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STUDIES IN BURMESE LANGUAGES

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This volume contains four papers on Burmese linguistics.

The first paper, by John Okell, describes the phonology and grammatical markers and provides texts of three major dialects: Arakanese, Intha and Tavoyan. None of these has been comprehensively described before. The sections on these dialects follow a parallel format. They are preceded by a short foreword giving the conventions adopted, and followed by a collected set of references.

Arakanese, with approximately two million speakers, is the state language of Rakhine (formerly Arakan) State in Burma and is also spoken by a substantial minority in south-eastern Bangladesh and parts of north-eastern India. The dialect has been separate from standard Burmese for approximately five centuries. Until two centuries ago Arakan was also politically separate from Burma. The speakers in Bangladesh and India migrated from Arakan during these two centuries: the Marma immediately after the Burmese conquest in the 1780s, and the ‘Mogh' or ‘Magh' more recently. Okell’s paper gives comprehensive references to the previous literature on this dialect; for a recent description of the phonology in a historical context see Bradley (1985).

Intha, spoken by about 90,000 people around In-lè lake in the south-eastern part of the Shan State in eastern central Burma, is even more different from standard Burmese. Okell’s paper in this volume is the first comprehensive description of this dialect, which is surrounded by speakers of Karen, Shan and other languages. In the same general area are two other dialects of Burmese, Danu and Taungyo, which remain virtually undescribed; but see Luce (1985) and Yabu (1981) for some limited data. The Intha, Danu and Taungyo probably represent the vestiges of early Burman settlement in the valleys and low hills to the east of the central plain. The main body of Burmans conquered the plains from the Pyu, Mon and other groups about a millennium ago, leaving these dialects in the hills to the east, as well as Hpun (Luce 1985, Henderson 1986) along the Irrawaddy north of Bhamo. A further group of closely related Burmish languages includes Maru, Atsi, Lashi and Ngochang, further to the north-east along the border between Burma and China; these groups have been assimilated into the Kachin/Shan culture complex described in Leach (1954). Yaw, another distinctive dialect of Burmese, is spoken in a valley to the west of the central plain; Okell (1989) has provided a comprehensive study of this dialect in the same format as the three major sections of his paper in this volume.

The third dialect discussed by Okell is Tavoyan, spoken along the coast of south-eastern Burma by about 400,000 people. Like Arakanese, it has often been politically separate from central Burma; Tavoy was a bone of contention between the Thais and the Burmans for many centuries. Again, Okell’s paper here provides the first comprehensive description of this dialect. For further details of the location and populations of the various varieties of Burmese and Burmish languages, see Bradley (1994).
All three dialects described here have a very valuable contribution to make to the study of the history of Burmese and the Burmish languages. Each preserves contrasts absent from modern standard Burmese and in a few cases even from the earliest inscriptive records of Old Burmese starting at the beginning of the twelfth century AD. On the other hand all are now under strong influence from standard Burmese, which is disseminated through education, government and the media, and so most speakers are bidialectal. This leads to a fascinating pattern of sociolinguistic influence from the standard into the other dialects, which is occasionally seen in the data provided here by Okell and can be much more pervasive in the speech of younger or more assimilated dialect speakers. This dialect contact situation is briefly summarised in Bradley (forthcoming) but awaits further detailed study.

The following two papers, by Bradley and by Thein-Tun, discuss aspects of the syntax of standard Burmese. Bradley’s paper is a comprehensive synchronic description of the three main reflexive constructions in Burmese which also sets these constructions in the historical context of early Burmese inscriptions and briefly compares reflexives in closely related Tibeto-Burman languages. This data has never been observed or collected before. In fact there has been confusion and disagreement in the prescriptive grammar of Burmese about the form of one of the three reflexives, which this study resolves.

Thein-Tun’s paper concerns the classification of verbs. Starting from the exhaustive study by Okell (1969), he reclassifies intransitive verbs according to their meaning and argues against the mixed structural and functional description provided by Okell.

The final paper in the volume provides the first modern phonological description of Burma’s only Austronesian language, Moken, spoken off the southern coast of Burma in the same general area as the Tavoyan dialect of Burmese. The Moken are a nomadic seafaring group also found in Thailand, with an outlying southern village on Phuket island. Known in Burmese as Saloun, elsewhere they are included in the wider category of coastal fishermen known in Thai as chao thalee, and in Malay as orang laut, (both meaning ‘people of the sea’).

All of the papers use the same conventions for transliterating written Burmese and transcribing spoken Burmese; these are described here.

TRANSLITERATION

Burmese has an Indic orthography adapted from Mon at the beginning of the twelfth century AD. Orthographic forms, both inscriptive and modern, are represented in bold typeface transliteration here, according to the following system. This differs in some minor respects from the transliteration often used in the epigraphical literature; the changes make this transliteration more parallel to the modern transcriptions and probably more accurately reflect the early pronunciation. The following table follows the traditional order of citation.

---

vi  DAVID BRADLEY
The medial l clusters are absent from the modern standard orthography, but Intha and Tavoyan preserve them, paralleling their use in early inscriptions. Similarly, Arakanese preserves r, initial and medial, which remains in the modern orthography but not in the standard spoken language. Medial w clusters exist with most of the above consonants and clusters, preceding the rhymes a e ai/ay am an ag ap at ak. Voiced stops are very infrequent in early inscriptions and still relatively infrequent in modern orthography, but juncture voicing has created a large number of voiced stops in the spoken language. There are special letters for certain combinations of glottal stop plus vowel, as in most Indic writing systems. There are also some additional consonants representing Indic retroflexes, but these are not used in native Burmese vocabulary. In addition, the nasals and sonorants exist in voiceless versions; these are written with a subscript h, and transliterated here with a preceding h.

The orthographic rhymes can be divided into three categories: open-syllable, nasal-final and stop-final. In open-syllable rhymes, the Indic distinction between long and short vowels is used to represent tonal differences: a short vowel (where available) represents the ‘creaky’ tone, while a long vowel is used for the ‘heavy’ and ‘low’, ‘level’ or ‘even’ tones. In early inscriptions somewhat different conventions (shown in parentheses below) are used for spelling some of the open-syllable rhymes, with considerable variation at the earliest stages. The hyphen represents the position of the syllable-initial consonant or cluster relative to the vowel indications.
The nasal-final and stop-final rhymes are almost exactly parallel. Final \( m \) is written in two different ways, depending on the vowel and tone; this distinction is purely orthographic, is not consistently followed in early inscriptions, and is not indicated below.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{o} & \quad \text{u} \\
\text{a} & \quad \text{e} \\
\text{ay} & \quad \text{ai}
\end{align*}
\]

Tones in Burmese, which contrast on all but stop-final syllables, are orthographically represented in a variety of ways:

- short \( V \) are ‘creaky’ (\( i \ u \ a \))
- long \( V \) are ‘level/even/low’ (\( ï \ ù \ ä \))
- \( V \) (no diacritic) are ‘level/even/low’ (\( e \ u \ i \) and nasal-finals)
- long \( V + \) are ‘heavy’ (\( ï: ù: ä: e: ui: \) and nasal-finals)
- following subscript \( \) are ‘creaky’ (for \( e. o. ui. ai. \) and nasal-finals)

\( ai \ o \) are ‘heavy’; \( ay \ ù \) are ‘level/even/low’

The phonetic characteristics of the tones of early Burmese are a matter of debate. Bradley (1982) discusses their historical status and hypothesises an early register system. Thein-Tun (1982) describes their current acoustic characteristics, which include pitch, contour, phonation, duration and intensity characteristics as well as vowel quality effects in a package which Bradley (1982) calls “tonation”.

The use of \( \) for the ‘heavy’ tone is rare in early inscriptions, but has been consistent for several centuries now. Many other inconsistencies in the representation of the tones and vowels occur in the earliest inscriptions.
TRANSCRIPTION

A broad phonetic transcription is used for modern spoken standard Burmese in this volume. The following chart shows the modern initials.

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
\text{p} & \text{py} & \text{t} & \text{s} & \text{c} & \text{k} & \\
\text{ph} & \text{phy} & \text{th} & \text{sh} & \text{ch} & \text{kh} & \\
\text{b} & \text{by} & \text{d} & \text{z} & \text{j} & \text{g} & \\
\text{m} & \text{my} & \text{n} & \text{ñ} & \text{η} & \\
\text{hm} & \text{hmy} & \text{hn} & \text{hñ} & \text{hŋ} & \\
\theta & h & \\
(ð) & \\
\text{w} & \text{l} & \text{y} & \\
(hw) & hl & f & \\
\end{array}
\]

The sounds /hw/ and /ð/ are marginal. The former is found mainly in literary words. The latter is exclusively the product of juncture voicing, which in normal speech produces voiced stops and fricatives from the voiceless ones, aspirated or unaspirated, when another syllable of any type other than stop-final within the same juncture group immediately precedes it. Diachronically, almost all of the voiced stops and fricatives are secondary and most are transparently derived from current voiceless counterparts.

The rhymes of modern spoken Burmese, like those of written Burmese, can be divided into three sets: oral, nasalised and stop-final. The following chart shows these in the broad phonetic transcription used here.

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{oral} & \text{i} & \text{u} & \\
\text{e} & \text{ə} & \text{o} & \\
\varepsilon & \text{ə} & \\
\text{a} & \\
\text{nasalised} & \text{in} & \text{un} & \\
\text{ein} & \text{oun} & \\
\text{ain} & \text{aun} & \\
\text{stopped} & i' & u' & \\
\text{ei'} & \text{ou'} & \\
\varepsilon' & \\
\text{ai'} & \text{au'} & \\
\text{a'} & \\
\end{array}
\]

\footnote{In the papers by Okell and Bradley, juncture voicing is indicated as used in normal tempo speech. In extremely careful speech there is less voicing, and in rapid speech there is more. Thein-Tun’s paper does not indicate juncture voicing.}
For narrow phonetic details of the rhymes of Burmese, see Thein-Tun (1982) and Bradley (1985).

The usual description of standard Burmese includes three tones, usually called:

- creaky
- level or low or even
- heavy

These three contrast in open and nasal syllables. In addition, there is a fourth alternative, stop-final, which is the only possibility for syllables with a final stop. This final stop is a glottal stop in isolation, but assimilates to a following consonant within the juncture group in place of articulation. Furthermore, non-final syllables in a two or more syllable word have an additional alternative, called ‘weak’ or ‘reduced’, which consists of an initial consonant plus the vowel /ə/; again there is no tonal contrast for this syllable type; it represents a neutralisation of vowel and tonal contrasts. Such syllables are often written in ways which reflect their earlier full-syllable status; hence the term ‘reduced’. The characteristics of these five types of syllable are shown in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Pitch</th>
<th>Contour</th>
<th>Phonation</th>
<th>Duration</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>creaky</td>
<td>high</td>
<td>level</td>
<td>creaky</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>(variable glottal stop)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>level/even/low</td>
<td>low</td>
<td>level</td>
<td>normal</td>
<td>very long</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>mid/high</td>
<td>falling</td>
<td>breathy</td>
<td>very long</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stopped</td>
<td>very high</td>
<td>level</td>
<td>normal</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>stop (glottal or other)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak</td>
<td>(varies)</td>
<td>level</td>
<td>normal</td>
<td>very short</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the broad transcription used here, heavy tone is indicated by a grave accent over the vowel of the syllable; creaky tone is indicated by an acute accent; level/even/low tone is unmarked, as are weak/reduced syllables where there is no tonal opposition. Stopped syllables are represented with a following ‘.’

PROPER NAMES

There are various ways in which Burmese people romanise proper names for persons, places and so on. In this volume, the normal English conventions for the most usual place names are followed: Burma for the country, Burmese for the language, Burman for people who speak this language natively and are of Burmese race, Rangoon for the capital, and so on. The government introduced new English versions of some of these names in 1989, including Myanmar for Burma and Burmese, Yangon for the capital, and so on. These are not widely used outside the country.

Traditional Burmese names do not contain a surname. Each individual’s own preferred romanisation of his own name is followed; where this is not known, and for village names, the name is transcribed as described above. Most of the place and personal names which do not use the transcription adopt the following conventions, which completely avoid phonetic symbols.
In such representations the tones are usually unmarked; other contrasts such as aspiration may also be omitted. For example, the author of one of the papers in this volume is /θœin thûn/ in transcription, but the author prefers to refer to himself as Thein-Tun, not Thein Thun.

REFERENCES


THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

JOHN OKELL

University of London

1. FOREWORD

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

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

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

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

1.1 SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

A. Abbreviations for dialects

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

B. Abbreviations for references

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

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

C. Abbreviations for form classes and syntactic functions

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

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

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

2. ARAKANESE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

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

2.1.1 LOCATION AND NUMBERS

Arakan (AR /Ro’-khain/, SB /Yəkhain/; the English romanisation was officially altered to ‘Rakhine’ in 1989) is a narrow coastal strip on the west of Burma, some 300 miles long and 50 to 20 miles wide. It is much intersected by steep and thickly wooded mountain spurs, and by rivers, which provide the best means of communication; and it is separated from the
central plains by a range of mountains, the Arakan Yò-má, along which the administrative boundary runs today.

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

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

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

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

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

The available early population figures are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arakanese</td>
<td>50,163</td>
<td>247,691</td>
<td>221,945</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yàn-byè</td>
<td>59,024</td>
<td>250,018</td>
<td>326,642</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaung-thà</td>
<td>64,531</td>
<td>9,052</td>
<td>34,625</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>149,547</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaman [?]</td>
<td>1,211</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>c.100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>324,386</td>
<td>506,761</td>
<td>583,212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The divergences indicate the unreliability of the early figures, but when these are compared with those for other dialects of Burmese, one point that does emerge clearly is that, next to SB, AR has the largest number of speakers in the group. The 1983 Census of Burma enumerated 1,536,725 ‘Rakhine’; a current estimate would be over two million speakers including the ‘Mogh’ in India and Bangladesh and the Marma in Bangladesh.

2.1.2 BACKGROUND

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

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

2.1.3 THE ‘PURITY’ OF ARAKANESE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arakanese</th>
<th>Standard Burmese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>shyac-che</td>
<td>hrac-chay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pīi</td>
<td>pe:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuīn</td>
<td>caañ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jā-kui lā:</td>
<td>bhay-kui swā:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1521 inscription: Forchhammer 1891:38)
(1594 inscription: Forchhammer 1891:39 and Ou’-ka Min-ño 1968:9)
(Forchhammer 1891:39)
(c.1800 poem: Rwein-dá 1959:254)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arakanese</th>
<th>Standard Burmese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kampay</td>
<td>not *kampe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrwe</td>
<td>*hrwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swā:</td>
<td>*lā:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhay</td>
<td>*jā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1521 inscription)
(1594 inscription)
(1800 poem: 256)
(1800 poem: 256)

The inconsistency makes it difficult to appreciate fervent exclamations such as: “In this poem the Kin Hsaya writes paññā-hi [instead of paññāhyl], so unmistakably revealing his Arakanese origins. He deserves high praise for this unswerving loyalty and love for his race” (Rwein-dá 1959:251).
Articles written since the war in a spirit of linguistic revivalism come nearer to reproducing the Arakanese dialect in writing. They use some spellings designed to show AR pronunciations (mainly \( \bar{i} \) for \( e \)), and AR forms (e.g. \( hi, kha, pain, r\bar{a} \) for WB \( hri/hyi, khai, lui, s\bar{a} \)), but unfortunately these are often interspersed throughout (e.g. Bá Òadin 1968) with suffixes appropriate to formal Burmese and not used in colloquial AR (e.g. \( sa\bar{n}\bar{n}, so, sui, e\bar{n}, so-la\bar{n}\bar{n} \)), which destroys the authenticity of the text. Even where this difficulty is largely avoided (e.g. Aun Myá 1968), Burmese script is an unsuitable medium for the purpose and inconsistencies occur. For example: if \( te \) for AR \( /te/ = WB t\bar{a}y \), why not \( le \) for AR \( /le/ = WB lay \)? And why keep the two spellings \( ac \) and \( uik \) for the one rhyme AR \( /ai/ \)? This approach is hardly better than the ‘eh ba goom’ style of writing for northern English.

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

2.1.5 SOURCE OF MATERIAL

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

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

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

2.1.6 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express here my deep gratitude to Ú Òa Hnin, who recorded so clearly for me in Sit-twe, and to Dó Má Òa Sein, who recorded in Myó-haung; to Ú Òun Tin and Ú Bá Òein of Sit-twe, who helped with the transcription and patiently answered questions; to Dr Hlá Myin, who housed, fed and looked after me in Sit-twe, and Dó Òan Òan for her hospitality and helpful suggestions; to Dr È, who not only fed me throughout my stay in Kyauk-taw, but found time, in spite of a dauntingly heavy professional load, to arrange accommodation, show me round, find suitable informants, entertain me and look after my every need; to Ú Thun Hlain, also of Kyauk-taw, for advice and encouragement; to Ú Ú Òa Thun who kindly gave up time to be my guide and counsellor in Myó-haung; to Ú Aun Pyé
Zoun, attendant at the Myô-hâung circuit house, whose generosity took him far beyond the bounds of duty in helping me in innumerable ways, and finally to all the others, not least the committee of the Arakanese Culture Association, who put themselves out to give me advice and see that I found what I was looking for.

2.2 OUTLINE PHONOLOGY
2.2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY
2.2.1.1 TONES

heavy /+/
creaky /+/
low /+/
stop /+’/
weak /ə/

2.2.1.2 RHYMES

Open syllables: weak
   full  i  e  (ɛ)  ø  ø  ø  ø  u

Closed syllables: nasal ein en ain aun on oon
   stop ei’ e’ ai’ au’ o’ ou’

2.2.1.3 HEADS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phoneme</th>
<th>with medial /yl/</th>
<th>with medial /rl/</th>
<th>with medial /wl/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>by</td>
<td>gr</td>
<td>br</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>py</td>
<td>kr</td>
<td>pr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>phy</td>
<td>khr</td>
<td>phr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>th</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>my</td>
<td>gr</td>
<td>mr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hŋ</td>
<td>hmy</td>
<td>(?hgr)</td>
<td>hmr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hñ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(’) l</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ly)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>hl</td>
<td>hw</td>
<td>hr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hly)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2 PHONEME DESCRIPTION

Phonemes are as for SB except as set out below:
/ein, ei’; oun, ou’/: the vowels here are sometimes less diphthongal than in SB – sometimes close enough for open-syllable /i, u/ to be mistaken for them in rapid speech. Some speakers use the non-diphthongal pronunciation more than others, and some use both.
/en, e′/: vowel as in SB /e′/
/on, o′/: open back rounded vowel; more open than the vowel in RP English John
/r, hr/: apical flapped or rolled; voiced and breathed

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

2.2.3.1 TONES

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

2.2.3.2 RHYMES

Open syllables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>ai</th>
<th>a (wa)</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>ui</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Closed nasal syllables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>in</th>
<th>im</th>
<th>an</th>
<th>am</th>
<th>an</th>
<th>an</th>
<th>on</th>
<th>aun</th>
<th>un</th>
<th>um</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>/ein</td>
<td>ain</td>
<td>en</td>
<td>on</td>
<td>aun</td>
<td>oen/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Closed stop syllables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>it</th>
<th>ip</th>
<th>ac</th>
<th>at</th>
<th>ap</th>
<th>ak</th>
<th>ok</th>
<th>uik</th>
<th>ut</th>
<th>up</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>/ei/</td>
<td>ai'</td>
<td>e'</td>
<td>o'</td>
<td>au'</td>
<td>ou'/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.3.3 HEADS

These are generally as for SB except:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>y</th>
<th>r</th>
<th>hy</th>
<th>hr</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AR</td>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>/hr/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3 NOTES
2.3.1 PHONEMES

(1) WB Rhymes in \(ac\), \(uik\) and \(aïn\, uïï\) merge in AR:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cac</td>
<td>/sai’/</td>
<td>/si’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cuik</td>
<td>/sai’/</td>
<td>/sai’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyañ</td>
<td>/pyain/</td>
<td>/pyin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pruiñ</td>
<td>/prain/</td>
<td>/pyain/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

\(paccaññä:\) /pai’-sè/ /pyi’-sì/ thing
\(saññä:\) /θain-ña/ /θin-ña/ mark
\(paññä:\) /pain-ña/ /pyin-ña/ learning

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

Another small group of words in \(-iï\) are pronounced with AR /en/ instead of the /ain/ one would expect:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(wiññañ):</td>
<td>/wi-ñën/</td>
<td>/wi-ñin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(paññaññä:)</td>
<td>/pøeïn-ñën/</td>
<td>/pøeïn-ñin/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The AR rhyme suggests WB \(äïn\ (an)\) which would in fact be closer to the original Pali: \(wiññañ\), \(paññaññä:\) however, \(uyyäñ\) (from Pali uyyāna) conforms to type:

\(uyyäñ:\) /wùyain/ /ú-yn/ garden

Two other words in \(-aï\) exhibited an irregular correspondence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(ñañ):</td>
<td>/né, nï/</td>
<td>/nïn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hñañ:)</td>
<td>/hñè, hñï/</td>
<td>/hñïn/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(kraññ):</td>
<td>/krè/</td>
<td>/ci/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(praññ):</td>
<td>/prè/</td>
<td>/pyè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(thaññ):</td>
<td>/thé/</td>
<td>/thé/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some words however are pronounced AR /ain/, suggesting WB \(äïn\):

\(kraññ\): /krain/ /ci/ be clear
\(khyaññ\): /chain/ /chi/ tie
Another word pronounced with the AR /ain/ rhyme is written WB āy – perhaps it was once aṅh:

\[
\text{alampāy} /\text{olen-pain}/ \quad /\text{olan-be}/ \quad \text{snake-bite healing}
\]

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

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

Some words however escape this merger:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR = SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cetanā</td>
<td>/se-dana/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wedana</td>
<td>/we-dōna/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kywe:</td>
<td>/cwè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>le:</td>
<td>/lē/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te:</td>
<td>/tē/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe</td>
<td>/pe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khywe:</td>
<td>/chhè/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ni</td>
<td>/nein/</td>
<td>/ni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne</td>
<td>/nein/</td>
<td>/ne/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mī:</td>
<td>/mēin/</td>
<td>/mī/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me:</td>
<td>/mēin/</td>
<td>/mē/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġři</td>
<td>/ĝřéin/</td>
<td>/ńī/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġe:</td>
<td>/ĝēin/</td>
<td>/ńē/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hīñi</td>
<td>/hīñein/</td>
<td>/hīñī/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwe:</td>
<td>/nwēin/</td>
<td>/nwē/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġu</td>
<td>/ŋoun/</td>
<td>/ŋu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nu</td>
<td>/nōun/</td>
<td>/ńu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nū</td>
<td>/noun/</td>
<td>/nu/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some speakers were not consistent in applying this extended nasality, and there were certain words for which informants said both nasalised and unnasalised pronunciations were used:

*mre* /mrein, mri/ /mye/ earth

’*ami* /əmēin, əmi/ /əmi/ mother

*ηwe* /ηwein, ηwe/ (sic) /ηwe/ silver

/nūː/ /nōun, nū/ /nū/ be soft

*mūi* /moun, mu/ /mu/ behave

’*ahmūː* /əhmōun, əhmū/ /əhmū/ leader

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

’*aŋwe.* /aŋwé, aŋwí/ /aŋwé/ vapour

*mwe.* /mwé/ (sic) /mwé/ sleep

*ŋrū-cū* /ŋru-zu/ /ŋu-zu/ grumble

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

*chīː* /shein/ /shī/ stop

*sī* /thein/ /thī/ thread

*hyi, hri* /fí, hí, hēin/ /fī/ exist

*paŋ-kū* /pōn-khou/ /pīn-gu/ spider

Three further words show irregular features:

*hmī* /hme, hmwein, hmi/ /hmū/ catch

*nwe* /nein, nwein/ /nwe/ hot season

’*ahmu* /əhmōun, əhmū, əhmou’/ /əhmū/ deed

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

AR

/pye/ (particle) (emphasis)

/le/ (interjection) Here! Come!

/he/ (appended interjection) Hey!

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

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

/le/ seems to be used like SB /la/ or /kē/. For example:

AR

SB

/le – lai’-la-khā/ /la – lai’-la-gē/ Come along then.

/le – sā-laï’/ /kē – sā-laï’/ Right: eat up.

/He/ seems very like the SB appended interjection of the same form, and my sole example is perhaps a loan (see text at §2.4.2 (44)).
The rhyme a following w sometimes corresponds to AR /ɔ/, as in WB wāː = AR /wɔː/ ‘bamboo’; and if the w is medial it may not occur in the AR pronunciation at all, as in WB nwāː = AR /nɔː/ ‘cow’. Informants were not consistent on this point: in one recording rwa is pronounced /ɾɔ/, /ɾwɔ/ and /ɾwa/ in the space of a few words.

The opposite merger also occurs occasionally. That is:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bho.</td>
<td>/phwā/</td>
<td>/phɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tō</td>
<td>/-twɔ/</td>
<td>/-tɔ/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

There is a tendency sometimes to pronounce WB khy not as /ch/ but as /ʃ/: khyャ /ʃon, /ʃon/ /ʃin/ want to

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tay</th>
<th>/te, re/</th>
<th>/te, de/ (verb-sentence marker)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tui</td>
<td>/tō, rō/</td>
<td>/tō, dō/ (plural)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The correspondences below are generally well observed:

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hrū</td>
<td>/ʃu/</td>
<td>/ʃu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrañ.</td>
<td>/ʃān/</td>
<td>/ʃún/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hruik</td>
<td>/ʃai’/</td>
<td>/ʃai’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hroŋ</td>
<td>/ʃaun/</td>
<td>/ʃaun/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hraŋ</td>
<td>/ʃɔn/</td>
<td>/ʃın/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrup</td>
<td>/ʃou’/</td>
<td>/ʃou’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coŋ.hrok</td>
<td>/ʃ-ʃau’/</td>
<td>/ʃ-ʃau’/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The remaining words, in which AR pronunciation agreed with WB spelling, are the following:

- **hri-khui**: do obeisance
- **rhe**: front
- **rhwe**: move
- **thaŋ-hrā**: be conspicuous
- **hrwam**: mud
- **hyac**: eight
- **ahyaŋ**: yoke
- **hrum**: wrinkle
- **hlyō**: wash
- **hlyui**: insert
- **shyam**: Shan
- **hyum**: lose
- **'ahraŋ**: alive
- **hrā**: seek

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

- /fwè/ be soaked
- /fā/ nick
- /kān - fān/ be devoted to

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

- /oʃe/ child, little
- /ʃon/ thing

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

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

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

- 'akyao:khYaIJ: reciprocally
- khyoŋ: /ɔʃon-ʃon/ /ɔʃin-ʃin/ stream

It disagrees in the following:

- sī-khyəŋ: /θəkrən/ /θəʃin/ song
- khyəp /khrə'/ /chou'/ sew
- khyoŋ: /khrəun/ /chəun/ throat
- hək-pyo /ŋəprə'/ /ŋəpyə'/ banana
- praŋ /pyəŋ/ /pyin/ prepare

The last example, /pyon/, could be an SB pronunciation that slipped into my recordings.
(11) Medial AR /t/ and /w/ occur together in some words where SB rarely or never has medial /yw/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mrwe</td>
<td>/mrwən/</td>
<td>/mwe (mywe)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'amrwa</td>
<td>/əmrwə/</td>
<td>/əmwe (əmywe)/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'akrwe</td>
<td>/əkrə/</td>
<td>/əcwə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwak</td>
<td>/kwə/</td>
<td>/cwə/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā-маn</td>
<td>/hna-me/</td>
<td>/nan-me/</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myañ</td>
<td>/hmyän/</td>
<td>/myän/</td>
<td>line</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-kyañ</td>
<td>/hmön-jö/</td>
<td>/mjö/</td>
<td>tamarind</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>WB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku</td>
<td>/kù/</td>
<td>/kù/</td>
<td>give medical treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwam</td>
<td>/nwen/</td>
<td>/nän/</td>
<td>wilt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>/θù/</td>
<td>/θë/</td>
<td>yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laññ</td>
<td>/lé/</td>
<td>/lë/</td>
<td>also</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twe</td>
<td>/tù/</td>
<td>/te/</td>
<td>(plural)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-nuin-</td>
<td>/-nain-, -hnain-/</td>
<td>be able to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mi-</td>
<td>/-mí-, -hmí-/</td>
<td>inadvertently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrā</td>
<td>/hmyä/</td>
<td>arrow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

2.3.2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

2.3.2.1 VOICING

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kàun-gàun/</td>
<td>/kàun-gàun/</td>
<td>well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/shi-phô wò-khá/</td>
<td>/shè-bò wà-gá/</td>
<td>cost of medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θôn-dên/</td>
<td>/θîn-dän/</td>
<td>class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmaun-thè/</td>
<td>/øhmaun-dë/</td>
<td>in the dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θu-na-brú/</td>
<td>/θu-na-byú/</td>
<td>nurse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θôn-phù-re/</td>
<td>/θîn-bù-de/</td>
<td>once studied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wa-jwè/</td>
<td>/wa-ju/</td>
<td>end of Lent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/øchôn-chôn/</td>
<td>/øchin-jîn/</td>
<td>reciprocally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/swên-zwên sà-zà/</td>
<td>/sûn-zûn sà-zà/</td>
<td>at personal sacrifice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/laphò'-re-shân/</td>
<td>/løphe'-ye-zain/</td>
<td>tea-shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rō-ga-ðe/</td>
<td>/yō-ga-ðe/</td>
<td>invalid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This pattern of voicing is matched in SB after weakened syllables, where, like all voicing in AR, plain initials are voiced and aspirate initials exempt. For example:

SB /tʰi’/ + /əkəun/ = /təgaun/ one animal
SB /tʰi’/ + /əkha/ = /təkha/ one time

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paŋ:kū</td>
<td>/pön-koun/</td>
<td>/pön-gu/ spider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koŋ:kaŋ</td>
<td>/kàun-khon/</td>
<td>/kàun-gin/ sky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laũn-paŋ:</td>
<td>/lain-phôn/</td>
<td>/le-bin/ neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waṃ:puik</td>
<td>/wên-phai’/</td>
<td>/wûn-bai’/ stomach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-tā:</td>
<td>/tèn-thâ/</td>
<td>/tādâ/ bridge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- sanghā /θön-kha/ /θìn-ga/ the monkhood
- Māgadha /Ma-gətha/ /Ma-gədā/ Māgadha
- khandhā /khen-tha/ /khan-da/ body
- adhika /əðī-kâ/ /ədī-kâ/ central
- Bodhi /Bò-thî/ /Bò-dî/ Bodhi (tree)
- lobha /lò-phâ/ /lò-bâ/ greed
- sabho /θəphô/ /θəbô/ nature
- bhaya /phəyâ/ /bôyâ/ danger

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

- Māgha Sakka dhamma law
- adhamma lawless adhippây meaning
- adhipati dictator saddhâ faith
- Buddha Buddha dullabha temporary (monkhood)
- bhâwanâ meditation sambhâra accumulated merit
- sabhâwa natural kambhâ world

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhā:</td>
<td>/ðà/</td>
<td>/ðà/ knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jhe:</td>
<td>/zì/</td>
<td>/zè/ market</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- khu /gû/ /gû/ now
- khoŋ: /gàun/ /gàun/ head
- thok /dau’/ /dau’/ prop
- khyoŋ /jaun/ /jaun/ cranny
2.3.2.2 WEAKENING

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɲä:kro</td>
<td>/ɲəgro/</td>
<td>/ɲəjo/</td>
<td>fried fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲä:khrok</td>
<td>/ɲəkr̥au'/</td>
<td>/ɲəchau'/</td>
<td>dried fish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>la-kha</td>
<td>/lakhá/</td>
<td>/lá-gá/</td>
<td>salary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>min:ma</td>
<td>/məmá/</td>
<td>/mein-má/</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrwe-hok</td>
<td>/məhau'/</td>
<td>/mwe-hau'/</td>
<td>cobra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chī-mi:</td>
<td>/ʃhmē岷/</td>
<td>/shi-má/</td>
<td>oil lamp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re-nam</td>
<td>/rənən/</td>
<td>/ye-nən/</td>
<td>oil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ü: Sā Thwan:</td>
<td>/U əThwEn/</td>
<td>/U əThun/</td>
<td>Ü əThun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nerā</td>
<td>/nərə/</td>
<td>/ne-ya/</td>
<td>place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū:ri:</td>
<td>/wəɾi/</td>
<td>/ū-ɾi/</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re-khai</td>
<td>/ɾəkhè/</td>
<td>/ye-gè/</td>
<td>ice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>che:lip</td>
<td>/ʃhəlei'/</td>
<td>/ʃhè-lei'/</td>
<td>cigarette</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jhū:sī:</td>
<td>/ʃoɿi/</td>
<td>/ʃi-ɿi/</td>
<td>wild plum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bū:sī:</td>
<td>/bəɾi/</td>
<td>/bū-ɾi/</td>
<td>gourd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lū-pyui</td>
<td>/ləbyo/</td>
<td>/lu-byo/</td>
<td>bachelor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūnī-ma</td>
<td>/nəmá/</td>
<td>/nī-má/</td>
<td>younger sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pru-cu-kat-ra-re</td>
<td>/prǔz̥ú-ɡe'-ɾə-re/</td>
<td>/pyǔz̥ú-ʃ̥á-yá-de/</td>
<td>had to tend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>weakened AR</th>
<th>unweakened AR</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ye-ke</td>
<td>/yə-ɡe/</td>
<td>/ye-ɡe/</td>
<td>that being so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>re-sum:</td>
<td>/ɾə-θōun/</td>
<td>/ɾe-θōun/</td>
<td>bathroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kay-nuig-phui.-lā:</td>
<td>/ke-hnain-phə-lā/</td>
<td>/ke-hnain-phó-lā/</td>
<td>whether I could save</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyok-lā.-kha-re</td>
<td>/pyau'-lā-khá-re/</td>
<td>/pyau'-lā-khá-re/</td>
<td>disappeared</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charā-bā.-ka</td>
<td>/ʃhəra-bə-gá/</td>
<td>/ʃhəra-ba-gá/</td>
<td>from the teacher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>watthu</td>
<td>/wɔthũ/</td>
<td>/wu'tũ/</td>
<td>novel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyyān</td>
<td>/wɔyain/</td>
<td>/ú-yin/</td>
<td>garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinnai-sī:</td>
<td>/pɔnɛ-ɿi/</td>
<td>/pein-nɛ-ɿi/</td>
<td>jackfruit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Weakening is also used regularly by some speakers with what in \( \text{SB} \) is the formative [repetition]:

- **co-co** /səzɔ/ /sɔ-zɔ/ early
- **kər:kən** /kəɡəun/ /kʊn-gəun/ well
- **tita-tit** /tədei/ /təi-tei/ quietly
- **pəb:pəp** /pəbəu/ /pou-pou/ rotten
- **pəbw:pwa-pwa** /pəbwə/ /pwá-bwá/ unempt
- **ləlwe** /ləwe/ /lə-wə/ easily
- **phəp:phər** /phəphru/ /phy-ə-byu/ white
- **məməm** /məmyə/ /myə-myə/ many
- **mya:mya:** /myə-mya/ /mya-mya/ quickly
- **pəl:pəl** /pələ/ /pələ/ unkempt
- **phəl:phəl** /phələ/ /phələ/ quietly
- **səiz:səzoun** /səzi səzoun/ /sə-zı səzoun-zoun/ fully

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

- **khu-nac-khu** /kənai'-khú/ /khun-nəkhu/ seven items
- **krəsapate:** /kra-θə'-pədə/ /ka-əθədə/ Thursday
  or /kra-θə'-pədə/
- **ten-khà:** /tən-khà/ /təgə/ door
- **tan-tà:** /tən-thà/ /tədə/ bridge
- **tan-khù:** /tən-khù/ /təgə/ greatness
- **tan-khù:** /tən-khù/ /təgə/ Təgù (month)
- **tan-chən-mum:** /tən-ʃən-bəun/ /təzaun-məun/ Təzaung-məun (month)
- **tan-cak** /tən-zə/ /təzə/ eaves
- **tan-toŋ** /tən-daun/ /tədaun/ elbow
- **tan-tùn:** /tən-dàin/ /tədəin/ wall

### 2.3.2.3 INDUCED CREAKY TONE

Induced creaky tone occurs in \( \text{AR} \) as in \( \text{SB} \):

- AR /ŋə/ + /kə/ = /ŋə-go/ to me
- AR /hnəshe/ + /nəi’/ = /hnəshe-hnai’/ twenty-two

There is one interesting difference: \( \text{AR} \) does not use creaky tone for verb-sentence attributes as \( \text{SB} \) does:

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

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

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

AR /wedənə-fôn-go-jì əc-əc' mə-hou'-thi/ rec
SB /wedənə-fîn-go-jì əc'-əc' mə-hou'-thë-bù/

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

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

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

AR /tò-tɔ-rɔ chá-re. Chá-kha ... sekà-ló la-kha/ 3.6-7
SB /ywa-tɔ-ywa chá-də. Chá-dò ... sigà-ló la-dɔ/
village-one-village found-VSMK found-time increase-ing come-time
(He) founded a village. Afterwards, when it grew bigger

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

Also used not as special head noun:
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

AR /wedona-fon-ró-go prüzú-re əkha-ma/rec
SB /wedona-fon-dó-go pyüzú-dé əkha-hma/
injury-victim-PL-ACC tend-REL time-at
when (one) is looking after a patient

(4) /khá/ auxiliary verb = SB /khé/

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

AR /zi-go là-khá-re/ 2.11
SB /zè-go ðwà-gé-de/
market-ACC go-there-VSMK
(Her sister) had gone out shopping.

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

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

AR /mə-fàn-mə-lùn-zo _WR hi-gələ méin-ge'-hnôn/ 1.33
SB /mə-fìn-mə-lìn-da fi-yìn-lè mè-já-nə/
not-clear-not-light-thing be-also ask-PL-won’t.you
Now if there’s anything that’s not quite clear, please ask me about it.

AR /cèzù tóunpre-n-chùn-re-hnôna/ 1.23
SB /cèzù tóunbyan-jin-da-bó/
gratitude return-want-VSMK-of.course
It is only natural that (he) should want to make some recompense.

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

AR /chïhmwèn-phó mə-kàun-là/ 1.8
SB /chïmùn-bó mə-kàun-là/
praise-for not-be.good-Q
Isn’t (that) an admirable thing?

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

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

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

AR /louʾ-rá-phó so-ti/ 1.1
SB /louʾ-yà-mé ha-de/
do-must-to thing-PL
the things that have to be done
In addition to these uses, which are close to SB, AR /phó/ is used frequently enough in incomplete sentences to warrant a further classification as a verb-sentence marker = SB /me, yá-me, məlo/

AR /phony-thelai'-pain jí-ne-phó/ 2.26
SB /phony-thelai'-θəlo jí-ne-me/
warm-put.in-just-as if be-be-for
It would be as if (they) were all warmed up together.

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

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

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

AR /jí-phó/ inf
SB /jí-yámə/
be-for
(He) must be (at home). (answer to ‘Will he be there?’)

