attested occurring with other CFPS such as \( mā \) and the ASP \text{pán}. Consider the examples in (562). (562a) is grammatical, but (562b) and (562c) are not.
(562) (a)  *sapáksà mökípín sèktè chaúngtayókkü (15:54)

sapáksà   mök-ī = pín  sèk = tè
dish      cook-give = NOM person = A.AG
chaúng-ta = yók = kū
spy-L.SUFF = INTRUSIVE = IRLS

'I will spy on the one who cooked dish/curry (for me).'

(b)  *chaúngtayókmā

chaúng-ta = yók = mā
spy-L.SUFF = INTRUSIVE = RLS

(c)  *chaúngtayókpán

chaúng-ta = yók = pán
spy-L.SUFF = INTRUSIVE = COS

The particle yók cannot occur together with the negative clitic = á. However, it may be preceded by the negative imperative clitic = sà (§10.2) to indicate an action or situation on hold which may be translated in English as ‘do not v it yet’. When yók follows the negative imperative enclitic = sà, they are fused into a single phonological unit. The rule is sà + yók > shók. See the illustrations in (563).

(563) (a) *ín-yókshóklé (09:77)

ín-yók-shók = lé
NEG-eat-NEG.IMP:INTRUSIVE = SAP

'Don’t eat me yet.'
(b)  ngātē atánsíshók (15:61)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngā} & = \text{tè} \quad \text{a-tán-shí-shók} \\
\text{ISG} & = \text{A.AG} \quad \text{NEG-beat-die-NEG_IMP:INTRUSIVE}
\end{align*}
\]

'Don’t kill/beat me to death yet.'

7.3.4  zík ‘finally’

The term zík, glossed as ‘FINALLY’, adds the meaning of finality to the predicate. This particle informs the hearer that the action that is going to take place is the final one or something in contrast to the previous action/state. Similar to the particle yók, it informs the hearer of some action to take place but also implies the meaning ‘you’ve been doing this for some time, and finally you have to do that’. Clauses with the particle zík are shown in (564).

(564)  (a)  atá yókcízík (15:12)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{atá} & \quad \text{yók-cí} = \text{zík} \\
\text{rice} & \quad \text{eat-PL} = \text{FINALLY}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(Now,) eat the food.’ (We have been walking for many hours)

(b)  kõhángpè zángàngzík (30:5)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kõnháng} & = \text{pè} \quad \text{záng-àng} = \text{zík} \\
\text{basket} & = \text{LOC put.in-DIR} = \text{FINALLY}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Add (it) to the basket.’ (It has been kept outside for two to three days).
(c) \( yàkká \, weū \, zánìngzík \) (30:65)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yàk} &= ká \, \text{weū} \, záng\text{-ing} \quad = zík \\
\text{now} &= \text{TOP} \, \text{water} \, \text{put.in}\text{-DIR\textsubscript{2}} \quad = \text{FINALLY}
\end{align*}
\]
'Now, add the water.' (We have been making other preparations)

The particle \( zík \), like \( yók \), cannot occur together with the negative proclitic \( = \á \).

However, it may be preceded by the negative imperative enclitic \( = \text{sà} \) (§10.2). When \( zík \) follows the negative imperative enclitic \( = \text{sà} \), like \( \text{sà} + \text{yók} > \text{shók} \), they are fused together into a single phonological unit. The rule is \( \text{sà} + \text{zík} > \text{shík} \). See the illustrations in (565).

(565) (a) \( azaúnzónshík \) (18:105)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-zaún-zón} &= \text{shík} \\
\text{NEG-f}	ext{-}\text{af}	ext{-}\text{ter}\text{-}\text{CONTINUE} &= \text{NEG.IMP}\text{-}\text{FINALLY}
\end{align*}
\]
'Don’t continue to follow after.'

(b) \( wànte \, azūteúpmàngshík \) (30:64)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wán} &= tè \quad \text{a-zū-teúp\text{-}ang} \quad = \text{shík} \\
\text{fire} &= \text{A.AG} \quad \text{NEG\text{-}burn\text{-}throw}\text{-}\text{DIR\textsubscript{1}} \quad = \text{NEG.IMP}\text{-}\text{FINALLY}
\end{align*}
\]
'Stop burning the fire.'

7.4 Utterance final particles

Utterance final particles include the particles \( là \) ‘question’, \( ták \) ‘hearsay’ and \( laká \sim lamà \) ‘mirative’. Structurally, they indicate utterances as questions, reported speech or miratives (surprise or unexpected situations). Syntactically, they follow the \( \text{VCX} \) and may be phonologically bound with the preceding \( \text{CFPS} \). For example, when the hearsay
marking particle *ták* occurs following the realis CFP *mā*, *mā* is reduced to a minor syllable, thus forming the sesquisyllabic word *maták* [mətak] ‘realis-hearsay’. However, structurally they are outside of the verb complex and may also appear following noun phrases.

7.4.1 Hearsay marking

We have already discussed in §7.1.2 that the realis marker *mā* is employed to express an event that really happened or is happening. However, no grammatical marking has been attested to indicate events as eye-witnessed in Kadu. The same marker *mā* ‘realis’ may be employed to indicate a situation that is either eye witnessed or is indisputable common knowledge.

If the situation expressed by the main verb is not the speaker’s first hand knowledge, the term *ták*, glossed as ‘hearsay (HS)’, is obligatorily attached to the VCX following the CFP. We may analyse it as evidential marking, which “... refers to the grammatical marking of the source of evidence for a proposition ...” (Delancey 2001). It may be interpreted as an indirect evidential marker as it indicates the proposition is reported speech or hearsay. Sentences with the term *ták* are illustrated in (566).

(566) (a)  *hīṅgā pōkhāpā nāngmatāk* (15:29)

| hīṅg  | =kā | pōkhā  | =pā | nāng  | =mā  | =ták  |
| 3SG   | =TOP| forest | =ALL| go    | =RLS | =HS   |

*He went to the forest, it is said.*
(b) \textit{ngātēkā tānshēkūtāk} (15:109)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngā} &= \text{tē} = \text{kā} \ tān-shī = \text{kū} = \text{tāk} \\
\text{1SG} &= \text{A.AG} = \text{TOP} \ \text{beat-die} = \text{IRLS} = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]
'(The king) will kill me, it is said.'

(c) \textit{ēk kalinghū ngāpāntāk} (15:113)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ēk} &\ kaling-hū \ ngā = \text{pán} = \text{tāk} \\
\text{wife} &\ \text{two-CLF.person} \ \text{exist} = \text{COS} = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]
'(He) now has two wives, it is said.'

(d) \textit{ēktēkā aphākātāk} (15:9)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ēk} &= \text{tē} = \text{kā} \ a-phāk = \text{á} = \text{tāk} \\
\text{wife} &= \text{A.AG} = \text{TOP} \ \text{NEG-divorce} = \text{NEG} = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]
'(He) didn't divorce (his) wife, it is said.'

\textit{tāk} can also occur following a nominal predicate, as in (567a), or a time adverbial phrase, as in (567b).

(567) (a) \textit{wīqpatūpāqṭyēwī hēyāngmā} (05:6)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wīqpatūpāq} &= \text{tāk} = \text{yeū} \ \text{heū-āng} = \text{mā} \\
\text{PN} &= \text{HS} = \text{SAP} \ \text{tell-DIR₁} = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}
\]
'(He) told (them), (it is) "Wipadupa", it is said.'

(b) \textit{maēuēūtōngtāk sā kalinghū ngāmatāk} (16:1)
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{maēuēūtōng} &= \text{tāk} \ sā \ kaling-hū \ ngā = \text{mā} = \text{tāk} \\
\text{long.long.ago} &= \text{HS} \ \text{son} \ \text{two-CLF.person exist} = \text{IRLS} = \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\]
'Long ago, it is said, there were two sons, it is said.'
The terms *lakà* ~ *lakaú* and *lamà* are interchangeably used to indicate when the situation expressed by the main verb, usually first hand knowledge, is an unexpected one for the speaker. Analogous to the hortative (§7.1.3) and imperative (§7.1.4), the default time reference for the mirative expression is the moment of speaking. Clauses that contain the mirative markers *lakà* and *lamà* are illustrated in (568). The example in (568b) was taken from a story about a giant mythical snake. In that story, during the night the snake would come out from its skin and become a man. He then expressed his love to one of the widow’s daughters and entered into his skin before dawn. One night the widow found the skin and burned it down. When the snake-man came back, to his surprise, he didn’t find his skin.

(568) (a)  
\[\text{cî chēyāhaìng kaũngpeúpánlakà} \] (12:55)  
\[\text{cî chēyā} = \text{haìng} \quad \text{kaũng-peú} = \text{pán} = \text{lakà} \]  
\text{dog footprint} = \text{exclusive} \quad \text{step.on-keep} = \text{COS} = \text{MIR}  
\text{Stepped all over, leaving a dog’s foot prints only.}'

(b)  
\[\text{“ngā salēkà ínpopán lamà”} \] (23:12)  
\[\text{ngā salē} = \text{ká ín-pò} = \text{pán} = \text{lamà} \]  
\[\text{1SG leather} = \text{TOP NEG-exist} = \text{COS} = \text{MIR} \]  
\text{‘My skin/leather exists no longer.’}  

The terms *lakà* and *lamà* are also attested occurring immediately after NPS. These particles occurring with nominals indicate an expression as explanatory, which may be glossed as ‘of course’ or ‘after all’. See example (569a). It was taken from a story where the king ordered his officials to bring someone. The one brought before him
unexpectedly happened to be his younger brother. All my language consultants said that the term *lamà* can be replaced by *lakà*, as in (569b), with no difference in interpretation.

(569) (a)  *ngā nashilamà* (15:75)  (b)  *ngā nashi lakà*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngā nashi} & = \text{lamà} & \text{ngā nashi} & = \text{lakà} \\
1\text{SG younger.brother} & = \text{MIR} & 1\text{SG younger.brother} & = \text{MIR} \\
\text{‘(It’s) my younger brother.’} & & \text{‘(It’s) my younger brother.’}
\end{align*}
\]
CHAPTER 8: THE CLAUSE

We have already looked at various elements that make up the verb complex (VCX) in Chapter 7. In that chapter, it was indicated that the VCX itself in Kadu can be a meaningful clause. In this chapter, I will examine constituent order in the clause (§8.1), different predicate clauses (§8.2) and complementation (§8.3). Interrogative and negative clauses will be discussed in Chapters 9 and 10 respectively, and subordinate clauses in Chapter 11.

8.1 Constituent order

Although Kadu has been in contact with Shan, a verb medial language, for many years and the Kadu lexicon includes many Shan loanwords, its basic word order is consistently verb final. A clause may be a VCX alone or may contain a single NP or several NPs. NPs are optionally followed by nominal relational markers (see Chapter 6) which express semantic case-marking and topic marking. The structure of the noun phrase has been discussed in Chapter 4. The arguments of the clause are often absent if they are retrievable from the context. They are syntactically present when needed for disambiguation. Therefore, the presence and order of NPs in the Kadu clause is, as in Chinese, to signal pragmatic factors rather than grammatical relations (LaPolla 1995:297; 2002). Consider the examples in (570).
(570) (a)  sāngpaláng nāngtè tánshīkū (15:89)

sāngpaláng  nāng  =tè  tán-shī  =kū
king  2SG  =A.AG  beat-die  =IRLS
'The king will kill/beat you to death.'

(b)  nāngtè nga yōkkū (09:26)

nāng  =tè  nga  yōk  =kū
2SG  =A.AG  1SG  eat  =IRLS
'I will eat you.'

The structure with the agent NP preceding the patient NP is illustrated in (570a). The order of agent and patient NP arguments is reversed in (570b). In (570b) the agent of the verb, *nga* ‘1SG’, occurs in the focal position immediately before the verb. Therefore, we can say that the NPs within the clause have pragmatically determined ordering, as in agent > patient > VCX ordering in (570a) and patient > agent > VCX ordering in (570b).

The position of arguments within the clause is rather determined by information structure. This is true of arguments of ditransitive verbs as well. See the discussion of ditransitive verbs in §3.1.2.3.3.

Post-verbal constituents are not generally found in careful speech. However, they are attested in narrative texts that were recorded without prior discussion of what will be recorded. Generally, arguments which occur after the VCX as afterthought constituents are less prominent and are often recoverable from the context. Afterthought constituents generally serve as reminders or clarifications of the arguments. Either the agentive NP, as in (571a), the anti-agentive NP, as in (571b), or both NPs can occur as afterthoughts, as in (571c). Afterthought constituents are presented in { } brackets.
(571) (a)  *hĩng sapùtẽ kasùmpeúlakã hĩngkã*  (08:112)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hĩng} & \equiv tẽ & \text{kasùm-peú} & \equiv \text{lakã} & \{\text{hĩng} & = ká\}_\text{AGENT} \\
3\text{SG} & \equiv \text{horse} & = A.\text{AG} & \text{hide-keep} & = \text{MIR} & 3\text{SG} & = \text{TOP} \\
\text{‘As for him, he hid the horse.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b)  *ngãyĩ katùngkákmã àngpanãq samõntẽ*  (07:48)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngã} & = yí & \text{katùng-kák} & = mā & \{\text{ang} & = \text{panáq} & \text{samón} & = tẽ\}_\text{PATIENT} \\
1\text{SG} & = \text{also} & \text{see-want} & = \text{RLS} & \text{that} & = \text{NOM} & \text{monk} & = A.\text{AG} \\
\text{‘I also want to see the monk.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(c)  *anyeù thók thókyeù òmãnlakã hĩngkã tātmãtẽ*  (18:32)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{an-yeù} & \equiv \text{thók} & \text{thók yeù} & \equiv \text{om-ång} & = \text{lakã} \\
\text{DEM-manner} & \text{ONMT} & \text{REDUP} & \text{SAP} & \text{make-DIR} & = \text{MIR} \\
\{\text{hĩng} & = ká\}_\text{AGENT} & \{\text{tātmí} & = tẽ\}_\text{PATIENT} \\
3\text{SG} & = \text{TOP} & \text{torch} & = A.\text{AG} \\
\text{‘In this manner, he shook the torch “Thok ,Thok.”’}
\end{align*}
\]

8.2 Clause types

Three clause types are discussed, presented in the following order: 8.2.1 Nominal predicate clauses, 8.2.2 Verbal predicate clauses, and 8.2.3 Relative clauses.

8.2.1 Nominal predicate clauses

In nominal predicate clauses, a noun functions as the main predicate. It totally lacks a verb or verbal elements altogether. It usually occurs as two NPs with nothing in between. The second NP functions as the main predicate. Languages like English require the copula verb to be used with nominal predicates as in ‘John is a teacher’. However, it
has been attested crosslinguistically that other languages use a noun as the predicate without any sort of copula or verbal elements. It is also attested in Burmese, as in (572).

(572)  (a)  ῆฏ﹘ ﾆฏ﹘ (Burmese)  (b)  ῆฏ﹘ ﾆฏ﹘ (Burmese)

  thu  ka.  lu  so:  thu  kjaun:  hsaya
  3SG  SUB  person  bad  3SG  school  teacher

'He is a bad person.'  'He is a school teacher.'

Kadu nominal clauses, like the Burmese examples above, are attributive clauses, as in (573) or equational clauses, as in (574).

(573)  (a)  hĩng thĩngsací  (b)  hĩng ósací

  hĩng  thing-sací  hĩng  ósací
  3SG  village-chief  3SG  teacher

'He is a chieftain.'  'He is a teacher.'

(574)  (a)  hĩngamũkã  phãkhũlũ  lakãúé  (15:27)

  hĩng  amú  =kã  phãkhũlũ  =lakãú  =é
  3SG  brother =TOP  PN  =MIR  =SAP

'His older brother is Phakulu.'

(b)  hĩng  nashĩkã  phũlũthaũ  lakãúé  (15:27)

  hĩng  nashĩ  =kã  phũlũthaũ  =lakãú  =é
  3SG  younger.brother =TOP  PN  =MIR  =SAP

'His younger brother was Phuluthau.'

The topic marker, kã (§6.1), in (574a) is optional. It is often employed to disambiguate a free NP from a possessive NP (§4.1.2). If the context is clear to the speaker and hearer,
it is not necessary to insert it. We have already discussed that there is no overt marking on possessor or possessee in Kadu (§4.1.2).

Nominal predicate clauses are also frequently attested with locative predicates, as in (575).

(575) (a)   hîng yangonpè  (b)   hîng cîmpè

hîng   yangon = pè  hîng cîm = pè
3SG  PN  = LOC  3SG  house  = LOC

'He is in Yangon.'  'He is at home.'

8.2.2 Verbal predicate clauses

The verbal predicate clause has a verb as the head of the clause. Independent or main clauses are marked by CFPs (§7.1) and aspectual particles (§7.2.2). Subordinate clauses are marked by subordinate markers in the same position. Subordinate clauses will be discussed in §11.1. We have also discussed patient arguments marked by the anti-agentive marker (A.AG) tè to distinguish the patient argument from the agent (§6.2). However, if the patient argument is an inanimate referent, tè is optional. In Kadu arguments, either agent, patient or recipient, need not be overtly stated when they are recoverable from the context. Verb classes that can take patient arguments are presented in §3.1.2.3.1. Verbs that do not take a patient argument are presented in §3.1.2.3.2. And also verbs that can take patient and goal or recipient arguments are discussed in §3.1.2.3.3. Since most of the examples in this thesis have verbal predicates, I have not given examples in this section.
8.2.3 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Kadu precede the head noun. There is no relative pronoun, such as ‘who’ or ‘whom’ (which signals animate actor and undergoer in English), in Kadu.

Clausal nomination and relative clauses overlap in Kadu. The same nominaliser *panaq* (§3.1.1.2.10) is used in the relative clause construction. Andrews (2007:206) defines relative clauses in the following way. “A relative clause is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of an NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the relative clause.” We have discussed lexical nominalisation in §3.1.1.2.10. In that section, I discussed that a noun may be derived by attaching the term *panaq ~ pín* to the VCX, the term *ting* to a bare verb (§3.1.1.2.10), or by infixation of -*al-* (§3.2.5) to a monosyllabic verb. In this section, we will be looking at clausal nomination.

Relative clauses may indicate restrictive function—either specific or non-specific. The specific restrictive relative clause is signalled by the absence of the realis CFP *mā* and the non-specific restrictive relative clause is indicated by the presence of the irrealis maker *kū*. Compare the two examples in (576).

(576) (a) *hīng nîmpanaq nēyāpēkā* (07:84) (Specific)

[[*hīng nîm* = *panaq*]_{RL} *nēyā*]_{NP} = *pē* = *kā*

3SG stay = NOM place = LOC = TOP

‘At the place he stayed.’
In (576a) the relative clause has a specific restrictive function where the speaker is indicating a specific place—“the place.” However, in (576b) as the irrealis CFP is inserted and so the relative clause has a non-specific restrictive function indicating an indefinite place—“any place” for sleeping.

Multiple relative clauses may modify the same head noun. For example, the example in (577) contains two clauses modifying the head noun tängkaū ‘sword’.

(577) hamántāk ipeúpanáq alōlośa paūzíngpanáq tängkaūtóngyaúk yēkwányokmatāk (15:22)


tängkaū-tóng]NP =yaúk yēk wán-yōk =mā =ták
sword -big =COM hill.field chop-eat =RLS =HS

‘With the sword that was given by the spirits and that appeared by itself, (they) cultivate the land for their livelihood.’

In the following example in (578), the head noun occurs after each modifying clause.

The head noun of the relative clause funtions as the patient argument of the main verb zīman ‘to plan’.
(578) azåktè tuktukûpanaq azîasîn pahôzîtè phyâttakûpanaq azîasîntè hîngkà zîmântapàn (07:23)

[[azåk = tè tûk-ta = kû = panåq]PN azîazîn]NP
PN = A.AG battle-L.SUFF = IRLS = NOM plan

[[pahôzî = tè phyât-ta = kû = panåq]PN azîazîn]NP = tè
drum = A.AG destroy-L.SUFF = IRLS = NOM plan = A.AG

hîng = kâ zîmân-ta = pân
3SG = TOP plan-L.SUFF = COS

‘He makes a plan for battle and a plan to destroy the drum and the Kadu (Asak) people.’

Relative clauses may also used with a non-restrictive function. In those cases, the relative clauses appears as appositional phrases, as illustrated in (579). Notice the example in (579a) is an afterthought sentence, therefore the topic NP appears after the verbal predicate.

(579) (a) phû ìnlìyeûkà aômyeûnà malèq ìyànpìn sèktàkkà (17:31)

phû ìn-lû = yeû = kâ a-ôm-yeûn = á
silver NEG-get = SAP = TOP NEG-make-can = NEG

[malèq [[ìyàn = pîn]îPL sèk-tàk]NP = kà
1PL poor = NOM person-PL = TOP

‘We, the poor, without getting payment/money, can’t work.’

(b) acî tôngpanaq nanù hákmà (AKYS)

[acî [[ tông = panåq] nanù]NP hák = mà
elephant big = NOM animal roar = RLS

‘The elephant, the big animal, roars.’
The personal pronouns discussed in §3.2.3 usually do not occur as the head noun of a restrictive relative clause. However, nouns such as sèk ‘person’ and tamisā ‘other people’ can take up this position. The term sèk occurs more frequently than tamisā. See the illustrations given in (580).

(580) (a) \textit{matàk zíngyökpanáq tamisātè iyàngmatàk} (04:19)

matàk \text{[[zíngyök = panáq]_{rl}. tamisā]_{np} = tè \ i-àng = mā = ták}  
3PL order = NOM human = A.AG give-DIR, = RLS = HS  
‘They gave a servant girl (Lit. the ordered one), it is said.’

When the term sèk is used as the head noun of a relative clause, the relativising form pín occurs much more commonly than its alternate form panáq, as in (581).

(581) (a) \textit{alākākpín sèk} (13:5)

[[a-lā-kāk = pín]_{rl.} sèk]_{np}  
NEG-take-want = NOM person  
‘(A) jealous person’ (Lit. a person who does not want)

(b) \textit{yēk wányōkpin sèk} (13:14)

[yēk wán-yōk = pín]_{rl.} sèk]_{np}  
hill.field chop-eat = NOM person  
‘(A) farmer’ (Lit. a person who cuts to eat)

The term sèk is often conventionalised to the point where a nominaliser panáq or pín is no longer required and it may alone function as a nominaliser, as in (582).
The head noun of relative clauses may be followed by nominal relational markers to indicate its semantic relationship with the main verb. For example, the head noun of a relative clause represents a location in (576a), an agent argument in (580b), and an anti-agentive argument in (580a).

8.3 Complementation

This section examines complementation, particularly sentential complementation, in Kadu. Sentential complementation, according to Noonan (2007:59), involves a syntactic situation in which a sentence or a clause is an argument of a predicate. It may either function as the agentive or anti-agentive argument of that predicate. Three complement
types are discussed in the following sections: (a) embedded complement, (b) embedding with the particle yeù, and (c) nominalised complement.

8.3.1 Embedded clauses

In Kadu, independent finite clauses may be embedded as a complement of the main verb. The embedded clause as a complement of the main verb will appear as it is when it is used as an independent clause before a verbal predicate. Without overt marking on the complement clause, the main clause and complement clause are syntactically independent. This kind of embedding is common with direct quote complement of utterance verbs such as ngaú ‘say’ and heú ‘tell’. Some cognition verbs such as teútpū ‘hear’ and mānták ‘guess’ can also take direct embedded clauses. The following examples illustrate embedding of finite declarative clauses, an irrealis clause in (583a), and a realis clause in (583b), as the quotation complement of the utterance verb ngaú ‘say’. For clarity, embedded clauses are bracketed with { }.

(583) (a) zōkshiwaleú laîngthàkū ngaúmā (15:145)

\{zōkshī waleú lā-îng-thà =kū\} **ngau** =mā

breast liquid take-DIR,must =IRLS **say** =RLS

‘(He) said “(you) will have to bring dragon’s milk.”’

(b) tāngngā yōkkākmā ngaúmā (26:4)

\{tāngngā yōk-kāk =mā\} **ngaú** =mā

fish eat-want =RLS **say** =RLS

‘He said “(I) want to eat fish.”’
The example in (584) illustrates an embedded clause with an utterance verb *heú* ‘say’.

(584) *katùningmá heúmá* (08:120)

{katùng-ing = mā} heú = mā
see-DIR2 = RLS tell = RLS

'He told (him) “(I) he saw (them).”'

An interrogative sentence may be embedded as a complement clause of the utterance verb *zingyū* ‘ask’, as in (585)

(585) *nāng halá ngālā zingyūmā* (AKYS)

{nāng halá ngā = lá} zingyū = mā
2SG husband exist = Q ask = RLS

‘(He) asked “do you have a husband?.”’

8.3.2 Embedding clauses with *yeù*

Clauses that are embedded may be optionally marked by the particle *yeù*. Throughout this thesis I have glossed this morpheme as ‘SAP’ because it frequently occurs at the end of utterances like many speaker attitude particles (§3.3.5). However, this morpheme also often appears as a complementiser immediately following an embedded clause. See the illustrations in (586).

(586) (a) *naká zökshiwaleú lāthàküyeù ngaúmaták* (15:84)

{naká zökshi-waleú lā-thà = kū} = yeù ngaú = mā = ták
dragon breast-liquid take-must = IRLS = SAP say = RLS = HS

‘(He) said to (me) “(You) will have to bring dragon’s milk.”’
(b)  **túkháq thōknímpányeù hákmatak**  (13:25)

\[
\{\text{tókháq thōk-ním } = \text{pán}\} = \text{yéù hák } = \text{mā } = \text{ták}
\]
trouble arrive-stay = COS = SAP shout = RLS = HS

'(He) shouted, "(I) am in trouble", it is said.'

In the presence of the particle yéù, the main clause predicate can be dropped. This is particularly common with the utterance verbs *ngáu* ‘say’ and *zingyū* ‘ask’, as illustrated in (587).

(587)  (a)  **acíceù phúngtakó tóngmāyeù (ngaúmā)**  (07:7)

\[
\{\text{acíceù phúngtakó tóng } = \text{mā}\} = \text{yéù (ngaú } = \text{mā)}
\]
extensively glory.power big = RLS = SAP say = RLS

'(He said) that (the king) is so powerful.'

(b)  **ngayeún īkákláyeù (zingyū mā)**  (08:108)

\[
\{\text{ngā } = \text{yeún i-kák } = \text{lá}\} = \text{yéù (zingyū } = \text{mā)}
\]
1SG = BEN give-want = Q = SAP ask = RLS

'(He) asked “Do you want to give (it) to me?”'

The insertion of yéù after a complement clause is necessary with other utterance verbs.

This is illustrated using the verb *peùt* ‘lie’, as in (588).

(588)  **híng míngsàhàmāyeùq peùttamā**  (AKYS)

\[
\{\text{híng míngsàhà } = \text{mā}\} = \text{yéù peùt-ta } = \text{mā}
\]
3SG know = RLS = SAP lie--L.SUFF = RLS

'(He) lied that he understood.'
8.3.3 Embedding of nominalised clauses

For certain types of verbs the clause it takes as a complement is nominalised. With realis embedded clauses the CFP is obligatorily deleted and the clause is followed by the nominaliser *panáq*. However, with irrealis embedded complement clauses, the irrealis marker *kū* is obligatorily retained in its position to indicate a hypothetical statement, which is then followed by the nominaliser *panáq*. This type of nominalised complement clause is common with indirect quote complement of speech act verbs, attention verbs, propositional attitude verbs, and verbs of evaluation. Some examples of complement clauses, bracketed with { }, are illustrated in (589).

(589) (a) *weúkúpanáq meúmā* (AKYS)

{weúkú = *panáq*} meú = mā
bathe = NOM good = RLS
'To swim/bathe is good.'

(b) *ngatè yökküpanáq ínngauwàngsà* (09:89)

ngā = tè yök = kū = panáq ín-ngau-ång = sà
1SG = A.AG eat = IRLS = NOM NEG-say-DIR1 = NEG.IMP
'Don’t say that you will eat me.'

Complement clauses with attention verbs and propositional attitude verbs may be optionally followed by the anti-agentive marker *tè*. 
(590)  (a)  *phú nátcípanáqtè katüngmäseú (17:42)

phú  nát-cí  =  panáq  =  tè  katüng  =  mā  =  seú
silver  use-pl  =  nom  =  A.AG  see  =  RLS  =  SAP

‘I saw that other people spent the money.’

(b)  híng ngaúpanáqtè yúngtamáq (AKYS)

híng  ngaú  =  panáq  =  tè  yúng-ta  =  mā
3sg  say  =  nom  =  A.AG  believe-L.SUFF  =  RLS

‘I believe what she said.’

Complement clauses with evaluation verbs and the insertion of an anti-agentive tè are considered ungrammatical, as in (591a). However, the topic marker ká following the nominalised clause is grammatical, as in (591b).

(591)  (a)  *shíshá-ták ceúpanáqtè āntān meúmā (AKYS)

shíshá-ták  ceú  =  panáq  =  tè  āntān  meú  =  mā
child-pl  sing  =  nom  =  A.AG  quite  good  =  RLS

(b)  híng ēmpanáqká āntān kánñá (AKYS)

híng  ēm  =  panáq  =  ká  āntān  kán  =  mā
3sg  make  =  nom  =  TOP  quite  bad  =  RLS

‘What she did was very bad.’

It is also common to find independent clauses occurring with the nominalised phrase ngaúpanáq (‘say’ + ‘nominaliser’) which may be translated into English as ‘as it is to say that’ or ‘as it is the fact that’.

421
(592) (a)  *hīng míngsahāmā ngaūpaŋ yūŋtamāŋ* (AKYS)

hīng  míngsahā = mā  ngaū  = paŋaŋ  yūŋ-ta  = mā
3SG  know    = RLS  say    = NOM  trust-L.SUFF = RLS

'It is to say that I believe/trust that he knows (it).'

(b)  *hānīng òmpān yōkluŋ ngaūpaŋ míngsahā mā* (17:83)

{hā = ning  ōm  = pān  yōk-ľū  = kū  ngaū  = paŋaŋ}

mīngsahā = mā
know    = RLS

'I know what (one) needs to do to survive.'
CHAPTER 9: INTERROGATIVES

This chapter looks at yes/no questions, alternative questions, tag questions and WH-questions in Kadu. Some WH-questions words are also used as indefinite pronouns in Kadu and will be discussed subsequently.

9.1 Yes/No interrogatives

The term yes/no interrogative or polar interrogative is used to refer to interrogative clauses for which the expected answer is “yes” or “no.” Yes/no questions in Kadu are formed by simply adding either of the two interrogative particles lá and kà at the end of the phrase. The particle lá is employed with a VCX and kà with a NP. They may be translated as “is it the case that x?” or “is it x?”, respectively. The answer to yes/no questions can be simply affirmation or disaffirmation. The Kadu interrogative particle lá is clearly a reflex of the PTB question particle *la. Matisoff (2033:231) reconstructed the Proto-Tibeto-Burman interrogative particle as *la on the basis of Burmese ∞∞: <la> yes/no question particle, Lahu lá ‘id’ and Newari lá ‘id’ and Meitei la ~ le ‘id’.

Consider the examples illustrated in (593).

(593) (a)  nāṅg halá ngālā  (08:94)

\[
\text{nāṅg} \quad \text{halá} \quad \text{ngā} \quad = \text{lā} \\
\text{2SG} \quad \text{husband} \quad \text{exist} \quad = \text{Q}
\]

‘Do you have a husband?’
(b) \textit{leútsaúng íyànglā} (08:41)

\begin{align*}
\text{leútsaúng} & \hspace{1em} \text{i-ång} = \text{lá} \\
\text{gift} & \hspace{1em} \text{give-DIR} = \text{Q} \\
\end{align*}

'Did you give the gift?'

(c) \textit{salàshiká ngayeún íkáklá} (08:108)

\begin{align*}
\text{salà-shí} & \hspace{1em} \text{= ká} \hspace{1em} \text{ngā} = \text{yeún} \hspace{1em} \text{i-kák} = \text{lá} \\
\text{banana-CLT.fruit} & \hspace{1em} \text{= TOP} \hspace{1em} \text{1SG} = \text{BEN} \hspace{1em} \text{give-want} = \text{Q} \\
\end{align*}

'Do you want to give the banana to me?'

The question particle \textit{lá} can also occur with a negated \textit{VCX}. When \textit{lá} occurs with a negated \textit{VCX}, the negative clitic \textit{= á} is absent, as in (594). This happen when the speaker is asking whether “someone is willing to do \textit{X}” or if the counter proposition is true. In (594), the speaker presupposes that the person being questioned wants to do \textit{X}.

(594) (a) \textit{aswángkáklá nāng} (07:37)

\begin{align*}
\text{a-swáng-kák} & \hspace{1em} \text{= lá} \hspace{1em} \text{nāng} \\
\text{NEG-rich-want} & \hspace{1em} \text{= Q} \hspace{1em} \text{2SG} \\
\end{align*}

'Don't you want to be rich?' (I assume you do)

(b) \textit{salàshí íkáklá} (08:109)

\begin{align*}
\text{salà-shí} & \hspace{1em} \text{a-ĭ-kák} = \text{lá} \\
\text{banana-CLT.fruit} & \hspace{1em} \text{NEG-give-want} = \text{Q} \\
\end{align*}

'Don’t you want to give me the banana?’ (I assume you do)
The positive responses to the questions in (594) are given in (595).

(595)  (a)  \( \text{swáŋgkákmá} \)  (b)  \( \text{ikákmá} \)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{swáŋg-kák} & = \text{mā} & \text{i-kák} & = \text{mā} \\
\text{rich-want} & = \text{RLS} & \text{give-want} & = \text{RLS} \\
\text{‘Yes, I do.’} & & \text{‘Yes, I do.’}
\end{align*}
\]

In must be noted that there are no words in Kadu that are equivalent to the English words \textit{yes} or \textit{no}. In order to give a \textit{yes} (affirmative) answer the affirmative clause is used and to give a \textit{no} (disaffirmative) answer the negated clause is used. Therefore, the answer to example (594a) could be simply \textit{swáŋgkákmá} “Yes, (I) do” as in (595a), or \textit{ínswáŋgkáká} “No, (I) don’t.”

Realis and irrealis distinctions can also be made in interrogative mood sentences. Absence of the realis marker \textit{mā} in interrogative sentence indicates a realis mood, as in (593a). The irrealis interrogative mood is made by adding \textit{[kə]}, the reduced form of \textit{kū} ‘irrealis’, preceding the interrogative particle \textit{lá}, as shown in (596).

(596)  (a)  \( \text{ngā káþphángkalah} \) (18:70)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngā} & \quad \text{kát-pháng} & = \text{kū} & = \text{lá} \\
1\text{SG} & \quad \text{run-prior} & = \text{IRLS} & = \text{Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Shall I run first?’

(b)  \( \text{liyáco}kalah \) (18:86)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{li-à-cí} & = \text{kū} & = \text{lá} \\
\text{come-EUPH-PL} & = \text{IRLS} & = \text{Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Will (you) come?’
The interrogative marker can also be preceded by the CFP *pán* ‘COS’, as shown in (597).

The structure *pán* followed by *lá* simply questions a change of state situation which may be translated into English as “has it *v*?”

(597) (a)  *thōnkā phaūpānlā* (30:20)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{thōn} & = \text{kā phaū} = \text{pān} = \text{lá} \\
\text{mortar} & = \text{TOP wash} = \text{COS} = \text{Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Have you washed the mortar?’

(b)  *tānō tōngpānlā* (30:27)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tānō} & = \text{pān} = \text{lá} \\
\text{pot} & = \text{place} = \text{COS} = \text{Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Have you placed the pot?’

The question particle *lá* cannot directly follow a nominal (copula) sentence to ask “is *x* *v*?.” Instead the morpheme *kā*, identical with the topic marker except for having a low tone, is employed. This is illustrated in (598a).

(598) (a)  *nāng hamānkā* (07:105)  (b)  *nāng hamānlā*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nāng} & = \text{hamān} = \text{kā} \\
\text{2SG spirit} & = \text{Q} \quad \text{nāng} & = \text{hamān} = \text{lá} \\
\text{2SG spirit} & = \text{Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Are you a spirit?’

Some more examples with the question particle *kā* are given in (599).

(599) (a)  *nāng tamīsākā* (12:14)  (b)  *hāpēkā* (18:63)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nāng} & = \text{tamīsā} = \text{kā} \\
\text{2SG human} & = \text{Q} \quad \text{hā} & = \text{pē} = \text{kā} \\
\text{WH} & = \text{LOC} = \text{Q}
\end{align*}
\]

‘Are you a human?’  ‘Where is it?’
9.2 Alternative questions

The speakers of Kadu reported that yes/no questions in Kadu can also be expressed by an alternative interrogative expression such as “Is something X or not X.” Though I have not attested this alternative question in my corpus, my language consultants said that it is common in their day-to-day speech. In this construction, the speaker provides two possible answers and the hearer is to choose the answer from one of these two possibilities. The affirmative clause usually appears first and the negated form then follows, as shown in (600).

(600)  (a)  \textit{atá yōkmeúlá, ayōkmeúlá} (AKYS)

\begin{align*}
\text{atá} & \quad \text{yōk-meú} = \text{lá} \quad \text{a-yōk-meú} = \text{lá} \\
\text{rice} & \quad \text{eat-good} = \text{Q} \quad \text{NEG-eat-good} = \text{Q} \\
\text{'Is it good to eat or not?'}
\end{align*}

(b)  \textit{nāng nāngkalá, anāngkalá} (AKYS)

\begin{align*}
\text{nāng} & \quad \text{nāng} = \text{kū} = \text{lá} \quad \text{a-nāng} = \text{kū} = \text{lá} \\
\text{2SG} & \quad \text{go} = \text{IRLS} = \text{Q} \quad \text{NEG-go} = \text{IRLS} = \text{Q} \\
\text{'Will you go or will you not go?'}
\end{align*}

9.3 Tag questions

The other way to signal an interrogative in Kadu is to tag on a short question which may be translated into English as “O.K.?; right?” at the end of the clause. The tag question is formed by the verb \textit{chē} ‘true’ followed by the question particle \textit{lá}. The tag question is usually reduplicated, thus forming \textit{V₁} + \text{Q} + \textit{V₁} + \text{Q} or used as alternative question \textit{V₁} + \text{Q} + \text{NEG} \textit{V₁} + \text{Q}. It is often heard as \textit{V₁} + (\text{Q}) + (\text{NEG}) \textit{V₁} + \text{Q}. There is tone
sandhi on the second token of chi. It usually takes the high tone. In fast speech, the lä between the verbs changes its tone from high to mid and it is often omitted in fast speech. The intonation of the four syllable taq question is mid-mid-high-low, see line one of (601). In my morpheme analysis, line two, however, the underlying tone is shown.

(601) (a) *tamisātākkā tāyātapē nīmpīlakē *chilāchīlā* (10:47)

tamisā-tāk = kā tāyā-ta = pē nīm-cī = lākē
human-PL = TOP pleasant-L.SUFF = LOC stay-PL = MIR

chi (= lā) chi = lā
ttrue (= Q) true = Q

‘People live in pleasant places, isn’t that true?’

(b) *lūpāngseū phūpalōt ngōnpalōt chilāchīlā* (07:40,41))

lū = pān = seū phū-palōt ngōn-palōt
get = COS = SAP silver-heap gold-heap

chi (= lā) (a-)chī = lā
ttrue (= Q) (NEG-)true = Q

‘(He) got heaps of gold and silver, isn’t that true?’

9.4 *WH*- questions

Kadu *WH*- questions are formed by attaching the *WH*-word forming morphemes, *ma* or *ha*, glossed as ‘*WH*’, to specific nominals or nominal postpositions. They are interchangeably used and may be reduced to *ma* [mə] and *ha* [hə]. However, the occurrence of *ma* is much more frequent than *ha* in my corpus. These forms are obligatorily followed by postpositions or other nouns to specify what type of question is
being asked. The WH-words cannot be directly followed by nominal class terms or numeral classifiers. Kadu question words, as in many other languages, are used to indicate that the clause is a question and to indicate what information is being requested (Payne 1997:299-300). The WH-word remains in-situ, in the slot where the referent being questioned would normally occur. A WH- question clause with a verbal prediccate takes the question particle ِlā and a nominal predicate takes the question particle ِkā. The question-word forms of Kadu are listed in Table 29.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WH-word</th>
<th>Postpositions/nouns</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mànɡ</td>
<td>‘thing’</td>
<td>‘what’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hameuí</td>
<td>‘person’</td>
<td>‘who’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nĩng ~ nĩngyeù</td>
<td>‘manner’</td>
<td>‘how’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naík</td>
<td>‘many’</td>
<td>‘how many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neúq</td>
<td>‘much’</td>
<td>‘how much’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pà</td>
<td>‘ablative’</td>
<td>‘where to’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pè</td>
<td>‘locative’</td>
<td>‘where at’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haík</td>
<td>‘allative’</td>
<td>‘where from’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panáq</td>
<td>‘nominaliser’</td>
<td>‘which one’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 29: WH-words in Kadu

9.4.1  *hamàng* ‘what’

The WH-word ِmà ~ ِhà followed by the term mànɡ, glossed as ‘thing’, forms the ‘what’ question word. It has a non-human implication. The ‘what’ question word in Kadu is illustrated in (602) and (603).
(602) nāngkà hà =màng =kà lā-kāk = lá
2SG TOP WH =thing = Q take-want = Q
‘What do you want to take?’

(603) nāng satóngtèà mamàngkà pweúq ikalá (04:26)
nāng satóng = tè mà =màng = kà pweúq í = kū = lá
2SG grandchild = A.AG WH =thing = Q degree give = IRLS = Q
‘What royal title (Lit. degree) will you give to your grandchild?’

9.4.2 manaīk ‘how many’

The WH-word mà followed by the term naīk, glossed as ‘many’, forms the ‘how many’ question word. It is used with count nouns. Though my language consultants said that hà may also occur in this position, using mà before naīk is much more natural. In my corpus, hà- is not attested occurring with naīk. The question word mà plus naīk is used to inquire about the quantity and measurement of something. This question word is always followed by a classifier (Chapter 5) in order to clarify the specific referent that is being asked about. This is illustrated in (604).

(604) (a) manaīksatá (28:4)

mà =naīk-satá
WH = many-CLF.month
‘How many months?’
(b)  *manaiksauk* (07:27)

\[
\text{mà} = \text{naik}-\text{salaíuk} \\
\text{WH} = \text{many}-\text{CLF.cubit}
\]

'How many feet?'

(c)  *manaikhú pūwingkalá* (10:4)

\[
\text{mà} = \text{naik}-\text{hú} \quad \text{pū-ìng} = \text{kú} = \text{lá} \\
\text{WH} = \text{many}-\text{CLF.person} \quad \text{emerge-DIR₂} = \text{IRLS} = \text{Q}
\]

'How many (of you) will come out?'

9.4.1 *màneúq* ‘how much’

The WH-word *mà* followed by the term *neúq*, glossed as ‘as much as’, forms the question word ‘how much’ in Kadu. It is used with mass nouns to inquire about the amount or approximation of something. This question word cannot be followed by a classifier. This is exemplified in (605).

(605)  (a)  *maneúq kalàng kátningthálá* (18:80)

\[
\text{mà} = \text{neúq} \quad \text{kalàng} \quad \text{kát-ìng-thà} = \text{lá} \\
\text{WH} = \text{as.much.as} \quad \text{approximate} \quad \text{run-DIR₂-must} = \text{Q}
\]

'How much distance have (you) come running?'

(b)  *anáq sāngsūng maneúq ìnglā* (AKYS)

\[
\text{anáq} \quad \text{sāngsūng} \quad \text{mà} = \text{neúq} \quad \text{ì-ìng} = \text{lá} \\
\text{this} \quad \text{shirt} \quad \text{WH} = \text{as.much.as} \quad \text{give-DIR} = \text{Q}
\]

'How much did you pay for this shirt?'

The term *neúq* may also occur with other nouns to denote an approximation of something (§6.8). An example of this type is illustrated in (606).
(606) tóngmótá mōkshāneúq tóngpingták (06:25)

tóngmótá  mōkshā = neúq  tóng = píng = ták
3yr.old calf(cow) = as.much.as big = DIR₂;COS = HS

‘(The lizard) grew to about the size of a three year old calf.’

9.4.2 màhameú ‘who’

The wh-word mà followed by the term hameú, glossed as ‘person’, forms the question word ‘who’ in Kadu. It is used to refer to humans and is illustrated in (607).

(607) (a) nāngkā màhameúkà (12:26)

nāng = ká mà = hameú = kà
2SG = TOP wh = person = Q

‘Who are you?’

(b) ngakā màhameúyaúk nīmkalá (15:38)

ngā = ká mà = hameú = yaúk nīm = kū = lá
1SG = TOP wh = person = COM stay = IRLS = Q

‘With whom will I stay?’

9.4.3 manīng ‘how’ or ‘in which manner’

The wh-word mà followed by the term nīng ~ nīngyeû, glossed as ‘like’ (§11.1.6), forms the question word ‘how’ or ‘in which manner’ in Kadu. It is used to inquire about the manner in which something is done or has been done. This is illustrated in (608).
(608) (a)  \textit{maningyeu omkalá} (07:8)
\[\text{mà=ningyeu òm} = \text{kū} = \text{lá} \]
\[\text{WH=manner} \text{ make} = \text{IRLS} = \text{Q} \]
'How shall (we) do?'

(b)  \textit{maning peukalá} (11:46)
\[\text{mà=nìng peú} = \text{kū} = \text{lá} \]
\[\text{WH=manner} \text{ keep} = \text{IRLS} = \text{Q} \]
'How shall we keep/place (them)?'

9.4.4  \textit{màpanáq} ‘which one’

The \textit{WH}- word \textit{mà-} followed by the nominaliser \textit{panáq} (§3.1.1.2.10) forms the question word ‘which one’ or ‘which thing’ in Kadu. This is illustrated in (609).

(609) (a)  \textit{màpanáq amaùngsákà} (15:107)
\[\text{mà=panáq amaùng-sà} = \text{kà} \]
\[\text{WH=NOM} \text{ boy-DIM} = \text{Q} \]
'Which boy is it?'

(b)  \textit{mapanáq kalùnkà} (07:27)
\[\text{mà=panáq kalùn} = \text{kà} \]
\[\text{WH=NOM} \text{ plant} = \text{Q} \]
'Which tree is it?'

9.4.5  \textit{hàpà} \textit{~ màpà} ‘where to’

The \textit{WH}-word \textit{mà} or \textit{hà} followed by the allative marker \textit{pà} (§6.4) forms the question word ‘where to’ or ‘which direction’ in Kadu. This is illustrated in (610).
The **WH**-word *mà* followed by the locative marker *pè* (§6.3) forms the question word ‘where at’ or ‘which place’ in Kadu. It is used to ask about the location of the action.

This is illustrated in (611).

(611) (a)  *nāngkā hàpè īpkalā* (18:15)

nāng  =kā  hà  =pè  īp  =kū  =lā
2SG  =TOP  WH  =LOC  sleep  =IRLS  =Q

‘Where (which place) will you sleep?’

(b)  *hàpè nāngthākālā* (25:6)

hā  =pè  nāng-thā  =kū  =lā
WH  =LOC  go-must  =IRLS  =Q

‘Where (which place) will (I) have to go?’
9.4.7  *hamàng ngātēq*  ‘why’

The cause or reason is questioned by the clausal expression *hamàng ngātēq* (WH-thing be reason/for) ‘for what reason, why?’. It is the only place in my corpus where the form *tēq* is attested. It is probably an allomorph of the anti-agentive marker *tè*.

(612) (a)  *hamàng ngātēq omlá nāng* (07:107)

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{hā} & = & \text{māṅ} & \text{ngā} & = & \text{tēq} \\
\text{WH} & = & \text{thing} & \text{exist} & = & \text{reason} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{óm} & = & \text{lā} & \text{nāng} \\
\text{make} & = & \text{Q} & \text{2SG} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Why did you do that?’

(b)  *nāngkā hamàng ngātēq hāplá* (25:158)

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{nāng} & = & \text{kā} & \text{hā} & = & \text{māṅ} \\
\text{2SG} & = & \text{TOP} & \text{WH} & = & \text{thing} \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ngā} & = & \text{tēq} & \text{hāp} & = & \text{lā} \\
\text{exist} & = & \text{reason} & \text{weep} & = & \text{Q} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘Why did you cry?’

9.5  **WH-question word as indefinite pronouns**

*WH*-question words in Kadu may also function as indefinite pronouns denoting notions such as ‘ whoever’, ‘ whatever’, ‘ wherever’, ‘ anyone’, or ‘ anything’. There is no distinction of positive or negative indefinite pronouns, such as in English *everyone* and *anyone*, respectively. In Kadu, the positive indefinite pronouns are formed by the *WH*-words followed by the structures *thākākthā* (be-want-be) or *ngaūkākngau* (say-want-say). To express negative indefinite pronouns such as ‘ nobody’ or ‘ no one’, the *WH*-words may be optionally followed by *yī* ‘ also’, and the matrix verb is negated.
Examples of wh-question words functioning as indefinite pronouns provided by my Kadu consultants are illustrated in (613) - (615).

(613) ‘whoever’

(a) mâhameú thàkákhà lì

mà = hameú thà-kák-thà lì
WH = person be-want-be come

‘Come someone/anyone.’

(b) mâhameúyí alicí (4:21)

mà- = hameú yī a-li-cí
WH = person also NEG-come-PL

‘Nobody/no one came.’

(614) ‘whatever’

(a) hamâng thàkákhà öm

hà = mànâng thà-kák-thà öm
WH = thing be-want-be do

‘Do whatever!’ or ‘Do anything!’, or ‘Do something!’

(b) mâhameúyí aômá

hà- = mànâng yī a-öm = á
WH = thing also NEG-do = NEG

‘(He) didn’t do anything.’
(615) ‘wherever’

(a)  hàpè thàkákhà nāng

   hà =pè thà-kák-thà nāng
   WH =LOC be-want-be go

   ‘Go somewhere/anywhere.’

(b)  hàpè thàkákhà anāngsà

   hà- =pè yí a-nāng =sà
   WH =LOC also NEG-go =IMP.NEG

   ‘Don’t go anywhere.’
CHAPTER 10: NEGATION

Negation indicates events, situations, or states of affairs that are not true. In addition, it is also used to indicate that an event that has not come to realisation. Nouns in Kadu are not negated. Negation is a property of verbs, either action or stative verbs, in Kadu.

Verbs in Kadu are negated by double negation–proclitic and enclitic. The verb complex in Kadu can have more than one verb (§3.1.2.2). However, the negative proclitic never occurs on secondary verbs or on post verb modifiers; instead it must always precede the main verb. The negative enclitic occurs at the end of the VCX.

10.1 The structure of negative clauses

There are two negative proclitics, \( a^- \) and \( í^- \) in Kadu. Either one, as in (616), or both of them, as in (617b), is attached before the main verb and the enclitic \( = á \) follows the VCX. Consider the examples in (616).

\[
\begin{align*}
(616) \quad & (a) \quad záŋkōk \; atóngá \; (06:4) \\
& záŋkōk \quad a-tóng \quad = \á \\
& \text{lizard} \quad \text{NEG-big} \quad = \neg \\
& \text{‘The lizard is not big.’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
(b) \quad & záŋkōk \; ɪngĩngsāq \; íntóngá \; (06:5) \\
& záŋkōk \quad ɪngĩng-sà \quad ín-tóng \quad = \á \\
& \text{lizard} \quad \text{tiny-DIM} \quad \text{NEG-big} \quad = \neg \\
& \text{‘Lizard was a tiny one, not big.}
\end{align*}
\]
(c)  ngākā ngón aômá (17:29)

ngā = ká ngón a-ôm = á
1SG = TOP gold NEG-make = NEG
'I don’t make/mine gold.'

The two negative proclitics, ìn- and a-, can be used interchangeably but a- occurs more frequently than the ìn-. However, the native speakers of Kadu say that ìn- has a stronger sense of emphasis than a-. They may also occur together. When they both occur in a single verb complex the ìn- always precedes the a-, as in (617b). The use of two negative proclitics in a single VCX denotes extremely strong negative emphasis. We may relate the etymology of the proclitic a- to *ma, the PTB negator as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003:488).

(617)  (a)  wíqpatupáq achiyá (04:35)

wíqpatupáq a-chí = á
PN NEG-true = NEG
'It is not Wipatuba.'