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

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

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

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

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

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

AR /yən-pain θai'sa sho-prí-ge/ 1.16
SB /edi-lo əi'sa sho-pi-yin/
that-way promise say-finish-when
after taking this oath

AR /pa-zaun sei'de'-myò thà-bri lou'-rá-re-lə sho-ge/ 1.2
SB /be-lo sei'da'-myò thà-bi lou'-yá-ðə-lə sho-yin/
what-like attitude-kind put-finish act-must-VSMK-Q say-if
the kind of attitude one ought to adopt is ...
AR /dù thau’-pri-ge/ 1.4
SB /dù thau’-pi-dó/
  knee support-finish-ing
  kneeling down

Weakened before AR /lé/ = SB /lé/

AR /Kró’-Khri-ni lou’ñën āne-nén sho-ló jí-gə-lé/ 1.28
SB /Ce’-Che-ni lou’ñan āne-né sho-ló jí-yin-lè/
  fowl-foot-red work status-with say-ing be-if-and
  turning now to our work in the Red Cross

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

AR /ye-ge/ 2.4
or /yæge/ rec
SB /edi-dó/
  that-since
  that being so

(9) /ké/ verb-sentence marker = SB /nél/, voiceable

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

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

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

AR /pyau’-ləkhá-re-byé/ 2.49
SB /pyau’-θwà-da-bè/
  disappear-go-VSMK-VSMK
  (The symptoms) disappeared.

AR /krà-ləkhá-so-nén/ rec
SB /cà-lai’-ta-né/
  hear-go-thing-with
  on hearing

(11) /lê’/ auxiliary verb = SB /la, khé, θwà/

AR /to’-lê’-te-byé/
SB /te’-la-da-bè/
  ascend-come-VSMK-VSMK
  (She) came up (into the house).
The SB counterpart would be /la'/ (WB ła) which is now used in SB only in formal styles, and is generally described as 'euphonic'.

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

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

(13) /lė/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /lë, hmá/

AR /ein-bre'loun-lé  ci-ló-pá-ló  phrai'-ne-bye/ 2.39
SB /tsein-loun-lé  jou'-ló-thwè-ló  phyi'-ne-da-bè/
house-all.over-also be.dirty-ing-be.dirty-ing be-be-VSMK
And the whole house was in a mess.

AR /tə-yau'-lè  mə-fi'INF
SB /tə-yau'-hmá  mə-fí-bù/
one-person-also not-be
Not a single person was there.

AR /za-lé  mə-fi/-INF
SB /ba-hmá  mə-fí-bù/
what-even not-have
(I) haven't got anything.

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

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

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

AR /sekā-ló  la-kha/ 3.7
SB /sigā-ló  la-dó/
be.populous-ing come-time
when (it) became populous
(They) repaired (it).
(I) bought (some) and warmed (it).
if (they) come and fetch (him)
(He) is saved from death.
(It) holds up (the dispersion) even more.
(It) fell in and died.
when (he) comes in and studies
(She) had gone out shopping.
(It) is warmed up.
And even now (they) still worship (his image).
(16) /me/ verb-sentence marker = SB /me/

AR /prõ-prá-me/ 1.1
SB /pyõ-pyá-me/
say-show-will
(I) will tell (you).

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

AR /nõ-ro œne-nén/ 1.3
SB /nõ-dõ œne-né/
1PL status-with
as regards ourselves

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

AR /e əte'pyinña-nén ðu-ró-re sipwà ma-hra-ba/
SB /di əta'pyinña-né ðu-dó-ha sipwà ma-ja-ba-bû/
this skill-with they-PL-SUBJ profit not-seek-POL
(They) do not use (their) skill for profit.

AR /tagô-ðe'ti-ná prëzoun-khå-re/ 3.11
SB /tagô-ða'ti-né pyëzoun-gé-de/
power-majesty-with be full-there-VSMK
(He) had great powers.

AR /e əeindo-ná zedido/ 3.21
SB /di əeindo-né zedido/
this ordination hall and pagoda
this ordination hall and pagoda

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

(18) /pa-yõn/ verb-sentence marker = SB /de, yé/

AR /hlu-ba-yõn/ 1.5
SB /hlu-ba-de/
dedicate-POL-VSMK
(I) dedicate (myself).

AR /hou'-pa-yõn/ inf
SB /hou'-ké/
be.so-POL-VSMK
Yes.
(19) /pà/ common location noun = SB /shi/; voiceable
AR /shàra-bà-gà/ (weakened from /-bà-gà/)
SB /shòyà-shì-gà/ 1.19
   teacher-place-from
   from the teacher
AR /phàrà-bà-mà/ 1.4
SB /phòyà-shì-hma/
   God-place-at
   before God

(20) /pain/ special head noun and subordinate noun for complement and attribute = SB /lo/;
   not voiced
AR /phò-thè-lai'-pain  jì-ne-phò/ 2.26
SB /phò-thè-lai'-òlo  jì-ne-me/
   warn-put.in-just-like be-be-for
   It's as if it had all been warned up together.
AR /za ərò-gà  za-pain kho-re  sho-pain / rec
SB /ba əyò-gà  be-lo kho-de  sho-òlo/
   what bone-SUBJ what-like call-VSMK say-like
   like saying what bone is called what
AR /lòngòlèi’ ahme’òhà-de-nà  òn-pì-rà-re/ rec
SB /lòngòlèi’ ehma’òhà-de-né  òn-pè-yà-de/
   English term-PL-with teach-give-must-VSMK
   (They) had to teach using the English terms.
AR /mrwein-shéi’ tè-te  lu-pain/ rec
SB /mwe-zei’ te’-tí  lu-lo/
   snake-poison invade-REL person-like
   like a man with a snake’s venom spreading through his system
AR /yòn-pain  sei’de’-myò/ 1.10
SB /èdi-lo  sei’da’-myò/
   that-like attitude-kind
   that kind of attitude
   Also used not as a special head noun
AR /prò-re-pain/ inf
SB /pyò-ò-lo/
   say-VSMK-like
   as (he) said

(21) /pon/ sentence-medial postposition = SB /pè/; voiceable (cf. SB /pin/ used in formal
   styles)
AR /thò-rò khenthako-hma-bòn  yòn rò-ga  swèke’-pri-ge/ 1.7
SB /thò-dò khandako-hma-bè  èdi yò-ga  swèka’-pi-dò/
   they-PL body-in-EMP that disease infect-finish-ing
   the disease spreading to their own bodies
(22) /pye/ sentence-final postposition and verb-sentence marker = SB /pè, pi/; after /phó/ = SB /tó-me/; with negated verb = SB /məV-tó-bù/; voiceable
(I) ’m going home.

(She) couldn’t stand up any longer.

But it’s not like that any longer.

(She) was just retching.

Only in that way can (one) give medical treatment.
(25) /ró/ auxiliary noun = SB /dó/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>/θeindo-ró/ 3.16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>/θeindo-dó/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ordination.hall-PL
the ordination hall and so on

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>/phrai'-só-tí</th>
<th>jí-re/ 2.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>/phyi'-ta-de</td>
<td>jí-de/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
happen-thing-PL be-VSMK

There are cases (of psychosomatic illness).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>/pai'-phó</th>
<th>thà-zó-ba/ 2.17</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>/pyi'-phó</td>
<td>thà-da-ba/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

throw-for put-thing-POL
(I) put (it) there to be thrown away.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>/yòn-nén sei'-ko</th>
<th>òdíká thà-ló prò-so/ 2.52</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>/è-da-né sei'-ko</td>
<td>òdíká thà-ló pyò-da/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

that-with mind-ACC main put-QUO say-thing
That’s why we are told to give first place to the patient’s state of mind.

Also found = SB /ha/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>/de jón</th>
<th>thû-so/ inf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>/ho ou'-sa</td>
<td>thû-ha/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

that thing his-thing
That’s his.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>/kó-so</th>
<th>ko rî/ inf</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>/kó-ha</td>
<td>ko yè/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
one’s-thing one write
One writes one’s own (language).

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

(27) /te/ in voiceable positions /re/ verb-sentence marker = SB /te, té/
(It) tends to become difficult.

There are three kinds.

There were some solids.

The skill (one) has learnt

Not only was the place in a mess

not be so little yet

There are some solids.

the work (he) is doing
(31) /yôn-pôn/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yin/

AR /pרצז-יונפונ pr узн-יונפונ-נень nu:נ-לכ-חא-ר/ 1.7
SB /pyュュﾕ_ipvינ-_yin-ne nu-דוו-ד/ tend-ing tend-ing-with be.leprous-come-there-VSMK (They) went on and on looking after (them) and became lepers themselves.

AR /yôn/ also occurs without /ptron/

AR /טウェ-יונ, ... יונ-טונ, ... יונ/ 2.29
SB /טウェ-יונ, ... יונ, ... יונ/ tend-ing tend-ing-with be.disgusted-ing vomit-ing dwelling on it, feeling disgusted by it, and vomiting

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

AR /yôn ڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋ ڋڋڋڋڋ/ 2.12
SB />Edit ne-ya-hma ڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋ ڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋ/ that place-in not-be (She) was not there.

AR /sipwà ڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋ/ 1.13
SB /sipwà ڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋ ڋڋڋڋڋ/ profit not.seek-POL (They) do not seek to profit.

AR /yôn-pain ڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋ-ڋڋڋڋڋ-ڋڋڋ-ڋڋڋ-ڋڋ-ڋ-ڋ-ڋ-ڋ/ 1.11
SB /Edit-lo ڋڋڋڋڋڋڋڋ-ڋڋڋڋڋ-ڋ-ڋ-ڋ-ڋ-ڋ-ڋ-ڋ/ that-like attitude-kind not-keep-can-Q Can (they) not adopt that kind of attitude?

2.3.4 VOCABULARY

2.3.4.1 FORMS WHICH APPEAR NOT TO HAVE COGNATES IN SB

2.3.4.1.1 UTENSILS AND ARTIFACTS

AR SB
/yain/ pokhe' cradle
/pen-tu/ shè-dan (tobacco) pipe
/tayà/ loun-ji longyi
/tên-dau'/ ye-פין_yau' gutter
/phaun-thà/ ein-thà lavatory
/chei'/ myö town

2.3.4.1.2 FAUNA AND FLORA

/pôdôga-òi/ thîn-bò-òi paw-paw
/nen-tô-ra-òi/ na-na'-òi pineapple
2.3.4.1.3 PERSONAL STATUS

THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

2.3.4.1.4 FORMS THAT ARE EVIDENTLY LOANS

Source languages are indicated thus:

\[B = \text{Bengali}, \ E = \text{English}, \ H = \text{Hindi}, \ P = \text{Portuguese}\]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{AR} & \text{SB} & \text{source} \\
\text{/ke'-ton/} & /ya-zwwu'-ou'/ & \text{police superintendent} & E \capitan \\
\text{/lau'-khou'-øi/} & /bøkhalau'/ & \text{padlock} & E \ lock \\
\text{/thei'-hlain/} & /shë-youn/ & \text{hospital} & E \ sick-lines \\
\text{& /shei'-hlain/} & & & \\
\text{/gau'-ri/} & /kølè-ma/ & \text{young girl} & H \ gauri \\
\text{/do'/} & /sa-dai'/ & \text{post office} & H \ dak \\
\text{/ga-ri/} & /hlè/ & \text{cart} & H \ garì \\
\text{/ga-ra/} & /yë-tha-nà/ & \text{police station} & H \ gàrad (E \ guard) \\
\text{/øpeï'/} & /youn/ & \text{office} & B \ aphis, \ ápis \ (E \ office) \\
\text{/to-lyâ/} & /mye'-hnàðou'/ & \text{towel} & H \ tauliyà \\
\text{& /shei'-hlain/} & /pawa/ & & (P \ toalha) \\
\text{/ðöboun/} & /sha'-pya/ & \text{soap} & H \ sàpun \ (P \ sabào) \\
\text{/phòlaun/} & /mye'-hnàðphyù/ & \text{European} & \text{cf. feringi, farang, frank, etc.} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

/øe'/ & - & Sahib \\
e. g. /ka-øe'/ & - & Sir (Hiram) Cox \\
/pya-øe'/ & - & Sir (Arthur) Phayre \\
/ra-bøein-øe'/ & - & Sir Robertson [sic]

2.3.4.1.5 MISCELLANEOUS

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{AR} & \text{SB} \\
\text{/øje/} & /kølè/ & \text{small} \\
\text{/øøøje/} & /øøø-lè/ & \text{little} \\
\text{/søke-je/} & /nè-nè/ & \text{a little} \\
\text{/mo/} & - & \text{time (counted in months)} \\
\text{e. g. /mo kò-lâ/} & - & \text{nine months} \\
\text{/ke'-ta-rein/} & - & \text{south wind} \\
\text{/-møø/} & /sá-døøphyùn/ & \text{et cetera} \\
\text{e. g. /myo'-hnà-møø/} & - & \text{face and so on}
\end{array}
\]
2.3.4.2 **FORMS WITH IRREGULAR REFLEXES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>AR form requires *SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hmon-jɔ/</td>
<td>/məjɪ/</td>
<td>/hmin-jɔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phei'-fa/</td>
<td>/pai'-shan/</td>
<td>/phei'-fa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; /phei-θa/</td>
<td></td>
<td>cf. Hindi paisā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khonon/</td>
<td>/khədwin/</td>
<td>/khanin/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.4.3 **FORMS WITH DIFFERENT MEANING OR USE IN SB**

2.3.4.3.1 **WHOLE WORDS AND PHRASES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>compare SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tɛn/</td>
<td>/ya/</td>
<td>/tán/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/a-gen-du/</td>
<td>/é-ðe/</td>
<td>/a-gan-dú/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pra/</td>
<td>/ca'/</td>
<td>/pyá'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/yon/</td>
<td>/myan/</td>
<td>/lyin, yin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/so/</td>
<td>/su'/</td>
<td>/so/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/swe'/</td>
<td>/so/</td>
<td>/su/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khədəun/</td>
<td>/loun-ji/</td>
<td>/khədəun cai'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/shnɛin/</td>
<td>/jì/</td>
<td>/shnɪ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/là/</td>
<td>/θwà/</td>
<td>/là/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hrwɛn/</td>
<td>/ʃwɛ/</td>
<td>/ʃũn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hwɛn/</td>
<td>/ʃaŋ/</td>
<td>/ʃũn/ 'ascend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phəɾə/</td>
<td>/(khin)-bya/</td>
<td>/phəyà/ 'yes?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/thi tə-shaun/</td>
<td>/(thi) tale'</td>
<td>/(thi) tə-shaun/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmyaın/</td>
<td>/bne/</td>
<td>/hmyin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ken/</td>
<td>/ʃan/</td>
<td>/mənain məkan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khrwɛn/</td>
<td>/ʃeיג'/</td>
<td>/ʃuŋ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/chau/</td>
<td>/ʃaǐ/</td>
<td>/ʃaў/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/doun/</td>
<td>/ʃən/</td>
<td>/ʃon/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ci-bye/</td>
<td>/pi-da-be'/</td>
<td>/ce-bi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khɔyau'/</td>
<td>/loun-ʃi/</td>
<td>/khà/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nà-za/</td>
<td>/manaŋ-ɡá/</td>
<td>/nà-za/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wa-jì/</td>
<td>/əphə-ʃi/</td>
<td>/ːe'-cì wa-jì/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/posho/</td>
<td>/ʃaʊn/</td>
<td>/posho/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/soun-li/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/soun/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rɛn-bau'/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/le/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/shon-khəun/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/shin/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e.g. for milk)
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

Icun ‘mud’  / -cou/ ‘be dark, dirty’
Icun-də/ ‘I’  / cun/ ‘slave’
Icun-θən/ / θan/ ‘be strong’

e.g.
Ickri-θən/ / θic-ji/ ‘very big’
Icmin-θən/ / θmyan-ji/ ‘very fast’
Icνε-θən/ – ‘very few’
Icνα-θəθε/ / θothεθ ‘rich man’ / lu-ya-da’ ‘(rich man: obsolete)’

2.3.4.3.2 PARTS OF WORDS AND PHRASES

AR SB compare SB
Iu kreθ/ / gəun kai/ ‘head aches’ / cən/ ‘be rough’
Irhoθən/ / ye-chō-ɡan/ ‘bathroom’ / ye/ ‘water’; / əθən/ ‘use’
Ihθa-zə/ / hə-ne/ ‘afternoon’ / əsa/ ‘portion’
Isec-θə/ / se’bein/ ‘bicycle’ / se’/ ‘wheel’; /θəθ/ ‘fruit, lock’
Ikələ ɡəprə/ / yəkhain ɡəpəθ ‘(kind of) banana’ / kələ ‘Indian’
Iein-bre-ləun/ / təein-ləun/ ‘all over the house’ / pəya/ ‘be low, squat’
Iein hle/ / təbye’si hle/ ‘sweep’ / e′in/ ‘house’; / hle/ ‘sweep’

2.3.4.4 SELECTIVES

2.3.4.4.1 DEMONSTRATIVES

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

AR SB
/e-pain/ 1.18 /di-lo/ this way
/e-laun/ 3.11 /di-laun/ this much
/e-ge/ 3.13 /di-də/ this being so
/e θein-θə/ 3.21 /di θein-θə/ this ordination hall
/e θeθ’-pyin-θə/ 1.13 /di θeθ’-pyin-θə/ this skill
/e-ma/ 3.6 /e-diθma/ here
/e jən/ 1.9 /ho ou’-sa/ this thing

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

/yəpain/ 1.21 /è-di-lo/ this way
/yə-ge/ 2.4 /è-di-də/ this being so
/yə kha/ 1.25 /è-di økha/ this time
/yə jən/ 3.7 /ho ou’-sa/ this thing
/yə kəθi-yen θa-θəna-brų/ 1.10 /di kəθi’-yan θa-θəna-byų/ this Christian missionary
/yə-hmə-ra/ rec /da-hmə-θa/ only here
/yə-pri-ge/ 2.2 /da-pi-yin/ after this

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

/de dou’-khi-tá-di/ 1.5 /di dou’-khi-tá-de/ these unfortunate people
/de ... pyin-θə/ rec /di ... pyin-θə/ this knowledge
/de sei'-de'-caun/ 2.1 /di sei'-da'-caun/ because of this psychological cause
/de ne-ra/ 2.39 /di ne-ya/ this place to live
(4) AR /tho/ = SB /ho/ cf. formal WB thui
/tho ne-ra/ 2.39 /ho ne-ya/ that place to live
(5) AR /yon/ = SB /e-di/ (cf. formal WB yap). For example:
/yon ro'-ga/ 1.7 /e-di yor-ga/ this disease
/yon fân/ 2.27 /e-di ou'-sa/ this thing
/yon thi/ 1.20 /e-di lu/ this person
/yon pain/ 1.16 /e-di-lo/ this way
/yon-lau'/ 1.8 /e-di-lau'/ this much

2.3.4.2 INTERROGATIVES
(1) AR /za/ = SB /ba, be/. For example:
   AR                      SB
/za oro-ga za-pain kho-re/ rec /ba ayô-gâ be-lo kho-de/ What the bones are called
/za no-lê/ 2.45 /ba no-lê/ What milk?
/za phrai'-lô-lê/ 2.16 /ba phyi'-lô-lê/ Why?
/za-kha-myô mosh/ 1.15 /be oka-myô mosh/ at whatever time
/si-pwâ-yi-pha-ri'-si za phrai'-si/ 1.29 /si-pwâ-ye-hma phyi'-se ba whatever advantage may arise
/za là-lê/ inf /be thwâ-môl/ Where are you going?
(2) AR /pa/ (with /zaun, lau'/ only) = SB /be/
/pa-zaun sei'-de'-myô/ 1.2 /be-lo sei'-da'-myô/ what kind of attitude
/pa-zaun twi-ka-phû-lê/ 1.3 /be-lo twê-ge-bû-lê/ what (I)'ve seen
/pa-lau'-thi âtô-ji-re/ 3.8 /be-lau'-ôthi âtô-ji-de/ how sacred it is
(3) AR /a/ (with /thu/ only) = SB /be/; cf. old formal WB asû, asui.
/a-ôu-lê/ inf /be-ôu-le/ Who?
/a-thu mosh/ rec /be-ôu mosh/ whoever

2.4 TEXTS

The following three texts are from the recordings mentioned at the beginning of this paper. The first two are by Ù tha Hnin, talking about the work of the Red Cross, and the third is by Do Mâ tha Sein, who was telling her children about Cox of Cox’s Bazaar.

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

1. AR /œ/ is written /o/, wœ, wa/ (see §2.3.1(6)).
2. AR /ein, oun/ are written /ein, i:n/ and /oun, u:n/ (see §2.2.2).
3. Syllables with extended nasality are written /i, i:n, ein/ and /u, u:n, oun/ (see §2.3.1(4)).

There are some Burmanisms, particularly in the first two texts; for example, /cán/ for AR /kráun/, /f/ for AR /r/; /w/ for AR /w/, /le/ for AR /li/. These are transcribed as heard. The modern AR counterpart of SB /pyin-ña/, which contains a loan rhyme from SB (§2.3.1(1)), is transcribed AR /pyin-ña/.

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

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

1. Kro’-Khri-Ni lou’jên-ma sedêna-thâ-pri-ge
   Ce’-Che-Ni lou’nàn-hma sedêna-thâ-pi-dô
fowl-foot-red work-in good.will-place-finish-ing
lou’-râ-phô-so-tî-go prô-prá-me.
lou’-yâ-mê-ha-de-go pyô-pyâ-me.
domust-for-thing-PL-DO say-show-will

2. Kro’-Khri-Ni lou’jên-ma âmyà-âphrón-re pâ-zaun-sei’de’-myô
   Ce’-Che-Ni lou’nàn-hma âmyà-âphyin be-lo-sei’dâ’-myô
fowl-foot-red work-in most-as.regards-EMP what-like-attitude-kind
thà-bri lou’-râ-re-lê sho-ge, âthaâna-brû sei’dé’-lô kho-re.
thà-bi lou’-yâ-dâlê sho-yin, âthaâna-byû sei’da’-lô kho-de.
place-ing domust-VSMK-Q say-if religion-make attitude-QUO call-VSMK

3. âthaâna-brû sei’dé’-sho-zô-gâ nôrô-one-nêl lo’twî-gâ
   âthaâna-byû sei’dâ’-sho-da-gâ nôdô-one-nê le’twê-gâ
religion-make attitude-say-thing-SUBJ we-status-with hand-find-SUBJ
pâ-zaun twî-khâ-phû-lê-lô sho-ge, Henthawâdi-ma ânu-roun
be-lo twê-gê-bû-lê-lô sho-yin, Hanthawâdi-hma ânu-youn
which-like find-there-ever-QUO say-if Hanthawaddy-in leper-hospital
jî-de – yau’câ-ânu-youn mêmâ-ânu-youn-lô.
be-VSMK man-leper-hospital woman-leper-hospital-QUO

4. Yôn-ânu-roun-ma âthaâna-brû-phô’t-kâ âmyôðâm-i-fe-dí
edi-ânu-youn-hma âthaâna-byû-be’t-kâ âmyôðâm-i-lê-de
that-leper-hospital-in religion-make-side-from lady-young-PL
phôrâ-ba-ma dû-thau’-prî-ge –
phôyâ-shi-hma dû-thau’-pi-dô –
God-presence-in knee-support-finish-ing

5. “âcweñ ta-θê’-ta-loûn de-dou’khîta-dî-go
   “Cômâ ta-θê’-ta-loûn di-dou’khîta-de-go
I one-life-period-all this-sufferer-PL-ACC
prūsū-saunjau'-yōnpōn-nén əi-aun-əthi əhmū-thēn-bāli-phō-bye.
pyūzū-saunjau'-yin-nē əe-aun-əthi əhmū-thēn-bā-dō-me.
tend-care-while-with die-up.to-up.to service-bear-POL-for-VSMK

əcwēn-khenthako-go phērā-ma hlu-ba-yōn," sho-re.
Cēmā-khandako-go phēyā-hma hlu-ba-de," sho-de.
my-body-ACC God-to dedicate-POL-VSMK say-VSMK

6. Sho-prī-ge, əū-rö phērā-bā-ma ədei'then-prū-prī-ge,
Sho-pī-dō, əū-dō phāyā-shi-hma ədei'than-pyū-pī-dō,
say-finish-when s/he-PL God-presence-in resolve-make-finish-when

yōn-ənu:n-dī-go prūzū-re.
ədī-ənu-de-go pyūzū-dē.
that-leper-PL-ACC tend-VSMK

7. Prūzū-yōnpōn prūzū-yōnpōn-nēn (yōn-kha-dō kra-buy-le,
Pyūzū-yin pyūzū-yin-nē (ədī-əkha-dō ca-bi-le,
tend-ing tend-ing-with that-time-as.for be.long-VSMK-you see

yōn-khai') əthurō-khenthako-hma-bōn yōn-rōga swēke'-prī-ge,
ədī-dōun) əθudō-khandako-hma-bē ədī-yōga swēka'-pī-dō,
that-time their-body-in-EMP that-disease catch-finish-ing

nu:n-ləkhā-re.
nu-dō-wā-dē.
be.leprous-go-VSMK

8. Yōn-lau'-thī de [dou'khītā-rau'-ne-re -] dou'kā
ədī-lau'-thī di [dou'khītā-yau'-ne-de -] dou'kā
that-much-up.to this [sufferer-reach-stay-REL] suffering
rau'-ne-re lu-dī luṭā-əchōnchōn-go gərūna-jon-tō-ū
yau'-ne-de lu-de luṭā-əchinjin-go gəyūna-jin-tō-ū
reach-stay-REL person-PL person-mutually-EMP pity-master-one-person

əne-nēn [prūzū-prī-ge -] prūzū-hnain-ge'-so-re
əne-nē [pyūzū-pī-dō -] pyūzū-hnain-jā-da-ha
status-with [tend-finish-when] tend-can-PL-thing-SUBJ

chihmwen-phō ma-kāun-lā?
chimūn-bō ma-kāun-lā?
praise-to not-be.good-Q

9. E-fōn-re əmyā-əphrōn-dōka khōriyēn-ələnə-brū-əne-nēn
Di-ou'sa-ha əmyā-əphyn-dōga khōri'yān-əənə-byū-əne-nē
this-thing-SUBJ most-as.regards-as.for Christian-religion-make-status-with

- əənə-brū-pou'go-dī-ma thā-re sei'de'.
- əənə-byū-pou'go-de-hma thā-dē sei'da'.
religion-make-person-PL-at place-REL attitude

10. Ye-khōriyēn-əənə-brū-ə-ne-nēn yōn-pain-sei'de'-myō thā-hnain-re:
Di-khōri'yān-əənə-byū-ə-ne-nē ədī-lo-sei'da'-myō thā-hnain-dē:
this-Christian-religion-make-status-with that-like-attitude-kind place-can-VSMK
11. ṇaṅ-ṇa-vaṇ-ṣe-ha ṇo-vaṇ-ṣe-ha ṇo-vaṇ-ṣe-ha

12. ṇaṅ-ṇa-vaṇ-ṣe-ha ṇo-vaṇ-ṣe-ha ṇo-vaṇ-ṣe-ha

13. ṇaṅ-ṇa-vaṇ-ṣe-ha ṇo-vaṇ-ṣe-ha ṇo-vaṇ-ṣe-ha

14. ṇaṅ-ṇa-vaṇ-ṣe-ha ṇo-vaṇ-ṣe-ha ṇo-vaṇ-ṣe-ha

15. ṇaṅ-ṇa-vaṇ-ṣe-ha ṇo-vaṇ-ṣe-ha ṇo-vaṇ-ṣe-ha

16. ṇaṅ-ṇa-vaṇ-ṣe-ha ṇo-vaṇ-ṣe-ha ṇo-vaṇ-ṣe-ha
17. Lā-brī-kha-hmā, yōn-mrwein-kai' khen-rā-re lu-i


19. Mrwein-kai'te wedōna-fōn-dī əθo'-ko-ke-phō-dō

20. Yōn-cono-te'te pyinña-nēn tā-cho' yōn-thu


22. Kūθā-khwōn tāun-lō kūθā-khwōn prū-ge, yōn-lu-re,
   Jin-la-de-akha, ba-du ma-sho-le, ko-do-hma θe-do-ma-lo
   revive-come-time who-not-say-VSMK-EMP self-PL-in die-for-VSMK-QUO
   [wedona khanza-nein-rá-re lu-ta-yau’-] mrwein-kai-te
   [wedona khan-zá-ne-yá-dé lu-ta-yau’-] mwe-kai-te
   [injury suffer-be-must-REL person-one-person] snake-bite-REL
   wedona khanza-nein-rá-re lu-ta-yau’-re, pren-pri-ge
   wedona khanzá-ne-yá-dé lu-ta-yau’-ha, pyan-pi-dó
   suffering suffer-stay-must-REL person-one-person-SUBJ return-finish-ing

24. Yón-pain cèzu-tóunpren-phó-atwo’ θú-go-re,
   édi-lo cèzu-tóunpyan-bó-atwe’ θú-go-bè,
   that-like favour-return-for-for he-ACC-EMP
   lo’shaun-one-nén phrai’-si, shiphò-wókhá-öne-nén
   le’shaun-one-né phyi’-se, shèbò-wágá-öne-né
   present-status-with be-let medicine-cost-status-with
   phrai’-si, pi-ge, θú-hma-gá gadíthai’sa-khen-prí-θā:
   phyi’-se, pè-yin, θú-hma-gá gadíthi’sa-khan-bí-ðá:
   be-let give-if he-at-EMP promise-give-finish-already
   lo’-má-khen-rá.
   le’-má-khan-yá-bú.
   hand-not-take-must

25. Ye-kha, θú-ma po-zaun nai’nà-lé sho-ge,
   édi-dó, θú-hma be-lo ní’nà-lé sho-yin,
   that-time he-at which-like lose-Q say-if
   yón-pyinña-go te’-khron-áphrón, θú-hma-re
   édi-pyinña-go ta’-chin-áphynín, θú-hma-gá
   that-skil-ACC study-matter-by.means.of he-at-EMP
   akhá-ciye we má-rá.
   akhá-ciye we má-yá-bú.
   fee-money not-get

26. Won-ewe má-rá-roun-ra má-ká-θí:
   Win-ewe má-yá-youn-ðá má-ká-bè:
   enter-money not-get-thing-only not-be.so.little-yet
   yón-pyinña-go te’-thà-khron-áphrón, méinméin-ma
   édi-pyinña-go ta’-thà-jin-áphynín, mími-hma
   that-skil-ACC study-place-thing-by.means.of self-at
40 JOHN OKELL

40. John Okell

27. Yon-awto’-nén, e-pain-sei’dé-myò-nén pyinña-nén,
édi-awte’-né, édi-lo-sei’dá-myò-né pyinña-né,
that-for-with that-like-attitude-kind-and skill-with
θu-to-bà aθo’-ko ke-phó-kei’sá,
θu-to-bà aθe’-ko ke-bó-kei’sá,
person-one-other life-ACC save-for-matter
[dou’khí – ] dou’khá-shai’rau’-nein-re lu-ta-yau’-ko ke-phó
[dou’khí – ] dou’khá-shai’yau’-ne-dé lu-ta-yau’-ko ke-bó
[sufferer] suffering-reach-stay-REL person-one-person-ACC save-for
kei’sá-dí-hma, swènwén-sáza θon-khá-ge’-te
kei’sá-de-hrna, súnzú-sáza θin-gé-já-dé
matter-PL-in sacrificing-ADV learn-there-PL-REL
ŋaró-Ro’khain lu-myò-dí-lé Jí-khá-ge’-te.
ŋedó-Yakkhain lu-myò-de-lé Jí-gé-já-de.
we-Arakanese person-kind-PL-also be-there-PL-VSMK

28. Ægú-Krö’-Khri-Ni lou’nèn-one-nèn sho-ló-fí-gaélé,
ægú-Cë’-Che-Ni lou’nàn-one-nèn sho-ló-fí-yin-lè,
present-fowl-foot-red work-status-with say-ing-be-if-also
that-like-mind-set-kind one-quarter-one-area-ACC keep-to need-thing-EMP

29. Za-phrai’-ló-lè sho-ge, Krö’-Khri-Ni Jëu-θuna-brú
Ba-phyi’-lé-lè sho-yin, Cë’-Che-Ni Jëu-θuna-byú
what-happen-because-Q say-if fowl-foot-red first-patient-care
pyinña sá-re pyinña-dí-go te’-thà-re lu-ta-yau’
pyinña sá-dé pyinña-de-go ta’-thà-dé lu-ta-yau’
skill begin-REL skill-PL-ACC learn-keep-REL person-one-person
ðone-nèn-gá, θù-awto’, sipwa’ri-ma phrai’-si, za-phrai’-si,
ðone-nè-gá, θù-awte’, sipwa’yè-hma phyi’-se, ba-phyi’-se,
status-with-SUBJ he-for profit-in be-let what-be-let
one-thing-even [help] help not-get

30. akuañi-mò-rá, θù-tà-thù-awto’ sho-ló-fí-ló-phrai’-ke, θù-re,
akuañi-mò-yà-bù, θù-tà-thù-awte’ sho-ló-fí-ló-fí-yin, θù-ha,
help-not-get person-one-other-for say-ing-be-ing-be-if he-SUBJ
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

31. E-yön-pain ṭon-ge'-ra-hma-ḷé, ṭaró-re
Di-ëdi-lo ṭin-ja-ya-hma-ḷé, ṭadó-ha
this-that-like learn-PL-must-thing-also we-SUBJ

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

33. Mə-fôn-mə-lón-zo hì-gə-lé mein-ge'-hnôn.
Not-clear-not-light-thing be-if-also ask-PL-EMP

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

1. Nau'-sho-ge, de-sei'de'-cáun wedòna-phrai'-sò-tí jì-re.
Nau'-sho-yin, di-sei'da'-cáun wedòna-phyì'-ta-de jì-de.
more-say-if this-mind-because.of illness-occur-thing-PL exist-VSMK


θəuŋ-yau’ nein-ge’-te-le’.
θəuŋ-yau’ ne-já-de-dé.

three-person live-PL-VSMK-it says

Ein-ʃən-má-dó kàungəun-pai’šan-fí-de – lu-chànə-má.
house-owner-female-as for well-money-have-VSMK person-rich-female


[that-old.lady] that-house-owner-female [that] that-rich.lady

5. Yón-lərá-de’dá-má-re néin-dəin mò-lông-ge nó-tə-khwo’-si ədí-θəthəmá-ha né-dəin mò-lín-dó nó-tə-khwe’-si that-rich.lady-SUBJ day-every sky-light-when milk-one-cup-each

[θau’ –] θau’-nein-já fí-re.
[θau’ –] θau’-ne-já phyi’-te.
[drink] drink-stay-habit be-VSMK


7. θuí-ətwə’ əmrədən əshonən-zí pyon-thə-ge’-te. θuí-ətwə’ əmyədən əshinən pyin-thə-já-de. she-for always ready-each prepare-place-PL-VSMK

8. Nó θau’-pəlai’-pri-ge yón-mamá-re Nó θau’-pəlai’-pi-yin ədi-məinmá-ha milk drink-through-finish-when that-woman-SUBJ

mən-ló-shən-ló twí-re-byə.
lən-ló-shən-ló phyi’la-da-bə.
refresh-ing-refresh-ing find-VSMK-EMP


thá-pri-ge, myə’hnə-məte əai’-te. thá-pi-dó, mye’hnə-debade əi’-te. rise-finish-when face-and.such wash-VSMK
10.  ṭhwa-tai'-te moy'hna-thai'-te lou'-pri-ge, ṭh-u-ṭwɔ̀' əshɔ̃nθɔ̀n
   ṭhwa-tai'-ta moy'ha-thi'-ta lou'-pi-dɔ́, ṭh-u-ṭwe' əshinɔ̀n
   teeth-brush-thing face-wash-thing do-finish-when she-for ready
   pyɔ́n-thà-re  nò-go yu-pri-ge  ṭhau'-pəlai'-te-bye.
   pyin thà-dè  nò-go yu-pi-dɔ̀  ṭhau'-pəlai'-ta-bè.
   prepare-place-REL milk-ACC take-finish-when drink-through-VSMK-EMP

11.  Yɔ̀n  ṭh-u [ṭhau'-] nò  ṭhau'-pəlai'-te  əchein-ma,
   ṭh-u [ṭhau'-] nò  ṭhau'-pəlai'-tẹ  əchein-hma,
   that she [drink] milk drink-through-REL time-at
   ṭh-ũ-nɔmá-gá-lè  zi-go là-khá-re;
   ṭh-ũ-nimá-gá-lè  zè-go ṭhɔ̀-ne-de;
   her-sister-SUBJ also market-to go-there-VSMK

12.  əsekhen-má-lè  yɔ̀n-nɔra-ma  mɔ́-ʃi.
    əsegan-má-lè  ɛdį-neya-hma  mɔ́-ʃi-bù.
    servant-female-also that-place-in not-be

    Nó-debade  ṭhau'-ló-pi-dè-akha,  ṭh-u-làn-ló-shàn-ló  [phyi'-tè akha-]  
    milk and-such drink-ing-finish-time she-refresh-refresh-ing [find-time]
    twí-pri-ge  ṭh-u nein-dùn-ma,  ṭh-u-əkhainasi-wajimá
    phyi'-pi-dɔ̀  ṭh-u ne-dùn-hma,  ṭh-u-əkhainəse-əphwàji
    see-finish-when she be-while-in her-servant-old.lady
   lo'-ma doun-tə-doun-nèn  tɔ'-le'-te-bye.
   le'-hma jàín-tə-jàín-nè  te'-la-da-bè.
   hand-in can-one-can-with ascend-come-VSMK-VSMK.

14.  Lo'-ma doun-tə-doun-nèn  [tɔ'-le'-ke-]  tɔ'-le'-pri-ge-
     Le'-hma jàín-tə-jàín-nè  [te'-la-dɔ̀-]  te'-la-pi-dɔ̀ -
     hand-in can-one-can-with [ascend-come-when] ascend-come-finish-when

15.  “Hn. Màmá nó  [ṭhau'-kwɛ́-]  ṭhau'-pəlai'-pa-bà-là,”
    “Hn. Màmá nó  [ṭhau'-ku'-]  ṭhau'-pəlai'-pa-bà-là,”
    what sister milk [drink-edge] drink-up-POL-VSMK-Q
    yɔ́pəin-lò  mèn-re.
    ɛdį-lo-shobi  mè-de.
    thus-QUO ask-VSMK

16.  Mèin-ge  “È. ṭhau'-pəlai'-pye. Zà-phrai'-ló-lè?”
    Mè-dɔ̀  “è. ṭhau'-pəlai'-pi. Ba-phyi'-ló-lè?”
    ask when mm drink-up-VSMK what-happen-because-Q

17.  “Yɔ̀n-nò-go  əcwɛ́n pai'-phò  thà-zɔ̀-ba.
    “ɛdi-nò-go  əcwɛ́ pyi'-phò  thà-da-ba.
    that-milk-ACC I throw-for set-thing-POL

    Cwe'-tə-gaun  cá-θe-ṭɔ̀-lò.”  ɛdį-lo sho-de.
    mouse-one-creature fall-die-go-POL-because this-way say-VSMK
Sho-dá, "Cəmá əθəi' we-la-da-bə - mámá-θau'-phó-ló.
say-when I milk-new buy-POL-EXCL sister-drink-for-because

20. Yən-nə pai'-əlai'-phó-ló," sho-ge, yən-məmə-re -
ėdi-nə pyi'-əlai'-phó-ló," sho-dá, ėdi-məmə-ha -
that-milk throw-out-for-because say-when that-sister-EMP

"Hn! Cəwé' cá-bi thé-dé nó-go ᶊa əθau'-mí-bi.
ha mouse fall-ing die-REL milk-ACC I drink-happen-VSMK

22. ᶊa-dó dou'ḵhá-byə.
طبق-for trouble-EMP

yau'-θwə-da-bə;
get-go-VSMK-VSMK

24. rèθəun-mə-lé yən-kəwə' rau'-lakhá-re-byə. ṅn.
yechəgən-mə-lé ėdi-cəwe' yau'-θwə-da-bə. ṅn.
bathroom-in-also that-mouse get-go-VSMK-VSMK oh.dear

25. Sou'pé-re nəra-hu-θə-hmyá-mə yən-kəwə'-re lá-nein-ən Sou'pé-de neya-hu-θə-hmyá-hma ėdi-cəwe'-ha ðwə-ne-da
be.dirty-REL place-say-REL-all-in that-mouse-EMP go-be-VSMK
jaungrojaungará-go - yən-kəwə' jaunjojaunjá-go - ėdi-cəwe' nook.and.cranny-ACC that-mouse
nó-thə-go cá-lə-khá sho-bri nau'-ko yən-ənai'əkrə
nó-də-go cá-θwə-bi sho-dó nau'-ko ėdɨ-ənil'əcə
milk-inside-ACC fall-go-time say-finish after-ACC that-dirt
səzou'pəbə-dí-ələun nó-thə-mə phyo-ló-fí-re -
sou'sou'pəbə-de-ələun nó-də-hma phyo-ne-de -
dirt-PL-all milk-inside-in infusion-ing-be-VSMK

26. phyo-thé-lai'-pain fí-ne-phó. phyo-thé-lai'-θəlo fí-ne-mə.
infuse-add-just-like be-stay-for

27. Yən-jón ᶊa əθau'-mí mə-lə - gú," sho-pri-ge,
ėdi-ou'sa ᶊa əθau'-mí(bi) məhəu'-lə - gú," sho-pi-dó,
that-thing I drink-happen not.so-Q now say-finish-ing
θu-re twə-yən, rwen-yən, θu-ha twə-yn, yun-yn,
she-SUBJ ponder-ing revolt-ing
en-chön-yön, phrai’-la-pri-ge, en-byè.
an-jin-yin, phyi’-la-pi-dò, an-yò.
vomit-want-ing be-come-finish-when vomit-VSMK

vomit-thing vomit-thing vomit-thing-EMP not-end-thing

    Nau’-sho-yin, – thʊ-hma-gá cau’-sei’ pa-ne-da-gò –
    after-say-if she-at-SUBJ mind-fear have-stay-thing-EMP
    twé-yòn, rwen-zara-dí-go thədírará-yòn, rwen-yòn, en-yòn –
    twé-yìn, yun-zəya-de-go thədíyá-yìn, yun-yìn, an-yìn –
    ponder-ing disgusting-things-PL-ACC remember-ing revolt-ing vomit-ing
    yòn-pain-en-ge, pəθəmá-kha-dó ðə-pa-re-byè-le.
    that-like-vomit-when first-time-as.for food-contain-VSMK-EMP-you.know

30.  ðₐau’-thà-re nò-dí thwɔ’-cá-re.
    ðₐau’-thà-dé nò-de thwè’-cá-de.
    drink-keep-REL milk-PL emerge-fall-VSMK

    ëdi-lo-bè – ðə-sà-de pa-de.
    that-way-EMP food-PL contain-VSMK

32.  en-phən myà-ge, ðə-sà mə-pa-byè.
    An-ban myà-dò, ðə-sà mə-pa-dò-bù.
vomit-time be.numerous-when food not-contain-VSMK

33.  Le-ra en-re-byè.
    Le-ðà an-da-bè.
    air-only vomit-VSMK-EMP

34.  Sho-ge, en-phən myà-ge, lu-re ðɔpà-le’-te-hnònra.
    Sho-dò, an-ban myà-dò, lu-ha myò-ðtà-da-bò.
say-when vomit-time be.numerous-when person-EMP float-go-VSMK-EMP

35.  Me’té’ mə-ne-hnain-byè.
    Ma’ta’ mə-ne-hnain-dò-bù.
    upright not-stay-can-VSMK

36.  Nwen-nwen-pri-ge thʊ ei’-ra-hma-ra pɔ’lò’ lè-pri-ge,
    Nûn-nûn-pi-dò thʊ ei’-ya-hma-ðà pe’lè’ ḥlè-pi-dò,
    weaken-weak-en-finish-when she sleep-place-in-only on. her.back lie-finish-ing
    rəgəθ-ə-yau’ phrai’-ləká-hà-re-byè.
    yɔgəθ-ə-yau’ phyi’-θwà-da-bè.
    invalid-one-person be-go-VSMK-EMP

37.  Phrai’-lə-ge, ðəmáθə zi-gà pən-la-re.
    Phyì’-θwà-dò, ðîmáθə zë-gà pyən-la-de.
    be-go-when sister market-from return-come-VSMK
38. ñëmáðe-gá zi-là-ló-ji-re sho-gò. 
ñëmáde-gá zè-thwà-ne-de sho-gò. 
sister-SUBJ market-go-ing-be-VSMK say-indeed

39. ñëmáde zi-gà pren-là-ge, 
ñëmáde zë-gà pyan-la-dò, 
sister market-from return-come-when

tà-cho’-kré-ma tho-nàra-ma-lé enphè shì-thà-zò, 
tà-che’ ci-lài’-tò ho-neya-hma-lè anbà’ shè-thà-da, 
one-glance-look-in that-place-in-also vomit wash-put-thing

de-nàra-ma-lé enphè shì-thà-zò; ein-bre’lòùn-lè ci-ló 
di-neya-hma-lè anbà’ shè-thà-da; tàein-lòun-lè fou’-ló 
this-place-in-also vomit wash-put-thing house-all.over-also be.dirty-ing 
pà-ló phrai’-ne-byè. 
þwè-ló phyï’-ne-da-bè. 
be.dirty-ing be-stay-VSMK

40. Ein-bre’lòùn-lè ci-ló-pà-ló rwen-gràunthàtemèn 
Tàein-lòun-lè fou’-ló-thwè-ló yun-zàyaïji 
house-all.over-also be.dirty-ing be.dirty-ing disgust-ing 
phrai’-ron-ra ma-ká-thì: 
phyï’-youn-dà ma-ká-ðë: 
be-thing-only not-be.so.little-yet

41. tà-cho’-kré-lài’-te-ma èmáth-e-lè eì-ra-ma sòn-ló. 
tà-che’-ci-lài’-tè òkha-hma ìmáde-lè eì'-ya-hma sin-ló. 
one-glance-look-just-REL-at sister-also sleep-place-in stretch-ing

father-little mother-little-QUO moan-ing-grøan-ing be-stay-VSMK

43. Phrai’-nein-ge, “Zà-phrai’-pa-lè-mëmà?” 
Phyï’-ne-dò, “Ba-phyi’-pa-lè-mà-mà?” 
be-stay-ing what-happen-POL-Q-sister

44. Ya-pain-ló mèin-ge - “Zà-phrai’-ló sho-gà-he – ñà 
èdi-lo-shobi mè-dò - “Ba-phyi’-ló sho-dò-he – ñà 
this-like-QUO ask-when what-happen-ing say-when-hey I 
kìwó’-cå-ló òi-re nò-go òau’-mí-byè,” sho-re. 
cìwé’-cå-bi òe-dé nò-go òau’-mì-bì,” sho-dè. 
mouse-fall-ing die-REL milk-ACC drink-inadvertently-VSMK say-VSMK

say-when sister-SUBJ what-milk-Q

46. Kìwó’-cå-ló òi-zò - [ nò - ] yòn-nò-go òewèn 
Cìwé’-cå-bi òe-da - [nò - ] èdi-nò-go çàmá 
mouse fall-ing die-thing [milk]-that-milk-ACC I
wè-pəlai’-pri-ge, ò-daunhmá-əθai’-nén cho’-pri-ge,
θun-pəlai’-pi-dó, ò-daunhmá-əθi’-né che’-pi-dó,
throw-out-finish-ing pot-even-new-with cook-finish-and
əθai’ thà-khá-zo-ra mə-là.”
əθi’ thà-gé-da-ðä mə-hou’-là.”
new put-there-thing-EMP not.be.so-Q

47. Yə-pain-ló prò-kha – “O. Yôn-krwo’ cá-ló θi-re
ëdi-lo-shobi pyò-dé-əkha – “O. ëdi-cwe’ cá-bi θe-dé
that-way-QUO say-time oh that-mouse fall-ing die-REL
nó pai’-lai’-pəlè.”
nó pyi’-lai’-pəlè.”
milk throw-out-VSMK-Q

“Gú pyi’-pyi’-khé-bi – òcmá.
now throw-out-there-VSMK I

49. Ye-pri-ge ò-daunhmá əθai’ – ò-əθai’-so-nén
Da-pi-yin ò-daunhmá əθi’ – ò-əθi’-ha-né
that-finish-when pot-even new pot-new-thing-with
[ so’ – ] cho’-pri-ge, əθai’-nó we-ló chə’-pə-khá-so-re-jón,“
[ se’ – ] che’-pi-dó, nó-əθi’ we-bi che’-pyi’-khé-da-bè-ou’sa,“
[sook] cook-finish-when new-milk buy-ing cook-throw-away-thing-EMP-thing
sho-ge, khenzà-ne-rá-re wedàna-àlòun pyau’-ləkhá-re-bye.
sho-dó, khanzà-ne-yá-dé wedàna-àlòun pyau’-θwà-da-bè.
say-when suffer-be-must-REL illness-all vanish-go-VSMK-EMP

50. Yôn-pain phrai’-so-re, wedàna, en-re-ó-re
ëdi-lo phyi’-ta-ha, wedàna, an-de-ó-de
that-like happen-thing-EMP illness vomit-REL-vomit-REL
phrai’-la-rá-so-le tə-khú-shi-jaün,
phyi’-la-yá-da-lè shè-tə-khú-jaun,
become-come-must-thing-also one-thing-drug-because.of
[ext] external-influence-because.of-also not-be.so mind-because.of-EMP

51. Pren-brì yôn-wedàna-gá pyau’kən-ləkhá-rá-so-lè
Pyan-bi ëdi-wedàna-gá pyau’kín-ðwà-yá-da-lè
return-ing that-illness-SUBJ vanish-go-must-thing-also
sei’-kráun-bye.
sei’-cáun-bè.
mind-because.of-EMP

52. Yôn-nén sei’-ko ðəká-thà-ló prò-so.
ëda-né sei’-ko ðəká-thà-ló pyò-da.
that-with mind-ACC main-place-QUO say-thing
2.4.3 ARAKANESE TEXT NO.3 – THE BANYAN TREE AND THE INDIAN PLOT: MIRACULOUS POWERS OF COX’S ORDINATION HALL

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

1. /lists: 1
   1. /lists: 2
      [Cox-master power] Cox-master found-there-thing
      mrōto  θε’ti-øk rượu-go prō-prá-me.
      myōdo  θa’ti-øcǎun-go pyō-pyá-me.
      city  power-about-ACC tell-show-VSMK

2. /lists: 1
   2. 3. E. Prō-prá-me. əpoun-prō-prá-khā-zzo jī-re.
      E. Pyō-pyá-me. əpoun-pyō-pyá-gé-da jī-de.
      yes  tell-show-VSMK much-tell-show-there-thing be-VSMK

3.  /lists: 1
      yes  [power] honour-power-with be-there-VSMK

4.  /lists: 1
      yes  [power] honour-power-with be-there-VSMK

5.  /lists: 1
   5. jī-khā-kha-re yōn-mrōto-re ayo-khau-kha tā-rwa.
      jī-gé-dō-ga edí-myōdo-ha ayo-khi’-hma tō-ywa.
      be-there-time-EMP that-city-SUBJ former-period-in country-village

6.  /lists: 1
   6. Tō-rwo-kha-re lu-lé ma-fí sho-kha, e-ma
      Tō-ywa-dōun-gá lu-lé ma-fí-bù sho-dō, eði-hma
      country-village-when-EMP person-also not-be say-time that-in
      Rōkhai-thā-ró-go mrō-ta-mrō chá-re –
      Yēkhai-thā-dō-gó myō-ta-myō chá-de –
      Arakanese-son-PL-ACC town-one-town found-VSMK
      rō-ta-rō chá-re.
      ywa-ta-ywa chá-de.
      village-one-village found-VSMK

7.  /lists: 1
   7. Chá-kha, ye-fōn-re tō-nín-tho’-tō-rō’ sekā-ló
      Chá-dō, édi-ou’sa-ha tō-né-de’-tō-né sigā-ló
      found-when that-thing-SUBJ one-night-over-one-day be.populous-ing
      la-kha, yōn-fōn-ma ðeindo-grí-tō-khú-gá
      la-dō, édi-ou’sa-hma ðeindo-ji-tō-khú-gá
      come-when that-thing-SUBJ hall-big-one-item-SUBJ
      athwe’te’mre’ Kaθ’e’-Jon te-khā-re.
      athu’æmya’ Ka-thakhin te-gé-de.
      most.noble Cox-master set.up-there-VSMK

8.  /lists: 1
   8. Te-khā-kha-re e-fōn pālau-thi tagō-jī-re
      Te-gé-dō-ga édi-ou’sa bālau-thi tagō-jī-de
      found-there-time-EMP that-thing how.much-up.to power-have-VSMK
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

9. Yôn-naun-bon-gri-re yôn-θeindo-go-re əkər'-əl'-ə-mə-thò-bè, 
edi-naun-bin-jì-ha əkhe'-əle'-ə-mə-thò-bè, 
that-banyan-tree-big-SUBJ that-hall-ACC-EMP branch-not-touch-without
əmrəi'-mə-thò-bè, غو-θo'-θi ʃi-re. 
əmiy'-mə-thò-bè, غو-de'-θi ʃi-de.
root-not-touch-without now-time-up.to be-VSMK

10. [Mm. ʃi - ] ʃi-re. əgù-lè əə-əmi-ró-go əmən-re 
[Mm. ʃi - ] ʃi-de. əgù-lè əə-əmi-dó-go əme-ha 
[mm be] be-VSMK now-also son-daughter-PL-ACC mother-SUBJ
kəo-ló prá-chon-re. 
kəo-bi pyá-jin-de. 
take-and show-want-VSMK

11. È. E-lau'-thi təgə-θə'ti-ná prézoun-khá-re 
È. ë-di-lau'-əthi təgə-θə'ti-né pyézoun-gé-dé 
yes that-much-up.to glory-power-with be.full-there-REL
Kəθe'-jən-ló غو-θo'-θi-lé rou'thúdə-wə-ná 
Kə-θək'hin-ló غو-de'-θi-lé you'thúdə-né 
Cox-master-QUO now-time-up.to-also statue-with
kəkwe-ló ʃi-re. 
kəkwe-ló ne-de. 
worship-ing be-VSMK

12. È. Rək'hain-ma kəo-re Phələun-chei' - 
È. Yək'hain-hma kəo-de Phələun-chei' - 
yes Arakan-in call-REL Westerner-city 
ë: Rək'hain-ma kəo-re Phələun-chei'; 
ë: Yək'hain-hma kəo-de Phələun-chei'; 
yes Arakan-in call-REL Westerner-city

di-dó Koł-a-hma kəo-de Ko'səBaza-ló kəo-de. 
this-when Indian-in call-REL Cox's.Bazaar-QUO call-VSMK

14. Hnai'-təın-hnai'-təın əəngren-Wa-jwe' sho-ge, 
Hni'-təın-hni'-təın əiŋjan-Wa-ju' sho-yin, 
year-every-year-every Thingyan-Lent-release say-when 
təəunshalou' pwè-cá-re. 
cijiceje pwè-cá-de. 
lavishly feast-fall-VSMK
15. Pyó-phó-le əlwen kàun-re.
Pyó-bó-lè əlun kàun-de.
enjoy-for-also much be.good-VSMK

yes [late] late-time-also pagoda-base-hall-PL-in
[shòmìn – ] shòmiónn thwèn-ge’-te, shwèndo-grì làun-ge’-te.
[oil.fire] oil.fire light-PL-VSMK alms.rice-great offer-PL-VSMK

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

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

that-thing-SUBJ [mother] mother-PL-also year-every that-thing
pwè cá-kha, əchein cá-kha, kò-tàinpre-go aùnmein-re.
pwè cá-yin, əchein cá-yin, kò-tàinpye-go au’mé-de.
festival come-time time come-when self-country-ACC recall-VSMK

20. Nau’-re pa-lau’-thì tògò-hì-re sho-zò-go, Kèlà-tí
Nau’-tò ba-lau’-thì tògò-fì-de sho-da-go, Kèlà-de
later-when how-much-up.to power-have-VSMK say-thing-ACC Indian-PL
phyò’shi-phò pyòn-kha, ənìnò’-tò-lè pi-re.
phyè’shi-bò pyin-dò, einme’-tò-lè pè-de.
destroy-to prepare-time dream-holy-also give-VSMK

21. É. “Më-phyo’-kè! E-theindo-nà zedido-go phyo’-te
É. “Më-phye’-nè! Di-theindo-nè zedido-go phye’-te
yes not-destroy-VSMK that-hall-and pagoda-ACC destroy-VSMK
shò-ge, lò’-thì-lò jì-ge, [òò’ – mm – ] non-rò-re
shò-yin, le’-thì-lò jì-yìn, [òë’ – mm – ] nin-dò-ha
say-if hand-touch-ing be-if [life mm] you-PL-SUBJ

dou’khà twì-li’n-me.”
dou’khà twé-léin-me.”
trouble find-surely-VSMK

22. ənìnò’ òùun-kha pi-re-le’.
Einme’ òùun-ga pè-de-dé.
dream three-time give-VSMK-reported

23. Mm. Pi-kha-re yòn-jòn-tí Kèlà-tí-gá krau’-lò
Mm. Pi-dò èdì-ou’-sa-de Kèlà-de-gá cau’-lò
mm finish-time-SUBJ that-thing-PL Indian-PL-SUBJ fear-because
2.4.4 TRANSLATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

18. "I have studied such and such skills. 19. I have learnt these skills from a teacher in order to save the lives of persons suffering from snakebite. 20. Please may I use these skills I have acquired to treat this person and try and save his life?" 21. He has to request permission in this humble way. 22. If his request is granted, then suppose he saves the life of a man on the brink of death. 23. When a man suffering from a snakebite that could have been fatal is saved from death, it is only natural that he should want to make some recompense. 24.
Should he then offer something, either as a present, or to meet the cost of the drugs, the
doctor is under oath, and he must not accept it.

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

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

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

2.4.4.2 THE MOUSE IN THE MILK: A PSYCHOSOMATIC ILLNESS

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

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

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

15. “What? Did you drink that milk?”

16. “Yes, I drank it. What of it?”

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

mouse is the kind of thing that’s in and out of the lavatory 24. and in and out of the
bathroom. Oh dear. 25. It gets into every dirty place there is, all the out-of-the-way corners,
and if that mouse fell into my milk all that dirt and filth must have got into the milk. 26. It’s
as if it had all been warmed up together. 27. And now I’ve gone and drunk it have I?”, she
said, and with dwelling on it, and being revolted by it, she began to feel sick, and then she vomited. 28. She went on and on and on vomiting – she couldn’t stop. 29. And then – she was thoroughly frightened you see – she went on thinking about it, and how disgusting it was, and feeling revolted, and vomiting, and at first there was something to bring up: 30. all the milk she’d drunk came up, 31. so there was something there. 32. But as she went on there was nothing more to come – 33. she was just retching. 34. After all this, inevitably, she felt faint. 35. She couldn’t stand up any longer. 36. She got weaker and weaker, and finally lay flat out on her bed: she was really ill.

37. At that point, her sister came back from the shops – 38. she’d been out shopping, you remember. 39. When she came back she took a quick look round and saw the traces of vomit cleared up in several places, and found the whole house in a mess. 40. Not only was the whole place in a shocking mess, 41. but glancing round she found her sister laid out in bed. 42. “Goodness gracious me”, she cried, all upset, 43. “Whatever has been going on?” 44. To which her sister replied –

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3. INTHA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.1 LOCATION AND NUMBERS

The LSB (Webb 1917:32) records İn-thà speakers in the Southern Shan States, mainly at Yawngwhe, Samka, Mong Pai and Mawnang, with further small groups in Karenni and the Salween District, and around Loikaw. This suggests a rather bunched distribution, but my impression was that the İn-thà villages were more evenly scattered along the edges of the lake. This is also implied by Tin È (1961:2), who lists some 20 lakeside villages, most of which, if not all, are presumably inhabited by İn-thà.
In-θà speakers must have numbered between 50,000 and 60,000 before World War II, as the figures recorded in the censuses (except for 1901) are comparatively uniform:

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

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

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

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

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

3.1.2 BACKGROUND

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

The form İn-lè-ywa is associated with a legend that the İn-θà are descended from Tavoyans who came to the lake and settled there. Ü ʔê-bî-tâ’s version of the story (1955:95) has the first Tavoyan immigrants, Nga Naung and Nga Htaung, in the service of the saw-bwà of Nyaung-shwe (Yaung-hwe). As Tavoy is disturbed at the time, owing to attacks by the Siamese, Nga Naung and Nga Htaung bring up 36 families of friends and relations who soon multiply and spread, from one initial village, to the four villages of the name.
Another version was recorded by F.H. Giles (quoted in Spearman 1879-1880:566). In this one a prince of Pagan travels around the country in a miraculous barge, bearing on its bows five images of the Buddha. Before returning to Pagan he visits În-lè and leaves there the five images – hence the name of the Hpaung-daw-û Pagoda: ‘the bows (front) of the royal barge’. Ü ò-bí-tá has much the same story, but does not connect it with the Tavoyans: they come into the Giles story as ‘artificers’, taken aboard at an earlier stop in the prince’s travels, and left at În-lè with the Buddha images.

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

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

1. TV has a distinction corresponding to that between WB ut, un and up, um; but IT, like SB and the other dialects, merges these two pairs of rhymes, so ut = up, and un = um.

2. TV merges WB aññ with ai; IT merges it with i and e.

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

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<td>WB</td>
<td>ac Y'ak ak at ap aññ Yaññ aŋ an am</td>
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<td>IT</td>
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<td>e' a' in en an am</td>
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4. IT merges WB it, ip with uik, and WB uŋŋ with in, im; but TV keeps these rhymes distinct.

5. IT merges WB ch and s; but TV keeps them distinct.

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

In the less speculative present the În-tha are one of the several language groups of the administrative area of Nyaung-shwe, under the Southern Shan States. Scott’s (1906:70) prediction that “it does not seem probable that they will drop out of future census tables” has been fulfilled up to the present, but, like all the Burmese dialect groups, the În-tha are subject to conformist pressures, through travelling outside their dialect area, and receiving into their villages SB-speaking doctors, teachers and administrators. The În-tha I met seemed to accept the differences between their dialect and SB with equanimity, even amusement; but they
were not protective about it, and their speech will no doubt approximate more and more closely to SB as communications improve.

3.1.3 SOURCE OF MATERIAL

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

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

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

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

3.1.4 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

I would also like to record my gratitude to his wife, Do Khin Me, for her calmness and gentleness, and for appearing unfailingly, just as one began to feel peckish, with delicious things to eat; to Pwè-sà Phù, for his recording and explanations; to Ü-lè Phe and Do-do Ngwe for housing and feeding me on my second visit; to Ko Sò Maun, of İn-chan village, for taking me to his home and to other villages; to Ko 8a Nú of Nyaung-shwe and his family for providing food and shelter and even clothing when one passed through; and to Atin Pancha, Do-do Me, Ko Ci Sò, Ci Ci Myín, and all the other friends and neighbours who were so generous in taking me about to see Ywa-má and meet its people, and in answering my questions about their dialect.
3.2 OUTLINE PHONOLOGY

3.2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

3.2.1.1 TONES

- high plain /+/
- high creaky /+/
- low /+/
- high stop /+’/
- weak /ə/

For /+/, the ‘în-thà mid’, see §3.2.2.

3.2.1.2 RHYMES

Open syllables: weak

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Closed syllables: nasal

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3.2.1.3 HEADS

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3.2.2 PHONEME DESCRIPTION

These are as in SB except as set out below:

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

These particles are therefore marked in the texts and examples with a macron: /+/. This is to be understood as representing the pitch and voice-quality features associated with SB /+/ or /+/ (cf. SB sentence-final variations such as in /ʃin-jɪn/, /kwa-kwá/, etc.); also, though perhaps less often, like SB /+/, and sometimes with the held level mid pitch so characteristic of În-thà speech. The particles so marked are IT /wā (wɔ), mā (mɔ), sh₅, l₅, lē/.
The situation regarding rhymes is:

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

Heads
/1-1/: medial realised as a lateral [l] or flapped apical [r]; not in SB.

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

3.2.3.1 TONES

These are as for SB, but see 3.2.2.

3.2.3.2 RHYMES

Open syllables

| WB | i | e | ai | a | o | ui | u | - |
| IT | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Closed nasal syllables

| WB | in | im | an | an | am | wan | wam | an | - |
| IT | ein | in | an | un | an | en | en | un | un' |

Closed stop syllables

| WB | it | ip | ac | at | ap | wat | wap | ak | ok | uik | ut | up |
| IT | ai' | i' | a' | u' | e' | c' | ou' | 1 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
3.2.3.3 HEADS

These are as for SB except:

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

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

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

3.3 NOTES

3.3.1 PHONEMES

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kraañ.</td>
<td>/ci/</td>
<td>/ci/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kraañ</td>
<td>/ci/</td>
<td>/ci/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khraañ</td>
<td>/chi/</td>
<td>/chi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caañ</td>
<td>/si/</td>
<td>/si/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caañ</td>
<td>/si/</td>
<td>/si/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caañ:</td>
<td>/si/</td>
<td>/si/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaañ</td>
<td>/shi/</td>
<td>/she/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chaañ:</td>
<td>/shi/</td>
<td>/she/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋaññ:</td>
<td>/ni/</td>
<td>/ni/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taññ</td>
<td>/te/</td>
<td>/ti/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taññ:</td>
<td>/tè/</td>
<td>/tè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaññ</td>
<td>/the/</td>
<td>/the/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praññ</td>
<td>/ple/</td>
<td>/pye/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praññ</td>
<td>/ple/</td>
<td>/pyi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phraññ.</td>
<td>/phlé/</td>
<td>/phyé/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praññ.</td>
<td>/plé/</td>
<td>/pyé/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maññ</td>
<td>/me/</td>
<td>/myi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hmaññ.</td>
<td>/hmé, hmi/</td>
<td>/hmé/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maññ:</td>
<td>/mè/</td>
<td>/mè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlaññ.</td>
<td>/hlé/</td>
<td>/hlé/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laññ</td>
<td>/le/</td>
<td>/le/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hlaññ:</td>
<td>/hlé/</td>
<td>/hlé/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taññ.</td>
<td>/tè/</td>
<td>/tè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eññ, saññ</td>
<td>/é-she/</td>
<td>/é-de/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There were some exceptions to this correspondence. First, some words had IT /-i/ without a palatal initial:

naññ: /nù/ method
wi-naññ: /wi-nù/ Vinaya
-taññ: /-ti/ only
naññ: /nè/ be little
laññ: /le/ go round

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

Secondly, a few words have IT /e/:

naññ /ne/ dregs
mr aññ /mlè, mlè/ taste
man-kyaññ /man-kè, -cì/ tamarind

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

Three forms have nasal finals:

saññ: /shèn/ nail
laññ: /lèin/ fall
hlaññ: /hlèin/ fell

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

There is one final form worth noting:

hmai /hmè/ mole

The WB spelling above is MSTK’s. Judson has hmaññ, which the IT reflex supports, suggesting that MSTK is wrong in this case.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mrán</td>
<td>/mlan/</td>
<td>/myän/ be fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyam:</td>
<td>/jän/</td>
<td>/chän/ be cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mraï</td>
<td>/mla'/</td>
<td>/mya'/ be noble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyap:</td>
<td>/jæ'/</td>
<td>/cha'/ flat object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prwan:</td>
<td>/pyun/</td>
<td>/pyun/ pipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrwarn:</td>
<td>/chùn/</td>
<td>/jùn/ mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prwat:</td>
<td>/plù'/</td>
<td>/pyu'/ cluster</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khyañ</td>
<td>/chìn/</td>
<td>be acid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyañ</td>
<td>/jen/</td>
<td>want to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(4) All the dialects considered in these notes – Arakanese, Tavoyan and SB as well as Intha – merge WB in and im, but IT, curiously, adds WB uig to this merger:

- **tim** /tein/ be shallow
- **thin:** /tein/ control
- **tuinj** /tein/ post
- **thujj** /tein/ sit

See further the remarks under note (5) below.

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

- **tit** /tai'/ be quiet
- **thip** /thai'/ top
- **tuik** /tai'/ bump
- **kuik** /kai'/ bite

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

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

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

- **IT Taylor** ai'   ai'   ein  ein
- **IT Jones** ai'   (ei')   [both]  ein
- **IT Ono** [both]  [both]  ein  [both]
- **IT Tin Ê** (ei')  (ei')  ein  ein

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

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

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

It seems then that, with the variants provided by SB, hyper-SB, and (at least) two sub-dialects of IT, either diphthong may be expected in any of the four columns above. It only
remains to add that there were also half-way pronunciations, around [æt?] and [æt], in order to complete the picture of IT’s effective loss of contrast between the two stop rhymes of SB and between its two nasal rhymes.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sū</td>
<td>/shu/</td>
<td>/θu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sarak-sī:</td>
<td>/sharē-shī/</td>
<td>/θoyeθi/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>SB, AR, TV, YW</th>
<th>IT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ky</td>
<td>khy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kr</td>
<td>khr</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(l)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kl</td>
<td>khl</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>ch</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

(7) SB distinguishes IJI, which is a merger of WB hr, hy, and hly, from Ich!, which is a merger of WB khy and khr.

This distinction appears not to be maintained in IT. Both initials are used, and though they seem not to be in free variation for all forms, there are some forms that have IT /ch/ for one informant and IT /ʃ/ for another, and sometimes the same speaker will offer both alternatives for a single form. In the latter case the pronunciation with IT /ch/ was said to be more vivid or emphatic than that with IT /ʃ/. There appears to be no correspondence between the incidence of IT /ch/ vs /ʃ/ and the OB antecedents of the forms concerned (see note (8) below).
It seems likely that in the case of the WB velar clusters IT speakers have been moving from the /ch/ pronunciation to /ʃ/. This is suggested by the observation that in several cases the earlier records (Grierson, Taylor, Shafer) show a /ch/ where more recent records (Jones and myself) have /ʃ/, while in no case is the reverse true, that is there is no case where a /ʃ/ recorded earlier is later recorded as /ch/. With increasing contact with SB, however, IT is now perhaps under pressure to reverse the move from /ch/ to /ʃ/. It could be this that accounts for the hypercorrect /ch/ in words with WB hr, hy and hly.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OB</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>krak</td>
<td>krak</td>
<td>/ce’/</td>
<td>/ce’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khraññ</td>
<td>khraññ</td>
<td>/chi’/</td>
<td>/chi’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyak</td>
<td>kyak</td>
<td>/ce’/</td>
<td>/ce’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyat</td>
<td>khyac</td>
<td>/chi’/</td>
<td>/chi’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kli</td>
<td>kyi:</td>
<td>/kli/</td>
<td>/ci/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khl</td>
<td>kyε:</td>
<td>/khl/</td>
<td>/chi/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kluw</td>
<td>kyui:</td>
<td>/cə/</td>
<td>/cə/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khloŋ</td>
<td>khyoŋ:</td>
<td>/chən/</td>
<td>/chàun/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IT also has a number of exceptions to these correspondences:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OB</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kriy</td>
<td>kre</td>
<td>/kle, ce/</td>
<td>/ce/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krā</td>
<td>krāː</td>
<td>/klà/</td>
<td>/cà/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khrun</td>
<td>khyun: (sic)</td>
<td>/khluon/</td>
<td>/chòun/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>khrök</td>
<td>/khol'</td>
<td>/chau'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cf. kro)</td>
<td>kro</td>
<td>/ko'/</td>
<td>/cau'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>kruiŋ</td>
<td>/klein/</td>
<td>/cain/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyan</td>
<td>kyan</td>
<td>/klan/</td>
<td>/can/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>khyan</td>
<td>/khlan/</td>
<td>/chan/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some of these anomalous /-1/-s are matched in TV, which adds a few more cases of its own. No explanation is at present available.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OB</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man-klaññ</td>
<td>man-kyaññ:</td>
<td>/man-kè/</td>
<td>/màjë/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khwai</td>
<td>kwyai</td>
<td>/kwè, cwè/</td>
<td>/cwë/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khlwat</td>
<td>khywat</td>
<td>/khwu'/</td>
<td>/chu'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyi</td>
<td>khye:</td>
<td>/khè/</td>
<td>/chì/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khriy</td>
<td>khre</td>
<td>/khe/</td>
<td>/che, chì</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(9) IT /-1-1/ after initial IT /p, ph, m, hm/ matches IT /-1-1/ after initial /k, kh/ in that it has the same two allophones [-l-] and [-r-], which are contrastive stylistically but not phonemically (note (8) above). Again as in the case of the velar clusters, OB has three clusters with labials, but here IT has the same merger as WB. In the chart P is used as a cover symbol for orthographic p, ph, m, mh and phonemic /p, ph, m, hm/.

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

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OB</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>plaññ</td>
<td>praññ.</td>
<td>/plè/</td>
<td>/pyè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mliy</td>
<td>mre</td>
<td>/mlè/</td>
<td>/myè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phrat</td>
<td>phrat</td>
<td>/phla'/</td>
<td>/phyà'/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As in the case of the K clusters, the data contain some pronunciations that presumably stem from SB, with IT /Py/=OB Pl. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IT</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pyaŋ</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>myak</td>
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</tr>
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<td>pyam</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>myok</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prê</td>
<td>/pl/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l'mre:</td>
<td>/lmè/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aplac</td>
<td>aprac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mlyuiw</td>
<td>myui:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phriy</td>
<td>phre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mraŋ</td>
<td>mraŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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The IT /-l/- in /plan/ ‘fly’ is supported by TV /plan/, which makes it difficult to attribute this form to misrecording or informant confusion.

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

<table>
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<tr>
<td>/tô, tô/</td>
<td>(noun plural suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lô, lô/</td>
<td>because, (quoted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phô, phô/</td>
<td>for, to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>che:</td>
<td>/shè/</td>
</tr>
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<td>chai</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>chai</td>
<td>/shè/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
but merged these pairs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>we:</th>
<th>/wè/</th>
<th>/wè/</th>
<th>be distant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wai</td>
<td>/wè/</td>
<td>/wè/</td>
<td>have an accent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kre</td>
<td>/ce/</td>
<td>/ce/</td>
<td>be crumbled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kray</td>
<td>/ce/</td>
<td>/ce/</td>
<td>star</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| tarā:  | /tɔrɔra/ | /tɔyə/ | law |
| sā:re  | /ʃərə/   | /θəyə/ | leather |
| charā  | /ʃɔra/   | /ʃɔya/ | teacher |
| phurā  | /ˈfɔrə/  | /ˈfɔyə/ | lord |
| bhuran | /ˈfərən/ | /ˈfəyən/ | king |
| sarak  | /ʃɔrəˈ/  | /θəyəˈ/ | mango |
| pharai | /ˈfɔrə/  | /ˈfɔyə/ | watermelon |

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

| ruik   | /raiˈ/ | /yaiˈ/ | strike |

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>me:</td>
<td>/hmè/</td>
<td>/mè/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>myañ:</td>
<td>/hmìn/</td>
<td>/myìn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrwe</td>
<td>/hmwe/</td>
<td>/mwe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anan:</td>
<td>/ɔnán/</td>
<td>/ɔná/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nwā:</td>
<td>/hnwà/</td>
<td>/nwà/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrak</td>
<td>/hmье́/</td>
<td>/myeˈ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arñi:</td>
<td>/əhmú/</td>
<td>/əmú/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| krö:  | /χ}}{{o,W}} | /cə/ | fry |
| krai  | /chə́/    | /cè/ | scatter |
| kywat | /ˈcuː/   | /cuˈ/ | be brittle |
| tim   | /thein/  | /tein/ | cloud |
| koŋ:kaŋ | /kʰɔn-κɔn/ (sic) | /kàun-gin/ | sky |
| pun:  | /phòun/  | /pòun/ | hide |

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

| rwā | /wa/ | /ywa/ | rain, village |
| nā:rwak | /nà-weˈ/ | /nəyweˈ/ | ear |
| rwak-hle | /yweˈhle/ | /yweˈhle/ | sailing boat |
3.3.2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

3.3.2.1 VOICING

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>co-co</td>
<td>/sɔ̀-sɔ̀/</td>
<td>/sɔ̀-zɔ̀/</td>
<td>early</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lanj:kha</td>
<td>/lɛn-kha/</td>
<td>/lɛn-ga/</td>
<td>daybreak</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sam-ghā</td>
<td>/ʃan-kha/</td>
<td>/than-ga/</td>
<td>Sangha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyam:gan</td>
<td>/cən-kan/</td>
<td>/cən-gan/</td>
<td>treatise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhāt-tō</td>
<td>/thaˈto/</td>
<td>/daˈto/</td>
<td>relic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buddha</td>
<td>/Pouˈtha/</td>
<td>/Bouˈdā/</td>
<td>Buddha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do-sa</td>
<td>/tɔ-ʃa/</td>
<td>/dɔ-ða/</td>
<td>anger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhā-sā</td>
<td>/pha-sha/</td>
<td>/ba-da/</td>
<td>religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jō-gyī</td>
<td>/so-ci/</td>
<td>/zo-ji/</td>
<td>magician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jhān</td>
<td>/san/ (sic)</td>
<td>/zan/</td>
<td>trance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khoń:</td>
<td>/khɔn/</td>
<td>/ɡaun/</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khai</td>
<td>/kʰɛ/</td>
<td>/ɡɛ/</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gwam:</td>
<td>/kùn/</td>
<td>/ɡùn/</td>
<td>cotton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gui:</td>
<td>/kɔ/</td>
<td>/ɡɔ/</td>
<td>goal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhā:</td>
<td>/thə/</td>
<td>/də/</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don:</td>
<td>/tɔn/</td>
<td>/dɔun/</td>
<td>peacock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dut</td>
<td>/touˈ/</td>
<td>/dɔuˈ/</td>
<td>stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buik</td>
<td>/pʰaiˈ/</td>
<td>/baiˈ/</td>
<td>belly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bon:bi</td>
<td>/pɔn-phi/</td>
<td>/bɔun-bi/</td>
<td>trousers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhi:</td>
<td>/pʰɛin/</td>
<td>/bɛin/</td>
<td>wheel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhin:</td>
<td>/pʰɛin/</td>
<td>/bɛin/</td>
<td>opium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bāmā</td>
<td>/Phɔma/</td>
<td>/Bɔma/</td>
<td>Burmese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhaŋ</td>
<td>/phan/</td>
<td>/ban/</td>
<td>bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bi-lat</td>
<td>/Pʰi-laˈ/</td>
<td>/Bǐ-laˈ/</td>
<td>England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khye:</td>
<td>/khɛl/</td>
<td>/jǐ/</td>
<td>dirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyit</td>
<td>/chaiˈ/</td>
<td>/jɛiˈ/</td>
<td>hook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gyac</td>
<td>/ciˈ/</td>
<td>/jǐˈ/</td>
<td>jeep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyuiņ.</td>
<td>/chéin/</td>
<td>/jæin/</td>
<td>pot-hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jhe:</td>
<td>/ʃeˈ/</td>
<td>/zɛl/</td>
<td>market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chiː:sī:</td>
<td>/ʃiː-laˈ/</td>
<td>/zi-ði/</td>
<td>wild plum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-tā:</td>
<td>/təθaˈ/</td>
<td>/tədà/</td>
<td>bridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laṅga:</td>
<td>/le-phaˈ/</td>
<td>/le-bin/</td>
<td>neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tapak</td>
<td>/tɔn-peˈ/</td>
<td>/tæbɛˈ/</td>
<td>scarf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bū:</td>
<td>/phũ/</td>
<td>/bũ/</td>
<td>gourd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wam:pai</td>
<td>/ɔn-peˈ/</td>
<td>/wùn-bĩ/</td>
<td>duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>san:khoņ</td>
<td>/ʃəkɔn/</td>
<td>/θəgaun/</td>
<td>midnight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tan-khū:</td>
<td>/Tɔkũ/</td>
<td>/Tægũ/</td>
<td>Tægũ (month)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is tempting to suppose that IT is a more reliable source than WB for evidence that certain words had aspirate or plain initials at some stage before SB developed voicing (assuming that SB voicing is a later development). IT evidence however should be used with caution. Some of the plain initials may well be approximations to modern SB voiced initials by a dialect deficient in voiced initials: compare IT /ci'/. for SB /j'i/ 'jeep'; and some of the aspirates could be due to the IT tendency to aspirate initials that are plain in all other dialects, for example IT /thein/ for SB /tein/ 'cloud': see note (13) above.