(b)  ngā ínanímmaùkkáká (15:5)

ngā ín-a-ním-maùk-kák = á
1SG NEG-NEG-stay-together-want = NEG
'I don’t want to live together (with your sons).’ (I really mean it)

Regarding the development of the negative prefix ìn-, native speakers of Kadu explained that when they are speaking loudly to someone at a distance, it is very difficult to say the unstressed negative prefix a-. In that case, they would prefer to use
ínr-. This morpheme is also similar to the negation marker of Turung\textsuperscript{30} which is a syllabic nasal /n/. I have repeated the example (616b) for comparison in (618b).

\begin{equation}
(618) \text{(a) Turung example (Morey 2011:627)}
\end{equation}

\begin{align*}
turung & \text{ thah go pheyn n-khat} \\
\text{Turung with TOP war NEG-fight} \\
\text{They did not fight the Turungs.}
\end{align*}

\begin{equation}
(618) \text{(b) } zángkōk \text{ íngingsáq íntóngá (06:5)}
\end{equation}

\begin{align*}
zángkōk & \text{ ínging-sà ín-tóng = á} \\
lizard & \text{ tiny-DIM NEG-big = NEG} \\
\text{The lizard was a tiny bit, not big.}
\end{align*}

The use of two negative proclitics could be the result of merging two dialects together or the development of different stages over time. The \textit{a-} prefix is probably older and \textit{ínr-} is probably more recent. Due to the limit of time and scope, I will not go deeply into the etymology of these negative proclitics. If time permits, it will definitely be an interesting topic to explore further.

In fast speech, when the initial phoneme of the main verb is a high front vowel, the negative \textit{a-} is often not heard. However, the negative meaning of the clause can still be recoverable from the negative enclitic = á, as in (619).

\textsuperscript{30} Turung is a variety of Jingpho spoken in Northeast India (see Morey 2011).
The speakers of Kadu often use a structure of \((X, \text{but not } X)\) for strong negative emphatic expressions. In this structure the same verb is repeated and they are usually linked by the morpheme \(\text{zeú} ‘\text{even}’ (§11.1.4)\) or \(\text{yí ‘also}’ (§11.2)\). \(\text{yí}\) is the most frequent in this position. Usually, the first verb is positive and the second verb is negative. A more elaborate structure of this type may be presented as \((V_1 - \text{yí } -\text{not-}V_1)\).

In this kind of expression, the negative proclitic \(a\)- is often not heard.
Before we look in detail at the negative enclitic \( = \dot{a} \), it is a good idea to remind ourselves of the two phonological processes, fusion and linking, that I discussed in §2.8. These processes are illustrated in (621) and (622).

(621) fusion: with identical vowels \((a + a = a)\)

(a) \( aōmḥā \) (13:12)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{a-ōm-hā} &= \dot{a} \\
\text{NEG-make-know.how} &= \text{NEG} \\
\text{‘don’t know how to do.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) \( phōnhaïng athā \) (30:31)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{phōn} &= haïng \quad a-thā &= \dot{a} \\
\text{wood} &= \text{EXCLUSIVE} \quad \text{NEG-be} &= \text{NEG} \\
\text{‘only wood won’t burn’}
\end{align*}
\]

(622) linking: (i) following /p/ and /t/ the nasals /m/ and /n/ are inserted, respectively. (ii) following the front vowels /i, e, eu/, /y/ is inserted. (iii) following the back vowels /u, o, au/, /w/ is inserted.

(a) \( shīzeū anauțnā \) (19:10)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{shī} &= zeū \quad a-nauț &= \dot{a} \quad [\text{nauț -nā}] \\
\text{medicine} &= \text{even} \quad \text{NEG-feed} &= \text{NEG} \\
\text{‘(You) didn’t give me medicines.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) \( kasāzeūačhīyā \) (18:58)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kasā} &= zeū \quad a-chī &= \dot{a} \quad [\text{chī -yá}] \\
\text{tiger} &= \text{even} \quad \text{NEG-true} &= \text{NEG} \\
\text{‘It’s not even a tiger.’}
\end{align*}
\]
(c)  *kuqt* alūwá  (26:30)  

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kúqtó} & \quad \text{a-lū} & \quad = & \quad \text{á} & \quad \text{[lū -wá]} \\
\text{merit} & \quad \text{NEG-get} & \quad = & \quad \text{NEG} \\
\text{‘(You) don’t get merit.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Syntactically,  \(=á\) occurs in the same slot as the CFPs  \(mā\) ‘realis’ and  \(kū\) ‘irrealis’ within the VCX. See the detailed discussion on CFPs in §7.1. The examples in (623) illustrate clauses with the CFPs  \(kū\) and  \(mā\). Their negative counterpart expressions are illustrated in (624).

(623) (a)  *anāq nēyā meúmā*  (10:28)  

\[
\begin{align*}
anáq & \quad nēyā \quad \text{meú} \quad = \quad mā \\
\text{this} & \quad \text{place} & \quad \text{good} & \quad = \quad \text{RLS} \\
\text{‘This place is good.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b)  *nāngtā ngā yōkkū*  (09:26)  

\[
\begin{align*}
nāng & \quad =\text{tē} \quad \text{ngā} \quad \text{yōk} \quad = \quad kū \\
2\text{SG} & \quad =\text{A.AG} \quad 1\text{SG} \quad \text{eat} \quad = \quad \text{IRLS} \\
\text{‘I will eat you.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(624) (a)  *anāq nēyā ameúyá*  (AKYS)  

\[
\begin{align*}
anáq & \quad nēyā \quad \text{a-meú-á} \\
\text{this} & \quad \text{place} & \quad \text{NEG-good-NEG} \\
\text{‘This place isn’t good.’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b)  *nāngtā ngā ayōká*  (AKYS)  

\[
\begin{align*}
nāng & \quad =\text{tē} \quad \text{ngā} \quad \text{a-yōk-á} \\
2\text{SG} & \quad =\text{A.AG} \quad 1\text{SG} \quad \text{NEG-eat-NEG} \\
\text{‘I won’t eat you.’}
\end{align*}
\]
However, with the CFP *pán* ‘COS’ (§7.3.1), like those aspectual particles discussed in §7.3, the negative clitic = is obligatorily omitted. A negative clause with the CFP in (625) indicates a situation which was once in progress but is no longer true at the moment of speaking.

(625) (a)  *haláng atúngākpánták* (06:28)

haláng  a-túngäk  =pán  =ták
head  NEG-bow(head)  =COS  =HS
‘(The lizard) no longer bows its head, it is said.’ (The lizard used to bow its head.)

(b)  *hīŋgká ínālīpánseú* (15:34)

hīng  =ká  ín-a-lī  =pán  =seú
3SG  =TOP  NEG-NEG-come  =COS  =SAP
‘He does not come anymore.’ (He used to come)

The negative clitic = is also obligatorily omitted in subordinate clauses. See the illustrations in (626). Subordinate clauses are shown in {SUB,CL} brackets. Notice the example (626b) is an afterthought sentence (§8.1). Therefore, the subordinate clause appears after the main clause.

(626) (a)  *címpèzung alúk apòtità thingpè alúk ngāmā* (17:66)

{cím =pè =záng  alúk  a-pò  =tí  =tá}SUB,CL
house  =LOC  =EMPH  work  NEG-exist  =also  =EMPH
thing  =pè  alúk  ngā  =mā
village  =LOC  work  exist  =RLS
‘Though there is no work at home there is work to do in the village.’
10.2 Negative imperative

Negative imperative clauses are formed by adding one of the negative proclitics ìn- or a-, immediately before the head verb and cliticising the prohibitive particle = sà, glossed as ‘negative imperative’ (NEG.IMP), at the end of the VCX, as illustrated in (627).

(627) (a) ínngaúsà (11:22)

íngauí = sà
NEG-say = NEG.IMP
‘Don’t say!’

(b) aomzònsà (07:111)

a-òm-zòn = sà
NEG-make-continue = NEG.IMP
‘Don’t do (it) anymore!’

The negative imperative suffix is never used without one of the negative proclitics.

Look at the illustrations in (628). (628a) is grammatical but (628b) is not.
10.3 Marking mood on negated clauses

Unlike affirmative clauses, which distinguish between realis and irrealis situations using CFPS (§7.1), negative clauses do not syntactically distinguish realis and irrealis mood. In order to make these distinctions in negated clauses, the affirmative clauses can be nominalised and used as arguments of the verb \( c\text{hi} \) ‘be true’, which is then negated.

This type of construction in Kadu is parallel with Lahu\(^{31}\) and Burmese\(^{32}\).

---

\(^{31}\) Matisoff in his Lahu Grammar states that “clauses in Lahu are negatable by means of \( m\text{a} \text{ h}\text{e}? \), provided they are first nominalised, usually via the particle \( v\text{e} \)” (Matisoff 1973:26).

\(^{32}\) A syntactic device to code the distinction between future and non future in a negated proposition is to nominalise the affirmative proposition, which is marked for tense, and to make it the argument of the verb \( \text{m}\text{o}\text{o}/h\text{ou} \) ‘be true/right/be the case’, which is then negated -\( \text{th}\text{u} \text{ p}\text{y}\text{o} \text{ t}\text{a} \text{ m}\text{a} \text{h}\text{ou} \text{h}\text{u} \text{p}\text{u}. \) ‘It’s not the case that he said (it).’ (Myint Soe 1999:146).
The realis CFP *mā* is obligatorily omitted in nominalised clauses, as in (629a). However, the irrealis CFP *kū* is obligatorily present in nominalised clauses, as in (629b). Example (629a) simply expresses that the proposition made by the nominalised verb *ōm* ‘make’ does not hold true at the time of speaking: negative realis mood. Example (629b), on the other hand, signals a strong assertion of the unlikelihood of the situation mentioned in the utterance: negative irrealis mood.

Kadu nouns can also be negated by the expression (*NP* *achiyá*) ‘it is not the case/true of NP’. In order to provide a negative response, the phrase *achiyá* can be used as a complete utterance. Similarly, *chīmā* in used to give an affirmative response. The answer to an identity question *nāng asākkā* ‘Are you Kadu (Asak)?’ would be as in (630a) and (630b)–affirmative and negative responses, respectively.

(629) (a)  *malēq ōmpanāq achiyá* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{malēq} & \text{ōm} & = & \text{panāq} \\
1\text{PL} & \text{make} & = & \text{NOM} \\
\text{a-chī} & = & \text{ā} \\
\text{NEG-true} & = & \text{NEG} \\
\end{array}
\]

'It is not the case that we did/do (that).'</p>

(b)  *malēq ōmkūpanāq achiyá* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{malēq} & \text{ōm} & = & \text{kū} \\
1\text{PL} & \text{make} & = & \text{IRLS} \\
\text{a-chī} & = & \text{ā} \\
\text{NEG-true} & = & \text{NEG} \\
\end{array}
\]

'It is not the case that we will do (that).'</p>

(630) (a)  *chīmā* (AKYS)  (b)  *achiyá* (AKYS)

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{chī} & = & \text{mā} \\
\text{true} & = & \text{IRLS} \\
\text{a-chī} & = & \text{ā} \\
\text{NEG-true} & = & \text{NEG} \\
\end{array}
\]

'Yes. (I am).'

'No. (I am not).'
With alternative in an nominal interrogative clause, it is obligatory to use the NP with the verb *chĩ* to make a clear distinction of which noun phrase is negated. See example (631), an interrogative sentence which has two nominal arguments, and the possible answers in (632).

(631) *tamisăkâ nāng hamánkâ* (07:105)

- tamisă  = kā nāng  hamán  = kā
- human  = Q  2SG  spirit  = Q

‘Are you a human or a spirit?’

(632) (a) *hamányí achiyá tamisáyi achiyá* (07:106)

- hamán = yí  a-chĩ  = á  tamisá  = yí  a-chĩ  = á
- spirit  = also  NEG-true = NEG  human  = also  NEG-true = NEG

‘I am neither a human nor a spirit.’

(b) *hamán achiyá tamisá chímá* (AKYS)

- hamán  a-chĩ  = á  tamisá  chĩ  = mā
- spirit  NEG-true = NEG  human  true = RLS

‘I am not a spirit, (but) a human.’

10.4 Negative interrogative clauses

Negative interrogative clauses, unlike affirmative clauses, do not make realis or irrealis mood distinctions in Kadu. The head verb is negated by one or both negative proclitics: *ín*- or *a*- . The negative clitic = á is absent and the question particle *là* is attached at the end of the clause. The affirmative interrogative form differs from its negative interrogative counterpart only in that the negative prefix is not affixed to the main verb.
The affirmative interrogative form is exemplified in (633a) and its negative counterpart in (633b).

(633)  (a)  *hamàngkà lòkáklá* (12:5)

$hà=màng = kà \; lò-kák = lá$

$WH = thing = Q \; need-want = Q$

'What do you need?'

(b)  *hamàngkazeú alòkáklá* (12:6)

$hà=màng = kà = zeú \; a-lò-kák = lá$

$WH = thing = Q = even \; NEG-need-want = Q$

'What do you not want?'
CHAPTER 11: COMPLEX STRUCTURES

In this chapter I will look at various constructions that involve combined clauses and phrases, organised in the following order: 11.1 Subordination, 11.2 Coordination and 11.3 Narrative structure.

11.1 Subordination

Subordinate clauses occur in sentence initial position preceding the main or independent clause. Subordinate clauses are marked by grammatical particles to mark their subordinate relation to the independent clauses. Subordinate clauses in Kadu do not encode tense nor aspect nor make a distinction between irrealis and realis. The verbs in the matrix clauses make these distinctions. Some emphatic particles may optionally follow subordinating particles. The distribution and function of each emphatic particle will be also discussed. Table 30 summarises the subordinating particles attested in Kadu. They are subdivided into five sections and will be presented in the following order: 11.1.1 Conditional clauses, 11.1.2 Purpose clauses, 11.1.3 Temporal clauses, 11.1.5 Sequential clauses, 11.1.6 Manner clauses and 11.1.7 Comparison clauses.
### Table 30: Subordinating particles in Kadu

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<th>Emphatic particles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>pánnàkà/pán</td>
<td>‘if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tí</td>
<td>‘also, although’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>másà</td>
<td>‘only if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose/cause</td>
<td>kón</td>
<td>‘so as to’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>háyák</td>
<td>‘in order to cause’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ting</td>
<td>‘purposive’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>zàk</td>
<td>‘while’</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nàiktaí</td>
<td>‘whenever’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ká</td>
<td>‘when’</td>
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<td></td>
<td>hayaúk</td>
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<td></td>
<td>yaúk vр yaúk</td>
<td>‘simultaneity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>machánɡ</td>
<td>‘until’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cǐ</td>
<td>‘when (prior to)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concessive</td>
<td>zeú</td>
<td>‘even if’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner and</td>
<td>nǐngyeú ~ nìng</td>
<td>‘in the manner of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison</td>
<td>nèiú</td>
<td>‘as much as’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 11.1.1 Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses (also called protasis or simply if-clauses), which set the condition for the outcome of the main clause, occur in initial position and the then-clause (also called apodosis) usually occurs in sentence final position. As shown in Table 30, there are three terms: pánnàkà ‘if’, tí ‘also’, and másà ‘only if’, that are attached to the end of the initial clause to form the ‘if-clause’ in Kadu. Each conditional clause is discussed in the following sections.

The term pánnàkà is probably a combination of pán + naà + ká (‘change of state’ + ‘only’ + ‘topic’) and is employed to make a conditional clause. However, due to
frequent occurrence and native speakers’ view of this form as a monomorphic word, I have glossed it as one word, ‘if’, in this thesis. See the illustrations of conditional clauses marked by pánnákà in (634). Conditional clauses are bracketed with { }.

(634) (a) zūn yahàngpèa weúkúpánñákà meúhàmā (09:45)

{zūn yahàng = pè weúkú = pánnákà} meú-hà = mā
salt well = LOC bathe = if good-know.how = RLS

'If (you) take a bath at the salt well (you) may get well.'

(b) sàmpán thúkkón tánpánñákà phú pùhàmáiyeu ngaúmaták (25:113)

{sám-pán thök = kón tán = pánnákà}
three-CLF.times arrive = PURP beat = if

phú pù-hà = mā = yeù ngaú = mā = ták
silver emerge-know.how = RLS = SAP say = RLS = HS

'If you beat three times (with this stick) money/silver emerges, it is said.'

(c) maléq pè lipánñákà nāng alûkyí aûmthà (08:101)

{maléq = pè li = pánnákà}
1PL = LOC come = if

nāng alûk = yí a-ôm-thà = á
2SG work = also NEG-make-must = NEG

'If you come to us you don’t have to work as well.'

The conditional marker pánnákà ~ pán may be preceded by some modal auxiliaries, as in (635), but never by CFPs, as in (635).
(635) (a) \textit{nāngswáng lākāpánnākā lūtakū} (13:51)

\{nāng-swáng lā-kāk = \texttt{pānnākā}\} lū-ta = kū
2SG-master take-want = \textit{if} offer-\texttt{L.SUFF} = \textit{IRLS}
'If you want to get/take (I) will offer.'

(b) \textit{apheúyeūnpánnākā} (32:77)

\{a-pheú-yeūn = \texttt{pānnākā}\}
NEG-carry-can = \textit{if}
'If (you) cannot carry …'

It is common to find a modal \textit{kāk} ‘want’ followed by \textit{pān} ‘if’ when the subordinate clause and the main clause represent the same sort of event, sharing the same agentive argument and verb, as illustrated in (636).

(636) (a) \textit{hīng yangonpā nāngkākpān nāngkū} (\texttt{AKYS})

\begin{align*}
\text{hīng} & \quad \text{yangon} = \texttt{pān} \quad \text{nāng-kāk} = \texttt{pān} \quad \text{nāng} = \texttt{kū} \\
3SG & \quad \text{PN} = \texttt{ALL} \quad \text{go-want} = \textit{if} \quad \text{go} = \textit{IRLS}
\end{align*}

'He'll go to Yangon if he wants to.'

(b) \textit{ngā yōkkākpān yōkkū} (\texttt{AKYS})

\begin{align*}
\text{ngā} & \quad \text{yōk-kāk} = \texttt{pān} \quad \text{yōk} = \texttt{kū} \\
1SG & \quad \text{eat-want} = \textit{if} \quad \text{eat} = \textit{IRLS}
\end{align*}

'I will go if I want to.'

The term \textit{ti} indicates a converse conditional when it is subordinated to a positive main clause, as in (637). The term \textit{ti} changes to low tone when it is preceded by a syllable with a high or low tone.
(637)  hīng lītī pōtaúmeúlakaú (AKYS)

{hīng li =tī} pō-ta-meú =lakaú
3SG come =also more-L.SUFF-good =MIR
'Yes, of course, it's better if he comes too.'

Like the conditional marker pānnàkà ‘if’, it may be preceded by the modal auxiliary kák to indicate that the subordinate clause and the main clause represent the same event, sharing the same agentive argument and verb, as illustrated in (638).

(638)  (a)  ūkākti ūwàng (12:107)

{ū-kák =tī} ū-āng
drink-want =also drink-DIR,
'If (you) want to drink also (you can) drink (it).'</n
(b)  maléqtè tánshîkâkti tánshîkū (04:10)

{malēq =tè tán-shî-kák =tī} tán-shî =kū
1PL =A.AG beat-die-want =also beat-die =IRLS
'If (he) wants to kill us too, he will.'

However, if one of the clauses is negated, the subordinate clause indicates concessive function, which may then be translated as ‘although’ or ‘even though’ in English.

Consider the examples in (639). In these sentences the main clause is negated.

(639)  (a)  túktaútí ngā anâyeúná (07:115)

{túk-ta =tī} ngā a-ná-yeūn =á
battle-L.SUFF =also 1SG NEG-win-can =NEG
'Even though I battle I cannot win.'
(b)  *hĩng phĩmtì alù hà* (08:31)

\{hĩng phim = tf\} a-lũ-hа = á
3SG hold.up = also NEG-get-know.how = NEG

‘Even though he embraced (it)/held (it), (he) couldn’t (soothe the baby).’

In the following examples in (640), the subordinate clauses are negated.

(640) (a)  *cĩmpè alũk apòtìtà thĩngpè alũk ngãmã* (17:66)

\{cĩm = pè alũk a-pò = tī = tа\}
house = LOC work NEG-exist = also = EMPH

thing = pè alũk ngã = mã
village = LOC work exist = RLS

‘Even though there is no work at home, there is work to do in the village.’

(b)  *swáŋzãŋ aswãŋtìtì ithãmã* (AKYS)

\{swãng = zãng a-swãng = tī = tа\} i-thа = mã
rich = EMPH NEG-rich = also = EMPH give-must = RLS

‘Even though (we) are not rich, we have to give/pay.’

The subordinate particle *tī* may be additionally followed by the emphatic particle *tа* for more emphatic purposes, as in (640). The tone of the particle *tа* is determined by the preceding particle *tī*. It simply follows the same tone that *tī* takes. The use of the emphatic particle *tа* as a subordinator has not been attested.

The term *mãsã*, glossed as ‘only if’, also sets a conditional background for the outcome of the main clause. It can occur both with realised and unrealised main clauses. The speakers of Kadu said that the term *mãsã* has stronger emphasis than the term *pãnnãkã*.
(641) (a)  *hîng shîmâsà hîng ȅktê lâlûkû* (15:81)  (unrealised)

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{hîng shî} & = \text{mâsà}\} & \text{hîng ȅk} & = tê \quad lâ-lû & = kû \\
3\text{SG} \quad \text{die} & = \text{only.if} & 3\text{SG} \quad \text{wife} & = \text{A.AG} & \text{take-get} & = \text{IRLS}
\end{align*}
\]
\‘(He) will be able to take his wife only if he (the husband) dies.’

(b)  *zûn tipânáq waleû ântâhãn zângângmâsà yôkmeûmâ* (31:27)

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{zûn tî} & = \text{panâq} \quad \text{waleû} \\
\text{salt} \quad \text{sweet} & = \text{NOM} \quad \text{liquid}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ântâhãn} \quad \text{zâng-âng} & = \text{mâsà} \\
\text{quite} \quad \text{put.in-\text{DIR}_1} & = \text{only.if} \quad \text{eat-good} & = \text{IRLS}
\end{align*}
\]
\‘It tastes good only if we put in more sweet liquid.’  (Lit. sweet salt water)

This term *mâsà* is clearly a Burmese loaned subordinator \(<\text{hma. tha}>\) which is translated as ‘only if, only when V’ (See Okell and Allott 2001:165-166). In Burmese, the second syllable \(<\text{tha}>\) is optional, and it is used for emphatic purposes.

(642)  *da’pum pa =hma. hpat -kra’* =te  (Burmese: Okell 2001:165)

\[
\begin{align*}
da’pum & \quad \text{pa} = \text{hma.} \\
\text{picture} \quad \text{be.present} & = \text{only.if} \quad \text{read -PL} & = \text{CFP}
\end{align*}
\]
\‘(They) read (them) only if (they) have pictures.’

11.1.2 Purpose clauses

There are two terms, *kôn* and *yâk*, glossed as ‘so as to’, that are employed as subordinators to indicate the purpose of an action. The clause with *kôn* functions to stimulate or motivate an agent referent of the subordinate clause to perform an action.
The motivating event is usually an unrealised situation at the time of the main event.

Initial clauses with the subordinator kón are illustrated in (643).

(643) (a) lâpkón chaîngtayókkū (15:55)

{lâp = kón} chaúng-ta = yók = kū

catch = so.as.to spy-L.SUFF = INTRUSIVE = IRLS

'(He) will spy on (her) to catch (her).'</n

(b) címsèktâktè̀ ngâkâ nacá peúyeûnkón ōmkù (17:88)

{cím-sèk-tàk = tè ngā = kā nacá

house-person-PL = A.AG lsg = TOP carefully

peú-yeûn = kón} ōm = kū

keep-can = so.as.to make = IRLS

'I will do so so as to keep my family members up to the standard.'

The term yák, also glossed as ‘so as to’, like kón, also indicates a purpose of action clause. This term, however, mostly occurs following the modal auxiliary hà (§7.2.3).

The form hà ‘know.how’ may be reduced to ha [hə] and the native speakers of Kadu see (hà + yák = hayák) as a single morpheme. Some examples of clauses that contain the subordinator hayák are illustrated in (644).

(644) (a) malâ phènghànginghayák ōmàngmaták (15:165)

{malâ phèng-hàng-ing-hà = yák}

flesh full-back-DIŘ₂-know.how = so.as.to

ōm-àng = mā = ták

make-DIŘ₁ = RLS = HS

'(She) made it so that the flesh filled up (the bones), it is said.'
(b)  *shípanáq sèktèə zähánghayák ömhàmā ngaká ngaúmäták* (16:39)

\[
\{\text{shí = panáq } \text{sèk = } \text{tè} \text{ zá-hàng-hà = } \text{yák}\}
\]

die = NOM person = A.AG alive-back-know.how = so.as.to

ömhà  = mā ngā = ká ngaú = mā = ták
make-know.how = RLS 1SG = TOP say = RLS = HS

'(He) said, “I can make the dead person come alive”, it is said.'

11.1.3 Temporal clauses

Several subordinators which temporally relate subordinate clauses to main clauses have been attested and are discussed in the following sections. The term *zák* is employed to indicate two actions happening simultaneously as illustrated in (645). Notice that the sentence has a single agentive argument.

(645) (a)  *híng técháng teútzàk céng ceūmā* (AKYS)

\[
\text{híng } \{\text{técháng } \text{teút = } \text{zåk}\} \text{ céng ceū = må}
\]

3SG song listen = while letter read = RLS

'He is studying while listening to music.'

(b)  *céng ceūnímzàk wān pyáktamā* (AKYS)

\[
\{\text{céng } \text{ceū-ním = } \text{zåk}\} \text{ wān pyák-ta = må}
\]

letter read-stay = while fire go.off-L.SUFF = RLS

'While (I) was reading the light went off.'

If the two clauses have different agentive arguments, in order to clarify who does what, it is necessary to insert reference to different referents in each clause. This is illustrated in (646).
(646)  \( \text{hīng ipnīmzāk ngā atā mōkniṃmā} \) (AKYS)

\[ \{\text{hīng ip-nīm} = \text{zāk}\} \quad \text{ngā atā mōk-nīm} = \text{mā} \]
3SG sleep-stay = while 1SG rice cook-stay = RLS

'While he was sleeping I was cooking rice.'

The term \textit{naktaī} is employed to indicate ‘whenever’. In the example in (647a), the one who performs the action, in this case \textit{ūnyūt} ‘to bow head’, of the main clause is omitted because culturally it is clear from the context. People and other creatures bow to the king but not the other way around. Similarly with the 1SG referent in (647b).

(647) (a)  \( \text{sāngpalāng līnaktaī ēnyūtāmā} \) (06:19)

\[ \{\text{sāngpalāng li} = \text{naktaī}\} \quad \text{ūnyūt-ta} = \text{mā} \]
king come = whenever head.bow-L.SUFF = RLS

'(The lizard) bows its head whenever the king comes.'

(b)  \( \text{halāngwēnīnaktaī apyaūtāwā} \) (AKYS)

\[ \{\text{halāng-weū} = \text{naktaī}\} \quad \text{a-pyaū-ta} = \text{á} \]
sky-water = whenever  NEG-happy-L.SUFF = NEG

'I am not happy whenever it rains.'

In order to express a temporal reference (which may be translated as ‘when’ in English), the topic marker \textit{kā} is employed at the end of the first clause, as illustrated in (648).

LaPolla (1995) and Genetti (1986) discussed the syncretism of postpositions and clausal subordinators in \textit{TB} languages. We can also see a similar development in Kadu. The topic marker \textit{kā} without a nominaliser can occur immediately following the \textit{VCX} as a temporal clausal subordinator.
(648) (a)  *lihángká haláng atúngâkpánták* (06:27)

\{
\begin{align*}
\text{li-háng} & = \text{ká} \quad \text{haláng} \quad \text{a-túngā} \quad \text{pán} \quad \text{ták} \\
\text{come-back} & = \text{TOP} \quad \text{head} \quad \text{NEG-bow} \quad \text{COS} \quad \text{HS}
\end{align*}
\}

'When (the king) returned (the lizard) no longer bowed its head, it is said.'

(b)  *püngtaüng tánàngká ací kátnângpán* (12:126)

\{
\begin{align*}
\text{püngtaüng} & \quad \text{tán-ång} \quad = \text{ká} \quad \text{ací} \quad \text{kát-ång} \quad = \text{pán} \\
\text{drum} & \quad \text{beat-DIR}_1 \quad = \text{TOP} \quad \text{elephant} \quad \text{run-DIR}_1 \quad = \text{COS}
\end{align*}
\}

'When (he) played the drum the elephant run away.'

In order to indicate an initial boundary, the structure *mà* ‘time noun’ + *haúk ~ hayaúk* ‘ablative’ is employed in Kadu, which may be translated as ‘since’ or ‘ever since’ in English. See the discussion on ablative *haúk* in §6.5.Clauses with this structure are exemplified in (649) and (650).

(649)  *nángyaúk ngayaúk ngaúkà satéŋkânpè nîncímâhayaúk mékwé thàcímâ* (09:51)

\{
\begin{align*}
\text{nâng} & = \text{yaúk} \quad \text{ngá} = \text{yaúk} \quad \text{ngaúkà} \quad \text{satéŋ-kân} \quad = \text{pè} \\
\text{2SG} & = \text{COM} \quad \text{1SG} = \text{COM} \quad \text{as.for} \quad \text{thatch-CLT.field} = \text{LOC}
\end{align*}
\}

\begin{align*}
\text{nîm-cí} & \quad \text{mà} = \text{hayaúk} \\
\text{stay-PL} & \quad \text{time} = \text{since} \quad \text{friend} \quad \text{be-PL} = \text{RLS}
\end{align*}

‘As for you and me, we have been friends since we lived at the thatch field.’
In order to indicate a negative condition, the subordinator *macháng*, glossed as ‘as long as’ in this thesis, is employed following a negated verb. This form is clearly an old loanword from the Burmese term, ṭa: <mahkrang:> glossed as ‘until’ in Okell and Allot (2001:152). Although the initial syllable is clearly a negative marker, ṭ <ma> in Burmese, thus forming (NEG + V-NEG + ṭa: <hkrang:>) structure, Okell analysed this subordinator as a single morpheme and provided the English translation as ‘for as long as something has not V-ed, not been V-ed, until V-ed’. The structure of the Burmese negative initial boundary is illustrated in (651a) and the corresponding structure in Kadu in (651b).

(651) **hìng myóqhaik lihángmâhayâuk hamângkazeú aömkkâká (AKYS)**

{(hìng  myóq  =  haík  li-hâng  mà  =  hayaúk)
3SG  town  =  ABL  come-back  time  =  since

hà  =  mànng  =  kà  =  zeú  a-ôm-kâk  =  á
WH  =  thing  =  Q  =  even  NEG-make-want  =  NEG
‘(She) doesn’t want to do anything since she came back from town.’

In order to indicate a negative condition, the subordinator *macháng*, glossed as ‘as long as’ in this thesis, is employed following a negated verb. This form is clearly an old loanword from the Burmese term, ṭa: <mahkrang:> glossed as ‘until’ in Okell and Allot (2001:152). Although the initial syllable is clearly a negative marker, ṭ <ma> in Burmese, thus forming (NEG + V-NEG + ṭa: <hkrang:>) structure, Okell analysed this subordinator as a single morpheme and provided the English translation as ‘for as long as something has not V-ed, not been V-ed, until V-ed’. The structure of the Burmese negative initial boundary is illustrated in (651a) and the corresponding structure in Kadu in (651b).

(651) (a)  ḏ ū g: e ṭ a: ṭ a: h: g: (Burmese)

thu ma-thwa: mahkrang: nga ma-thwa:-bu:
3SG  NEG-go  as.long.as  lSG  NEG-go-NEG
‘As long as he doesn’t go, I won’t go.’

(b)  hìng aлимachâŋ ngâ aömângá (02:42)

{(hìng  a-li  =  macháng)  ngâ  a-nâng  =  á
3SG  NEG-come  =  as.long.as  lSG  NEG-go  =  NEG
‘As long as he doesn’t come, I won’t go.’
<hkrang:> in Burmese and <cháng> in Kadu also occur with positive verbs to indicate coincidental actions or actions that happened simultaneously. Okell (2001:152) translated this term as ‘as soon as, immediately upon V-ing’. In spoken Burmese, this kind of coincidental action is expressed by attaching the term <hkrang:>, <chin:> in spoken form, after a reduplicated verb, as in (652).

(652) ဗူး ဒေါင်းဒေါင်းနှောက် (Burmese)

\[
\text{ thu rok rok hkrang: sa. } = \text{me} \\
3SG \text{ arrive arrive as.soon.as begin } = \text{IRLS}
\]

‘(We) will begin the moment s/he arrives.’ Or ‘As soon as s/he arrive (we) will begin.’

However, in Kadu, the term <cháng> does not follow a reduplicated verb, rather it occurs in between the two iterations of the verb. The sentence provided by one of my language consultants is given in (653).

(653) နေတ် သီချင်းhkrangthōk weūtaiktamā (AKYS)

\[
\{\text{nàngtè thōk } = \text{cháng thōk} \} \text{ weú taik-ta } = \text{mā} \\
guest \text{ arrive } = \text{CHÁNG arrive water offer.drink-LS.SUFF } = \text{IRLS}
\]

‘(I) offered drinking water to the visitor the moment (s/he) arrived.’ Or ‘As soon as the guest arrived. (I) offered (him/her) a drink of water.’

Another temporal subordinator is cī, which may be glossed as ‘before’. It only occurs with a negated verb to indicate that the action the negated verb refers to happens after the action of the verb in the main clause.
(654) *kónāyi ínthōkčītē pānnù mínhánginglakā* (18:25)

\{kó nāyi ín-thōk-čī\}

nine o’clock NEG-arrive-*before*

pān-nù mínháng-ing = lakā

CLF.times-one awake-back-DIR₂ = MIR

‘(I) awoke again before nine o’clock.’

(655) *ūžīksātē hīng mahāngpè peúmatāk hīng amēū hīng awāqtāk amīngsākhācī* (24:42)

ūžīksā = tē hīng mahāng = pē peū = mā = tāk

bird = A.AG 3SG that.thing = LOC keep = TLS = HS

{hīng amēū hīng awātāk amīngsāhā-čī}

3SG mother 3SG father-PL NEG-know-*before*

‘He hid the bird in that place before his parents noticed (it).’

11.1.4 Concessive clauses

The term *zeū*, glossed as ‘even’, is employed to indicate an ‘even if’ clause. It is also used to indicate a proposition which is counter to the expectation expressed in the main clause, as in (656).

(656) (a) *hīng nāngzeū ngā anāngā* (AKYS)

\{hīng nāng = zeū\} ngā a-nāng = ā

3SG go = even 1SG NEG-go = NEG

‘I won’t go even if he does.’
(b) *ameū màtzeū nāngkū* (AKYS)

\[
\{\text{ameū màt} = \text{zeú} \} \quad \text{nāng} = \text{kū}
\]

*mother scold* = *even* = *go* = *IRLS*

'I will go even if mother scolds me.'

It may be immediately followed by the emphatic particle *tá* for even more emphasis, as in (657).

(657) *címmátzeútá aðmyeūnpánseúè* (17:54)

\[
cím-mát = \text{zeú} = \text{tá} \quad \text{a-ðom-yeūn} = \text{pán} = \text{seúè}
\]

*house-watch* = *even* = *EMPH* = *NEG-make-can* = *COS* = *SAP*

‘(My parents are old now), (They) can’t even do the job of looking after the house.’

The form *zeú* can also occur with an NP. Following an NP, it indicates an emphatic meaning which may be translated as ‘even’ in English (658a). It may be additionally followed by the emphatic particle *tá* for more emphasis, as in (658b).

(658) (a) *hamàngkà shīzeú anaútná* (19:10)

\[
\text{ha}=\text{màng} = \text{kà} \quad \text{shī} = \text{zeú} \quad \text{a-naút} = \text{á}
\]

*WH = thing = Q* = *medicine* = *even* = *NEG-feed = NEG*

‘(You) didn’t even give (me) any sort of medicine.’

(b) *kalıngsatá sómsatázeútá ngāpán* (17:26)

\[
kaling \text{ satá sóm satá} = \text{zeú} = \text{tá} \quad \text{ngā} = \text{pán}
\]

*two month three month* = *even* = *EMPH* = *exist = COS*

'It’s already been up to two or three months.'
11.1.5 Sequential clauses

In order to express the idea of one action immediately followed by another the *pán* ‘change of state’ ASP employed at the end of the first clause, as in (659).

(659) (a)  *wák ngaúkà anáq síngeítshítè yökceú* *pán ìpmá* (12:70)

\[
\begin{align*}
wák & \quad \text{pig} \\
ngaúkà & \quad \text{as for} \\
síngeít-shí & \quad \text{fig-CLT.fruit} \\
yök-ceú & \quad \text{eat-full} \\
=pán & \quad \text{to full} \\
& \quad \text{sleep} \quad \text{RLS} \\
& \quad \text{=mā} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘The pig ate the figs (to full) and slept.’

(b)  *caúngshāpā zāpán iyàngmatāk* (07:53)

\[
\begin{align*}
caúng-shā & \quad \text{school-small} \\
pā & \quad \text{include} \\
zā & \quad \text{build} \\
=pán & \quad \text{give-DIR}_1 \\
i-àng & \quad \text{RSL} \\
=mā & \quad \text{HS} \\
=ták & \quad \text{1}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(The king) built a school/monastery and gave (it to him), it is said.’

A few examples in my corpus also contain three consecutive events as illustrated in (660) and (661).

(660)  *hīngtè wánshispán nōppán peùpángtāk* (15:157)

\[
\begin{align*}
hīng & \quad \text{3SG} \\
wán-shī & \quad \text{chop-die} \\
=pán & \quad \text{bury} \\
& \quad \text{keep} \quad \text{DIR}_1; \text{COS} \quad \text{=HS} \\
& \quad \text{tāk} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(They) chopped to death, buried and kept/placed (him), it is said.’

(661)  *zinpūkè tīmpán nīmpán yūpántāk* (08:57)

\[
\begin{align*}
zinpūk & \quad \text{bush} \\
tīm & \quad \text{hide} \\
=pán & \quad \text{stay} \\
nīm & \quad \text{look} \\
=yū & \quad \text{COS} \\
pán & \quad \text{COS} \quad \text{HS} \\
tāk & \quad \text{ták}
\end{align*}
\]

‘(He) hid, stayed in the bush and looked, it is said.’
In some cases, when a sentence contains three sequential events, the first event may be left unmarked, as in (662).

(662) **sāngpalāng ōm pheúpān lāpántāk** (15:31)

śāngpalāng ōm pheú-pān lā = pān = tāk
king make carry- = cos = HS
‘(They) made him king, carried and took him, it is said.’

The term *pān* may be additionally followed by an emphatic particle *naa*, glossed as ‘only’, to indicate an emphatic purpose or change of state prior to the action expressed by the following verb. Consider the illustrations in (663) and (664).

(663) **lapōk wānpānnaa salākpānnaa hōppānnaa** (29:20)

lapōk wān = pān = naa salāk = pān = naa hōp = pān = naa
bamboo chop = cos = only prune = cos = only tie = cos = only
‘chopped, pruned, and tied the bamboo…’

(664) **atā tīppān īpānnaa tawākkā wetīpē naūtnāngnā ngaūmatāk** (15:100)

atā tip = pān ī = pān = naa
rice pack = cos give = cos = only
tawāk = kā weū = pē naūt-āng = nā ngaū = mā = tāk
half = top water = loc feed-dir = sap say = rls = HS
‘(She) packed the rice and gave (it to him) and said “feed (them) half of it at the water”. it is said.’

11.1.6 Manner clauses

The term *ning ~ ningyeu* is attached to the end of the first clause of two or more clauses to express manner, as in (665). See also the discussion of adverbials in §3.2.1.
(665) (a)  *hĩŋ éc ngaúningyeù ōmìyangmaták* (15:103)

{hĩŋ éc ngaú = *ningyeù*} ōm-i-àng = mā = ták
3SG wife say = manner make-give-DIR₁ = RLS = HS

'He did (for them) in the manner his wife had told (him).'

(b)  *ací hákningyeù hákàng* (07:103)

{ací hák = *ningyeù*} hák-àng
elephant shout = manner shout-DIR₁

'Roar like an elephant!'

It may also occur after an NP to mark similarity in manner or attribute, as in (666).

(666)  *hĩŋ zìngyök íshíqmáqtè hĩŋ saẽkning ōmpánnà àtá yōkcïmaták* (04:11)

hĩŋ zìngyök íshíq máq = tē  hĩŋ saẽk = *ning*
3SG order girl female = A.AG 3SG daughter = manner

ōm = pān = naà átá yōk-cí = mā = ták
make = COS = only rice eat-PL = RLS = HS

'(He) dressed his servant girl like his own daughter and they ate rice, it is said.'

(667)  *wâncíŋká kasà mîktūshìningyeù tūtaílaká* (18:83)

wâncíŋ = ká kasà mîktūshí = *ningyeù* tū-ta = lakà
charcoal = TOP tiger eyeball = manner same-L.SUFF = MIR

'(The) charcoal (in the fire) resembles a tiger's eye.'
11.1.7 Comparison clauses

The term *neúq*, glossed as ‘as much as’, is employed to indicate an amount or quantity of some action or quality expressed by the VCX, as in (668). It can also occur immediately after an NP (§6.8).

(668) (a) *nāng lākākneúq ikū* (25:106)

\[
\{nāng \text{-}kāk = \text{neúq}\} \quad i = kū
\]

2SG take-want = as.much.as give = IRLS

‘(I) will give you as much as you want.’

(b) *hīng ineúqlā* (AKYS)

\[
\{hīng \text{-}kā = \text{neúq}\} \quad lā
\]

3SG give = as.much.as take

‘Take as much as he gives.’

It is also used to describe ‘as much as V’ or to do something to an extreme. In this type of structure, the subordinator *neúq* is preceded by one of the modal auxiliaries (§7.2.3) and the same verb is repeated. The most common auxiliary in this position is *hā* ‘know.how’, as illustrated (669).

(669) (a) *nónhāneúq nón* (30:26)

\[
\{nón- \text{-}hā = \text{neúq}\} \quad nón
\]

mix-know.how = as.much.as mix

‘Mix as much as possible.’
(b) \textit{ngåhåneúq ngå} (21:20)

\begin{align*}
\{\text{ngå-} & \text{hå} = \text{neúq}\} = \text{ngå} \\
\text{steam-know.how} & = \text{as.much.as} = \text{steam} \\
\end{align*}

'Steam as much/long as possible.'

11.2 Coordination

In coordinating two or more nouns (A, B, and C), \textit{yaúk} ‘comitative’, \textit{pā} ‘and too’ and \textit{yeú} ‘and also’ are employed. Each type is exemplified below.

The term \textit{yaúk}, which functions as a comitative (§6.6), is used when coordinating two nouns (A and B). The examples in (670) illustrate \textit{yaúk} coordinating two NPs.

(670) (a) \textit{kasàyaúk hånshíyaúk atitàwá} (27:9)

\begin{align*}
\{\text{kasà} & = \text{yaúk}\} \{\text{hånshí} = \text{yaúk}\} \ a-\text{tū-}ta = á \\
\text{tiger} & = \text{COM} \ \text{cat} = \text{COM} \ \text{NEG}-\text{same-L.SUFF} = \text{NEG} \\
\end{align*}

'tiger and cat–(they) are not the same.'

(b) \textit{nång peúkútyaúk maléq tátlúngyaúk caíkcímák} (12:89)

\begin{align*}
\{\text{nång} & \text{ peúkút} = \text{yaúk}\} \{\text{maléq} \ \text{tátlúng} = \text{yaúk}\} \\
\text{2SG adze} & = \text{COM} \ \text{IPL magic.ball} = \text{COM} \\
\text{caík-cí} & = \text{mák} \\
\text{exchange-PL} & = \text{HORT} \\
\end{align*}

'Let’s exchange your adze and/with my magic ball.'

Although not attested in my corpus, the speakers of Kadu expressed that it is also possible to use \textit{yaúk} when coordinating three NPs such as A, B, and C, as in (671).
(671)  *hing saékyaúk säyaúk mökyaúk nängcímā* (AKYS)

\{hîng = yaúk\} \{säm = yaúk\} \{mök = yaúk\} \ näng-cí = mā  
3sg daughter = COM  son = COM  cow = COM  go-PL = RLS

‘His daughter, son, and the cow went.’

Only one time in my corpus, the comitative marker *yaúk* is attached to two clauses to indicate temporal simultaneity of the two actions, as in (672).

(672)  *úng thingpàpanaq sèkták ngaúkà sángpaláng tämingyaúk hingyítá pòkhápè nängingyaúk “híngtè sángpaláng ömzingthamā” ngaúpánnaa sángpaláng öm pheúpán lápánták* (15:30).

\{úng thing = pà = panáq sèk-ták ngaúkà\}  
that village = ALL = NOM  person-PL as.for  
sángpaláng täm-ing = yaúk\}
king search-DIR₂ = COM

\{hîng = yí = tâ pòkhá = pè näng-ing = yaúk\}
3sg = also = EMPH  forest = LOC  go-DIR₂ = COM

“hîng = tè sángpaláng öm-zíng = thámā” ngaú = pán = naà  
3sg = A.AG  king make-JUSS = HORT  say = COS = only  
sángpaláng öm pheú = pán lâ = pán = ták  
king make carry = COS  take = COS = HS

‘At the time people from that village came looking for a king and the time he was going to the forest, (they found him and) said, “let’s make him a king”.  
And they made him king and carried him away, it is said.’

The term *pà* is also employed to coordinate two or more NPs. The lexical meaning of this morpheme is not retrievable in Kadu. However, as it is common to find Kadu speakers using a lot of grammatical words from Burmese, we can relate this term with
Burmese ophon <pa>. Compare the examples in (673). The example in (673a) is in Burmese and (673b) is in Kadu.

(673) (a) ၊ ဓာတ် ဓာတ် စွန်းစွန်း (Burmese)
{hkwei: =pa} {wak =pa} hko-thwa: =te
dog  =and pig  =and take.along-go =RLS
‘(He) took along a dog and a pig.’

(b) cīpā wàkpā ngaúcìpánták (12:49)
{cī =pā} {wàk =pā} ngaú-cí =pán =ták
dog  =and pig  =and say-PL =COS =HS
‘The dog and pig said, it is said.’

It is also common to find the term pā when coordinating more than two NPs, as in (674).

(674) amūnasahi hàkaú ameūpā awápā nūklánpā ngaúpānnàkà peútkauéalé (17:2)
amūnasahi  hà-kaú  {ameū =pā} {awà =pā}
sibling  five-CLF.person mother =and father =and
{nūklán =pā} ngaú =pānàkà peút-kaú =talé
nephew =and say =if eight-CLF.person =SAP
‘(I’ve got) five siblings, a mother, a father, and a nephew. (we are altogether.) eight.’

The term yeū is employed to connect two NPs, particularly connecting personal names, as in (675).
(675) zaúpaúmaiyeú eúhámyeú kát-cílakàé (08:1)

\{zaúpaúmai\} \{eúhám \= yeú\} kát-cí \= lakà \= é
PN \= and PN \= and run-PL \= MIR \= SAP
'Zaupaumai and Eham run away.'

This marker is identical with the Burmese coordinate marker ქ<je>, as in (676).

(676) ṭhita mra.mra. la (Burmese)

\{thita \= re\} \{mra.mra. \= re\} la \= te
PN \= and PN \= and come \= RLS
'Tita and Mya Mya came.'

There is one other term that is employed to coordinate two or more NPs when there
aren’t exhaustive listings. It is the term kā, glossed as ‘so.on’, which may be translated
as ‘such as’ or ‘so on’, as in (677).

(677) ngónkā phúkā ngānaíkgátè íkū (07:21)

\{ngón kā\} \{phú kā\} ngānaíkgá \= tè ī \= kū
gold so.on silver so.on all \= A.AG give \= IRLS
'(I) will give all things such as gold and silver.'

The term kā ‘so.on’ frequently occurs in the structure kā+ mà+ kā (so.on+ wh-
+ so.on) which may be translated as ‘such sort of things’ in English. In this structure
there is tone sandhi. The token of kā in the initial position changes to high tone and the
one in the final position changes to low tone. Due to its frequent occurrence, I have
glossed this structure as a single lexical item ‘such.sort.of.thing’.
(678) zalaúk kámàkà tamâyüng kámàkà zākū (17:64)

{zalaúk kámàkà} {tamâyüng kámàkà} zā = kū
resthouse sort.of.things community.hall sort.of.things build = IRLS

'(We) will build a rest house and a community hall—that sort of thing.'

(679) tékshī zalüng kámàkà hamàngkazeú alähángá (18:90)

tékshī zalüng kámàkà hà = máng = kà = zeú
pot sink sort.of.things WH = thing = Q = even

a-lä-häng-ing = á
NEG-take-back-DIR₂ = NEG

'(We) didn’t bring anything such as a pot, a sink—that sort of thing.'

In order to express an ‘either-or’ relation, parallel clauses are simply juxtaposed, as shown in (680). Alternative clauses are shown in { } brackets.

(680) (a) sā thàkákthà saék thàkákthà lí (AKYS)

{sā thà-kák thà} {saék thà-kák thà} lí
son be-want be daughter be-want be come

'Come (one of you) either son or daughter.'

(b) ngā ömpán ömkū aömpán aömá (AKYS)

{ngā öm = pán öm = kū}
1SG do/make = if do/make = IRLS

{a-öm = pán a-öm = á}
NEG-do/make = if NEG-do/make = NEG

'I'll do it if I want to, or I won’t do it if I don’t want to.'

Two interrogative clauses may be also juxtaposed, as illustrated in (681).
(681) (a) **nāṅg sāṅgpalāṅg nántāṅ āttakalā sīṭtūkcītalā** (12:114)

nāṅg sāṅgpalāṅg \{nántāṅ āt-ta =kū =lā\}
2SG king palace submit-L.SUFF =IRLS =Q

\{sít tūk-cí-ta =kū =lā\}
war battle-PL.L.SUFF =IRLS =Q

‘You, king, will you surrender/submit your palace or (do you) want war?’

(b) **nāṅg kāṭphāṅkalā ngākāṭphāṅkalā** (18:70)

\{nāṅg kāṭ-phāṅg =kū =lā\}
2SG run-prior =IRLS =Q

\{ngā kāṭ-phāṅg =kū =lā\}
1SG run-prior =IRLS =Q

‘Will you run first or shall I run?’

In order to express a ‘whether or not’ relationship juxtaposition of two clauses is employed. In this process, both clauses have the same verb; one of the clauses expressing a negative and the other a positive proposition, as exemplified in (682).

(682) (a) **nga ēk ngatè mīngsāhā amīngsāhā ngā sāntāttahāṅgmanaṅk** (08:88)

ngā ēk ngā =tè \{mīngsāhā a-mīngsāhā\}
1SG wife 1SG =A.AG know NEG-know

ngā sāntāt-ta-hāṅg =manaṅk
1SG try.out-L.SUFF-back =only.if

‘I will test my wife (to see) whether my wife knows/recognises me or not.’
(b) *ayōkmeú yōkmeúkā aheúhā* (22:13)

\[
\{\text{a-yōk-meú}\} \quad \{\text{yōk-meú}\} = \text{ká a-heū-hā} = \text{á}
\]
\[
\text{NEG-eat-good} \quad \text{eat-good} \quad = \text{TOP NEG-tell-know.how} \quad = \text{NEG}
\]

'I can’t tell whether it is good taste or not.'

Notice in (682b) the negative VCX complex may precede the positive VCX.

### 11.3 Narrative structures

This section looks at the pattern of linking independent clauses that are frequently attested in the stories and narratives recorded. Two structures are common: “Tail-head” constructions and attaching adverbial clauses in the clause initial position of the second of two consecutive independent clauses.

#### 11.3.1 Tail-head linkage

There is a clear pattern of “Tail-head” linkages in Kadu. This structure is commonly found not only in TB languages but also in Papuan languages (de Vries 2005). In this structure, the last segment of the section of discourse—usually the final verb complex—is partially or completely repeated at the beginning of the next sentence, as in (683a) and (683b). The head clause and following segments are linked by the structure *ngaú* + *pánkau* ‘say’ + ‘as it is the case’ which may be translated into English as ‘having said that’ or ‘having said that it is the case’.
(683) (a)  úngpè sā hawà pyökping  (04:20)

úng = pè  sā  hú-à  {pyök  = píng}TAIL
that = LOC son  CLF.person-one give.birth = DIR₂:HEAD

'Over there (she) gave birth to a baby son.'

(b)  pyökpingták ngaúpánkau màhameúyí alicí  (04:21)

{pyök  = píng  = ták}HEAD ngaú  = pánkau
give.birth = DIR₂:HEAD say = HS  = as.it.is.the.case

mà = hameú = yí  a-li-cí
WH = person = also  NEG-come-PL

'Having given birth to a baby, no one came (to see the baby).'  

The last segment of (683a), *pyökping*, is repeated at the beginning of (683b). In many cases, the tail-head construction involves repetition of just the verb or verb complex from the 'tail clause', as in (684) and (685).

(684)  weúyahaùngpèa útsátnàngmā  (18:15)

weú-yahàung = pè {út-sát-àng = mà}TAIL
water-river = LOC abandon-descend(DIR₁ = RLS

'(He) throws (it), at once, into the river.'

(685)  útsátpánták ngaúpánkau.zaúpwá saèkták zaúpwá saèkták ngaúkà hingathèngtaiyàuk weúkù lipánták  (18:16)

{út-sát = pán = ták}HEAD ngaú = pánkau  zaúpwá
abandon-descend = COS = HS say = as.it.is.the.case shan.chief

saèk-ták ngaúkà hing athèng taú = yaúk weúkù lì = pán = ták
daughter-PL as.for 3SG maiden HONR = COM bathe come = COS = HS

'Having thrown that, the chief's daughters and friends with a maiden came for a bath, it is said.'

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Kadu being a verb final language, the verbal predicate which comes at the end of the sentence is frequently marked by CFPS: mā ‘realis’, kū ‘irrealis’, and the ASP pán ‘change of state’. For instance, the tail clause in (684a) ends with the CFP mā. These CFPS are usually not repeated in the head clause. Rather, they are replaced by the pán ‘change of state’ marker followed by the evidential hearsay marker ták.

If the tail clause contains nominals, they may be restated in the head clause, as in (686) and (687).

(686) hing ēktè lākākpán (15:78)

{hing ēk =tè lā-kák =pán}TAIL  
3SG wife =A.AG take-want =COS  
‘(The king) wanted his wife.’

(687) hing ēktè lākākpánták ngaüpánkau tēcaung cāntamatāk (15:79)

{hing ēk =tè lā-kák =pán =ták ngaú =pánkau}HEAD  
3SG wife =A.AG take-want =COS =HS say =as.it.is.the.case  
hing =tè tēcaung cān-ta =mā =ták  
3SG =A.AG way.to.die plan-L.SUFF =RLS =HS  
‘Having wanted his wife, (the king) plans to kill him. it is said.’

The topic marker ká (§6.1; §11.1.3) may be employed as a temporal linker to connect the head clause with the following segment, as illustrated in (688)-(690).

(688) maeuēútóngták sā kalinghú ngāmatāk (16:1)

maeuēútóng =ták {sā kaling-hú ngā =mā =ták}TAIL  
long.long.ago =HS son two-CLF.person exist =RLS =HS  
‘Long ago, there were two sons. it is said.’
(689)  *sā kalìng-hú ngākā sā kalìng-hú amwē sanàmcímatāk* (16:2)

\{sā kalìng-hú ngā = kā\} \(_{\text{HEAD}}\)

son two-CLF.person exist = \(\text{TOP}\)

sā kalìng-hú \{amwē sanàn-cí = mā = tāk\} \(_{\text{TAIL}}\)

son two-CLF.person inheritance snatch-PL = \(\text{RLS} = \text{HS}\)

'Having two sons, they fought over the inheritance, it is said.'

(690)  *amwē sanàmcíkā anāq sā ngaúkā amwē lāpángtāk* (16:3)

\{amwē sanàn-cí = kā\} \(_{\text{HEAD}}\)

inheritance snatch-PL = \(\text{TOP}\)

anāq sā ngaúkā amwē lā = páng = tāk

this son as.for inheritance take = \(\text{DIR},\text{COS} = \text{HS}\)

'Having fought for the inheritance, these sons took their shares, it is said.'

11.3.2  Linking with adverbial clauses

The form *haìk-mā* (ablative-time), glossed as ‘that time’, also functions as a temporal linker of the two independent clauses, as in (691).

(691)  (a)  *kaphùtē ómàngmatāk* (09:100)

kaphù = tè  óm-âng = mā = tāk

snake = A.AG  hold-\(\text{DIR}_1\) = \(\text{RLS} = \text{HS}\)

'(He) held the snake, it is said.'

(b)  *haìkmà kaphù haūshiângmatāk* (09:101)

haìkmà  kaphù haū-shí-âng = mā = tāk

that.time  snake strike-die-\(\text{DIR}_1\) = \(\text{RLS} = \text{HS}\)

'At that time, the snake killed (the tiger), it is said.'
The phrase ñang-yaūngpáŋg (that-reason/because) is added at the beginning of the second clause to indicate the result/consequence.

(692) (a)  ngāká sāngpaláŋg saëktè ínlākāká seùé (25:160a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngā</th>
<th>=</th>
<th>ká</th>
<th>sāngpaláŋg</th>
<th>saëk</th>
<th>=</th>
<th>tè</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>king</td>
<td>daughter</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>A.AG</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ínlā-kák-á    = seú    = é
NEG-take-want-NEG = SAP = SAP

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

(b)  ångyaūngpáŋg hāpmā seùé (25:160)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ång-yaūngpáŋg</th>
<th>hāp</th>
<th>=</th>
<th>mā = seú = é</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that-because.of</td>
<td>weep</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>RLS = SAP = SAP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'That’s why (I) cry.'

In order to indicate a concession relationship between two independent clauses, the construction hamāngkazáŋ ngaútítā (WH-thing-Q-EMPH say-also-EMPH) is used at the beginning of the second clause, as in (693).

(693) (a)  ångpè úpteúmā (18:91)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ång</th>
<th>=</th>
<th>pè</th>
<th>út-peú</th>
<th>=</th>
<th>mā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>that</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>abandon-keep</td>
<td>=</td>
<td>RLS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘(We) left (our staff) there.’
(b)  *hamàngkazáŋ ngaútí tà lāhàngcíângmák* (18:92)

\[ hā = \text{màng} = kā = záng \quad \text{ngaú} = \text{tí} = \text{tá} \]
\[ \text{WH} = \text{thing} = \text{TOP} = \text{EMPH} \quad \text{say} = \text{also} = \text{EMPH} \]

lā-háng-cí-âng = mák
take-back-PL-DIR\textsubscript{1} = HORT

'Whatever (is) said, let’s go and take them.'
Appendix A: Kadu-English-Burmese glossary

The Kadu-English-Burmese glossary contains over 3000 entries that were gathered during my two fieldwork trips (2009-2011) among the Kadu community. Most lexical items and grammatical morphemes were gathered by extracting them from recorded language data texts and elicitation and observation in natural language settings. Since one of the main intentions of this research is to help the Kadu community develop a writing system of their own so that they can maintain their language and culture, therefore, it is presented using a tentative orthography I developed and used in this thesis. In addition, I have included Burmese glosses with the intention of making the data available to Burmese students of linguistics and Kadu younger generations who are being brought up learning to read and write Burmese.

The order of the symbols in the Kadu alphabet is arranged following English alphabetical order. Entries are also indicated with grammatical information, such as verb, noun, and particle. Abbreviations used in the glossary are presented below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adv</td>
<td>adverb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attw</td>
<td>attendant word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aux</td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>v</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Possible loanwords from Shan and Burmese are indicated by “<Shan” and “<Bur.”

Though I am pretty confident in my Burmese, due to lack of competence in Shan, many
Shan loanwords are left unmarked. Variant forms or allomorphs are indicated by ( ) brackets.

A a

a = part proclitic negative particle.
á n strength < Bur.
=á (-wá, ná, má, ná, ngá) part particle attaches to verbs or verb complexes to convey a negative sense.
ā excl oh <
à, n numeral one <
à v be opened <
-à part euphoric particle.
acān n plan < Bur.
acānāk v be in a fix < Bur.
acāng n behaviour < Bur.
acaúng n about < Bur.
acāngayín n reason < Bur.
acauteí n person < Bur.
acēng n time < Bur.
aceí v vomit <
achák n time < Bur.
achángacháng refl mutually << Bur.
achēanē n condition < Bur.
achēng n time < Bur.
achēng akhā n time < Bur.
achí n muntjac deer <
achi (chi) v chew <
achín v shake off << Bur. As in shake off buds from one's body < Bur.
achisalā achāsalā adv playful, impish<brachit v murmur <
áci adv exceedingly; extremely; very. << Bur.
áci, n elephant <
ácí, n indigenous hardwood tree << Bur.
acíceú adv extensively << Bur.
acísweú n tusk << Bur.
ahá v pull < Bur.
ahá n crab << Bur.
ahá n chin << Bur.
aháhé excl wonderful! << Bur.
ahāmungkū n beard < Bur.
ahát n smell <
ahauí (haú) v 1) crawl << Bur. 2) feel pain when someone eats pepper
ahēui (heú) v scratch << Bur.
ahēui n fish << Bur.
afk, v hot < Bur.<
afk, v veer << Bur. veer; shift
akkalēafk onmt sound of small rooster crow<brakng, onmt sound of day crying in pain < Bur.<
akng, n lake < Bur.<
akngsai halaing adv tilt << Bur.<
akngsaút aingsaút adv limp << Bur.<
ak v bloom, be slightly opened, < Bur.<
aká v roast << Bur.<
akáq n dance << Bur.<
akékhat n observe << Bur.<
akhéa n time < Bur.<
akhán n room << Bur.<
akhátong adv while < Bur.<
akhaúng n coffin < Bur.<
akhwák n permit << Bur.<
akong n all, everything << Bur.<
akonglóng n all, everything << Bur.<
akú v dry << Bur.<
akwák n blot << Bur.<
akweú n spittle << Bur.<
akweúthaúk v spit << Bur.
ákyá n tree with long edible pods
álá excl Ah last! <Bur. 
alai part accordingly <Bur. 
aléukóng n place's name <Bur. 
aléuq n turn <Bur. 
áléuq n portion <Bur. 
aló n need <Bur. 
alókè excl <Bur. 
alólo adv by itself, naturally <Bur. 
álóng n all <Bur. 
alú n offering <Bur. 
alúk n work <Bur. 
amákè adv that time <Bur. 
amán n true <Bur. 
amànkàq n truly <Bur. 
amát n official <Bur. 
amék n command <Bur. 
amèu n mother <Bur. 
amèuèawà n parent <Bur. 
amèusàsà n mother and son <Bur. 
amú n older brother <Bur. 
amúnashì n male siblings <Bur. 
amwè n inheritance <Bur. 
amyeú n always <Bur. 
amyeútán n always <Bur. 
amyò n kind <Bur. 
amyò anweú n lineage <Bur. 
amyómò n various way <Bur. 
amyótamí n female <Bur. 
an dem proximal demonstrative ° anyèu dem
án, v count <Bur. 
àn n paddy <Bur. 
anaí n maternal grandmother <Bur. 
anáàq n smell <Bur. 
anàq pron this ¨ 
anaúyathà n man's name <Bur. 
anè n condition <Bur. 
anèusòng quant at least <Bur. 
ång n sal tree <Bur. 
ång dem that <Bur. 
ång, n cabalistic square <Bur. 
ång2 n 1) lake <Bur. 2) pond <Bur. 
ång part particle attaches to verbs to denote directional meaning of away from deictic centre. 
ångchàq v inscribe <Bur. 
ångnáq pron that one <Bur. 
ångòk n stump <Bur. 
ångtùng n basin <Bur. 
ångyeúzàngngaúti conj however <Bur. 
ångzàngngaúti conj but <Bur. 
ångzàngngaúti conj however <Bur. 
ånkàtn n barn <Bur. 
ånkù n rice <Bur. 
ånmeú n paddy <Bur. exclusively with paddy that is mixed with pounded rice. 
ånmeú n paddy <Bur. 
ånpànpaúk n second version of pounded rice <Bur. 
ånsàu n glutinous paddy <Bur. 
ånsàúsát n sticky rice <Bur. 
àntàk (matàk) pron third person plural form. <Bur. 
àntàn (àntahàn) adv quite <Bur. 
anweú n lineage <Bur. 
anyeú dem like this, this manner <Bur. 
anyínakhòng n argue <Bur. 
ànzàpòng n pounded paddy <Bur. 
àp clf classifier for counting numbers words or utterances <Bur. 
àp clf classifier for counting numbers of mouthful <Bur. 
apàí, n portion <Bur. 
apàí (paí) locn tip top <Bur. 
apáng n curse <Bur. 
apàù locn upon <Bur. 
apàuk n hole <Bur. 
apòèclf n clump <Bur. tuft or clump of hair or grass. 
aphweúq n team <Bur. 
aphyít n state <Bur. 
áphyít n by <Bur. 
apú n ngapi <Bur. 
485
apyā n blue <Bur.
apyín conj in addition to <Bur.
apyít n mistake <Bur.
apyōpyān n maiden <Bur.
asā v shake <Bur.
asānga n intestines <Bur.
asák n life, age <Bur.
asáng n group <Bur.
asāyēsa n food <Bur.
asāng látlát adv still fresh, or raw <Bur.
asēng n connection <Bur.
asēt n level <Bur.
asó n ruler <Bur.
asóng part extremity <Bur.
asūn n edge <Bur.
aswe n friend <Bur.
aswei n tusk <Bur.
āt n broken <Bur.
āt v submit <Bur.
atā n rice <Bur.
atā ex consol. <Bur.
atāi n pattern <Bur.
atāsā nga v change or reverse position of things; turn inside out <Bur.
atāshing n left over rice or snack literally, cold food <Bur.
atāu n paternal grandmother <Bur.
atāupa n maternal grandmother <Bur.
atāuțațațu adv somewhat <Bur.
atē n older sister <Bur.
atēkpeț n meaning <Bur.
atēnashi n 1) sibling sisters 2) siblings <Bur.
ateț excl. oh, you <Bur.
athàng v guess <Bur.
athaưng n mother-in-law <Bur. term used by the female to her in-laws.<Bur.
athéng n maiden <Bur.
ateț locn inside <Bur.
ateț locn up <Bur.
ateț atateț adv repeatedly <Bur.
atīq locn up to <Bur.
athú adv extraordinary <Bur.
áthūk v meditate <Bur.
athútalē n unusually <Bur.
athwé n youngest <Bur.
athweț n come out <Bur.
atí v soft <Bur.
atík n vegetable <Bur.
atúțu adv together <Bur.
atwé adv idea <Bur.
atwéqacūng n experience <Bur.
aț prn hither <Bur.
aț excl well! <Bur.
ațk, locn below <Bur.
ațk v flip, change or reverse position of things; turn inside out <Bur.
ațkchīn n seaweed kind of edible seaweed <Bur.
ațkswéț n lower area <Bur.
ațlauq n speaker <Bur.
ațm locn front <Bur.
ațmpă n geese <Bur.
ațmpeț n duck <Bur.
ațng v pass <Bur.
ațng n particle that attaches before kinship terms, father and mother to make it very polite <Bur.
ațngawā n parents <Bur.
ațngmyin n succeed <Bur.
ațngtānnweț n man's name <Bur.
aungtweú n bamboo basket
awà n father
awásásá n father and son
awút n clothe
ayàn v poor
ayáng n prior
ayát n place
ayaúng n color
ayé n matter
ayaúng n sense
ayék n shadow
ayékchë n situation
ayúng n sense
ayweú n age
azàk n the name Kadu called themselves.
azàn v pity, sympathetic
azāq n begin
azīazīn n plan
azúq n group
cá v in between
cā part contracted form of plural marker cí and euphoric marker à
cáq v cost/fall
cāq part particle attaches to verbs to denote plurality.
cáqtaù n as for
cáu n shoulder back
cáu v like
cák v cook
cáknáng n fence
cáksaháng n drumstick
całn n guardian Nat
camà n luck
căn v remain
căn v plan
cáng v flat?
cáng part contraction of (cí + áng = cáng)
cângchí n mirror
cânphán v plan
cânpyén n floor
cánsà n script
cânsítá n man’s name
cânzi v plan
cápá n lotus
capù n tree
cáq v cost/fall
cácq part particle attaches to verbs to denote plurality.
cácqáq adv do something carefully or comfortably
cáqtaù n as for
cáu n shoulder back
cáu v like
cák v cook
cáknáng n fence
cáksaháng n drumstick
camà n luck
căn v remain
căn v plan
cáng v flat?
cáng part contraction of (cí + áng = cáng)
cângchí n mirror
cânphán v plan
cânpyén n floor
cánsà n script
cânsítá n man’s name
cânzi v plan
cápá n lotus
cēng, clf time <Bur.
cēng, n rattan <Bur.
cēng v roll <Shan
cētaú, n place's name <Bur.
cēu, v full (stomach) <Shan
cēu, n buffalo <Bur.
cēu, v wide <Bur.
cēu, 1) read 2) sing 3) crow <Shan
cēu, n night or dark <Shan
cēu, v species of thorny creeper <Bur.
cēu lamù, n buffalo <Bur.
cēu paíkpaík, n yellow <Bur.
cēu ceú, adv with satisfaction <Bur.
cēu ceú, n 1) read 2) sing 3) crow <Shan
cēu ceú, n over ripe <Shan
cēu ceú, n night or dark <Shan
ceú ceú, v deaf <Bur.
cēu ceú, n species of thorny creeper <Bur.
cēu paíkpaík, n yellow <Bur.
cēu ceú, adv with satisfaction <Bur.
chêutphâng, n eve <Bur.
chêyâ, n foot print <Bur.
chí, v sour <Bur.
chí, v true <Bur.
chí, v march <Bur.
chí, v wash <Bur.
chí, n dung or excrement <Bur.
chilâchíqlâ, v tag question <Bur.
chímánkwín, n magical tied ring <Bur.
chimintâ, n toilet <Bur.
chîmtúng, n clan's name <Bur.
chîn, v come near <Bur.
chînik, v defecate <Bur.
chînlînmúng, n place's name <Bur.
chîn, n vegetable <Bur.
chítwín, n river's name <Bur.
chipî, (chitât), v fart <Bur.
chipôkhalûk, adv worriedly <Bur.
chít, v verbal particle that attaches to verb to denote rarity. <Bur.
chithû, n anus <Bur.
chîttí, n man's name <Bur.
chô, n outer layer of bamboo <Bur.
chîngpûk, n bush <Bur.
chông (chungcá), n bush <Bur.
chût, v take off <Bur.
ci, n big <Bur.
-ci part particle attaches to verbs to denote plurality. <Bur.
ci, v peel as in taking out the inner layer of banana, cane plan. <Bur.
ci subd particle attaches to negated verbal predicates to mean 'before'. <Bur.
ciceu, adv extremely <Bur.
cihaûm, n flower <Bur.
ciläng, n squirrel <Bur.
cim, n house <Bur.
címaúng n gong < Bur.
címmát n look after the house
címmèù n north
címpák n 1) corridor 2) south
címsàt v set up a separate house, or start a new family
címtai n pillar
címwáng n compound
dí v narrow
dí v fall; drop (of leaves, fruits, etc.); drop off.
dí, n cucumber(small) small size and has some spots.
dí, v dry exclusively with fruits.
-díng part contracted form of cí ‘plural’ + íng directional particle.
díú v delight < Bur.
díúphweù n delightful be delighted, be very pleased; enraptured. < Bur.
díúq n earthworm
díwán n pineapple
díyō v respect < Bur.
díp v firm

cipōn n spear
cisék n plea
cisók n 1) wild dog 2) kind of black big ants
cit v pluck
cit v come close
cósámúq n trying hard
cótdók v tie < Bur.
cówaítaiú n palace’s name < Bur.
cózó v try hard < Bur.
cúm n slave
cúmmáq n slave girl
cún n island
cúng v meet or happen by chance or by accident or unintentionally or coincidentally < Bur.
cúngkó n trunk of reeds
-cúpí n reed
-cwáq v come < Bur.
cwēúq n wild yam
-cwēúqtaúng n place’s name
-cweútsúk n shrew

cém e excl yes:
-e=e part euphoric particle which usually occur following speaker attitude particle. seú:
êé e excl yes:
êk n wife
êklá v man marrying a woman
êksáhalá n couple, a husband and a wife
êlā adv large, giant
êng n house < Bur.
êngmák n dream < Bur.
êngnyaúng n house lizard < Bur.

E e

é e excl yes:
=e part euphoric particle which usually occur following speaker attitude particle. seú:
êé e excl yes:
êk n wife
êklá v man marrying a woman
êksáhalá n couple, a husband and a wife
êlā adv large, giant
êng n house < Bur.
êngmák n dream < Bur.
êngnyaúng n house lizard < Bur.
êngsací n leader of a particular clan < Bur.
êngsó n ruler of the clan or family
êngthaúng n family, couple and household
ênhám n man’s name
ênhám n elephant foot yam tuber
êùn v die slang?
êùn n barn barn built underneath the house.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>eúqaūshī</th>
<th>wheel used in waving</th>
<th>eút</th>
<th>v left</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>eúqkhān</td>
<td>v receive guest</td>
<td>eút</td>
<td>v drop</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### H h

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>há</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>há₂</td>
<td>v jeer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>há</td>
<td>v grasp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā</td>
<td>v walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā₂</td>
<td>excl ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā₃</td>
<td>v bitter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hā₄</td>
<td>v be hit</td>
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<tr>
<td>hà</td>
<td>prn WH word</td>
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<tr>
<td>hâ</td>
<td>n five</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **hà** aux know how  
- **hàai** n waist  
- **hāāng téàng** v go to and fro  
- **hàháng** n Kachin  
- **hāk** part from  
- **hāikkâ (heúq)** conj and then, after that  
- **hāikmà** adv that time  
- **hāikmākhâ (hāikmákhâ)** adv as for that time, and then  
- **hâing** v came up  
- **hâing part** particle attach to nouns indicating the sense of exclusiveness. (comparable in usage to adverbs 'only', 'alone', 'just')  
- **hâinghaúng** n cow bell  
- **hâk** v shout or call aloud  
- **hâk₂** v widen or spread out, scatter; space out  
- **hâk₃** clf classifier for counting branches  
- **hâk₄** v dislocate  
- **hâkceù** n turmeric  
- **hākū** v reckon, think, guess  
- **halá** n husband  
- **halák** v dull  
- **halâk** n branch  
- **halákh aux** roughly  
- **halán halán** adv fold something repeatedly  
- **halánāng** v woman marrying a man  
- **haláng n** 1) head 2) sky  
- **halâng** v in vain, meaningless  
- **halánghú** n hair  
- **halângkâ** v 1) hot 2) head burning  
- **halângkâk** n headdress  
- **halánglâ** n late  
- **halângmûn** v wind  
- **halângthâng** v dark  
- **halângweú** v rain  
- **halângyâ** v dawn  
- **halângzèk** v headache  
- **haláp** v stack  
- **haláp haláp** adv stack.repeatedly  
- **halaúk** n bunch  
- **halawâ** n man/husband  
- **halawâshâ** n boy  
- **haleû part** accidentally  
- **halí** n boat  
- **halíng locn** behind  
- **halíngsátâ** n last month  
- **halíngtâm** n backward  
- **halóng** n small mat  

*small square mat which*
is used to dry tea leaf and hot cooked rice.
halú n particle that attaches to kinship terms to indicate immediate blood relation.
halú halú adv rounded object ကြား
halúng onmt sound make by flame သာစာ
hám 1 v setting a bait သုံးပြောင်း သုံးစွဲ
hám 2 clf classifier for counting numbers of packages သင်ယူ သုံးပြောင်း
-hám aux be over, be excess အ
hamán n spirit တွေး
hamàngkàngàtéq prn why ကျွန်ုပ်
hameú n person ယောက်
hamòk n sky စကောင်း
hamòkalúm v thundering စိုးသော
hamòkphà v (of lightning) strike. စိုးသော
hamòkzhàp v lightning စိုးသော
hamúk (kamúk) n under တိုးမဲ
hán, v be threaten နေထိုင် နေထိုင်<Bur.
hán 2 n mat ကြိုက်
hān, v lessen လက်
hān, v flow or go downward လယ်တစ် လယ်
hànàq n which နှင့်
háng v be sharp စကောင်း
hāng v huge/wide gap ကြိုက်
-háng aux 1) back ကြိုက် 2) again ကြိုက်
hángchì n cloud ဝါး
hānghák n toad မှု
hāngkashi hāngkazák adv sparsely နွေးသော
hāngmú n wild yam အယ်လှန်း အယ်လှန်း
hàngshíng n top (toy) ကြက်
hāngtì n sweet potato ကြက်
haning prn second person plural form. နေင်
hé-n particle that attaches before the kinship terms to denote affectionate.

héq excl exclamation.

héte (hé-, até) n older sister.

heù excl yes.

heù, v 1) tell 2) answer.

heù, n resin.

heù, v climb.

heù, v borrow.

heù, v plant exclusively with planting as with potato and yam.

heùhán onmt sound of wave?

heùhán heùhán adv go ups and downs.

heùheù onmt sound make when someone is short of breath.

heùm v pregnant.

heùn v reluctant.

heùp, v squeeze.

heùp, v lure.

-heùq part contraction of an auxiliary verb and a directional verbal particle (háng + ing = heùq).

heùsàt heùsàt adv go ups and downs.

heùting sàting n ladder.

heútlá n star flower plant.

heùttín n slipper.

héwà n father.

hin v tease.

híng onmt roar.

híng pron third person singular form.

híngkálîng n bell small spherical metallic bell which is wore in child's leg.

híngkáu híngká refl himself.

híp v fall.

hípphângmákkû (mákkû) n rib.

hit v hang.

hîtzalaúng n hook.

hó excl exclamation.

hóhôn n ash pumpkin.

hôhônná n kind of edible leaf.

hôk, n six.

hôk, v take off as a stick or post.

hôkáq pron there.

hôm v confine.

hông part verbal particle attaches to verb to indicate sympathy.

hôp, v be astringent.

hôp, v tie.

hôt v make a hole.

hôtín pron there.

hôtungkátaúq n long ago.

hú, clf classifier for counting numbers of people occurs with numerals one to there.

hú2 v boil.

hû v burn.

hûhû (hahú) n snail.

hûk clf classifier for counting numbers of rounded objects as in counting ball, pumpkin etc.

húktúktúk adv truly.

hûlà empty.

hûlà hûlà adv empty.

hûlássá n bastard.

hûnàsá n fontanelle, soft spot in the cranium of an infant.

hûng clf stalk(banana).

hûngnat n Nat's name.

hûnzaú n spoon.

hûp v 1) peel or to take off. 2) take off.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hùpón</td>
<td>n kind of plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hūtâ</td>
<td>n cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>húyá (katháng)</td>
<td>n firefly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>húyeû</td>
<td>n ridged gourd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### I i

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>n thread</td>
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<tr>
<td>ì</td>
<td>v give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>í</td>
<td>n female's nick name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikúq</td>
<td>n scarab beetle's egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilôt</td>
<td>n bobbin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ín, excl</td>
<td>Oh yes!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ín, pron</td>
<td>there</td>
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<tr>
<td>ín</td>
<td>part proclitic negative particle</td>
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<tr>
<td>ínaing</td>
<td>n cabalistic square</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ínán</td>
<td>n maiden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>íncháq</td>
<td>v inscribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>íning</td>
<td>part particle attaches to verbs to denote directional meaning of toward a deictic centre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inging (iing)</td>
<td>adv tiny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingzàngngaûti</td>
<td>conj however</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ingzânting</td>
<td>conj however</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>innátông</td>
<td>n later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intông</td>
<td>locn next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îp</td>
<td>v narrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îp</td>
<td>v sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îpmàng</td>
<td>n dream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îpmângthi</td>
<td>v talk or act in one's sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îppát</td>
<td>v sound sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îpthing</td>
<td>v unconscious</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îshíq</td>
<td>n girl or woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îshíqshā</td>
<td>n girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îsúk</td>
<td>n prawn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îtalá</td>
<td>n thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>îtông</td>
<td>n female's name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### K k

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ká, n</td>
<td>car</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ká2</td>
<td>v hot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâ, n</td>
<td>block</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâ2</td>
<td>n soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâ, v</td>
<td>show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâ, part thing</td>
<td>= ká part topic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= kà part</td>
<td>such as, so on frequently occur in a structure as in káâkà 'things so on' = kà part interrogative particle enclitic to nouns.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaaù</td>
<td>n throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâcáng</td>
<td>n plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kachin</td>
<td>n Kachin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahing</td>
<td>adv quite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kahú (kahûng)</td>
<td>v hot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

493
kahún n termite
kahúnpúngtūng n termite mound
kaí excl well ṭōń
kaí n frame ṭōń: < Bur.
kaí kaí n type of plant ṭōń
kaítàk n frame ṭōń:
kāk v pulled or stretched tightly. eg the leather used as in drum. ṭōń
kàk v open up ṭōń exclusively with opening up dam water ṭōń
kák, v go down the wrong pipe
kák cf classifier for counting numbers long thin objects ṭōń occurs with numerals one to three. ṭōń
-kák aux particle attaches to verbs to denote wish or desire to do. ṭōń
kákcing n charcoal ṭōń
kalá n Indian ṭōń:
kalácahauńg n coriander ṭōń
kalaíng adv onomatopoic word ṭōń
kalák n stick ṭōń: variant form of kák
kalán n motor road ṭōń: < Bur.
=kaláŋ quant particle attaches to nouns to indicate that the quantity mentioned is an approximation. ṭōń
kalaú n wood ṭōń
kalaúng n many ṭōń
kalaúngtóng adv many ṭōń
kalé n place's name ṭōń
kalét n cricket ṭōń
kaling n two ṭōń
kalún n tree or plant ṭōń
kalúng onmt sound of falling an object ṭōń
kalúng n name of mythical creature ṭōń
kām v lay ṭōń:
-kām aux prior action ṭōń
kamà n wound ṭōń
kamà kapeút adv wood ṭōń
kámàkà part such sort of things ṭōń
kamí n bamboo shoot ṭōń
kamík v look by concentration. ṭōń
kámíkaúk n scorpion ṭōń: < Bur.
kamòkchí n species of amaranth used as a vegetable ṭōń
kämpák v break ṭōń
kämpáng n tree ṭōń: name of several species of small evergreen trees producing clusters of acidulous fruit.
kämpáúkchí n acacia ṭōń
kán, v bad ṭōń:
kán (kám ) n plate, bowl
kán v bite ṭōń: bite without causing pain. ṭōń
kán, v fortune ṭōń: < Bur.
kán n human grown field ṭōń:
kán v multiply ṭōń
kán v squeeze ṭōń
kaná n ear ṭōń: kanácèū v
kanà n hurt ṭōń:
kànà kanón adv sickly ṭōń
kanácèū v be deaf ṭōń:
kàñchéíq n opium ṭōń: slang: literally it is a combination of 'wound' plus 'dung'
kàñhà v be sick ṭōń:
kànähám v listen secretly ṭōń:
kànán n Kanan ṭōń:
kànàt v starve ṭōń:
kanaú n beginning ṭōń: < Bur.
kàncámâ n luck ṭōń:
kàncí n man's name ṭōń:
kànéú n fruit ṭōń:
kàŋ, (múngkàŋ) v old ṭōń:
kàŋ v inflate ṭōń
kàng v roast ṭōń: roast superficially. ṭōń
kàng kàng onmt sound of falling down a big object ṭōń
kànglaí n center ṭōń: < Shan
kàngnyàng n large tree with oily sap ṭōń
kàngpàng n tree ṭōń:
kángpè kángná  

n isolated or unimportant places  

kàngtalá  

v be old (material)  

kánhalük  

n bowl  

kánhú  

n bed sheet  

kánshí kánsaík  

adv battered  

kántāt  

n taro  

kánzaún  

n water convolvulus  

kāntāt  

n taro  

kānzaún  

n water convolvulus  

kāp  

v shoot  

kāp  

v prepare  

kāp  

1  

v beat  

kāp  

2  

v peel  

kāp  

3  

v stick  

kapā  

n world  

kapá  

1  

n bank  

kapá  

2  

n large mole  

kapá  

3  

v patch  

kapá  

4  

n world  

kapán  

1  

n herbaceous plant  

kapán  

2  

n large mole  

= kapán part clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate the sense of immediate future.  

kapáng saláng  

adv empty  

kapātiú  

n from the very beginning  

kapaiú  

n Shan  

kapaití  

n testicles  

kapeú  

n goat  

kapeút  

attw attendant word which follows the word katōng 'worm' as in katōng kapeút  

kaphaíf kaphaíf  

adv keep in vicinity  

kaphaíf  

adv keep in vicinity  

(k)  

(keep, remain, loiter) in the vicinity of somebody or something.  

kaphāń  

n wall  

kaphaúk  

n kind of rounded leaf  

kaphaút  

attw attendant word which follows kazeút as in kazeút kaphaúk
capheú  

n monitor lizard  

kaphú  

n snake  

kapí  

n mole (animal)  

kapôn,  

n ringworm  

kapôn,  

n collect  

kaphòng kasáú  

adv gather  

kapóng  

v rinse  

kapōt  

n ashes  

kappeú  

n scales  

kapú  

v rotten  

kapú salú  

adv deteriorate  

deteriorate; be in a state of decay.  

kapyá  

n poem  

káq  

v dance  

= káq, part from  

= káq, part topic marker  

kasà  

n tiger  

kásaleú (ká)  

n sand  

larger in size than samát.  

kásamát  

n sand  

kasáng  

n back  

kasát  

n bear  

kasé  

n sarong  

kasèng  

v raw  

kaseú  

n tree  

kasín  

v cold  

kasín tuktúk  

adv cool  

kasínshí  

n hail  

kasòk  

n frog  

kasōngláq  

n second month of the lunar calendar.  

kasú  

attw attendant word which follow the word kapú 'rotten' as in kapú kasú  

kasú  

n gibbon  

kasúm  

v hide  

kát,  

v 1) run  

2)  

kát,  

v 1) come close  

2) glue  

kát,  

n tree  

kát,  

v offer  


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Burmese</th>
<th>Pali Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāt n</td>
<td>place shelf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāt</td>
<td>classifier for counting numbers of yokes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katā n</td>
<td>place's name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katāk v</td>
<td>rare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katāk n</td>
<td>loom stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katām v</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katām shīshī adv</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katāmá n</td>
<td>driver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katàng n</td>
<td>bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kataū n</td>
<td>wife of an official or a respected person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kataút n</td>
<td>fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kática páksá n</td>
<td>squirrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kática líng n</td>
<td>squirrel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katē n</td>
<td>million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katēkshī n</td>
<td>clay pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katēu v</td>
<td>leak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kathá n</td>
<td>incantation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kathāng n</td>
<td>chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>katháp v</td>
<td>stack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kathaù v</td>
<td>be numbed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kathì kathāù adv</td>
<td>curlicue; convolution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kathòk v</td>
<td>stack up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kathòn n</td>
<td>youngest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātu v</td>
<td>fold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātīq n</td>
<td>promise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātnauk n</td>
<td>resin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātōk n</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāton n</td>
<td>barn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāton v</td>
<td>roll as rolling mats.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātōng n</td>
<td>Burmese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātōng n</td>
<td>worm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātōng kapeút n</td>
<td>insects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātu v</td>
<td>see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātu ngpa v</td>
<td>imagine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātūpak v</td>
<td>bald</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kātūzipāung n</td>
<td>porcupine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāú v</td>
<td>curl up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāú, v</td>
<td>curl up at the ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāú adv</td>
<td>beautifully</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāú adv</td>
<td>classifier for counting numbers of yokes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāú adv</td>
<td>occurs numerals four to nine.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāú adv</td>
<td>take along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāú1 n</td>
<td>fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāú2 v</td>
<td>invite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāû1 v</td>
<td>curl up at the ends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāû2 n</td>
<td>gum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāû3 v</td>
<td>need</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāûhán n</td>
<td>otter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāūn n</td>
<td>bamboo root frame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāūng n</td>
<td>nine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāūng adv</td>
<td>part topic marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāūng adv</td>
<td>stack up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāūng adv</td>
<td>step on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāūng kīn n</td>
<td>sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāūp v</td>
<td>stack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāūpyá n</td>
<td>spade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāūpyá n</td>
<td>invite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāūpyá n</td>
<td>invite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāūyē n</td>
<td>liquid glue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāūyē n</td>
<td>liquid glue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāyā n</td>
<td>mountain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāyà v</td>
<td>lose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāyà v</td>
<td>lose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāyīyaq n</td>
<td>implement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāyū n</td>
<td>rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāzāk v</td>
<td>stir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāzalóng n</td>
<td>clusters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāzalóng n</td>
<td>clusters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāzalún kasalún adv</td>
<td>imitative expression; in large quantity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāzán subd</td>
<td>manner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kzaú v flow རྒྱ་
kzaú v putting palms together  ཉིན་པའི་ཐེ་ཐེ།
ôn tó  ཉིན་པའི་ཐེ་ཐེ། འཕྲུབ་ཐོབ་ འཕྲུབ་ཐོབ་
kzeú v wash སྤེལ།
kzeú v 1) be lower, low status གྲུབ་ 2) གྲུབ་
kzeút v quick རྟུག
kzeút-kaphaúk adv quickly དཔལ་ཐུག
kází n crucifying post འབྲུག་ འབྲུག་
kazing v ginger རྡོ།
kazíp v wring རྡོ།
kazuk v start fire རྡོ།
keú v naughty གོ་<Bur.
keú excl well! གོ་<Bur.
keú v save གོ་<Bur.
keú excl right! གོ་<Bur.
keútaúmúpá v help! རབ་ རབ་<Bur.
keútín v save རབ་<Bur.
kñí n word indicating number of times གོ་<Bur.
khai v strong and lasting གོ་<Bur.
kñín n chapter/room གོ་<Bur.
kñín 1) receive གོ་<Bur. 2) accept གོ་<Bur.
khanak v pleasant,bitter རབ།
khanák khanák adv somewhat bitter རབ།
khanák adv often གོ་<Bur.
kñánq v appoint གོ་<Bur.
kñát v add གོ་<Bur.
kñát excl strike གོ་<Bur.
kñálé adv somewhat heavy གོ་<Bur.
kñau v call གོ་<Bur.
kñuŋmo n roof གོ་<Bur.
kñayí n journey གོ་<Bur.
kñék n this era གོ་<Bur.
kñék excl attendant word གོ་<Bur.
kñét v difficult གོ་<Bur.
-kheúq aux verbal particle གོ་<Bur.
kñmnyáqú n female's name གོ་<Bur.
kñnyí n female's name གོ་<Bur.
kñí n era གོ་<Bur.
khó n smoke གོ་<Bur.
khó v make a short stay གོ་<Bur.
khó2 n pigeon གོ་<Bur.
khók v chop གོ་<Bur.
khónán n place's name གོ་<Bur.
khun clf classifier for counting numbers words or utterances གོ་<Bur.
khùnnayét n seven day གོ་<Bur.
khùnnayét tapá n seven days a week གོ་<Bur.
khúq v be offended གོ་<Bur.
khwá v leave གོ་<Bur. n hoof གོ་<Bur.
khwák n cup གོ་<Bur.
khwéíkchí n place's name གོ་<Bur.
kheuíú n half གོ་<Bur. v split གོ་<Bur.
kheuíuí v coil གོ་<Bur.
kheuíuíthwété v branch out, separated གོ་<Bur.
kínmeúq v be free from གོ་<Bur.
kó n nine གོ་<Bur.
kó2 n 1) body/self གོ་<Bur. 2) self གོ་<Bur.
kó2 part honorific term for male person. གོ་<Bur.
=kó part anti-agentive marker གོ་<Bur.
kók v smear གོ་<Bur.
kókweúi v worship གོ་<Bur.
kólángtékó refl oneself གོ་<Bur.
kóm v enough གོ་<Bur.
kóm v prepare གོ་<Bur. exclusively with food.
=kóm subd in order to, so as to གོ་<Bur.
kóng n hill གོ་<Bur.
kóngyóci n hill གོ་<Bur.
kønháng n basket གོ་<Bur.
kønháng kónthôk n baskets གོ་<Bur.
kónnáng (kweúr|nâng) n fence གོ་<Bur.
kñóthaüng v old person གོ་<Bur.
kópyaúk n magical power to make oneself invisible གོ་<Bur.
kótán n nine outlets གོ་<Bur.
kótánpaúkwaq n place's name གོ་<Bur.
kótkô refl oneself གོ་<Bur.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kōyaúk</td>
<td>oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōyaúkkōkā</td>
<td>reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kú</td>
<td>see to bath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kū</td>
<td>steal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūlāng</td>
<td>in awe or wonder with eyes popping out.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kùm</td>
<td>verbal particle attaches to a verb indicating unfinished activity. exclusively with negated VP.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūn</td>
<td>pick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūng</td>
<td>prestige</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūnt</td>
<td>every day, each day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kūnyī</td>
<td>help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lákhāk</td>
<td>instrument?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lákhaúk</td>
<td>bark as in tree bark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= lakō</td>
<td>speaker attitude particle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakóng</td>
<td>as well, ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lákpàng</td>
<td>red silk cotton tree Salmalia malabarica.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>láksamá</td>
<td>carpenter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lákzeút</td>
<td>tear off as off snake's skin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lákzwéú</td>
<td>comedian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lám,</td>
<td>dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lámá</td>
<td>road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= lamà</td>
<td>particle attaches at the end of utterances to indicate a surprise realisation; mirative status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= lakaú</td>
<td>particle attaches at the end of utterances to indicate a surprise realisation; mirative status.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>= lák</td>
<td>part interrogative particle enclitic to verbal clauses. the morpheme is realised as a nominaliser only when the preceding noun phrase is attached with naik 'only'. naík/sà + V + lá</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
adverbs ‘as’, ‘like’)
lamaúng n mortar <Bur.
lämming v miss the road <Bur.
lámmù lámpá n roadside: has a negative meaning when refers to someone.
lámphák n tea <Bur.
lámphákweú n tea <Bur.
lázmá v be far, far distance <Bur.
lán, n spear ḥ <Bur.
lán, v tilt back ḥ <Bur.
láng, v pleasant probably there is variety differences Settau people do not agree with this word.
láng, (láng) n body ḥ <Bur.
láng, v just take ḥ <Bur.
lángshingkaling n naked: only upper body. ḥ <Bur.
lánq v afraid ḥ <Bur.
lánsüng lánkhwáq n junction ḥ <Bur.
lánzécã n powerful magical spear
láp clf classifier for counting numbers times or occasions ḥ
láp v 1) catch ḥ 2) reachable ḥ
lapá n field <Bur.
lapàng n check ḥ
lapók n bamboo ḥ
láq n month ḥ
láppyq n full moon night ḥ <Bur.
láuk (lút) v 1) release ḥ 2) escape ḥ <Bur.
láuklé n sling shot ḥ <Bur.
láukzà n mud stone use to shot with sling shot ḥ <Bur.
láun v make circle ḥ: shake grain around in a circular bamboo tray to separate it from the chaff.
láun v exceed ḥ <Bur.
láung v pour ḥ <Bur.
làung n drainage ḥ <Bur.
lé n four ḥ <Bur.
= lé part speaker attitude particle; you know? ḥ <Bur.
lé n boat ḥ <Bur.
lécimócí v raining at the same time windy ḥ <Bur.
lék v askew  ḥ exclusively with knife, hoe etc ḥ <Bur.
léng v lie ḥ <Bur.
léngmá v clever ḥ = léo part speaker attitude particle; of course! ḥ
léq v roam ḥ <Bur.
léqlã v research ḥ <Bur.
léqleú v go around ḥ <Bur.
= léta part particle attaches to utterance to indicate to denote speaker attitude. ḥ <Bur.
léttwéqáphyít adv practically ḥ <Bur.
leú n ox cart ḥ <Bur.
leú v visit ḥ <Bur.
leún clf classifier for counting numbers long thin objects ḥ occurs with numerals four to nine. ḥ <Bur.
leùshing (lashing) n sebean seed or potsherds ḥ taken Entada pursaetha used in a game of pitch. ḥ <Bur.
leút clf classifier for counting numbers of implement and tools ḥ <Bur.
leútnéút n weapon ḥ <Bur.
leùtní n potholder ḥ: potholder; cloth used when handling hot cooking utensils.
leútsaúng n gift ḥ <Bur.
leúthhát v marry ḥ <Bur.
lézá v respect ḥ <Bur.
li v come ḥ
lihàng naháng adv go to and fro ḥ <Bur.
lin subd if ḥ <Bur.
lizáng n coop (sd) ḥ
ló v need ḥ <Bur.
lóát v need ḥ <Bur.
lók v abandon ḥ exclusively with liquid. ḥ <Bur.
lólémashiq v nothing lack of ḥ <Bur.
lólô adv appear like ḥ <Bur.
lóm v warm အား လေ;
lóm paùkpaùk adv warm အာချ်အား;
lómhā n warm clothe အာချ်ချင်း;
lôn n mud အာ;
lóng, clf classifier for counting numbers of round objects အာ;
lón n round အာ;
lóngshíng n stone အာ;
lóngwáq adv completely အာ;
lóngzā n honing or sharpening stone အာ;
lóq part particle used by a public crier when announcing something in public. အာ;
lū, n human အာ;
lū₂ v get အာ;
lū₃ v offer အာ;
lük (halük) clf classifier for counting numbers rounded objects အာ;
lükłęng (nükłęng) n servant အာ;
lükngánkhwin n workplace အာ;
lúktá n brother-in-law အာ <Shan;
lúmyó n race အာ;
lúng v white အာ;
lúng püngpüng adv white အာ;
lúngkāung n clan's name အာ;
lúnglúng adv completely; entirely; without exception; throughout; the whole time အာ;
lúnglúng n clan's name အာ;
lūpyō n bachelor အာ <Bur; lüzín n (of social attributes) be of standard. အာ <Bur;
lwá v peel အာ <Bur; lwáí (lwá) v reach out အာ;
lwáng v flutter အာ;
lwāng n plain အာ;
lwáq n handsaw အာ;
lweú₁ v except အာ;
lweú₂ v sling အာ;

Ma- n this § has negative implication such as in 'that one!' in English' အောက်လေ; mā = part negative particle which attaches before the verb အာ;
mā₁ (nā) part clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate realis mood. အာ;
mā₂ part nominal relational marker equivalent to English locative prepositions such as 'at', 'on', 'in', or 'by'. အာ;
má₁ v be septic အာ;
má₂ v mistake အာ;
má₃ excl what! အာ;
mā, v sell အာ;
mā₁ n timber-tree yielding smooth-grained wood. အာ;
mā₂ n time အာ;
máeú n long ago အာ;
máeúéútóng n long long ago အာ;
máeútóng n long ago အာ;
mahā n large အာ;
mahāmyaing n place's name အာ;
maháng prn that thing
mai n mile  < Bur.
maifhau n kind of tree
maifkú n (meiákú) n tail
maifkmázeú (manaifkmázeú) adv never
maifkméú v dark  < Bur.
maifntung n place's name
mák v open
= mák part clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate hortative sense.
màk, v be a long time
màk v, v thorn inside the flesh
makácíng n mushroom
mákha n time/when
mákheú n parrot
mákhu n tick  tick, parasite which infests cattle, horses, goats, etc
mákkú n bone
mákná n myrobalan tree
mákkáz v be pricked
malá n flesh
malá attv attendant word which follows maleú 'good' as in maleá malá  'good’. malánmakán n proximity
malát (-máit) part verbal particle that attaches to verb to denote adverbial meaning of truly and certainty.
malaut n kind of climbing shrub bearing red, acidulous, oblong fruit Elaeagnus latifolia.
maléq prn First person plural form.
maleú-malá adv well
mamá n maternal aunty
mán, part particle to nouns or verbs to indicate cognizance
mán n 1) face  2) in front of
mán v decay  
( )
mán v turn face aside
mán, v true  < Bur.
máq n feminine
= máq conj particle attaches to nouns or verb to denote emphasis.
manáceú (nákceú) n last night
mánló v envy  < Bur.
manáng attv attendant word which follows maning 'what manner' as in maning manáng may be translated into English as 'whatever manner'
mandalay n Mandalay
máng n date
mäng n pride
= màng prn morpheme which attaches to interrogative pronouns to indicate 'which things' or 'what'
mángceng (macíng) n tamarind
mángha n summer
mängká n guava
mängkalásaúng v wedding
mángmú mángtái n public work
mángsá n prince
mángtung n guardian house Nat
mángyák n day
maning manáng adv in such a manner
maning maneúq adv whatever
mánkatám v shy
mánpí v wash face
mánsácéng (ménsqácéng) n love letter
mánsaq n maiden
mánsatá n coming month
mánták v 1) think  2) guess
mántán n mantra
mántayá n mantra  < Bur.
mántháng n ugly person
maphyítaipeú v it is not possible
mapyétá v can't run
mapyít v does not abandon  < Bur.
= máq conj
máqlé excl exclamatory နေ့စ်:
= másà subd particle attaches to verbs to denote emphasis. (equivalent in usage to the adverbial
'only then' or 'only if'). ပညာ:
= màshaúk (màshaúk) subd particle attaches to verbs to denote emphasis. (equivalent in usage to
the meaning 'only then' or 'since then'). ပညာ:
máñshì (máñshì) n sugarcane လျှပ်စစ်:
mát v note သင့်:
mát v scold စောင်း:
mátè subd when နေ့စ်:
máthák subd more သင့်စံ့ကာ:
mátmíq v remember သင့်စံ့ကာ:
mátsà (mátsà) adv tempting သင့်စံ့ကာ <Shan?:
mátsì adv pleasing သင့်စံ့ကာ:
maú n plum နေ့စ်:
maú n mining area သင့်စံ့ကာ:
maû, n water leech သင့်စံ့ကာ:
maû, v lift up သင့်စံ့ကာ:
maúk v overturn သင့်စံ့ကာ <Bur.:
-maúk aux together, associative ရွက်:
maúkhaú n place's name သင့်စံ့ကာ:
maúkhwin n place's name သင့်စံ့ကာ:
maúsìn n place's name သင့်စံ့ကာ:
maúń n pillow သင့်စံ့ကာ:
maúng n gong သင့်စံ့ကာ <Bur.:
maúng part particle that frequently occur as a
address terms to denote intimate relationship. ရွက်:
maúngkhát n spread news သင့်စံ့ကာ <Bur.:
maungmaung n man's name သင့်စံ့ကာ:
maúngnayán n man's name သင့်စံ့ကာ:
maungpág n man's name သင့်စံ့ကာ:
maút v lift up သင့်စံ့ကာ exclusively with lifting up
to the shoulder. သင့်စံ့ကာ:
maúték n place's name သင့်စံ့ကာ:
mayà adv hardly သင့်စံ့ကာ:
mayûngyìn v if you don't believe သင့်စံ့ကာ <Bur.:
mazí n mushroom သင့်စံ့ကာ:
mazi n gums သင့်စံ့ကာ:
mékswë n friend သင့်စံ့ကာ <Bur.:
méng v relish သင့်စံ့ကာ <Bur.:
meû, (maleú) v good သင့်စံ့ကာ:
meû, part big သင့်စံ့ကာ:
meû n feminine သင့်စံ့ကာ <Bur.:
meû, v choose သင့်စံ့ကာ:
meûz cíf classifier for counting numbers of coconut
shell which is used as container. သင့်စံ့ကာ:
classifier as in yameûsh meûyà သင့်စံ့ကာ:
meûcai n female's name သင့်စံ့ကာ:
meûmai n widow သင့်စံ့ကာ:
meûshìì n nun သင့်စံ့ကာ <Bur.:
meût v change သင့်စံ့ကာ သင့်စံ့ကာ:
meûntnátông n just a moment ago, just past သင့်စံ့ကာ:
meûzaûng n mother-in-law သင့်စံ့ကာ:
mí v buy သင့်စံ့ကာ:
mí v reach သင့်စံ့ကာ <Bur.:
mihàk n bamboo ties သင့်စံ့ကာ:
mík n eye သင့်စံ့ကာ:
míkceû n blind သင့်စံ့ကာ:
míkhú n eyebrow သင့်စံ့ကာ:
míklóngpū míkhàpū adv bulging (as of eyes)
သင့်စံ့ကာ:
míkmìngkù n eyelid သင့်စံ့ကာ:
míksateû n lower eyelid သင့်စံ့ကာ:
míkshíngû n wink သင့်စံ့ကာ:
míktû n eye သင့်စံ့ကာ:
míktûshì n eyeball သင့်စံ့ကာ:
míktûshì zëngzúksì n pupil (of the eye) သင့်စံ့ကာ:
míkwìt v tear သင့်စံ့ကာ:
mín, n king သင့်စံ့ကာ <Bur.:
mín, prn second person singular သင့်စံ့ကာ <Bur.:
mínt v awake သင့်စံ့ကာ:
míng, v ring သင့်စံ့ကာ:
míng, v ripe
míng, v spin
míng, n nail
míngsàhà, v know
míngweú, n pus
míngzák, v loose one's sense
mínkalā (mángkaláq) n auspicious
mínnýimíntá, n royal brothers
mínsóyázáko, n ruling people
míntóq, prn second person plural form
mínyeú, v awake
mipá, n buttocks
mipák, n pumpkin
mipúk, n inner layer of bamboo
míqphyá, n queen
míqtáziq, n family
misán, n arrow
misú, n bamboo filament which can be used for starting fire
mít, v love
mit₁, v strips cut into strips as with bamboo strips
mit₂, v extinguish
mitheú, n needle
mók, n light food
mók, v cook
mók, n cow
mókchíthú, kind of pennywort used medicinally and also as a vegetable
mókneú, n red pepper
mókpá, n cow
mókpü, v tend herd
móksán, n beef
mókskha, n calf (cow)
móksó, n hunter
móksúp, n hat
mókthú, v gore
mókwá, n bull
món, v 1) happy or smile 2) smile
món, n cost
món, n tree
móngkángkú, n fortune
mónmón, n tree
mótwánghá, n rainy season
mù, v fool
mù, v crazy
múkcíng, n pestle
múkcíngkaláng (múkcíngkáng) n pestle
múlág, n origin
múmát, n officials
múmyít, n Mu river
múus, v blow
múng, n blow
múng, n small size dam
múng, n hornet
múng, n family
múng, n small size dam
múng (mu), n core
múnggángkú, n fortunate
múngkáng, n old exclusively with old hill fields
múngkú (múnkú), n hair, feather
múngkú zúngzúng, adv hairy
múngshí, n rice cake
múngti, n noodle
múngwákchi, n hornet
mútaúmáttaú, n official
mwé, v stir
myá, v be many
myán, prn over there
myán, v quick
myáng, v tall or high
myánmyán, adv quickly
myáqmyáq, n female's name
myá, v drift
myá, v wait for, long for
myáuk  n north  <Bur.
myáukmaù  n place's name  <Bur.
myétnangem  v dejected  <Bur.
myeùcì  n earth  <Bur.
myétnangem  v dejected  <Bur.
myeúshì  n ovoid  Bouea burmanica. tree bearing clusters of ovoid fruit, which turn yellow when ripe and may either be sour or sweet.
myít  n river  <Bur.
myítq  v high  <Bur.
myíttaì  n love  <Bur.
myóq  n town  <Bur.
myóqwáq  n city/town entrance gate  <Bur.