3.3.2.2 WEAKENING

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā:rwak</td>
<td>/nà-we'/</td>
<td>/nàywe'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-nap-khā:</td>
<td>/shà-ne'khà/</td>
<td>/shànakhà/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha-nwàn:</td>
<td>/shi-hwàn/</td>
<td>/shànwin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnàc-thoŋ</td>
<td>/hni-thòn/</td>
<td>/hnàthaun/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se-nàt</td>
<td>/shì-na'/</td>
<td>/shìna'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man-kyaññ:</td>
<td>/man-kè/</td>
<td>/màjì/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tam-khā:</td>
<td>/tan-khà/</td>
<td>/tàgà/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wà:llum:</td>
<td>/wà-loûn/</td>
<td>/wàlûn/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- kha-ram: /chà:n/ /khàyàn/ aubergine
- re-kara: /ye-cà:/ /ye-kàyà:/ kettle
- sam-pa-rà: /shan-pya/ /thankàya/ lime
- khre-pha-wà: /khe- phwà/ /chi-phwà/ sole

And in other words the entire weak syllable is omitted:

- tha-màŋ: /mèn/ /thàmin/ cooked rice
- sa-khwà: /khwà/ /thàikhwà/ cucumber
- ca-pà: /pà/ /sàbà/ paddy
- nà:pi | /pi/ /nàpì/ fish paste
- kyoŋ:a-mà: /còn-mà/ /caun-òmà/ monastery-supporter (female)
- kyoŋ:da-kà: /còn-ka/ /caun-dàga/ monastery-supporter (male)
- lak-sa-mà: /le'-mà/ /le'-òmà/ carpenter
- pu-cwan-chit | /sun-shai'/ | /pàzun-zei'/ shrimp

3.3.2.3 INDUCED CREAKY TONE

Induced creaky tone occurs as in SB. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sū-hà</td>
<td>/shu-a/</td>
<td>/thù-hà/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sū:pha</td>
<td>/shû-phà/</td>
<td>/thù-ophe/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.3 Grammar

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

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{IT} & \quad /yu-te'-a/ 1.17 \\
\text{SB} & \quad /yu-te'-ta/
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
take-ascend-VSMK \\
(\text{He}) \text{ took (it) up.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{IT} & \quad /la-hmè-a/ 1.25 \\
\text{SB} & \quad /la-mè-da/
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
come-ask-VSMK \\
(\text{He}) \text{ came and asked.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{IT} & \quad /thò-thé-à-a/ 2.19 \\
\text{SB} & \quad /thò-thé-thà-da/
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
spear-put.in.place-VSMK \\
\text{what (they) had caught and landed}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{IT} & \quad /klo'-khønè mi-à-è/ 1.31 \\
\text{SB} & \quad /køλau'khønè myi-ðwà-de/
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
clonk-ADV sound-go-VSMK \\
(\text{It}) \text{ went clonk.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{IT} & \quad /ca-ʃen ca-me-çon/ \text{ inf} \\
\text{SB} & \quad /ca-jinyin ca-me-lò/
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{last-want last-VSMK-QUO} \\
(\text{I was thinking}) \text{ it could take a long time.}
\end{align*}
\]

(6) /e/ see /te/

(7) /ha/ or /a/ verb-sentence marker attribute = SB /té/
(8) /kha/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /tó, té-akhir/

IT /maná cí-lún-kha, shu-a hèn-khò-chen-e/ 1.14
SB /ma-ná cí-lún-dó, òu-ha èda-chò-jin-de/

arrogance be.great-excess-time he-SUBJ that-break-want-VSMK
As (she) was so arrogant (he) wanted to bring (it) down.

(9) /khá/ auxiliary verb = SB /khé/

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

(10) /khànàn/ special head noun = SB /sòya/ (cf. SB /verb-phànàn/)

IT /fe'-khànàn-wál/ inf
SB /fe'-sòya-jì/
be.shameful-thing-EMP
How humiliating!

IT /chi'-khànàn kòn-ë/ inf
SB /chi'-sòya kàun-de/
love-thing be.good-VSMK
(She) is charming.

(11) /khé/ auxiliary noun = SB /tó/

IT /è lu-khè/ inf
SB /hé lu-dó/
hey person-PL
Hi you lot!

IT /shan-pou'ti-khè klikàn-khè/ inf
SB /sa-gòlè-dó cigàn-dó/
sparrow-small-PL crow-PL
sparrows and crows and so on

(12) /khèn/ special head noun = SB /sòya/ (cf.WB khan:)

IT /shwà-khèn ji-ù inf
SB /òwà-zòya mò-jì-bú/
go-thing be-VSMK
(I) don’t have to go anywhere.

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

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

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

IT /hmàn shí-ù inf
SB /ba-hmá mò-θì-bú/
something know-VSMK
(You) don’t understand at all.
I know a little bit about this.

(15) /shəmə/ special head noun = SB /θəmə/ but used more freely

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

IT /yə'-phù-shəmə/ inf
SB /ya'u'phù-θəmə/
reach-ever-person
person who has been there before

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

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

IT /eënma-pyo le-e-shö/ 1.13
SB /məinma-byo le-de-bó/
girl-maid visit-VSMK-EMP
(They) used to go courting.

IT /thá-ðun-mà thò-lai'-shö/ 1.29
SB /thá-pi-dò thò-lai'-kò/
rise-further-when strike-through-EMP
(He) upped and hit him.

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

IT /fì-me-shəwà/ inf
SB /fì-me-bó/
be-will-EMP
(He)'ll be there.

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

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

IT /stutu-i/ inf
SB /studu-bè/
same-EMP
(It)'s just the same.
(18) /kane/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB (repetition), /ló/

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

IT /ye-kane yá – tókha-i/ inf
SB /thei’ yi-yá-de – tókha-dè/
laugh ADV get one time only
It was such a laugh.

(19) /ká/ ?subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /tóun, shè/

IT /mèn sà-ne-ká/ inf
SB /thòmin sà-ne-dòun/
rice eat be still
(I)’m still eating.

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

IT /nà-shèmi-nà la-le-là/ 1.26
SB /nà-thèmi-shí la-le-da-là/
my daughter near come visit Q
Have you come to court my daughter?

IT /phèshu-á/ inf
SB /bù-lè/
who Q
who?

IT /phè-kha yɔ’-á/ inf
SB /be-dòungá yau’tholè/
which time arrive Q
When did (you) arrive?

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

IT /øyen-tóuná-lè/ 1.11
SB /øyin-dòungá-le/
former while you know
I mean in the old days

IT /càn-pó-a poun-lè/ 1.11
SB /càun-pó-dè poun-le/
monastery send REL story you know
you know, the story about sending to the monastery
(22) /le/ subordinate marker with noun for complement or attribute = SB /lo/

IT /hên-le/ 1.23
SB /êdî-lo/
that-like
in that way

IT /phô-le-myô/ 1.44
SB /be-lo-myô/
what-like-kind
In what way?

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

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

IT /to-to-nê-le/ 1.7
SB /to-do-nê-bê/
short-ADV-with-EMP
nice and short

IT /you’ tê-myô pyôn-à-le/ inf
SB /you’ tê-myô pyàun-ôwà-bi-bê/
looks one-kind change-go-EMP
How different (you) look!

IT /khe’-ne-ô-le/ 1.35
SB /khe’-ôwà-bi-bê/
be.difficult-be-go-EMP
Now we’re in trouble.

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

IT /Yê-lo/ 1.44
SB /Hê-kwa/
Hey-man
Hi there.

IT /hmân shî-shê-ù-lô/ 1.5
SB /ba-hmân ma-thî-ô-ë-byàa/
something know-yet-VSMK-man
(You) don’t know yet.

(26) /lo/ sometimes /lo/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /lô/, also with quotation = SB /lô/
And what if (I) am hungry?

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

(28) /mā/, varying to /mā/, also /ōun-mā, ōun-mō/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /pi, tō/, also perhaps SB /pi-dō/
(29) /mä/ may also occur with bases other than verbs. The material has only one example:

IT /Tëm-few-në-ôun-më pêsù can-shë-à/ inf
SB /Tin-few-pë-dë bôôu can-ðëi-ðalë/
Tin-Shwe-with-more-and who be.left-yet-Q
After counting Tin Shwe, who else is left?

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

IT /mòa-Myën-Môn-ton sà-nein-ù/ inf
SB /Myën-Maun-daun-hmâ më-sà-hnain-dë-bù/ even-Myint-Maung-even eat-can-VSMK
Even Myint Maung can’t eat any more.

(31) /mën-shë/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yin, té-ëkha/

IT /la-mënshë/ inf
SB /la-dë-ëkha/
come-when
when (he) comes

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

IT /nà-shëmi-nà la-le-là/ 1.26
SB /nà-ðëmi-shi la-le-da-là/
my-daughter-ACC come-visit-Q
Have you come to court my daughter?

IT /shë-nà pè-e/ inf
SB /ðë-go pè-de/
he-ACC give-VSMK
gave (it) to him

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

IT /hë-ôu/ inf
SB /hë-në/ boat-with
by boat

IT /më-sà-nà/ inf
SB /më-sà-në/ not-eat-VSMK
Don’t eat (it).
In (34) /ne'/ auxiliary verb = SB /leín, yò-bó/

IT /fwe-shù-shù-ná/ pu-ne'-me/ inf
SB /chwe-tédi-di-né/ pu-ne-yò-bó/
sweat-drip-ADV-with be.hot-surely-will
(You) must be hot — (you)'re sweating a lot.

(35) /ò/ auxiliary verb = SB /òwà/

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

IT /kton-ò-wó/ inf
SB /kàun-òwá-bi-bè/
be.good-go-EMP
(It)'s all right now.

(36) /oùn-má/ see /má/

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

IT /ne-kòn-pè/ inf
SB /ne-mà-kàun-bè/
live-be.good-without
being unwell

IT /má-pyò-pè/ 1.22
SB /má-pyò-bè/
not-speak-without
not replying

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

IT /sà-ù/ inf
SB /má-sà-bù/
eat-VSMK
(I) didn’t eat.

IT /má-yá-pù/ inf
SB /má-yá-bù/
not-get-VSMK
(It)'s impossible.

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

IT /thá-hnò-ê/ 1.23
SB /thá-hnò-de/
rise-wake-VSMK
(She) got up and woke (him).

IT /shí-ne-ê/ inf
SB /ôí-ne-de/
know-be-VSMK
(He) knows (them).
(40) /wā/, varying to /wā/, sentence-final postposition = SB /pó, pa, phè, pa-gələ/; frequent also after IT /sh5/ q.v., and in IT /ləwā/ which is perhaps /lē/ and /wā/

IT /l-e-wā/ inf
SB /l-e-ba/ yes-EMP
Yes.

IT /sà-wā/ inf
SB /sàpibi-bè/ eat-EMP
(I) have eaten.

IT /l-a-wā/ inf
SB /labi-bè/ come-EMP
(He)’s here.

IT /khú-sənà-poun-w5-là/ 2.1
SB /khú-dingá-poun-bè-là/ now-just-story-EMP-Q
Is that your only story then?

IT /əphə-lè-yo’-wā/ 2.7
SB /əphə-lè-yau’-phè/ friend-four-person-EMP
“The four friends” of course

IT /mə-nei-nein-ləwā/ 1.22
SB /mə-nei-hnain-dò-bù/ not-stay-can-EMP
(Sh)e couldn’t bear it.

IT /hèn-lè hmè-łəwā/ 1.26
SB /èdi-lo mè-yò/ that-way ask-EMP
That’s how (he) asked.

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

IT /phərà-wu’ te’/ 1.24
SB /phəyà-wu’ te’tè/ lord-duty attend
(He) said his prayers.

IT /səkà-khò-pyò-cí/ 1.20
SB /səgà-khò-pyò-cí-de/ word-call-say-try
(Sh) e tried to start a conversation.
(42) [repetition] is occasionally used in ways that strike the SB speaker’s ear as strange. For example:

**IT** /còn-ma-óstèintèin/ inf

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

**IT** /shè-khà-pèn chàchà fi-ε/ inf

**SB** /shè-gà-bin ðà’ðà’ fi-de/
medicine-bitter-plant separate be-VSMK
There is an actual (plant called) bitter-medicine plant.

**IT** /ta-là-po-po/ inf

**SB** /tə-là-cəjo/
one-month-exceed-ADV
a bit more than a month

**IT** /shu-fi-fi pyó-ne-a/ inf

**SB** /ðu-ji-bè pyó-ne-da/
he-only-ADV speak-be-VSMK
No-one talked but he.

**IT** /món-un-móun kre-ε/ inf

**SB** /ñe’-ñe’ ce-de/
powder-ADV be.crushed-VSMK
It was crushed to death.

### 3.3.4 VOCABULARY

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

#### 3.3.4.1.1 UTENSILS AND ARTIFACTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>IT</strong></th>
<th><strong>SB</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/əpe’/</td>
<td>/ɔwu’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pe’-tu/</td>
<td>/təɡà/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pein/</td>
<td>/càn-byin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pəsən-kù/</td>
<td>/thùn-bùn/, /saun/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/kàn-yε’/</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>/khəwε’-pəlε’-kù/</td>
<td>/səlau-n-bùn/</td>
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<td>/khàmà/</td>
<td>/damá/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/khun/</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>/pai’/</td>
<td>–</td>
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<tr>
<td>/tòn-pèn/</td>
<td>/thɔyən/</td>
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<td>/pɔ-ɔɔ/</td>
<td>/phəlà/</td>
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<td>/kɔpà-sɔ’/</td>
<td>/yùn-de-gwe’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mì-chài’/</td>
<td>/mì-ji’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ye-pwè/</td>
<td>/ye-hmou’/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phyù/</td>
<td>/bì/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- clothes
- door cf. Shan phák-tù ‘door’
- floor cf. Shan pñ ‘floor’
- quilt
- veranda
- pan lid
- large knife
- waterproofed basket (large)
- waterproofed basket (small)
- mat walling
- glass lamp shade
- bowl
- lacquer bowl
- match, lighter
- water-dipper, ladle
- comb
3.3.4.1.2 Fauna and Flora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/shan-pou’ti/</td>
<td>/sa-gələ/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/kətə'/</td>
<td>/ye-je'/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hnən-i/</td>
<td>/zin-yo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/on-pə/</td>
<td>/wùn-bè/</td>
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<td>/kəlein/</td>
<td>/pəywə-sheɪ'/</td>
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<td>/pò-si-hmən/</td>
<td>/pò-sən-un-jù/</td>
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<td>/pá-khe/</td>
<td>/phəɥʊn/</td>
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<td>/chī-chin/</td>
<td>/khəyən-jin/</td>
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<td>/tan-pu/</td>
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<td>/khə/</td>
<td>/pyəun-bə/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/shi-pò  katò/</td>
<td>/be-da/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/an-pỳò/</td>
<td>/ŋəpỳò/</td>
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3.3.4.1.3 Derived Words

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<thead>
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<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kətì-kələi/</td>
<td>/kəbya-kəya/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/kəθu'-kəlu'/</td>
<td>/bo-ðí-bə'θi/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/tù-yà-tù-yà/</td>
<td>/bo-ðí-bə'θi/</td>
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<td>/kəsa'-kəla'/</td>
<td>/məhou'məhman/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/lì-lì-le'-lè'/</td>
<td>/wins-wins/</td>
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3.3.4.1.4 Miscellaneous

<table>
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<td>/kù/</td>
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<td>/khe-phe  khli'/</td>
<td>/chi-du'ne hlo/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/ko'/</td>
<td>/chi-du'ne hlo/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phyi'/</td>
<td>/kan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pl'i'/</td>
<td>/o-shè/</td>
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<tr>
<td>/à-phe'  wè'/</td>
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<td>/phou'/</td>
<td>/ña/</td>
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<td>/kwè'/</td>
<td>/ kho/</td>
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<td>/i-kàne'/</td>
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<td>/hnəkhəun/</td>
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<td>/che' /</td>
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<tr>
<td>/ein-tama/</td>
<td>/θəye-za/</td>
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<td>/mwé'/</td>
<td>/ədo/ (etc.)</td>
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<td>/kwen/</td>
<td>/ù-lè/</td>
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### 3.3.4.2 Forms with Irregular Reflexes

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<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>IT Form Requires *SB</th>
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<tr>
<td>/lu-shàna/</td>
<td>/lu-ye, thàne/</td>
<td>/lu-shane, lu-thàne/</td>
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<td>/thìn-bò-di/</td>
<td>/thàn-bò-di/</td>
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<td>/khàun-gin/</td>
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<td>/chin-pyeon/</td>
<td>/chin-baun/</td>
<td>/chin-byaun/</td>
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<td>/tha'ke/</td>
<td>/tha'ke/</td>
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<td>/pò-hà'/</td>
<td>/pò-he'/</td>
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<td>/tông'e'/</td>
<td>/taun-be'/</td>
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<td>/hni', hno/</td>
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<td>/hni-lòun/</td>
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<td>/yè-tòyau'/</td>
<td>/yè-jau'/</td>
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<td>/hmyà/</td>
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<td>/thàn-phi/</td>
<td>/thàmein/</td>
<td>/thàn-bì/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lèin, hlàin/</td>
<td>/lè, hlà/</td>
<td>/lèin, hlàin (or -àin)/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

#### 3.3.4.3.1 Whole Words and Phrases

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<tr>
<th>IT</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th>SB Meaning of IT Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/yè-tèn/</td>
<td>/pau'shein/</td>
<td>axe cf. yè-dìn ‘battle-axe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/àsá-ànà/</td>
<td>/àcín/</td>
<td>habit cf. àsá-ànà ‘piece, clue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/fè/</td>
<td>/chòu/</td>
<td>be sweet cf. è ‘be cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/se'/</td>
<td>/é/</td>
<td>be cold cf. se’ ‘drip, cross over’ etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wòun/</td>
<td>/pyì'sí/</td>
<td>thing, object cf. wùn ‘load, baggage’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pyà/</td>
<td>/pòzin/</td>
<td>dragonfly cf. pyà ‘bee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mòun-shèìn/</td>
<td>/tòbye'-sí/</td>
<td>broom cf. ahmòun, thèin ‘powder, dust; clear up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/à klà/</td>
<td>/sei’ shò/</td>
<td>be angry cf. à cà ‘admire, envy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/en-dòun/</td>
<td>/sòdè-gwe'/</td>
<td>spittoon cf. in-dòun ‘cooking pot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kålèn fo/</td>
<td>/gålàn thò, chá/</td>
<td>bolt (door, etc.) cf. thàn-byu ‘tin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/shan-phyu/</td>
<td>/ðòù'/</td>
<td>corrugated iron cf. mu’ ‘be hungry’ (restricted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mu'/</td>
<td>/sha/</td>
<td>be hungry cf. lìn ‘wait’ (restricted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lèn/</td>
<td>/sáun-ne/</td>
<td>wait cf. lìn ‘wait’ (restricted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/lwèn/</td>
<td>/pyò-fwin/</td>
<td>be happy cf. lwin ‘be bright’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following two texts are from the recordings mentioned in the introduction. One tells of a practical joke played by Ė-Poun Ta-Te, who – if he ever existed – lived in the village of Ywa-má ‘in the old days’, and has become a byword for outrageous pranks. The other is a humorous anecdote, evidently in the youn-dan saga tradition, when friends vie with each other to tell the most implausible tale.

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

The transcription is phonemic, except for the following points:

1. The particles /wa/ and /ma/ are written /wɔ/ and /mɔ/ when the latter representation seems closer to their actual realisation.

2. Medial /-1/- is written /-l/- or /-r/- according to its realisation.
3. The word corresponding to SB /ho/ 'that', when used in IT as a hesitation-word, is 
often pronounced, by P at any rate, with distorted vowel and tone. There is little 
rounding, the whole diphthong is centralised [ai], and its pitch falls from high to mid, 
sometimes rising to the high from a low start. Often, too, it has no initial /h/. This 
word, when so pronounced, is transcribed /hau/ or /au/.

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

    Nin ba-poun pyə-mə-lə – kə.
you what-story tell-will-Q come

2. P: Aυ – əyen-təwná e-Poun-Ta-Te-əcön-wə
    Ho – əyin-dəungá e-Poun-Ta-Te-əcəun-bə
that past-while E-Pon-Ta-Te-about-EMP

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

e-Poun-Ta-Te-əpoun myə-da-bə: nin [ba – ba – ]
E-Pon-Ta-Te-story be.many-EMP you [what what]
    sa-poun pyə-mə-lə-ə.
    ba-poun pyə-mə-lə-lə.
    what-story tell-will-QUO-Q

    ah – you something know-yet-VSMK-man

6. Hən-poun-a – au – ə♠əne’-mə-kən cən pó-a
    Ho-poun-ha – hou – ə♠əne’-mə-kəun cəu n pó-də
down-story-SUBJ that son.in.law-not-be.good monastery-send-REL
    poun-lə.
poun-le.
    story-you.know

P: e – to-to-nə.
    e – to-do-nə.
ah yes right short-ADV-with-EMP yes short-ADV-with

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

    əsá-lau’-lə. e.
    start-about-Q yes
10. P: Au - kət'o'kət'e'-fu' kət'o'kət'e'-no' e-Poun-Ta-Te
    Ho - inmatan-jou' inmatan-nau' e-Poun-Ta-Te
    that very-disruptive very-prankish E-Pon-Ta-Te
    sho-da jì-de-bö. e.
    say-thing be-VSMK-EMP yes

    dò-di-Hèya-Ywamá-hma, - a - ëyin-dounsâ-le.
    our-this-Heya Ywama-in er past-while-you.know

12. [Hèn - shu-ä - au -] Kâling-nà-ma
    [Da - òu-gá - ho -] Kâling-nà-hma
    [that he-SUBJ - that -] Kâlinge-near-at
    mèinmâ-achò-tô-yo' jì-e - mèinmâ kət'o'kət'e'-hlâ.
    mèinmâ-achò-tô-yau' jì-de - mèinmâ inmatan-hâ-de.
    woman-beautiful-one-person be-VSMK woman very-pretty

13. [Hèn-kha shu-a - au -] shù-ô khi'-tounsâ-no
    [èdi-dô òu-ha - ho -] òu-dô khi'-dounsâ-no
    [that-since he-SUBJ that] they-PL time-while-you.know
    sôn-khôn-ou'-le-e-shö - èmnmâ-pyo le-e-shö-lë.
    saun-gàun-ou'-pi le-de-bö - mèinmâ-byo le-de-bö-le.
    blanket-head-cover-visit-VSMK-EMP woman-maid visit-VSMK-EMP-see

14. Sôn-khôn-ou'-le-e khi'-ma, hèn-mèinmâ-ká
    Sàun-gàun-ou'-pi le-de-dë khi'-hma, èdî-mèinmâ-gà
    blanket-head-cover-visit-REL time.in that-woman-SUBJ
    manà-ci-lùn-kha, shu-a hèn khlo-chen-e -
    manà-ci-lùn-dö, òu-ha èda chö-jin-de -
    pride-be.great-exceed-time he-SUBJ that break-want-VSMK
    hèn-manà-o - e-Poun-á.
    èdî-manà-go - e-Poun-gà.
    that-pride-ACC E-Pon-SUBJ

15. Hèn-nà [shu-a - au -] Sanya-còn-ma
    èda-ne [òu-gá - ho -] Sanya-jàun-hma
    that-with [he-SUBJ that] Sanya-monstery-at
    tó-òyou'-ù-tô-you' jì-e -
    dò-òyou'-ci-ta-you' jì-de -
    our-image-big-one-image be-VSMK

    [ho -] dò-òyou'-pö - mè-mè-wâ-wâ-jî-bö.
    [that] our-image-you.know black-ADV-fat-ADV-big-EMP

17. È - hèn-myö-wâ, shu-a shon-wâ -
    È - èdi-myö-bö, òu-ha shaun-da -
    yes that-kind-you.know he-SUBJ carry-EMP
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

18. Hā – yu-te’-kha “ē-lō – nen [ŋa –] i-ma
Hā – yu-te’-tō “Kē-kwa – nin [ŋa –] di-hma
ha take-ascend-time right-man you [I] here-at
tōnā le-ne-ōn-na.
khōnā le-ne-ōn-na.
moment visit-stay-more-right?

19. ƞa-ā au-ko tōnā le-ōn-ma” sho-mā,
ƞa-gā ho-go khōnā le-ōn-hma” sho-bi,
I-SUBJ there-to moment visit-further-VSMK say-and
hēn-lu-ū-o thā-khā-lō.
ēdi-lu-ji-go thā-gē-de-byā.
that-man-big-ACC leave-there-man

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

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

22. thein-ē-okia, lēn-nā-nī-la-kha, shu ma-ne-nein-lōwā –
thain-dē-okia, līn-ga-nī-la-dō, thū ma-ne-nain-dō-bū –
sit-REL-time light-near-near-come-time she not-stay-can-EMP
woman-SUBJ ask-ing not-speak-without-thing

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

thū-āphe-gā “Ē – līn-ga ni-ne-bī-bē”
her-father-SUBJ yes light-time be.near-stay-EMP
sho-mā, phārā-wu’-te’.
sho-bi, phāyā-wu’-te’-te.
say-and lord-duty-attend

25. Ē – shu-a hēn-lē lou’-ōun-mā tō-kha-ti
Ē – thū-ha ēdi-lo lou’-pi-dō tō-kha-dē
yes he-SUBJ this-way do-more-when one-time-only
hèn-lu-ù-o  la-hmè-a:  
èdi-lu-jì-go  la-mè-da: 
that-man-big-ACC come-ask-VSMK

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

27.  Hèn-lu-kà  ma-pyò-la-ù.  
èdi-lu-gà  ma-pyò-la-bù.  
that-man-SUBJ not-speak-come-VSMK

èdi-dò [myò-la – ] ma-pyò-la-dò,  
that-then [neak-come] speak-come-without-time

tòshá-kà  thwe'-la-e  –  èn-lu-a.  
dòdá-gà  thwe'-la-de  –  èdi-lu-ha.
anger-SUBJ emerge-come-VSMK that-man-SUBJ

È  –  èdi-dò  ba  lou’thò-lè.  
yes that-finish what do-Q

P:  [Hèn  tòshá  thwe'-la-ùn-mà – ]  tòshá  thwe'-kha  
[èdilo  dòdá  thwe'-la-dò – ]  dòdá  thwe'-pi  
[thus  anger  emerge-come-more-when]  anger  emerge-time

thá-ùn-mà  thò-lai'-shò –  hèn-lu-o.  
thá-pì-dò  thò-lai'-kò –  èdi-lu-go.  
rise-further-when strike-through-EMP that-man-ACC

30.  Hèn  thà-thò-kha,  phe  –  au-lu-a  øyou'-wəshò –  
èdilo  thà-thò-dò,  be  –  ho-lu-ha  øyou'-phè –  
thus  rise-strike-time what  that-man-SUBJ image-EMP

lu  ma-hou'-pè.  
lu  ma-hou'-phè.  
man  not-be.so-without

31.  Khòn-mà  øthò-mí-kha  klo'-khənè  mi-à-e.  
Gàun-hma  øthò-mí-dò  kəlau'-khənè  myi-ðwà-de.  
head-on  blow-catch-time  clonk-ADV  sound-go-VSMK

32.  Hèn  shu  sai'-to-la-e:  "I  –  nen  ɲà-mòa  
èdìdò  thù  sei'-to-la-de:  "He  –  nin  ɲà-godaun  
so  he  mind-be.short-come-VSMK  hey  you  me-even

kùn-i'-phòun-nà  khan-shì-i”.  
kùn-i'-phòun-nè  khan-ðè-da-bè”.
betel-box-lid-with  defend-yet-VSMK

33.  I-mà  thà-mò  khlà-kha,  
èdi-hma  thà-bì  chà-dò,  
there-at  rise-and  strike-time
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

34. Hà – âyou’-ù po-la.
Hà – âyou’-ci po-la-yò.
ha image-big emerge-come-VSMK

35. “Hò – khe’-ne-ò-lè:
“Hò – khe’-ne-bi-bè:
ho be.difficult-stay-go-EMP
i-a e-Poun-Ta-Te lou’-à-wâ.
di-ha e-Poun-Ta-Te lou’thà-da-bè.
this-thing E-Pon-Ta-Te do-go-EMP

36. Mò-phyi’-ù, phyi’-ù, phyi’-ù,” sho-mä,
Mò-phyi’-phù, ma-phyi’-phù, ma-phyi’-phù,” sho-bi,
not-work-VSMK not-work-VSMK not-work-VSMK say-and

37. [e -] “È – ngá-shami la, la, la:
[e -] “È – ngá-thømi la, la, la:
[mm] right my-daughter come come

tó-møná-shà i-a cön-øpø-myà.” M: È – mønë’sa
dó-thà-aphá di-ha cøn-pø-hmà.” È – mønë’
we-father-child this-thing monastery-send-be.much right morning
søsøsìììì. sòzøsìììì.
early

È – mønë’ søzøsìììì. Çàun-yu-ðwà-bó hø-da –
right morning early monastery-take-in row-VSMK
hèn-øyou’-ù-wë.
èdi-øyou’-ci-bò.
that-image-big-I.mean

39. Cön øyou’-ù-o hø-é-kha, ø-Poun-à –
Çàun øyou’-ci-go hø-ðé-økha, ø-Poun-gà –
monastery image-big-ACC row-REL-time E-Pon-SUBJ
he-SUBJ brain-with-EMP that-arrange-set-VSMK be.so-Q

40. Hèn-kha [shu-a-au –] ywa-pyen-phe’-nà-ma
èdi-dò [ðu-ha-ho –] ywa-øpyin-be’-nà-hma
that-time [he-SUBJ-that] village-outside-direction-near-at
pàkhe-sen-tø-sen jí-e.
phøyouñ-zin-tø-zin jì-dè.
pumpkin-frame-one-frame be-VSMK
3.4.2 INTHA TEXT NO.2 – THE FOUR FRIENDS

   Kè – nin khúdingá-poun-bè-là.
   right you just.now-story-only-Q

   Ba-poun fi-dè-dèlè – nin-ha.
   what-story have-further-Q you-SUBJ

   ̃ o – jēfè-dōun-gā poun-dō āmyā-ji-ba.
   oh past-in-from story-as.for many-big-EMP

4. [S̄ha -] Nen s̄ha nà-thôn-chen-ē-lā.
   [Ba -] Nin ba nà-thaun-jin-lè-kwa.
   [what] you what ear-set.up.want-Q-man

   In – ba-nà-thaun-jin-ðølè sho-yin
   that what-ear-set.up.want-Q say-if
   [you that our mm] friend-four-person say-kind-SUBJ
   little-ADV hear-ever [you] I what-know-any.more-VSMK
ah that-friend-four-person story-say-thing-Q

È- hè-e - èpho-lè-yau'-phè.  
yes hey-yes friend-four-person-EMP

8. P: È- èpho-lè-yo'.  
È- èpho-lè-yau'.  
yes friend-four-person get-thing-of-course that-as.for

right OK little-ADV do-see-more that-SUBJ

10. P: Hèn-èpho-lè-yo'-a  
èdi-èpho-lè-yau'-ha  
that-friend-four-person-SUBJ that-former-while-from  
èpho-lè-yo' fì-e.  
èpho-lè-yau' fì-de.  
friend-four-person be-VSMK

èdi-èpho-lè-yau' fì-dó, nà-òthò òwà-da.  
that-friend-four-person be-when fish-spear go-VSMK

12. nà-thò shwà-kha, tò-yo'-kà nà kòtò'kàte' là;  
nà-òthò òwà-dó, tò-yau'-kà nà inmòtan ci;  
fish-spear go-when one-person-SUBJ ear very be.big

13. ... tò-yo'-kà phen kòtò'kàte' chun;  
... tò-yau'-kà phen inmòtan chun;  
tone-person-SUBJ buttock very be.pointed

14. tò-yo'-kà-ò  
hnà'khì kòtò'kàte' thu;  
tò-yau'-kà-dó  
hnà'chi inmòtan thu;  
one-person-SUBJ-however snot very be.think

15. [in - ] in - lè-yo':  
hèn-kha le'-wà-kù-shòmà-tò-yo'.  
[in - ] in - lè-yau':  
pi-dó le'-wà-ci-dòmà-tò-yau'.  
[yes] yes four-person finish-when hand-palm-be.big-person-one-person

16. M: 0 - hou'-pi:  
le'-wà-kù-shòmà-tò-yo'-nà,  
0 - hou'-pi:  
le'-wà-ci-dòmà-tò-yau'-né,  
oh be.so-VSMK hand-palm-be.big-person-one-person-and

nàwe'-là-shòmà-tò-yo'-nà,  
phen-chun-shòmà-tò-yo'-nà,  
nàywe'-ci-dòmà-tò-yau'né,  
phìn-chun-dòmà-tò-yau'né,  
ear-be.big-person-one-person-and buttock-be.pointed-person-one-person-and

hna'khrè-thu-shòmà tò-yo'-nà - è, hou'-pi:  
hèn-mò-loun.  
hna'chi-thu-dòmà tò-yau'né - è, hou'-pi:  
edà-pidò-gò.  
snot-be.thick-person-one-person-and yes be.so-VSMK that-then-what
17. P: nà-thò-shwà-kha, shu-tó nà-a thò-thé-é:

nà-ôthò-thwà-dó, ôu-dó nà-ha thò-thé-de:

fish-spear-go-when he-PL fish-SUBJ spear-catch-VSMK

nà-o ôu-dó vá-ô.

nà-go ôu-dó vá-yô.

fish-ACC he-PL get-VSMK

18. nà-a yá-la-kha, phwàshilá-ká la-hlu-khan-a.

nà-ha yá-la-dó, phwàthilá-gá la-ôhu-khan-de.

fish-SUBJ get-come-time nun-SUBJ come-alms-request-VSMK

19. Hên la-hlu-khan-kha, le'-wà-kù-shâmâ-á,

èdilo la-ôhu-khan-dé-ôkha, le'-wà-cl-dâmâ-gá,

thus come-alms-request-time hand-palm-be.big-person-SUBJ

sha'khènê sho-ôa, kô'-oun-mô lôn-ôlâi'-kha, nà-a

sha'khènê sho-bi, kau'-pi-dó làûn-ôlai'-tô, nà-ha

dashing say-when pick.up-further-and offer-through-time fish-SUBJ

shu-tó thò-thé-á-a koun-à-lô.


he-PL spear-catch-place-thing be.used.up-go-VSMK

20. Sai'-to-ô-kha "nà-a tô-nâ-lôn thò-ô-ô-ha-o

Sei'-to-dé-ôkha "nà-ha tô-nâ-lôn thò-dé-ô-ha-go

mind-be.short-REL-time fish-SUBJ one-night-all spear-REL-thing-ACC

î-lu-a le'-wà-kû-nâ lou'-ôn-mô

di-lu-ha le'-wà-ji-né lou'-pi-dô

this-man-SUBJ hand-palm-big-with do-more-when

khà'-lôn-yâ-mô-lâ" sho-ôn-mô, phèn-chun-shâmâ-á

khà'-lûn-yâ-mô-lâ" sho-ôi-dô, phèn-chun-dâmâ-gá

scoop-offer-must-VSMK-Q say-finish-when buttock-be.pointed-person-SUBJ

sai'-to-a hle shôn-mô-thein-ê.

sei'-to-bi hle shàùn-bi-thain-ôe.

mind-be.short-finish boat jolt-and-sit-VSMK

21. È-hle-ôa po'-thwè'-ôa.

È-hle-gá pau'-ôwà-da.

yes boat-SUBJ be.ôoled-come-VSMK

Hle po'-thwè'-kha, èn-hôô-khë-thu-shâmâ kô'-ôn-mô

Hle pau'-ôwà-dé-ôkha, èdë-hna'-chi-thu-dâmâ kau'-pi-dô

boat be.ôoled-come-time that-snot-be.thick-person grab-further-and

pha-ô - shu-o.

pha-de - ôu-go.

patch-VSMK it-ACC


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

24. P: ε – nàwe'-là-shémà-á sho-a,
ε – nøywe'-ci-ðémà-gá sho-yin,
yes ear-be.big-person-SUBJ say-if
hau-á sho-wā – hle má-hlò-tàn-ya,
høwa-gá sho-badó – hle má-hlò-nain-dó,
that.thing-SUBJ say-EMP boat not-row-can-because

25. shú-nàwe’ káto’kate’-ù là-ne-kha,
θú-nøywe’ inmatan-bè ci-ne-dó,
his-ear very-great be.big-stay-time
[that this] sail-boat set.up-go-like-you.see

Dilo-là. È.
thus-then yes

3.4.3 TRANSLATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So she got up and woke her father.

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

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

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

The “man” didn’t answer.

Then, when he didn’t answer – when he didn’t answer after three or four times of asking, he got angry – the father, I mean.

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

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

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

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

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

Then they realised it was a statue.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4.3.2 THE FOUR FRIENDS

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

4. TAVOYAN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

One of the earliest notices of the Tavoyan dialect was published in 1799, when, under the name of ‘Tanayntharee’ (i.e. modern Tən-ə-yi or Tenasserim), it was included in a comparative vocabulary alongside Standard Burmese, Arakanese, and Y3 (Buchanan 1798:224). Oddly enough, the writer of that article found no instance, in his list of 50 words, in which Tavoyan differed from Standard Burmese. Perhaps one of the dialects (or both) has changed appreciably since then, or maybe he was badly served by his informants, because in fact the differences are quite remarkable. A favourite Tavoyan tongue-twister for speakers of Standard Burmese gives an idea of how striking some of them are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/kən-khən-thə'ma/</td>
<td>/Càun-khuun-bo-hma/</td>
<td>kli-gən gon/ ci-gən tə-gaun/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kən-khe-nə pyi'khlæ/</td>
<td>/cau'khe-ne pyi'cha/</td>
<td>ə klá-la/ au cá-la/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kən-thə'ma ə:ə/</td>
<td>/thun-yə-bo-hma ə:ə/</td>
<td>klà kai'shon/ cà kai'shaun/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Up on the monastery roof, a crow.
Threw a stone and hit him – down he fell.
He died on the plough-ridge: a tiger carried him off.