N n

ná  v win  <Bur.
= ná₁, part particle attaches to verbs to indicate comparative degree. It may be reduplicated as náná  <Bur.
= ná₂, part speaker attitude particle; agree?, you know?  particle following a verb conveying the sense of making a polite request, seeking approval or emphasising some point.
nà  v erect  exclusively with erecting ladder.  <Bur.
= naà₁ subd particle attaches to verbs to denote emphasis
nacá  adv carefully  <Bur.
naháng  v return  <Bur.
nahū  n midday  <Bur.
nái  n mist  <Bur.
= naï₁, part particle attaches to nouns or verbs to denote emphasis.  <Bur.
= naï₂, part see manáñk
= naïktaì  subd whenever  <Bur.
náiktóng  subd whenever  <Bur.
náing  n mist or fog  <Bur.
näk (halángnäk)  v dark  <Bur.
naká  n dragon  <Bur.
näkceūhän  n evening  <Bur.
nakhÀ n two times  <Bur.
nákhátóng  n before  <Bur.
nákkamák  n yesterday  <Bur.
náleù  v understand  <Bur.
nám  v smelly  <Bur.
námeù  n name  <Bur.
nán  n daughter-in-law  <Shan
nán n guest  see also nantè
náná  subd the more  <Bur.
náng  v compress  <Bur.
näng, v go  <Bur.
nàng  v stiff  <Bur.
nängyeù  attw attendant word which follows maning 'what manner' as in maning nängyeù  <Bur.
= nängzeù (=zeù)  part particle attaches to verbs to denote emphasis. It can be interchangeably used with zeù.  <Bur.
nänná  n basil  <Bur.
nänpät  n number  <Bur.
nännq  v spread out everywhere  <Bur.
nántaì (nán,)  n palace  <Bur.
nàntè n guest <Bur.
nántwíntá n royal boy <Bur.
nántwíntū n royal girl <Bur.
nanù n animal <Bur.
nanù nānā adv tiny exclusively with animals.
nanù zapú n various types of creatures <Bur.
nánù nántwíntū n royal girl <Bur.
nánù nántwíntá n royal boy <Bur.
nanù nùtít n animal <Bur.
nanù nάnttwíntā n royal boy <Bur.
nanù nάntwíntū n royal girl <Bur.
nanù nάnttu n animal <Bur.
nanù nāntwíntū n royal girl <Bur.
nanù nάntwíntá n royal boy <Bur.
nanù nάntttū n animal <Bur.
nanù nάnttwíntā n royal boy <Bur.
nanù nάntwíntū n royal girl <Bur.
nanù nάnttu n animal <Bur.
nanù nάnttwíntū n royal girl <Bur.
nanù nάntwíntá n royal boy <Bur.
nanù nάntttū n animal <Bur.
nanù nάnttwíntā n royal boy <Bur.
nanù nάntwíntū n royal girl <Bur.
nanù nάnttu n animal <Bur.
nanù nάnttwíntū n royal girl <Bur.
nanù nάntwíntá n royal boy <Bur.
nanù nάntttū n animal <Bur.
ngā, prn First person singular form.
ngā v exist
ngāk v lift up
ngāk v chase
ngākaú ngākā refl myself
ngām v bite as win fish; snap; snatch with the teeth as in dog  טאותי הטבות טאותי
ngānkā v lift up
ngākaú ngākā refl myself
ngām v bite as win fish; snap; snatch with the teeth as in fish bite
ngānāṅ gā quant all, everyone of them
ngān v look up
ngāng v contracted form of existential verb and verbal directional marker.
ngāpyín n lazy person
ngát v starve
ngát v break
ngathwēyú n man's name
ngaú v say
ngaú v bent
ngaúkà part as for
ngaūng v undeveloped grain
ngayéu n hell
ngū v submerge
ngōk n trunk
ngōm v keep in the mouth
ngōn n gold
ngūp v submerge
ngwē n silver
nī v laugh
nī v lazy, bore
nik n leech: leech that enters into animal's nose
nikchì n sarong
nín v stay
nínzák ngázák adv while simply staying
= ning part particle attaches to nouns or verbs to denote similarity (equivalent in usage to adverbs 'like', 'as')
= ngingyeù part particle attaches to nouns or verbs to denote similarity (equivalent in usage to adverbs 'like', 'as')
nít, (na) n two
nít u year
nítít n new year
nòk, v dull
nòk, v taking out by putting one's hand into pocket, bag etc
nökānkē n brain
nōm v soft
nōn v mix exclusively with hands.
ngayēu n hell
ngu v take out by putting one's hand into pocket, bag etc
nóq yē n milk
nù n two
nù n one
nù, v swing
nūk, v burn, flame, glow
núkā n bird
nugātmízwe n drongo bird
nugeùtū ngeùtá n followers, servants
nugāng n undeveloped grain
nugayêu n hell
nugéu n bird
nugeùtū ngeùtá n followers, servants
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nugayêu n hell
nugéu n bird
nugeùtū ngeùtá n followers, servants
nugāng n undeveloped grain
nugayêu n hell
nugéu n bird
nugeùtū ngeùtá n followers, servants
nugayêu n hell
nugéu n bird
nugeùtū ngeùtá n followers, servants
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nugeùtū ngeùtá n followers, servants
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nugeùtū ngeùtá n followers, servants
nugayêu n hell
nugéu n bird
nugeùtū ngeùtá n followers, servants
nugāng n undeveloped grain
nugayêu n hell
nugéu n bird
nugeùtū ngeùtá n followers, servants
nugayêu n hell
nugéu n bird
nugeùtū ngeùtá n followers, servers
nyaünghúphí n man's name
nyéúp v clip < Bur.
nyéút, v sticky, gummy or be stingy < Bur.
nyéút₂ v twist < Bur.
nyéútkát n sticky < Bur.
yí n younger brother < Bur.
yínphān v miss < Bur.

nyínphān v miss
nyínyút v unit < Bur.
nyíq v 1) discuss 2) level literally to level.
yít v squeeze < Bur.
yít v quarrel used particularly when women quarrel.
yón v swallow < Bur.
yóngëi v sad < Bur.

O o

ó excl exclamation< Bur.
ö part euphoric particle which usually occur following speaker attitude particle seú < Bur.
ök n brick < Bur.
òk n paternal grandfather < Bur.
òknaí n maternal grandfather < Bur.
òknaítóng n maternal great grandfather < Bur.
òkshi n 1) uncle 2) brother-in-law (husband of a woman's elder sister or elder brother of one's husband). < Bur.
òkshi wángshi n brothers by marriage < Bur.
òkthaúng n father-in-law < Bur.
òtzí n drum < Bur.

òktóng n paternal grandfather 
òm v hold < Bur.
òm v do or make < Bur.
óng n coconut shell < Bur.
óngmük n coconut shell used as a cup < Bur.
önnáng n gift gift that comes from wife's relative. < Bur.
öp₁ v cover < Bur.
öp₂ v close < Bur.
ósací n master, teacher < Bur.

P p

pá₁ n feminine 

pá₂ n palm 

pá₃ v slice cut into thin layers or slices as in slice onion.
pá₄ cl, n flower auto classifier; repetition of final syllable form the word 'flower'. papá

pá₃ v imagine never appears as head verb. It attaches after the verb 'see' or 'hear'
pá₁ v include < Bur.
pá₂ v spill out

= pá₁ 1) part and 2) v bring
= pá part to or toward
páchikán n earth turned up by a plough
pacísa n loach
pahángcháng n friend
pahōzī n drum
pái v own <Bur.
pái, quant over
paí v chop <Bur.
pái locn beside or near
pái quant over
pái 1 v own <Bur.
pái 1 v chop <Bur.
pái 1 locn tip
pái 1 v be broken
pái 2 clf classifier for counting half of something
pái 3 n vagina
pák 1 clf classifier for counting currencies.
pák 2 n hundred
pák 3 n vagina
páknaíf adv alike
páktechéralét adv prostrate
pákweú n rain water
pálá n elder or leader
pálaíf n broken piece derived from the verb 'be broken', see the verb paík
pálak n flat derive from the verb 'be flat' by -al-infexion
pálán locn middle
pálán palán adv very often, frequently
páláng n bottle <Bur.
pálásaték n plastic > Eng.
pálág n millet
páli n package pack which is not tied with ropes or bamboo ties.
páli n tree
pálo palák adv idly
pálung palāng adv tiny
paliq attw attendant word which follows shishi 'fruit' as in shishi paliq
palót n natural piles of things, plants
palú n ogre
palūng onmt sound of dropping stone into the water
palūnt n heap/pile derived from 'accumulate' see the verb pūng
pamí v wounded
pám v carry
pámaúkpú v nothing!
pámín n place's name
pán v 1) circle 2) drunk
pān v sprinkle as in 'sprinkle sesame.'
pán, n birthmark
pán 1 n birthmark
pān 2 clf classifier for counting numbers trips
pān 1 part clause final particle indicating change of state mood.
pān 2 subd particle attaches to verbs to indicate the sense of 'if'
pānáq (pín) part 1) nominaliser 2) ablative 3) demonstrative
panaú v mix <Shan?
páng, v invite
páng, v collapse <Shan
páng n pancreas
páng v roast something in embers or hot ashes.
pánnàkà subd if <Bur.
panyâ n education <Bur.
panyâshîq n wise man <Bur.
-páp aux been, experiential <Bur.
papá n flower <Bur.
papüng onmt sound of drum <Bur.
pâpûzaûng n blanket <Bur.
= páng part speaker attitude particle; of course! <Bur.
pâqtûcweû n man's name <Bur.
pasàt n name of many carp species <Bur.
pát, v wrap <Bur.
pát, adv asleep <Bur.
pát, adv asleep <Bur.
pát, v give birth as in give birth by hatching. <Bur.
pâtà n religion <Bur.
patamyâ n ruby <Bur.
pataû n towel <Bur.
pataûk n type of hardwood tree <Bur.
pathàmáq n first <Bur.
pathàmáqtán n first class <Bur.
pathâwî n universal <Bur.
patûng n boa <Bur.
pâtpátleû n all around <Bur.
pâtsëût v sprout <Bur.
pâtteût v regarding <Bur.
patûn n eel <Bur.
patûng n man's name <Bur.
páu, v plenty <Bur.
páu, v 1) apply something 2) swim 3) dye <Bur.
pâu, locn on top <Bur.
pâû, v fall, collapse <Bur.
pâû, v show up, appear <Bur.
páûk, v reachable, or in good condition to travel. <Bur.
pâûk, v return <Shan
pâûk, v pull out as in grass or small plants only with small plant that has root <Shan.
= páng part speaker attitude particle; of course! <Bur.
pâûk v time <Bur.
pâûkkán n pagan <Bur.
pâûkmaí n place's name <Bur.
pâûkpaû n eggplant <Bur.
pâûkpaûk attw attendant word which follows lóm 'warm' lóm pâûkpaûk <Bur.
pâûkphweû (pâûkphweû) n eggplant <Bur.
pâûksât n eggplant <Bur.
pâûksêng (pasêng) n axe <Bur.
pâûlajû n floating <Bur.
pâmâi n widower <Bur.
pàùn v strip <Bur.
= pâûn pull kernels off <Bur.
pâûng, v roast <Bur.
pâûngz n ?? <Bur.
pâûng, v roast <Shan?
pâûngkâ n basket <Bur.
pâûngkâ paûngtû n various types of baskets <Bur.
pâûngkâmûkûtû n basket <Bur.
pâûngpaûng attw attendant word which follows tûm 'fragrant' as in tûm paûngpaûng <Bur.
pâûngpweût sît<Bur. denotes a pleasant smell.
pâûngpweût v mingle together <Bur.
pâûngsâng n glutinous rice cooked in a green bamboo tube. <Bur.
pâûngsûng adv all <Bur.
pâût v skill or clever <Bur.
pâût n lung <Bur.
pâútí n bohdi tree <Bur.
pâûwaû n cuckoo bird <Bur.
pâûweû n onmt stump <Bur. iconic noun
pâûzaûng n father-in-law <Bur. term used by daughter-in-law <Shan.
pâwaû n life <Bur.
payanâti n place's name <Bur.
payâphû v pilgrimage <Bur.
pazàt v be crumbled
pazèk n fly
pazèkchíq n pimple
pazèkmún n black flies
pazèkzaúk n mosquito
pazèkán n old and no longer useful cloth
pazingzú n striped dwarf catfish
pê n feet <Bur.
= pê part nominal relational marker indicating locative sense. (equivalent in usage to the preposition 'to').
pék v close <Bur.
pépaúng n earring
péq n measurement <Bur.
péshítpá n eight curses
péshítpát n Eight curses
pêtú n lie <Bur.
pêtán n eight <Shan
pêtú v over flow only as verb modifier.
pêtší n hook use for fishing
pêuí peuík àkkā refl he himself
pêkkaú phaíkhū phaíktā n carriers
pêú n bean <Bur.
peúkút n adze
peúnán n obstrinate <Shan
peút n eight <Shan
peút v lie <Shan
peúthúk v discover
phá v flatter <Bur.
phā, v thin
phā, v patch a hole <Bur.
phā, v stumble
phā clf classifier for counting bunches of banana
phāik v scratch by chicken
phāikhū n shoulder yoke
phāikhū phaíktā n carriers
phaíng n dam
phāk v twist twisting two small threads.
phaík v split or divorce
phák, v pair
phák v stripe
phák, v stripe
phák, prn his
phákhūlū n man's name
phákkā refl he himself
phàkmáik n tomorrow
pháksaháng n kind of tree
pháktā n clan's name
phàktai n tomorrow morning
phaläng phaláng adv open
phaleú n carrier derive from the verb 'carry on shoulder' by -al- infixation, see also pheú
phàn part numerical classifier denoting frequency
phaú phaúk phaúk phaúk adv scatter disorderly
phaú v wash
phaú v dig up <Bur.
phaúk v jump up
phaúk, v jump up
phaúk, v open
phaúk, v ferment
phaúkaik n locust
phaúkpháu n relative
phaúkzaleú yánzaleú adv active
phaúkzaúk v jog
phaúkzaúk phaúkzaúk adv jogging
phaúng adv sound of gun fire
phaúng n raft
phaúthúk v discover
phayá n god អាលុយ < Bur.
phayálaúng n one striving to attain Buddhahood អាលុយ < Bur.
phayaūsāq n flies អ្នក type of flies.
phēk v pare ពារ pare down (wood, as in fashioning the blade of an oar).
phēkhaù v invite កាន់ < Bur.
phēng v full អាលុយ
pheú v carry ការ
pheù n slope អាលុយ
pheù part suppose អាលុយ negative VP only
pheū n mountain slope អាលុយ
pheú n currency ដុល្លារ
phī 1 v sling ការ
phī 2 v kick ការ
phīm v embrace or hold up ការ
phít 1 v kick by animal ការ
phít 2 v sprinkle (សី)ការ
phō n part honorific term for older male
phō (aphō) n male
phócí n old man អាលុយ
phócíō n old man អាលុយ < Bur.
phón n tree or wood អាលុយ
phōng n dust អាលុយ < Bur.
phongkān n glory អាលុយ < Bur.
phōngshīq v powerful អាលុយ < Bur.
phōngtakó n glory, power អាលុយ < Bur.
phōngtóng n jack fruit អាលុយ < Bur.
phōnhalák n branch អាលុយ
phōnhaú v gather firewood អាលុយ gathering firewood for small amount, daily use.
phōnlaháuk n tree bark អាលុយ
phōnmaún n wooden pillow អាលុយ
pǒntalát n leave អាលុយ
phōntanúk n trunk អាលុយ
phōnzing n ant អាលុយ
phōq v fill អាលុយ < Bur.
phósūtaù n acolyte អាលុយ white-robed acolyte < Bur.
-phōt aux exceed, add more អាលុយ
phōténgaúng n man's name អាលុយ< Bur.
phú, n silver អាលុយ
phú, v put on hat or umbrella អាលុយ< Bur.
phū v blow អាលុយ
phūceù n chief អាលុយ
phuk onmt sound light items falling អាលុយ< Bur.
phūkhaù n bamboo hat អាលុយ< Shan
phūlúthaù n man's name អាលុយ< Bur.
phûn v wrap អាលុយ
phûnting nikting n clothing អាលុយ< Bur.
phwákaneú adv appear suddenly អាលុយ< Bur.
phwéq v compose អាលុយ< Bur.
phyá n tip អាលុយ< Bur.
phyārārátrát onmt sound of wind អាលុយ< Bur.
phyát v destroy អាលុយ< Bur.
phyéphyé adv slowly អាលុយ< Bur.
phyét onmt sound of swift movement អាលុយ< Bur.
phyeù v answer អាលុយ< Bur.
phyít v be អាលុយ< Bur.
pí 1 n four អាលុយ< Shan
pí 2 n year អាលុយ< Shan
pí 3 v 1) ride អាលុយ 2) fly អាលុយ 3) put on អាលុយ
pí 4 v pack អាលុយ
pí 5 v finish អាលុយ < Bur.
= pí conj particle attaches to verbs to indicate the completion of an act. អាលុយ < Bur.
pí, v 1) smooth អាលុយ 2) slip អាលុយ
pí 2 n country អាលុយ
pí v stroke with water អាលុយ< Bur.
pik n beside អាលុយ some pronounce also as paík
pin n tree or plant អាលុយ< Bur.
píng v thin អាលុយ < Bur.
= píng *part* clause final particle; a contracted form of a directional marker that indicates action toward the deictic centre plus a change of state clause final particle.

pínkánneū n place's name ဗူးန်းနောင်

pínpáñ n tire ဗိုးနှင်း <Bur.>

pínpinpánpán adv be wearily ဗိုးနှင်းနောင်  <Bur.>

pínpyín n origin ဗိုးဟင်း <Bur.>

pít1 n chip off ဗိုးနိုး

pít2 v angle ဗိုးနွဲ့; as in fish ဗိုးနွဲ့

pítá n civilian ဗိုးနှင်း

pítáuq conj and then, after that ဗိုးနှင်းနောင် <Bur.>

pó1 v exist ဗိုးနှင်း

pó2 n betel ဗိုးနှင်း

pó3 v worry ဗိုးနှင်း

pó4 n kind of large tree with soft wood ဗိုးနှင်းနောင်

púchò n gourd ဗိုးနှင်း

púkhák v (of gas in the abdomen ) become agitated. ဗိုးနှင်း

púkhák v belly ဗိုးနှင်း

púkkāng v name for variety of Kadu ဗိုးနှင်းနောင်

púkkāng v belly swell ဗိုးနှင်း

púktáq n Buddha ဗိုးနှင်း <Bur.>

púkkanà v have frequent motions of the bowels., or stomach ache ဗိုးနှင်း

púkāng v have frequent motions of the bowels., or stomach ache ဗိုးနှင်း

púkāng v belly swell ဗိုးနှင်း

púkāng v belly swell ဗိုးနှင်း

púkāng v belly swell ဗိုးနှင်း

púkāng v belly swell ဗိုးနှင်း

púkàm v .belly swell ဗိုးနှင်း

púkəm v .belly swell ဗိုးနှင်း

púkəm v .belly swell ဗိုးနှင်း

púkəm v .belly swell ဗိုးနှင်း

púkəm v .belly swell ဗိုးနှင်း
pūnsūn n hay ၎င်းနောင်
pūnyūn n tree ၎င်းနောင်
púp v suck ၎င်းနောင် exclusively with candy.
Pút, v be tender or soft ၎င်းနောင်
pút, n kind of rice ၎င်းနောင် delicacy made of glutinous rice, oil, sesame, groundnut, etc.
pútát (pútálát) n leaf of betel nut plant ၎င်းနောင်
pútsú pútsú adv ၎င်းနောင် jelly soft; pulpy; jelly-soft; weak; flaccid.
pútsún n ၎င်းနောင် soil? ၎င်းနောင် earth scooped out when digging ၎င်းနောင်
púzaū v scarify ၎င်းနောင်
pwá v multiply ၎င်းနောင် multiplify ၎င်းနောင်
pwéq v pulpy ၎င်းနောင်
pwéqzíqzíq adv ၎င်းနောင် complain ၎င်းနောင်
pwát n mud ၎င်းနောင်
pwáttaú n muddy place ၎င်းနောင်
pweú n celebration ၎င်းနောင်
pweúq n degree ၎င်းနောင်
pweúqpéteù v ၎င်းနောင် give a title ၎င်းနောင်
pyák v ruin ၎င်းနောင်
pyān, v again or return ၎င်းနောင်
pyāng, n outside ၎င်းနောင်
pyāng, v repair ၎င်းနောင်
pyānmā n place's name ၎င်းနောင်
pyānmāpi n place's name ၎င်းနောင်
pyāpyā adv ၎င်းနောင် blue ၎င်းနောင်
pyaū v happy ၎င်းနောင်
pyaūlaik v tell ၎င်းနောင်
pyaūng v change ၎င်းနောင်
pyaūng n buffalo ၎င်းနောင်
pyaūpá v happy ၎င်းနောင်
pyaūpyaūpápá adv ၎င်းနောင် happily ၎င်းနောင်
pyíng n timber ၎င်းနောင်
pyíq v full ၎င်းနောင်
pyíqpyíq züngzüng adv ၎င်းနောင် adequately ၎င်းနောင်
pyíqsüng v complete ၎င်းနောင်
pyít, v make a mat of thatch (for roofing) ၎င်းနောင်
pyítsí n thing ၎င်းနောင်
pyítzín n shooting place ၎င်းနောင်
pyōk v give a birth ၎င်းနောင်
pyúng n gem bearing soil ၎င်းနောင်
pyúq v do ၎င်းနောင်

S s

sá n salt ၎င်းနောင်
sā n son ၎င်းနောင် have particular meaning for male offspring. ၎င်းနောင်
-sā, part merely ၎င်းနောင်
-sā, part diminutive particle ၎င်းနောင်
= sā part particle attaches to verbs or verb complexes to convey a negative imperative sense ၎င်းနောင်
saàng (saàng) n inside of the mouth ၎င်းနောင် feel a sour or uneasy sensation in the mouth (making one want to eat, drink, or smoke)
sààngát v hip cup ၎င်းနောင်
saceù (sakeù) v clear ၎င်းနောင်
saceù sínsín attrw crystal clear ၎င်းနောင်
sací n centipede ၎င်းနောင်
saēk n daughter 鲵: combination of saē+ek 'child' + 'female or wife'= daughter
saēn n sweet chestnut 鲵:  < Bur.
sāheům v pregnant 鲵:  < Bur.
sāi v relevant 鲵:  < Bur.
sāik v be torn 鲵:  < Bur.
sāing n cane or bamboo strips 鲵:  < Shan
sāingtalā n necklace 鲵:
sāk, v rest 鲵:
sāk, v send 鲵:  < Bur.
sāk3 v join 鲵:  < Bur.
sāk v itch 鲵:  < m:
sakā part diminutive marker 鲵:
sakalā n sound or voice 鲵:  < Bur.
sakaung n midnight 鲵:  < Shani
sāk v itch 鲵:  < m:
sakā part diminutive marker 鲵:
salāk v prune 鲵: prune as in branches. 鲵:
salān salān adv speak repeatedly 鲵:  < Bur.
salāng naulāng adv adverbial expression to indicate a mother whose children are grown up and she is free and independent.
salāp v rough 鲵:  < Bur.
salāpāūk n banana core 鲵:  < Bur.
salāu n oil 鲵 see also sau
salāu v rough 鲵: as in leaves and timbers
salāu-salāt adv roughly 鲵:  < Bur.
salāuk (saūk ) n feet 鲵:  < Bur.
salē n leather 鲵:  < Bur.
salí n tongue 鲵:
salīp n cockroach 鲵:
salīt n gall 鲵:
salóng1 n part all 鲵:  < Bur.
salóng2 n mat 鲵:
sám n three 鲵:
samát n sand 鲵:
sáměweů n exam 鲵:  < Bur.
samon n monk 鲵:
sán v breathe 鲵:
sān, v 1) shake 鲵 2) shiver 鲵:
sān (salān) n meat 鲵:
sān, part verbal particle that attaches to verb to denote the action expressed by the verb is for the purpose of leading and guiding. only as verb modifier.
sān, v be tuber 鲵:
sanā n nose 鲵: used with animals' noses only.
sanāchī n mucus 鲵:
sanān, v snatch 鲵:
sanān2 n sesame seed 鲵:
sanāp v wedge 鲵:
sanāpok n nostril 鲵:
sanātnát adv attendant word which follows ping 'thin or skinny' as in ping sanātnát 鲵:  < Bur.
sānāu n children 鲵:
sāng v enter 鲵:
sāng v send message 鲵:
sāngkān n Buddhist monk's rope 鲵:  < Bur.
sāngpalāng n king
sāngphaůhāngti n cassava or tapioca 鲵:  < Bur.
sāngsē n lion 鲵:
sāngsűng n shirt 鲵:
sāngyeusā n poor people 鲵:  < Bur.
saŋsałún n naked 鲵:
sāntāt v test or try out 鲵:  < Bur.
sanú n thatch roof 鲵:
sanůnúp v roofing 鲵:
sānzá v reign <Bur.
sáp v spread < Bur.
sapáksá n dish < Bur.
sapáksáwaleú n soup < Bur.
sapaúng part first < Bur.
sapaúng n herb Amomum corynostachyum kind of edible herb. Luffa pentandra
sapáksán dish sapáksán n dish sapántsút n soup
sapátsút n sponge gourd Luffa pentandra
sapákàt n palm tree Anogeissus acuminata. large timber tree yielding a strong and resilient yellowish wood.
sapaág part sapátsút n soup
sapáung part first < Bur.
sapaúng n herb Amomum corynostachyum kind of edible herb. Luffa pentandra
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seū, v pour water from a kettle.
seū, v take out something form water exclusively taking out something from water.
seûnanayī n 12. o'clock ทะเลม < Bur.
seûngá n fifteen ดิเดิม < Bur.
seút, v join ดีเดิม< Bur.
seút, v scatter seed ดีเดิม< Bur.
seút, v offer ดีเดิม< Bur.
seûtaūng n 10. cubit ดีเดิม measure by the cubit. < Bur.
seûtca n powerful magical weapon ดีเดิม< Bur.
seûtkëù n thatch ดีเดิม< Bur.
seút n join ดีเดิม< Bur.
seût n scatter seed ดีเดิม< Bur.
seút n offer ดีเดิม< Bur.
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seûtkëù n thatch ดีเดิม< Bur.
seút n join ดีเดิม< Bur.
seût n scatter seed ดีเดิม< Bur.
seút n offer ดีเดิม< Bur.
seûtaūng n 10. cubit ดีเดิม measure by the cubit. < Bur.
shā v small ดีเดิม
shalát onmt sound of wind ดีเดิม< Bur.
sháng v clear ดีเดิม< Bur.
sháng n novice ดีเดิม
shángphaú n ship ดีเดิม
shaûk v address ดีเดิม< Bur.
= shaûk part contracted form of a diminutive and comitative particles. (sà + yaûk)< Bur.
shaûkpán n pomelo ดีเดิม< Bur.
shēk v break off a portion of something.< Bur.
= shîk part contraction of the negative imperative form sà and clause final particle yók. ดีเดิม
shóq v decrease ดีเดิม< Bur.
shúng v loose ดีเดิม< Bur.
shûqzá v look ดีเดิม< Bur.
shwē n sound make for chasing chicken ดีเดิม< Bur.
shwēaūng n man's name ดีเดิม< Bur.
shînát n the day after tomorrow ดีเดิม< Bur.
shîneún n three days after tomorrow ดีเดิม< Bur.
shing, v deteriorate ดีเดิม deteriorate and cease to be ; become extinct.
shing, v tie ดีเดิม< Bur.
shîná (shimá) n winter ดีเดิม< Bur.
shînón n two days after tomorrow ดีเดิม< Bur.
shôp n ten ดีเดิม
shîphèk n herbal medicine ดีเดิม< Bur.
shîpheûn n scar ดีเดิม< Bur.
shîpún n ten ดีเดิม< Bur.
shîq, v exist ดีเดิม< Bur.
shîq, n portion ดีเดิม< Bur.
shishá n child ดีเดิม< Bur.
= shík part contraction of the negative imperative form sà and clause final particle yók. ดีเดิม
shîshí n fruit ดีเดิม< Bur.
shishí paliq n various types of fruits ดีเดิม< Bur.
shít n eight ดีเดิม< Bur.
shitalá n tobacco ดีเดิม< Bur.
shîthûng n bag ดีเดิม< Bur.
shîyeú v angry ดีเดิม<br> as in suffering due to adverse effects of amulets, charms, etc.
shîzû n hair knot ดีเดิม
= shîk part contraction of the negative imperative form sà and clause final particle yók. ดีเดิม
shîshihâ n owner ดีเดิม< Bur.
sim v mess ดีเดิม exclusively with small tiny staff ดีเดิม< Bur.
sin v spicy ดีเดิม
sīn, n iron ဂူ
sīn, v wash(hand) ခူ:
sīn, v sprinkle ခူ < Bur.
sīn, n elephant ခူး
sīn, n mind ခူး
sīngngeút, n fig ခူးကြက်
sinhú, n heart ခူး
sinká, adv worry ခူး
sinkhéúqtà, n came down ခူးကြက်< Bur.
sinpháng, n grubbing hoe ခူးကြက်
sinpyaung, n elephant ခူးကြက်< Bur.
sinteút, v descend ခူး< Bur.
sintú, adv weary ခူးကြက်< Bur.
síntū, n soldier ခူးကြက်< Bur.
síntūcí, n captain ခူးကြက်< Bur.
síttúk, v battle ခူးကြက်
só, n dominate ခူး< Bur.
sök 1) v bump ခူး< Bur. 2) v, slg make mischief ခူးကြက် slang: to make mischief or cause trouble (between two parties). 
sökhu, n stove with stones base ခူးကြက်
sökso, onmt cough ခူးကြက်
sóm, n three ခူး< Bur.
sóm, v used up ခူး
sóng, adv superlative degree ခူး< Bur.
sóngtàng (sántaú), n food ခူး< Bur.
sót, v 1) block; stop (a bottle) ခူး< Bur. 2) bribe ခူး< Bur.
sóteúq, n one that is called ခူး< Bur.
sú, v smell rank (fish or flesh) ခူး< Bur.
sú, n slave ခူး
súk, v bark ခူးကြက် as in dog bark ခူး
súk², v moldy ခူး
sún, v sew or stitch ခူး
sú, n onion ခူးကြက်< Bur.
sùng, n mortar ခူး< Bur.
súntàng, (saúntaū), n food ခူး< Bur.
súteúq, n food ခူး< Bur.
sú, v smell rank (fish or flesh) ခူး< Bur.
sú, n onion ခူး< Bur.
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sú, v smell rank (fish or flesh) ခူး< Bur.
sú, n onion ခူး< Bur.
sùng, n mortar ခူး< Bur.

síntū, n soldier ခူး< Bur.
swáng, n master ခူး
swáng, v rich ခူး
swáng, v put ခူး< Bur.
swángyök, v prosperous ခူး< Bur.
swá, n tooth ခူး< Bur.
swáng, n master ခူး
swángyök, v prosperous ခူး< Bur.
swández, n eye-teeth ခူး< Bur.
swé, v 1) sharpen ခူး< Bur. 2) grind ခူး as in ခူး< Bur.
swé, v obsessed with ခူး< Bur.
swé, n tusk ခူး< Bur.
swéán, n name of flower ခူး< Bur.

síntū, n soldier ခူး< Bur.
swáng, n master ခူး
swáng, v rich ခူး
swáng, v put ခူး< Bur.
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swáng, v put ခူး< Bur.
swángyök, v prosperous ခူး< Bur.
swández, n eye-teeth ခူး< Bur.
swé, v 1) sharpen ခူး< Bur. 2) grind ခူး as in ခူး< Bur.
swé, v obsessed with ခူး< Bur.
-ta (-taú) part particle attaches to foreign loan verbs.

tā₁ n block <Bur.

tā₂ n son <Bur.

= tā part particle attaches to nouns or verbs for emphasis.

tā v 1) receive 2) accept 3) collect

tā₁ n field <Bur.

tā₂ n leg <Bur.

= tā part realis nominaliser <Bur.

tacá n sugar <Bur.

tacámín n Sukra <Bur.

tachá n other place <Bur.

tacíf, n chief <Bur.

tacíf₂ n thigh <Bur.

taeükáq n acre <Bur.

tahà n 1) red ant 2) right side <Bur.

tahaù n ladder <Bur.

tahaung n hole <Bur.

tahú n hand <Bur.

tái v measure <Bur.

tai n morning <Bur.

tái v post <Bur.

taík v 1) battle 2) collide <Bur.

taík ᵃ v offer a drink <Bur.

taíkhanúkuqvéuq v royal visit <Bur.

taíkpeuí n battle <Bur.

taíktaík adv attendant word which follows zák 'hard' as in zák taíktaík <Bur.

taíkú (ténkú) n wing <Bur.

taípáng v discuss <Bur.

taípi n country <Bur.

taitán v report <Bur.

taitapá n other country <Bur.

taitóng n edible ridged luffa <Bur.

ták v hook <Bur.

= ták part particle attaches at the end of utterance to denote reported speech. <Bur. hearsay marker

ták₁ n hand <Bur.

ták₂ v lick <Bur.

ták v weave <Bur.

-ták part animate plural marker <Bur.

taká₁ n one car <Bur.

taká₂ n bridge <Bur.

taká n rice seedling <Bur.

takalät n root <Bur.

takaúk n bracelet <Bur.

takeü adv really <Bur.

takhā n one time <Bur.

takhápauk n door <Bur.

takhāteuí adv at once <Bur.

takháwáq n at a door step <Bur.

takhin n master <Bur.

takhó n thief <Bur.

takhúttà n place's name <Bur.

táki n member of the Cakya dynastic clan <Bur.

tákíwín n clan's name <Bur.

tákkasú n elbow <Bur.

táklín n shuttle (of a loom) <Bur.

tákmá n grass hopper <Bur.

tákmíng n finger nail <Bur.

tákmù (tákmúng) n thumb <Bur.

tákpá n palm <Bur.

tákpáu̯ng n arm <Bur.

táksúkcí n loom <Bur.

táksúkcí n loom <Bur.

tálál n thread <Bur.

talá n lower <Bur.

talá n lower part of river and road. <Bur.

talaí v hanging <Bur.
talák n one tube တံခါးကြပ်တစ်ချောင်း အချောင်

talát n leaf မီးပင်

talaút (taút) n solid တိုင်း

= talé part speaker attitude particle that occurs at the end of the clause to denote surprise realisation. ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း

talëp n turtle မီးပေါင်

talët n bow ပါပေါင်

taleúi v dangling ထောင်လိုက်နေသည်

taleút, n one tool or implement တစ်ချောင် အတိုက်

taleúti v move မှန်ကန်စွာ

taleút (teút) n solid တိုင်း

derive from the verb 'clip' by -al- infixation, see also teút

talëp n turtle မီးပေါင်

talìnghā n last year ကြာမီ

talíp n package ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း

taló n post တစ်ချောင်

talù n circle ကြာမီ

slang: bullet

tām v search ကြည်စိုး

tamān n soil of rice fields စိုးလေး

tamaúngkú n shin ကျောက်များ

tamāyūng n community hall ပြုလုပ်ခြင်း

<Bur.

tameū n deer မီးပေါင်

tamí n daughter မီးပေါင်

tami n other people စိုးလေး

tamíktū n ankle ကြည်စိုး

tamíng n seed စိုးလေး

seeds saved for transplanting ကြည်စိုး

tamisā n human မီးပေါင်

támít v forbid စိုးလေး

tamyó n one kind စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tamyóqneūlúng n people from the whole town စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tán, v beat စိုးလေး

tán, n quality စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tán, n numerical classifier used in counting စိုးလေး

different legs of a journey, component parts of abstract concepts. စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tán, n iron စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tán, n pain စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tán, part verbal particle that attaches to verb to denote acceptance. derived from the verb tām 'search? စိုးလေး

tanát n gun စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tanátkhā n thanakha စိုးလေး

ground-up bark of the tree of the same name. စိုးလေး

tânchaúng n bucket စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tanéq tanaík n at one day စိုးလေး

<Bur.

táng₁ v cut စိုးလေး

táng₂ n basket စိုးလေး

<Bur.

táng₃, onmt sound of breaking စိုးလေး

<Bur.

táng, v put onto စိုးလေး

<Bur.

táng₂ n knife စိုးလေး

tangeūchín n friend စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tāngkā n Sangha ; member of Buddhist Order. စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tāngkaų, n sword စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tāngkaų၀, n bean? စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tāngkwoi n a basket which holds twenty four pē (approximately a bushel and a half). စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tāngngà n fish စိုးလေး

tāngpà n banister စိုးလေး

tāngpān g sit cross legged စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tāngshi n pointed knife စိုးလေး

tānlyeút n regalia စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tānlyeúttá n four-edged dagger which forms part of the Myanmar regalia. စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tānó n pot စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tanòk n trunk စိုးလေး

tānphó n value စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tānshí v kill (beat to death) စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tāntayáq n doubt စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tānwayáqyāzā n man's name စိုးလေး

<Bur.

tānyáti v be cross over စိးလေး

<Bur.

tāp clf classifier for counting flat objects စိုးလေး

tapalín v vibrate စိုးလေး

tapàn n sub-group of Kadu also know as Mauteik စိုးလေး
tapáti, n encircle glyph Bur.
tapáti, n one week  glyph Bur.
tapaúi, n principle  glyph Bur.
tapaúk, v speak  glyph Bur.
tapaúk, n calf  glyph Bur.
tapaúkkā, v explain  glyph Bur.
tapaúnglāq, n twelfth month  glyph Bur.
tapaútayá, n example  glyph Bur.
tapaútayámā, n example or in principle  glyph Bur.
tapaútū, v agree  glyph Bur.
tapék, n monk’s bowl  glyph Bur.
taphā, n foot or sole  glyph Bur.
taphyān, n measure  glyph Bur. Myanmar measure of time (equivalent to four seconds).
tapiq, n servant  glyph Bur.
tapītī, adv  level  glyph Bur.
tapītí, adv  real  glyph Bur.
tapyā, n one plank  glyph Bur.
tapyā, n stick for driving draught animals  glyph Bur.
tapyān, n about the length of the whole bamboo  glyph Bur.
tasā, n ornament  glyph Bur.
tasāk, n life long, one whole life  glyph Bur.
tashaúk, loc  along  glyph Bur.
tashī, n uncle  glyph Bur. mother’s older brother.
tashō, n spy  glyph Bur.
tāt, v attach  glyph Bur.
tāt, n wedge  glyph Bur.
tāt, part verbal particle attaches to a verb to denote the acquiring of some knowledge, skill, capability etc.  glyph Bur.
tāt, clf classifier for counting numbers of leaves  glyph Bur. see also talāt

tāt, v 1) release or send  glyph Bur. 2) send  glyph Bur.
tāt, v kill  glyph Bur.
tataítāi, onmt sound of gun fire  glyph Bur.
tātākshī, n toe  glyph Bur.
tatāt, n one cluster  glyph Bur.
tatātayá, n generosity  glyph Bur.
tataulūng, n whole forest  glyph Bur.
tataulūng, n whole mountain  glyph Bur.
tatauūtāng, v term used while addressing to royalty  glyph Bur.
tatawā, n animal  glyph Bur.
tátcuk, v constipate  glyph Bur.
tathú, n knee  glyph Bur.
tathúthauk, v kneel  glyph Bur.
tathwā, n one span  glyph Bur.
tatī ti (tati, ti ) v lay egg  glyph Bur.
tatínsō, n bad news  glyph Bur.
tatlūng, n magic ball  glyph Bur.
tatmāt, v set rule  glyph Bur.
tatmī, n torch  glyph Bur.
tattayaq, n third  glyph Bur.
tatū (tū ) n seed  glyph Bur. 4

tatū zapūq, n seed  glyph Bur.
tau, n jungle  glyph Bur.
tau, v carry  glyph Bur.
tau, v wear (shirt)  glyph Bur.
tau, v prune  glyph Bur.
tau, part honorific terms to show reverence, power, sacredness, royalty when speaking to monks.  glyph Bur.
= taū conj when  glyph Bur.
tau, v perforate  glyph Bur.
taucí, n woman  glyph Bur. address term used by a husband to his wife.
tauk, v, slg do/hit  glyph Bur. slang. an expression to do or to use something forcefully.
tauk, onmt sound of clicking sound when someone got angry  glyph Bur.
tauk, n cattle’s hump  glyph Bur.
taukōleū, v hunting  glyph Bur.
tauksiārek, adv directly  glyph Bur.
tauktāu, n gecko  glyph Bur.
taūlā n jicama <Bur.
taūlāng n rebel <Bur.
taūn v castrate <Shan
taūn v portion <Bur.
taung n ten thousand <Bur.
taung n feet <Bur.
taungá n rice power <Bur.
taungkapyān n place's name <Bur.
taungkúng n place's name <Bur.
taungláng n big circular tray on a stand used for serving meals.
taungmaū n place's name <Bur.
taungmwe n rod <Bur.
taungpān n apologise<br.
taungsáuímu n caterpillar <Bur.
taungséng n fly (big with green colour) <Bur.
taungyú n place's name <Bur.
taūp v end <Bur.
tawaík n around <Bur.
tawák n half <Bur.
tāwūn n responsibility <Bur.
tāwūnceū v responsible <Bur.
tayá n law <Bur.
tayā n one hundred <Bur.
táyā v pleasant <Bur.
táyācinú v pleasant <Bur.
tayáq n one portion or section <Bur.
tayát n one stop <Bur.
tayàu n undressed cotton <Bur.
tayékšan n animal <Bur.
tayūyū adv jelly soft <Bur.
tazaqtázq adv bit by bit, step by step, gradually <Bur.
tazí n one cart <Bur.
tazúq n one group <Bur.
-tē (twē) part general plural maker <Bur.<br.
= tē part anti-agentive marker <Bur.<br.
tēcaúng n way to die <Bur.
tēcháng n song <Bur.<br.
tēk adv quite <Bur.<br.
tēk v break leaves as in breaking leaves.<br.
tēkhōt n pan <Bur.<br.
tēkpáq n innate wisdom <Bur. <Pali<br.
tēkshi n pot <Bur. kātēkshi <Pali<br.
tén v gather <Bur.<br.
tēng, v quiet <Bur.<br.
tēnga v plant exclusively with seeds <Bur.<br.
tēngwín v be ordained into monk hood <Bur.<br.
= tēq, subst reason, because <Bur.<br.
= tēq, part realis nominaliser <Bur.<br.
teū, n hut <Bur.<br.
teú, v cut superficially <Bur.<br.
teú, v wait <Bur.<br.
teū, v walk exclusively with walking on a bridge or log <Bur.<br.
teū, v establish <Bur.<br.
= teū part clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate realis mood. <Bur.<br.
teūêng n hut <Bur.<br.
teúkhō v putting up at a place <Bur.<br.
teúm, v concentrate <Bur.<br.
teúm,2 v pillow <Bur.<br.
teūn clf classifier for counting unspecific objects or kinds <Bur.<br.
teūnsú n bamboo clip used when roasting fish <Bur.<br.
teúp v throw <Bur.<br.
teút v listen <Bur.<br.
teuteū adv lightly <Bur.<br.
teútpū v hear <Bur.<br.
teútpūpā v hear confusedly <Bur.<br.
teútsaiyā n relevant <Bur.
teúžák ngázák adv while simply walking <Bur.  
tha v keep <Bur.  
thà v be <Bur.  
-thà aux must, have to  
thái onmt sound of gun fire <Bur.  
thaík n should <Bur.  
thaíktán v deserve <Bur.  
thaíng v slow <Bur.  
= thaták part particle attaches to verbs to form a verbal noun.  
thákéqtáuq v when left behind <Bur.  
thám v near <Bur.  
= thámá part clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate hortative sense.  
thán v carry <Bur.  
= thatán part to or toward <Bur.  
tháng v overcast  
thàng v just happened  
thäng, n think <Bur.  
thängs n pattern  
thángak n jaggery palm sugar; jaggery.  
thähltätweù n female's name  
thaù, v put down (rice pot) <Bur. exclusively with putting down rice's pot.  
thäuù, v reape thatch exclusively for reaping thatch.  
thaù v carve <Bur.  
thaúk, v point out <Bur.  
thaúk,  v spit <Bur.  
thäung, v boil <Bur. something boil for a long time  
thäung,  n jail <Bur.  
thäung, v up right <Bur.  
thäung v be old (loan word from Shan) <Shan  
thék, v shock <Bur.  
thék, n tip <Bur.  
thék v pinch <Bur.  
théktil n first class <Bur.  
théng v control <Bur.  
théng v deep <Bur. exclusively with well.  
théngtêng v archive <Bur.  
thêp v prevent <Bur. obstruct; block; prevent.  
thêq v add <Bur.  
theú, n navel <Bur. as in píttheú 'navel' <Bur.  
theú, v widen (as of mouth) <Bur.  
theú n plough <Bur.  
theù v thick <Bur.  
theùn v repeat <Bur. used when changing flower from the flower pot.  
theùtheù wâwà adv grandly <Bur.  
thí n umbrella <Bur.  
thi, v dream <Bur.  
thi, v scoop <Bur. exclusively with scooping water from a water pot.  
thinpaũ v known <Bur.  
thinthú n tree <Bur.  
thíphyû n white umbrella <Bur.  
thíq v touch <Bur.  
thív v nick <Bur. make a nick or notch. <Bur.  
thô v joust <Bur.  
thô v push <Bur.  
thôk onmt sound of shaking something <Bur.  
thôk, v touch or dip something lightly <Bur.  
thôkkón n until <Bur.  
thôm v blunt knife <Bur.  
thômà n short moment <Bur.  
thômpòk n gun slang: literally short length
of bamboo closed at one end. နှင်းယှဉ်ပြီး
thōn₁ n mortar ဗုဒ္ဓဓမ္မ
thōn₂ v plough ဗုဒ္ဓဓမ္မ
thóng, n lime ဗုဒ္ဓဓမ္မ န: < Bur.
thóng₂ v sit ဗုဒ္ဓဓမ္မ
thónghaúng n old custom နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
thóngtít n new custom နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
thóngzānshíq v as it is a custom to နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
thōnshī n mortar (ဗုဒ္ဓဓမ္မ) ။
thót v balance or measure အနီးစားထားသော နှစ်ကြိုး ဗုဒ္ဓဓမ္မ
measure (things by volume) နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
thòt v pluck ၌ for the purpose of eating.
thú v different နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
thū v 1) pound နှစ်ကြိုး: 2) dig နှစ်ကြိုး
thú chèkchèk adv be black ။
thúk v take out or extract နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
thúm v black နှစ်ကြိုး
thún v harrow နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
thūncin n sensitive plant Mimosa pudica. နှစ်ကြိုး
thūnsā n rake နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
thúntaúk v shine နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
thūthaung v establish နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
thwáng v 1) carve, gouge or to clear the field for နှစ်ကြိုး: 2) clear away နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
tín n penis နှစ်ကြိုး
= tí subdivd also or although နှစ်ကြိုး
tí (tati) n egg နှစ်ကြိုး
tí, v sweet နှစ်ကြိုး
tí, v lay egg နှစ်ကြိုးimitative verb derived from the နှစ်ကြိုး
word 'egg' tāt
tilūtwēkō n these people နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
tím v hide နှစ်ကြိုး
tím v put down နှစ်ကြိုး: as in putting down နှစ်ကြိုး:
mosquito net or curtain နှစ်ကြိုး
tín v revile နှစ်ကြိုးused excessively with obscene
language. နှစ်ကြိုး
= tíng part purposive nominaliser နှစ်ကြိုး
tínhaut v angry နှစ်ကြိုး
tinmaung n man's name နှစ်ကြိုး
tín aux should နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
tintān onmt hanging နှစ်ကြိုး
tip v pack; bundle; wrap with paper or leaves နှစ်ကြိုး
tisaúk v build နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
tít n one နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
títānq adv separately နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
títhūkyé n logging နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
títtiweúq n red wattled lapwing bird? နှစ်ကြိုး
tó v increase နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
tók, onmt sound of shaking something off နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
tók₂ (atók) v hold on a moment နှစ်ကြိုး
tók v collect firewood နှစ်ကြိုး
tókci n palm tree နှစ်ကြိုး:Caryota mitis. kind of large နှစ်ကြိုး:
palm yielding hardwood.
tókháq n trouble နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
tókháqteú n sufferer နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
tókli tóklang adv dangling နှစ်ကြိုး
tókwēu n sweat နှစ်ကြိုး
tóm n below နှစ်ကြိုး
tōn v short နှစ်ကြိုး
tóng, v 1) big နှစ်ကြိုး: 2) fat နှစ်ကြိုး
tóng₂ n three နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
tóng₃ n log နှစ်ကြိုး
tóng, v place နှစ်ကြိုး: exclusively with putting a နှစ်ကြိုး:
cooking pot on a stove နှစ်ကြိုး
tóng, onmt sound of falling something. နှစ်ကြိုး
tóng ngōng tóng ngōng onmt sound of a gong နှစ်ကြိုး
tóngcing n three times နှစ်ကြိုး
tóngkhā n three times or trips နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
tóngkwán n ring or loop နှစ်ကြိုး
tóngmóta n three years/seasons old နှစ်ကြိုး< Bur.
tóngpaúlaú n place's name နှစ်ကြိုး
tóngzúq  n  three groups  <Bur.
tōp  v  fist  
- tōp  v  1) stab with an object.  2) beam  (-)  -tóq  part  particle  attaches  to  nouns  to  denote  plurality.  <Bur.
tōteút  v  improve  <Bur.
tōtpát tōtsaúk  adv  up side down  
tú,  n  language  
tú  v  1) lean against  2) prop up exclusively with stick or posts.  
  -tóq  part  particle  attaches  to  nouns  to  denote  plurality.  
tú  v  pound  ね

tū,  v  same  <Bur.
tū,  v  carry  on  head  ね

tū,  v  be  cut  off  ね

- tū  v  grow  exclusively  with  seeds.  

tūk  v  transport  ね

- tūk  v  battle  ね

tūktān  n  cemetery  <Bur.
túktháqkúqmàráq  n  man’s  name  ね

tūkthuk  onmt  sound  make  for  chasing  bird  ね

tūkthuk  onmt  sound  make  for  chasing  bird  ね

tūltúk  onmt  sound  make  for  chasing  bird  ね

tūlōlō  adv  onomatopoeic  word  <Bur.
túm  v  1)  fragrant  2)  smell  

- tūm  v  blow  flute  exclusively  with  flute  

- tūm  v  clench  as  in  tahù  tūmàng  

- tūm  paàngpaàng  adv  fragrant  

- tūmí  n  firearm  <Bur.  a  percussion  lock  

- tūmí  n  firearm  <Bur.  a  percussion  lock  

- tūn  v  pull  ね

- tūn  part  clause  final  particle  enclitic  to  verbal  predicates  to  indicate  the  action  express  by  the  verb  is  still  in  progress.  

- tūnggāk  v  bow  ね

- tūngngün  n  bee  ね

- tūpbıkka  n  pinnacle  <Bur.

- tūq  v  fake  <Bur.

- tūqtayáq  n  second  ね

- tūqtupáqaq  n  man’s  name  ね

- tūt  v  cut  ね

- twá  v  go  ね

- twák  v  calculate  ね

- twé  v  think  ね

- tweú  onmt  sound  make  for  chasing  bird  ね
U u

ú₁ n head <Bur.
ú₂ v deep exclusively with water.
ú, v drink
ú₃ n fowl
ú₄ excl oh!
ú₅ n crow
ú₆ n kind of poisonous root used for poisoning fish.
ú₇ n yawn
ú₈ n hen
ú₉ n man’s name
ú₁₀ n bat
ú₁₁ n caucal greater coucal
ú₁₂ n garden
ú₁₃ v shallow
ú₁₄ v 1) abandon 2) toss
ú₁₅ n sunburn
ú₁₆ n nest
ú₁₇ n egg
ú₁₈ n priority
ú₁₉ n bird
ú₂₀ n various types of fowls
ú₂₁ n bird’s nest
ú₂₂ n bird

W w

wá₁ v jump down
wá₂ n bamboo <Bur.
wā₁ n male
wā₂ n lent
wā₃ v plait (of bamboo strips) <Bur.
wā₁ v encircle <Bur.
waf₁ n cane or rattan <Shan?
waf₂ v vanish
wai₁ v be askew
wai₂ v do obeisance (with palms raised together on the forehead)
wafk v round <Bur.
wāk v 1) wide 2) loose  used with clothing
wāk n pig
wākkáháŋти n wild yam
wākzáng n big pen
walañníq n moss or slime
waleų (weú) n liquid
waleúsín n liquor  sticky literally spicy or hot liquid.
wán v chop
wān, n fire
wān, v clear  exclusively with clearing small plants
wān cīf numeral classifier for counting numbers of days  used with numeral four to nine.
wān híťzalaúng n iron hook attached to a long pole used in fighting fire.
wānakhó n smoke
wānánt n east, in front
wāncing n charcoal
wáng n compound
wāngán n pot’s case
wāngshí n younger brother or one’s husband (of women)
wāngshí n uncle one’s father’s younger brother
wāngwáqi n entrance
wānhú n rice sieve
wānkákcing n live coal
wānkáng n firewood that didn’t burn and those left in the fire place
wānkazúk v add firewood, make fire
wānmít v extinguish fire
wānnéuí n sad
wānpót n fire place
wānpyák v light went off
wānsáng n cup exclusively a cup used for drinking water
wānsúng v smoke
wānsút v burn
wāntát1 n stove  fire place within a house
wāntát2 v light
wántók n west, behind
wāнтí n burning fagot or firebrand
wānyá n torch  bamboo torch
wānzék v kindle (fire)
wānzú n make fire
wāq n circle
wāqlúng n circle  < Bur.
wasá n flotsam
wasáp n sponge gourd
wasáhí n Luffa pentandra
washí n comb
washíla n crested
washing n steamer ties
washítú n fruit
wát, v (dry)  < Bur.
wát, n below
wát, n below
wát, n lower part of mountain, valley
wát n leech
waték n steaming pot
watók n kind of tree
wèphán v critique  < Bur.
weù v hang (bag) exclusively with hanging on a hook.
weú angtúng n insect
weú kasúm n goblet
weíaing n lake  < Bur.
weúkú v bathe
weímakók n person who do not bath
weúpaik n bank
weíusalí n wave
weíusalí n Indian nightshade
weíutaná n pain  < Bur.
weúwá v jump down as into the water
wilú wánglú adv vaguely vaguely; hazily; indeterminately.
wí n member < Bur.
wínakántág n man's name
wíqpatúpáq n man's name
wíqpétcamá n consequence result, effect, consequence of one's deeds. < Bur.
wúng onmt sound of dropping a massive object < Bgl.
wúntó n place's name
wúsút (wasút) n knot hair
wú v wear < Bur.
wútcwé n debt: atonement or expiation for past sins and misdeeds. < Bur.

Y y

yá v bright

= yá conj particle attaches to nouns or verbs to indicate the meaning 'also' or 'either.'
yā, v gauge, size up < Bur.
yäs part verbal particle that attaches to verb to indicate an excessive meaning.

yà (yákà) n now
yàá n one day

= yá part euphoric particle.
yahāk n rope
yahán n monk-hood
yahaðik n tender husk can feed the animals.
yahaúng n river
yahaúnghaláng n head river
yahaúngtóng n river
yahú n edible thorny leaves

yahung n well

yahung n steamer: pot with a perforated bottom forming the upper part of a steamer (cooking utensil).

yàk n 1) now 2) day

-yák
yàkmák (yámák) (yák) n today
yákpheú adv indiscriminately
yáp₂ (nyáp) n wax
yáp, v fan
yáp₂, v cross
yapá n shoulder
yapà n string bean
yát v stop
yát v clip/cut exclusively cutting plants with knife.
yátaná n jewel
yátéq n hermit
yátyát zaúngzaúng adv with difficulty
yaú v ask, propose, prepare prepare the ground (for a proposal of marriage).
yaú excl exclamation
yaúk, clf classifier for counting numbers of people
yaúk, v arrive
yaúká n disease
yaúká n man
yaúkpháq n brother-in-law
yaúng v fake
yaúngmáq n ladle
yaúngpáng conj because of or the reason for
yaúngyínkhát v disorder
yaúp v reduce; lessen; decrease. as in flat type
yaúpá n cotton
yázá n king
yé v write
yé n water
yé v (yeú) part particle attaches to the name of the person hailed.
yé v get up
= yeú conj and
= yeú, part particle attaches to nouns to denote similarity (equivalent in usage to adverbs 'like', 'as')
= anyeú dem
= yeú, part speaker attitude particle
-yeún aux can, be able to
= yeún part nominal relational marker indicating purpose or beneficiary.
yeúpaú n soldier
yeút n day
yeútín n axe
yeús v arrest
= yí part also
yim n arrest
yinná v sad
yip v slice chopping one after another.
yipaláč n kind of bean
yít v spin
yithú (yathú) n long handled axe
yítíyátá adv (act) ambiguously, evasively; shilly-shally; (behave) dilatorily; (fool) away, around
yíyweúcheút n purpose
yó n ridge
yók n disgrace
yók v eat
= yók part clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate the action expressed by the verb is a temporary or an intrusive action.
yókhaút n hungry
yókmátaú v wicked
-yókyá aux particle attaches to verbs to denote the sense of difficulty to do something. cannot be used as a main verb.
yóng n younger brother
yóng v trust
yóngci v believe
yóngkáng n horn
yóngshi yóngzán n sibling
yōngyinleú v even if (you) believe Displayed. <Bur.
yōp v stop crying Displayed.
yōpshibí adv quiet Displayed.
yōtē v respect Displayed. <Bur.
yōyà n tradition Displayed. <Bur.
yōyó adv simple Displayed. |kd:|kd:
yōyà n tradition Displayed. <Bur.
yū v 1) collapse Displayed. SJJ 2) stiff Displayed. tanmif:qefð
yū v take Displayed. <l
yū n look Displayed.
yū n image Displayed. = yún part clause final particle enclitic to negated verbal predicates to indicate the meaning of 'still hasn't V.' Displayed.
yūn v hate Displayed.
yūn v desire Displayed. be infatuated with; desire inordinately.
yūtyūt adv imitative expression Displayed. follows the verb 'soft' as in tí yūtyūt Displayed. <Bur.
ywā n village Displayed. <Bur.
ywākauŋ n village crier Displayed. <Bur.
ywé v select Displayed. <Bur..
Z z
zá, v alive Displayed.
zá, clf classifier for counting numbers of kinds Displayed.
zā, v build Displayed.
zā, v far Displayed.
zaeú n cicada Displayed. Displayed.
zāhaung n cavity Displayed. Displayed.
zák, v 1) catch 2) be pricked Displayed.
zákhon t machinery Displayed. <Bur.
zák, onmt sound of pulling a rope swiftly Displayed. = zák subd while Displayed. Displayed.
zák, v afraid Displayed.
zákh, v hard Displayed.
záktai tkaik adv be hard Displayed. Displayed.
zákqinting n spider Displayed.
zákkaling n spotted lizard Displayed. Displayed.
záku n fish scooping net Displayed.
záktu n Settau Displayed.
záktu n place's name Displayed.
záktu n place's name Displayed.
zalá v health Displayed.
zalák v loose Displayed.
zalák zalák adv loosely Displayed. Displayed.
zalácphátphát adv alive Displayed. Displayed.
zaláuk n pack Displayed. Displayed. Displayed.
zaláuk n rest house Displayed. <Bur.
zaláút, v drift Displayed.
zalaút, quant measurement Displayed. dry measure equivalent to 0.14 bushel. <Bur.
zalí v clean Displayed.
zalí zalák adv neatly Displayed.
zalin v frisky or fluster Displayed. Displayed.
zalit v disgusting Displayed.
zalit zalát adv disgusting Displayed. filthy; dirtily; obscenely. Displayed.
zalún n tree core Displayed.
zalūng n sink <Bur.
zamīk 1 n sun <Shan
zamīk 2 n shrub श्रवण एक्स हदन सार्वभौमी सार्वभौमी एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्र्नाशध्यामानिः <Bur.
zānhā n bitter gourd एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्ः <Bur.
zāp v sieve rice एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्स हदन एक्ः <Bur.
zāp v stand एक्ः <Bur.
zāp v stinging एक्ः <Bur.
zāp, v stinging एक्ः <Bur.
zāp, v stand एक्ः <Bur.
zāpatī n sparrow एक्ः <Bur.
zāq v begin एक्ः <Bur.
zāt, v upright एक्ः <Bur.
zāt, locn near एक्ः <Bur.
zātcā n in between two time frames एक्ः <Bur.
záthúqtékpāq n all knowing power एक्ः <Bur.

< Bur.
zātnīng n the year after next एक्ः <Bur.
zāuí v (of tooth) protruding एक्ः <Bur.
zäuhā n thorn एक्ः <Bur.
zäúkhā n thorn एक्ः <Bur.
zāuk n book एक्ः <Bur.
zāük 1 v pour एक्ः <Bur.
zāük 2 locn on top एक्ः <Bur.
zāük v long and tall एक्ः <Bur.
zāukkaingkaिंg n armpit एक्ः <Bur.
zāukkalaiंg v stack up एक्ः as in sieving husked rice एक्ः <Bur.
zāukleū n small basket एक्ः <Bur.
zāukzá v wait एक्ः <Bur.
zāún v follow after someone एक्ः <Shan
zāúng n honorific term for supernatural beings एक्ः <Bur.
zāúng v wait एक्ः <Bur.
zāúng v early एक्ः <Bur.
zāúng n blanket एक्ः <Bur.
zāúngshī adv early एक्ः <Bur.
zāungwāí n rattan एक्ः <Bur.
zāupaúmaí n man's name एक्ः <Bur.
zāupwāí n Shan chief एक्ः <Bur.
zāushōk n rice एक्ः <Bur.
zaút v be sprout एक्ः <Bur.
zayà n some एक्ः <Bur.
zē n market एक्ः <Bur.
zē part jussive marker एक्ः <Bur.
zōk n measurement एक्ः <Bur.
zér v bite एक्ः <Bur.
zēksalā n witch एक्ः <Bur.
zēng v soak एक्ः <Bur.
zēngkhaū v challenge एक्ः <Bur.
zēq v completed एक्ः <Bur.
zētanā n charity एक्ः <Bur.
zeū v easy एक्ः <Bur.
zeū part might एक्ः <Bur.
zeū taleúqsà adv easily एक्ः <Bur.
zeūnzalēú n carambola एक्ः <Bur.
zeût v cut superficially
zi, v finish
zí, v ride: <Bur.
zi, n plum: <Bur.
zi, n border: <Bur.
zi, n drum: <Bur.
zí, v chop or break into many pieces as in chopping into many pieces: <Bur.
zí, v smile: <Bur.
zí, part each: <Bur.
= zík part each particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate finality.
zká v busy: <Bur.
zkán n discipline: <Bur.
zkóng n place's name: <Bur.
zílóng n unit: <Bur.
zi, v urinate: <Bur.
zi, v few: <Bur.
zí, v sieve: <Bur.
zi, n place's name: <Bur.
zi, v drum: <Bur.
zi, n drum: <Bur.
zi, v chop or break into many pieces as in chopping into many pieces: <Bur.
zi, v smile: <Bur.
zi, part each: <Bur.
= zík part clause final particle enclitic to verbs or verb complexes to indicate finality.
ziká v busy: <Bur.
zkán n discipline: <Bur.
zkóng n place's name: <Bur.
zílóng n unit: <Bur.
zi, v plan: <Bur.
zing part clause final particle attaches to a verb denoting effectuation and jussive.
zing v ask: <Bur.
zingkweúlák n pangolin: <Bur.
zíngyōk v order: <Bur.
zíngyu v ask: <Bur.
zíngzíngpalōk n magpie robin: <Bur.
zíngzú n spider: <Bur.
zíngzúpalōk n spider web: <Bur.
zōk v transplant: <Bur. exclusively with planting trees
zókkánták n taro: <Bur.
zókshi n breast: <Bur.
zón v leak: <Bur.
zón part continue: <Bur. used only with negated verb
zóp v join: <Bur.
zóp v test: <Bur.
zópyū v taste: <Bur.
zōtzín v do something inadvertently: <Bur.
zú v chain or to thread
zú v burn: <Bur. exclusively with firewood
zún n salt: <Bur.
zúng v complete: <Bur.
zúngtalín v complete: <Bur.
zúnqceú v offer away: <Bur.
zúnqpyít v throw away: <Bur.
zúp v suè: <Bur.
zúpyā n tree: <Bur.
zúq, v accumulate or gather: <Bur.
zúqd classifier for counting clusters or groups: <Bur.
zúqí v compile: <Bur.
zút v wet: <Bur.
zú, v put on: <Bur.
zweú n scale: <Bur.
Appendix B: Interlinearised Kadu texts

Table 31 provides all the interlinearised texts from which I extracted the examples in this thesis. It contains 32 texts labelled simply as text 01, 02, etc... in my corpus. The first three texts are not natural texts; they are, rather, grammatical questionnaires. These were gathered in my initial stage of research in order to understand the grammatical patterns of the Kadu language as quickly as possible. All other texts are recorded in language natural settings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text No.</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Text 01</td>
<td>Ne Tha lung</td>
<td>Grammatical questionnaire 1</td>
<td>41:50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 02</td>
<td>Aung Than Nwe</td>
<td>Grammatical questionnaire 2</td>
<td>52:22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 03</td>
<td>Aung Than Nwe</td>
<td>Grammatical questionnaire 3</td>
<td>29:05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 04</td>
<td>Pa Maung</td>
<td>Kadu migration story part one</td>
<td>06:14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 05</td>
<td>Shwe Maung</td>
<td>Kadu migration story part two</td>
<td>03:47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 06</td>
<td>Shwe Maung</td>
<td>The king and the lizard</td>
<td>03:46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 07</td>
<td>Shwe Maung</td>
<td>The powerful Kadu drum</td>
<td>15:15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 08</td>
<td>Shwe Maung</td>
<td>Story of the lazy Euham</td>
<td>15:26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 09</td>
<td>Aye Aung</td>
<td>A tiger and a rabbit</td>
<td>08:05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 10</td>
<td>Aye Aung</td>
<td>The origin of Kadu</td>
<td>09:28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 11</td>
<td>Aye Aung</td>
<td>Marriage customs</td>
<td>05:24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 12</td>
<td>Thin Maung</td>
<td>A story about four brothers</td>
<td>09:27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 13</td>
<td>Thin Maung</td>
<td>The unthankful prince</td>
<td>09:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 14</td>
<td>Pa Thin</td>
<td>Kadu song</td>
<td>00:38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 15</td>
<td>Ma La Seing &amp; Ma Nai</td>
<td>The jealous brother</td>
<td>39:42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 16</td>
<td>Ma La Seing</td>
<td>The two brothers</td>
<td>03:29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 17</td>
<td>Win Naing</td>
<td>My family</td>
<td>11:27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 18</td>
<td>Shwe Maung</td>
<td>Hunting a tiger</td>
<td>16:59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 19</td>
<td>Maung Maung</td>
<td>an Owl story</td>
<td>01:24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 20</td>
<td>Kyaw Ze Yah</td>
<td>How Kadu reached to a Palace</td>
<td>02:03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 21</td>
<td>Khin Yi</td>
<td>How to make wild yam food</td>
<td>02:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Author</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Duration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Khin Yi</td>
<td>How to make food from yam tuber</td>
<td>01:31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Tin Sein</td>
<td>A daughter who wanted a husband</td>
<td>11:04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Tin Sein</td>
<td>The three sisters</td>
<td>04:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Lah Sein</td>
<td>Mr. Maung Nyan</td>
<td>15:57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Khi Yi</td>
<td>The nun who wanted to eat fish</td>
<td>02:59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Htun Lah</td>
<td>The life of a hunter</td>
<td>04:02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Htun Lah</td>
<td>How to clear a field</td>
<td>04:59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Htun Lah</td>
<td>How to trap animals</td>
<td>03:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Khin Yi</td>
<td>How to make rice noodles</td>
<td>07:59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Khin Yi</td>
<td>How to make rice cake</td>
<td>07:17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Nin Zuh Khai</td>
<td>How to do rice planting</td>
<td>09:57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 31: List of recorded Kadu texts

Out of 32 texts, I have presented five texts of different genres. The first two texts are traditional fictional stories ‘a tiger and a rabbit’ and ‘a jealous king’, respectively. The two texts that follow are narrations of actual life experiences. One of them talks about a family situation and the other talks about an experience of encountering a tiger. The last text is procedural narrative, telling us about how to make wild yam food. These texts are presented almost exactly the same as they were recorded. A few alterations made to these texts are the removal of hesitations and unnecessary noises. False starts and unnecessary repetitions are provided with {} brackets. All texts are glossed with English and Burmese. Burmese glosses are provided with the intention of making the data available to Burmese students of linguistics and Kadu younger generations who are being brought up learning to read and write Burmese. English free translation is also provided.
Text09: ‘A tiger and a rabbit’

1. *maeítongták malèq òkthaúng athauingták heûpêupînnáq pûngpyinká yák aswè hâhângyeûnnaâ* heûkâângkâkmã.

    1SG tell show =ták malèq òkthaúng athauing -ták òk tông -ták
    long,long.ago =HS 1PL father-in-law mother-in-law -PL grandfather big -PL
    hêú peû = panáq pôngpyin =ká yák aswè hâhâng =yeûn =naâ
    tell keep =NOM story =TOP now friend Kachin =BEN =only
    hêú kâ -àng -kák =mâ .

    ‘I want to tell a story that our parents (Lit. father-in-laws and mother-in-laws) told us long ago, to a Kachin friend.’

2. *nga heûkâângkîpânâqkã kasâtôngyaûk páînntáï aswètangeûchín thàcîpânâq ngaûkâ nîmcîmatâk.*

    ngã heû kâ -àng =kû =panáq =ká kasâ tông =yaûk pângntáï
    1SG tell show -DIR1 =IRLS =NOM =TOP tiger big =COM rabbit
    aswè tangeûchín thà -cî = panáq ngaûkâ nîm -cî =mâ =ták .
    friend friend be -PL =NOM as.for stay -PL =RLS =HS

    ‘The story I will tell is about a friendship between a tiger and a rabbit. (They) lived (together), it is said.’

3. *ângningyeûzâng nîmcîkâ páînntáï ngaûkâ zàkmatâk.*

    âng =ningyeû =zâng tanëq tanaik nîm -cî =kâ pângntâi ngaûkâ zâk =mâ =ták .
    that =manner =EMPH at.one.time stay -PL =TOP rabbit as.for afraid =RLS =HS

    ‘Living like that, the rabbit was/became afraid, it is said.’

4. *kasâtôngtê zàkmatâk.*

    kasâ tông =tè zâk =mâ =ták .
    tiger big =A.AG afraid =RLS =HS

    ‘(The rabbit was) afraid of the tiger, it is said.’
5. màknà zàknà {màknà zàknà} zàkmàtàkseùé.

màk = nà  zàk = nà  màk = nà  zàk = nà  
be.a.long.time = COMPR  afraid = COMPR  be.a.long.time = COMPR  afraid = COMPR  

zàk = mà = t'àk = sëuë .
catch = RLS  = HS  = SAP  

‘The longer it lasted the more afraid the rabbit became, it is said.’

6. zàkparìkà àngningyeùzàng paìntaìkà maningyeù cànphàntalà ngaúkaì èpticàtë wànsútpàn kàtpeàyàngkùpànanqë hìngkà cànphàntàunímmà sëuë  

zàk = pànkaù  àng = nìngyeù = zàng pàngaì = kà  mà = nìngyeù  
afraid = as.it.is.the.case that = manner = EMPH  rabbit = TOP  WH  = manner  
cànphàn - ta = là  ngaù = kàu ìp - cé  mà = tè  wàn  sìt = pàn  
plan  LSUFF  = Q  say = TOP  sleep  - PL  time = A.AG  fire  start.fire = COS  
kàt  peù  - ìng = kù  = pànaìq = tè  hìng = kà  
run  keep  - DIR  = IRLS  = NOM  = A.AG  3SG  = TOP  
cànphàn - ta  nìm = mà  = sëuë  
plan  LSUFF  stay = RLS  = SAP  

‘As it happened, the rabbit planned to burn (the tiger) and run away when he was asleep.’

7. anàqìtë maningyeù òmànthàkùzànëyëù.  

anàq = tè  mà = nìngyeù  òm  - àng  - thà = kù  zàn = yeù .  
this = A.AG  WH  = manner  make  - DIR  - must = IRLS  = Q  = SAP  

“How should I do this?”

8. àngningyeùzàng aswè paìntaì ngaùkà àng pànaìq kasàtëdà wànsútpàn kàtpeàyàngkùpànanqë hìng ippàtìnmëtà.  

àng = nìngyeù = zàng aswè pàngaì ngaùkà  àng = pànaìq kasà = tè  
that = manner = EMPH  friend  rabbit  as.for  that = NOM  tiger  = A.AG  

536
Like that, the rabbit (made a plan) to burn the tiger and run away while (the tiger) was asleep.

Our forefathers (Lit. grandfather and grandmother) told us that the tiger went out during the night.

'I am not certain whether it is true or not, it’s just a story.'

Like that, the tiger slept during the day.

When (they) slept in the daytime, (they) slept in a thatch field, it is said.
13. **satängkăntóngpè ıpći kā ningngyeizáng païŋtaį ngaûkà minyeûngkà haîkмàkà acân lûpàntàk hìngkà**

```
satêng  kân  tông  =pê  ip  -cî =kâ  âng  =ningyeû  =zâng  pângtaį
thatch  CLT.field  big  =LOC  sleep  -PL  =TOP  that  =manner  =EMPH  rabbit
```

ngaukà  min  yeû  -îng  =kâ  haîkмàkà  acân  lû  =pàn  =tàk

`As (they) slept in the thatch field, like that, the rabbit woke up, and (it) got an idea, it is said.'

14. **“â ngû  acân anàq pê taûk tê.”**

```
â  ngû  acân  anàq  =pê  taûk  -ta  =mâ  =naîk  =tâ  hìng  =tê
```

`Now, I will act out my plan on the tiger.”

15. **haîkмàkà wânsûptàn kâpeiûyangmatàk kasâtêúa.**

```
haîkмàkà  wân  sût  =pân  kât  peû  -âng  =mâ  =tàk  kasà  =tê  .
```

`That time, (the rabbit) burned the tiger and ran away, it is said.’

16. **amâkà kasàkà wânhûàngmatàk.**

```
amâkà  kasà  =kâ  wân  hû  -âng  =mâ  =tàk
```

`That time, the tiger got burnt, it is said.’

17. **kasà wânhûàngkà kasà ngaûkà tînhâûpàntàk.**

```
kasà  wân  hû  -âng  =kâ  kasà  ngaûkà  tînhâût  =pàn  =tàk
```

`Having gotten burnt, the tiger got angry, it is said.’
18. haɪmkaká pánɡtai tė zau̱n tā =pān =tāk.
s.a.for.that.time rabbit =A.AG follow.after LSUFF =COS =HS
'then (the tiger) ran after the rabbit, it is said.'

19. kasà ngaui̱ká wānhu̱halák thàngmaták.

casà ngaui̱ká wān hū =-halák thā =-āng =mā =tāk.
tiger as.for fire burn -roughly be -DIR1 =RLS =HS
'Vee: aam: aam: nāa əməməmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəmbəm
23. **aswē hāhān yaâ nångyeûn heûyângkû.**

```
aswē hāhān yaâ nång = yeûn heû -āng = kû .
friend Kachin now 2SG =BEN tell -DIR1 =IRLS
```

‘My friend Kachin, now (I) will tell (it) to you.’

24. **ângningsâng takâkânpè teûpân nîmkâ kasâ zaûnîngkà kasâ ngaûkâ cúngthângzhângpîntâk.**

```
âng = nîng = zâng takâ kâ = pê teû = pân nîm = kâ kasâ
that = manner = EMPH bridge bad = LOC wait = COS stay = TOP tiger
zaûn = kâ = kasâ ngaûkâ cúng -ta = hâng = zâng = pân = tâk .
follow, after -DIR2 = TOP tiger as.for meet LSUFF back = EMPH = COS = HS
```

‘Having waited at the broken bridge, when the tiger arrived they met again, it is said.’

25. **“ateû nång ngâtê wânsûtûn lîpeûkâ ngaûkâ nång ngaûkâ lâppûn yâkkâ.”**

```
ateû nång ngâ = tê wân sût = pân lî peû = kâ ngaûkâ nång ngaûkâ
oh! you 2SG 1SG = A.AG fire start.fire = COS come keep = TOP as.for 2SG as.for
lâp = pân yâk = kâ .
catch = COS now = TOP
```

“Alas! As you burnt me and came here, now (I) I caught you.”

26. **“nângtê ngâ yökkû.”**

```
nâng = tê ngâ yökk = kû .
2SG = A.AG 1SG eat = IRLS
```

“I will eat you.”

27. **ângnaikmâ ngaûkâ paûntaî ngaûkâ zâkhângpântâk.**

```
âng = naûk mà ngaûkâ paûntaî ngaûkâ zâk -hâng = pâng = tâk .
that = only time as.for rabbit as.for afraid -back = DIR1: COS = HS
```

‘Then, the rabbit became afraid again, it is said.’
28. zák -háng -àng =ká å mā =ning afraid -back -DIR1 =TOP oh WH =manner
lēng -ta -háng -thā =kū =zán ngā =kā hīng =tē =ká =yeu.lie LSUFF -back -must =IRLS =Q tSG =TOP 3SG =A.AG =TOP =SAP
‘Becoming afraid again, (the rabbit thought), “Well, how should I trick him again?”’

29. àngngyeúzáng àngpāpè tazáqtáq pik taká eútàngthāmpápè chūntángmatákseeú.e.

29. àng =ningyeù =záng èng =pā =pè tazáqtazáq èng =pè taká
that =manner =EMPH that =ALL =LOC bit.by.bit that =LOC bridge
eūt -èng thām =pā =pè chūn -ta -èng =mā =ták =seúè.drop -DIR1 near =ALL =LOC come.near LSUFF -DIR1 =RLS =HS =SAP
‘And then, (the rabbit) slowly came closer toward to the bridge that was about to fall, it is said.’

30. chūntángkā àngngyeúzáng àngpè taká àtnímpápè thōkàngmātē ngaúkā kasāyítá tazáqtazáq kàtingmā ngaúlakāé.

30. chūn -ta -àng =ká ång =ningyeù =záng ång =pè taká
come.near LSUFF -DIR1 =TOP that =manner =EMPH that =LOC bridge
át ním =pā =pè thōk -àng má =tē ngaúkā kasā =yí =tá broken stay =ALL =LOC arrive -DIR1 time =A.AG as.for tiger =also =EMPH
tazáqtazáq kāt -ta -ing =mā ngaú =lakā =é .
bite.by.bit run LSUFF -DIR2 =RLS say =MIR =SAP
‘As he got closer to the broken bridge, the tiger also came closer bit by bit, it is said.’

31. àngngnzáng kāttaingkā kasá ngaúkā eútànghpánngták àngpè.

31. àng =ning =záng kāt -ta -ing =kā kasá ngaúkā
that =manner =EMPH come.close LSUFF -DIR2 =TOP tiger as.for
When (it) came closer, the tiger fell down there, it is said.

32. eúthängká haïkmáká pángtaí ngaúká kátteúphángineptá.

When (it) fell down that time, the rabbit ran away again, it is said.

33. á káthängpíng yákka laúktaánhängepányeú.

Now, the rabbit ran (away) again, and escaped again.

34. á líphängzik anáq kasá ngaúkáyeyé zün yahüngpè teúpán númhängpánták

(The rabbit said), “Let (the tiger) come” and he waited at the salt well, it is said.

35. zün yahüngpè teúpán númháká ångníngyeúzáng kasáyitá shiyéúpán yák pánnú ngaáh índángpán hingyeú shiéúpánmaá zaúntahängpánták.

While he waited at the salt well like that, the tiger got angry and (said) “He did (it) once again”. (The tiger) got angry and followed (the rabbit), it is said.”
36. **aswē kachin malēq ək heúpeúpinnág pōng.**

    aswē kachin malēq ək heú peú =panáq pōng.
    friend Kachin 1PL grandfather tell keep =NOM story

    ‘(My) friend Kachin, (it is) the story our forefathers told (us).’

37. **eù mayungyin pōngyin mát yōngyinleũ pōngpáq. (Burmese)**

    eù mayungyin pōngpyin mát yōngyinleũ pōng =páq.
    yes! no.believe.if story note believe.if.also story =SAP

    ‘If you don’t believe it, take it as a story. Even if you believe it, it is
     (still) a story.’

38. **àngningyeùzúng ùn yahûngpē teúnímká lāpmákšhángpángták.**

    ùn =ningyeù =zúng ùn yahûng =pē teú nîm =ká
    that =manner =EMPH salt well =LOC wait stay =TOP

    lāp -à -hâng =páng =tâk.

    ‘Like that, while (he) waited at the salt well, (the tiger) caught up to (the
     rabbit) again, it is said.’

39. **kasâyítá lāpmákshángángnká “á lâphângpîngtalé”**.

    kasâ =yi =tá lāp -à -hâng -âng =ká ā
    tiger =also =EMPH catch -EUPH -back -DIR1 =TOP oh

    lāp -hâng =pîng =talé.

    ‘When the tiger reached/caught (to the rabbit), “Well, I caught the rabbit
     again”.’

40. **kasâ wânhúhalák ngaúkâ “lâphângpîngtâyeû”**.

    kasâ wânhú -halák ngaúkâ lāp -hâng =pîng =tá =yeù.
    tiger fire burn -roughly as.for catch -back =DIR2:COS =EMPH =SAP

    ‘The wounded tiger (said) “(I) now got you”.’
41. ànungngzáng hingyítá māningyeū acān thūkhàkhūzányeū ànungng acān thūktałángtāk.

'Like that, the rabbit, as well, (said) “how should I make another plan?”.
Thus he made another plan, it is said.’

42. paṅgtāl ngaūkā nyāṅ ngāmā ngaūlākāē.

pāṅtaī ngaūkā nyāṅ ngā =mā ngaū =lakā =é

rabbit as.for brain exist =RLS say =MIR =SAP

'The rabbit is wise, it is said.’ (Lit. The rabbit got a brain.)

43. nyāṅ ácí ngāmā ngaūlākā.

nyāṅ ácí ngā =mā ngaū =lakā .

brain extremely exist =RLS say =MIR

'The rabbit is really wise.’

44. ànungngyeūzáng “taūk achiyā”

'Like that, "Thauk (clicking sound)! It’s not good.”’

45. hingtēkā panāq zūn yahūngpēa weūkūpāŋnākē meūhāmā heūyāngmānaik hingtē anyēu.

' (I) will tell him that (he) will recover if (he) takes a bath in this salt well.’
46. zāppáns hǐzàng thàmáyeù.

zāp = pán shí zàng = thāmā = yeù.

stinging = COS die JUSS:DIR1 = HORT = SAP

“So that (the tiger) will get burned and die.”

47. ângnîngyeyâzâng “âteû lâphângpán náng ngâtè suângpán ngâpán náng peûttaûkâ”.

âng = ningyeyu = zâng ateu lâp - hâng = pán nâng nâgā = tê suâng pâng

that = manner = EMPH ohl. you catch - back = COS 2SG 1SG = AAG two CLF.times

ngâ = pán nâng peût - ta = kâ.

exist = COS 2SG lie L.SUFF = TOP

‘Like that, “Alas! (I)’ve got you again, You tricked me two times”.’

48. “suângpán ngâpán kâlingpán ngâpán.”

suâng pâng nâgâ = pân kâling pâng nâgâ = pân

two CLF.times exist = COS two CLF.times exist = COS

“For the second time (you) tricked (me).”

49. “kâlingpán ngaúpánkâ yâk pânñûkâ nângtê înpeúyeyûnpán.”

kâling pâng ngaú = pânkâ û yâk pâng nê = kâ nâng = tê

two CLF.times say = as.it.is.the.case now CLF.times one = TOP 2SG = AAG

în = peû - yeûn = pân.

NEG= keep - can = COS

‘Having (tricked me) two times, this time, I can't let you go’.

50. înpeúyeyûnpán ngaúpánkâu ângnîngsâng ânggê zûn yahûnghâuik “înyôkkâshûk aswê kasâyeû”.

în = peû - yeûn = pân ngaû = pânkâu âng = nîng = zûng âng = pê zûn

NEG= keep - can = COS say = as.it.is.the.case that = manner = EMPH that = LOC salt

yahûng = haôf în = yôk kâ - ing = shôk aswê kasâ = yeû.

well = ABL NEG= eat show -DIR2 = NEG.IMP-INTRUSIVE friend tiger = SAP

‘Having not let (the rabbit) go, like that, (the rabbit) from the salt well (said) “My friend tiger, don’t eat me yet”.’
51. “ nångyaúk ngayaúk ngaúk sateúngkánpe níncimáhayaúk mékswé thácimá.”

“You and I have been friends since we lived in the thatch field.”

52. “ngáká zőtzmángá sútsák ngângmáq nángtêyêu.”

“It inadvertently caught fire and you got burned.”

53. “zőtzmáng sútsák ngâpânlakaú.”

“I inadvertently burned you.”

54. “àngpé náng wánhúngmá atínhaúnmángsá.”

“You got burned there. Don’t get angry.”

55. “yákyítá nángtê meúhângzângkâkmá ngákâyeu.”

“Even now, I want you to recover/get well.”
56. "náng yàkká wànhuhalákpanánq meúzàngkákpánńàká anáq zün yahünpè kúpánńàká meúküták."

náng yàkk =ká wán hù -halákk = panáq
2SG now =TOP fire burn -roughly =NOM

meú záng -kák pánnáká anáq zün yahüng = pè kú pánnáká
good JUSS:DIR1 want if this salt well =LOC bath if

meú = kú = ták.
good =IRLS = HS

"If you want to heal your (wound)..., if you take a bath in this salt well, (you) will recover, it is said."

57. "è ángpè zün yahünpè nángzeutá kúwáng."

é áng = pè zün yahüng = pè náng = nángzeut = tá kú -àng.
yes that = LOC salt well = LOC go = only/merely = EMPH bath - DIR1

Just go and bathe in that salt water.”

58. "meuyángkaláyeù hing zün yahüng sàtnamų weúkúámáte mà pàingtáká káthangpánqták.

meú - áng = kú = lá = yeù hing zün yahüng sàt - àng = mà
good - DIR1 IRLS = Q = SAP 3SG salt well descend - DIR1 = RLS

weúkú - à mà = tê pángtái = ká kát - háng = pàng = ták.
bathe - EUPH time = A.AG rabbit = TOP run - back = DIR1: COS = HS

(The tiger asked), “Will I recover?” and he went down into the salt well. While the tiger was taking a bath, the rabbit ran away again, it is said.’

59. káthangángká angnįngyeúzàng mahängtóng úng thökhangpánqták háiṃmá ngaúká.

kát - háng - áng = ká àng = níngyeù = záng maháng tong úng
run - back - DIR1 = TOP that = manner = EMPH that.thing big that

thök - háng = pàng = ták háiṃmá ngaúká.

'When he ran away, like that, (the rabbit) found another place, it is said.'
60. "kāthāṅgāṅkā "ā panāq paṅgtaī ngatē peūttaūlakāyeū."

When he ran away, (the tiger said), "This rabbit lied to me".

61. "sāmpān ngāpān hing ngatē peūttaūkāyeū."

The rabbit has lied to me three times.

62. "ānyeūkā achiyā yāṅ pānnūkā hingtē yōkkūnaṅk yōkmākkūnaṅk ĺīnhā hingtē."

"This is bad". "(I) will eat him (the rabbit).", "I will certainly eat him (the rabbit)." "I can’t help it".

63. "tū yōngtaūkā achiyā ācī peūttaūmā hing."

"(His) words can't be trusted. (The rabbit) lied so many times."

64. "ānyeū ngaūpānkaū kaphūtōng ngaūkā khweūttaūpān nīmkā ngāmātāk."

Having said that, there was a snake coiling, it is said."
65.  {thôkhângpántôk} ângpë saûngtaûnînhângpántôk paûngtaî ngaûkà haûkmâ ngaûkà.

```
{ thôk  -hâng = pán = tâk } âng = pê saûng - ta  nîm - hâng = pán = tâk
arrive - back = COS = HS that = LOC wait  L.SUFF stay - back = COS = HS
```

pângtaî ngaûkà haûkmâ ngaûkà.

rabbit as.for that time as for

‘{The tiger arrived} while the rabbit waited there, it is said.’

66.  anyeû ngaûpânnûkà ângpanàq zûn yahûngpè kùwângpanàq ngaûkà {záppánkà} hîngkà záppánnaà ângnîngyeûzûng shîyeûpânnûa saûntahângpántôk.

```
an = yeû ngaû = pán = naâ âng = panàq zûn yahûng = pê
DEM = manner say = COS = only that = NOM salt well = LOC
kù - âng = panàq ngaûkà zâp = pán = kà hîng = kà
bath = D.I.R. = NOM as for stinging = COS = TOP 3SG = TOP
záp = pán = naâ âng = ningyeû = zâng shîyeû = pán = naâ
stinging = COS = only that = manner = EMPH angry = COS = only
zaûn - ta - hâng = pán = tâk.
follow after  L.SUFF - back = COS = HS
```

‘If that is the case, (the tiger), having bathed in the salt well, got burned, got mad, and followed (the rabbit), it is said.’

67.  zaûntaûpânnûa haûkmûkà ângnîngzûng hîng thôngnîmpè kaphûyi khweûtaûnînmâtûk.

```
zaûn - ta = pán = naà haûkmûkà âng = ning = zâng hîng
follow after  L.SUFF = COS = only as for that time that = manner = EMPH 3SG
thông nîm = pê kaphû = yî khweû - ta  nîm = mà = tâk.
sit  stay = LOC snake = also coil  L.SUFF stay = RLS = HS
```

‘The tiger followed the rabbit again but there was a snake coiling at the place where (the rabbit) was waiting, it is said.’
68. nímpánkaú àngningszáng àŋpánàq peúttahángkú acán ömháŋgántúk.

Having stayed like that, the rabbit made a plan to trick (the tiger) again, it is said.

69. ä ngâtè yökkúnaktkú anâq achákkalakú.

Well, this time, (the tiger) will eat me.

70. “anâq achákká apeáyeúnpán” ngaúmáyeú.

This time, (I) won't let him (get away)”, it is said.’

71. “yökmák núnaik ngâtèyeú” acán thúktahángmanaik ngakú.

(He) surely will eat me”, The rabbit make a plan again.

72. acán thúktahángpántúk haíkmákú.

‘Then (the rabbit) made a plan again, it is said.’
"Having made a plan, like this, "Well, (I) will order/ask (the tiger) to hold this snake".

"If (he) holds the snake, (will the snake) kill (bite to dead) him?"

"Like that, I can’t stop now. (I) am going to eat you"

"(I) will eat (you), no matter what"

"No!, don't eat me yet."
78. “aùpè ngãng meùhãpanàg shì ngãká aùpè taùngmwé khweùtaùpeùmà {ngãká}.”

aù =pè ngãng meù \-hà = panàq shì ngã =ká aù =pè taùngmwé
here =LOC 2SG good -know.how =NOM medicine 1SG =TOP here =LOC rod

khweù -ta peù =mà ( ngã =ká ).
coil LSUFF keep =RLS 1SG =TOP

“Here, (I) have coiled a rod, the medicine to heal you.”

79. “taùngmwé òmpàn tãpãnnàkà nãng meùyãngkà.”

taùngmwé òm =pán tú pãnnàkà nãng meù -ãng =kù .
rod hold =COS prop.up if 2SG good -DIR1 =IRLS

“If (you) hold this rod and prop it up, (you) will be cured.”

80. “nãngyaùk ngayàuk yãkká mahângpè nìmhãlãkú.”

nãng =yàuk ngã =yàuk yàk =ká mahâng =pè nîm hà lù =kù .
2SG =COM 1SG =COM now =TOP that.thing =LOC stay walk get =IRLS

“Then we both can live at that place.”

81. “pyàûpyàûpàpádà sàtëngkânpè nìmhãngcânglãkú aswè kasà” chaûqtahângpântâk.

pyàûpyàûpàpá -sà sàtëng kàn =pè nîm -hâng -cî -âng lù =kù aswè kasà
happily -DIM thatch CLT.field =LOC stay -back -PL -DIR1 get =IRLS friend tiger

chaûq -ta -hâng =pán =tâk .
soothe LSUFF -back =COS =HS

'(The rabbit) soothed (the tiger) "My friend tiger, (we) can live happily in
the thatch field again", it is said.'

82. ãngngíngzãng à achiyâ mahângýi nyãngtamatâk kasâyítá.

ãng =ãng ã -záng ã a= chî =ã mahâng =yí nyâng -ta =mà =tâk
that =manner =EMPH oh NEG= true =NEG that.thing =also quarrel LSUFF =RLS =HS

kasà =yí =tâ .
tiger =also =EMPH

‘Like that, “No!”, (the tiger), as well, argue, it is said.’
83. “achiyá nång sámpán ngápán anáapá shipán ngápán.”

a = chi = á nång sám pán ngā = pán anáq pā shi pán
NEG= true = NEG 2SG three CLF.times exist = COS this include four CLF.times
w = či = ā = āp tā = sāp āp
ngā = pán .
exist = COS

“No, you (tricked me) three times, including this (it’s) four times.”

84. “tamí ngaúicikâ tôngëng tôngkhâ ngaúmá anyëu.”

tami ngaú - ci = ká tông cëng tôngkhâ ngaú = mā an = yeú .
other.people say - PL = TOP three time three.times say = RLS DEM = manner

Some people say, (It is) up to three times. (You can forgive up to three times)

85. “yàkká nång shipán seá ngápápäng nàngká.”

yàk = ká nång shi pán = seú ngā = pang nång = ká .
now = TOP 2SG four CLF.times = SAP exist = DIR:COS 2SG = TOP

Now, for you, (it is) four times.”

86. “anáapá shipán ngápán náng peútáikâ yaà peúttahängpáñ nång ngatëyeú.”

anáq pā shi pán ngā = pán nång peút - ta = ká yaà
this include four CLF.times exist = COS 2SG lie LSUFF = TOP now
w = či = ā = āp tā = sāp āp
peút - ta - häng = pán nång ngā = tē = yeú .
lie LSUFF - back = COS 2SG 1SG = A.AG = SAP

“Including this, it’s already four times you tricked (me). Now, you are tricking me again.”

87. “Inpeúttawá Inpeúttawáyeú.”

ín = peút - ta = á ín = peút - ta = á = yeú .
NEG= lie LSUFF = NEG NEG= lie LSUFF = NEG = SAP
w = či = ā = ā = yeú .

“I am not tricking (you). I am not tricking (you).”
88. àngningzáng á “achilé náng.”

àng =ning =záng à a= chí =lé náng
that =manner =EMPH oh NEG= true =SAP 2SG

‘Like that, “Oh, it is not like that”.’

89. “aùpè anáq tàiungmwézáng zántaphángàng ngatè yökkúpanáq inngaúwángsáyeù.”

aù =pè anáq taiungmwé =záng zán -ta -pháng -àng ngá =tè
here =LOC this rod =EMPH test L.SUFF -prior -DIR1 1SG =A.AG

yök =kū =panáq in= ngaú -àng =sà =yeù .
eat =IRLS =NOM NEG= say -DIR1 =NEG.IMP =SAP

“Don’t say that you will eat me, just hold this rod first.”

90. “anáqtézáng taiungmwé ómpán zántaphángàngyókyeù.”

anáq =tè =záng taiungmwé óm =pán zán -ta -pháng -àng =yök =yeù.
this =A.AG =EMPH rod hold =COS test L.SUFF -prior -DIR1 =intrusive =SAP

“Hold the rod and try it out first.”

91. àngningyeùzáng “chimátlá náng.”

àng =ningyeù =záng chí -māt =lá náng .
that =manner =EMPH true truly =Q 2SG

‘Like that, “Are you sure?”

92. “chimátnáyeù.”

chí -māt =mā =yeù .
true truly =IRLS =SAP

“Yes, it is really true.”
“chimātā ngaipānkaú chimātā naú”.

If you say, it's true, it is really true, right?

“é chimātā.”

Yes, it is true.

“awśē kasāyēu nāngē lakō nimmaikīngpanaq maeū neūtalā chipān seū maūng maikmA peūtalā.”

My friend tiger, you and I have been living (together) for a long time, when did (I) trick you?

“Well, you (already tricked me) three times. Including this, it is now the fourth times.”

“Oh, that's one thing, (I) was just teasing (you).”
98. “maning hínlá ngáká shíká ömmpán seỳeu.”

mà = ning hín =lá ngā =ká shí =kū ôm =pán =seù =yeù.
WH =manner tease =Q 1SG =TOP die =IRLS make =COS =SAP =SAP

“What kind of teasing was that? I nearly died.”

99. “kaì anyeu ngaipánñaká chimātná ngaipánñaká yák páinnáká naú ìńchìyá ngaipán nàŋtē nga yókküyêu.”

kaì an =yeù ngaù pánnáká chì -māt =mā ngaù pánnáká yák
well? DEM =manner say if true truly =RLS say if now
pán nù =ká =nā ín= chì =á ngaù =pán nàŋ =tē nág
CLF.times one =TOP =SAP NEG= true =NEG say =if 2SG =A.AG 1SG
yök =kū =yeù.
eat =IRLS =SAP

“Well, if so, if it is the case, “this time, if it is not the case, I will eat you”

100. “keù zántăngkú ñükà” kaphútè ömàngmaták.

keù zán -ta -àng =kū yàk =ká kaphú =tē ôm -àng =mā =ták
right! test LSUFF -DIR1 =IRLS now =TOP snake =A.AG hold -DIR1 =IRLS =HS

“Well, (I) will try (it) out.” (The tiger) holds the snake, it is said.’

101. haikkmá kaphú haññhíñmatapk.

haikmá kaphú haññ shī -àng =mā =ták.
that.time snake strike die -DIR1 =IRLS =HS

‘That time, the snake killed/strike to death (the tiger), it is said.’

102. é ângpanápè taúmpã.

é âng =panâq =pë taúp =mā.
yes that =NOM =LOC end =IRLS

‘Well, it ends here.’
103. *aswē hāhāng anāq mayūngyin pūngpyinmāt.*

aswē hāhāng anāq mayūngyin pūngpyinmāt.
friend Kachin this no.believe.if story note

‘My friend Kachin, if (you) don’t believe (it), take (it) as a mere story.’
Text15: ‘A jealous king’

1. *maeuéúntοngtάk òŋgpanάq halawά ngaúkά ēktόng shiyangkά ēkshi lāhángmatάk hingkά.*

    *maeuéúntόng =tάk āng =panάq halawά ngaúkά ēk tόng shí -ǎng =kά*
    long/long.ago =HS that =NOM man/husband as.for wife big die -DIR =TOP

    ‘Long ago, a man took/married a second wife when (his) first wife died, it is said.’

2. *ēkshi lāhángkά phákhulú phúlúthaú ngaúpanάq amúnashí eúpteúmatάk sά.*

    *ēk -shí lá -háng =kά phákhulú phúlúthaú ngaú =panάq amúnashí*
    wife -DIM take -back =TOP PN PN say =NOM sibling

    ‘When (he) took/married the second wife, two brothers, Phakhulu and Phaluthau (sons of the first wife), were left behind, it is said.’

3. *sά kalinghú eúpteúkά naúkthát lápαnάq ēkshikά òŋgŋάq sάtόkté alákákátάk hingkά.*

    *sά kaling hú eút peú =kά naúkthát lá =panάq ēk -shí =kά*
    son two CLF.person drop keep =TOP again take =NOM wife -DIM =TOP

    ‘When left the two sons, the second wife, the one that was taken later, didn't like those sons, it is said.’

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4. ñáktìkkàntàkkhà ngaúpánkà dla “áá sàttàktì kàáñshìkkà ngaúpán tàánhì tachàppà sàkkàkkìyì sàttà”.

Indicative

３ ３ =ínlàkkàntàkkhà ngaúpánkà dla “áá sàttàktì kàáñshìkkà ngaúpán tàánhì tachàppà sàkkàkkìyì sàttà”.

4. “As it is the case that (she) didn't want those sons, (she) said (to her husband), “If you are going to kill your sons, kill them. (If not), send them to another place. Send (them) away.””

5. “anyéù achíyà ngaúpán ngaá sàttàtkìyì ngaúpán ngaá ínanímmàáikkàkkàí” anyéù ngaúmàttàkkh.”

6. “As it is the case, (the wife) said it like this, “As for them, Oh! I don't want to live together with your sons. Send them to other places”.”
7. "When the wife told this very often, the man said, this manner, 'Well, my dear, of course, they are my sons. How could I send them away?'".

8. "No!" the wife said, "If it is like this—if you want to live together with your sons, divorce me first.", it is said.'
“Well, all right, if you are being like that.” (He didn’t divorce his wife, it is said). (The husband) at that time, sent (his) two sons, who are called Phakhulu and Phuluthaw, to the forest, it is said.’