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

4.1.1 LOCATION AND NUMBERS

The town of Tavoy (SB /Dəwe/) stands halfway down the ‘tail’ of Burma, a narrow coastal strip some 500 miles long, backed by the Dəw-nə and Tenasserim ranges of mountains which form the boundary between Burma and southern Thailand. In spite of reasonably good communications up and down the coast by both land and sea, the distribution of the TV dialect speakers appears to be curiously limited: at the time when they were recorded for the LSB (Webb 1917:33) they were virtually all in the Tavoy District, which extends 60-70 miles north and south of the town. They were said to be distributed ‘throughout the District’. A comparatively insignificant number were recorded in Yê and Kyaik-khami (Amherst) to the north. Even fewer were recorded south of the District, at
Palaw and Kaw-thawng (Victoria Point), but these were probably Merguese anyway, whose
dialect, pace Mr Taylor, is quite different from Tavoyan.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Speakers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931 census</td>
<td>159,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921 census</td>
<td>132,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSB 1917</td>
<td>138,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911 census</td>
<td>46,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901 census</td>
<td>nil</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.2 BACKGROUND

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

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

1. AR, like SB and other dialects, merges WB ut, un with up, um, whereas TV keeps
   them distinct.

2. The splits and mergers of other WB rhymes take quite different directions in the two
dialects (in the WB row Y is a cover symbol for palatal initials):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AR</th>
<th>ain</th>
<th>on</th>
<th>en</th>
<th>ai'</th>
<th>o'</th>
<th>ε'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WB</td>
<td>uin</td>
<td>a₂(n)</td>
<td>Yan</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>uik</td>
<td>ac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>ain</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>ai'</td>
<td>i'</td>
<td>a'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. The reflexes of Old Burmese initial clusters with l, y and r are again strikingly
dissimilar in the two dialects. Simplifying a little, the main patterning is:
4. **AR** has nothing to match TV /by/ for WB *mr, hmr*, or TV /i, ú/ for WB *it, ut*.

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

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

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

```
Olha Tavai cidade, onde começa
De Sião largo o imperio
(Tavais city, too, observe, where lo!
Siam’s vast empire doth begin, so long
(Os Lusiadas x.123) (Aubertin 1878, vol.2 p.255)
```

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

4.1.3 **SOURCE OF MATERIAL**

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

Ú Cô Min was the son of a practitioner of traditional medicine, a Tavoyan who was distinguished enough to have a street named after him, and who came to be known in Burma as Mî-boun-yan Ú Cô Yin through his skill and daring in flying with home-made hot-air balloons. Though Ú Cô Min had spent his life in Tavoy and habitually spoke TV with his family and in and around his home town, he had travelled, and was able to speak SB if the occasion demanded. This made me at first wary of his TV, but a comparison of his speech with that of non-SB-speaking informants who also made recordings showed that his TV was unaffected by this ability – except perhaps at two points which are marked in the
transcription. I use his recording in preference to that of the other informants as his is not so fast and slurred.

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

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

4.1.4 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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

4.2 OUTLINE PHONOLOGY

4.2.1 PHONEME INVENTORY

4.2.1.1 TONES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tone</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>/+1/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creaky</td>
<td>/+1/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>/+1/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>/+1/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak</td>
<td>/∅/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1.2 RHYMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td>i, e, a, o, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closed</td>
<td>i:, ai', a', o', u', aon, aon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.1.3 HEADS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>g,b,d,j,z</td>
<td>by, gl, bl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k,t,p,c,s</td>
<td>py, kl, pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh,th,ph,ch,sh,θ</td>
<td>phy, khl, phl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η,n,m,媄</td>
<td>my, ml</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hη,hn,hm,hสัปดา</td>
<td>hmy, hml, ñ and hñ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Medial /w/ occurs with all initials except /w/ itself. ‘ (since ‘/w/ would be equivalent to initial /w-/). h (since /hw/ is already listed among the initials).
4.2.2 PHONEME DESCRIPTION

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

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

The situation regarding rhymes is:

/a/: further back than SB /a/, sometimes closer to SB /o/
/i:n/: vowel as in SB and TV open syllable /i/
/an, a’/: vowel closer than SB /an, a’/
/on, o’/: vowel more open than SB and TV open syllable /o/
/u:n/: vowel as in SB and TV open syllable /u/
/aon, ao’/: diphthong from open front unrounded towards close back rounded
/n/: nasalisation, often faint, sometimes absent
/o/: rarely used, and then only by certain speakers; possibly a loan pronunciation from SB
/l-/: lateral medial consonant; not in SB

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

4.2.3.1 TONES

These are as in SB.

4.2.3.2 RHYMES

Open syllables

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

Closed nasal syllables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>in</th>
<th>im</th>
<th>an’</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>Y</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>an</th>
<th>am</th>
<th>wan</th>
<th>wam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>/i:n</td>
<td>in</td>
<td>an</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>un</td>
<td>u:n</td>
<td>aon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 7 | 2 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 4, 7 |
3.2.3.3 HEADS

These are as for SB except:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
    & SB & /yw/ & /jw/
    \midrule
    WB & rw & 8 & hrw & 8 \\
    TV & /w & yw/ & /hw & jw/ \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
    & SB & /c/ & /ch/ & /\ddot{n}/
    \midrule
    WB & ky & kr & 9 & khyl & khr & 9 & tr & 9 \\
    TV & /kd & c & k/ & /f & 10 & khl & ch & kh/ & /\ddot{n} & n/ \\
\end{array}
\]

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
    & SB & /py/ & /phy/ & /my/ & /hmy/
    \midrule
    WB & pr & 11 & phy & phr & 11 & my & mr & 12 & hmy & hmr & 12 \\
    TV & /py & pl/ & /phy & phl/ & /my & ml & by/ & /hmy & hml & by/ \\
\end{array}
\]

4.3 NOTES

4.3.1 PHONEMES

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

\[
\begin{array}{ccc|c}
    WB & TV & SB & \\
    \hline
    pe: & /pèl/ & /pè/ & give \\
    re & /ye/ & /ye/ & water \\
    khwe: & /khwè/ & /khwè/ & dog \\
    we: & /wè/ & /wè/ & be far \\
\end{array}
\]

Two words with we, however, were said to have 'old' and 'modern' pronunciations, /wi/ and /we/ respectively, possibly reflecting the influence of SB:
Four other words emerged which were pronounced as in SB:

- **kwe.** /kwé/ turn
- **chwe** /shwe/ relative
- **gwe** /gwé/ silver
- **we-li-we-lan:** /we-li-we-lán/ dawn

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

- **kraññ** /ce/ be clear
- **praññ.** /plé/ be full
- **taññ:** /tè/ stay

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

- **raññ-rway** /yi-ywe/ /yi-ywe/ intend
- **chaññ:puñ** /shì-phù/ /shì-bù/ amass
- **saññ:kham** /thì-khan/ /thì-khan/ forgive
- **naññ:** /nì/ /nì/ method
- **winaññ:** /wì-nì/ /wì-nì/ Vinaya
- **paccaññ:** /pyì’sì/ /pyì’sì/ thing

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

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

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

- **tit** /tí/ /teí/ be quiet
- **ti** /tí/ /tí/ be exact
- **sip** /thì/ /thòi/ put to bed
- **si** /sì/ /sì/ know

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

- **thut** /thú/ /thòu/ take out
- **ahmut** /əhmù/ /əhmou/ blowing
- **ahmu** /əhmù/ /əhmù/ case

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

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

- **kun:** /kü:n/ /kòun/ land
- **kum:** /kàon/ /kòun/ string together
**THREE BURMESE DIALECTS**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Phonetic Representation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thut</td>
<td>/thú/</td>
<td>/thou’/</td>
<td>take out</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thup</td>
<td>/thao’/</td>
<td>/thou’/</td>
<td>wrap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ut</td>
<td>/ú/</td>
<td>/ou’/</td>
<td>brick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>up</td>
<td>/ao’/</td>
<td>/ou’/</td>
<td>cover</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Phonetic Representation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dukkha</td>
<td>/dau’khá/</td>
<td>/dou’khá/</td>
<td>suffering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ucca</td>
<td>/ao’sa/</td>
<td>/ou’sa/</td>
<td>thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukkā:</td>
<td>/ka’ká/</td>
<td>/kou’ká/</td>
<td>pennant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Phonetic Representation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ū: (formal)</td>
<td>/ú/</td>
<td>/ú/</td>
<td>further (auxiliary verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>um: (colloq)</td>
<td>/ù/</td>
<td>/ðun/</td>
<td>further (auxiliary verb)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Phonetic Representation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phun:krī:</td>
<td>/phəon-gi/</td>
<td>/phəun-jì/</td>
<td>monk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This would be consistent with its derivation from Pali *puñña*, assuming a subsequent adjustment from *ñ* to *n* in WB orthography.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Phonetic Representation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pran</td>
<td>/plan/</td>
<td>/pyan/</td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lwan</td>
<td>/lun/</td>
<td>/lun/</td>
<td>exceed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kham</td>
<td>/khan/</td>
<td>/khan/</td>
<td>receive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwam:</td>
<td>/kùn/</td>
<td>/kùn/</td>
<td>betel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyat</td>
<td>/ca’/</td>
<td>/ca’/</td>
<td>kyat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pwat</td>
<td>/pu’/</td>
<td>/pu’/</td>
<td>rub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khyap</td>
<td>/cha’/</td>
<td>/cha’/</td>
<td>flat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kwap</td>
<td>/ku’/</td>
<td>/ku’/</td>
<td>edge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Phonetic Representation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>apran</td>
<td>/aplan/</td>
<td>/apyan/</td>
<td>surface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apran</td>
<td>/aplan/</td>
<td>/apyan/</td>
<td>return</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tag</td>
<td>/tan/</td>
<td>/tin/</td>
<td>put on</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tam</td>
<td>/tan/</td>
<td>/tan/</td>
<td>shaft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phak</td>
<td>/pha’/</td>
<td>/phe’/</td>
<td>leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phat</td>
<td>/pha’/</td>
<td>/pha’/</td>
<td>read</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tak</td>
<td>/ta’/</td>
<td>/te’/</td>
<td>ascend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tat</td>
<td>/ta’/</td>
<td>/ta’/</td>
<td>know</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two restrictions on this merger: first, in syllabes containing WB *w*, the TV reflexes of WB *ap* and *ak* are exempt from the vowel change that applies to the reflexes of WB *an*, *am* and *at*, *ap*. 
The second restriction is that, after a palatal initial, TV merges WB \textit{aj} and \textit{ak} with \textit{a}n and \textit{ac}: see note (6) below.

(6) When WB \textit{aj} and \textit{ak} are preceded by a palatal initial, TV merges them with WB \textit{a}n and \textit{ac}. For this purpose palatal initials are:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{cccccc}
TV & \textit{f} & c & ch & \textit{n} & \textit{h}n; & by py phy my hmy; & z s sh; & y \textit{f} / \\
=WB & gy & ky & khy & \textit{n}n & \textit{h}n & by py phy my hmy & j c ch y hy \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{cccccccc}
pya\textit{q}: & /py\text{\textprime}n/ & /py\text{\textprime}n/ & be lazy \\
pya\textit{n} & /pyin/ & /pyin/ & timber \\
rak & /yi'1/ & /ye'1/ & day \\
rac & /yi'1/ & /yi'1/ & (do) behind (one) \\
cha\textit{n} & /shin/ & /shin/ & elephant \\
cak & /si'1/ & /se'1/ & machine \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

Three words in WB \textit{ac} which have irregular TV reflexes are:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{cccc}
tac & /t\text{\textprime}1/ & /t\text{\textprime}1/ & one \\
hnac & /hn\text{\textprime}1/ & /hni'1/ & two \\
khu-nac & /khun-n\text{\textprime}1/ & /khun-ni'1/ & seven \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

(7) The three rhymes ending in ‘variable nasalisation’, here shown as /\textit{n}/, seem to differ in the extent to which the nasalisation varies. All three were heard on occasion with faint nasalisation, but in words in TV /\textit{u}:\textit{n}/ (e.g. TV /kh\text{\textprime}u:n/ ‘jump’, /m\text{\textprime}u:n/ ‘hate’), the nasalisation was usually quite audible. In words in TV /\textit{ao}:\textit{n}/, on the other hand (e.g. /sa\text{\textprime}o:n/ ‘be complete’, /la\text{\textprime}o:n/ ‘be covered’), it was more often absent. Pronunciations in TV /\textit{i}:\textit{n}/ seemed evenly distributed between the two extremes.

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

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{cccc}
im & /i/ & /ei/n/ & house \\
akhy\textit{n} & /skhi/ & /\text{\textprime}chein/ & time \\
tun: & /t\text{\textprime}/ & /t\text{\textprime}un/ & while \\
mun. & /m\text{\textprime}/ & /m\text{\textprime}un/ & pastry \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

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

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{cccc}
\textit{rw}\text{\textprime} & /wa/ & /ywa/ & rain; village \\
\textit{rw}ak & /wa'/ & /ywe'1/ & leaf; carry \\
\textit{rwe}: & /wi'/ & /yw\text{\textprime}/ & choose \\
hr\textit{w}e. & /hwi'/ & /jw\text{\textprime}/ & move \\
ar\textit{way} & /sywe'/ & /syw\text{\textprime}/ & size \\
h\textit{r}w\text{\textprime} & /jan'/ & /j\text{\textprime}in/ & be joyful \\
h\textit{r}wa\text{\textprime} & /j\text{\textprime}un/ & /j\text{\textprime}un/ & be juicy \\
hr\textit{w}ai & /j\text{\textprime}w\text{\textprime}/ & /j\text{\textprime}w\text{\textprime}/ & be soaked \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The remaining example, WB hr\textit{w}e ‘gold’, was said to have a modern TV pronunciation /j\text{\textprime}we/, like SB, and an obsolescent TV pronunciation /hw\text{\textprime}/.
Only one word with initial WB yw was checked: *ywag*: ‘go off course’, and this was pronounced TV */ywàn/.

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{kywan} & /\text{cun}/ & \text{slave} \\
\text{kywat} & /\text{klu}/ & \text{be taken off} \\
\text{khyup} & /\text{chao}/ & \text{sew} \\
\text{khyoŋ} & /\text{ch₄n}/ & \text{stream} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{krum} & /\text{caon}/ & \text{meet} \\
\text{khrac} & /\text{chi}/ & \text{scratch} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{krā}: & /\text{kla}/ & \text{between} \\
\text{krit} & /\text{kli}/ & \text{grind} \\
\text{krim}: & /\text{kliːn}, \text{kin}/ & \text{smart} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{akhyin} & /\text{akhiːn}/ & \text{measure} \\
\text{khyī} & /\text{khi}/ & \text{carry} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{khyaŋ} & /\text{khe}/ & \text{tie} \\
\text{khyuŋ} & /\text{kh₄n}/ & \text{lop} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{khraŋ} & /\text{khe}/ & \text{thread} \\
\text{khre} & /\text{khe}/ & \text{foot} \\
\text{kri}: & /\text{kli}/ & \text{be big} \\
\text{krwak} & /\text{kwa}/ & \text{rat} \\
\text{kraŋ}. & /\text{ké}/ & \text{look} \\
\text{akrwe}: & /\text{akwi}/ & \text{debt} \\
\text{akrwe} & /\text{akwi}/ & \text{small change} \\
\text{krway} & /\text{kwe}/ & \text{be rich} \\
\text{krım} & /\text{kìːn}/ & \text{rattan} \\
\text{khrong}: & /\text{kh₄n}/ & \text{throat} \\
\text{khywe}: & /\text{khwi}/ & \text{sweat} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

So far, no explanation is available for these sets (Okell 1971, §11).
TV does not have a */ŋ/, /ŋ̃/ to match the plosive pairs, but it is just possible to suggest a correspondence WB ŋr = TV /ŋ/, ŋ/ to match the plain velar correspondence of the plosives. My material contains only two examples of TV /ŋ/ in this correspondence, one of them dubious.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>/ŋ̃/</td>
<td>/ŋ̃/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋit</td>
<td>ŋit</td>
<td>ŋet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋir</td>
<td>ŋir</td>
<td>ŋi⁣r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(sic MSTK, perhaps for ŋr ?)

aŋrim. /aŋ̃ir/ /aŋ̃i⁣r/ anyeint
ŋrim /ŋ̃ir/ /ŋ̃i⁣r/ be caught

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

khyan /chan/ /chan/ leave out
khyam: /kån/ /chån/ be cold
takhyui /təchó/ /təchó/ some
khyui /ʃo/ /cho/ be sweet

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OB</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>WB</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khr</td>
<td>/ch/</td>
<td>khr</td>
<td>/ch/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khy</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>khy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khi</td>
<td>/kh/</td>
<td>/kh/</td>
<td>khr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khl</td>
<td>/kh̃/</td>
<td>/kh̃/</td>
<td>khr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

pyak /pyi/ /pye/ perish
pyö /pyo/ /pyo/ melt
phyä: /phyä/ /phyä/ have a fever
phyö /phyo/ /phyo/ dissolve

One exception to this correspondence emerged:

pyam /plan/ /pyan/ fly

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

pra /pyá/ /pyá/ show
prä /pla/ /pla/ ash
proŋ /pyon/ /pyaun/ be smooth
proŋ //pyon/ /pyaun/ change
phre /phye/ /phye/ undo
phrai /phê/ /phyê/ widen
One example was said to have both pronunciations:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{prū}: & /\text{pyū}, \text{plū}/ & /\text{pyū}/ \\
& \text{protrude} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{prī}: & /\text{pi}/ & /\text{pi}, \text{pyi}/ \\
\text{prin}: & /\text{pi:n}/ & /\text{pēn}/ \\
& \text{finish} \quad \text{be dull} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{myā}: & /\text{myā}/ & /\text{myā}/ \\
\text{hmya}: & /\text{hmyā}/ & /\text{hmyā}/ \\
& \text{be many} \quad \text{be equal} \\
\end{array}
\]

There was one exception to this correspondence:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{hmyac}: & /\text{hmli}/ & /\text{hmyi}/ \\
& \text{bamboo shoot} \\
\end{array}
\]

The TV reflexes of WB mr, hmr, however, are not twofold as for the plosives, but (startlingly) threefold: TV /my, ml, by/ and TV /hmy, hml, by/. For example:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{mrui}: & /\text{myō}/ & /\text{myō}/ \\
\text{mrac}: & /\text{mlı}/ & /\text{myi}/ \\
\text{mran}: & /\text{byan}/ & /\text{myan}/ \\
\text{hmra}: & /\text{hmyā}/ & /\text{hmyā}/ \\
\text{hmrup}: & /\text{hmlo}a'/ & /\text{hmyou}/ \\
\text{hmran}: & /\text{byīn}/ & /\text{hmyīn}/ \\
& \text{trap} \quad \text{bury} \quad \text{raise} \\
\end{array}
\]

There were a few exceptions:

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{amrit}: & /\text{əmī}/ & /\text{əmei}/ \\
\text{ahmre}: & /\text{əhmē}/ & /\text{əhmē}/ \\
& \text{edge} \quad \text{film} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{mrin}: & /\text{mlı:n}, \text{mi:n}/ & /\text{mein}/ \\
& \text{relish} \\
\end{array}
\]

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{mrat}: & /\text{mya'}, \text{mla'}/ & /\text{mya'}/ \\
& \text{be noble} \\
\end{array}
\]

(d) and one which had /bw/:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{amrī}: & /\text{bwī}/ & /\text{əmī}, \text{əmyī}/ \\
& \text{tail} \\
\end{array}
\]

All these exceptions except mrat are evidently due to the presence of the vowel \textit{i} in Old Burmese. Mrat is probably a case of SB pronunciation ousting an earlier TV one.

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

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{mraññ}: & /\text{byē}/ & /\text{myī}/ \\
\text{mrai}: & /\text{byē}/ & /\text{myē}/ \\
\text{mrwe}: & /\text{bwī}/ & /\text{mwe}/ \\
\text{mrō}: & /\text{byō}/ & /\text{myō}/ \\
\text{mrañ}: & /\text{byīn}/ & /\text{myīn}/ \\
\text{mraŋ}: & /\text{byīn}/ & /\text{myīn}/ \\
\text{mraŋ}: & /\text{byīn}/ & /\text{myīn}/ \\
& \text{taste} \quad \text{be stable} \quad \text{snake} \quad \text{behold} \quad \text{see} \quad \text{horse} \quad \text{be high} \\
\end{array}
\]
Interestingly, this correspondence is found once in SB:

tam-mräk-caññ:

It is perhaps reflected in two names:

Mrit /Beį/ Mergui
Mrän-mā /Bəma/ Burmese

4.3.2 MORPHOPHONEMICS

4.3.2.1 VOICING

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

apaŋ /éparation/ /éparation/ plant
kywan:paŋ /kùn-bë/ /kùn-bë/ teak tree
sac-paŋ /ti'pan/ /ti'pin/ tree
phre:phre: /phyè-phyè/ /phyè-phyè/ slowly
takhu-khu /takhù-khù/ /takhù-gù/ something
nà:choŋ /nà-shôn/ /nà-zaun/ five buildings
sum:khyap /θàon-cha'/ /θùn-ja'/ three flat things
sum:thaññ /θàon-the/ /θùn-de/ three garments

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

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

bon:bì /pôn-phi/ /bàun-bì/ trousers
wam:puik /wùn-phai'贬/ /wùn-bai'贬/ stomach
chaññ:pē /shi-phì/ /shi-bù/ amass
rwe-pō /ye-phō/ /ye-bō/ plane

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

jhe: /shè/ /zè/ market
jhë:sì: /shì-ȳì/ /zì-ȳì/ wild plum
dhā: /thà/ /dà/ knife
 khoŋ: /khòn/ /gàun/ head
 khoŋ:bhì: /khòn-phwì/ /bì/ comb
 khyàŋ: /jìn/ /jìn/ ginger

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

ariп-kon: /oyì-kôn/ /oyei'kàun/ good shade
tit-tit /tì-tì/ /tei'tei' quiet
cf. ti-ti /tì-di'贬/ /tì-di'贬/ exact
4.3.2.2 WEAKENING

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

takoŋ /təɡɔn/ /təɡaʊn/ one animal
takhu /təkʰu/ /təkʰu/ one item

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

hnac-khwak /hné-khwa’/ /hnækhwe’/ two cups

The other is that a number of words with weak syllables in SB have counterparts in TV with no matching syllable at all. For example:

wá:phui: /phɔ/ /wæbɔ/ kind of bamboo
kyi:kan:takoŋ /kli-gǎn-gɔn/ /ci-gǎn təgaun/ a crow
takhâ /kʰa/ /təkʰa/ again
hawâ /wʌ/ /hɔwa/ whatsit
capâ: /bʌ/ /səbʌ/ paddy
cakâ: /ɡa/ /səɡa/ word
thamaŋ: /hmæn/ /θ̥mæn/ cooked rice
pukhak /kʰa’/ /pəkʰe’/ cradle
hŋak-pyo-sî: /byɔ-ði/ /ŋpəyɔ-ði/ banana
sî-taŋ:ne: /dɔn-ŋe/ /θɔd génér/ sabbath day
aphit-ne: /phi-nė/ /θɔpi’nė/ eve of sabbath
sa-krâ: /ʃa/ /θɔjɔ/ sugar
sakâ /ɡa/ /θɔga/ hardened crude sugar
tarâ:nā /yə na/ /təyə na/ listen to a sermon

4.3.2.3 INDUCED CREAKY TONE

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

sū /θu/ /θu/ he
sū.rañ:_blocking: /θu yɛ-zə/ /θu ɣi-zə/ his sweetheart
chay /ʃe/ /ʃe/ ten
chay.lee: /ʃe-lɛ/ /ʃɛ-lɛ/ fourteen

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

sū /θu/ /θu/ he
/θu-ló/ /θu-dó/ they
naŋ /nən/ /nɪn/ you (sing.)
/nán-ló/ /nɪn-dó/ you (plur.)

There is also an induced heavy tone in TV, which has no counterpart in SB. It occurs in syllables which would otherwise have low tone, in the following three kinds of context:
(a) when verbs are repeated to form a subordinate expression, for example:

- nyrim-nyrim: /nǐ-n-ña:/ /nēin-nēin/ quiet
- mran-mran: /byān-byan/ /myan-myan/ quickly
- phrū-phrū: /phlū-phlu/ /phyu-byu/ white
- kroŋ toŋ-toŋ: /cn tōn-dōn/ /caun taun-daun/ bemused
- hman-hman: /hmàn-hman kān-gān/ /hman-hman kān-gān/ regularly

but tō-tō: /to-do/ /to-do/ quite

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV base</th>
<th>TV diminutive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/phwà-o/</td>
<td>grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/əfo/</td>
<td>sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/me/</td>
<td>mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/əjìn/</td>
<td>lord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/əphe/</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ò-o/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/fō-fō/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/mē-mē/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/fīn-jīn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but /əphe/</td>
<td>/pē-pē/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) in some compounds, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WB</th>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cham</td>
<td>/shan/</td>
<td>/shan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cham-pañ</td>
<td>shān-ban</td>
<td>shān-bin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(This was in fact the only example I came across, but it seems likely that further investigation would throw up some more.)

There is of course no induced heavy tone in syllables which are creaky or heavy in other contexts. For example:

- kōŋ-kōŋ: /kōn-gōn/ /kān-gān/ well
- taññ.taññ. /tē-dē/ /tē-dē/ straight

4.3.3 GRAMMAR

The following notes cover some of the particles and common words found in TV but not used, or differently used, in SB. Entries are listed alphabetically, and each entry includes a grammatical classification, one or more SB equivalents, some examples, and occasionally a note on other points of interest.

Some examples are taken from the texts of which transcriptions are given in §4.4 below. These examples are given references: for example 1.27 = text 1, sentence 27. Other examples were suggested by informants, or encountered in conversation, and are labelled 'inf'.

The grammatical classifications are the same as those in Okell (1969), and are abbreviated as indicated in the foreword above.

(1) /ə/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yin/; sometimes weakened before TV /nē/ to /ə/

TV /sho-a/ 1.27, 1.37, and so on, SB /sho-yin/ ‘if’
Demons are terrified if there's camphor around.

And if you want to overpower a demon and if you don't trust me

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

And (they) couldn't eat all of it

I've never met anything like it.

A village not far away

Said to be used also with positive verbs on occasion:

Said to be used also with positive verbs on occasion:

(3) /be-hna-e/ sentence-final postposition = SB/pó-le/

Just as usual, you see
(4) /cón/ subordinate marker with noun and verb for complement = SB /cáun, ló/; voiceable; see also /tí/

TV  /phe-ha           phyi’-cón/  1.58
SB  /ba                phyi’-ló/     which-thing happen-because why?

TV  /chà-jón           hmu-á/   1.65
SB  /tchà-jáun         hmou’-phú/ other-because not.be.so-VSMK
It is for no other reason.

(5) /cón/ ?sentence-medial postposition, only in /lè-jón-bè/ = SB /lè-bè/; voiceable

TV  /θε           phyi’-lè-jón-bè/  1.56
SB  /da            phyi’ta-né-lè-bè/ that happen-also-because-EMP after that happened

TV  /hao-gá-lè-jón-bè  mé-bi-dó-a/  1.55
SB  /ho-gá-lè-bè      mé-pi-dó-ga/ that-SUBJ-also-because-EMP faint-finish-when-time and this one fainted away and ... 

TV  /θε ... wa-ðá-a-lè-jón-bè/  1.64
SB  /di ... ywa-lè-gá-lè-bè/ this village-little-SUBJ-also-because-EMP and this village

(6) /e/ subordinate marker with noun for complement = SB /ha, kά/; possibly from TV */θe/ = WB saññ

TV  /θe-wa-á       lu-de-e/  1.5
SB  /di-ywa-gá      lu-de-ha/ this-village-from person-PL-SUBJ the people from this village

TV  /θu-ε      shin-khlá-la-(ð)u-bè/  1.36
SB  /θu-ha        shin-chá-la-da-bè/ he-SUBJ descend-drop-come-VSMK-EMP
He ran down.

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

TV  /tö-dö          ki-e/  1.6
SB  /tö-dö          ci-de/ quite-ADV be.big-VSMK (It) was pretty big.

TV  /θu          la-e/  1.12
SB  /θu          la-de/ he come-VSMK He came.
(7) /han/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /yin/

TV /pyó-han-pyó-han/ 1.16
SB /pyó-yin-pyó-yin/
talk-ing-talk-ing
talking on and on

(9) /khan/ special head noun = SB /sya/; presumably as WB akhan: (only one example)

TV /ye-khan mò-khan/ 1.16
SB /yi-zya mò-zya/
laugh-thing laugh-thing
jokes

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

TV /θo-hmyá-hin mò-ca-á/ 1.45 (sole example)
SB /di-lau'-taun mò-ca-bu/
this-much-even not-last-VSMK
(It) shouldn’t last as long as this.

(11) /phi/ auxiliary verb = formal SB /phi/: no precise counterpart in the colloquial.

TV /lao'-phi-me/ inf
SB /lou'-pá-me/
do-EMP-VSMK
(I) will do (it).

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

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

TV /plan-dwà-gé-be-yó/ 3.2
SB /pyan-dwà-já-be-dó/
return-go-PL-EUPH-now
Be off home with you!

(13) /le/ sentence-final postposition = SB /le/

TV /ŋa caonjái'-tù-le/ 1.1
SB /ŋa counjái'-toun-le/
I encounter-while-you.know
while I have the chance

TV /Dowe-á ne-bi-le/ 1.4
SB /Dowe-gá ne-bi-le/
Tavoy-from stay-finish-you.know
from Tavoy
(14) /le/ auxiliary verb = SB /le/ but used more widely in TV

TV /θe-à-le-e/ 1.10
SB /θe-ðwà-le-de/

die-go-EUPH-VSMK

(They all) died.

TV /pyi'-khlà-à-le-(ð)u-bè/ 1.24
SB /pyi'-chá-ðwà-le-da-bè/

throw-drop-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP

(He) dropped (it) down.

TV /bàon-gònè le-le-e/ 1.51
SB /bòun-gònè le-le-de/

bump-ADV fall-EUPH-VSMK

(He) came down with a thump.

TV /pyò'-θwà-le-(ð)u-bè/ 1.56
SB /pyau'-θwà-le-da-bè/

disappear-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP

(She) disappeared.

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

TV /pyò-pyá-mè-lɔ/ 1.1 (sole example)
SB /pyɔ-pyá-mè-nɔ/

say-show-VSMK-right?

(I)’ll tell you, shall I?

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

TV /cena'-pɔ-lɔ/ 1.22
SB /cena'-pɔ-là/

be.satisfied-VSMK-Q

Are you satisfied?

TV /kan-kòn-lɔ phe-lɔ mɔ-ðí-á/ 1.6
SB /kan-kàun-là ba-là mɔ-ðí-bù/

fate-be.good-Q what-Q not-know-VSMK

(I’m) not sure whether it was good luck or not.

TV /hmú-lɔ/ 1.3
SB /hmou'-là/

not.be.so-Q

Isn’t it?

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

TV /nán-lɔ/ 1.1
SB /nin-dɔ/

you-PL

you (plural)

TV /θú-lɔ/ 1.5
SB /θu-dɔ/
he-PL
they (plural)

(18) /máalō/ verb-sentence marker = SB /pa-lā/

TV /lā'kłàoglən-a kəθə nain-máalō/ (1.60 – sole example)
SB /phóunməθein-ha təshe nain-balə/
camphor-SUBJ demon overcome-EXCL
So demons are afraid of camphor!

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

TV /θè pə'-/(θ)u-myò əθən cà-ən/ 1.38
SB /θè pau'-θə-lo əθən cà-aun/
urine pass-REL-kind sound hear-so.that
so as to make a sound like urinating

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

TV /θə-myò kəθə lai'-e/ 1.58
SB /di-lo təshe lai'-te/
this-kind demon chase-VSMK
A demon chased (me) like this.

(20) /ná/ subordinate marker with noun for complement and ?attribute = SB /né/, formal /hnín/

TV /θè-ná-bè/ 1.9
SB /da-né-bè/
that-with-EMP
with that

TV /cò-ná khe/ 1.33
SB /cò-né chi/
tie-with rope
tie with a rope

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

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

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

TV /phe-myò lao'-nù/ 1.27, 47
SB /be-lo lou'-lè/
what-kind do-Q
What did (she) do?
Why could (she) not harm (me)?

what?

(23) /ён-пён/ subordinate marker with verb for complement = SB /θоλο/

as (he) goes

(24) /п/ verb-sentence marker = SB /τа/; two examples only, both in /V-пи-бè/; voiceable

(He) lay there oblivious.

(He) fell down.

(25) /θе-ма θу/ = SB /θу-ха θу/ = his-thing-he ‘of his own accord’ (1.43 – sole example)

(26) /θу/ special head noun and attributive verb-sentence marker = SB /τα, τε, θω/; voiceable by some speakers; often slurred in pronunciation to TV /у/

TV /пè-θо pyi’sí/ inf
SB /пè-дè pyi’sí/
give-REL thing
the things (he) gave (you)

TV /pa-la-(ð)u pɔlwi/ 1.24
SB /pa-la-dé pɔlwe/
bring-come-REL flute
the flute (he) had brought with (him)

TV /weliwelǝn phyi’-la-(ð)u økha-ma/ 1.56
SB /weliwelln phyi’-la-dé økha-hma/
dawn happen-come-REL time-at
when dawn broke

TV /pyɔ-(ð)u-za/ 1.16
SB /pyɔ-дè-ha/
say-REL-thing
what (they) said
They took (it) away.

Where did you put the things you bought earlier?

(She) couldn't get inside.

and (they) couldn't eat all of (it)

Because (he) knew, (he) ran as fast as (he) could.

in the belief that demons would be frightened

Because (he) knew, (he) ran as fast as (he) could.

in the belief that demons would be frightened

Wait a minute!

Because (he) knew, (he) ran as fast as (he) could.

(You)’ve got to go on talking.

I’ll just pop down and fetch (it).
(29) /za/ semi-bound noun = SB /ha/

TV /θú-ló pyò-(ð)u-za-ε/ 1.16
SB /θu-dó pyò-dé-ha-ha/
he-PL talk-REL-thing-SUBJ
their talk

TV /θwà-bì ṇà-dà-phe-da hmyà-(ð)u-za-gò/ 1.5
SB /θwà-bì ṇà-lè-ba-lè hmyà-dé-ha-gò/
go-and fish-little-what-little catch-REL-thing-EMP
They’d gone to catch a bit of fish.

TV /θòma-(ð)u-za-ε/ 1.45
SB /di-lo-ha-ha/
this-like-thing-SUBJ
this kind of thing

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

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

TV /wan-dí-á-lè mə-yá/ 1.54
SB /win-ló-gá-lè mə-yá-bù/
enter-ing-SUBJ-also not-succeed
and (she) couldn’t get inside

4.3.4 VOCABULARY

4.3.4.1 FORMS WHICH APPEAR NOT TO HAVE COGNATES IN SB

4.3.4.1.1 UTENSILS AND ARTIFACTS

TV SB gloss
/bó/ /phya/ mat
/khwá-bo’/ /tɔgəbäu’/ doorway
/hè-ló/ /ya-win sín-ð/ large glazed jar
/to’ð/ /sín-ð/ (small) glazed jar
/ka’pá/ /pau’shein/ axe cf. Malay kapak ‘axe’

4.3.4.1.2 FAUNA AND FLORA

TV SB gloss
/ji’ði/ /θøye’ði/ mango
/jú-ban/ /ŋəyou’pin/ chillie plant
/la’kwàon-klàon/ /phəun-məθein/ camphor
/pò-ní-gà/ /pɔywe’sheil’/ ant
/cha-chin/ /kha-jin/ red ant
cf. Malay chaching ‘earthworm’, or perhaps irregular reflex
4.3.4.1.3 MISCELLANEOUS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/klən/</td>
<td>/thun-yè/ ridge (between furrows in hoed field)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/byan/</td>
<td>/gwe/ money, cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ka'kwì/</td>
<td>/acwe/ money, cash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kəθe/</td>
<td>/təshe/ ghost, demon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cf. Thai krasỳy ‘ghost, spirit’ (female, having head and entrails only, leaves excrement after visit)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/si'/</td>
<td>/ce'/ be cooked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmwa'/</td>
<td>/phòun/ cover, hang over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-θä/</td>
<td>/-kəlè/ small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/phá-sù/</td>
<td>/kaun-gölè/ young boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/mì-sù/</td>
<td>/kaun-mölè/ young girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/we-θä/</td>
<td>/kaun-mölè/ young girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/wi-nä'/</td>
<td>/θe'θe'/, /acàun-mè'/ without good reason (as a child in a tantrum)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cf. Malay wenang ‘arbitrary’?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gan-zä'/</td>
<td>/apol, /oshi' reserve, supernumerary (as extra man in football team, bad banana thrown into bargain; cf. Malay ganti ‘substitute, something exchanged’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nò/</td>
<td>/maV-phù, etc. ‘no’ apparently a loan from English</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.4.2 FORMS WITH IRREGULAR REFLEXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hé/</td>
<td>/ti'/ one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hné/</td>
<td>/hni'/ two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/khun-né/</td>
<td>/khun-nì'/ seven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmàn/</td>
<td>/hmìn/ cooked rice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hé/ (rural pron.)</td>
<td>/fù/ exist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hmé/</td>
<td>/majù/, /mé/ not exist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kho'/</td>
<td>/khou'/ chop, slash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TV form requires *SB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.4.3 FORMS WITH DIFFERENT MEANING OR USE IN SB

4.3.4.3.1 WHOLE WORDS AND PHRASES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV</th>
<th>SB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pwè'/</td>
<td>/pì/ end, finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cf. /pwè'/ be past season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tä'/</td>
<td>/cin/ ache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cf. /tä'/ long for, call upon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/shi-làon'/</td>
<td>/khoāùn cài'/ gird loins (with lon-gyi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cf. /shi'/ wear, tie round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and /làun/ be round</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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/ya’/ /co/, /khə/, /pín/ summon, meet
cf. /ya’/ stand, stop
/nakí-pha’hnwè/ /phonwè-ga/ the day after the day after tomorrow
cf. /(ma)ne’/ morning
/(tə)be’(kha)/ day after tomorrow
/(phə)nwè/ day after day after tomorrow
/nakí-pha’/ /thəbə’kha/ day after tomorrow
/nakí-tain-kha/ /møn ø’phæn/ tomorrow
cf. /tain/; /kha/ come to; time
/nakí-dù-á/ /møn ø’gá/ yesterday
cf. /tøun-gá/ (past time)
/nakí-pha’tù-á/ /dømyan manø-gá/ day before yesterday
cf. (as above)
/(kwè tə)wi/ /(cwè tə)ou’/ herd (of water buffalo)
cf. /øywe/ retinue, attendants
/ka’/ /ci/ granary
cf. /ke’/ wicker lining for paddy cart
/ye-an/ /ye-ø/ water pot
cf. /lin(-doun)/ cooking pan
/pla’/ /ïa/ trick, deceive
cf. /pye’/ joke
/mò/ / mù/ be intoxicated
cf. /mò/ be tired
/byi’se kha/ /tøbye’øi hlé/ sweep, wield broom
cf. /kha/ shake
/hlé-øe kha/ /tøbye’øi hlé/ sweep, wield broom
/Pøgan-øá/ /Bøma/ Burmese
cf. /Pøgan-øá/ native of Pagan

4.3.4.3.2 PARTS OF WORDS AND PHRASES

TV SB
/bon pí/ dam up cf. /baun/; /pei’/ limit; close
/lí mwí/ /ei’ pyø/ sleep cf. /mwé-ya/ mattress

4.3.4.4 SELECTIVES

TV SB
/øe/ /døi/ (cf. WB saññ) this
/hao/ /hø/ that
/phe/ /be’/ which?
/øe-ma-thu/ /øama-u/ /døa/ this (thing)
/hao-ma-thu/ /høwa/ that (thing)
/phe-ha/ /pha/ which (thing)
4.4 TEXTS

The following texts are transcriptions of some of the recordings made in Tavoy by U C· Min. The first is the folktale, told to a couple of young employees, and the remainder are chants and songs.

The transcription is phonemic, except that where the speaker uses a pair of allophones (as in /pao, paon/ or /dɔ́, -ɔ́/), I write the variant which seems closer to the actual pronunciation at that point on the tape. The suffixes /-θu/ and /-θə/ alternate with /-u/ and /-ə/, but in these two cases I transcribe the latter /-θu/ and /-θə/ as these forms are not closely paralleled in SB and might otherwise be confusing.

The few brief interventions by the listeners to the folktale are omitted in the transcription, and abandoned phrases, where the speaker corrects himself, are put in square brackets.