10. “awâyaúk nāngcîthāmā pōkhápàpè nāngcîthāmā úng pōkhápàpè nāngcîthāmā” ngaîpànnaà shīshātàktè anyeù mók chaútaipànnaà “atá tip atá tip” ngaîmatàk.

11. aťásà tippànnaà kaúpán lānângmatàk pōkhápàpè.
12. **pòkhápà kaūpán lānāngká àngnaíkmákhàtè pòkhápè thúkká á atá yōkcízík atá yōkcízík ngaúmaták.**

   pòkhá = pà kaū = pán là nāng = kā ăng = nāk mākhà = tè
   forest = ALL call = COS take go = TOP that = only time = A.AG

   Then (he) called them and took them to the forest. When they reached the forest, (the father) said "Well, eat the rice, eat the rice.", it is said.

13. **hīng sātàk yàkká atá yōknímcímá zātcátè hīngká útpeúpán lihāngpeúpán seūé.**

   hīng sā -tāk yāk = kā atá yōk nīn -cī = mā zātcă = tē
   3SG son -PL now = TOP rice eat stay -PL = RLS between.edge = A.AG

   (While) his sons were eating, he left them and returned home.

14. **“awà yāk chūnikphángkūná” ngaúpānnaà peūuttaipānnaà lihāngpeúpāntāk hīngkā.**

   awà yāk chūnik -phān = kū = nā ngaū = pān = naā
   father now defecate = IRLS = SAP say = COS = only

   peūt -ta = pān = naā lī -hāng peū = pān = tāk hīng = kā.

   He lied to them (saying) “Daddy will go and defecate” and came home, it is said.

15. **cīmpāpè lihāngpeúkā ǐnmākhàtèká sātàk ngaūkā yākkā pòkhápè seūé halāngnāking halāngkā nāk awākà alihānghā “hēwā lihāngzīk halāngnāksōmping, hēwā lihāngzīk” àngnaíkmākà máhameúzeútā alihāngá seūé.**

   cīm = pā = pè lī -hāng peū = kā in mákhà = tē = kā
   house = ALL = LOC come -back keep = TOP um.yes! time = A.AG = TOP
When (he) came back home, that time, his sons were (left) in the forest (and) (it) became dark. "It’s dark. Daddy, come back. Daddy, come back", Then nobody came."

16. ínlíhángká pôkhápè númmákângthàmaták ípmákângthàmaták.

'When (the father) did not come back, they had to stay and sleep in the forest, it is said.'

17. ípmákângthàká zák zák ípmákâkâpánták.

'When they slept (by themselves), (they) slept (there) very afraid, it is said.'
18. īpmákcángká āngnaikmákhátē ngaúkā hamántākhāk phānsità múntán naâ imatāk.

When (they) slept, that time, (the) Nat created (something) and gave (it to them), it is said.

19. eú panáq maták ōmyōktìng {anyeù seùé} tāngkaūtóng haūwà īngmatāk.

For their livelihood, (the Nats) gave (them) a big sword, it is said.

20. alōlōyeù teūzāk ngāzāk ngāzāk {sàyeù} āntalīp sāttalīpsà anyeù amyōsà úngpè matāk ām tēngpān yōkāngtingsāyítā pāitungmatāk alōlōyeù.

When they were staying there (Lit. while going and staying,) small packages of paddy and husked rice, like that, (paddy to grow and to eat as well) appeared, it is said.'
21. **paūtìngká te̱ish̄àyítá alōlōsà {anyeisà} ngāzàngzeiéká ângnáq tängkaùt̄óngyaâk̀sà mahâng ömpànnaâ te̱ish̄àpè nîm̄mâc̄kmât̄àk àngnaîk âmûnâshî.**

paū -ta -ing =kâ teú shā =yí =tā alōlō -sà {show.up LSUFF -Dir2 =TOP hut small =also =EMPH by.itsel DIM
an =yeù -sà } ngā -Zângzeu =kâ âng =pānāq
DEM =manner -DIM exist -might =TOP that =NOM

śî cîmphí sà cìng site =maâ =tàk âng =nâk mâkâh =tē âmûnâshî .

stay -EUPH -PL =TOP that =only time =A.AG sibling

'After (these) appeared, a small hut also appeared on its own accord. Then the two brothers (cultivated) with the sword and lived in the small hut, it is said.'

22. **nîmmâcîkâ àngnaîkânhîtâ ngaú âng te̱ish̄àpè ângnáq hamântàk õpeúpanâq alōlōsà paūtìngpanâq tângkaùt̄óngyaâk yēk wânyökmatâk.**

nîm -à -cî =kâ âng =naîk mâkâh =tē ngaú âng

stay -EUPH -PL =TOP that =only time =A.AG say that

teú shā =pē âng =pānāq hamân -tāk î peū =pānāq alōlō -sà

hut small =LOC that =NOM spirit -PL give keep =NOM by.itsel DIM

paū zîng =pānāq tângkaù tōng =yaùk yēk wān yōk =mâ =tàk .

show.up JUSS =NOM sword big =COM hill.field chop eat =RLS =HS

'During that time, (they) cleared the hill field (for their livelihood) with the sword given by the Nats and which had appeared of its own accord, it is said.'

23. **yēk wânpânaâ ângpè téngmatâk.**

yēk wān =pān =naâ âng =pē téng =mâ =tàk .

hill.field chop =COS =only that =LOC plant =RLS =HS

'They cleared the field and planted (paddy), it is said.'
24. āntē téngpánnaà āngnāq āntē yökpán nímmākcímatāk.

ān -tē téng =pān =naà āng =panāq ān -tē yök =pān
paddy -PL plant =COS =only that =NOM paddy -PL eat =COS

née yēk - tē yök =pān

nīm -à -cī =mā =tāk.

stay -EUPH -PL =RLS =HS

‘(They) planted paddy, ate it and lived (there), it is said.’

25. anyeù nímmākcíká taneq tanaīk cáqtaaiká yök wānyākākcímatāk.

an =yeù nīm -à -cī =kā taneq tanaīk cáqtaaí =kā yök
DEM =manner stay -EUPH -PL =TOP at.one.time as.for =TOP hill.field

wān yök -à -cī =mā =tāk.

chop eat -EUPH -PL =RLS =HS

‘When (they) lived like that, one day (they) cultivated a hill field (for their livelihood), it is said.’

26. amūnāsi kalīnghú yök wānpánnaà yökākcímatāk.

amūnāsi kalīng hú yök wān =pān =naà yök -à -cī =mā =tāk.

sibling two CLF.person hill.field chop =COS =only eat -EUPH -PL =RLS =HS

‘The two brothers cultivated (rice) field (for their livelihood), it is said.’

27. yökākcíká āntān màmkākhātë ngaūkā (yök ngaūnīngyēù) hīng amū ngaūkā hīng nashtē hīng amūkā phākhūlūlālaka'étë hīng nashtēkā phūlūthaūlālaka'étë.

yök -à -cī =kā āntān màk màkhā =tē ngaūkā { yök
eat -EUPH -PL =TOP quite be.a.long.time time =AAG as.for now

ngaū =ningyēù } hīng amū ngaūkā hīng nashtē =tē hīng amū =kā
say =manner 3SG brother as.for 3SG younger.sibling =AAG 3SG brother =TOP

phākhūlū =lakaù =é hīng nashtē =kā phūlūthāu =lakaù =é.

PN =MIR =SAP 3SG younger.sibling =TOP PN =MIR =SAP

‘When ate/cultivated for themselves, after sometimes, (like this manner) the older brother (said) to the younger brother... the older brother was Phakhulu and his younger brother was Phuluthau.’

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28. anyeù ngaúpánlakaú hing amú phakhulu ngaúkà yákà mákhätè ngaúkà “maúng ngá úngpàpèa nängphángkünd nängkà nímphángndyeù” ngaúmatàk.

an =Yeù ngaú =pánkaú hing amú phakhulu ngaúkà yákà -à
dem =manner say =as.it.is.the.case 3SG brother PN as.for day -one
mákha =tè ngaúkà maúng ngá ýng =pà =pé näng -pháng =kù =nà
time =A.AG as.for boy 1SG that =ALL =LOC go -prior =IRLS =SAP
nang =kà nim -pháng =nà =yeù ngaú =má =ták.
stay =TOP say =SAP =only 3SG =TOP forest =ALL
nang =má =ták.
go =IRLS =HS

‘As it is the case, like that, one day the older brother, Phakhulu, said “(My brother) I will go away and you stay back here.”, it is said.’

29. “nímphángnda” ngaúpánnaà híngkà pòkhápà nängmatàk.

nım -pháng =nà ngaú =pán =naà hing =kà pòkhá =pà
stay -prior =SAP say =COS =only 3SG =TOP forest =ALL
nang =má =ták.
go =IRLS =HS

‘(He said) “Stay here, my dear” and (he) went into the forest, it is said.’

30. ángnaíkmákhatè ngaúkà (yàkningyeù) taítápátàk ngaúkà “sápøpáläng ömkūkāq apòwà” ngaúpánnaà ýng thingpàpanà sèktàk ngaúkà sápøpáläng tòmingyaúk híngyítà pòkhápè nängingyaúk “híngtè sápøpáläng ömsìngtham”á ngaúpánnaà sápøpáläng ôm pheúpán lápántàk ángnaíkmákhatèkà híngkà.

àng =naík mákhà =tè ngaúkà { yák =ningyeù } taítápà -ták ngaúkà
that =only time =A.AG as.for now =manner other.country -PL as.for
sápøpáläng ôm =kù =kà a= pò =à ngaú =pán =naà ýng
king make =IRLS =TOP NEG= exist =NEG say =COS =only that
thing =pà =panáq sèk -ták ngaúkà sápøpáläng tòm -ing =yaúk
village =ALL =NOM person -PL as.for king search -DIR2 =COM
hing =yí =tá pòkhá =pè näng -ing =yaúk hing =tè sápøpáläng
3SG =also =EMPH forest =LOC go -DIR2 =COM 3SG =A.AG king

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Then people from another country said “There is no one to be a king”. While the people from other villages came out in search of a king, (the older brother) was on his way to the forest and they met him there. They said “Let's make him the king”. Then they made (him) a king and carried and took (him) away, it is said.

31. pheúpáannaà lángká ángnaíkmátè ngaúkà teúpè ngaúkà ángpanáq hing nashi phúluthaù eátpeúyákmataù.

When (they) carried him away, (he) left his younger brother Phuluthau in the hut, it is said.

32. eátpeúyákká ángnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkà anyeù ngaúmaták.

Having left there left (there), that time, (he) said like this, it is said.

33. “aù í léq amúká maíkmá lìhángkalá, lìq amúká maíkmá lìhángkaláyëù” ngaúpánnaà myaútaúpánnaà halángnákkàngmaták (hìngyìtd).

“Then people from another country said “There is no one to be a king”. While the people from other villages came out in search of a king, (the older brother) was on his way to the forest and they met him there. They said “Let's make him the king”. Then they made (him) a king and carried and took (him) away, it is said.’
'He (the younger brother) said, “When will my brother come back?” and (while) waiting (him), (it) became dark, it is said.'

34. **halángnákàngká hing amúteká tami kaulápánlaká úngpê sângpaláng öm sêktàk kaulápánlaká hingká ínalipán seú ângnaíkmákhatéká.**

halángnák -āng =ká hing amú =tê =ká tami
dark -DIR1 =TOP 3SG brother =A.AG =TOP other.people

kaü lâ =pán =lakâ ùng =pê sângpaláng öm sêk -tâk
call take =COS =MIR that =LOC king make person -PL

kaü lâ =pán =lakâ hing =ká ín= a = li =pán =seú
call take =COS =MIR 3SG =TOP NEG= NEG= come =COS =SAP

âng =naík mákhâ =tê =ká.
that =only time =A.AG =TOP

When (it became) dark, the people who appointed the king had taken his brother and that time, he was not coming back.'

35. **ínalihángká ângnaíkmákhatê ngaúkâ aû lêq amúkâ halángnákâtê ínalihángpôn yâkmákká ngâhaingsânaík ngapánlâ ngaúpañnaâ lihángmaták hingkâ.**

ín= a = li -hâng =ká âng =naík mákhâ =tê ngaúkâ aû malêq
NEG= NEG= come -back =TOP that =only time =A.AG as.for well! 1PL
amú =ká halángnák =tí =tâ ín= a = li -hâng =pán
brother =TOP dark =also =EMPH NEG= NEG= come -back =COS

yâkmákk =ká ngâ =haing -sâ =naík ngâ =pán =lâ
today =TOP exist =exclusive -DIM =only 1SG =COS =NOM
When he had not returned, then (the younger brother) said “Though it is dark, my older brother has not returned. Today, I am left by myself.” and came back (home), it is said.

36. līhángká lámpè ngauíkà acísweū lāwingmatāk.

lī -háng =kā lám =pè ngauíkà ací sweū lū -ing =mā =ták.
com -back =TOP dry =LOC as.for elephant tusk get =DIR2 =RLS =HS

‘As (he) returned, on the way he found/got an elephant's tusk, it is said.’

37. acísweū lāwingká acísweūsā pheúpán līhángmatāk.

acísweū lū -ing =kā acísweū -sā pheū =pán lī -háng =mā =ták.
tusk get =DIR2 =TOP tusk -DIM carry =COS come -back =RLS =HS

‘When (he) found/got a tusk, (he) carried the tusk (on his shoulder) and came back, it is said.’

38. “yākmákká léq amúká alīhángpán léq awà úpeúmā ngaúpín atheúpè léq amúyítā úpeúyákhángpān ngatèkáyeū yākmákká ngakā màhameïyaúk nāmkalā pōkhápē ngāhaingsākà” ngaúpánnaà acísweūsā pheúpán līhángmatāk.

yākmák =kā malēq amú =kā a = lī -háng =pán malēq awà
today =TOP 1PL brother =TOP NEG= come -again =COS 1PL father

út peú =mā ngaú =pānāq atheù =pè malēq amú =yí =tā
abandon keep =RLS say =NOM inside =LOC 1PL brother =also =EMPH

út peú -a -háng =pán ngā =tè =kā =yeù yākmák =kā
abandon keep -EUPH -back =COS 1SG =A.AG =TOP =SAP today =TOP

ngā =kā mà =hameü =yaúk nīm =kū =lá pōkhā =pè
1SG =TOP WH =person =COM stay IRLS =Q forest =LOC

ngā =haíng -sà =kā ngaú =pán =naà ací sweū -sà
exist =exclusive -DIM =TOP say =COS =only elephant tusk -DIM

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'(The younger brother) said, "Today, my brother is not coming back. In addition to our father abandoning us, now my older brother has also abandoned me. With whom should I live in this forest? I am now by myself.", and he came home carrying the elephant’s tusk, it is said.’

39. acísweūsà pheúpánnaà lìhángkà àngnáq hìng heūting kaūngtingpèà cháqtaúpánnaà peúhángingmaták àngnáq acísweūtè.

40. àngnáq acísweūtè cháqtaúpánnaà hìng heūting sàttìngpè

41. àngnáq akjixmätè ngaúkà sinsweūsà cháqtaúpéuhiúngingkà àngnápè hìngka úng kaûngpàn hìng hìng heū hamàng ôm ômkà anásà cháqtaúpán peúpánnaà hìngkà yèk wûnnyeûtài wànyôkmaták.
Then he put the elephant’s tusk down (at the steps), and he often steps on it (when he goes out and it) and (continue) to do/cultivate the hill field as usual, it is said.

"Then he put the elephant’s tusk down (at the steps), and he often steps on it (when he goes out and it) and (continue) to do/cultivate the hill field as usual, it is said."

42. phàkmáknìngyeù yèkpàpè nànhángmatàk.

phàkmák = nìngyeù yèk = pà = pè nàng -háng = mā = tāk.
tomorrow = manner hill.field = ALL = LOC go -back = RLS = HS

"The next day, he went back to the fields, it is said."

43. yèkpàqpè nahángkà anáq acísweüheügyeù anáq {sinphyümeü ishiqshà} aclùng pùngpùngshà ishiqshà pùpànna hìngyeün atà sapàksà mòkàkmatàk.

yèk = pà = pè nàng -háng = ká anáq acísweu = hāfīk = yeù anáq
hill.field = ALL = LOC go -back = TOP this tusk = ABL = SAP this
sinphyü meū ishiq shà ací lùng lùng pùngpùng shà
white.elephant CLT.female girl small elephant white white ATTW small

ishiq shà pù = pàn = naà hìng = yeùn atà sapàksà
girl small emerge = COS = only 3SG = BEN rice dish

mòk -à = mā = tāk.
cook = EUPH = RLS = HS

"When (he) had gone to the field, a white elephant came out of the tusk and cooked food for him, it is said."

44. mòkpàn imatàk.

mòk = pàn i = mā = tāk.
cook = COS give = RLS = HS

"(S/he) cooked (for him), it is said.‘
45. {àngnáq acísweíhāk pūpánnaà} àngnáq ishíqshà cíceù katàmmatàk katàmyítà katàmshīshísà tāk.

This girl was very beautiful, it is said. (She was) extremely beautiful, it is said.

46. àngnaíkmátè ngaúkà pūpánnaà atá sapáksà mōkākkānaà hīngkā “aū yàkmákká máhameú mōkīzeúlā ngātēkā anāq atá sapáksākā máhameú mōkpān ìzeulāyēu” (phàkmáknīng ngāyítà) yökyí cíceù yökmēamatàk.

When (she) came out, she cooked. (The man) said “Today, who came and cooked this food for me? Who cooked this rice and curry for me?”. {And it happened the next day}. (It) was so delicious, it is said.

47. phàkmáknīngyeù ngāyítà túmpaūngpaūngsà yökmē amatàk.

And the next day, as well, (the food was) fragrant and delicious to eat, it is said.
48. naúktèká phàkmák ningyeuyítá nahàngpánták hingká yèk wánhángáká lihàngpánták {àngnaíkmàtè ngaúkà lihàngpánták}.

naúk = tè = ká phàkmák = ningyeú = yí = tá nàng -háng = pán = ták
later = A.AG = TOP tomorrow = manner = also = EMPH go - back = COS = HS

hìng = ká yèk wàn -háng - à = ká li -háng = pán = ták { }

3SG = TOP hill. field chop - back - EUPH = TOP come - back = COS = HS

- àng = naúk mátè ngaúkà li -háng = pán = ták }.

-The next day, as well, he went back (to cultivate the field), it is said. (He) went to cultivate and (he) came back, it is said. (Then he came back, it is said)'

49. híng lihàngpánn ngaúpánn sângpán nímhàngpán ngaúlakáé.

híng li -háng = pán ngaú pánnàkà sâng = pán ním -háng = pán
3SG come - back = COS say if enter = COS stay - back = COS

nàgú = lakà = é .

say = MIR = SAP

- 'When he came back, (she) entered (into the tusk), it is said.'

50. anáq ishiqsháká híng lihàngpán sângpán nímhàngpánták eú asweùnaùpè.

anáq ishiq shà = ká híng li -háng = pán sâng = pán
this girl small = TOP 3SG come - back = if enter = COS

nìm -háng = pán = ták eú asweù nau = pè .

- 'When he comes back, the girl enters into the tusk and stays (there), it is said.'
51.  "(She) stayed inside, that time, when he went back. (She) came out and cooked food (for him), it is said."

52.  "(She) came out and cooked in his absence."

53.  "Then she cooked (for him) and the same thing happened on the next day and the next two days. After two or three days, (he) said, “I will spy on this girl”, it is said.”
54. “ngāyeún atá sapáksà mōkipín sèktè chaúngtayókkū” ngaumaták.

ngā = yeún atá sapáksà mōk i = panáq sèk = tè
1SG = BEN rice dish cook give = NOM person = A.AG
chaúng -ta = yók = kū ngaú = mā = ták.
say = intrusive = IRLS = RLS = HS

‘(He) said “I will spy on the one who cooked food for me.”, it is said.’

55. “lāpkón chaúngtayókkū ngā” kalingyàk súmyàk màkàngmákàthàtë ngaúkà chaúngtápánták àngnàk màkhàthàtë.

lāp = kón chaúng -ta = yók = kū ngā kaling yàk sóm yàk
catch = so.as.to spy LSUFF = intrusive = IRLS 1SG two day three day
màk - àng màkhà = tè ngaúkà chaúng -ta = pàn = ták
be.a.long.time = DIR = time = A.AG as.for spy LSUFF = COS = HS
àng = nałk màkhà = tè.
that = only time = A.AG

‘“I will spy (on her) to catch her.” Two or three days (he) spied (on her), it is said.’

56. chaúngtaúkánàà àngnàk màkhàthàtëkú mōkpán nìmångpìnták.

chaúng -ta = kà = naà èng = nałk màkhà = tè = kà
spy LSUFF = TOP = only that = only time = A.AG = TOP
màk = pàn nim - häng = píng = ták.
cook = COS stay back = DIR = COS = HS

‘While (he) spied, that time, (she) came and cooked (for him) again, it is said.’

57. hīng nāngpeúpán ngaúpànnàkù hīng nāngpeúmákàthàtë mōkpán nìmång hìngkà.

hīng nāng peú = pàn ngaú pánnàkù hīng nāng peú màkhà = tè mōk = pàn
3SG go keep = COS say if 3SG go keep time = A.AG cook = COS

‘While (he) spied, that time, (she) came and cooked (for him) again, it is said.’
58. “ateú nánglakà aúpè atá sáng sängpánnà múkkà nánglakàyèù”.

“When he’s gone, by the time he is gone, she cooked and stayed (in the hut) again.’

59. “Oh, you!, You are the one who often came in and cooked the food.”

60. “Yes, it’s true. I helped you, as I looked/noticed you living by yourself.” (It is the manner/pattern (it was said))
61. “nāngtè ngā azānká mútpānnaà ōmpókākmaá” {anyeu seùé} “ngātè atānishshók”, “intānishshyáayeù” naúktèká.

“I helped cook for you because I loved you, as I felt pity on you.” “Do not kill me yet,” “No, I won’t.”

62. àngnáqhatk lápán nímçàngmatáà àngnaámkákhàtè ngaúkà.

‘From then on, (they) took (married) and lived (together), it is said.’

63. lápán nímçàngnká àngnaámkámatè ngaúkà {àngpanáq meútnátóng} hing amú phákhuññë tamì taípìpàpè sàngpaláng ómápanáq sèk ngaúkà.

‘When (they) got married, that time, his older brother, Phakhulu, the one who was a king in another country,’
64. ângnaímkâhâtê ngaúkâ (ângnâqtak ngaúkâ) móksôtak ngaúkâ katâwîngmatâk ângnáq tâpîpanâq tamisâtak taúkôleütingkânaà ànták âksâhalângâq katâmshishâsa lakô.

Then when the people from that other country came hunting, (they) saw (them), it is said. (They were) extremely beautiful.'

65. “ângnáq acîshà sinphyûmeûshà ngaúpanâq cîceü katâmmâ” ngaúlakâè.

“The elephant girl was extremely beautiful”, it is said.’

66. katâmpántak ngaipánkâu ângnaímkâhâtê ngaúkâ “â ângnáq ângnâgyôpè” (anyeü seüé naú pôngzânkâ) sângpalângyeîn heúhângâtalâè.

‘As it is the case that (they) are beautiful, that time, (the hunters) told the king “(the couple live) there, on the ridge.” (in that manner/pattern it was said.)’
67. “àngnáq yó seùé ngaú =mā =ták.

They said “On that ridge.”, it is said.

68. “àngnáq sinphyūmeūshàyí cíceú katāmmā àngnáq ēksahálá nímcíma” {anyeù seùé naú}.

The elephant girl is extremely beautiful. The couple lives at that place (the manner (it was told)).

69. katungìngmā ishisháyaikut ánták ēksahálá nímcíma katungìngmā anyeù heúhángpánták.

(The) told the king, this manner, “(We) saw a young girl. (We) saw a couple.”, it is said.

70. sāngpalángttákka (nängyità) maeú thongzānshíqtíqatai tamì ēk katămshíshísa ngaúpán láákakmā seùé.

It is an old regular practice with kings, (they) want someone’s wife who is beautiful.
71. lākākpánták ngaúpánkaú àngnaíkmâtè ngaúkà “ā kāiwāñúkà÷ì” ngaúmátañà.

As it is the case with kings, that time, (the king) said “Well, (you) must go and call (her).”, it is said.

72. (é kaūźìngákkákmà) “àngnaíq ēksāhalá nímpañáq tè kaūźìngákkákmàyeù” ngaúmátañà.

(The king) said, “As the couple lives, (I) want (you) to bring the couple.”, it is said.

73. àngnaíkmàka ñàkúcipìnták ñàkúcipì ñàngnaíkmàkhàtè ngaúkà úngpè thōkpánták.

Then they called them, it is said. When (they were called), they came (there), it is said.

74. thōkàngkà ñàngnaíkmàkhàtè “āu màhameìñáng màntðlàkàu” ngaúmátañà.

When (they) arrived, that time, (the king) said, “Well, who do (I) think (he) is?”, it is said.”
75. “ngā nashi lamāé”.

ngā nashi = lamā = é .
sG younger.sibling = MIR = SAP
cf. แฉะน้อง มัน =
“(It's) my younger brother.”

76. {ēksāhaláóng kaūwāngmāé.}

ēksāhalá tóng kaū -āng =mā é .
husband.wife big call -DIR = RLS yes

(‘The king) called the couple.’

77. {ēksāhaláóng kaūpānnaà ōngnakmākhātē ngaūkā “aū màhameúzāng màntáklaūkaú” hīng mahān

ēksāhalá tóng kaū =pān = naà āng =naīk mákhā = tè ngaūkā aū
husband.wife big call = COS = only that = only time = A. AG as.for

mà = hameú = zàng mànták = lakaú hīng mahān = lamā = yeū
WH = person = EMPH think = MIR 3SG that.thing = MIR = manner

āng = naīk mákhā = tè ngaūkā .
that = only time = A. AG as.for

‘When (the couple) was called, then (the king said), ”Who do (I) think (he)
is. It’s him.”

78. ōngnakmātē ngaūkā é hīng ēkī lākākpān seú {ōngnakmātē}.

āng = naīk mātē ngaūkā é hīng ēk = tè là = kāk = pān = seú { 
that = only when as.for yes 3SG wife = A. AG take want = COS = SAP

āng = naīk mātē .
that = only when

‘Then (he) wanted to get his wife.’
As it is the case that the king wants his wife, (he) made a plan to kill him, it is said.

Then, (he) can no longer cared for his younger brother. When he no longer cared for his younger brother and wanted his wife, then (the king) made a plan to kill his brother, it is said.

(He) can only get his wife if he dies {this manner (it has been told)}."
82. “lālākū” anyeù ngaúkà àngnaikmátèkà ngaúkà “úngnàq nakátàk nímpanáq weúaingpè naká zōkshì lāthàkú” ngaúmaták.

lā  lū  =kū  an  =yeù  ngaúkà  òng  =naík  mátè  =ká  ngaúkà
take  get  =IRLS  DEM  =manner  as.for  that  =only  when  =TOP  as.for
úng  =panáq  naká  -ták  ním  =panáq  weú  aing  =pè  naká  zōkshì
that  =NOM  dragon  -PL  stay  =NOM  water  lake  =LOC  dragon  breast
lā  -thà  =kū  ngaú  =mā  =ták.
take  -must  =IRLS  say  =RLS  =HS

“I must get (his wife).” Then the king said, “Bring (me) dragon’s milk from the pond where dragons live.”

83. naká yōkshìånghayák (shìånghayák) cántamà.

naká yōk  shí  -àng  =hayák  { shí  -àng  =hayák } cán  -ta  =mā.
dragon  eat  die  -DIR1  =so.as.to  die  -DIR1  =so.as.to  plan  LSUFF  =RLS
hāk  sā:  =so  =sā:  =so  =sā:  =sā:  =so  =sā:  =so  =sā:  =so  =sā:  =so  =sā:  =so  =sā:  =so  =sā:

(He) planned for the dragon to kill (Lit. eat to death) (him).

84. “úngnàq nakátàk nímpeúpanáq nēyâpè naká zōkshìwaleú lāthàkúyeù” ngaúmaták.

àng  =panáq  naká  -ták  ním  peú  =panáq  nēyâ  =pè  naká  zōkshì  waleú
that  =NOM  dragon  -PL  stay  keep  =NOM  place  =LOC  dragon  breast  liquid
lā  -thà  =kū  =yeù  ngaú  =mā  =ták.
take  -must  =IRLS  =SAP  say  =RLS  =HS

(The king) said, “Bring (me) dragon’s milk from the place where dragons live. It is said.”

85. anyeù ngaúmaták “nāngtèlē sāngpaláng kaímà”.

an  =yeù  ngaú  =mā  =ták  náng  =tè  =lé  sāngpaláng  kaú  =mā.
DEM  =manner  say  =RLS  =HS  2SG  =A.AG  =SAP  king  call  =RLS

(The king’s officials said this manner to the man), “The king called you.”, it is said.”

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86. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú nángákmaták.*

_ an_ =yeù ngaú =pánkaú náng -à =mà =ták .

DEM =manner say =as.it.is.the.case go =EUPH =RLS =HS

'As it is the case, (he) went, it is said.'

87. *sángpaláng katúmá ngaúkà nángákká ångnaíkmákhatè ngaúkà sángpaláng ngaúkà anyeù ngaúwaìngmaták {yàk nàngtè ngaú ngaú ngaùningyeù}.*

_sángpaláng kaú_ =mà ngaúkà náng -à =kà ang =naík mákhà =tè

king call =RLS as.for go =EUPH =TOP that =only time =AAG

ngàukà sángpaláng ngaúkà an =yeù ngaú -à -ing =mà =ták { yàk

as.for king as.for DEM =manner say -EUPH -DIR2 =RLS =HS now

náng =tè ngaú ngaú ngaú =ningyeù }.

zSG =AAG say say say =manner

'seùá =búng =yaá =bí =búng =yaá =bí

'When (I) went as the king called (me). Then the king told me like this, it is said.' (Just like what (I) have been just telling you)

88. “*ångnáq nakápanáq zōkshīwaleú lāthàkū náng, {anyeù seùé} ínalùpánàkà tánshíkú” ngaúwaìngmaták.*

_ ång_ =panáq naká =panáq zōkshī waleú lá -thà =kù náng {

that =NOM dragon =NOM breast liquid take -must =IRLS 2SG

_ an_ =yeù =seùé } ín = a = lù pánnàkà tán shí =kù

DEM =manner =SAP NEG= NEG= get if beat die =IRLS

någu -à -ing =mà =ták .

say -EUPH -DIR2 =RLS =HS

'When (I) went as the king called (me). Then the king told me like this, it is said.'
89. “ångnáq khünstayétmyaúkpékà anáq näng alùwingá ngaúpánńàkà nāngtè tánshikù” anyeú ngaúmaták.

(he said), “On the seventh day, if you cannot bring (it), (I) will kill you.”

90. ngaúpánták ngaúpánkaú ångmákhhàtékà hìngkà (lihándpán) mánsà nyòngeitàupán myétanègeùsà ómpánnà lìhàngmaták.

As it was said, that time, he came (home) with a gloomy and dejected face, it is said.

91. lìhàngkàñaà hìng ēk ngaúkà {ångnáq amú ngaúmaták hamànghkà} “hamàngkà ngaúwaingly” ngaúmaták.

When (he) returned, his wife asked, “What did (the king) tell you?”, it is said.

ā ngâ a = heú -kák = á = lé aū heú -àng heú -àng amú

oh 1SG NEG= tell -want =NEG =SAP well= tell -DIR1 tell -DIR1 brother

hà =màng =kà ngaú -à -ing =lá società paláng =ná náng =tè =ná

WH =thing =Q say -EUPH -DIR2 =Q king =SAP 2SG =A.AG =SAP

an =yeù ngaú =mà =ták.

DEM =manner say =RLS =HS

‘(He) said “I don’t want to tell you.” (The wife) said, like this “Husband, just tell (me). What did the king tell you?”, it is said.’

93. “aū ngatèdè” ngaúmaták “àngnàq nakápipèè naká società waleú láthàkkùták ngatè maúng”.

aū ngâ =tè ngaú =mà =ták àng =panáq naká pì =pè naká

well! 1SG =A.AG say =RLS =HS that =NOM dragon country =LOC dragon

zökkshi waleú là -thà =kù =ták ngaú =tè maúng.

breast liquid take -must =IRLS =HS 1SG =A.AG boy

‘Well, (the king) told me that I have to bring dragon’s milk from the dragon’s country.”, it is said.’

94. “àngnàq ínlùpánàkà tánshikùták seúí ngatè” anyeù heúyàngmaták hingè ëk zingyúkànàa.

àng =panáq ín= lù pànnàkà tân shí =kù =ták =seúí ngâ =tè

that =NOM NEG= get if beat die =IRLS =HS =SAP 1SG =A.AG

kù =kù =kù =ták =kù =ták =kù =ták =kù =ták

an =yeù heú -àng =mà =ták hingè ëk zing yù =ká =naà.

DEM =manner tell -DIR1 =RLS =HS 3SG wife ask take =TOP =only

‘When his wife asked, (he) told (her), like this, “If I cannot get (the milk), (he) will kill me, it is said”.

95. heúyàngkà àngnaíkùkámhàtè ngaúkà hing èkhaíkà ngaúmaták.

heú -àng =ká èk =naìk mákhà =tè ngaúkà hing èk =haìk -à
tell -DIR1 =TOP that =only time =A.AG as for 3SG wife =ABL -EUPH

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When he told her, then his wife told him... it is said.

96. “aū hamàngkazeú apútàngsà {hamàngkazeú apútàngsà} ngaúmaták.

aū hà =măng =kà =zeú a= pū -ta -àng =sà { well! WH =thing =Q =even NEG= worry LSUFF -DIRt =NEG.IMP

hà =măng =kà =zeú a= pū -ta -àng =sà }

WH =thing =Q =even NEG= emerge LSUFF -DIRt =NEG.IMP

ngaū =mā =tāk .
say =RLS =HS

(The wife) said, “Well, don’t worry, don’t worry.”, it is said.’

97. “ngā heúyàngkū” ngaúmaták.

ngā heú -àng =kū ngaū =mā =tāk .

rSG tell -DIRt =RLS say =RLS =HS

(The wife) said, “I will tell you (what to do).”, it is said.’

98. “pháktaìnīng ngaūkà halángyákánaà ngā heúyàngpanáq ataí năngzeú nāngnáyeù” ngaúmaták.

phàktai =níng ngaūkà haláng yá =ká =naà ngā tomorrow.morning =manner as.for sky bright =TOP =only 1SG

heú -àng =panáq ataí nāng =zeú nāng =nà =yeú ngaū =mā =tāk .
tell -DIRt =NOM pattern gö =even go =SAP =SAP say =RLS =HS

(The wife) said, “Tomorrow, when it is bright, just go where I tell you to go.”, it is said.’
99. *hīng halātēd āngnaǐkmā ngaǔkā “ngā heỳỳìngpìn atāmāngzeǔ nāng nāng” anyeǔ ngaǔimatāk naúktē āngnaǐkmākhātē ngaǔkā atā tippān imatāk hīngyeǔn*

hīng halā =tē āng =naǐk mà ngaǔkā ngā heú -āng =panáq
3SG husband =A.AG that =only time as.for 1SG tell -DIR1 =NOM 🅱️

atā =nāngzeǔ nāng nāng an =yeù ngaǔ =mā =tāk naǔk =tē
pattern =only/merely go 2SG DEM =manner say =RLS =HS later =A.AG 🅱️

àng =naǐk mākhā =tē ngaǔkā atā tip =pān ī =mā =tāk hīng =yeǔn
that =only time =A.AG as.for rice pack =COS give =RLS =HS 3SG =BEN 🅱️

‘Then (the wife) said to her husband, like this, “Just simply go as I told you.”, it is said. Then (she) packed food for him and gave (it to him), it is said.’

100. *atā tippān ipānnaà “anāq atātē” ngaǔimatāk “tawākkā weǔpē naùmāŋnā” ngaǔimatāk.*

atā tip =pān ī =pān =naà anāq atā =tē ngaǔ =mā =tāk
rice pack =COS give =COS =only this rice =A.AG say =RLS =HS 🅱️
tawākk =kā weǔ =pē naùt -āng =nā ngaǔ =mā =tāk .
half =TOP water =LOC feed -DIR1 =SAP say =RLS =HS 🅱️

‘Having packed and given it to (him), (the wife) said, “Feed half of this food into the water.”, it is said.’

101. “tawākkā kóngpāēpēnaà zǔntceútāng iyāŋnāyeǔ” ngaǔimatāk.

tawākk =kā kóng paǔ =pē =naà zǔŋqeú -ta -āng
half =TOP hill on =LOC =only give.away L.SUFF -DIR1 🅱️

ī -āng =nā =yeù ngaǔ =mā =tāk .
give -DIR1 =SAP =SAP say =RLS =HS 🅱️

‘And (the wife) said, like this, “Feed the other half onto the land.”, it is said.’
102. hing ēk ngaúwàngpanáqningyeù nängerkmáták hingyítá “anáq ataí nängnáyeù” ngaúmaták.

hing ēk ngaú -àng =panáq =ningyeù näng -à =mā =ták
3SG wife say -DIR1 =NOM =manner go -EUPH =RLS =HS

‘He went in the direction that his wife instructed him. (The wife) said, “Go this way.”, it is said.’

103. anáq ataí nängpánnà ångnápê thökmákhàtè ångnáq atá hing ēk ngaúningyeù ömiyàngmaták hingyítá.

anáq ataí näng =pán =naì àng =panáq =pè thök mákhà =tà
this pattern go =COS =only that =NOM =LOC arrive time =A.AG

‘He, as well, having gone went that way and when (he) reached the place he did as his wife told him to do, it is said.’

104. ömiyàngkà ångnàmkákhàtè ngaúkà hing ēk (ngaúwàng) ngaúningyeù ngaúwàkpánták hingyítá.

öm i -àng =ká àng =naìk mákhà =tà ngaúkà { hing
make give -DIR1 =TOP that =only time =A.AG as.for 3SG

‘When given/fed (the food), that time, he spoke as his wife instructed him to speak, it is said.’
105. ngaúwångká èngnaĩkómakhâtè ngaúkâ (hing naútmângpanâq ín) “yâkmákhaïk záqtaüpán anâq atáteâ yökâcàngyók” maníngyeû manângyeû anyeû tapaúkâng ngaúwånglakaúlé.

```
gená -âng =ká  âng =naïk mâkhá =tè ngaúkâ { hing
say -DIR1 =TOP that =only time =A.AG as.for 3SG

naút -âng =panâq ín } yâkmâk =hâf zâq -ta =pán anâq atá =tè
feed -DIR1 =NOM um.yes! today =ABL begin LSUFF =COS this rice =A.AG

yôk -â -câng =yôk mâ =níngyeû manâng =yeû an =yeû
eat -EUPH -PL:DIR1 =intrusive WH =manner ATTW =manner DEM =manner
tapaúk -âng ngaú -âng =lakaú =é.
speak -DIR1 say -DIR1 =MIR =SAP

‘When spoken (as his wife told to), that time, (He) told (them) in such manner, “From today on, eat this food.”, it is said.’
```

106. nakáttak ngaúkâ hing atâte yökânglúpánnaa pûsömingmatâk pyaúpásömingmatâk.

```
naká -tâk ngaúkâ hing atá =tè yôk -âng lû =pán =naâ
dragon -PL as.for 3SG rice =A.AG eat -DIR1 get =COS =only
pû sôm -ing =mâ =tâk pyâüpá sôm -ing =mâ =tak.
emerge used.up -DIR2 =RLS =HS happy used.up -DIR2 =RLS =HS

‘The dragons, after eating the food he offered, came out, it is said. (They) were happy, it is said.’
```

107. pyaúpásömingkânaa “aû yâkmâkpe mângyâkkâ léqtèâ zúntceûtîngpanâq atâte ngaúkâ maléqkâ yökâpåmkâmångkâ mapañdaq amaûngsàkâyeû”.

```
pyâüpá sôm -ing =ká =naâ aû yâkmâk =pê mângyâk =ká
happy used.up -DIR2 =TOP =only well! today =LOC day =TOP
maléq =tè zûnqceú -ta -ing =panâq atá =tè ngaúkâ maléq =ká
1PL =A.AG give.away LSUFF -DIR2 =NOM rice =A.AG as.for 1PL =TOP
yôk -pâp -à -âng =ká mâ =panâq maûng -sà =kà =yeû.
aeat -been EUPH -DIR1 =TOP WH =NOM boy -DIM =Q =SAP

‘When (they were) happy, (the dragons said) “Well, today as we happened to eat the food that was offered to us, who is this young man?”
```

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108. “aū ngā ngā” ngaúmaták “ngātè ngaúkà” ngaúmaták.

aū ngā ngā ngaú =mā =tāk ngā =tē ngaúkà ngaú =mā =tāk.
well! 1SG 1SG say =RLS =HS 1SG =A.AG as.for say =RLS =HS

'(He) said "Well, (it's) me.", it is said. "(The king) has instructed me." it is said.'

109. “sángpalángyaà seüé anág zdökshiwałę laingthą́kutdukyę̀ ngaúmá anág ĭnlúpınǹkà ngătèkà táńskikuták anág tángyeútmyaúkpeyę̀”.

sángpaláng =yą́ =seüé anág zdökshi waleú laing -thà =kū =tāk =yeù
king =euph =SAP this breast liquid take.dir2 -must =IRLS =HS =SAP

ngāu =mā anág ín= lū pánnákà ngā =tē =ká tánshí =kū =tāk anág
say =RLS this NEG= get if exist =A.AG =TOP kill =IRLS =HS this

tóng yeút myaúk =pè =yeù.
three day north =LOC =SAP

"(The king) said "Bring (me) dragon's milk. On the third day, if I cannot
get (it), (he) will kill me, it is said".'

110. nakámáqtàkyítá hing zúmtceútàngpanáq atá yökpémpákpáng ngaúpánkaú zdökshiwałę nyúttapányí ūngmaták.

naká máq -tāk =yí =tá hing zúntceú -ta -āng =panáq atá
dragon female -PL =also =EMPHE 3SG give.away L.SUFF -DIR1 =NOM rice

yök -páp -à =páng ngaú =pánkàu zdökshi waleú
eat -been =EUPH =DIR1:Cos say =as.it.is.the.case breast liquid
nyít -ta =pán =yí i -ing =mā =tāk.
squeeze L.SUFF =Cos =also give -DIR2 =RLS =HS

'As it is the case that the dragons had already eaten the food he offered,
(they) milked the milk and gave it to (him), it is said.'
111. zōkshi waleu nyît -ta = pân î = panáq = haïf apyin = lakô saëk

breast liquid squeeze L.SUFF = COS give = NOM = ABL in.addition = SAP daughter

hú - à i - à - hâng - ing = tún = ták { hîng = yî = tā }.

CLF.person -one give - EUPH -back - DIR2 = still = HS 3SG = also = EMPH

‘In addition to giving milk, (they) also gave (him) one (of their) daughters, it is said.’

112. léutsaung iyâkheúqtúnták.

leûtsaûng î - à - heûq = tún = ták.

gift give -EUPH -back:DIR2 = still = HS

‘(They) gave her as a gift in return, it is said.’

113. āngnaîkmátekâ eK kalîtûhâ ngâpánták (āngnaîkmákahâtêkâ).

āng = naïf mâtê = ká eK kalîng hû ngâ = pân = ták

that = only when = TOP wife two CLF.person exist = COS = HS

āng = naïf mâkhà = tê = ká

that = only time = A.AG = TOP

‘That time, (He) has two wives, it is said.’

114. eK kalîtûhû ngângkâ āngnaîkmákahâtê ngaûká āngnaîq nakâmâyéyû acîmâyeyû seûè kalinghû ngâpân seû hîngkáè.

eK kalîng hû ngâng = ká āng = naïf mâkhà = tê ngaûká

wife two CLF.person exist:diri = TOP that = only time = A.AG as.for

āng = panáq naká mâq = yeû acî = mā = yeû = seûè kaling hû

that = NOM dragon female = and elephant = RLS = and = SAP two CLF.person

āng = panáq naká mâq = yeû acî = mā = yeû = seûè kaling hû

‘Since, (He) got two wives, that time, (he) got two (wives), a dragon lady and an elephant lady.’
115. ångnaikmätè ngaikutè anyeù ngapännàkà naikutèkh khünnyàtmyauiktèkh séttàqtañàhpàn sep sañ naú hingkà sañgpalángyeùn.

ång =naik màtè ngaikutè an =yeù ngà pännàkà naúk =tè =kà
dât =only when as.for DEM =manner exist if later =A.G =TOP
khünnyàt myaikutè =tè =kà seùttaq -ta -hàng =pàn =seù =nà
sàngpaláng yeùn.

116. zōkshiwaléu ñhàngpàn sepè akà zōkshiwaletè.

zōkshi waleù í -hàng =pàn =seùè nakà zōkshi waleù =tè .
breast liquid give -back =COS =SAP dragon breast liquid =A.G
yàng =kà sañgpaláng =yeùn.

117. ñhàng ngàkà ångnaikmätè ngaikutè sañgpalángkà “yaú hingkèkà ngà shizàngàngtèhmà yeyeù [nakàtàk yōkshìyìngthàmà ãmlakà hingkà] ngayeù anyeù nakà zōkshiwaletè séttàqtañàhpìngseù ìnshìyàngà seù” anyeù ngaúnìmmatèk.

When given (the milk), that time, Then the king said, “Well, I sent him so that the dragons would kill him. He didn't die and even brought the dragon's milk for me.” it is said. ’
118. "naká zōkshiwalé séttáqtahángping ngayeún ìnshìyångá setú" anyeù ngaùnimmaták.

naúk =tè =ká ním -háng =pán =ták kaling yàk sóm yàk.

later =A.AG =TOP stay -back =COS =HS two now three day

'hìng múcìmátì yàk =tè.

119. naúktèká nímhángpánták kalingyàk sómyàk.

nàúk =tè =ká ním -háng =pán =ták kaling yàk sóm yàk.

later =A.AG =TOP stay -back =COS =HS two now three day

Later, they stayed there for (another) two or three days.'

120. nímháng ngàngkànaù naúktè yùsìngyòkhángpánták hìng múcìmátì yàtákè.

nìm -háng ngàng =kà =naà naúk =tè yù zìngyòk -háng =pán =ták

stay -back exist:dir =TOP =only later =A.AG take order -back =COS =HS

hìng múcìmátì yàk =tè.

3SG official -PL =A.AG

'While (they) stayed, later, the king ordered his officials to go and spy (on them), it is said.'

121. "yùhángàyòk ìnngńaq amaúngsàtè" ngaùmaták "shìpànglá hamàng òmpànglàyàù".

yù -háng -à =yók àng =panàq màuŋg -sà =tè ngaù =mà =ták

look -back -EUPH =intrusive that =NOM boy -DIM =A.AG say =RLS =HS

shí =páng =lá hà =màng òm =páng =lá =yeù.

die =DIR: COS =Q WH =thing make =DIR: COS =Q =SAP

'The king) said, "Go and see about this boy. Has he already died or what happened to him?", it is said.'
122. yúzhényókgà àngnaikmákhàtè ngaúkà “yàyì shìkùpanáqhaìk ayyìn lakò lápmà lakò ishíqshà hawà tótahánghángpàngyeù” ngaúmatàk.

yù zìngyòk -àng =kà àng =naìk mákhà =tè ngaúkà yaì
look order -DIR1 =TOP that only time =A.AG as for EXCL
shì =kù =pánaì =haìk ayyìn =lakò lápm à =lakò ishíq shà
die =IRLS =NOM =ABL in addition =SAP CLF.times -one =SAP girl small
tótaúnímhángpànyèù

When ordered to check, the officials said, “Well, instead of (him) being dead, this time, one more has been added.”, it is said.’

123. “katàmshìshísà àngnáqyítá” ngaúmatàk “lápìa lakò ishíqshà hawà tótahángpìngyeù” ngaúmatàk.

katàm shìshí -sà àng =pánaì =yì =tá ngaú =mā =ták láp à
beautiful ATTW -DIM that =NOM =also =EMPH say =RLS =HS CLF.times -one
lakò ishíq shà hù -à tò -ta -háng =pìng =yeù
SAP girl small CLF.person -one increase LSUFF -back =DIR2=COS =SAP

(The officials) said, “(This girl), as well, is extremely beautiful, this time, one more girl has been added.”, it is said.’

124. ngaúkà àngnaikmákhàtè ngaúkà kalinghù ngaping yàkkì ek {anyeù seùé naú pòngzänkà}.

ngaú =kà àng =naìk mákhà =tè ngaúkà kaling hù ngà =pìng
say =TOP that only time =A.AG as for two CLF.person exist =DIR2=COS
yàk =kà ék { an =yeù =seùé =ná pòngzän =kà }
now =TOP wife DEM =manner =SAP =SAP pattern =TOP

When told that (he now has two wives), that time, now (he) has two wives.’ (it is the manner it was tolds manner, right?)
125. “yaú anyeù ngaúpánñàkà hìng nashitè shìhayàkkà hìngká manièng cáñztìhàkalá” anyeù seúè hìngká.

“yaú an =yeú ngaú pánnakà hìng nashì =tè shì =hayák =kà
EXCL DEM =manner say if 3SG younger.sibling =A.AG die =so.as.to =TOP
hìng =kà mà =níng cànzi -thà =kù =lá an =yeú =seúè
3SG =TOP WH =manner plan -must IRLS =Q DEM =manner =SAP
hìng =kà .
3SG =TOP

"If so", (the king) thought, "How can (I) plan to kill my younger brother?"

126. “maníngyeù cànztìhàkalá” àngnaíkmàtè ngaúkà “pàlí zòkshiwaléù láthàkkà” ngaímatàk àngnaíkmákìhàtòkà.

mà =níngyeù cànzi -thà =kù =lá èng =naík màtè ngaúkà pàlí
WH =manner plan -must IRLS =Q that =only when as.for ogre
zòkshi waleú là -thà =kù ngaú =mà =tàk
breast liquid take -must =IRLS say =RLS =HS
èng =naík màkhà =tè =kà }
that =only time =A.AG =TOP

'(The king) thought, "What should I plan?", then. (The king) said, "You have to bring (me) ogre’s milk." it is said.’

127. “àngnàq pàlí nàmphàq cánpè thòkkòn nàngpànnà pàlí zòkshiwaléù láthàkkà” zìngyókmatàk (àngnaíkmákìhàtòkà).

àng =pànhàq pàlí nàm =pànhàq cùn =pè thòk =kùn nàng =pàn =naàl pàlí
that =NOM ogre stay =NOM island =LOC arrive =so.as.to go =COS =only ogre
zòkshi waleú là -thà =kù zìngyók =mà =tàk
breast liquid take -must =IRLS order =RLS =HS
àng =naík màkhà =tè =kà }
that =only time =A.AG =TOP

'Then (the king) ordered (him), “Go until you have reached the ogre’s island and bring (me) ogre’s milk.,” it is said.’
128. kaūsíngyókhángpánták âŋngnáq halawàtè “kaūhángàyūyeù” ngaúmaták “âŋngnáq amaïngramsìtè”.

kaū zíngyók -háng = pán =ták âng = panáq halawà =tè
call order -back =COS =HS that =NOM man/husband =A.AG

' (The king) ordered (them) to bring him. He said, “Go and call this boy.”, it is said.’

129. kaūhángàyū ngaúká nāngákhángpánták.

kaū -háng - à yū ngaú =ká nāng -à -háng = pán =ták.
call -back -one look =SAP say =RLS =HS that =NOM boy -DIM =A.AG

'When ordered to bring (him), (the officials) went again, it is said.’

130. nāngákhángká “âŋngnáq taípë thókkón âŋngnáq palú zökshíwaleùti láthàkíyeù” ngaúmaták.

nāng -à -háng =ká âng = panáq taípí = pè thök =kón âng = panáq
go -EUPH -back =TOP that =NOM country =LOC arrive =so.as.to that =NOM
palú zökshí waleú = tè là - thà = kū = yeù ngaú = mā =ták.
ogre breast liquid =A.AG take -must =IRLS = SAP say =RLS =HS

'When (he) returned, (they) said (to him), "(Go) until you reach that country and bring ogre’s milk.", it is said.’