4.4.1 TAVOYAN TEXT NO.1 – HOW IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT CAMPHOR KEEPS DEMONS AWAY.

1. Má Khe, Má Nú – nán-ló-le ṇa-cənjai‘-tù-le
   Má Khe, Má Nú – nin-dó-le ṇa-cənjai‘-tőn-le
Ma Khe Ma Nu you-PL-you.know I-encounter-while-you.know
hao-Dəwe – hao-ʃəjə-á paon-(ð)à-baon pyɔ́pyá-me-lo.
hao-Dəwe – hao-ʃəjə-gá poun-lé-təboun pyɔ́pyá-me-no.
that-Tavoy that-past-from story-little-story tell-VSMK-right?

Nà-thaun-já.
ear.set.up-PL

3. èðəmå-(ð)u pao-á-dóá jí, hmú-ló.
èdi-ha pouŋ-gá-dóga jí-de, hmou‘-lâ.
that-thing story-SUBJ-as.for be not.be.so-Q

4. è. Dəwe-á ne-bí-le thəɔn-main-lo’ kwa-(ð)u-ma
è. Dəwe-gá ne-bí-le thəun-main-lau’ akwa-hma
yes Tavoy-from stay-finish-you.know three-mile-about be.far-thing-at
wa-(ð)à sho-myɔ́-behnæ- – i-je [hɔ́ma(ð)u –] shé-阻力-shən
ywa-lè shodé-hamyɔ́-bó-le – ein-je [hawa –] shé-阻力-zaun
village-small say-kind-you.know house-count [umm] ten-four-five-house
wa-(ð)à-myɔ́-tə-zú jí-e.
ywa-lè-myɔ́-tə-ywa jí-de.
village-small-kind-one-group be-VSMK

5. è. Tə-né-dóá θε-wa-álu-de-ɛ
è. Tə-né-dóga di-ywa-gá-lu-de-ha
yes one-day-as.for this-village-from-person-PL-SUBJ
[hɔ́ma(ð)u –] kan-kɔ́n-(ð)u-bè sho-yá-me-behnæ- –
[hawa –] kan-kəun-de-bè sho-yá-me-bóle- –
[umm] fate-be.good-VSMK-EMP say-must-VSMK-you.know
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1. lān bān tā khōn yā la e.
ηαlēinbān-tā-gaun yā-la-de.
eel-one-fish get-come-VSMK

Di-dā di-ηαlēin bān-gā-lē - ðu-dō-bē kan-kāuν-lā-ba-lā
this-then this-eel-SUBJ also he-PL-EMP luck-be.good-Q-what-Q
mā-ðī-ā - tō-dō kī-e.
mā-ðī-bū - tō-dō ci-de.
not-know-VSMK quite-ADV be.big-VSMK

he-PL take-carry-go-VSMK-EMP this-eel-ACC

Di-dā tā-ein-daun-dē sā-lō-lē mā-koun-bū.
this-then one-house-set.up-only eat-ing also not-use.up-VSMK

Dā-nē-bē [ā - ] ðu-dō shē-le-ŋa-zaun
this-with-EMP [umm] he-PL ten-four-five-house
fī-(ð)u [i - ] i-zū-ālōn ðu-di-ŋa-bain-behnae
fī-dē [ein - ] ein-zū-ālōn ðu-tōdi-ŋa-tōbain-bōle
be-REL [house] house-group-all he-lump-1-piece.you.know

tō-kha hmyā-pī-dōa, wāin-pī-dōa, ðe-lān bān-tō- khōn
tō-kha hmyā-pī-dōga, wāin-pī-dōga, di-ηαlēin bān-tō-gaun
one-time share-fInish-when gather-finish-when this-eel-one-fish
sā-lai'-mī-(ð)u-bē.
sā-lai'-mī-da-bē.
eat-through-happen-VSMK-EMP

10. ðe-bi-sho-bē [θe-] ŋīn-khān-pha’ klā-sho-bē
Pī-dō-sho-bē [di-] ŋū-gin-be’ cá-sho-bē
finish-when-say-EMP night-time-side fall-say-EMP

tō-khā-de ðe-wa-ā-lu-de-e tō-yō’-mā-can
tō-khā-de di-ywa-gā-lu-de-ha tō-yau’-mā-can
one-time-only this-village-from-person-PL-SUBJ one-person-not-omit
kalā-wīn-yōga phyi’-pī-dōa ālōn wūn-kla-bi
kalā-wīn-yōga phyi’-pī-dōga ālōun wūn-cā-bi
time-stomach-disease happen-finish-when all stomach-fall-and
θe-ā-le-e.
θe-ðwā-le-de.
die-go-EUPH-VSMK
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

11. OrCreate

12. OrCreate

13. OrCreate

14. OrCreate

15. OrCreate

16. OrCreate
pyò-(ð)u-za-e nín-fí'-nayi-lo'-á-ne pyò-hàn-pyò-hàn
pyò-dé-ha-ha ná-fí'-nayi-lau'-ká-ne pyò-yin-pyò-yin
say-REL-thing-SUBJ night-eight-hour-about-from-stay talk-ing talk-ing
[hao-ma-(ð)u – ] nín-na' klá-la-(ð)u-bé.
[ummm] night-dark fall-come VSMK-EMP

17. nín-na' klá-la – shé-hné-nayi-lo’ co-bi.
nín-ne’ cá-la – shé-hnə-nayi-lau’ co-bi.
night-dark fall-come ten-two-hour-about exceed-VSMK

18. òe-khi-sho-bè yc’cà-á nè-nè nònña ta’-la-e
Di-ochein-cá-dō yau’cà-gá nè-nè ŏñaunñoña te’-la-de
this-time-say-EMP man-SUBJ little-ADV ache enter-come-VSMK
- ī-lè nài’-la-bi.
- ei’-lè nài’-la-bi.
sleep-also nod-come-VSMK

19. òú-yèzá-o pyò-(ð)u-bè: “è - nä i
òú-yízà-go pyò-da-bè: “è - nä ein
his-sweetheart-to say-VSMK-EMP right I house
plan-à-me, òwà-ò-me” sho-pyò-e.
pyan-òwà-me, òwà-dò-me” shobí-pyò-de.
return-go-VSMK go-now-VSMK speak-say-VSMK

this-say-EMP his-sweetheart-SUBJ ha return-not-get-VSMK
Gà pyò-ne-yà-ù-me” sho-bé kha
Səgà pyò-ne-yà-ùn-me” sho-bi tə-kha
word speak-stay-must-more-VSMK say-EMP time
laoji-dà-o shwè-thà-be-(ð)u-bè.
lounji-dà-go shwè-thà-be-da-bè.
lòngyi-cloth-ACC pull-place-EUPH-VSMK-EMP

21. òe-sho-bè-kha “Plan-ù-me” sho-kha òu pyò;
Di-dó “Pyan-ùn-me” sho-bì òu pyò;
this-say-EMP-time return-more-VSMK say-time he say
ho-gá kha shwè-thà
ho-gá takha shwè-thà
there-from time pull-place

22. Kha “Cena’-pə-lɔ’ sho-kha,
takha “Cena’-pə-là” sho-bì,
time be satisfied-VSMK-Q say-time
“Plan-ù-me” sho-kha pyò; kha shwè-thà.
“Pyan-ùn-me” sho-bì pyò; takha shwè-thà.
return-more-VSMK say-ing speak time pull-hold
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

23. No'-tòa əə-yə'cà-lao'-θu-á  sı-kù  ṭa'-la-ɛ.
   Nau'-tòga  di-yau'cà-lou'-θu-gá  sei-kù  ýá-la-de.
   later-when this-man-do-person-SUBJ mind-cross arise-come-VSMK

24. "e. əə na'o'-tha'  nì-tə-myò  hlé-pi-dòa  lao'-hmá
   "e. əə nau'-tha'  nì-tə-myò  hlé-pi-dóga  lou'-hmá
   right I further-extra way-one-kind turn-and-when do-only-if
   yá-me"  sho-bi,  θù-hma  pa-la-(ð)u
   yá-me"  sho-bi,  θù-hma  pa-la-dé
   succeed-VSMK say-and he-at bring-come-REL
   pəlwì-ðà-o  ṭò-kha-dè  əə-càn-jà  wà-chàn-o
   pəlwê-le-go  ṭò-kha-dè  di-càn-jà  wà-jàn-go
   flute-small-ACC one-time-only this-floor-between bamboo-split-ACC
   phlé-pi-dòa  cân-jà-á-ne  pyl'-khlá-á-le-(ð)u-bé.
   phyé-pi-dóga  cân-jà-gá-ne  pyl'-chá-dwá-le-da-bè.
   prise-finish-when floor-between-from-stay throw-drop-go-EUPH-VSMK-EMP

25. əə-pi-hmá  θu-á  pyl'-ɛ:
   Da-pì-dó  θu-gá  pyl'-de:
   that-finish-only. when he-SUBJ say-VSMK
   "A. əə-pəlwì-tò-láò-lè  ɔ'-klá-ðwá-bi.
   "A. əə-pəlwê-tò-lòùn-lè  au'-cá-ðwá-bi.
   ah my-flute-one-CLF also below-fall-go-VSMK
   əə shin-ko'-ù-me"  sho-bi  pyl'-ɛ.
   əə shin-kau'-ən-me"  sho-bi  pyl'-de.
   I descend-get-more-VSMK say-ing speak-VSMK

26. əə-sho-bè-lè  "A. Hsìn-kò'  ma-yá-á",  
   Di-dò-lè  "A. Hsìn-kau'  ma-yá-bù",  
   this-say-EMP also ah descend-get not-succeed-VSMK
   θu  kò'pè-me  sho-bi  mìn:má-á  pyl'-ða-gò.
   θu  kau'pè-me  sho-bi  mìn:má-gá  pyl'-ða-gò.
   she get-give-VSMK say-and woman-SUBJ say-VSMK-EMP

27. ṭò-kha-dè  phe-myò  lao'ñù  sho-a
   ṭò-kha-dè  be-lo  lou'le  sho-yin
   one-time-only what-kind do-Q say-if
   əə-càn-jà-bo'-á-ne-bè  ja-gì  thú-khlá-bi-dó
   di-càn-jà-bau'ká-ne-bè  ja-ji  thou'chá-pì-dó
   this-floor-crack-hole-from-stay-EMP tongue-big stick.out-drop-finish-when
   pəlwì  lì-pi-dòa  yu-tan-pè-(ð)u-bé.
   pəlwê  lef'-pi-dóga  yu-tin-pè-da-bè.
   flute encircle-finish-when take-place-give-VSMK-EMP
28. ðè-hmá yo’cà-lao’-ðo-á sinzá-e.
   Di-dò-hmá you’cà-lou’-ðo-gá sinzá-de.
   this-when man-do-person-SUBJ think-VSMK

29. “Kha-lè ðø-myô mā-cao-phû-á”-behnæ;
   “takha-hmá da-myô mā-coun-bû-bû”-bôle
   time-also this-kind not-meet-ever-VSMK-you.know
   “ðè tø-kha-døa shàn-shàn-pyà-byà
   “di tø-kha-døga shàn-zàn-pyà-byà
   this one-time-when be.strange-ADV-be.odd-ADV
   ðè-myô ja-gi-ná li'-pi-dó yu-tan-pè-(ð)u-za
   di-lo ja-jî-né le’-pi-dó yu-tin-pè-dè-ha
   this-kind tongue-big-with encircle-fInish-when take-place-give-REL-thing
   ekandá køe-be. A. Mø-phyi’.”
   ekandá tø-she-be. A. Mø-phyi’-phû.”
   truly demon-EMP ah not-work

30. ðè-bi-sho-bè kha ðø-á “Plan-ù-me”
    Da-nè-bè takha ðø-gá “Pyan-ûn-me”
    that-fInish-say-EMP time he-SUBJ return-more-VSMK”
    sho-bi pyø-é. Mø-yá-á.
    sho-bi pyø-de. Mø-yá-bû.
    say-ing speak-VSMK not-succeed-VSMK

31. ðè-nà-bè kha õlu’-tø-ni can-hmá yá-me sho-bi:
    Da-nè-bè takha õlu’-tø-ni can-hmá yá-me sho-bi:
    that-with-EMP time independent-one-method plan-when succeed-VSMK

32. “Hwè. ñà ðø-po’ ðøwà-ù-me,
   “Hè. ñà ðø-pau’ ðøwà-ûn-me,
   hey I urine-pass go-more-VSMK
   ñà ç’ ji’ shìn-û-me.”
   ñà au’ tøche’ shìn-ûn-me.”
   I below trip descend-more-VSMK

33. ðø-sho-bè, “Nan mø-yaon-a-lè ñà-khà-o-lè
    Di-lo-bè, “Nin mø-youin-yin-lè, ñà-khà-go-lè
    that-say-EMP you not-believe-if-also my-waist-ACC-also
    nan có-nà khe-bi thà.
    nin có-nè chi-bi thà.
    you rope-with tie-and place

34. Jon nan ðø-á ké-ne, sòn-ne;
    Pidò nin di-gá ci-ne, sàun-ne;
    then you here-from look-stay wait-stay
    ñà shin-pi-døa ðø-po’ ðøwà-me.”
    ñà shin-pi-døga ðø-pau’ ðøwà-me.”
    I descend-fInish-when urine-pass go-VSMK
35. Sho-pi-dó thè khà-á cò-khe-pè-lai’e. 
say-finish-when he waist-on rope-tie-give-just-VSMK

36. Hkà-á cò-khe-pè-lai’-pi sho-bè, 
Hkà-ga cò-chi-pè-lai’-pi sho-yin-bè, 
waist-on rope-tie-give-just-VSMK say-EMP
θu-e shin-khlá-la-(ð)u-bè. 
θu-ha shin-chá-la-da-bè. 
he-SUBJ descend-drop-come-VSMK-EMP

37. Hsin-khlá-la-bi sho-bè, thè-[a-] è-po’-a 
Hsin-chá-la-bi sho-yin-bè, thè-[a-] è-pau’-ta 
descend-drop-come-finish say-EMP he-[ah] urine-pass-VSMK 
sho-(ð)u øne-myò phyi’-on, phe-ha lao’-nù sho-a, 
sho-dé øne-myò phyi’-aun, ba lou’-lè sho-yin, 
say-REL state-kind be-so.that which-thing do-Q say-if 
θó-ma fí-ðu ye-an-tà-làon-o tà-kha-dè [ðè] 
aù’-hma fí-dé ye-ò-tà-lâon-go tà-kha-dè [di] 
below-at be-REL water-pot-one-CLF-ACC one-time-only [this ]
θó-khà-hma khe-thà-(ð)u cò-go phlu-pi-dó thè khe-pè-e. 
his-waist-on tie-set-REL rope-ACC untie-finish-when he tie-give-VSMK

38. Khe-pè-pi ye-an-ha tà-kha-dè thè-po’-(ð)u-myò-ðòan 
Chi-pè-pi ye-ò-ha tà-kha-dè thè-pau’-ðòlo-ðòan 
tie-give-finish water-pot-SUBJ one-time-only urine-pass-REL-kind-sound 
cà-on tà-kha-dè øpo’-(ð)à-bo’ pho’-pi-dóa 
cà-aun tà-kha-dè øpau’-khèlè-tàbáu’ phau’-pi-dóga 
hear-so.that one-time-only hole-small-hole pierce-finish-when 
θu thà-pyi’-yi’-te. 
θu thà-pyi’-yi’-te. 
leave-set-behind-VSMK

39. øe-dóa øe-ye-an-thè-ma fí-(ð)u 
Di-dóga di-ye-ò-dè-hma fí-dé 
this-when this-water-pot-inside-in be-REL 
ye-è “fò”-sho klá-ne-(ð)u-zà. 
ye-ha “fò”-sho cá-ne-dé-ha. 
water-SUBJ shaw-say fall-stay-VSMK-thing

40. A, cà-yà-(ð)u lu-ádóa tàge thè-po’-(ð)u-bè ø’mè-e. 
A, cà-yà-dé lu-gâdóga tàge thè-pau’-ta-bè au’mè-de. 
Ah hear-can-REL person-SUBJ really urine-pass-thing-EMP think-VSMK

41. øe-phyi’-lè øu-ha øoma(ð)u-myò-o lao’-pyi’-yi’-pi 
Da-phyi’-lè øu-ha hòwa-myò-go lou’-pyi’-yi’-pi 
that-happen-also he-SUBJ this-kind-ACC make-throw-there-VSMK
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sho-bè tã-kha-dè ðu ðcàn plè-(ð)u-bè.
sho-dò tã-kha-dè ðu ðtin pyè-da-bè.
say-EMP one-time-only he wildly run-VSMK-EMP

42. Tã-kha-dè ðú-wa-ðà-o ðu la'lu' plè-(ð)u-bè.
Tã-kha-dè ðú-ywa-Ìe-go ðu le'lu' pyè-da-bè.
one-time-only his-village-small-to he frantically run-VSMK-EMP

43. ðe-mà-ðu cò-ne-(ð)u-gò; ðú-sí-á
ðú-ha-ðu cau'-ne-da-gò; ðu-sei'-ká
his-thing-he fear-stay-VSMK-EMP his-mind-SUBJ
“A - kòðe cho'-ne-bi” sho-(ð)u ðu ðí-díjòn
“A - toshe chaú'-ne-bi” sho-da ðu ðí-déëtwë’
ah demon frighten-stay-VSMK say-thing he know-because
tã-kha-dè ðcàn plè-ë.
tã-kha-dè ðtin pyè-de.
one-time-only wildly run-VSMK

44. è - ðe-á-lè ye-an-thë-á ye-de-á-lè
è - di-gá-lè ye-ðo-dë-gá ye-de-gá-lè
so this-SUBJ-also water-pot-inside-from water-PL-SUBJ-also
ðe-mà-pì-hnain-behnae, kha-dè phyè-phyè phyè-phyè
té-mà-pì-hnainbù-bòle, tã-kha-dè phyè-byè phyè-byè
very-not-finish-can-you.know time-only slow-ADV slow-ADV

“fò” sho-bì klà-ne-(ð)u-za.
“fò” sho-bì cá-ne-dë-ha.
shaw say-and fall-stay-REL-thing

45. ðe-dò i-tha' són-ne-(ð)u kòðe-mà-á
Di-dò ein-bo sàun-ne-dë toshe-mà-gá
this-then house-on wait-stay-REL demon-female-SUBJ
“A - ðòma(ð)u-za-ë ðè-pò'-ðu ðò-hmyà-hhin mà-ca-á:
“A - dilo-ha-ha ðò-pau'-ta di-lau'-taun mà-ca-bù:
ah this-thing-SUBJ urine-pass-thing this-much-even not-last-VSMK
tã-khù-khù-bè” sho-bì, tã-kha cò-o
tã-khù-gù-bè” sho-bì, tã-kha cò-go
one-thing-thing-EMP say-when one-time rope-ACC
i-tha'-à-ne shòn-bì shwè-lai'-(ð)u-za.
ein-bo-gà-ne shàun-bì shwè-lai'-'të-ha.
house-on-from-stay jerk-and pull-through-REL-thing

46. Ye-angì-e-behnae tã-kha-dè pòyàò'òao'khà i-tha'
Ye-ò-ji-hà-bòle tã-kha-dè pòyou'òou'khà ein-bo
water-pot-big-SUBJ-you.know one-time-only suddenly house-on
yò'-la-(ð)u-bè
yàu'-la-da-bè.
arrive-come-VSMK-EMP
THREE BURMESE DIALECTS

47. သီ-ဟမ “A – ည-ိုး-၃-အ ပလ-ု” ဆွ-ုး,
 Da-hmá “A – ည-ိုး-၃-အ ပလ-ု” ဆွ-ုး,
 this-when ah my-sweetheart-SUBJ run-VSMK say-and
tအ-ဆွ-ုး-မောင် lo-ဦ-နေ ဆွ-ုး-အ, သီ-လ၀-ဘိ သမ-ု-း-အလီ- အေး.
tအ-ဆွ-ုး-မောင် be-lo ိုး- ဦ-ဆွ-ုး, သီ-ယ-ော သမ-ု-း-အလီ- အေး.
once-only what-kind do-Q say-if coffin-big carry-and chase-VSMK

48. သီ-“သီ-လ”-sho-(ဗ)် နန်-လေ နေ-ဦ-(ဗ)်- ပ-လီ-လီ?
 Di-“သီ-လ”-sho-ဒ် နန်-ဒ် နေ-ဒ်- ပ-လီ-လီ?
 this-coffin-say-thing you-PL ear-encompass-thing-EMP-Q
 "သီ-လ”-sho-(ဗ)် လေ-ဦ-ဗ သီ-တ်-ဗ်;
 "သီ-လ”-sho-ဒ် လေ-ဦ-ဗ သီ-တ်-ဗ်
coffin-say-thing person-dead-ACC put-REL
 သီ-သီ-ဗ သီ-ဗ-ဗ;
 သီ-သီ-ဗ သီ-ဗ-ဗ.
 box-ACC coffin call-VSMK

49. စသီ-ဗ်-ဗ သမ-ု-း-အ ကြီး-သမ-ဗ လီ- ဗ;
 တဒ်-ဟ-ဗ သမ-ု-း-အ ကြီး-သမ-ဗ လီ- ဗ;
 that-thing-big carry-and straightaway follow-VSMK-EMP

50. စသီ-ဗ် ဟီ-ကြီး-လီ ကြီး-လီ ပလ, စသီ- အ-လီ ကြီး-လီ ပလ;
 Di-ဒ် ဟီ-ကြီး-လီ ကြီး-လီ ပလ, di- ကြီး-လီ ကြီး-လီ ပလ;
 this-then there-from-also wildly run here-from-also wildly chase
 ပလ-ပလ, လီ-လီ;
 ပလ-ပလ, လီ-လီ.
 run-run chase-chase

51. စသီ-ဗ် ဗ်-ပ-ရ်-ခ်, hmi-ဗ်-ဗ်-ယ်-ပ-လီ- phe-ိုး
 Da-န် nau- ပ-ရ်- ရ် hmi- ဗ်-ဗ်-ဟီ- ပ-လီ be-lo
 that-with last-close-end catch-time-be.near-when-EMP what-kind
 phyi’-ဗ်-န်း ဆွ-ုး-အ, စသီ-ဗ်-ဗ်-ရ်း-ဗ်- (ဗ) ဗ်-ဗ်-ပ-ဗ်-ဗ်
 phyi’-ဗ်-န်း ဆွ-ုး-အ, စသီ-ဗ်-ဗ်-ရ်း-ဗ်- (ဗ) ဗ်-ဗ်-ပ-ဗ်-ဗ်
happen-go-Q say-if that-man-do-person-SUBJ bump-ADV fall-EUPH-VSMK

52. စသီ-ဗ်-တ်- ဗ်-ဗ်-ပ-ရ်-ခ်- ဗ်- (ဗ) ဗ်- ပ-လီ-ပ-လီ;
 Di- တ်- ဗ်- ဗ်-ပ-ရ်-ခ်- ဗ်- ပ-လီ-ပ-လီ;
 this-thicket-CLF-in bump-ADV fall-and-stay-VSMK-EMP

53. စသီ-ဗ်, [စသီ-ဗ်-(ဗ)်-] သီ-ု-း-အ လီ- ဗ;
 တဒ်-ဟ- [တဒ်-ဟ-] သီ-ု-း-အ လီ- ဗ;
 that say [that-thing] coffin carry-and chase-REL
 kန်-ဗ်-မ-အ-လီ စသီ-ဗ်-တ်- ဗ်- ပ-လီ;
 kန်-ဗ်-မ-အ-လီ စသီ-ဗ်-တ်- ဗ်- ပ-လီ;
demon-female-big-SUBJ-also this-thicket-inside-to-however
 wan-လီ- ဗ်- ဗ်-ဗ်-ဗ်.
 wan-လီ- ဗ်- ဗ်-ဗ်-ဗ်.
 enter-through-ing not-manage-VSMK
Chaobu-əpəplan-á-ne pə's fhmvəhmwé-bé tə-kha-dé
Chounbou'-əpəyin-gá-ne pə's fhmvəhmwé-bé tə-kha-dé
thicket-outside-from-stay round and round one-time-only

əpə' ja-pi-dó ne-(ɔ)u-bé; wan-dí-á-té mə-yá.
əpau' ja-pi-dó ne-da-bé; win-ló-gá-té mə-yábú.

opening seek-when stay-VSMK EMP enter-ing-SUBJ also not-succeed

è - hao-gá-lėjőn-bé mé-bi-dóa
è - ho-gá-lė-bé mé-pi-dóga
so there-from also EMP faint-finish-when
lu-hmán-θu-hmán mə-thí - ne-bi-bé.
lu-hmán-θu-hmán mə-thí - ne-da-bé.
person-that-person-that not-know stay-VSMK EMP

Dá phiyi'-tə-né-le-bé mədəu'-thá - tə-kha-dé
this happen also because EMP dawn-break one-time-only

ne-yən-dá-á-té weliwelən phiyi'-la-(ɔ)u əkhə-ma,
ne-yaun-lė-gá-á-ência weliwelin phiyi'-la-dé əkhə-hma,
sun-light-little-REL also dawn become-come time-at

kha-dé, thə-kə-thε-má-gi-ε phyə-phyə-phyə pyə'-pí-dóa
takha-dé di-təshe-má-jí-ha phyə-byə pyau'-pí-dóga
time-only this-demon-female-big-SUBJ slow-ADV-ADV disappear-finish-when

shín-dwə-(ɔ)u-bé, pyə'-thə-wə-le-(ɔ)u-bé.
shín-dwə-da-bé, pyau'-θə-wə-le-da-bé
go down go-VSMK-EMP disappear go-EUPH-VSMK EMP

è - thə-hmá yəcə-á-té thədí-yá-da'-la-ε.
so that only man-SUBJ also consciousness-get-manage-come-VSMK

thədí-yá-da'-la-dé sho-bé, thə sinzá-ε:
thədí-yá-da'-la-dé sho-yín-bé, thə sinzá-dé:
consciousness-get-manage-come-VSMK say-EMP he think-VSMK

"Ne-ú: niñ-khan ná-o thə-myə-kə-thε lai'-ε.
"Ne-ðun: ná-gin ná-go di-loshe lai'-tə.

stay-on night-time I-ACC this-kind-demon chase-VSMK
ná-o phe-ha phiyi'-cón thə-kə-thε nə'tha' yan-ja-bi
ná-go ba phiyi'-ló di-təshe nau'atha' yan-ja-bi
I-ACC what-thing happen because this-demon further conflict-see-ing
mə-nain-nú?
not-overcome-Q

[θu -] thə ké-ðu-ε thə wan-bi-dóa le-ne-(ɔ)u
[θu -] thə ci-da-ha thə win-pi-dóga le-ne-dé
[he] he look-thing-SUBJ he enter-finish and fall stay-REL
neya la’klãokláon-tô-gi phyi’-ne-ê.
neya phóunmëthein-tô-jì phyi’-ne-de.
place camphor-thicket-big be-stay-VSMK

60. ेथे-sho-bê ثور [θëma-(ð)u θëma-(ð)u- ]
êda-né-bê ثور [hówa hówa- ]
that-say-EMP he [um um]
“la’klãokláon-a kœhe nain-máalô”
“phóunmëthein-ha tashe nain-balâ”
camphor-SUBJ demon overcome-EXCL

sho-bì, ثور [hówa- ] tê-khû-döga ثور hma’-θwà-mí-de.
say-ing he [that.thing] one-thing-as.for he note-go-happen-VSMK

61. े- θë-nâ-bê [ثور- ] no’ ثور wa yo’wo’-θwà-dë- setbacks
े- da-né-bê [ثور- ] nau’ ثور wa yau’-θwà-dë- setbacks
so that-with-EMP [he] afterwards he village arrive-go-REL-time-at
no’-lu-de ثور pyö-pyâ-ê:
nau’-lu-de ثور pyö-pyâ-de:
later-people-PL he say-show-VSMK

62. “È- kœhe nain-jîn-a-lê la’klãokláon
“È- tashe nain-jîn-yîn-lê phóunmëthein
so demon overcome-want-if-also camphor
[i-de-phe-de-ma [haoma(ð)u – ] thô-thà, pyù-thà:
[ein-de-ba-de-hma [hówa – ] thô-thà, pyù-thà:
[θë-ha- ] la’kláoñklåon fî-a kœhe co’-sá” sho-djôn,
[di-ha- ] phóunmëthein fî-yîn tashe cau’-lai’ta” sho-lô,
[this-thing] camphor be-if demon fear-EXCL say-because
èθëma-(ð)u-myô-o “la’kláoñklåo-ê kœhe co’-(θ)u-bê”
èdi-ha-myô-go “phóunmëthein-ha tashe cau’-ta-bê”
that-thing-kind-ACC camphor-SUBJ demon fear-VSMK-EMP

sho-(ð)u phyi’-la-(ð)u-za.
sho-da phyi’-la-dë-ha.
say-thing happen-come-REL-thing

63. ǝkhù ǝñ-ǝ-thî ǝdão-(ð)u-bê,
ǝgû di-né-ǝthî ǝðoun-da-bê,
now this-day-up.to use-VSMK-EMP
ǝñ-ǝ-thî-bê ǝñ-tô-de-wa-de-ma sho-a,
di-né-ǝthî-bê di-tô-de-ywa-de-hma sho-yin,
this-day-up.to-EMP this-jungle-PL-village-PL-in say-if
la’kláoñklåon-wa’o [ǝñ- ] ǝhma’tøyâ kœhe co’-on
phóunmëthein-ywe’-ko [di- ] ǝhma’tøyâ tashe cau’aun
camphor-leaf-ACC [this] in.memory demon fear-so.that
sho-dijón, i-de-phe-de-ma, khwá-bo’wá-ma phyi’-se, 
sho-ló, ein-de-ba-de-hma, təgà-bau’wá-hma phyi’-se, 
say-because house-PL-what-PL-in door-opening-in be-let

[hao’-sa –] thò-thà-e, chan-thè-ma phyi’-se sai’-thà-e.
[ho-ou’-sa –] thò-thà-de, chan-dè-ma phyi’se sai’-thà-de.
[that-thing] set-place-VSMK garden-inside-in be-let plant-place-VSMK

64.  ē – ðe-bi ðe khú-kha pyò-(ð)u
ē – pi-dó di āgù-skha pyò-dé
so that-finish this now-time say-REL

wa-ôà-là-jón-bè əsá-dù-á nonme
ywa-lè-gá-là-bè əsá-dòun-gá nanme
village-small-SUBJ-also-because-EMP beginning-while-in name
pè-bemé, əkhú-lè ðe-Pəlwí-jon-wa sho-bi
pè-bemé, əgù-lè di-Pəlwé-jaun-ywa sho-bi
give-although now-also this-Flute-avoid-village say-ing

phyi’-ðwà-e.
phyi’-ðwà-de.
become-go-VSMK

65. “Pəlwí-jon-wa” sho-(ð)u-á chà-jón hmú-á
“Pəlwé-jaun-ywa” sho-da-gá tachà-jaun hmou’-phù:
Flute-avoid-village say-thing-SUBJ other-because not.be.so-VSMK

[ðe –] ðe pəlwí-hmú-bi ðu ðwà-la-phù-(ð)u wa,
[di –] di pəlwé-hmou’-pi ðu ðwà-la-bù-dé ywa,
[this] this flute-blow-ing he go-come-ever-REL village

ðəmaðu-go jəŋkwàn-bi-dó la-ë sho-bi [ðəma-(ð)u –]
həwa-go jəŋkwın-pi-dó la-dé sho-bi [həwa –]
this-ACC avoid-finish-when come-VSMK say-and [umm]
əcən-pyú-bi-dó, khú ðe-né-thí ðe-“Pəlwí-jon-wa”
əcəun-pyú-pi-dóga, əgú di-né-əthí di-“Pəlwé-jaun-ywa”
cause-make-finish-when now this-day-up.to this-Flute-avoid-village

sho-dijón phyi’-ne-(ð)u-za.
sho-bi phyi’-ne-dé-ha.
say-ing become-stay-REL-thing

66. Nán-ló ðəma-(ð)u ði-thà-phó lo-ë: ðəma-(ð)u Dəwe-á
Nin-dó hə-wa ði-thà-bó lo-de: hə-wa Dəwe-gá
you-PL that-thing know-keep-to need-VSMK that-thing Tavoy-from

ʃəʃə-ə pəo-du tə-baon-bè.
ʃəʃə-gá pəun-lè tə-boun-bè.
olden.days-from story-small one-story-EMP
4.4.2 TAVOYAN TEXT NO.2 – TRADITIONAL TAVOYAN SONGS

4.4.2.1 LULLABY

   Hpò-lá-män hmoun-toundoun, phòun-ji ðingàn youn.  
   grandfather-moon-king dim-ish glory-great robe wrap

2. Yaon-baza’-ma mú-la’hñò, phàon-gi la’pha’ byò.  
   Youn-baza’-hma moun-le’-hñò, phòn-ji laphè’ myò.  
   hare-mouth-in cake-finger-point glory-great tea swallow

4.4.2.2 CRADLE SONG

1. Súsú-dà, phe-ðu sho? Dòndon-mo sho?  
   Kaun-lè, be-ðu sho? Hmo-chijín sho?  
   tiny-little which-person say Daungdaung-fungus say
   Mø-ñø-ba-nà, súsú-dà: dòndon-mo ønaon-dà.  
   Mø-ñø-ba-né, kaun-lè: hmo-chijín øjoun-lè.  
   not-cry-POL-VSMK tiny-little Daungdaung-fungus bud-little

2. Tò-joń-gi la-bi sho, bwi-dan-gá to.  
   Tò-jaun-jí la-bi sho, myi-dan-gá to.  
   jungle-cat-big come-VSMK say tail-stem-SUBJ be.short
   Mø-ñø-ba-nà, súsú-dà: tò-joń klà-gi sà.  
   Mø-ñø-ba-né, kaun-lè: tò-jaun cà-ji sà.  
   not-cry-POL-VSMK tiny-little jungle-cat tiger-big eat

3. Zin-ban-tha’-ká, dìdì bye, didao’ myi’-sì kle.  
   Zìn-bin-the’-ká dìdì myi, didou’ myì’-si ce.  
   zìn-tree-on-from dee.dee sound owl eye-ball be.wide.
   í-tò-me-dè, súsú-dà: lè-ná cho’-hlu’-thà.  
   ei-tò-me-dè, kaun-lè: lè-né chau’-hlu’-thà.  
   sleep-soon-VSMK-say tiny-little bow-with frighten-chase-put

   Kaun-lè, chì’søya, wòbò-hmyì’-só-jì-ba.  
   tiny-little love-able bamboo-shoot-tip-big-POL
   Phàphà mø-ca plan-me-dà: thàn-kho’ tò wan-ðwà.  
   Phephe mø-ca pyan-me-le: thin-khou’ tò win-ðwà.  
   daddy not-long return-VSMK-EUPH firewood-chop woods-enter-go

5. Súsú-dà, nò tí-lai’-pe: mìmì kha’ hlwè-ne.  
   Kaun-lè, øøø teì’-lai’-pa: meme pakhe’ hlwè-ne.  
   tiny-little cry quieten-just-EUPH Mummy cradle swing-stay
   there-there brother-PL sleep sleep-just-let’s lè
4.4.2.3 RAIN SONG

1. Bā phaòn i'-'i', la'-hné-shi'.
   Səbə əphòun i'-'i', le'-hnə-shi'.
   rice young grain be full-ADV finger-two-joint

   Ne-yi'tô: Mən-gi plan-me-lə.
   Ne-yi'tô: Maun-ji pyan-me-nə.
   stay back now Brother-big return-VSMK-right?

   qəyân-lè qəkhu-lè ain-in-nà.
   snakehead fish little torpedo fish little pool pond near

   θa-dà kho': plan-ðwà-gé-be-ya.
   səθa-lè (ka?): pyan-ðwà-já-be-də.
   quiet little (come?) return go PL EUPH now

3. Khatəle hlàn, θe-səkhàn,
   Təkhatale hlàn, di-səkhàn,
   sometimes stride this place

   Tən-dən kə' Mən-gi plan-la-gé-me-lə.
   Taun-dən jəu', Maun-ji pyan-la-gé-me-nə.
   mountain range roam Brother-big return come back VSMK right?

4.4.3 TRANSLATIONS

4.4.3.1 HOW IT WAS DISCOVERED THAT CAMPHOR KEEPS DEMONS AWAY

1. Má Khe, Má Nú – now we’re here I’m going to tell you a story of Tavoy long long ago.
2. Listen.
3. There’s this story, you see.
4. Mm. There’s a sort of village about three miles from Tavoy – a little village of some 14 or 15 houses.
5. Now, one day the people in this village had a bit of luck, you might say: they went off to catch some fish or what-have-you, and got this eel.
6. Well, this eel – I don’t know whether they were lucky or something, but it was pretty big.
7. So they carried it off, this eel.
8. It was too big for one family to eat,
9. so the whole lot of 14 or 15 households divided it up, a chunk to each you see, and all of them ate this eel.
10. Then, so the story goes, at dead of night, they say, every single person in the village got cholera, and the whole lot died.
11. At that time there was a lad who used to come courting every day in this village – he came from a village that wasn’t very far away.
12. Along he came, exactly as usual, you know – just as he came every day.
13. And as he came he played away on his little flute along the way.
14. He went to his girl's house just as usual, and went straight up the steps and in.
15. And when he was inside everything was as usual: his girl was there to receive him, with her lamp alight, just as she always did.
16. And the lad, when he was in his girl's house, he was chatting away, you know, telling her jokes and that, and they went on talking from about eight in the evening till it got late –
17. I mean it was some time after twelve o'clock.
18. By this time the lad was getting a bit uncomfortable, and he was sleepy too.
19. So he said to his girl "Well, I'll be getting back – goodbye", he said.
20. But then his girl said "Hey! You can't go back. You've got to go on talking", and she held on to his lon-gyi.
21. Then he said "Goodbye" again, and still she held on tight.
22. "Do you mind?" he said, "I'm off", but she still held on, and he couldn't get away.
23. After a bit the lad had an idea.
24. "Mm – I'll have to change my tactics to something different", he thought, and he took his flute that he'd brought along with him, opened a gap in the bamboo flooring, and dropped it down through the crack.
25. Then he said "Oh – my flute's fallen down below – I'll just go down and fetch it", he said.
26. "Oh no you don't", said the woman – she would fetch it for him.
27. And what do you think she did then? – she thrust her tongue right through the gap in the floor, curled it round the flute, and brought it all the way up for him.
28. At that the lad thought:
29. "I've never seen anything like that" – you know – "this is most peculiar – curling her tongue round the flute like that and fetching it up. She is definitely a demon. This is just not on."
30. With that, he said again "I'm going home", but it was no good.
31. So he thought he ought to try a different tack:
32. "Look here", he said, "I'm going for a pee – I'll just pop down below".
33. Then he said "And if you don't trust me, you can tie a rope round my waist.
34. Then you stay here – wait up here: I'll go down and have a pee".
35. That done, he tied a rope round his waist.
36. As soon as the rope was tied round his waist, he went down under the house.
37. When he got down there he had to make it seem as if he was having a pee, so what he did was to get a water-pot that was down there, take off the rope round his waist, and tie it to the pot.
38. Then, to make a sound like someone peeing, he knocked a little hole in the pot and left it where it was.

39. And the water in the pot went “shhh” as it came spurting out.

40. Anyone who heard it would have thought it really was someone having a pee.

41. As soon as he’d fixed all that up, he tore off at top speed.

42. He made off for his village like a madman.

43. He was really scared, you see: he kept saying to himself “There’s a demon after you” and knowing this made him tear off fast.

44. Meanwhile, the water in the pot hadn’t stopped, you see – it just went slowly on and on spurting out going “shhh”.

45. So the demon waiting up in the house thought “Well now, having a pee shouldn’t last as long as this: something’s up”, and she jerked the rope and pulled it up into the house.

46. And the water-pot, of course, came tumbling in.

47. At that she realised – “Hey! My man’s run away”, so what she did was to pick up her coffin and chase him.

48. You know what a coffin is don’t you? It’s a box for putting dead people in, that’s what a coffin is.

49. So she put this great thing on her shoulder and ran straight after him.

50. So there was the lad haring off, and there was this one haring after him: running and running, chasing and chasing.

51. Then at the very end, when she’d nearly caught up with him, what happened was that the lad tripped and fell head-over-heels.

52. He tumbled straight into this thicket.

53. And the demon who was chasing after him with her coffin just couldn’t get inside the thicket.

54. She went round and round the edge of it looking for a way in, but she couldn’t get in at all.

55. The lad inside had fainted away – he didn’t know what was going on: he just lay there oblivious of it all.

56. And while he lay there, daybreak came – the sun began to give a little light and dawn came, at which the demon slowly disappeared from sight – she vanished completely.

57. Well, then the lad came to.

58. And he began to think: “Hold on a minute. There was this great demon after me during the night. Why was it that she couldn’t harm me any more?”

59. He looked around and he saw that the place he’d fallen into was a great thicket of camphor bushes.

60. So then he realised that camphor was a great protection against demons, and he remembered that.
61. So when he got back to his village he told the others about it:
62. “Hey – if you want to protect yourself against demons stick some camphor around the house: if there’s camphor there demons take fright”, and because of that, the belief came about that demons are afraid of camphor.
63. And it’s still used now – even now, in villages in the countryside, with the idea of frightening away demons, people put out camphor, sometimes in the doorway, and sometimes out in the garden.
64. And then, this village – it had a name before, you see, but now it’s called “Flute-escape” village.
65. What this means is that it was the village where he used to come and go playing his flute, and it was where he made his escape from the whats-its-name, and that’s why it’s now become “Flute-escape” village.
66. This is something you ought to know about: it’s a story of Tavoy from long ago.

4.4.3.2 TRADITIONAL TAVOYAN SONGS

4.4.3.2.1 LULLABY

1. The moon-king is dim tonight,
   and the monk wraps his robe around him.
2. The hare [in the moon] has finger-pastry in his mouth,
   and the monk munches it with his tea.

4.4.3.2.2 CRADLE SONG

1. Who told you, my little one? Was it the Anklet toadstool?
   Don’t cry, little one: the toadstool hasn’t opened yet.
2. The jungle-cat is here, they say, with his stumpy tail.
   Don’t cry, little one: the tiger ate him up.
3. Up in the zin-tree, going dee-dee, was the owl with his staring eyes.
   He was going to sleep, he said, little one: but I chased him away with my bow.
4. My little one, darling one, tip of the bamboo-shoot.
   Daddy will soon be home: he went out to cut some firewood.
5. My little one, stop crying now: Mummy is swinging your cradle.
   There we are, my beauties: let’s go to sleep now.

4.4.3.2.3 RAIN SONG

1. The paddy ear’s in bud, soft and two knuckles long.
   Stay where you are: Brother Rain’s coming back, isn’t he?
2. The snakehead fish and the torpedo fish are in the pools.
   Quietly they come close: be off home with you!
3. Striding towards us, roaming over the hills,
   You’ll be back, won’t you, Brother Rain?
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REFLEXIVES IN BURMESE

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La Trobe University

1. ABSTRACT

The Burmese reflexive has three alternative forms. One, attested from the earliest inscriptions, uses ꞌmï ꞌmil as the reflexive pronoun; for direct objects this is usually followed by the noun ꞌkô ꞌko ꞌlof ‘body’, thus literally meaning ‘self’s body’. This reflexive has numerous cognates in Loloish languages and is ultimately derived from the Tibeto-Burman etymon ꞌmi ‘person’. Another has reanalysed the noun ꞌkô ꞌlof ‘body’ as the reflexive pronoun, and adds something else following it; for direct objects, the most frequent type, the form is ꞌko ꞌko ꞌlof; this comprises two occurrences of ‘body’, the first in possessive form, and the object marker which is also ultimately derived from ‘body’; as discussed below the order of these constituents is a point of disagreement among Burmese grammarians. A third, derived by reanalysis of the second, uses any pronoun twice, separated by the noun ꞌkô ꞌlof ‘body’ or less frequently another body-part noun.

In a reflexive context, the use of one of these reflexives is not obligatory; but if a reflexive is not used then the sentence is ambiguous and would normally be interpreted as non-reflexive. Burmese uses reflexives quite frequently with abstract verbs for mental attitudes and states, and considerably less frequently with concrete action verbs.

In general where a cognate for the literary Burmese ꞌmï ꞌmil is absent elsewhere in Burmese-Lolo, the reflexive is instead innovatively derived from etyma for ‘body’ (such as Sino-Tibetan ꞌguy, Burmese-Lolo ꞌgoy’ or from Burmese-Lolo ꞌdaw’). In this it is unlike the Burmese spoken form, which derives from another Sino-Tibetan ‘body’ etymon ꞌs-ku, Burmese-Lolo ꞌs-ko’. In some languages both a cognate for ꞌmï ꞌmil and a ‘body’ form occur. Grammaticalisation from words for ‘body’ is very widespread in languages of the area and of course semantically quite reasonable for reflexives.

1 I would like to thank various speakers of Burmese including Daw Tin Tin Nyunt, U Sein Win and Mo Mo Aung for providing examples. I am also very grateful to various colleagues including U Thein Tun and Anna J. Allott for comments. Naturally all remaining errors in data or analysis are my own responsibility.

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2. INTRODUCTION

Burmese is the national language of Burma with some 30 million first-language speakers, over ten million second-language speakers and a written history of nearly 900 years. It is one of various South and Southeast Asian languages with diglossia, a literary High also used in some formal spoken contexts which is distinct from the spoken Low. In Burmese, the differences are mainly in the forms of most noun and verb markers and suffixes as well as some frequent function words such as the demonstratives; there are also other lexical differences. For details and some examples, see Bradley (1977) and Allott (1985). The literary High is in many cases more conservative, reflecting the earlier language, Old Burmese, as preserved in inscriptions from 1112 AD. One of the structural differences between the High and the Low is in reflexivisation, for which there is one form in the High and two others in the Low, with interesting structural differences.

The transliteration of Old Burmese and the transcription of Modern Burmese used here have been outlined in the introduction to this volume.

The following abbreviations are used in this paper.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>CLF</th>
<th>DO</th>
<th>EXC</th>
<th>GEN</th>
<th>INT</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>NEG</th>
<th>NP</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>accusative</td>
<td>classifier</td>
<td>direct object</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
<td>genitive</td>
<td>intensifier</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>negative</td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>PUR</td>
<td>REL</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>object</td>
<td>final particle</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>purposive</td>
<td>relative</td>
<td>subject</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

3. PRONOMINALISATION IN BURMESE

For full details of the pronoun system in Burmese and its development from Old Burmese to Modern Burmese, see Bradley (1993). There have been very substantial changes including the appeggioration or replacement of virtually every pronoun, in some cases more than once, during the nine centuries of records of written Burmese. Unlike most other function words, these pronouns do not differ between the modern literary High and the spoken Low.

The usual modern forms are cited in Table 1 below.
Table 1: Pronominal forms in Modern Burmese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/cəno/</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>(male speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/cənə/</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>(female speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tə/</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>(speaking to intimate or inferior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kəu/'</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>(used in rural areas, mainly by male speakers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kʰəmyə/</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>(male speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tīn/</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>(male speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tīn/</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>(speaking to intimate or inferior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tīn/</td>
<td>you</td>
<td>(speaking to intimate or inferior)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/θu/</td>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>(usually human, always animate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Burmese, pronoun forms are fairly infrequent in running discourse; the unmarked assumption is that a statement has a first person subject and that a question has a second person subject, unless the context shows or implies otherwise.

Pronouns also have an attributive/possessive form which replaces a final heavy or level tone with a creaky tone, e.g. /cəno/ ‘my (male speaker)’; those which already end in creaky tone, such as /cənə/ ‘I/my (female speaker)’, have the same form. The pronoun plural marker is /tə/. From the earliest inscriptions, regularly giving modern /də/, pronounced /dol/. This was originally voiceless /tə/ and can be related to the fairly widespread Loloish etymon *daw* ‘body’; cognates are also used as a reflexive in some of those languages. In Burmese, the plural marker may be productively added to any of the above pronouns, but pronouns without the plural marker do also occur in plural contexts. All these pronouns, with or without plural marker, may occur in the Pro (possessive form) + /ko/ + Pro reflexive construction discussed below. The same marker with the formative prefix /ə/ as seen in the inscriptional form /tətə/, was most likely a first plural exclusive; when the prefix was later lost, it retained medial voicing and this is the source of the modern first person plural (inclusive or exclusive) /dol/. There are various restrictions on the plural marker in reflexives, as discussed below.

While the earliest Burmese inscription, the Rajakumar (dated 1112 AD), provides evidence for juncture voicing in noun compounds such as /mangiri/ ‘king’ + ‘big’ > ‘great king’ (lines 15-16), in almost all such cases later spellings show the unvoiced forms instead. Here, the modern form is /mən/; now written /min cil/, showing the base form of the second element but pronounced /min ji/, still with medial voicing. Other dialects of Burmese show much less medial voicing: some do not voice medial aspirates, others do not voice medials at

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2 For details and various parallel examples which have similarly reinforced the category of voiced stops in modern Burmese, see Bradley (forthcoming).
all, except where a Burmese doublet form has been borrowed. In standard Burmese this juncture voicing is one of the main markers of unity between the noun or verb stem and following associated components in a compound as well as following suffixes, modals and other markers. Juncture voicing is regular for reduplicated verbs but not reduplicated nouns. ³

Many of the modern Burmese pronoun forms, including the reflexes, are denominal. The literary reflexive appears to be derived from a reduplication of Sino-Tibetan etymon *mi ‘person’, while the spoken reflexive is derived from the Sino-Tibetan etymon *s-ku ‘body’. Parallels for this semantic development can be found in a number of languages of the region, as well as elsewhere. The likely process of these developments is traced below.

It is often difficult to disentangle the literal ‘body’ and the extended object marker or pronominal uses of /ko/ in early inscriptions. The reanalysis of /ko/ as a reflexive appears to have been fairly early; more recently, as in many other languages, this reflexive is itself shifted to a non-reflexive pronominal use. Thus, in early modern Burmese, /ko/ alone could also be used as a second person pronoun, to which the pronoun plural marker /tó/ > /dó/ could also be added. Judson (1853:203) provides some examples of /ko/ used as a second person pronoun by male or female intimates to women; Tun Nyein (1906), which is often somewhat archaic for its period, includes /ko/ in the list of second person pronouns. However, in current spoken Burmese, /ko/ alone is an informal first person pronoun mainly but not only used by male speakers, not a second person pronoun; this further illustrates the instability and openness of the pronoun system in Burmese. The form /ko do/ could formerly be used as a second person pronoun to address superiors – monks and others; this is clearly another extension of the ‘body’ meaning with the addition of the royal or respectful suffix /ko/. Its replacement by the current /ko lìnphâyá/ is another example of the relatively rapid changes in the Burmese pronoun system.

Yet another independent development, discussed further below and in Bradley (1993), is the modern spoken object/goal/allative noun marker /ko/ from the same nominal source; this has been differentiated from the nominal/reflexive spelling as noted below.

4. CASE MARKING IN BURMESE

Burmese is a typical SOV language; all marking of cases is done with suffixed cliticised markers. These are phonologically joined to the preceding nominal by various juncture phenomena which likewise link the verb and associated modals and other markers. Many of these markers are historically derived from grammaticalised nominal, verbal or other forms.

³ For example /kàun/ ‘good’, reduplicated /kàungàun/ ‘well’, but /ko/ ‘older brother’, reduplicated /ko ko/.
This case marking is in large part optional, and is used relatively sparingly in spoken language. Probably due to the influence of Pali as the liturgical language of Buddhism, written language marks a far greater proportion of cases on NPs, and makes some distinctions absent from spoken style.

There is a productive tone sandhi process which links a possessor noun to the following possessed noun, whereby the final syllable of the pronoun or other noun (if not already creaky tone) changes to creaky tone; the most obvious example is the attributive/possessive pronouns. This process is reflected from the earliest inscriptions to the present; for example the ‘Myazedi’, lines 36 and 37, has $c \, \text{ŋ}a + \text{various kinship terms}$ (e.g. line 36 has $c \, \text{ŋ}a \, \text{sə} \, \text{‘my son’}$, instead of the usual subject pronoun form $c \, \text{ŋ}ə$). More relevantly, on the third face of the Lemyethna Pagoda inscription dated 1232, lines 12, 19, 24 and 29 show $c \, \text{ŋa} \, \text{kuiw} \, \text{‘me’}$ (lit. ‘my body’), here ambiguous between Pro + the noun ‘body’ and Pro + direct object marker – a perfect example of the right environment for a reanalysis! The origin of the /ko/ object marker from a possessor noun + possessed ‘body’ noun phrase is further indicated by the productive application of the noun tone creaking process before this noun marker, probably of possessive origin as discussed in Bradley (1993, forthcoming).

The early orthographic indication of the creaky tone is a final glottal stop; this and the heavy tone written (if at all at that period) with a final $h$ are only very sporadically indicated in the earliest inscriptions. Alternatively, Indic short vowels (creaky tone) as opposed to long vowels (other non-stop final tones) may indicate the contrast for $a, i$ and $u$; but the writing of this vowel-length distinction is also not very consistent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Given also the provisional nature of the spelling in most of the earliest Burmese inscriptions, it is difficult to be absolutely certain whether the sandhi creaky tone was already regular and productive in the twelfth century, but it is quite likely. This sandhi process can perhaps be derived from a fused form of the possessive marker, inscriptional and literary /ɨ/, modern spoken /yɨ/.

A similar alternation can be observed in possessive forms of pronouns in several other Burmese-Lolo languages including other dialects of Burmese, other Burmish languages such as Hpun, and Loloish languages in each subgroup of Loloish.

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4 This is not too suprising given that the early writers of Burmese would have been Mon speakers, whose language was then non-tonal. Bradley (1982) suggests that the Burmese tones at that period may have included various phonation, duration and vowel quality characteristics which also exist in modern Burmese though they are less prominent than the pitch differences.

5 Here, the short vowels and the syllables written with a subscript glottal stop are differently transliterated following the usual practice outlined in the introduction to this volume; though both presumably represented creaky tone.
As noted above, other noun-marker forms also come at the end of the noun phrase, which consists maximally of a relative clause or a demonstrative, the head noun or compound noun with suffixes such as plural if any, and a quantifier expression consisting of one or more sequences of number plus classifier. Various markers have continued in use from the earliest inscriptions to the modern literary High, but most of these have been replaced in the spoken Low. These markers are the topic of Bradley (forthcoming) and will be only briefly noted here. In early inscriptions, objects (direct and indirect) could be followed by the marker ā(:), while some direct objects, especially human ones, could be followed by kuiw (from 'body') instead. This situation is preserved in the distribution of modern literary Burmese /ā/ and /ko/, but with wider distribution and greater frequency of /ko/ after direct objects. In modern spoken Burmese /ko/ has completely replaced /ā/ with indirect as well as direct objects; and there is a strong constraint restricting the occurrence of /ko/ to one NP in a sentence.

The process and chronology of the replacement of ə:ə by ə:ə kuiw in Burmese is a fascinating topic but beyond the scope of this discussion; see Bradley (forthcoming). Other changes in markers are mostly one-for-one replacement of existing markers in spoken Burmese, with the Old Burmese forms still retained in literary Burmese. Some of the elaboration of markers, for example the subject form in modern written Burmese, can perhaps be attributed to the influence of word-by-word calquing of Pali texts; see Okell (1967) for details of this so-called Nissaya Burmese.

What can be noted is that Old Burmese, from its earliest inscriptions, already shows the accusative marking on nouns which is characteristic of Burmese-Lolo languages and south-eastern Tibeto-Burman in general. There is no evidence of ergativity in Burmese from the beginning of the twelfth century, which is rather inconvenient for those who wish to postulate ergativity as a Tibeto-Burman characteristic.

5. REFLEXIVES IN BURMESE

The modern reflexive forms are literary əə /mí mí/ and spoken əə əə /ko/; more specifically, the spoken direct object reflexive is /kó ko ko/ or Pró, + əə əə /ko/ (or other body-part noun) + Pró. The literary form occurs from the earliest inscriptions; the /kó ko ko/ spoken form comes in gradually, and is derived from the noun ‘body’; the Pró /ko/ Pro form results from reanalysis of the /kó ko ko/ form. The spoken forms are unusual in that their components do not undergo juncture voicing.

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6 That is, any pronoun form in its possessive form with creaky tone on the final syllable plus /ko/ plus the pronoun repeated in full. Other body-part nouns may also be used in place of /ko/; see sentence (6h) below.

7 While reduplicated nominal forms such as kinship terms like /ko ko/ ‘older brother’ also do not voice,
Burmese speakers disagree as to the ‘correct’ spelling of the /kó ko ko/ reflexive. Some prefer *n̂ŷw n̂ŷw n̂ŷw*, that is ‘body + object marker + body’; others prefer *n̂ŷw n̂ŷw n̂ŷw*, that is ‘body’s body + object marker’. Both spellings are given in Ba Han (1966:1605); it is said that the government and the Burmese Department at Rangoon University prefer the latter. Both are grammatically plausible reflexives; given the semantic change ‘body’ > ‘self’, the former suggests ‘self + object marker + self’, two separate NPs; the latter implies ‘self’s body + object marker’, a single NP. However, neither is parallel to the attributive/possessive pronoun + body-part noun + pronoun reflexive construction, which here would instead suggest *n̂ŷw n̂ŷw n̂ŷw*, that is ‘body’s body + body’, a two-NP construction. Perhaps the various alternatives have all contributed to the modern /kó ko ko/ construction; but the lack of juncture voicing suggests that neither the second nor the third /ko/ is the object marker, as this would normally be voiced /go/ in either of the two environments suggested by the alternative spellings.

This noun ‘body’, Old Burmese *n̂ŷ w kuiw*, modern *n̂ŷ w* /ko/ and the reflexive derived from it contain a false etymology in its modern spelling, adding a final orthographic *y* based on the unrelated but look-alike Sanskrit/Pali form *kāyā*. There are also longer, more formal versions which start with /ko/ and continue with a Pali doublet, for example *n̂ŷ w n̂ŷ w* /ko ka yāl/, *n̂ŷ w n̂ŷ w* /ko khan da/; these forms may be further extended with a Burmese nominal doublet, for example *n̂ŷ w n̂ŷ w* /ko khan da skaun sθel/, all meaning ‘body’. An earlier grammaticalised form from the noun was the noun object marker *n̂ŷ w* /ko/, but this is spelled without the spurious Pali-influenced final *y*. In this marker use, it is absent from the earliest inscriptions starting in the year 1112, but starts to appear by 1147. It was at first used only with animate patients, but by 1169 was occasionally being used with inanimate (non-corporeal) noun direct objects, and by 1182 with complement clauses and in an allative sense. It has subsequently, as in the undated but early Lokahteikpan inscriptions (Ba Shin 1962), generalised further to goals in ditransitive or causative constructions as well, and in current spoken Burmese covers all these functions.

It is now stylistically unacceptable to have more than one /ko/ in a clause, and in normal running discourse few of the direct or indirect objects have /ko/ suffixed to them. Like other such suffixes, it normally voices when the immediately preceding syllable does not end in a stop.

In Burmese it is only a noun phrase coreferential with the subject which can be reflexive. This can be in the same clause, in an embedded clause within the same sentence, or in a following conjoined clause or subsequent sentence in the same discourse context where the /kó ko ko/ reflexive is not synchronically a reduplication, even though each of its three components is ultimately derived from the noun ‘body’.
antecedent is clear. As Burmese is a typical verb-final language, most embedded clauses precede the subject; so the reflexive in an embedded clause often precedes its subject antecedent if that antecedent is present. Furthermore, as Burmese is a language which does not require overt subject pronouns, the antecedent may be completely unexpressed; in such a case the reflexive is ambiguous or generic if the antecedent is not clear from the context. Like most verb-final languages, Burmese is most frequently SOV but the exact order of noun phrases is pragmatically determined. For the reflexive direct object the grammaticalised unitary construction requires what is an O+S order, or for some speakers alternatively an O+S preceded or followed by the non-reflexive form of the S.

Reflexives occur in various case roles; the main one is direct object, with more or less fossilised possessive and embedded subject forms. Other case roles, such as indirect object and so on, are filled by the possessive form of the reflexive pronoun /mí mí/ or /mi ko/ plus a noun form. The Burmese reflexive does not also have a reciprocal meaning; with a plural antecedent the action is distributive, not reciprocal. Unlike the corresponding non-reflexive pronouns, the /ko/ reflexive may not add the plural marker; but the literary /mí mí/ may do so, as shown in (24) below. On the other hand, the extended /ko/ non-reflexive pronoun may have the plural marker; this pluralised usage was attested by the early nineteenth century, as indicated by an example in Judson (1853: 203).

5.1 Direct object

As noted above, the exact structure of the spoken Burmese direct object reflexive /ko ko ko/ is a matter of dispute. The ‘standard’ analysis suggests that it is a single NP comprising a possessive reflexive pronoun /ko/, the noun /ko/ ‘body’ (which should be creaky before an object marker) and then the object marker /ko/. The alternative spelling suggests that it is a sequence of two NPs; the first consists of a reflexive pronoun /ko/ and the direct object marker /ko/ which normally voices to /go/ and produces a creaky tone on the preceding syllable in this environment; and then a second NP /ko/ ‘body’ or reflexive. Despite its lack of the usual and expected juncture voicing, this operates as a unit for most speakers, who are not able to pause as is normally possible between NPs in Burmese. As will be argued below, it is likely that neither modern spelling reflects the original structure of the reflexive.

Since /ko ko ko/ alone is ambiguous as shown in sentence (1) and does not specify the subject, a subject may also be present. On the other hand /ko ko ko/ (or literary /mí mí/) alone is most frequently used for generic reflexives. If there is another pronoun, it normally follows the reflexive, as in (2); but a noun may precede or follow, as in (3); some speakers reject sentences like (3b) with the nominal subject following the /ko ko ko/. Literary equivalents are similar but may also have /mí mí ko/ ‘self’s body’, /mí mí ko go/
with the following object marker, or maximally (including the possessive marker /li/)
/mi mi ko go/; the latter two have the direct object marker voiced, creaking
the preceding syllable, unlike the spoken /kó ko ko/. There is also a non-ambiguous alternative
reflexive form with any other pronoun in the first and third slots, with the first in creaky-final
attributive form. This is an OS rather than the more unmarked SO order as in (4) and (5); it
will be argued below that the /kó ko ko/ form is parallel.

(1)  kó ko ko  yai’ te
    self DO self  hit  realis
    Someone (unspecified but probably I unless context suggests otherwise) hits
    himself.

(2)  kó ko ko  cano  yai’ te
    self DO self  I(M) hit  realis
    I hit myself.

(3)  a.  khalè  kó  ko  ko  kai’ te
    child self DO self  bite  realis
    This child bites itself.

    b.  kó  ko  ko  khalè  kai’ te
    self DO self  child  bite  realis
    The child bites itself.

The meaning difference between (3a) and (3b) is one of focus. Of course, (2) and (3)
could also be expressed with the Pró +/ko/ or other body-part noun + Pró construction, as in
(4) and (5); (4a) is not ambiguous so the extra pronoun is not necessary, but some speakers
prefer to put one in as in (4b), always pausing after the reflexive, perhaps on the model of
sentences like (2). Other speakers reject sentences like (4b) as excessively redundant. Some
Rangoon speakers will accept sentences like (4c) with the extra subject pronoun first, if the
additional subject pronoun is to be there at all, but for most the preference is for OS as in
(4b) rather than SO as in (4c). There are also some speakers, especially from Mandalay, who
prefer sentences like (4c) to those like (4b); for them the tendency to OS in reflexives must be
less strong. These pronominal reflexives do not occur in literary style. Sentences like (3)
with an overt NP subject are in any case not ambiguous, so the Pró +/ko/ + Pró construction
is not necessary to disambiguate them. Many speakers reject the SO possibility as in (5b)
below, but this is not as unlikely as the corresponding sentence with pronouns only, as in
(4c); similarly, some speakers, especially those from Mandalay, may prefer (5b) to (5a)
because of their preference for SO, just as they prefer (3a) and (4c).

(4)  a.  canó  ko  cano  yai’ te
    I   DO I  hit  realis
    I hit myself.
b. ?cənó ko cənó cənó yai’ te
   I DO I  I hit realis
   I hit myself.

c. ??cənó cənó ko cənó yai’ te
   I I DO I  hit realis
   I hit myself.

(5) a. ðú ko ðu khəlè kai’ te
   he DO he  child bite realis
   The child bites itself.

b. ??khəlè ðú ko ðu kai’ te
   child he DO he  bite realis
   The child bites itself.

This Pró + body-part noun + Pro form occurs with any of the core pronouns listed in the previous section, with or without plural marker; the pronominal form in first and third slots must be identical apart from the attributive creak on the final syllable of the first. Therefore sentences like (6a), (6b) or (6c)\(^8\) are grammatical, while sentences like (6d) and (6e) are ungrammatical. Those like (6f) and (6g) are not reflexive; the object marker does show juncture voicing, and there can be a pause before the second pronoun. Some speakers find the reflexive forms with plural marker clumsy, because they can get rather long; hence sentences like (6c) below with the plurality marked in the verb but not the reflexive may be preferred. The most frequent body-part noun, not surprisingly, is /ko/ ‘body’ itself; but others do occur, as in (6h), which is otherwise exactly parallel to (5a) and (5b).

(6) a. ðú dó ko ðu dó kai’ te
   he PL DO he PL  bite realis
   They bite themselves.

b. ðú dó ko ðu dó kai’ cá de
   he PL DO he PL  bite PL  realis
   They bite themselves.

c. ðú ko ðu kai’ cá de
   he DO he  bite PL  realis
   They bite themselves.

d. *ðú dó ko ðu kai’ te
   he PL DO he  bite realis
   He bites them.

e. *ðú ko ðu dó kai’ te
   he DO he PL  bite realis
   He bites them.

\(^8\) Sentences (6b) and (6c) include the verb marker [\(\text{ŋ}\)] /cá/ which indicates multiplicity of the action and therefore usually a plural subject; (6c) shows that the plurality of the subject may be marked on the verb without necessarily being marked on the reflexive or the subject.
f. θú dú go θu kai te
   he  PL DO he bite realis
   He bites them. (fronted, topical object)

g. θú go θu dú kai’ (cá) de
   he DO he PL bite (PL) realis
   They bite him. (fronted, topical object)

h. khæle θú le’ θu kai te
   child his hand he bite realis
   The child bites his own hand/bites himself on the hand.

These sentences are also perfectly natural with a subject noun, before or after the Pró + noun + Pro combination. Some speakers also allow this construction with kinship terms used in core or extended pronominal senses, as in (7).

(7) ἀphe ko ἀphe kai te
   father DO father bite realis
   Father (or some older man) bites himself. /Father, you bite yourself.

As for the /kó ko ko/ construction, literate speakers disagree as to the spelling which should be used for these spoken-style reflexives. It is usual to write the Pró + /ko/ + Pro reflexive with the noun ὅω ὅ, ‘body’ rather than the object marker ὅ k/ in the middle, but some people prefer the latter. The former implies an analysis possessive Pro + ‘body’ + (subject/object) Pro, parallel to the ὅω ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ spelling of /kó ko ko/; the latter suggests object Pro in attributive form + object marker + subject Pro, parallel to the ὅω ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ spelling of /kó ko ko/.

It is more likely that the /kó ko ko/ and Pró + body-part noun + Pro constructions are parallel and both derived from a two-NP OS structure. In this the object comprises possessive pronoun (reflexive or non-reflexive) + ‘body’ or other body-part NP; the following subject is an identical non-possessive pronoun; as the two are linked there cannot be a pause between them. This overcomes the problems of lack of voicing of the putative object marker and lack of creak of the form preceding the putative object marker which make both of the spellings of /kó ko ko/ dubious. Effectively, it is here suggested that etymologically and syntactically /kó ko ko/ ought to be spelled ὅω ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ ὅ .

A further possibility for the form with no reflexive pronouns eliminates the ambiguity by having both present, as in (8) which is otherwise identical to (4a) above; in this case the object marker voices as would normally be expected, and there is often a pause after the object marker. In effect, this is another argument against the analysis of the medial /ko/ in Pró + body-part noun + Pro as the object marker and thus for the analysis proposed here.
The literary reflexive also supports this analysis, showing in its direct object form /mimí/ ‘self(‘s) + /ko/ ‘body’ plus optionally, as in (8), the voiced /go/ form of the object marker /ko/. As it is unusual in diglossia for the syntactic structure as opposed to the forms employed to differ too greatly, this parallelism is another argument for the analysis proposed here. On the other hand, those literate speakers who write the middle /ko/ in both constructions with the object marker /ko/ may have restructured their two spoken reflexives to a new analysis as direct object Pro + object marker + subject Pro; but they still do not have juncture voicing for the middle /ko/, reflecting the original structure as retained by others.

The earliest example of a literary reflexive is in the first extant inscription, the ‘Myazedi’ from 1112 AD (part of lines 14-16).

(9) \textit{Thuwiw Rajakumar mañ su pay mayā sā} that Rajakumar named one who dear wife son
\textit{mimi kiew muy so maŋgrī klaŋjo} self’s body raise one who great king thanks
\textit{okmi ra kā.} below get PF

The son of the beloved wife, who was called Rajakumar, called to mind the favours of the king who had nurtured him.
(Taw Sein Ko & Duroiselle 1919:25)

Note that the reflexive is the direct object in a relative clause, showing that reflexivisation for direct objects did continue beyond the clause in which they are subject, even at that early stage. Moreover, unlike modern Burmese, the reflexive in the relative clause is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, which is not the head of the relative; see (21b) below for the modern situation. The form of the Old Burmese reflexive is the same as the modern literary form, as is usually the case when modern spoken and written forms differ.

The full modern literary direct object reflexive is /mí mí/ plus optionally the possessive marker /í/ and then obligatorily the noun /ko/ ‘body’, optionally followed by the object marker /go/ in its juncture-voiced form. Unlike the spoken /kó ko ko/ reflexive, /mí mí/ may also be pluralised by the addition of /dó/; naturally this precedes the various markers to give a maximal /mí mí dó í ko go/ ‘our/your/themselves’.
Unlike the reflexive, the direct object reciprocal is expressed with the reduplicated deverbal adverb ဆိုခါး /chín jín/, as in (10) below; usually but not obligatorily this also contains the verb marker /câl/ 'plural/multiple action' as a reciprocal must involve more than one actor doing something. This plural marker may also occur in reflexives with plural subjects as in (6b), (6c) and (6g) above.

(10) သူဦး တို့ ချည် ရှာ ရှာ ကုန် တခါ
he PL each other hit PL realis
They hit each other.

As in many other similar cases, the distinction between literary and spoken reflexive forms is gradually breaking down; this usually involves literary forms being brought into occasional spoken use. Indeed, quite a few expressions with /mî mâ/ are now heard in more formal spoken Burmese. Conversely, spoken Burmese forms can also filter into informal prose. The following example is the first sentence of a short story published in 1982 by Ma Sanda.9

(11) ဗိ မိန် မိန် လီ သို့ ဟု သား ကို မိန် သား အား အား အား အား
U Maung Maung Lat Subject glass on inside himself carefully
ci မိုး လီ
look at by accident-real is
U Maung Maung Lat happened to look at himself carefully in the glass.

In (11) /θû ko θû/ is written ဗိ မိန် မိန် လီ သို့ ဟု သား ကို မိန် သား အား အား, as it would be by most literate Burmans. Despite the presence of a mainly spoken-form reflexive, all the noun and verb markers here have their literary forms; see Bradley (1993) for further examples of these differences.

5.2 Possessor

One of the most frequent occurrences of the reflexive other than as a direct object is in proverbs. These have the form လို လို /kó/ + noun + လို လို /kó/ + verb; they can be converted to literary or spoken style by the addition of the appropriate final verb markers. The first /kó/ is a possessive, and the second is a subject pronominal reflexive form which is no longer productive otherwise, but survives in this proverb construction which remains mildly productive, as well as in some adverbials discussed below. Some examples follow.

(12) ကြောင် လုံ ကြောင် နှင့် ကြောင် နှင့်
self's strength self depend on
Depend on one's own strength.

(13) ကြောင် လမ်း ကြောင် နှင့်
self's road self look for
Find one's own way.

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9 This is cited in Allott (1990).
There are some other proverbs without the possessive, such as the following which also shows SVO order, but these are unusual and much less productive.

(15) ko thin gadin /we nān
self think bed palace
A bed is a golden palace if one thinks so (lit. think one's bed is a palace).

Some other proverbs combine elements in different ways, as in (16) below, where the second part of the sentence has a particle following the subject /ko/.

(16) kō wūn na ko ḍa θī
self's belly hurt self only know
Only oneself knows one's own bellyache (problem).

Apart from these syntactically aberrant proverbial reflexives, it has been argued above that the origin of the direct object reflexive, and its current structure in literary and (for most speakers) spoken Burmese, is underlyingly from a possessive pronoun plus the noun /ko/ ‘body’ and then an identical pronoun. It will be seen below that a similar structure can be postulated for reflexives in the /ko/ + Noun construction. In both cases a reanalysis has become possible as a result of the grammaticalisation of this noun to an object marker, homophonous with ‘body’ but written differently as /o/ and behaving differently by voicing in close juncture with the preceding nominal element which acquires an attributive creaky tone on its final syllable if it is not already creaky.

The literary possessive reflexive is /mī mí/ or, with the literary possessive marker, /mī mí f/; plural /mī mí dō/ or /mī mí dō f/. As these already have creaky tone on their final syllables, they can have possessive meaning with or without the marker, as seen in the direct object forms which are optionally without the /f/. These are used much more productively with NPs than /kō/, and may even be heard in spoken Burmese as possessive reflexives. The following example is in a complement clause; the main clause lacks an overt subject but the context suggests ‘we’.

(17) mīmī tài npyi kāun aun cò zā myi
self's country good in order that try irrealis
(We) will try to make our own country better.
5.3 Subject intensifier and other adverbials

Apart from the archaic or proverbial usage of /ko/ alone as a subject pronoun as in (15) above, the main reflexive-like form used adverbially after the subject is /ko dainl/ as in (18) below; this also may occur without a subject pronoun as in (19), in which case it is ambiguous out of context. Some speakers reject sentences like (19) and (20) and require a subject noun or pronoun to immediately precede /ko dainl/.

(18) \( \theta u \quad ko \ dain \quad l o u \, \, t e \)
      he/she  self-INT  do  realis
      He/she does/did it him/herself.

(19) \( ko \ \, d a i n \quad l o u \, \, t e \)
      self-INT  do  realis
      Someone (probably I unless context shows otherwise) does it himself.

This form cannot be pluralised by the addition of the pronoun plural marker /dól/; if plurality is to be indicated at all, it must be elsewhere in the sentence, for example using the verbal marker /cál/ as in (20) or plural marking on the subject nominal if that is present.

(20) \( ko \ d a i n \quad l o u \, \, c a l \quad d e \)
      self-INT  do  PL  realis
      Some people (probably we unless context shows otherwise) do it themselves.

While the object reflexive operates as a unit within which a pause is not usually possible, a pause is normally required between the subject nominal and /ko dainl/; furthermore, like the other reflexives, the initial /ko/ does not voice to /g/. Both of these phonological facts imply that /ko dainl/ is a separate, appositional constituent which immediately follows the subject; it is unusual for the two to be separated by any other constituent.

Like /kó ko ko/, the form /ko dainl/ can occur in embedded clauses; for example in (21a); but /ko dainl/ must be coreferential with the underlying subject of the clause in which it stands, not necessarily the subject of the main clause. Likewise, (21b) with /kó ko ko/ in a relative clause is also not ambiguous; it must be coreferential with the subject of the embedded clause, 'person', and not the subject of the main clause, 'I'; this phenomenon may be related to the fact that only a third person nominal can be the head of a relative clause, as noted below; but see also (9) above, which indicates that this constraint was not operating in Old Burmese. Sentence (21c) also shows that the constraint on multiple /ko/ object marker in one sentence can extend beyond a single clause.

(21) a. \( ko \ d a i n \quad y a i ^ \prime \, t e \quad l u \quad g o \quad c a n o \quad \theta i \quad d e \)
      self  INT  hit  REL  person O  I (male)  know  realis
      I know the person who himself hits (someone).

b. \( k o \ k o \, k o \quad y a i ^ \prime \, t e \quad l u \quad g o \quad c a n o \quad \theta i \quad d e \)
      self  hit  REL  person O  I (male)  know  realis
      I know the person who hit himself.
The literary equivalent of /ko dain/ is /mi mi ko dain/, which quite often occurs without any pronominal form in the sentence. In effect the reflexive /mi mi/ is functioning as the head pronoun here. Again, unlike the spoken reflexive form /ko/, a plural is possible for this literary form: /mi mi do ko dain/.

Burmese also uses a number of other adverbial reflexive forms; for example /ko zi/ 'each person acting separately', /ko thu/ 'by oneself', /ko du/ 'alone', /ko bain/ 'under one’s own control, one’s own'. These all appear to contain a fossilised reflexive subject pronoun. Most of these reflexive adverbials also have elaborate\(^\text{10}\) four-syllable alternatives. For /ko dain/ the elaborate form is /ko dain ko ja/' or /ko dain ko ja/; for /ko zi/ it is either simply reduplicated /ko zi ko zi/ or /ko zi ko n/ which has an additional meaning: 'each person acting separately, but with the same purpose in mind'. The elaborate for /ko thu/ is /ko thu ko th/; for /ko du/ it is /ko du ko chan/. Interestingly, there is juncture voicing of most unaspirated and some aspirated voiceless stops within these adverbials, unlike the direct object reflexives which do not voice.

Instead of an adverbial reflexive, it is occasionally possible to use the direct object /ko ko ko/ in subject position with the meaning ‘alone’, as in the following; of course there are other ways to express this with an adverbial reflexive or a non-reflexive which are much more frequent.

\[(22) \quad \text{koko ko } \theta\text{wà de} \]

\begin{verbatim}
self go realis
\end{verbatim}

Someone (most likely I) goes alone, by him/herself.

Most speakers reject sentences like (22) when presented in isolation, but they do occur in Burmese discourse.

\subsection*{5.4 Possessive reflexive plus other nominals}

A variety of nouns occur in the construction /ko/ + Noun; the most frequent examples are the pronominal /ha/ ‘thing’ and the nouns /pha da/ ‘behalf’ and /’atwe’/ ‘sake’. This, like the proverb and adverbial usages above, is effectively a reflexive, in this case possessive and therefore with creaky tone. It is exactly paralleled by corresponding non-reflexive forms with other pronouns in possessive form as in (23b) and (23d) below.

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\(^{10}\) This term is due to Matisoff (1982); it refers to formal ABAC or ABCB reduplications corresponding to the usual AB forms. Often the C form is etymologically interesting as it may preserve an otherwise lost cognate.
(23) a.  côko phaδa əlou lou’ te
     I (male) self’s behalf work do realis
     I work for myself.

b.  θu côko phaδa əlou lou’ te
    he/she my behalf work do realis
    He/she works for me.

c.  côko k6 phaoa əlou’ te
    I (male) self’s sake book one CLF buy realis
    I buy myself a book.

d.  θu côko atwe’ saou’ ou’ we de
    he/she my sake book one CLF buy realis
    He/she buys me a book.