131.anyeù ngaúká âŋngnaíkánkhàtè ngaúkà nyóngeùtaípán liyâkhángpánták hìngká “âŋngpanáq ñalâwuŋgá ngaúpán nãngtè tánshíkíyeù” ngaúmaták.

an = yeù ngaú = ká âng = naĩk màkhà = tè ngaúkà
DEM = manner say = TOP that = only time = A.AG as.for
nyóngeù - ta = páñ li - à -háng = pán =ták hìng = ká âng = panáq
sad L.SUFF = COS come -EUPH -back = COS = HS 3SG = TOP that =NOM
ín= a= lù - ing = á ngaú = pán nãng = tè tánshí = kū = yeù
NEG= NEG= get -DIR2 = NEG say = if 2SG = A.AG kill = IRLS = SAP

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'As it is the case, that time, he came home with sadness. (The officials) told (him), “If you can't get it, (the king) will kill you.”, it is said.'

132. ngáukánaa mán chipókhalúksa ōmpánnaa mánsa myétnangeüyaüksa ōmpán liyákhángpánták āngnaíkmákhátèkà.

'When (he had been) told, that time, he came home with a worried and dejected face, it is said.'

133. liyákhángkà ēktàkká zìngyüwákhángcipánták “amú amú hànìng ngaúwaìnglá naú nángtè” (hànìngyeü ngaúwaìnglá) ngaúmatàk.

'When (he) returned, his wives asked (him) again, “Husband (lit. big brother), what did (they) tell you?”, it is said.'
134. “sāngpalāng hāningyeù ngaũwainglá naũ nāngtè” maningyeù manāngyeù zingyūwākhangcilakaúé ēktākkā takhāwāqsā nūmpannaà zingyūmatāk.

sāngpalāng hā =ningyeù ngaú -á -ing =lā =nā nāng =tē
king WH =manner say -EUPH -DIR2 =Q =SAP 2SG =A.AG
maningyeù manāngyeù zing yū -ā -hāng -cī =lakaú =ē
in what manner ask take -EUPH -back -PL =MIR =SAP
ēk -tāk =kā takhāwāq -sā nīm =pān =naā zīng yū =mā =tāk.
wife -PL =TOP at.foot step -DIM stay =SAP =only ask look =RLS =HS

‘The wives stayed by the door and asked in such manner, “What did the king tell you?” it is said.’

135. zingyūkā “aū ngā angaúkkā maūng” ngaúmatāk.

zing yū =kā aū ngā a = ngaú -kāk =ā maūng ngaū =mā =tāk.
ask take =TOP well! 1SG NEG= say -want =NEG boy say =RLS =HS

‘When (the wives) asked, (he) said “Well, I don’t want to tell you, my dears.”, it is said.’

136. “āngnāq khūnnay ét myaúkpèa palú zōkshiwaleú láthākkūl tāk sēú” ngaúmatāk.

āng =panāq khūnnay ét myaúk =pè palú zōkshi waleú
that =NOM seven day north =LOC ogre breast liquid
lā -thā =kū =tāk =sēú ngaú =mā =tāk.
take -must =RLS =HS =SAP say =RLS =HS

‘(The king) told me to bring ogre’s milk on/within the seventh day.”, it is said.’

137. “āngnāq palú zōkshiwaleú ñālāppāmnākā ngatēkā tánshilkūtākyeu” ngaúmatāk.

āng =panāq palú zōkshi waleú ín= a = lū pānnakkā ngā =tē =kā
that =NOM ogre breast liquid NEG= NEG= get if 1SG =A.AG =TOP
tān shī =kū =tāk =yeú ngaú =mā =tāk.
beat die =RLS =HS =SAP say =RLS =HS

‘(The king) said that, “If I can’t get ogre’s milk, (he) will kill me.”, it is said.’
If that is the case, the wives said, "Well, don't worry, don't worry.", it is said.

(The wives) said, "We will instruct you how to do.", it is said.

Then, when the dawn came, both the dragon lady and elephant lady packed the food and gave it to him, it is said.

Husband (lit. older brother), go until you reach that place.
142. “anáq ayátpè thökánnàkà meútmátong ngaúwàngningyeù kóng tatawā yé tatawā zünqceútaháng {anyeù seúé} myáítápóqtauíhángàng” {anyeù seúé} ngaúmaták.

anáq ayát = pè thök pánnàkà meútmátong ngaú -àng = níngyeù kóng tatawā yé
tatawā zünqceú -ta -háng { an = yeù = seúé }
animal give.away LSUFF -back DEM =manner =SAP
myáítápóq -ta ì -háng -àng { an = yeù = seúé} ngaú = mā = tāk.
good.wishes LSUFF give -back -DIRº DEM =manner =SAP say =RLS =HS

'(They) said, (this manner) "When you reach the place, as (I) have just said. Offer (food) to the land and water creatures (and) make good wishes (for them).", it is said.'

143. àngnáq ngaúningyeù hing ëktàk tipiningyeù àngnáq atátipà lápánnaà hing ëktàk ngaúningyeù
ómànháqmatátkseúé hingýtá.

'àng = panáq ngaú = níngyeù hing ëk -tàk tip ì = níngyeù àng = panáq
that =NOM say =manner 3SG wife -PL pack give =manner that =NOM
atá tip -sà là = pān = naà hing ëk -tàk ngaú = níngyeù
rice pack -DIM take =COS =only 3SG wife -PL say =manner
óm -àng -háng -à = mā = tāk = seúé hing = yí = tā.
make -DIRº -back -EUPH =RLS =HS =SAP 3SG =also =EMPH

'He did as his wives told him and packed (the rice). He took the rice and did what he had been told to, it is said.'

144. ómànháqkà àngnaíkmákhà palúyìtà {àngnaíkmá} àngnáq hing atátè yökánglúpántàk ngaúpánkaú
"aù nángtè ngá cicèu cèzúnthàngmà màningyeù" ngaúmaták seúé.

óm -àng -háng -à = kā àng = naík màkhà palú = yí = tā { make -DIRº -back -EUPH =TOP that = only time ogre =also =EMPH
ánk = naík mà } àng = panáq hing atá = tè yök -àng lä = pān = tāk
that = only time that =NOM 3SG rice =A.AG eat -DIRº get =COS =HS

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When he had done that, that time, the ogre (having eaten his food) said, “Well, I am so very thankful to you.”, it is said.”

When asked, “I am thankful, how can I pay back the gratitude I owe you?”, he told the ogre, “I must bring back milk. If I cannot get it, the king said that he will kill me.”

“When asked, “I am thankful, how can I pay back the gratitude I owe you?”, he told the ogre, “I must bring back milk. If I cannot get it, the king said that he will kill me.””
The ogre said “yes” and (she) squeezed out some milk and gave it to (him), it is said.'

147. nyíuttaūpán ipinták ngaipánkau hingká ångnáq nyíuttaūpán iheúq apyín lakó ëk palúmdaqshà lakó ëkshà ingingšà {ëkshà lakó} hawà létsaung ihángingmaták hingyeàn.

nyít -ta = pán i = pán =ták ngaú = pánkaú hing =ká
squeeeze LSUFF = COS give = COS = HS say = as. it. is. the. case 3SG = TOP
ìng = panáq nyít -ta = pán i -heúq apyín = lakó ëk
that = NOM squeeze LSUFF = COS give - back: DIR2 in. addition = SAP wife
ìngìngsà { ëkshà lakó } hawà létsaung ëk àngnáq
ìngmáq shà = lakó ëk shà ëkshà inging -sà { ëk shà = lakó }
ogre female small = SAP wife small tiny - DIM wife small = SAP
Cliff. person - one gift give - back - DIR2 = RLS = HS 3 SG = BEN
hù - à leútsaung i - hàng - ing = mā = ták hing = yeùn .

‘As it is the case, in addition to the milk, (they) gave him a wife, a young ogre, as a gift, it is said.’

148. ihángingká ångnàmákìkhàtè ngaikà katàmshishìsa ihángingmaták.

i - hàng - ing = ká ång = naik mákhà = tè ngaikà
give - back - DIR2 = TOP that = only time = A. AG as. for
ìngìngsà { ëkshà lakó } hawà létsaung ëk àngnáq
katàm shìshìsà - sà i - hàng - ing = mā = ták.

beautiful ATTW - DIM give - back - DIR2 = RLS = HS
ìngìngsà { ëkshà lakó } hawà létsaung ëk

‘When given a daughter, that time, (They) gave (him) an extremely beautiful one, it is said.’
149. ihángingká ín tamisáathá ahánà seúé katâmmá seú́ {nängyítá cíceú é anyeù ngaúpánkaú sàngpalángká caíktamá seúé}.

When given, (she) was as beautiful as human. {You know}, (she) was extremely beautiful. (Therefore) the king liked (her).

150. híng ektàkè läkkákkákáa tánhşízingyōkmá seúé híngtè amyómyó anyeúé.

Since (the king) wanted his wives, (he) ordered/planned to kill (him) in various ways.

151. àŋngàmkâmká ngaúká yàk ngaúningyeá nahângpántàk ék sómhû ngàpántàk àŋngàmkàmkầ yûzingyôhángpántàk înmâká sàngpalángká.

That time, as it is said, (he) went back, it is said. (He) now had three wives, it is said. Then the king ordered (his officials) to spy on him again, it is said.
152. yūzíngyōkhángingkánaà ínmàkà aū hing ngeūtū ngeūtú tàkká yūhángpínták.

yū zíngyōk -háng -ing =ká =naà ín mà =ká aū hing
look order back -DIR2 =TOP =only that time =TOP well! 3SG

ngeūtū ngeūtú -ták =ká yū háng =pán =ták.
followers -PL =TOP take back =COS =HS

‘When ordered to spy (on them), that time, his followers went to see/spy on him again, it is said.’

153. yūhángingkánaà “yaū shípánglá àngpanáq halawà yūhángàyū” “hamàngkà shīhākalā shīkūpanáqhaīk apyīnhaīk ēk lakò sómhú ngāpín” ngaúmaták.

tyū -háng -ing =ká =naà yaū shí =páng =lā ång =panaq
take -back -DIR2 =TOP =only EXCL die =DIR1:COS =Q that =NOM

halawà yū háng à yū hà =màng =kà shí -hà =kū =lā
man/husband take -back -EUPH look WH =thing =Q die -know.how IRLS =Q

shí =kū =panaq =haīk apyīn =haīk ēk =lakò sóm hú ngā =pán
die =IRLS =NOM =ABL in.addition =ABL wife =SAP three CLF.person exist =COS

ngaū =mā =ták.
say =RLS =HS

‘When returned and looked, (the king) ordered, “Go and see whether the person is dead or not.” (The officials) told the king, “He is not dead; instead he now has three wives.”, it is said.’

154. “anáq ēkyí katām shīshīsā” ngaúmaták.

anáq ēk =yí katām shīshī -sà ngāu =mā =ták.
this wife =also beautiful ATTW -DIM say =RLS =HS

‘(They) said, “His new wife is also extremely beautiful.”, it is said.’
155. “ā anyeùtóng ashihàpanaqkà hìngtèkà asèng látlát ashin látlát ömpáannaâyeù tóngpaî pàiângkäyeù” ngaúmatäk ângnaâmâkhàtëkå.

ā an =yeù tóng a= shì -hà =panaq =kà
oh DEM =manner big NEG= die -know/how= NOM =TOP

pàn -à =kaú =yeù hìng =tè =kà asèng látlát ashin látlát
CLF.times -one =TOP =SAP 3SG =A.AG =TOP raw.still alive.still

öm =pàn =naâ =yeù tóng paî paî -ta -áng =kù =yeù
make =COS =only =SAP three chop chop L.SUFF -DIR1 =IRLS =SAP

ngaú =mä =tâk âng =nâk mákhà =tè =kà.
say =RLS =HS that =only time =A.AG =TOP

'Then the king said, as it is the case that he is not dead, “this time, (we) will chop (him) alive into three pieces”, it is said.'

156. anyeù panyâshíyàuyàk tâpànàq înhshà ashihàpanàq anyôkyàyeù múcîmâyàtâtôk tâjuângyöpkànnaî
tóngpaî pàiângmàtäk ângmâkhàtëkå tângkaütönyaûk tóngpaî pàiângmàtäk tânlyeûityâûyeû sâmtaîn
ömàngmàtäk.

an =yeù panyâshìq =yaûk tât =panaq ìn= shì -hà =â
DEM =manner wise.man =COM release =NOM NEG= die -know/how =NEG

a= shì -hà =panaq amyò =kà =yeù múcîmàtì =tâk =tè
NEG= die -know/how =NOM kind =TOP =SAP official -PL =A.AG

kaû zìngyö =pàn =naâ tóng paî paî -ta -áng =mä =tâk
call order =COS =only three chop chop L.SUFF -DIR1 =IRLS =HS

àng mákhà =tè =kà tângkaû tóng =yaûk tóng paî
call time =A.AG =TOP sword big =COM three chop

paî -ta -áng =mä =tâk tânlyeûyt =yaûk =yeù sâm tâun
chop L.SUFF -DIR1 =IRLS =HS regalia =COM =SAP three portion

öm -áng =mä =tâk.
make -DIR1 =IRLS =HS

'So, regarding the one who did not die from all these cunning tricks, the king ordered his officials to bring him in and cut him into three pieces with a big knife, it is said.'
157. sāmtaùn paîtàngká ângnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkâ wánshípán {ângnaíkmákhàtèká} wánshípán nóppán peúpàngták.

sām taùn paí -ta -àng =ká ìng =naìk mákhà =tè ngaúkâ
three portion chop LSUFF -DIR1 =TOP that =only time =A.AG as.for
wán shí =pán { ìng =naìk mákhà =tè =ká } wán shí =pán
chop die =COS that =only time =A.AG =TOP chop die =COS
nòp =pán peù =pàng =ták.
bury =COS keep =DIR1:COS =HS

'Since he was cut into three pieces, that time, (they) killed (him) (Lit. chop to dead), buried (him), and left (him) (there), it is said.'

158. ângnaíq sàngpalántàngká ángnaíkmákhàtè ngaúkâ wánshípán nóppán peúyángká ângnaíkmákhàtèká èk sòmhúhaík yèu keúmácaták.

âng =panaíq sàngpaláng -ták =haìk wán shí =pán nòp =pán
that =NOM king -PL =ABL chop die =COS bury =COS
peù -àng =ká ìng =naìk mákhà =tè =ká èk
keep -DIR1 =TOP that =only time =A.AG =TOP wife
sòm hú =haìk =yeù kéù -ta -cì =mā =ták.
three CLF.person =ABL =SAP save LSUFF -PL =RLS =HS

'When the king and others had killed (him) (lit. chop to dead), buried (him), and left (him), that time the three wives rescued (him), it is said.'

159. matàkkàu matàkkà taipàngtàngcaták.

matakkaí matakka taipang -ta -cì =mā =ták.
by.themselves discuss LSUFF -PL =RLS =HS

'They discussed (it) among themselves, it is said.'

160. “nàngká phaùtái” ngaúmaták.

nàng =ká phaù -ta ngaú =mā =ták.
2SG =TOP dig.up LSUFF say =RLS =HS

"You dig (him) up.", it is said."

609
161. “nāngkā phāitaúzípánnà nāngkā seúttahayákyeù tapité ngāhayákyeù nāngkā ōm” ngaúmaták.

nāng =kā phau -ta zí =pán =nà nāng =kā
2SG =TOP dig.up L.SUFF finish =COS =only 2SG =TOP

seút -ta -hà =yák =yeù tapité ngā =hayák =yeù
join LSUFF -know.how =so.as.to =SAP level exist =so.as.to =SAP

“‘You dig him up. You reconnect those parts and make them even.‘, it is said.’

162. “ngāká asák swángtahayákyeù ōmkiyeù” ngaúmaták ângnaikmákhàtè ngaúkà.

ngā =kā asák swäng -ta -hà =yák =yeù ōm =kū =yeù
1SG =TOP life put LSUFF -know.how =so.as.to =SAP make =IRLS =SAP

‘Then, “I will made him breathe.”, it is said.’

163. ângnaikmákhàtèká tánshípán nōppeúpanáqtè sāmpái paítaúpán nōppán peúpanáqtè sinphyůmáqhaíkà anáq acísweíheíq làpanáq ishígshāhaíkà ayãng phāitaúmaták hingkà.

àng =naïk mákhà =tè =kā tán shí =pán
that =only time =A.AG =TOP beat die =COS

nōp peú =panáq =tè säm paí paí -ta =pán nōp =pán
bury keep =NOM =A.AG three chop chop LSUFF =COS bury =COS

peú =panáq =tè sinphyů máq =haiñ anāq acísweí =haiñ lū =panáq
keep =NOM =A.AG white.elephant female =ABL this tusk =ABL get =NOM

ishíg shā =haiñ ayãng phau -ta =mā =tāk hing =kā
girl small =ABL prior dig.up LSUFF =IRLS =HS 3SG =TOP

‘Then, first the elephant lady who came out from the tusk dig up the husband who got killed, cut into three pieces and buried, it is said.’

610
164. phaútaúpánnaà hing halá mákkütè hingkaú hingkā títántsà ōmpán peúmaták.

PHAÚ TAU = pán = nà hè ping halà makkù = tè hingkaú hingkā titánq - sà
DiG. Up = COS = only 3SG husband bone = A.AG himself separately - DIM
OM = pán peú = mà = ták.
Make = COS keep = RLS = HS

‘After digging (him) up, (she) placed her husband's bones by themselves, it is said.’

165. naúktèká àngnáq nakámáqhaíkà lůwákpanáq nakámáq sèkkā maháng ōmpánnaà hingkaú hingkā seítapán malá phénghánginghayák ōmàngmaták.

NAÚK = tè = ká ang = panaq naká màq = haík lú - à = panaq
Later = A.AG = TOP that = NOM dragon female = ABL get - EUPH = NOM
NAKÁ MĀQ SÈK = KÁ maháng ōm = pán = nà hingkaú hingkā
dragon female person = TOP that. thing make = COS = only himself
SEÚT - TA = pán malá phéng - háng - ing - hà = yák
Join LSUFF = COS flesh full - back - DIR2 - know. how = so. as. to
ÖM - ÆNG = mà = ták.
Make - DIR1 = RLS = HS

‘Later, the wife that was from the dragons, a dragon girl, did that, also, so that the flesh filled up the bones by itself, it is said.’

166. àngnáq táttayáq lúpanáq sèk palúmáq sèkká asák záthánginghayák ōmàngmaták àngnaiwmakhátèká záhángingmaták àngnaiwmakhátèká.

ANG = panaq tattayaq lú = panaq sèk palú màq sèk = ká asák
That = NOM third get = NOM person ogre female person = TOP life
ZÁ - TA - HÁNG - ING - Hà = yák öm - ÆNG = mà = ták
Alive LSUFF - back - DIR2 - know. how = so. as. to make - DIR1 = RLS = HS
ANG = nàlk makhà = tè = ká zá - háng - ing = mà = ták
That = only time = A.AG = TOP alive - back - DIR2 = RLS = HS
'Then the third wife, the ogre, made (him) breathe again, it is said. Then (he) became alive, it is said.'

167. ángnaňmákhátèká úngpè nakáhãlk lúpanáq nakápanáq tamísáte kausömìng úngpè sittù pitáte kausömìngmáseùé naú.

'Then the wife who came from the dragon (family) called the people, the soldiers, and civilians together.'

168. hańmká ángpanáq ací sêktäkyí acítwè acítwè kauteúpsömìng.

'Then the elephant people also brought the elephants.'

169. nakátwè nakátwè kauteúpsömìng palútèwè palútèwè kauteúpsömìng kausömìngmatáč.

'(They) called lots and lots of dragons and ogres, it is said.'
170. kaísúmpánnaà àngnaíkmákhàtè sángpaláŋtè {taíkaú} taíktàngmaták àngnaíkmákhàtè.

kaū sôm = pán = naà àng = naîk mákhà = tè sángpaláng = tè {  
call used.up = COS = only that = only time = A.AG king = A.AG

taík -ta } taík -ta -àng = mâ = tâk àng = naîk mákhà = tè .
battle LSUFF battle LSUFF -DIR1 = RLS = HS that = only time = A.AG

‘After calling (them), that time, (they) battled the king, it is said.’

171. taíktàngmákhàkà sángpaláŋtàkkà shúngtaúpánnaà matakka àngnaíkmákhàtèkà àngnáq sèk sángpaláŋ ömpánnà màíqphyátàkyàuk sânzátaú nímàngmaták.

taík -ta -àng mákhà = ká sángpaláng -tâk = ká  
battle LSUFF -DIR1 time = TOP king - PL = TOP

shúng - ta = pán = naà ântâk = ká àng = naîk mákhà = tè = ká  
loose LSUFF = COS = only 3PL = TOP that = only time = A.AG = TOP

àng = panâq sèk sángpaláng oîm = pán = naà màíqphyá -tâk = yaûk sânzá - ta  
that = NOM person king make = COS = only queen - PL = COM reign LSUFF

nîm - àng = mâ = tâk .

stay -DIR1 = RLS = HS

‘When battled, the king and others were defeated. Then, that time, (they) made the person (their husband) a new king and (the king) with the queens reigns (the country), it is said.’
Text17: ‘My family’

1. "If I have to tell about my family, I've got eight people (in my family).

2. ‘Five siblings, plus a mother, a father, and a nephew, (we are altogether) eight people.’

3. ‘(I) have one older brother (and) (he is) married. (Lit. he has taken a woman).’

4. ‘I have one older brother (and) (he is) married. (Lit. he has taken a woman).’
'(I've got) two older sisters - the oldest and the second oldest. The oldest was married.'

5. **Hing hálá shíyàngkànaà címpè núnhángyũmá seúé.**

- hing  hálá  shí  -àng  =ká  =naà  cím  =pè
- 3SG  husband  die  -DIR1  =TOP  =only  house  =LOC

When her husband passed away, (she) came back home to stay (with us).

6. **Núklán ishir̄ hawà pàtingmá seúé**

- núklán  ishir̄  hú  -à  pā  -ta  -ing  =mā  =seúé.
- nephew  girl  CLF.person  -one  include  LSUFF  -DIR2  =RLS  =SAP

'(She) brought along a nephew (her son/daughter).'

7. **Anyeù ngaúpánkàu  anàq núklánpā ngaúpánkàu  yaà maléq amú ēkpā ngā ashítalé sā kalinghú ngāpán**

- an  =yeù  ngaú   =pánkàu  anàq  núklán  =pā  ngaú  =pánkàu  yaà  maléq
- DEM  =manner  say  =as.it.is.the.case  this  nephew  =and  say  =as.it.is.the.case  now  tPL

In addition to this nephew, now, my older brother's wife, my sister-in-law, has two children.

8. **Alóng shípnúpán hawà ngāpán ngānaíkngá ngaúpánkàlé**

- alóng  shípnú  =pán  hú  -à  ngā  =pán  ngānaíkngá  ngaú  pánkàká  =lé.
- all  ten  =COS  CLF.person  -one  exist  =COS  all  say  if  =SAP

'So, (it’s) altogether eleven people.' (Lit. ten after one)
9. maléq ameūtàk maléq awàtàk ãntän thaùngtapán

Our parents are quite old.

10. maléqká maeúshaúk lapā ömcílakàé

We’ve done wet-rice field cultivation since a long time ago.

11. maléqpàpèká maléq àchìya maléq azáttakká lapā ömyökkà myátamà lé

In our area, it is not only us, we, most Kadu, practice wet-rice field cultivation.

12. lapā ömyökkcí mánghá ngaúpánñàkà ãm kámàkà tén zì ngaúzpán ngaúpánñàkà phú támhācí {anyeù kámàkà seùé}

We cultivate wet-rice fields in the summer. After gathering the paddy and so on, (we) go out to earn money.
13. **maléqyítá asák tônqákpìng ngaúpànkaú (maléqpënīng) maléq khítmákhàtèká ngón ömhácínā**

Since we have grown up, in our generation/era (we) mine gold.

14. **ngón kámàkà thući láksamá ömhà sèk láksamá öm anyeū hácínà seùé**

(We) mine gold and so on and the people who can work in carpentry, work as carpenters. Like that, we go out (to make money).

15. **ngayítá ömákpáptalé**

I have also done that.

16. **cíceū náttamā pinpántamā héq ngón alúk ngaúpanáq amyókā**

This kind of work-to mine gold-is extremely tiring.
17. *caúng nímingkàyítá kóyeún shípnútè aüngtakónyítá kòká anímingyeíná seúé*

"Though I went to school, I couldn’t study (well enough) in order to pass the ten standard for myself."

18. *nímká nímingtalé aaüngtingálè*

"Of course, I went to school but didn’t pass the exam."

19. *ameú awàtəkkà {àntàkkà} mitpànták ngaúpánkàu kòsàtè cèng paútzingkàkpànták ngaúpánkàu peúyákmà àntàkkà*

"Since our parents love us and (they) want their children to be educated, (they) sent us to school (Lit. kept us in school).’"
20. *anyeâzâng pinpântapânâq ayânnâzâng ngaûtâtâk ântâkkâ kâsûtâk cêng pâûtzânhâyâyâk ngaûpânnaâ peûyâkmâ*

an =yeû =zâng pinpân -ta =panâq ayân =mâ =zâng
DEM =manner =EMPH tire L.SUFF =NOM poor =RLS =EMPH

̕ mere =yeù =zâng pinpân -ta =panâq ayân =mâ =zâng
ngay =tî =tâ ântâkk =kâ kô sâ -tâk cêng
say =also =EMPH 3PL =TOP body/self son -PL letter

paût zâng -hâ =yâk ngaû =pân =naà peû i -â =mâ .
skill JUSS:DIR1 -know,how =so.as.to say =COS =only keep give -EUPH =RLS

‘In spite of poverty and hardship, they sent us to school so their children would be educated.’

21. *maléqkâ shîpnûtè aâungtingâ seûè*

maléq =kâ shîpnû =tê a = aûng -ta -îng =â =seûè .
1PL =TOP ten =A.AG NEG= pass L.SUFF DIR2 =NEG =SAP

‘We didn’t pass the ten standard exam.’

22. *yaâ nga zân hawâ nga zânyûtâ shîpnû thôkâkmâ*

yaâ ngâ zân hû -à ngâ zân =yî =tâ shîpnû thôk -à =mâ .
now 1SG sister CLF.person -one 1SG sister =also =EMPH ten arrive -EUPH =RLS

‘One of my younger sisters also reached the tenth standard.’

23. *hîngkâ pînùnak phyeûtâklà aâungtawà hîngyîtâ*

hîng =kâ pî nû =naâk phyeû -ta -à =là
3SG =TOP year one =only answer LSUFF -EUPH =NOM

a = aûng -ta =á hîng =yî =tâ .
NEG= pass L.SUFF =NEG 3SG =also =EMPH

‘She took the exam only once, (but) she, also, didn’t pass.’
24. *yàkká hingyítá maūpàpè atá môknànga klákmâ ngàpànnakaui atá môknàngmâ yàkká phûyaúk seûé*

\[ yàkká =ká \quad hing =yí \quad =tá \quad maū =pà \quad =pè \quad atá \]
\[ now =TOP \quad 3SG =also =EMPH mining.area =ALL =LOC \quad rice \]
\[ mōk nāng -à -kûk =mâ ngaú =pànkaú atá môk nāng =mā \]
\[ cook go -EUPH -want =RLS say =as.it.is.the.case rice cook go =RLS \]
\[ yàkká phû =yaúk =seûé . \]
\[ now =TOP \quad silver =COM =SAP \]
\[ =ká \quad =pè \quad =tá \quad =mā \]

'Since she wanted to go to the gold mining area as a cook, (she) went (there) to cook and earn money (Lit. to cook with money).'

25. *maléq atétóngtàk ameūsāsāyeû atá mōkàmâ mâtàkyítà pyûng ngón òmpàapè nāngmâ*

\[ maléq até -tóng -tàk ameūsâsâ =yeû atá môk -à =mā \]
\[ 1PL older.sister big -PL mother.and.son =and rice cook -EUPH =RLS \]
\[ àntàk =yí =tá pyûng ngón òm =pà =pè nāng =mā . \]
\[ 3PL =also =EMPH gem.soil gold make =ALL =LOC go =RLS \]

'She went to cook together with my older sister and her child. They also went to the muddy gold mining area.'

26. *kalìngsatá sómsatàzeútá ngàpàn*

\[ kaling satá sóm satá =zeû =tá ngā =pán . \]
\[ two month three month =even =EMPH exist =COS \]

'It's already been two or three months.'

27. *léq amûyítà ngón thûàmmâ paúkmâpè*

\[ maléq amú =yí =tá ngón thû -à =mā paúkmaí =pè . \]
\[ 1PL brother =also =EMPH gold dig =one =RLS PN =LOC \]

'My older brother also went to mine gold at Paukmai.'
28. maleú achiyànghà hākūká tamìká chīcíhàmā ngaúlakaù

\[\text{maleú a= chi -àng -hà =á hākū =ká tamì =ká}\]
\[\text{good NEG= true -DIR= -know/how =NEG reckon =TOP other.people =TOP}\]
\[\text{ngà= ká ngón a= òm = á maú ngã =mã -sà ngaú =lá}\]
\[\text{tSG =TOP gold NEG= make =NEG mining.area exist =RLS -mere say =NOM}\]
\[\text{ngã =ká thök =zeú a= thök =zang =sà}\]
\[\text{tSG =TOP arrive =even NEG= arrive =EMPH =NEG,IMP}\]
\[\text{’We are not doing well. I think other people are doing well.’ (lit. we are not knowing to be true, and other people know to be true).}\]

29. ngáká ngón aómá maú ngãmásà ngaúlá ngáká thökseú athökzángsà

\[\text{ngā =ká ngón a= òm = á maú ngã =mã -sà ngaú =lá}\]
\[\text{tSG =TOP gold NEG= make =NEG mining.area exist =RLS -mere say =NOM}\]
\[\text{ngā =ká thök =zeú a= thök =zang =sà}\]
\[\text{tSG =TOP arrive =even NEG= arrive =EMPH =NEG,IMP}\]
\[\text{’I don’t mine gold. Though it is said that there is a gold mining area, (I) have never been there.’}\]

30. anyeù ngaúpánták ngaúpánkaù yaà malèq azàktaç acaúngtèâ léqlátamà zúqzítamà ngaúpánnaà aúpê ómnímákmā ngáká

\[\text{an =yeù ngaú =pán =ták ngaú =pánkaù yaà malèq azàk -tak}\]
\[\text{DEM =manner say =COS =HS say =as.it.is.the.case now 1PL PN -PL}\]
\[\text{açaúng =tê léqlâ -ta =mã zúqzi -ta =mã ngaú =pán =naâ}\]
\[\text{about =AAG research LSUFF =RLS compile LSUFF =RLS say =COS =only}\]
\[\text{aú =pè òm ním -à =mã ngã =ká}\]
\[\text{here =LOC make stay -EUPH =RLS tSG =TOP}\]
\[\text{’As it happens, now I am working here (as someone) who is studying and compiling about us, the Kadu.’}\]

31. hingyítá phúaítik ómnímáktalé kwá

\[\text{hing =yí =tá phú =yaúk òm ním -à =talé =kwá}\]
\[\text{3SG =also =EMPH silver =COM make stay -EUPH =SAP =manly}\]
\[\text{’He also gave us money.’ (Lit. he works with money)\}
32. **phú ínlūyeùká aõmyeùná seùé maléq ayànpín sèktàkká**

phú ín= lū =yeù =ká a= ōm -yeūn =á =seùé maléq

silver NEG= get =manner =TOP NEG= make =NEG =SAP 1PL

ayán = pín sèk -ták =ká

poor =NOM person -PL =TOP

‘We, the poor, can’t work without getting money.’

33. **címpèká maléq ameùtàk maléq awàtàk nímcí lakòé**

cím = pè =ká maléq ameù -ták maléq awà -ták ním -cí = lakò = é .

house =LOC =TOP 1PL mother -PL 1PL father -PL stay -PL =SAP =SAP

Our parents live at home.

34. **maléq atéshàká mōkpūthàmâ hingká kùmāngyák mōkpû**

maléq até shā =ká mōkpû -thà =mā hing =ká kùmāngyák

1PL older.sister small =TOP tend.cow -must =RLS 3SG =TOP every.day

mōkpû
tend.cow

‘Our older sister tends the cows.’ ‘She tends the cows everyday.’

35. **ngayítá mōkpûkág atháseù maûng**

ngā = yí = tá mōkpû =káq a= thà = á = seùé maûng .

1SG =also =EMPH tend.cow =TOP NEG= be =NEG =SAP boy

cít =kå = kùmāngyák= án = tō yū = sùí = sùí = sùí = sùí

‘It is not possible for me to tend the cows.’

36. **mōkpûpánñàká cántapandâq alûk mōkpûpûn sèk aõmhà seùé**

mōk pù pánnàká cân - ta =panâq alûk mōkpû = panâq sèk

cook emerge if remain LSUFF =NOM work tend.cow =NOM person

a = ōm - hà = á = seùé .

NEG= make -know.how =NEG =SAP

‘If I tend the cows, the cowherd (my sister) can’t do the remaining tasks.’
37. anyeù ngaúpánták ngaúpánkaú häthàmā seú

'an =yeù ngaú =pán =ták ngaú =pánkaú hā =thā =mā =seú .

DEM =manner say =COS =HS say =as.it.is.the.case walk -must =RLS =SAP

'Therefore, (she) has to go (tend the cows).'

38. à miqtázúq täwûn ngaúpanáq cíceu tóngmā azeûzángá héq

'à miqtázúq täwûn ngaú = panáq cíceu tón =mā a = zê = zâng = á

oh family responsibility say =NOM extremely big =RLS NEG easy =EMPH =NEG

hêq .

EXCL

'Oh! Family responsibilities are extremely big. (It is) not easy.'

39. àngyaûngpáng tamì ngaúciûnàq cêngshiûtâ paútnákhâmanaikk yâk khékkâq (anyeîumàsà mûnggângkûmeûtâ) anyeù ngaûcîmûn seûé

'àng yaûngpáng tamì ngaú =cî = panáq cêng shi =yi =tá

that because.of other.people say -PL =NOM letter four =also =EMPH

paút â -hà =màsà =naìk yâk khêk =kàq an =yeù =màsà

skill -EUPH -know.how =only.if =only now this.era =TOP DEM =manner =only.if

mûnggângkû meû =là an =yeù ngaú =cî =mû =seûé .

fortunate good =NOM DEM =manner say -PL =RLS =SAP

'Therefore, other people said, "It is important/helpful to get educated in this era. (Only then will you have a good/comfortable life)."'

40. cêng paútnákittà maîng málêqûpèkà phûnângseûtà apôwàkkà alûk zânû lûkû ngaûpanâq anyôyîtà phû cíceû sôthâmà

'àng paút =tì =tá maûng málêq =pà =pè =kà

letter skill -EUPH =also =EMPH boy 1PL =ALL =LOC =TOP

phû =nàngzeû a = pò =tà =kà alûk zà =nû lû =kû

silver =only/merely NEG= exist -EUPH =TOP work CLF.kind one get =IRLS

'Therefore, other people said, "It is important/helpful to get educated in this era. (Only then will you have a good/comfortable life)."'
In our areas, even though (you are) educated, you have to bribe (in spite of having no income/money) a great deal of money to get a job.

41. aluyeūná seūé

a = lũ = yeūn = á = seūé.
NEG= get = can = NEG = SAP

'(It's) impossible to get one.'

42. kōkā lakō aluktwē maneūqzāng nāttamā ngaūtītā tami phū lūcīpānāq phū nāticīpāntē katūngmā seū

kō = kā = lakō alūk - tē mà = neūq = zāng nāt - ta = mā
body/self = TOP = SAP work -PL WH = as.much.as = EMPH tire LSUFF = RLS

nāt - cī = panāq which = tē katūng = mā = seū.

nāt - cī = panāq which = tē katūng = mā = seū.

43. ōmāngkāmā sau taiktàngkākma saū

ōm = ān̄g = kāk = mā = seū taūk - ta = ān̄g = kāk = mā = seū.
make -DIRI - want = RLS = SAP do/hit LSUFF - DIRI - want = RLS = SAP

'Want to do it. I want to beat it.'

44. hamāŋkā myō nāttamā zākthūk mūmā pinpāntamāqzāng ngaūkāk ngaū kōkā shishā ngaupāntāk ngaupānka mālēq ōmtūn hātān yōktūn ayweū ngaupānka taiktàngkākmā

hā = māŋ = kā myō nāt - ta = mā zāk = thāk meu = mā
WH = thing = Q CLT.kind tire LSUFF = RLS afraid = in.order.to good = RLS

'Want to do it. I want to beat it.'
What kind of work would be tiresome or fearful? In any case, we are young and energetic (lit. still able to do/work, walk, and eat), therefore, I want to do it!'

45. tami lācī nācípanáq kāmākā katūngmā seúé

tami lā -cī nāt -cī = panáq kāmākā katūng = mā = seúé
other.people take -PL use -PL = NOM sort.of.things see = RLS = SAP

'We see other people making and spending (money) and so on.'

46. tamīyeù yaà hátnángkākmā seúé

tami = yeù yaà hāt -āng -kāk = mā = seúé.
other.people = SAP now make -DIR1 -want = RLS = SAP

'We want to do it like other people do.'

47. lapāytā ameùhà ngaupántāk ngaupánkau anēsōng malēqkā ngā cīmsēkyaùk ngaupánnākā shiupūpān hawā ngaupántāk ngaupánkau ālkũpá saünkāngpāk ngāmāsā yōkkōmmā seúé

lapā = yí = tá a = meù = hā = á ngaù = pān = ták
field = also = EMPH NEG good = know.how = NEG say = COS = HS

ngaù = pānkau anēsōng malēq = kā ngā cīm sēk = yaúk
say = as.it.is.the.case at.least 1PL = TOP 1SG house person = COM

ngaù pānnākā shiupu = pān hū -ā ngaù = pān = ták ngaù = pānkau
say if ten = COS CLF.person -one say = COS = HS say = as.it.is.the.case

pāk nū prá saünkāngpāk ngā = māsā yōk kóm = mā = seúé.
hundred one over two hundred exist = only if eat enough = RLS = SAP

'Since rice fields are not (producing) well, with my eleven family members, it will only be enough when we get over 100 or 200 (tins of) paddy.'
Having said that, it goes on and on like this. We will earn money and spend it for food and so on. Since we have to buy rice again, as the family is big, nothing is enough! We can’t save anything.'
Having said that, one has to decide, "How will we work and feed the family in the future? The business/thing that will run by itself. Though we can’t become rich, (we) have to look for something/business which will provide enough food and drink."

50. anąqningyeù pinpinpánpán ómyökthakhà ngaúpánntàkà inzęüyá seüé

anáq = ningyeù pinpinpánpán óm yòk -thà = kù ngaú pánnàkà
this = manner be.wearily make eat -must = IRLS say if
í= zeü = à = seüé .
NEG= easy =NEG = SAP

‘Like this, it is not easy to make a living with hard work.’

51. maléqkà shishàtún ngaúpánntaka òjkìnyeù zúztúzàzà kàmàkà ómängkàkàm à seüé

maléq = kà shishà = tún ngaú = pánkaù yàk = ningyeù zúztúzàzà
1PL = TOP child = still say = as.it.is.the.case now = manner venturously
kàmàkà = òm = àng = kàk = mà = seüé .
sort.of.things make = DIR = want = RLS = SAP

‘As we are still young, we want to do work that involves risks.’

52. lapà òmpánnaì shìthàkàpànàqtèdà aphyítì pé athókkàkà seü malégytà

lapà = òm = naa shì = thà = kù = panàq = tè aphyít = pé
field make = COS = only die -must = IRLS = NOM = A.AG state = LOC
a = thòlk = kàk = à = seü maléq = yì = tá .
NEG = arrive = want = NEG = SAP 1PL = also = EMPH

‘We don’t want to end up our lives by working in the wet-rice field.’
Having said that, (we) look for a job everywhere (lit. go to and fro) - a kind of job that is easy and makes a lot of profit, a kind of job that will provide (us) with regular income/benefits.

Our parents are too old to do anything. They cannot even look after the house.

Our parents are too old to do anything. They cannot even look after the house.
56. thaungtaútì thaungtapínałaik satóngsàzáng ngaútìtà pùthàmā.

thaung -ta = tí   thaung -ta = panáq alaík
old LSUFF =also =EMPH old LSUFF =NOM accordingly
satóng -sà = záng ngaú = tí = tá pù -thà = mā.
grandchild -DIM = EMPH say = also = EMPH look.after - must = RLS

‘The old, in accordance with their age, have to look after the grandchildren.’

57. címpè miháksàzáng ngaútì nuíthàmā

cím = pè mihåk -sà = záng ngaú = tí mít - thà = mā
house = LOC bamboo.ties - DIM = EMPH say = also strips - must = RLS

‘(They) also have to strip bamboo ties at home.’

58. paúngká paúngtúsàzáng ngaútì wàthàmā.

paúngká paúngká paúngtú -sà = záng ngaú = tí wā - thà = mā.
basket various.baskets - DIM = EMPH say = also knit - must = RLS

‘(They) also have to knit/weave baskets.’

59. yàkká saténg pyíttapín achēng seùé sétkeùtān wànnā ōmthàmā thaungtaútì

yàkk = ká saténg pyít -ta = panáq achēng = seùé seútkë = tān
now = TOP thatch thatching LSUFF = NOM time = SAP thatch stick
wàn = mā ōm - thà = mā thaung - ta = tí = tá
chop = RLS make - must = RLS old LSUFF = also = EMPH

‘Now, it is time for patching the thatch. Though old, (they) have to cut thatch-sticks.’

60. ameu théásèkyítà saténg yáppín achēngká saténg yápthàtā.

ameu thà sèk = yí = tá saténg yáp = panáq achēng = ká saténg
mother be person = also = EMPH thatch reap = NOM time = TOP thatch
yáp - thà = tá saténg yáp.
reap - must = EMPH thatch reap

‘In this thatch reaping season, even mother has to go and reap the thatch.’
61. **àngnakmākhākā satēng pyīttaũ ngāhāngkūnaĩ kē seũè**

äng =naĩk mākhā =ká satēng pyīt -ta
that =only time =TOP thatch thatching L.SUFF

ngā =hāng =kū =naĩk =seũè.
exist -back =IRLS =only =SAP

‘And then, (after that) weave the thatch again.’

62. **māngmū māngtā malēpēkā paūtāŋyaũ yākyūdā ōk ōmnīmmatāk shīpnū takā seũè**

māngmū māngtā malēq =pē =kā paū -ta -āng =yaũk
public.work 1PL =LOC =TOP plenty L.SUFF -DIR1 =COM

yāk =yī =tā ōk ōm nīm =mā =tāk shīpnū takā =seũè.
now =also =EMPH brick make stay =RLS =HS ten one.car =SAP

‘(There are) lots of community work projects for us. Even now, people are making bricks, the amount of one full carful each for ten families, it is said.’

63. **āngnaqteũ kālingyāk hāthāmā seũè**

āng =panāq =tē kāling yāk hā -thā =mā =seũè.
that =NOM =A.AG two now walk -must =RLS =SAP

‘(We) have to go there for two days.’

64. **samōn caūŋyeũn zalaũk kāmākā tamāyūng kāmākā zākū seũè**

samōn caūŋ =yeũn zalaũk kāmākā tamāyūng kāmākā zā =kū =seũè.
monk school =BEN resthouse sort.of.things community.hall sort.of.things build =IRLS =SAP

‘(We) will build a resthouse, a community hall, and so on for the Monastery.’

65. **yākkā pōkhāpēpē pyn tūktaũ ngaũlā pyn pheũ ngaũlā hāthāmā seũè**

yāk =kā pōkhā =pā =pē pyn tūk -ta ngaũ =lā pyn pheũ
now =TOP forest =ALL =LOC timber transport L.SUFF say =Q timber suppose

ngaũ =lā hā -thā =mā =seũè.
say =Q walk -must =RLS =SAP

‘Nowadays, (we) have to go to either transport or carry timbers.’
66. **anímluhà sángyeúsá ngaípanáq amyóká kó címpèzáng alúk apòtìtà thingpè alúk ngámmá**

```
a = ním lú -hà = á sángyeúsá ngaú = panáq amyó = ká kó
NEG= stay get -know.how =NEG poor.people say =NOM kind =TOP body/self

čím = pè = záng alúk a = pò = tí = tá thing = pè alúk ngá = má .
house =LOC = EMPH work NEG= exist = also = EMPH village =LOC work exist =RLS

‘The poor people can't rest. If there is no work at home, there is work to do in the village.’
```

67. **thingpèzáng inpòtìtà címká alúk ngaíupín amyó ínkùntahà**

```
thing = pè = záng ín = pò = tí = tá čím = ká alúk ngaú = panáq
village =LOC = EMPH NEG= exist = also = EMPH house = TOP work say = NOM

amyó ín= kùn -ta -hà = ā .

kind NEG= finish L.SUFF - know.how = NEG

‘Even if there is no work in the village, the household work is never ending.’
```

68. **anyeù ngaíupánták ngaíupánkaú màhameúzeútá anímluhà seùé**

```
an = yeú ngaú = pán = ták ngaú = pánkaú
DEM = manner say = COS = HS say = as.it.is.the.case

mà = hameú = zeú = tá a = ním lú - hà = seùé .
WH = person = even = EMPH NEG= stay get - know.how = SAP

‘Having said that, nobody can rest.’
```

69. **meúntátóng ngá ngaíwángningyeù shísháyí shísháalaík páláyí páláalaík anyeù ishíq ishíqalaík ngaíningyeù ómcítháq hácítháq {haíng seùé}**

```
meúntátóng ngá ngaú - âng = níngyeù shíshá = yí shíshá aláík pálá = yí
a.moment.ago 1SG say -DIR1 = manner child = also child accordingly elder = also

pálá aláík an = yeú ishíq ishíq aláík ngaú = níngyeù
elder accordingly DEM = manner girl girl accordingly say = manner

‘Having said that, nobody can rest.’

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As I have said earlier, (we) have to do something - in the capability of a child as a child, an older person as an older person, or a girl as a girl.'

70. **hing ōmhà ōm ngā ōmhà ōm ōmcithāqtalé**

Everybody participates in household work.' (Lit. s/he does what s/he can, I do what I can)

71. **anyeù lakò alúyauk tahúyauk lakò ínalaúktapanáq lakò swángteúmāngmā ngaúpínmyó ínpòhà seüè**

Even though (I am) always working hard, (Lit. work never escaping from hands), there is no way to say that we become rich.

72. **zayàká lakò yókzängyeún üzängyeùnsáséutá ínpòhà {ayé pátamáq}**

Some people don’t even have enough food (to meet their basic/minimum needs).' {That’s important.}
73. anyeù ngaúpánták ngaúpánkaú maléqká halawà ngaúpánkaú {móngkáng (maleú maleúsà) kú pânnágà} kó cínsektàktè maleú yöklú maleú nímlhàyák nátsánglú ngãzánglùhàyák anyeù kókàq támnaúttháku seté

\[\text{an} = \text{yeù ngaú} = \text{pán} = \text{ták ngaú} = \text{pánkaú} = \text{maléq} = \text{ká} = \text{halawà} \]
\[\text{DEM} = \text{manner say} = \text{COS} = \text{HS say} = \text{as.it.is.the.case} \text{ P} = \text{TOP} \text{ man/husband} \]
\[\; \text{say} = \text{as.it.is.the.case} \text{ fortune} = \text{good good} = \text{DIM} = \text{COS} = \text{only} \text{ body/self} \]
\[\; = \text{house person} \text{ -PL} = \text{A.AG} \text{ good eat} = \text{get good stay} = \text{get} = \text{know.how} = \text{so.as.to} \]
\[\; = \text{nát} = \text{máng lú ngaí} = \text{máng lú} = \text{hà} = \text{à} = \text{an} = \text{yeù kó} = \text{ká} \]
\[\; = \text{search feed} \text{ -must} = \text{IRLS} = \text{SAP} \]
\[\; = \text{Having said that, as we are men {fortunate people}, we need to work to feed our family members so that they will be able to eat good food, live a good life, and spend money.'} \]

74. halawà ngaúpánták ngaúpánkaú yàkníngyeù améüawâtàktèká ayàñpanáq anéyaúkká ashízângkákyùn seú

\[\text{halawà ngaú} = \text{pán} = \text{ták ngaú} = \text{pánkaú} = \text{yá} = \text{ningyeù} \]
\[\text{man/husband say} = \text{COS} = \text{HS say} = \text{as.it.is.the.case} \text{ now} = \text{manner} \]
\[\; = \text{améüawà} \text{ -ták} = \text{tè} = \text{ká} = \text{ayàn} = \text{panáq anè} = \text{yaúk} = \text{ká} \]
\[\text{parent} \text{ -PL} = \text{A.AG} = \text{TOP} \text{ poor} = \text{NOM} \text{ condition} = \text{COM} = \text{TOP} \]
\[\; = \text{a = shí zàng} = \text{-ká} = \text{yú} = \text{SAP} \]
\[\; = \text{NEG= die part} = \text{-want} = \text{still} = \text{SAP} \]
\[\; = \text{Since I am a young man, I don't want my parents to die in this current poor condition.'} \]

75. kóyítá maleú malásà omnaútnàngkàkmà seúé

\[\text{kó} = \text{yí} = \text{tá} = \text{maleú malà} = \text{-sà óm naút} = \text{-àng} = \text{-ká} = \text{má} = \text{seúé} \]
\[\text{body/self} = \text{also} = \text{EMPH} \text{ good ATTW} = \text{DIM make feed} = \text{DIR1} = \text{-want} = \text{RLS} = \text{SAP} \]
\[\; = \text{I want to look after them well.'} \]
76. 

That's what I have in mind.

77. 

'I also believe, myself, that it might as well happen.'

78. 

Like this, I am also continuing to work.

79. 

'I don't want my life to end up in this kind of hard life/struggling life.'

80. 

'I will change from one kind/job to the other (looking for the best opportunity). Oh my (poor) life!'
81. "With the anticipation of when that good time will come, I am trying and working hard."

82. "Whatever people may say, I have my own reasoning (Lit. I've got my own brain)."

83. "Whatever people may say, I have my own reasoning (Lit. I've got my own brain)."

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Like this, I use my own brain and am thinking/reasoning about what is good and profitable for me to do.

84. anyeù köyitá lakò ōmhaútapanq asinytá ngátháqlaká

an =yeù kò =yì =tá =lakò ōm -haut =panaq
DEM =manner body/self =also =EMPH =SAP make -want =NOM

äsìn =yì =tá ngā -thà =lakà.
mind =also =EMPH exist -must =MIR

‘Like this, I also have a mind/heart to work hard.’

85. anyeù ngapèkà nga asinna♣épká ōmhaútapanqká phêngkón ngânimmá seùé azáktúyaùk ngaûthàkù ngaûpánnaká

an =yeù ngā =pè =ká ngā asin naù =pè =ká
DEM =manner 1SG =LOC =TOP 1SG mind inside =LOC =TOP

ōm -haut =panaq =ká phêng =kón ngā nímm =mà =seùé
make -want =NOM =TOP full =so.as.to exist stay =RLS =SAP

azàk tù =yaùk ngaù -thà =kú ngaù pànnkà.

PN language =COM say -must =IRLS say if

‘Like this, If I have to say it in Kadu, “In my mind, I am full of desire/willingness to work.”’

86. ñyeù anyeù ngaûpànták ngaûpànkaù nga címsekòtàkè nga tàwùn kínmeûtàngning ngákù zàkmá

ín =yeù an =yeù ngaù =pàn =ták ngaù =pànkàu ngà that =manner DEM =manner say =COS =HS say =as.it.is.the.case 1SG
cím sèk -ták =tè ngà tàwùn kínmeùq -ta -àng =níng ngà =kù
house person 1PL =A.AG 1SG responsibility be.free.from L.SUFF DIR =manner exist =IRLS

zàk =mà.
afraid =RLS

‘Having said that, I am afraid to be an irresponsible person for my family.’

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87. **tawun aponing ngangkua zakmâ ngâkâ**

`tawun a = pò = ning ngang = kû zâk = mâ ngâ = kâ`.

`I am afraid that I may be like (the one) who is irresponsible.'

88. **ängyaungpâng nga cimsëktâtê nga ngâkâ nacâ anyeù peuyeûnkôn omkû setû**

`àng yaungpâng ngâ cîm sëk -tâk = tê ngâ = kâ nacâ an = yeù`

`Therefore, I want to really work in order to keep my family members like that.'

89. **nacâ peuyeûnkôn amûtâkpâ atâtâkpâ ameûtâk aavâtâk nuklántâk ngânaikngâtê mâhameûzeûtâ úgnâq apeûyâ**

`nacâ peû -yeùn = kûn amû -tâk pâ até -tâk pâ ameû -tâk`

`In order to really help everyone, including my older brother, mother, father, and nephew and others, (I am) not going to keep (them in that laborious/difficult life).'
‘I am working hard so that they – together with me – will have a good life, a life lacking nothing.’

91. ngä címsèk acaúngtè ngaúthàkù ngaúpán anáquinañtà maùngyë

‘Since I have to tell about my family, that’s all, my dear.’

92. ngayítá amyeútán yàk ngaùningyeù maikmàzwë ashóqtawá

‘As I said, this manner, I will never give up.’

93. nga címsèktàk meúyòkkónkà amyeútán ömnïumkuè ngaúpànnà ònaqpé taúpcàngmàk seùë.

‘Let me stop here by saying that I will always work (hard) for the good of my family.’
1. maeútóng ashéq katā títhúkyé khayí pùwàngmákhàtè pínkhánneü cfewúqtaüngcówaitú atwéqacúng ànŋpè katúngpápmingpanaq.

maeútóng ashéq katā títhúkyé khayí pù -āng mákhà =tè pínkhánneü long.ago east PN logging journey emerge -DIR1 time =A.AG PN

cfewúqtaüng cówaitú atwéqacúng ànŋpè katúng -pāp -îŋg =panáq . PN PN experience that =LOC see -been -DIR2 =NOM

'(I will tell) about the experience from long ago—the things (I) saw, when (I) took a journey to see the logging industry of east Katha, Kywe Taung forest reservation in Pinkan region.’

2. maníngyeükə ngaúkaú pókńá nāngcímá.

mà =níngyeү =kà ngaú =kaú pókńá nāng -cî =mà . WH =manner =Q say =TOP forest gō -PL =RLS

‘What happened was that, we went hunting.’

3. pókńá nāngcímá tamisă kalinghúsă phóténgaüngyaïk ngayaïk.

pókńá nāng -cî =kà tamisă kaling hú -sà phóténgaüng =yaük forest gō -PL =TOP human two CLF.person -mere PN =COM

gà =yaük. tSG =COM

cî .

‘When gone to the forest, (there were) only two people—Photeingaung and me.’

4. maneúq pókńásíntëlakă nanútėkă nùwà zípán nùwà kápšhyängkíyeū

mà =neúq pókńá tóng =tè =lakà nanū -tē =kà nù -à WH =as.much.as forest big =A.AG =MIR animal -PL =TOP CLF.animal -one

zí =pán nù -à káp sîh -āng =kū =yeü finish =if CLF.animal -one shoot die -DIR1 =RLS =SAP

‘It's such a big forest, we would shoot animals one after another.’
5. hawàtè thómpök pòkàzi lāpànnà takhāteú hācàngmā (akhātòngtè) shwēúqtaúngcónwànaútôngpè.

hú -à =tè thómpök pòk -à zì lā =pàn =naa takhāteú
CLF.person -EUPH =A.AG gun CLT.bamboo -one drum take =COS =only at.once

hā -càng =mā { akhā tóng =tè } shwēúqtaúngcónwà naú tóng =pè .
walk -PL:DIR1 =RLS time big =A.AG PN inside big =LOC

'We each carried a gun and we went into the Shwe U Taung forest reserve.'

6. hācàngkā yáktánwán hāângkāq hamângkâzeú inkatângā.

hā -càng =kā yáktánwán hā -àng =kā
walk -PL:DIR1 =TOP whole.day walk -DIR1 =TOP

hā =māng =kā =zeú ín= katâng =á .

WH =thing =Q =even NEG= see =NEG

'Having gone (to the forest), We walked the whole day. (We) didn't see anything.'

7. lénāyī thúmkâkhâtèkā phöténggaungtè atà yòkhaüping maûng ngaká atà mōkyökcímak ngaûkâ ângpè weûpâikpè atà mōkpâûn yōkcímā.

lé nāyī thök mákhâ =tè =kā phöténggaung =tè atà
four o'clock arrive time =A.AG =TOP PN =A.AG rice

yōk -haút =píng maûng ngā =kā atà mōk yōk -cí =mák
eat -want =DIR2:COS boy 1SG =TOP rice cook eat -PL =HORT

ngaû =kā âng =pè weû pâik =pè atà mōk =pán yōk -cí =mā .
say =TOP that =LOC water beside =LOC rice cook =COS eat -PL =RLS

At four o'clock, (I) said to Photeingaung, “I am hungry, let's cook rice and eat.”. We cooked and ate rice near the river.'
8. "After (we) cooked and ate rice, we asked, "Where shall we sleep now?" 
   "(We) will look for a place to sleep."

9. "As it is the case, Photeingaung said, "Let's go up the mountain and sleep (there)."
   We went up the mountain and slept on the top of the mountain.

10. "As it is the case, Photeingaung said, "Let's go up the mountain and sleep (there)."
    We went up the mountain and slept on the top of the mountain."
As it is the case that (we) came up to sleep on the mountain, like that, (there was) a big tree fallen on the ground. I don't know what kind of tree it was.

phónkalùntóng élátóng chaúktè tányátzàkyeù paúsìpaúmmà.

paú = pán = naà takhâteú hà = màng = kà phôn kalùn tóng = lamà
be.fall = COS = only at.once WH = thing = Q wood tree big = MIR

a = heú - hà = à
NEG = tell - know, how = NEG

As it is the case that (we) came up to sleep on the mountain, like that, (there was) a big tree fallen on the ground. I don't know what kind of tree it was.

11. aū zaúkpàpèká maning thànímlá ngaú zaúkpàpèká takhâteú kâtwē òppán nìmmà seúé.

zaúk = pà = pè = kâ mà = ning thà nímm = lá ngaú
well! on.top = ALL = LOC = TOP WH = manner be stay = Q say

zaúk = pà = pè = kâ takhâteú kâ - tê òp = pán
on.top = ALL = LOC = TOP at.once soil - PL close = COS

nímm = mā = seú = é
stay = RLS = SAP = SAP

What was on the top of that (the log) was that, the mud covered the top part of the fallen tree.

12. zaúkpàpèká kâtwē òppán nìmpánkàù é phôténgaúngkà ò aípsàlé ângpèlé

zaúk = pà = pè = kâ kà - tê òp = pán nímm = pánkàù é
on.top = ALL = LOC = TOP soil - PL close = COS stay = as.it.is.the.case yes

phôténgaúng = kà a = ip = sà = lé âng = pè = lé
PN = TOP oh NEG sleep = NEG,IMP = SAP that = LOC = SAP

As it is the case Therefore, Photeingaung said, “Don’t sleep there.”
14. á aúpênañ meulá anáapéká lómyí lómmá.

"Only here is good. It is warm as well."

15. àngngningzàng hingká nángká hâpê ipkalá

‘Like that, (He) said, “Where will you sleep?”’

16. ngaká aúpêzáng phónshá kâmpánnâ phónshá wânpánnâ kâmpánnâ ngaká aúpêzáng ipkúnañ

‘As for me, (I) will cut small trees and lay/floor (them) down and sleep here.’

17. ngaká phónshá wânpán kâmpán ıplakdé.

‘I cut the small tress, laid/floor (them) down and slept (there).’
18. anyeù ngaúpánkaú ângpè neûkâ ayátká pòkweúsùtè ínwánlûwá.

Having said that, in that forest, one should not cut Pukweusut tree.

19. pòkweúsùtkalûnyítá lakò mingzákthák meûmá ângpanàq pòkhápè.

Pukweusut trees are fearful in that forest. (Cutting it, one can lose their senses.)

20. kayâhûkà lûnglûng pòkweúsùtkalûnhaing thànímmà.

The whole mountain was filled with Pukweusut trees.

21. anyeù ngaúpánkaú ângpanátè maning thàqlà ngaûkaú ıpçikâ ngákâ nûshèklakâ hîngkâ tôngránkaú kanàchîq nyônpeûmà sû hîngkâ é.

As it is the case, what happened while we slept. I was young (at the time). As he was big/mature, he swallowed/ate opium.
22. *kanàchíqyítá nyónpán númpánkaú híngká mèngtaúpán nímmá seú kanàchíq nyúnpán númpánták ngaúpánkaú.*

kanàchíq = yí = tá nyón = pán ním = pánkáu híng = ká

opium = also = EMPH swallow = COS stay = as it is the case 3SG = TOP

mèng - ta = pán ním = mā = seú kanàchíq nyón = pán ním = pán = ták

relish L.SUFF = COS stay = RLS = SAP opium swallow = COS stay = COS = HS

ngaú = pánkáu .

say = as it is the case

ʻHaving swallowed the opium, he was hallucinating because he swallowed the opium.ʻ

23. *anyeù ngaú ngaká kanàchíqyítá anyónákùhá*

an = yeù ngaú ngā = ká kanàchíq = yí = tá

DEM = manner say 1SG = TOP opium = also = EMPH

a = nyón - à - hà = á

NEG = swallow - EUPH - know how = NEG

ʻHaving said that, I don't know how to swallow opium.ʼ

24. *yáktánwán hānàttapánták ngaúpánkaú ngaká shīshā ngaúpánkaú ìppán seúé.*

yáktánwán hā nàt - ta = pán = ták ngaú = pánkáu ngā = ká shīshā

whole day walk tire L.SUFF = COS = HS say = as it is the case 1SG = TOP child

ngaú = pánkáu ip = pán = seúé .

say = as it is the case sleep = COS = SAP

ʻHaving travelled the whole day and being tired, as I was young, (I) was asleep.ʼ
25. ìpìmìngká èìngìngzìng nàkceú kònàyi intóhkctè pànnu mínñhìngìnlà ì{kònàyi athóhkctèì.

ìp ì-ùng =ká àng =ìngìng =zìng mínñhìngìnlà kò nàyì
sleep ì-Dir1 =TOP that =manner =EMPH last.night nine o'clock
íngìng = thòk = ci =tè pàn nù mín hàng íng =lákà { kò nàyì
NEG= arrive =before =A.AG CLF.times one awake -back -DIR2 =MIR nine o'clock
ò ìpìmìngká =cé ìgìngzìng =zìng
a = thòk = ci =tè {
NEG= arrive =before =A.AG
ò ìpìmìngká =cé ìgìngzìng

‘After sleeping awhile, that manner, I woke up one time before o’clock.’

26. kònàyi intóhkctè pànnu mínñhìngìnlà à neúq pòkhàtònkà ngàyì zàkìmà

kò nàyì íngìng = thòk = ci =tè pàn nù mín hàng íng =ká
nine o'clock NEG= arrive =before =A.AG CLF.times one awake -back -DIR2 =TOP
ò ìpìmìngká =néuq pòkhà tòng =kà ngì =yì zàkì =mà
oh DEM =as.much.as forest big =TOP tSG =also afraid =RLS
ò ìpìmìngká =néuq pòkhà tòng =kà ngì =yì zàkì =mà
‘When I woke up before o’clock, I was afraid, as it was such a big forest.’

27. ngà thòmpòktè ómpàn ngàpàn yù à hamàngkazeú ínpòwá séu ínpòwánaìyeú.

ngà thòmpòk =tè òm =pàn ngì =pàn yù à hà =màng =kà =zeú
1SG gun =A.AG hold =COS exist =COS look oh WH =thing =Q =even
cì 1SG thòmpòk =kà ngì =tòm ìpìmìngká =sìyìyì =kà =zeú
íngìng = thòk = ci =tè pàn nù mín hàng íng =lákà { íngìng = thòk = ci =tè
NEG= exist =NEG =SAP NEG= exist =NEG =SAP =SAP
ò ìpìmìngká =néuq pòkhà tòng =kà ngì =yì zàkì =mà

‘I held the gun and looked. Nothing was there.’ (Nothing was there, right?)

28. èìngìngyeùzìng naùkpaìtèkà kònàyi khweútèkà ngàkà èìppàòthàngpàn.

ìpìmìngká èìngìngzìng =záng naùkpaì =tè =ká kò nàyì
that =manner =EMPH later.part =A.AG =TOP nine o'clock
ò ìpìmìngká =néuq pòkhà tòng =kà ngì =tè pàn pòt hàng =pàn
split =A.AG =TOP tSG =TOP sleep asleep exceed -back =COS
ò ìpìmìngká =néuq pòkhà tòng =kà ngì =tè pàn pòt hàng =pàn
‘Like that, later at 9:30 I was asleep again.’
29. *ippátpóthángpántúk ngaúpánkaú kasáká sûtpíng kayápáhaík shalát shalát shalátyeù ngáká ippátpótnímtún.*

As I was sleeping, a tiger came down from the mountain like this, “shalat, shalat, shalat.” while I was asleep.

30. *anyeù ngaúpánkaú phóténgaúng ngaúkà hìngkà àngmàkà wântōpmàngmà.*

As it is the case, suddenly, that time, Photeingaung turned on the torch.

31. *wântōpmàngkà wán ngaúkà tōpmàngningyeù ínnúkànghà.*

When (he) turned on the torch, the torch did not work, as it was supposed to.
32. Wän ngaúkà tätmi ngaúkà ńńūkàŋghàpañták ngaúpánkaú anyeù thök thókyeù ōmànglakà hingkà tätmtè

'Since the torch didn’t shine, “thok, thok”, he shook the torch like this.'

33. Ængmàkà shalátyeù wànyí nńking kasàyí wúng kasàyítá takháteù wúng waíngmà.

'Then “Shalat”. When the torch suddenly flashed out, all at once the tiger, also, jumped out.'

34. Kasà wápínták ngaú àngpè kasà (ngàpànanq nèyàpè) hôpè nńminglà ngaúkà ngà ñpünápanàq phònzaúkopè hingkà ahà tängpànanà phòtëngàntë anyeù yünimmà.

'Just then the tiger jumped down and landed/staying on the =TOP of the tree (where I was sleeping). He (the tiger) was looking at Photeingaung laying with its chin over its hands.'
35. anyeù ngaú phôténgaúngyítá maning ngānglá ngaú ângnáqtè ahákànghtàtak seté hē hē hē anyeù ngānìmàngmatàk.

an =yeù ngaú phôténgaung =yí =tá mà =nìng ngāng =lā ngaú
DEM =manner say PN =also =EMPH WH =manner exist:DIR1 =Q say
àng =panáq =tè a= hák -àng -hà =ά =tāk =seú =é hē
that =NOM =A.AG NEG= shout -DIR1 -know.how =NEG =HS =SAP =SAP ONMT
hē hē hē an =yeù ngā nùm -àng =mā =tāk.
ONMT ONMT ONMT DEM =manner exist stay -DIR1 =RLS =HS
(What happened to Photeingaung was he became almost speechless, and murmured “Heu Heu Heu”, it is said.)

36. zàkpánnaà ngānìmàngmà hìngká kasà kasà kasà ahákànghà hìngyi.

zāk =pān =naà ngā nùm -àng =mā hìng =kā kasà kasà kasà
afraid =COS =only exist stay -DIR1 =RLS 3SG =TOP tiger tiger tiger tiger
NEG= shout -DIR1 -know.how =NEG 3SG =also
(He) was afraid and it happened that way. (He) couldn’t even shout, “tiger, tiger.”

37. anyeù ngaú ngāyítá ìppátpòtnímtùn hē hē hē ngâpanaqtè ngâyítá amíngsàhà amíngsàhà ìppátpòtnímtùn.

an =yeù ngaú ngā =yí =tá ip pát pòt nùm =tūn
DEM =manner say exist =also =EMPH sleep asleep? exceed stay =still
hē hē hē ngā =panáq =tè ngā =yí =tá a= mìngsàhà =á
NEG= know =NEG sleep asleep? exceed stay =still
(As it is the case, I was still sleeping and didn't know/hear the murmuring, “heu heu heu”.)
38. **thōmpòk chátnù kápmàngká eú àngmákhatè ngaúkaú kasà ngaúkaú néné háhalákpaŋták ngaúpánkaú**

*panáq kasángvól háhalákpaŋták ngaúpánkaú (halíntám phaúkàngká) halíntám phaúkpánmàa takhâteú híngtè anyeú yûnímhânglakà.*

\[
\text{thōmpòk chánt nù káp -àng =ká eú ìng màkhà =tè ngaú =káu}
\]
\[
\text{gun CLF.shot one shoot -DIR =TOP that that time =A.AG say =TOP}
\]
\[
\text{kasà ngaú =káu neineú hà -halák =páng =ták ngaú =pánkuá}
\]
\[
\text{tiger say =TOP little be.hit -roughly =DIR:COS =HS say =as.it.is.the.case}
\]
\[
\text{panáq kasáng yó =pè hà -halák =páng =ták ngaú =pánkuá}
\]
\[
\text{DEM back CLF.ridge =LOC walk -roughly =DIR:COS =HS say =as.it.is.the.case}
\]
\[
\text{halíntám phaúk -àng =ká halíntám phaúk =pán =naá takhâteú}
\]
\[
\text{backward jump.up -DIR =TOP backward jump.up =COS =only at.once}
\]
\[
\text{hìng =tè an =yeù yû nîm -hàng =lakà .}
\]
\[
\text{3SG =A.AG DEM =manner take stay -back =MIR}
\]

'When shot one time, the tiger was hit slightly and got wounded a bit. That is, he got hit slightly in the back and the tiger jumped backward and was looking at him, in this manner.'

39. **yûnímpán pánnù káphângmásà ngâká minlakà saúngpánmásà mînnâ saúngpánmásà.**

\[
yû nîm =pán pán nù káp -hâng =mâsâ ngâ =ká min =lakà
\]
\[
take stay =COS CLF.times one shoot -back =only.if 1SG =TOP awake =MIR
\]
\[
saúng pán =mâsâ min =mâ saúng pán =mâsâ .
\]
\[
two CLF.times =only.if awake =RLS two CLF.times =only.if
\]

'(The tiger) was looking (at him). I became awake only when (he) shot one more time. I became awake only when (he) shot the second time.'
40. saūŋpánmnásà mìnpañnták ngaipánkaú āŋngákhrıtēkā āŋgpanaŋ phónkalııntōng hamūktōnghēuāg
kaūpūpañnaà hamăngŋkā hēq

saūŋ pán = màsā màn = pán = tāk ngaú = pànkaú
two = only.if awake = COS = HS say = as.it.is.the.case

āŋg mākhā = tē = kā āŋg = panáŋ phōn kalūn tōŋg hamūk tōŋg = hāık
that time = A.AG = TOP that = NOM wood tree big under big = ABL

kaú pū = pān = naà hà = màng = kā hēq
curlup emerge = COS = only WH = thing = Q EXCL

"Since (I) woke up only when (he) shot twice, (I) came out, crouching, from the tree (and) yelled, “Hey! What's happening?”"

41. anyeûkā ngaūpāń高峰期 tākshītē hēq anyeû ōmpān kālàkā.

an = yeù = kā ngaǔ = panáŋ = kā tākshi = tē hēq
DEM = manner = TOP say = NOM = TOP finger = A.AG EXCL

"What that's mean?” (He) showed me his fingers like this.’

42. anyeû panáŋ ngaūpāń高峰期 hēngkā ceū mōk tameū anyeûpāń高峰期 kasā kasā hākteúmpinglakā hēngkā.

an = yeù panáŋ ngaū = panáŋ = kā hēng = kā ceū mōk tameū
DEM = manner DEM say = NOM = TOP 3SG = TOP buffalo cow deer

"As for him, (He was showing signs like this means buffalo, cow, deer) he shouted, “This means tiger, tiger, tiger.”"
43. ‘At that time, I was putting on a blanket, and at once (I) jumped into the burning fireplace.’

44. ‘In spite of the fire burning/flaming, the (tiger) came down.’

45. ‘Since he had a torch, I, with a blanket on, jumped at once to his side.’
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46. tátmí hing óm peú =pán =ták ngaù =kaú mà =ning

=TOP 3SG hold keep =COS =HS say =TOP WH =manner

47. Since he had the torch, what (he) said was, “Well, today, you are lucky not to be bitten by the tiger.”

48. ‘Why didn’t the tiger bite you?” “You are lucky.” “Well, it was like the tiger was riding on you. You were right under the log and the tiger was on top of it.”

49. “As it is the case, anyway, where did it go?” “It went to that side.”
49. ñångpà nangpeúpán ngaúmhàtèká hákinglakáé.

ăng =pà nāng peú =pán ngaú mákhà =tè =ká
that =ALL go keep =COS say time =A.AG =TOP

hák -ing =lakà =é .
shout -DIR2 =MIR =SAP

"(It) has gone to that side, that time., then?"

50. maléq nàngpánnaà phón tāmpán hīng kāpmàngpanàdápè yūwà ñångmàhàtèká ngaúkà phátphùng phátyà ngásòmpán lakô.

maléq nāng =pán =naà phón tām =pán hìng kāp -äng =pánàq =pè
1PL go =COS =only wood search =COS 3SG shoot -DIR1 =NOM =LOC

yū -à ñång mákhà =tè =ká ngaúkhà -tè ngaúkà phátphùng phátyà
look -EUPH that time =A.AG =TOP blood -PL as.for disorderly.scattering.around

ngā söm =pán =lakô .
exist used.up =COS =SAP

"After gathering firewood, when we went and looked (at the spot) where the tiger was shot,(there) was blood splattered all over the place."

51. ngaúkhà phátphùng phátyà ngaúkhà ñångningzàng ín phòtèngàung maùng kasà ngaúkhà ínàeziyà.

naúkhà -tè phátphùng phátyà ngaú =ká ñång =nìng =záng ín
blood -PL disorderly.scattering.around say =TOP that =manner =EMPH um.yes!

phòtèngàung maùng kasà ngaúkhà ín= a = zeú =á .
PN boy tiger as.for NEG= NEG= easy =NEG

"When he saw the blood scattered all over like that, my friend, Photeingaung, said, “The tiger is not easy.”"

52. kasàkanà lúthàpán kasà maleú ínchipán kaì anyeù ngaúmà kàtcikalá.

kasà kanà lù -thà =pán kasà maleú ín= chì =pán kaì an =yeù

"The tiger hurt get -must =COS tiger good NEG= true =if well! DEM =manner

656
“The tiger is wounded, it is not normal any more, so let’s getaway/run.”

53. **phónkalùn heądápaanna phónkalùnzaūkpè kasé tôngkwań hitpánnaà lakò kasé tǐntān tǐntānyeù phónkalùnzaūkpè ḫphałá.**

   phón kalùn heū =pán =naa phón kalùn zaük =pè kasé tôngkwań
   wood tree climb =COS =only wood tree on.top =LOC sarong loop

   hit =pán =naa =lakò kasé tǐntān tǐntān =yeù
   hang =COS =only =SAP sarong hanging hanging =manner

   phón kalùn zaük =pè ip =kù =lā .
   wood tree on.top =LOC sleep IRLS =Q

   “Shall we climb up in the tree and hang our longyi (on the tree) and sleep in it?”

54. **ā ngāká maúng phónkalùn aheùhā.**

   ā ngā =kā maúng phón kalùn a = heū -hā =ā .
   oh 1SG =TOP boy wood tree NEG= climb -know.how =NEG

   “Well, I cannot climb the tree.”

55. **anyeù ngaúpánnàkà káttingnaik lakaúé kátcàthāmà**

   an =yeù ngaú pánnàkà kát =ting =naïk =lakaù =é kát -cí =thàmà
   DEM =manner say if run =NOM =only =MIR =SAP run -PL =HORT

   “If that the case, it is a matter of running away. Let’s go.”

56. **anyeù ngaúnímîcímà zàtcà anyeù ngaúnímîcímà apàité maningthàqáld ngaúkaù ìngmàkhàtekà kasà ngaúkà shalát halîngpàhàl wàhànggìng.**

   an =yeù ngaú nîm -cí =mà zàtcà an =yeù
   DEM =manner say stay -PL =RLS between.edge DEM =manner

   ngaú nîm -cí =mà apàí =tè mà =nîng thà =lá ngaú =kaú
   say stay -PL =RLS portion =A.AG WH =manner be =Q say =TOP
While we were talking, what happen during that time (Lit. in that sense/portion) the tiger from behind 'shalat' jumped up again.

57. "wáheúqká “á näng tátmísá iyóklé maúngyeù näng tátmíyaúksà töppán yüwángkákmá lé maúng” ngaúmá.

58. “á näng kasázeú achiyá aheúhàlé”

59. “ànghalíngpàlé nángpánlétá kasákàlé” anyeù ngaúmá.

'(He) said, “The tiger (went) behind.”
60. "achiyá tátmízáng iphângingyók" ngaúpánnà hîngpê tátmí sanâmpánnà hâlingpà anyeù töpmànglakáé.

' ...'

61. "hâlingpà töppánták ngaúpánkàu àngmâtè kasà ngaúkà páktékhaléttóng nímpánnà lakò láng lakò páktékhaléttóng nímpánnà mûngkù weú halângmûnânnà laîntháqtaûningyeù heûhàn heûhàn phyârârátrát phyârârátrát kasà mûngkù kasà mûngkù páktékhaléttóng.

' ...'
62. ngâyítá häkteáppán ângmâkà “hë hë hë aúpè kasâtónglë aúpèlë kasâtónglë” anyeù ngânîmpàng seúê.

ngâ =yî =tá hâk teúp =pán âng mâ =kâ hë hë hë
exist =also =EMPH shout throw =COS that time =TOP ONMT ONMT ONMT

aú =pè kasà tông =lê aú =pè =lê kasà tông =lê an =yeû
here =LOC tiger big =SAP here =LOC =SAP tiger big =SAP DEM =manner

‘Then, I shouted as well, “Hey, hey, hey, tiger! Tiger!, it is here.”, It happened like that.’

63. “hâpèkâ hâpèkâ” hingyítá lakô kápchaútaúwaingpân

hà =pè =kâ hà =pè =kà hëng =yî =tá =lakô
WH =LOC =Q WH =LOC =Q =3SG =also =EMPH =SAP

káp chaû -ta -à -ing =pán
shoot miss LSUFF EUPH -DIR2 =COS

‘Where is it? Where is it?” He again shot and missed it.’

64. ângmâkà “phyét” phaukhángpán “shalât” anyeù eûnàngmâ pännû tophángpán katûnhàngpán.

àng mà =kâ phyét phauk -hâng =pán shalât an =yeû eût -âng =mâ
that time =TOP ONMT jump.up -back =COS ONMT DEM =manner drop -DIR1 =RLS

pán nû tôp -hâng =pán katûngh -hâng =pân .
CLF.times one beam -back =COS see -back =COS

‘Then, “Phyet, phauk”, (sounds of a tiger jumping.) like that, the tiger came down. (We) lit (the torch) again and saw (the tiger) again.’

65. ângningzâng kápchaútaghângpán ahâhânghâpân kasâtè kâpkâ maléqkâ

àng =nîng =zâng kâp chaû -ta -hâng =pân
that =manner =EMPH shoot miss LSUFF -back =DIR1:POS

Neg = be.hit -back -know/how =COS tiger =AAG shoot =TOP 1PL =TOP
a = hâ -hâng -hà =pán kasà =tê kâp =kà maléq =kà

‘Similarly, (we) missed the shot again. (We) shot and were not able to hit the tiger.’
66. tamisā kalīnghū kasātē kāpēkā ahāhānghāpāng.

tamisā kaling hū kasā =tē kāp =kā
human two CLF.person tiger =A.AG shoot =TOP
a = hā -hāng -hā =pāng .
NEG= walk -back -know.how =DIR1:TOP
‘Two people shot at the tiger and were not able to hit (it).’

67. tataitai kāpmandaŋpanāq ngaúkā hīng kāp ngā kāp ā anyeukā īnpāŋnlē maung kātcimāk lé.

tataitai kāp -āng =panāq ngaukā hīng kāp ngā kāp ā an =yeu =kā
ONMT shoot -DIR1 =NOM as.for 3SG shoot 1SG shoot oh DEM =manner =TOP
NEG= true =COS =SAP boy run -PL =HORT =SAP
‘We were shooting, “dadai, dai”, (gun shot sounds) non-stop alternately. (Lit. He shot, I shot), “Well my dear, it is bad, let’s run now.”’

68. anyeukā īnpāŋ (ʉŋpaŋnyītī) talūshīytā sömkapānlē yeu.

an =yeu =kā ìn = chī =pān ūng =panāq =yī =tá
DEM =manner =TOP NEG= if that =NOM also =EMPH
ühlū shī =yī =tá sōm =kapān =lé =yeu .
circle CLT.fruit =also =EMPH used.up =infm =SAP =manner
‘It is bad now and our bullets (Lit. seeds) are running out, as well.”

69. nāng kāp nga kāp sömkapān īnpōpān kātcimākyeu (kātcimāk) anyeukā īnpāŋ maung.

nāng kāp nga kāp sōm =ka pān in = pō =pān kāt -cí =māk =yeu { 2SG shoot 1SG shoot used.up =IRLS =COS NEG= exist =COS run -PL =HORT =SAP
kāt -cí =māk } an =yeu =kā ìn = chī =pān maung .
run -PL =HORT DEM =manner =TOP NEG= if boy
‘The way we are shooting, (we are) going to run out of (bullets). Let’s run. It is bad, my friend”
70. \(\text{āngpê nāng kātphāngkālā ngā kātphāngkālā anyeûlakā.}\)

\(\text{āng } = \text{pê nāng kāt -phāng } = \text{kū } = \text{lā ngā kāt -phāng } = \text{kū } = \text{lā}\)

that \(=\text{LOC 2SG run -prior IRLS } = \text{Q 1SG run -prior IRLS } = \text{Q}\)

\(\text{nāng kātphāngkālā anyeûlakā.}\)

"Do you want to run first or should I?"

71. \(\text{ā nāng kātphāngkū ngaûpānnākā ngā wāntōpīkū.}\)

\(\text{ā nāng kāt -phāng } = \text{kū ngaú pānnākā ngā wān tōp } ñ = \text{kū .}\)

oh \(=\text{2SG run -prior IRLS say if 1SG fire stab/beam give =IRLS}\)

\(\text{wāntōpīkū.}\)

"If you want to run first, I will shine (the torch for you)."

72. \(\text{āngpūn tātmí ngayeûn ñi.}\)

\(\text{āng } = \text{panāq tātmí ngā } = \text{yeûn ñ } -\text{ing .}\)

that \(=\text{NOM torch 1SG =BEN give -DIR2}\)

\(\text{ngayeûn ñi.}\)

"Give that torch to me."

73. \(\text{āngpanāq tātmítè sanāmci̋lākā maûng hingyí lākāk ngāyí lākāk kasà ngaûpānkaú seûé.}\)

\(\text{āng } = \text{panāq tātmí } = \text{tè sanān -cí } = \text{lākā maûng hing } = \text{yí lā -kāk ngā } = \text{yí}\)

that \(=\text{NOM torch =A.AG snatch -PL =MIR boy 3SG =also take -want 1SG =also}\)

\(\text{sanān -cí } = \text{lākā maûng hing } = \text{yí lā -kāk ngā } = \text{yí}\)

\(\text{lākāk ngāyí lākāk tātmí } = \text{tè}\)

\(\text{kasà ngaûpānkaú } = \text{pánkaú } = \text{seûé .}\)

\(\text{take -want tiger say =as.it.is.the.case } = \text{SAP}\)

\(\text{kasà ngaûpānkaú } = \text{pánkaú } = \text{seûé .}\)

"As it was with the case with the tiger, We were grabbing for the torch. We both wanted the torch."

74. \(\text{kasà ngaûpānkaú hingyí lākāk ngāyí lākāk tātmítè sanāmci̋lākā nāngyítà.}\)

\(\text{kasà ngaû } = \text{pánkaú hing } = \text{yí lā -kāk ngā } = \text{yí lā -kāk tātmí } = \text{tè}\)

tiger say \(=\text{as.it.is.the.case 3SG =also take -want 1SG =also take -want torch =A.AG}\)

\(\text{nāngyítà.}\)

\(\text{sanān -cí } = \text{kā nāng } = \text{yí } = \text{tā .}\)

\(\text{snatch -PL =TOP 2SG =also =EMPH}\)

\(\text{sanān -cí } = \text{kā nāng } = \text{yí } = \text{tā .}\)

"Since it was a tiger, we both wanted (the torch) and were grabbing for it.'
As it is the case, "Well, if you don't dare to run, let me run first. Shine the torch onto this tree."

"It has to be first shine the torch to one side and made a couple of shots, this manner "Phaung, Phaung"."

"Only after shooting (one) must run."
Having run to that tree, (I) had to turn back to where he was shining the torch. I had to point my gun off to his side.'

79. "Angningzang hing thokping ngaipannakā ngā kātphängäng ūngpāpē phōnquántē tōphāng phōnquánpē ūngpē kātupānnāā īn āngma khànhēkā hing zaúntahāngping."

Then, after he arrived, I ran first again, and (he) shined the torch onto the tree. I covered myself in the tree (there) and he followed after.'

80. "É aney khāyī maneiiq kalàng kātānhālā ngaūkaū khāyī tōngmaikālāng kātānhāmā tōngmaikālāng."

Well, this manner, how far we had to run was about 3 miles.'
81. anyeù ngaúpánkaú kátká ñngningzáng maléq nímpanaq teúpè thókhángcíping.

As it is the case, having ran, we arrived back at the hut where we were staying.

82. maléq nímpanaq teúpè thókhángcíängká ñngningzáng ip seúqnanáyi náipíyán tachát achingtè thókhéuaqlaká maléq nímpanaq teúpè.

When we reached the hut where we were staying, like that, (We) reached the hut around 12 o'clock.

83. thókhéuaqlká ñngningzáng wān ngaúkaú wāncíngyí méülaká wāncíng kahing kahing kahingyeù shímhá shímhátè ngaúpánnaaku ñngningzáng úngpè wāncíngká kasà míktushiningyeù tiataülakáé.

When we arrived, the charcoal was burning (so hot) because it was in the winter, that the burning charcoal looked like a tiger's eye.
84. **anyeù ngaúpánkaú kasà miktushiningyeù nímpánták ngaúpánkaú wâncing há há há ngâpanáqte ngâká wânpÔtpà mánpân iplaká.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{an} & \quad \text{=yeù} \quad \text{ngaú} \quad \text{=pánkaú} \quad \text{kasà miktushí} \quad \text{=ningyeù} \quad \text{ním} \quad \text{=pán} \quad \text{=ták} \\
\text{DEM} & \quad \text{=manner} \quad \text{say} \quad \text{=as.it.is.the.case} \quad \text{tiger} \quad \text{eyeball} \quad \text{=manner} \quad \text{stay} \quad \text{=COS} \quad \text{=HS} \\
\text{ ngaú} & \quad \text{=pánkaú} \quad \text{wâncing há há há ngâ} \quad \text{=panáq} \quad \text{=tè} \quad \text{ngâ} \quad \text{=kâ} \\
\text{say} & \quad \text{=as.it.is.the.case} \quad \text{charcoal} \quad \text{red red red red exist} \quad \text{=NOM} \quad \text{=A.AG} \quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{=TOP} \\
\text{wânpôt} & \quad \text{=pà} \quad \text{mán} \quad \text{=pán} \quad \text{ip} \quad \text{=lakà} \\
\text{fire.place} & \quad \text{=ALL} \quad \text{face} \quad \text{=COS} \quad \text{sleep} \quad \text{=MIR} \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘As it is the case, as it is the case that burning charcoal was really red and resembles a tiger’s eyes. I was sleeping facing the fireplace.’

85. **wânpôt pà mánpân îppánkaú in àngningzàng àngpanáqtàa împângthipánnàa mínyí mining împângthipà ñaûkyeúpánnàa takhâteë wântû ngâkpânnaa wânpôtë tânëîmpâmângkà ngayàuìk împákciîpaàq tamisâtàák ngaúkà ñaûkyeúpàn lâkò hamângkâlâ màùng é kasàtônglë kasàtônglë anyeû lâkò ngângthâmà.**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wânpôt} & \quad \text{=pà} \quad \text{mán} \quad \text{=pán} \quad \text{ip} \quad \text{=pánkaú} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{àng} \quad \text{=ning} \quad \text{=záng} \\
\text{fire.place} & \quad \text{=ALL} \quad \text{COGN} \quad \text{=COS} \quad \text{sleep} \quad \text{=as.it.is.the.case} \quad \text{um.yes! that} \quad \text{=manner} \quad \text{=EMPH} \\
\text{àng} & \quad \text{=panáq} \quad \text{=tè} \quad \text{împângthí} \quad \text{=pán} \quad \text{=naà min} \quad \text{=yí min} \quad \text{-ïng} \\
\text{that} & \quad \text{=NOM} \quad \text{=A.AG} \quad \text{dream} \quad \text{=COS} \quad \text{=only awake} \quad \text{=also awake} \quad \text{=DIR2} \\
\text{împângthí} & \quad \text{=pán phàûk yeú} \quad \text{=pán} \quad \text{=naà takhâteë wântû} \\
\text{dream} & \quad \text{=COS} \quad \text{jump.up} \quad \text{get.up} \quad \text{=COS} \quad \text{=only.at.once burning.faggot} \\
\text{ngâk} & \quad \text{=pán} \quad \text{=naà wânpôt} \quad \text{=tè} \quad \text{tàn} \quad \text{teúp} \quad \text{-àng} \quad \text{=kâ} \quad \text{ngâ} \quad \text{=yaûk} \\
\text{lift.up} & \quad \text{=COS} \quad \text{=only fire.place} \quad \text{=A.AG} \quad \text{beat} \quad \text{throw} \quad \text{=DIR1} \quad \text{=TOP} \quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{=COM} \\
\text{ip} & \quad \text{-à} \quad \text{-cì} \quad \text{=panáq tamisà} \quad \text{-tàk ngaúkà phàûk yeú} \quad \text{=pán} \quad \text{=lakò} \\
\text{sleep} & \quad \text{-EUPH} \quad \text{-PL} \quad \text{=NOM} \quad \text{human} \quad \text{-PL} \quad \text{as.for} \quad \text{jump.up} \quad \text{get.up} \quad \text{=COS} \quad \text{=SAP} \\
\text{hà} & \quad \text{=màng} \quad \text{=kà} \quad \text{ngâ} \quad \text{=lakò} \quad \text{é} \quad \text{kasà tông} \quad \text{=lé} \quad \text{kasà tông} \quad \text{=lé} \\
\text{WH} & \quad \text{=thing} \quad \text{=Q} \quad \text{1SG} \quad \text{=SAP} \quad \text{yes} \quad \text{tiger} \quad \text{big} \quad \text{=SAP} \quad \text{tiger} \quad \text{big} \quad \text{=SAP} \\
\end{align*}
\]
While I slept facing the fireplace, (I) was dreaming (talk or act in one’s sleep) about (it) and woke up. When (I) jumped up at once and held up the burning stick and beat the fire, the people who were sleeping with me stood up and (asked), “What's the matter?” (I shouted) “Tiger, tiger.” It happened just like that.

86. **àn ánga** t'ai halángyamàkà à maléqkà manákkceúkà hék kasa káppéúmà liyákciálá ngaúłakà.

**àn áng** = haí t'ai haláng yá mà = kà à maléq = ká

**um. yes! that** =ABL morning head bright time =TOP oh 1PL =TOP

**manákkceú** = ká hék kasa káp peú = mā li à -cil = kū = lá

**last.night** = TOP EXCL tiger shoot keep = RLS come -EUPH -PL IRLS = Q

**ngāú** = laka .

**say** = MIR

ijkl ilik: 

‘In the morning, (we) said, “Well, last night we shot a tiger. Do you want to come (along)?”’

87. **ā nāngkkákmá liyákci.**

**ā nāng** à - kák = mā li à - cil .

**oh go** = EUPH want = RLS come - EUPH - PL

**“Well, we want to go.” “(Then) come.”**

88. **maléq pheúyangpanaq phaikhú phaiktá kámmáká útpeúpán seu máung àngpè.**

**maléq** pheú - āng = panáq phaikhú phaiktá kámmáká út peú = pán = seu

**1PL carry** = DIR1 = NOM carriers ATTW sort.of.things abandon keep = COS = SAP

**máung àng** = pè .

**boy that** = LOC

‘We left all of our stuff we brought there, my friend.’
89. zaūŋ kámákà hamàngkà shithaúng kámákà hamàngkazeú alāhāngingá

zaūŋ kámákà hà =màng =kà shithaúng kámákà

blanket sort.of.things WH =thing =Q bag sort.of.things

hà =màng =kà =zeú a lā -háng -ing =á

‘...blankets, bags, and so on. (We) brought nothing back.’

90. sàt kámákà àngpanáq tékshī zalūng kámákà tékshī kámákà hamàngkazeú alāhāngingá.

sàt kámákà àng =panáq tékshī zalūng kámákà tékshī kámákà husked.rice sort.of.things that =NOM pot sink sort.of.things pot sort.of.things

hà =màng =kà =zeú a lā -háng -ing =á .

‘Rice, pot, sink, and so on. (We) brought nothing back.’

91. àŋgpe úteúmá

àng =pè úr peú =má that =LOC abandon keep =RLS

‘We left everything there.’

92. hamàngkazáng ngaútìtà lāhāngcíàngmák

hà =màng =kà =záng ngaú =tí =tá lā -háng -cí -àng =mák

‘“Whatever happen (Lit. whatever people may say), let’s go and take them back.”’

93. tamisā kāuphòtnàngthàmā.

tamisā kāu -phòt -àng =thāmā .

human call -add.more -DIR =HORT

‘Let’s call some more people.’
94. *hamāngkasān ngaautā lāhāngcangmāk*

```
hamāngkasān ngaautā lāhāngcangmāk
= māng = kā = zāng ngaautā = tī = tā lā - hāng - cāng = māk
```

Whatever happen (Lit. whatever people may say) says, let’s go and take them back.

95. *tamīsā kaūphōtnāngthāmā.*

```
tamīsā kaū - phōt - āng = thāmā.
human call - add.more - DIR1 = HORT
```

Let’s call some more people.

96. *āngningsā tamīsā kaūphōtnāngkā ā ci kaūwāngmanaik lakaų ngaucīlakāē*

```
āng = nīng = zāng tamīsā kaū - phōt - āng = kā ā cī
that = manner = EMPH human call - add.more - DIR1 = TOP oh dog
āng = nīng = zāng tamīsā kaū - phōt - āng = kā ā cī
kaū - āng = manāik = lakaų ngaautā - cī = lakaū = ē
say - DIR1 = only.if = MIR - PL = MIR = SAP
```

When we called some more people, (some) said, “Well, shall we take dogs?”

97. *kaū seū ci meūpānnākāyeū*

```
kaū = seū ci meū pānnākā = yeū
call = SAP dog good if = SAP
```

“Yes, bring them, if they are good.”

98. *ci lē ngā shīkāting ciwātōngtē lākō lē ngā shīkāting kaūpānnaā zaunhāngcangmā.*

```
ci lē ngā shīt kaūng ci wā tōng = tē = lākō lē ngā shīt kaūng
dog four five eight CLF.animal dog male big = PL = SAP four five eight CLF.animal
kaū = pān = naa zaun - hāng - cāng = mā.
call = COS = only follow.after - back - PL:DIR1 = RLS
```

There were four, five, even eight dogs (only male dogs) and (we) took (them) and followed after (the tiger).’
99. *úŋpè thökká kasà anáŋqê túmpáppánlakà ciká aíng aíng aíng aíngyeù ngàpán.*

> When we reached there, (the dog) got the scent of the tiger and cried, “Aíng! Aíng! Aíng!”

100. *úŋpè ci nùwà aíng úŋpè ci nùwà “aíng aíng aíng” aíngyeù ngàpán.*

> The dogs, one here and one there, cried, “Aíng! Aíng! Aíng!”

101. *“yaū ā citákká maúŋ ngímzàk ngážàkká maúŋ maúŋ ngásōmanglá”*

> “Oh, what’s the matter with these dogs, without any treat they are crying (Lit. while simply staying)”

102. *tamisà paìkhāl lakò īnkhwātapán seú citákká háning ngásōmangláyeù.*

> “The dogs won’t leave the people. What’s the matter with these dogs?”
103. ăngningzāng à taūpānlé maingtā malēq eûpeûpín malēq shīthaung kāmākā lápānnaà lakō kātcīmāklē.

'Finally, “Well, that's enough. Let's take our bags back and so on and run”.'

104. innatōngkā ngāheúqkūlēyeù

‘Later, (the) tiger may come back (Lit. will exist again).’

105. “azaúnzōnshīk {azaúnzōnshīkyeù} anāq paikpē ngāmā.”

‘Don't go after it. It is still around.’

106. “lāmzā anāngpheùyā anāqpaikpē ngāmā.”

‘(I) suppose (it) didn't go far. It is still around.’

107. anyeù ngaúpānkaú kātcīmāk kāt lihāngcīthāmā kāt pān lihāngcīthāmā.

‘As it is the case, “Let's run”. We came running.’
1. *nwēyēk kayāpāpē yākkā cwēūq tāmāngkū.*

nwēyēk kayā = pā = pē yāk = kā cwēūq tām -āng = kū

PN mountain = ALL = LOC now = TOP wild.yam search -DIR1 = IRLS

‘Now, I will go and look for wild yams in the Nweyek mountain area.’

2. *cwēūq katākāngmā nwēyēk kayāpāpē häyākpheuyāŋgkū.*

cwēūq katāk -āng = mâ nwēyēk kayā = pā = pē
wild,yam rare -DIR1 = RLS PN mountain = ALL = LOC

hā yākpheū -āng = kū .
walk indiscriminately -DIR1 = IRLS

‘It is very rare/difficult to find wild yams. I will simply go to Nweyek mountain.’

3. *aungtānnweūtāk mahāngpāpē tāmāngkū yākkā āng alēuqāpē.*

aungtānnweū -tāk mahāng = pā = pē tām -āng = kū yāk = kā āng
PN -PL that.thing = ALL = LOC search -DIR1 = IRLS now = TOP that
alēuq = pā = pē .
portion = ALL = LOC

‘I will go to Aungtannwe's -that (field) side of that area.’

4. *zaūhā ngāmāo cwēūqyūtā katākāngmā.*

zaūhā ngā = mâ ò cwēūq = yĪ = tā katāk -āng = mâ .
thorn exist = RLS EXCL wild.yam = also = EMPH rare -DIR1 = RLS

‘Oh there are thorns (in that area). Wild yam, as well, is very rare.’
5. àngnáqtè thúpánnaà lúpering kalíntaút sómtaút kāpmàngthàkù.

ang = panaq = tè thū = pán = naà là = ping kalíng taút sóm taút

that = NOM = A.AG dig = COS = only get = DIRz:COS two CLF.piece three CLF.piece

kāp - áng - thà = kū .

peel - DIR1 - must = IRLS

'After digging (it) up, (I) got two or three pieces. (I) will peel the skin.'

6. kāppánnaà {mahāng} weú phau.

kāp = pán = naà { mahāng } weú phau .

peel = COS = only that.thing water wash

weú phau zí = pán = naà yīp .

water wash finish = COS = only slice

'After peeling the skin, wash it with water.'

7. weú phauzipánnaà yīp.

weú phau zí = pán = naà yīp .

water wash finish = COS = only slice

'After washing it with water, slice it.'

8. yipphàngángkū yākkā yipzipán weú pám.

yīp - pháng - áng = kū yāk = kā yīp zí = pán weú pám .

slice - prior - DIR1 = IRLS now = TOP slice finish = COS water soak

'slice. Now, I will first slice (it). After slicing (them), soak them in the water.'

9. weú pámká yāātè pānnù weú kazeūháng păm'háng weú kazeūháng păm'háng shi háwàn pám.

weú pám = kā yāā = tè pám nù weú kazeū - háng pám - háng weú

water soak = TOP one.day = A.AG CLF.times one water wash - back soak - back water

kazeū - háng pám - háng shi há wàn pám .

wash - back soak - back four five CLF.day soak

'When soaking, wash them once a day and soak in the water again. Do this for four or five days.'
10. *shi háwàn pámsípáannaá lápmá thóng zángpánnaá {maháng} pámhángàngkú.*

After soaking in the water for four to five days, add lime and soak in the water one more time.

11. *thóng zángpán pámsí pámhángpán.*

After adding lime, soak in the water. (I) have finished/done that.

12. *yökszántàngkú yàkká ayökmeú yökmeýeú weú nyíttáupánnà yàkkátè pànnù yàkkátè pànnuká ömpeúpán hing.*

Let me try it now, (to see) whether it is good to eat or not, (I) am done sifting water once a day.

13. *weú caíkpeúpán thóng zángpánnaà weú kazeú weú kazeúháng pámhángkú ömpeúpán.*

I have changed the water and added lime, washed them many times, and soaked them again.
14. Weú pánkà aneúq ngaúpán lūthaikkà cáqtapán {hīng} {ngázán} ngázaútàngmanaík.

weú pám = ká an = neúq ngaú = pán lū thaík = ká
water soak = TOP DEM = as.much.as say = if get should = TOP
cáq = pán { hīng } { ngá zán } ngá zán -ta -àng = manaík.
cost/fall LSUFF = COS 3SG steam test steam test L.SUFF -DIR1 = only,if

'Soaking in the water should be enough. Let me try to steam it.'

15. Ó aceúkū zàkmā léqō àntān hàmzáng ngáàngkūlé phón taúpmàngkónlé.

ó aceú = kū zāk = mā = lēo àntān -hām = zāng ngā âng = kū = lé
EXCL vomit =IRLS afraid RLS = SAP quite -be.excess = EMPH steam that =IRLS = SAP
phón taúp -âng = kōn = lé.
wood end -DIR1 = so.as.to = SAP

'Oh I am afraid of vomitting (if the yam is not boil well, it can make someone sick), (Let me) steam it more until we use all the firewood.'

16. Waték tónphàngàngmanaík waték tóng.

waték tóng -phàng -âng = manaík waték tóng.
steam.pot place -prior -DIR1 = only,if steam.pot place

'Let me place the steamer.'

17. Waték tónzipánínaà àngnáqtè waleú kazíp

waték tóng zí = pán = naà âng = panáq = tè waleú kazíp
steam.pot place finish = COS = only that = NOM = A.AG liquid wring

'After placing the pot, squeeze/sieve (the water out).'

18. Kazít ngápánínaà yàkkà yahúngpè záng wasáp sáp

kazíp ngā = pán = naà yàk = ká yahúng = pè záng wasáp sáp
wring exist = COS = only now = TOP steamer = LOC put.in sponge.gourd spread

'After squeezing/sieving (the water), now add in the steamer. Spread out the sponge gourd (in the steamer).'
19. **wasáp sáppánnaà cwēúqtè kazíppán záng.**

   *After spreading out the sponge gourd, squeeze/sieve the water from the wild yam and add (them).*

20. **àngnáqțè zángpánnaà ngá.**

   *After adding (the) steam.*

21. **ngáhàneúq ngá {ngámanaík} ngápánnaà maháng ōm.**

   *Steam as much as (you can). After that, do that.*

22. **{yōkkúpanáqțè} yàkká óngshi kámàkà wánpaikpeúpánmanaík ngáphángthàkú àngnáqțè ngá.**

   *Now (I) will break the coconut. {(The yam) first needs to be steamed (before you break/cut the coconut).}*

23. **óngshi wánpaik chít salaú zítsá záng.**

   *Break and shred the coconut and add a little bit of oil.*
24. *salaú zítsaq zángpánna òngshisshaúk mashaúk zünshaúk zángpán neútaúpán yók.*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{oil} & = \text{COS} & \text{few put in} & = \text{only coconut} & \text{CLT fruit} & = \text{DIM:COM WH} & \text{= DIM:COM} \\
\text{zún} & = \text{shaúk} & \text{záng} & = \text{pán neú -ta} & \text{= pán yók .} \\
\text{salt} & = \text{DIM:COM put in} & \text{= COS area LSUFF} & \text{= COS eat} \\
& & & & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘After adding some oil, add shredded coconut, salt and so on, and mix (it) and eat (it).’

25. *taúppàng seú maúng yàkká*

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{taúp} & = \text{páng} & \text{= seú maúng yàk} & = \text{ká} \\
\text{end} & = \text{DIRT: COS} & \text{= SAP boy now} & = \text{TOP} \\
& & & & & & \\
\end{align*}
\]

‘(This is) the end, my dear.’
References


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