An indirect object or other non-core case can only occur with a reflexive in a construction like this. There is an elaborate four-syllable /pha δi pha δa/ form of /pha δa/ which, unusually for these elaborate expressions in Burmese, has the free form second rather than first.

The literary equivalent of these /ko/ + Noun constructions is /m₁ mí/ + Noun, for example /m₁ mí atwe’/ as in the following example.¹¹

(24) lu d6 δi mí mí d6 atwe’ æcò fí aun
    person PL S self PL sake benefit have in order to
    in order for people to have some benefit for themselves...

5.5 EMBEDDED, CONJOINED AND LINKED CLAUSES

Given the flexibility of order of NPs in a Burmese sentence, it is possible that embedded clauses may be preceded by the subject of the main clause; indeed a sentence like (24) above may be interpreted in this alternative way, taking /lu d6 δi/ as subject of the top clause which continues after the complement, rather than as subject of the complement itself. On the other hand some types of embedded clauses, such as relative clauses, normally precede their heads; so it is also possible for the antecedent of the reflexive in such an embedded clause to follow its coreferential reflexive, as in the following examples showing the two alternative spoken forms. As in most languages, relative clauses in Burmese occur mainly with third person heads.

(25) a.  k6 k6 ko yai’ té lu məkàun bù
    self hit REL person NEG good NEG
    The person who hits himself is not good.

¹¹ This is cited in Allott (1990), from a Burmese primary school textbook. It is typical of countries with diglossia that schools teach only the literary High; this of course makes the education system much more difficult and less useful for nearly half of Burma’s population whose first language is another dialect or language.
The person who hits himself is not good.

In general the tendency to zero anaphora in Burmese is very strong, especially within the sentence; it is very bad style to repeat pronouns all through a long sentence or short discourse. Therefore many sentences which might be candidates for reflexivisation in other languages have little or no overt pronominalisation in Burmese. The reflexive is a highly topical and marked construction, and where semantically motivated it may also occur within non-main clauses embedded in a complex sentence, in conjoined clauses of a compound sentence, or even in a later sentence in the same discourse. Sentence (9) above shows that this has been the case since the earliest attested Burmese inscriptions; sentence (21b) above shows that the reflexive can now refer only to the subject of the relative clause, but (9) shows that in Old Burmese it could refer back to the subject of the main clause if this differs.

In Burmese, it is unusual to have more than one reflexive in a clause; thus combinations like the following are considered to be very bad style (though some speakers accept combinations like (26b) which involve two reflexives neither of which is /kó ko ko/).

(26) a. *cano ko dain kó ko ko yai’ te
     I (my)self self DO hit realis
     I myself hit myself.

b. ??cano ko dain ko atwe’ sa ou’ we de
     I (my)self for (my)self book buy realis
     I myself buy myself a book.

c. *cano kó ko ko ko atwe’ yai’ te
     I (my)self DO for (my)self hit realis
     I hit myself for my own sake.

There is a similar surface constraint on the spoken object marker /ko/, which normally may occur on only one NP in a clause. However the relevant Pro or noun still may show the creaked form as if it had the following /ko/, so this may be a surface deletion. Where two or more such NPs are present, it is usually an animate NP which is marked, as in the following sentences; see also (21c) above, which shows that the constraint may also extend over more than one clause of a sentence. This phenomenon reflects the origin of /ko/ from ‘body’ and the tendency for /ko/ to be used more frequently with animate objects in early inscriptions, as discussed in Bradley (1993).

(27) a. cano sa ou’ ta ou’ thú go pé de
     I book one book he/she DO give realis
     I gave him/her a book.
REFLEXIVES IN BURMESE

b. khəmyà  cənò  go  sa  ou'  tə  ou'  θü  pè  ze  de
you  I  O  book  one  CLF  him/her  give  cause  realis
You make me give him/her a book.

c. khəmyà  cənò  sa  ou'  tə  ou'  θü  go  pè  ze  de
you  me  book  one  CLF  he/she  O  give  cause  realis
You make me give him/her a book.

The literary /mi mi/ reflexive also occurs in non-main clauses in the same ways; for an example see sentence (17) above.

5.6 CONCLUSION

In summary, the reflexive in Burmese has three forms: the earliest, still used in literary style, is /mi mi/; as will be demonstrated below, this may have had a reflexive function in Burmese-Lolo and ultimately derives from a Tibeto-Burman etymon meaning ‘person’. More recently the noun /ko/ ‘body’ has grammaticalised and become a spoken-style reflexive, and most recently this latter construction has been used analogically to produce a third reflexive pattern using any pronoun in place of the /ko/ form and a variety of other body-part nouns as alternatives to /ko/. The analogy is confused by the fact that the noun ‘body’ has also become independently and somewhat more opaquely grammaticalised into the object marker /ko/ ~ /go/, and this has affected the spelling of the two spoken reflexives.

6. REFLEXIVES IN OTHER BURMISH LANGUAGES

The various dialects of Burmese such as western Arakanese and south-eastern Tavoyan each with substantial numbers of speakers, as well as the smaller subgroups such as north-western Yaw and north-eastern Danu, Taungyo and Intha, all share virtually the same original pronoun system. This is doubtless due partly to shared inheritance and partly to continuing influence from standard Burmese. Details are presented in Bradley (1993). Unfortunately very little data on the reflexive in these dialects is available, but words for ‘body’ show various connections. In dialects of Burmese such as Arakanese, Intha and Tavoyan (Okell 1995) the form for ‘body’ is identical, /ko/. In more distant dialects it differs slightly; for example Taungyo has /ka/, prefixed /təka/, or /təkələn/ with ‘one’ preceding and the classifier for round things following (Yabu 1981:162). Yaw (Yabu 1980:169) has /təkogəun/ showing a prefix, then reflexes of two Sino-Tibetan etyma; or like Taungyo /dəgəlon/ with ‘one’ preceding and the round classifier following, or a Burmanised /khəndago/ showing the Pali loan khanda, also seen in Burmese but usually alone or in the other order, /ko khanda/. The Hpun form /lətu/ ‘body’ (Luce 1985, Henderson 1986) links this language more closely with the other Burmish and Loloish languages than with Burmese itself.
The remaining Burmish languages form a subgroup quite separate from Burmese and its dialects. Socially they fall into the orbit of the Kachin culture complex (see Bradley in Wurm/Mühlhäuser forthcoming) but linguistically their languages are much closer to Burmese than to anything else. Indeed, prior to the descent of the proto-Burmans into the plains of Upper Burma which Luce (1985) estimates at the ninth century AD, they and the Burmans would have been together in the hills to the north-east of these plains, in what is now the Northern Shan State of Burma and the adjacent areas of westernmost Yunnan in China. They fall into two groups: southern Atsi, Maru and Pola and northern Lashi and Ngochang (also known as Achang in China). Within each group there are substantial dialect differences; and as different groups live together in the same village and intermarry, there is a lot of bilingualism between these languages and also with Jinghpaw Kachin (a fairly distantly related Tibeto-Burman language) as well as with Burmese (which is much closer). Most of the more than 300,000 speakers of these languages are enumerated as members of the Kachin group in official statistics; and indeed they use the Jinghpaw Kachin language as their medium of literacy. Atsi forms are from Xu and Xu (1984), while Ngochang are from Dai and Cui (1985).

| Table 2: Burmish Reflexives and 'Body' |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| Reflexive          | Body               |
| Atsi               | /yum⁵ siŋ⁵/        | /kuŋ⁵ tu²/        |
| Ngochang           | Longchuan          | /a² tu²/         |
|                    | Luxi               | /kɔŋ⁵ to²/        |
|                    | Lianghe            | /a² to³⁵/        |

Most other available Burmish words for 'body' relate either to Sino-Tibetan *gug, Burmese-Lolo *gug⁴, or to Burmese-Lolo *daw⁴, or these two together in this order. For example, Pola /kauŋ⁵to³⁵/ (Dai & Xu 1983) and Chinese Maru /kauŋ⁵tau³⁵/ (Dai et al. 1985) fit with Chinese Atsi and Luxi Ngochang. Northernmost Lashi provides a link to Nungish with its one-syllable forms /kuŋ³⁵/ or /kuŋ³⁵/; compare Rawang and Eastern Dulong forms given below.

7. Reflexives in Loloish Languages

Details will be given on reflexives in three well-described Loloish languages, from the three main branches of Loloish as reconstructed in Bradley (1979). For Central Loloish this is Lahu, with some further information on Lisu, Lipo and Jino. For Northern Loloish the Shengza variety of Nosu in Sichuan is illustrated, with further examples from a variety of more or less closely related languages in China's Yi nationality. For Southern Loloish the
main example is Akha, but some information on cognate forms in some related languages is also cited. Unfortunately reflexives are not included in the data on Bailang, a Loloish language of what is now western Yunnan transcribed into Chinese in the first century AD and thus the earliest recorded Tibeto-Burman language.

### 7.1 Central Loloish

The best-described modern Burmese-Lolo language is Lahu, largely due to the work of Matisoff in his grammar (1982), dictionary (1988) and many other publications on Black Lahu. Also relevant is the much less extensive dictionary of Lewis (1986). Forms are cited here in Matisoff's transcription.

The reflexive in Lahu is formed by suffixing the noun /to/ 'body' to the pronoun, which may be a stem form or one with suffixes; the following is an example.

\[(28) \quad \text{ñà-hi ve } \text{to dà? tò ve } \text{lo thà? } \text{gà sî ve yò}
\]
\[
\quad \text{we (EXC) GEN body good PUR REL thing ACC must know PF PF}
\]
\[
\quad \text{We must know what to do in order to make ourselves good. (Matisoff 1988:167)}
\]

While Matisoff provides a convincing Shan/Dai source for the Lahu noun 'body', there is growing evidence for a Burmese-Lolo form *daw* 'body' in a variety of languages, many but not all in close contact with Dai languages. If this is indeed a Burmese-Lolo etymon, it shows rhyme irregularities in several languages and was at least influenced by the similar Dai word. For further discussion see Bradley (1993).

There is a separate intensifier for the subject: Pro + /qhe/ 'like' + Pro, as in:

\[(29) \quad yò qhe yò te ve
\]
\[
\quad \text{he/she like he/she do PF declarative}
\]
\[
\quad \text{He/she did/does it (by) himself.}
\]

This form is semantically but not of course syntactically analogous to Burmese /ko dain/; see the parallel example (18) above. Like Burmese /kó ko ko/ or Pró + /ko/ + Pró, it is not possible to pause in the middle of Lahu Pro + /qhe/ + Pro.

Lisu is spoken by about 850,000 people, mainly in north-western and western Yunnan in China, with large numbers in north-eastern Burma and some in northern Thailand and north-eastern India. It has a variety of dialects; Bradley (1994) is a dictionary of the two predominant ones, northern and central. Hope (forthcoming) describes southern Lisu, and Metcalf (forthcoming) describes what is sometimes called eastern Lisu but is more usually known as Lipo or Lolopo and is rather different from the first three; in China this is now

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12 The corresponding Thai form is / tua/, which of course also figures in the Thai reflexive / tua?ee/, literally 'one's own body'.
classified as Central Yi, with several hundred thousand speakers in northern central Yunnan. Forms are given here from the northern dialect (data from Bradley 1994) and Lipo (data from Metcalf forthcoming). The reflexive in Lisu is innovative /tɕʰiɛ̂hɛ²/ from a noun ‘self’, perhaps a Chinese borrowing. In Lipo and Lolopo reflexive pronouns are formed by Pro + /me³³/ + Pro, for example /ya²⁵me⁵⁵ya²³/ ‘him/herself’, with the middle syllable a likely cognate to the Burmese literary reflexive. Similarly in Lalu (‘Western Yi’) the reflexive is Pro + /me³³/ or /me²¹/.

The Jino are China’s most recently recognised nationality; they now number about 18,000 and are concentrated in a small area of south-western Yunnan just west of the northern tip of Laos. Despite this small number, there are fairly large internal dialect differences which the standard description of Gai (1986) notes. The main dialect is spoken by about ninety per cent of the Jino. Like Lahu, it has a likely cognate of *daw³ in its reflexive /kʰɔ⁴⁴to³⁴/.

7.2 Northern Loloish

In China the Yi nationality of some 6.6 million was established after 1950, from various groups formerly called by the name Lolo. Chinese sources classify it into six separate subgroups, each speaking distinct languages. Central Yi includes Lipo and Lolopo, is in fact very closely related to Lisu, and is thus Central Loloish. Western Yi including Lalu and a variety of other subgroups is also fairly close to Central Loloish. The remaining four subgroups all had related but distinct traditional writing systems; the Northern Yi who call themselves Nosu and the Eastern Yi most of whom call themselves Nasu are quite closely related, but each has substantial internal diversity. More distant are the Southern Yi, many of whom call themselves Nisu or Nesu, and the Southeastern Yi which includes Sani, Axi (Ahsi, Ahi) and some other groups. A few Southern Yi also live in Vietnam.

The largest ‘Yi’ group is the Nosu of Sichuan and northern Yunnan, with over two million speakers, a large number of whom are monolingual. Nosu pronominal forms are cited from the Shengza dialect, centred on Xide in southern Sichuan, from Chen et al. (1985:120).

As in some Central and Southern Loloish languages, there are separate possessive/attributive forms for the singular pronouns: /ŋa³³/ ‘my’, /ni³³/ ‘your (singular)’, /ʦʰz²³/ ‘his/her’. One of the reflexive forms is a reduplication of this attributive form, singular /ŋa³³ŋa³³/ ‘myself’, /ni³³ni³³/ ‘yourself’, and with 21 > 44 sandhi /ʦʰz²³ʦʰz⁴⁴/ ‘him/herself’, while the plural is a reduplicated form of the fused one syllable plural with a sandhi tone on the second syllable.¹³

¹³ There are several sandhi processes by which 33 or 21 tones in Nosu change to the 44 tone; see Bradley (1990) for more details, including the plural reflexive forms.
Another more general reflexive is /tsz²⁴tce³³/ or /tsz²⁵tca³³/, perhaps derived from Chinese /zijj/. Further reflexives include Pro + /yi³³/, /yi³³yi³³/ or /yi³³dur³³/; and Pro + /vi³³/ + Pro. While none of these can be related to the Burmese reflexive, there is a form /mi³³yi³³/ 'everyone' which also shows the likely process of development from Tibeto-Burman 'person' to Burmese-Lolo 'people, everyone'; further developments to 'one', 'oneself' and a reflexive form are quite widespread in Northern Loloish as seen in Table 3 below.

Nasun or Eastern Yi is extremely widespread and probably covers much of the traditional territory of the Northern Loloish group. This includes north central and north-eastern Yunnan and western Guizhou. Indeed the Samei variety of Eastern Yi under its former name Cuan was probably the local language of the Kunming area, the capital of Yunnan, prior to the influx of the Chinese more than a millenium ago, and some remnant communities remain. The most divergent variety is spoken in south-western Guizhou around Panxian. Forms in Yi Historical Documents Section (1984), the Dafang and Panxian reflexives cited in Table 3 below, look similar to the Nosu form that is borrowed from Chinese; but the Samei reflexive and 'everyone' in Samei and some other Eastern Yi varieties shows the cognate form.

For Nisu or Southern Yi, the reflexives of some varieties show cognate forms, while all have the cognate in the 'everyone' meaning, as shown in Table 3 below. All South-eastern Yi varieties have the cognate both for the reflexive and for 'everyone'; in addition, Sani (Jin et al. 1984) has an alternative reflexive Pro + /tu³³tu³³/; this shows a cognate with the *daw³ reflexives in other Loloish languages. A source with more varieties but much less syntactic information is Yunnan (1983) which cites forms from 28 varieties of 'Yi'. Fifteen of the 24 varieties which are Northern Loloish have cognate forms as shown in Table 3; also included are reflexives from Shuangbo, Dafang and Panxian cited from Yi Historical Documents Section (1984).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 3: NORTHERN LoloISH REFLEXIVES¹⁴</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Northern Nosu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Sondi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern (Xundian)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern (Luoping)</td>
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<td>Eastern (Weining)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern (Dafang)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eastern (Panxian)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samei</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

¹⁴ Non-parenthesised names are autonyms; parenthesised names are names of the county where that variety is spoken. Most of the latter call themselves Nasu, Nesu or Nisu so autonyms are not very useful in distinguishing them.
In summary, the Northern Loloish languages show a range of reflexives, including some possibly borrowed from Chinese, some based on the Burmese-Lolo etymon for ‘body’ derived from *daw*, and many showing a possible cognate for the literary Burmese form. Of the latter, seven have a reflexive meaning, and fifteen have the ‘everyone/people’ meaning. The reflexive use is found in three of four branches, while the ‘everyone’ use is found in all four branches.

### 7.3 Southern Loloish

Akha is spoken by a population approaching 600,000 in Burma, south-western Yunnan in China, northern Laos and northern Thailand. In China they form part of the composite Hani nationality, which has another million people including some 700,000 who speak extremely similar Hani dialects or other closely related varieties such as Haoni, and another 300,000 or so who speak other Southern Loloish languages such as Khatu (Chinese Kaduo) in China and Laos, Piyo (Chinese Biyue) in China, or Mpi in Thailand. Akha forms are cited from Lewis (1989).15

The reflexive and the intensifier both use /ha/, the same marker as seen in the third (absent) pronoun; in the reflexive this marker shows a tonal alternation. The intensifiers are /nà ha/ ‘I myself’, /nɔ ha/ ‘you yourself’ and /a ha/ ‘he/she him/herself’. After these forms the dual marker /nà/ or the plural marker /mɔ/ may be added. The reflexive is /yɔ há yɔ ha/; if it is not third person, the first or second person subject form pronoun may be prefixed to this to disambiguate it. The corresponding form in northern Akha as spoken in parts of China is /yà3/ and in closely-related Hani it is /yà3/, and in Haoni /yɔ3/; other such northern examples of /y/ are noted in Bradley (1979:40). In this case the Akha/Hani form reflects a *w* initial. The full reflexive /yɔ3yɔ3/ in Haoni (Li & Wang 1986:147) also corresponds well to the Akha/Hani form. Interestingly, there is a creaky tone in the Akha third person animate

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15 The transcription is derived from that used in China, and indicates creaky syllables with an underline, high tone with an acute, and low tone with a grave accent.
pronoun /á yó/ which is irregular and unexpected; but it is absent in the corresponding reflexive form /yó/.

8. RECONSTRUCTION OF BURMESE-LOLO REFLEXIVE FORMS

There are various reflexive pronoun cognates of Burmese /mí mí/ in a wide variety of Northern and Central Loloish forms all reflecting a likely Burmese-Lolo etymon, Burmish *mi3mi3 reduplicated and Loloish *may2. The Burmese *Tone 3/Loloish *Tone 2 difference is not unparalleled; see Bradley (1979:216) for other examples which include such excellent cognates, also with Burmese high vowels, as *Cnu2 'soft', *sf2 'know' and others; and the rhyme difference is also not unusual, given the instability of front vowels in early Burmese. This Burmese-Lolo reflexive appears to be related to the widespread Tibeto-Burman etymon *mi 'person', not otherwise attested in Burmese-Lolo; the semantic shift is natural enough.

Starting from 'person, people', the first shift to 'everyone' is quite natural; this meaning is still found in a variety of Northern Loloish languages, and is reflected in the generic 'one, oneself' meaning of Burmese /mí mí/ (and its spoken equivalent /kó ko ko/) alone. The further generalisation to a wider reflexive use is found in Burmese as well as a number of Northern and Central Loloish languages.

Nouns for 'body' are also prominent as grammaticalised forms including denominal pronouns. From the Sino-Tibetan cognate reconstructed as *s-ku, Burmese-Lolo *s-ko' come the Burmese object marker and the Burmese reflexive /ko/, also more recently used as a second or first person pronoun in Burmese. From another Sino-Tibetan etymon, *gů, Burmese-Lolo *gůl comes the modern Burmese classifier for animals as well as the reflexive in some Burmish languages. From a third etymon for 'body' widespread in Burmish and Loloish, *daw3, come a variety of Loloish reflexive forms; this may be partially blended with Dai forms from Dai *tua4; there are various sporadic extra-Burmese-Lolo reflexive cognates in various branches of Tibeto-Burman as well. Though not attested in Burmese itself with the meaning 'body', it appears to be the source of the Burmese pronoun pluraliser /tól/ and more recently a first person plural (inclusive) form by reanalysis; this may also be connected with some Burmish as well as Nungish plural suffixes, as described in Bradley (1993). Many other Burmish languages reflect a two-syllable compound form from *gůl daw3 or *?daw3 for the noun 'body',16 and other combinations of these etyma also occur.

16 For more details see Bradley (forthcoming).
According to the conventional classifications of Shafer (1966-73) and Benedict (1972), Burmese-Lolo (Shafer’s Burmish Section) includes Naxi (Nakhi, Moso) of north-western Yunnan, the Xifan (Hsifan) languages of western Sichuan, and extinct Xixia (Hsi-hsia, also known to Turkic groups as Tangut) formerly spoken further north still. Benedict (1972:8) indicates that Nungish (Trung or Dulong, Nu, Rawang of northernmost Burma and adjacent areas to the east in northernmost Yunnan in China) “stands fairly close to the Burmese-Lolo nucleus, yet has numerous points of contact with Kachin” while Shafer groups a variety of other languages including Jinghpaw Kachin, the Luish or Sak group, Mru, Chairel, Taman and Kuki-Chin-Southern Naga along with Nungish and Burmish or Burmese-Lolo into his higher-order Burmic Division. Shafer’s classification has been superseded by the grouping of the Sal languages proposed by Burling (1983) which instead links Jinghpaw Kachin, Northern Naga and the Luish or Sak group on the basis of substantial shared innovative lexicon. Chinese linguists have arrived at a classification which includes Naxi and Bai (of north-western Yunnan) and Tujia (of western Hunan and Hubei and eastern Sichuan and Guizhou) with Loloish. Conversely, Sun (1983) demonstrated links within the Qiang group in which he includes Qiang and the various Xifan languages (Pumi, Shixing, Namuyi, Choyo, Ersu or Tosu, Muya, Guiching, Zaba, Ergong, Jiarong (rGyarung) and the very diverse Qiang ‘dialects’) but not Burmese-Lolo; to this some other scholars have linked Baima in northern Sichuan. Adequate recent data on most of these Qiangic languages is lacking, but such data as is available does not support Shafer’s proposed link with Burmese-Lolo. Thurgood (1984) suggests a Rung subgroup which is meant to include Nungish among other languages, as noted below. Data from a variety of these languages where some connection of genetic subgrouping within Tibeto-Burman or contact with Burmese-Lolo has been claimed is presented below. Other Tibeto-Burman subgroups are not discussed; these include Karen, Kuki-Chin, Baric, Kiranti and other Himalayish languages; for these such data as is available does not suggest any close links with Burmese-Lolo in the area of reflexives.

9.1 NAXI

Concerning Naxi, Bradley (1975) shows that it does not share such defining characteristics of core Burmese-Lolo as the development of *Tone 3 and regular correspondences for the *prenasalised voiced stops, among other things. However on lexical and other grounds it nevertheless fits very closely with Burmese-Lolo. The following data on Naxi is drawn from He and Jiang (1985).
The etymon for ‘body’ is from the Sino-Tibetan etymon *s-ku, and the reflexive may be related to the Loloish reflexive from *daw ‘body’.

9.2 NUNGISH

The following data on Nungish includes Rawang of northern Burma from R. Morse (n.d.) and from China, Dulong (two varieties, western and eastern) from Sun (1982) and Nusu further south from Sun and Liu (1986). There are many more local varieties in Burma, which S. Morse (1989) clusters into five subgroups; unfortunately he does not provide sufficient data for use here.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rawang</th>
<th>Pro + /góy/</th>
<th>/góy/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dulong E</td>
<td>/α⁷du⁵/ or /αŋ¹lù⁵⁵/</td>
<td>/góy⁵⁵/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>/α⁷du⁵/</td>
<td>/góy⁵⁵/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nusu N</td>
<td>/tsz⁴tci⁵⁵/</td>
<td>/š⁵z²⁴⁵/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>/ć⁴⁵tś⁴hα²⁴⁵/</td>
<td>/ć⁴⁵⁴⁵/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>/tsz⁴tci⁵⁵/</td>
<td>/ć⁴⁵⁴⁵/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Nusu reflexive forms appear to be recent Chinese loans; but it is most tempting to connect the Dulong forms with those derived from *daw in Loloish. The cognate portions of forms for ‘body’ relate to one or other of the Sino-Tibetan etyma.

9.3 BAI AND TUJIA

The classification of Bai has long been problematic. Bai or Minchia as the local language around Dali in western Yunnan was probably the dominant language of the Nanchao kingdom, and contact with Chinese has been so intensive and longstanding that Chinese loanwords from a series of stages of Mandarin and other varieties have entered Bai and undergone subsequent phonological changes within Bai. Some scholars have given up and classified modern Bai as a Sinitic language because of this pervasive lexical influence. Chinese linguists prefer to regard it as a Loloish language, but various attempts to discover the pattern of correspondences have foundered on the problem of sorting out loanwords from various stages of a related language. Similarly, the recently described Tujia language formerly spoken in a large area of south-western Hubei, western Hunan, north-eastern Guizhou and south-eastern
Sichuan and still spoken by nearly 200,000 people in the centre of this area has been classified by Chinese linguists as Loloish. It is far to the east of any modern Tibeto-Burman language but is geographically closest to Northern Loloish at its easternmost extreme in north-western Guizhou and southern central Sichuan. Data on Bai is from Xu and Zhao (1984); Tujia forms are from Tian et al. (1986).

**Table 6: Bai and Tujia Reflexives and 'body'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bai</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>NE</th>
<th>W</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ta³⁵ni³³tsi³³/</td>
<td>/tua⁴⁴tsi³³/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ts⁵⁵h₁ou³³kú²¹/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ts⁵⁵kú²¹/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>/ts²⁵gú²¹/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tujia</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>/ko³⁵to³¹/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>S</td>
<td>/tsho³³bo³³/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is tempting but inconclusive to connect the second syllable of the northern Tujia, the first syllable of north-eastern Bai and the reduplicated western Bai reflexives to the Burmese-Lolo *daw* reconstructed form for 'body'; also the second syllable in northern Tujia and the first in southern Tujia. The lack of identity in every case between the reflexives and the corresponding nouns for 'body' suggests otherwise, however.

9.4 XIXIA

Most scholars assume that Xixia or Tangut, the extinct language formerly spoken to the north-east of Tibet in Gansu and Ningxia, was a Tibeto-Burman language; some have claimed that it was Loloish, but this appears to be incorrect. The Xixia reflexive is unrelated; the putative phonetic form cited with several sentence examples in Keping (1979:237-8) is /In¹/ for possessive, or (reduplicated) /In¹In¹/ for direct object form.

9.5 XIFAN

Like Xixia, this subgroup of languages was formerly linked with Burmese-Lolo, for example by Shafer (1966-74). However Sun (1983) has shown that there is a close internal link between these languages and Qiang; hence this subgroup of Tibeto-Burman is now usually called Qiangic. Included are Pumi as described in Lu (1983), Qiang as described in Sun (1981) and, according to some scholars (but not Sun), Baima of north central Sichuan as described in Nishida and Sun (1990). However, the reflexives like many other aspects of Baima imply a closer link with Tibetan and Bodic generally. Monpa forms are from Lu (1986). Apart from the general Tibeto-Burman cognate forms for various 'body' etyma, there is nothing here to link with reflexives in Burmese-Lolo, but there is a possible look-alike second syllable in the northern Qiang word for 'body'.
Table 7: Xifan and Bodic reflexives and 'body'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Reflexive</th>
<th>'body'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pumi S</td>
<td>/nia³⁵/</td>
<td>/ga¹³hmu¹³/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pumi N</td>
<td>/pə³⁵yi³⁵/</td>
<td>/ly³⁵pu³⁵/ (cf. Tibetan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qiang S</td>
<td>/h³⁵tie³⁵/</td>
<td>/ce³⁵pe³⁵/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qiang N</td>
<td>/ɲənu/</td>
<td>/ku ti/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baima</td>
<td>Pro/³⁵ + ro¹³ nge³⁵/</td>
<td>/ky¹³ly³⁵/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monpa/Dzalakha</td>
<td>/raŋ²/</td>
<td>/lu³⁵po³⁵/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spoken Lhasa</td>
<td>/raŋ²/</td>
<td>/su³³ku³⁵/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>written Lhasa</td>
<td>raŋ</td>
<td>lus(-po), gzugs, sku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.6 Rung

Thurgood (1984) has proposed a subgroup of Tibeto-Burman linking Xixia, various Qiangic languages including rGyarung (Jiarong) and those cited above, Jinghpaw/Kachin, the Nungish languages cited above, Luish or Sak, Miju/Kaman and Taraon Mishmi, Lepcha and various languages of western Nepal including Magar, Chepang and Kham. This subgrouping has not gained wide acceptance.

Jinghpaw data is from Liu (1984); Mishmi data is from Sun et al. (1980); Lepcha is from Mainwaring (1898); Magar is from Shepherd and Shepherd (1972), Chepang from Caugbley (1972) and Kham from Watters and Watters (1973).

Table 8: Rung reflexives and 'body'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Reflexive</th>
<th>'body'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jinghpaw</td>
<td>/tⁱ³⁵naŋ³⁵/</td>
<td>/kʰum³²/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taraon Mishmi</td>
<td>/ŋoŋ³⁵xαŋ³⁵/</td>
<td>/tiw³⁵/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaman Mishmi</td>
<td>/ŋoŋ³⁵ki³⁵/</td>
<td>/ɕi³⁵/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lepcha</td>
<td>Pro + do</td>
<td>zu, māzū, mā, mūzū, ku, lu, lyū, lyu, puŋ, koŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magar</td>
<td>/laha/</td>
<td>/ju³/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chepang</td>
<td>/layʔ/</td>
<td>/ʔaŋ/, /kaaʔ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kham</td>
<td>'/ol/</td>
<td>'/kyan/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Concerning the Taraon Mishmi reflexive, compare /ŋoŋ³⁵/ 'you' and /xαŋ³⁵/ 'I'. Similarly, for Kaman Mishmi reflexive, compare /ŋoŋ³⁵/ 'you' and /ki³⁵/ 'I'. These two forms appear to be derived from a first plural inclusive conjoined form – a novel source; none of the other reflexive forms here appear to derive from the noun for 'body' either. Note also the Jinghpaw second syllable, which is identical to the second person pronoun /naŋ³⁵/. None of these forms suggests a relationship between the languages of different Tibeto-Burman subgroups which Thurgood has placed in the Rung group, nor with anything specifically Burmese-Lolo.
9.7 Luish or Sak Group

Luish includes a number of small and mostly moribund languages of western Burma and adjacent areas of India. In Manipur, these were Andro, Sengmai and Chairel; in Burma, Sak, Ganan, Kadu and Taman. As noted above, Shafer groups these within his Burmic group, along with Burmese-Lolo, Nungish and a variety of other subgroups including Kuki-Chin-(Southern) Naga. Unfortunately almost no Luish data on the reflexive is available, apart from one Sak form, /ā pa na/ 'myself' (Thûn Jwe Khain 1988: 17); for 'body' Luce (1985 v.2:58) cites Sak /ko'lı/, Ganan /ko'lı/, Kadu /loŋ'/ and Taman /tu/. Of these, the last may fit with Loloish *daW' 'body', while the first two belong with the Sino-Tibetan etymon *s-ku, and Kadu may be linked with Gong (Burmese-Lolo) /hoŋ dúŋ/. In the absence of complete data, the connection is unclear.

9.8 Misingish (Mirish, Abor-Miri-Dafla)

Formerly known as Abor-Miri-Dafla from the previous and somewhat pejorative names used by outsiders to refer to the Adi, Mising and Nishi groups of what was formerly the North-East Frontier Agency or NEFA and is now Arunachal Pradesh, this subgroup of Tibeto-Burman has not received a great deal of attention, mainly due to a lack of well-recorded data. Each of these groups, especially the Adi, contains a large number of named subgroups; for some details see Marrison (1989) and Bradley in Moseley (1994). What is most likely an accidental look-alike reflexive form to the Loloish reflexive from *daW' 'body' is found in Apatani, a component of ‘Dafla’ or Nishi in western Arunachal Pradesh. This is /ätó/ as in the following sentence, cited from Simon (1972:7) with tones and glosses added from Abraham (1985, 1987).

(30) ŋo a tō unē gī to
I self wound pull PAST
I hurt myself (lit. pulled myself a wound).

Overall, the reflexives in Tibeto-Burman languages for which various scholars have suggested a close relationship with Burmese-Lolo do not show close parallels in the pronominal form which is used; but there are some look-alike forms in more distantly related Tibeto-Burman languages such as Apatani and Lepcha.

10. CHINESE

The other subgroup of Sino-Tibetan, Sinitic or Chinese, has two longstanding reflexive pronouns, which Karlsgren (1957) reconstructs as 1237m *dz'i-, modern /zi/, and 953a *kjōg/kji:, modern /j/ or /i/, whose modern reflexes are compounded into the modern Mandarin Chinese /zij/ Harbsmeier (1981) convincingly demonstrates that the first was used in Classical
Chinese as an object reflexive, subject intensifier or adverbial (1981:189-199); while the second was a noun meaning 'self' extended into use as a contrastive reflexive pronoun and in embedded sentences to refer back to the subject of the main clause (1981:177-188). Of course this has no connection with the Burmese-Lolo forms, other than those in Northern Loloish which may be borrowings from the modern Mandarin Chinese two-syllable compound. Karlsgren (1957:317) suggests that /zi/ "is said to be a drawing of a nose"; this reflexive may thus be derived from an earlier word for 'nose'. Karlsgren also indicates that the character is used as a radical in 521c 'nose' and 1088a 'smell bad' which are of course semantically related to the nose but phonetically unrelated and non-reflexive. While /jU/ is written with the same character as the sixth of the ten Heavenly Stems, it is difficult to discern a clear semantic path from this to the development of a nominal 'self' meaning, so the character may be a phonetic one. In any case neither of the reflexives of Classical Chinese is similar to the various denominal Tibeto-Burman and Burmese-Lolo forms, and so there is no possibility of reconstructing a Proto Sino-Tibetan reflexive.

11. CONCLUSION

In summary, there is one likely reconstructible Burmese-Lolo reflexive form, with cognates in Burmese /mí mí/ and widespread Loloish cognates in Northern and Central but not Southern Loloish; these all reflect a likely Burmese-Lolo etymon, Burmese *mi*mi̲, Loloish *ma ai. This appears to be derived from the widespread Tibeto-Burman etymon *mi for 'person' which is virtually unattested in Burmese-Lolo in its nominal sense; so this semantic/syntactic shift is a characteristic of Burmese-Lolo. The likely process of this shift is discussed above.

Other reflexives are derived by parallel processes of denominal innovation from words for 'body', including the Burmese /ko/ form from Sino-Tibetan *s-ku. Most others derive from the Sino-Tibetan etymon *guju or the mainly South-eastern Tibeto-Burman etymon *daw.

Burmese reflexives of the form described here are mainly restricted to direct objects coreferential to a subject within the same discourse; this need not be within the same clause or sentence. Since zero anaphora for subjects is very frequent in connected discourse, the subject may be absent; such sentences are ambiguous or generic. In addition, parallel constructions using the same pronominal forms (literary /mi mí/, spoken /ko/) are used with reflexive subject meaning in some adverbials; there is also a possessive form, used to express indirect objects and other nominal reflexive arguments with a following noun head, such as /pha dael 'behalf' or /atwe/ 'sake' for indirect objects. The possessive and subject form reflexives are also combined in frozen proverbial expressions.
While no other subgroup of Tibeto-Burman or Sino-Tibetan shows absolutely convincing evidence for the Burmese-Lolo *daw* in the meaning ‘body’ (despite some look-alikes in Tujia and northern Qiang), as a reflexive it does appear to extend beyond Loloish. Examples include Naxi, Dulong, Bai, Tujia and Jinghpaw; all of these are relatively close to Burmese-Lolo within Tibeto-Burman. There are also look-alike reflexives in Lepcha and Apatani. As the form is represented in so many branches of Tibeto-Burman, perhaps it should be more widely reconstructed as a reflexive even though the development from ‘body’ to reflexive is so natural. It is best attested in Burmese-Lolo where it may have been reinforced from the Dai form *tua*, and is a widespread Burmese-Lolo noun meaning ‘body’, a denominal grammaticalised reflexive form in some Loloish languages, and a pronoun pluraliser in Burmese.

REFERENCES


[Morse, Robert], n.d., *Gvray shansher lega* [Holy Bible in Rawang]. Place of publication and publisher not indicated.


MEANING BASE FOR STRUCTURE: A RE-EXAMINATION OF VERBS IN BURMESE

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La Trobe University

1. INTRODUCTION

Okell (1969:43-44) divides verbs in Burmese into two types: functive and stative. He explains the difference between the two types on the basis of meaning; that is, those in the former denote actions or functions (e.g. /θwà/: ‘go’, /la/ ‘come’, /nl/ ‘live’, /thain/ ‘sit’, /sà/: ‘eat’, /thawu/ ‘drink’), whilst those in the latter denote qualities or states (e.g. /lè/: ‘be heavy’, /pò/: ‘be light’, /myan/ ‘be fast’, /hnè/: ‘be slow’). Although, however, the criterion for the initial classification is made on the basis of meaning, the differences between the two types, which he does not specify either as structural differences or meaning differences, are explained in a somewhat circular approach, a mixture of meaning explained in terms of structure and function, and structure and function explained in terms of meaning. This is illustrated in points (1) to (5) below.

(1) According to Okell one of the most important differences between the two types of verbs is the way they are attributed to nouns. Functive verbs simply precede the noun. For example:

Functive V N

/e:i/ + /ye/ => /e:i-ye/

drink water drinking water

Stative verbs usually follow the noun. For example:

N Stative V

/ei/ + /dl:/ => /e:i-dl: /

/ye/ /è/ = /ye-è/

water be cold cold water (p.43)

For describing Burmese words, the broad transcription outlined in the introduction has been used in this paper, and is applied to the paraphrased or quoted material from Okell (1969) in (1) to (5) below.
The way verbs are used attributively with nouns is explained in terms of structure, the word order they conform to — that is, the difference in function is explained on the basis of structure.

(2) Okell sees other differences between the two types of verb as following naturally from their meaning. “For example, functive verbs do not normally occur with the formative prefix /kha’/ ‘rather, fairly, -ish’; and stative verbs do not normally occur with imperative markers, or with such auxiliary verbs as /yə/ ‘dare to’, /lə/ ‘free to’, /phyi’/ ‘manage to’ etc.” (pp.43-44). Thus a structural difference is explained in terms of meaning.

(3) “...with other verbs – particularly those which are not found as attributes in compound nouns – the classification is necessarily subjective and there are therefore many borderline cases and exceptions. Examples of difficult cases are:

- /jì/ be, exist, there is
- /phyi’/ happen, come about, be
- /hou’/ be true, be so
- /θì/ know” (p.44)

The “difficult borderline cases” are explained on the basis that they are not attributes in compound nouns – an explanation which is half meaning-based and half function/structure-based.

(4) “Some verbs are used with both functive and stative meaning; e.g.

- /ya’/ stop, bring to a halt; stop, cease, come to an end, be still
- /yi’/ turn, cause to revolve; revolve
- /ka’/ place close to, put near; be close, near
- /lin/ clear up, make clear, explain; be clear, obvious
- /wàin/ form a circle, surround; be surrounded
- /shàin/ postpone, delay; be postponed, delayed
- /she’/ join together; be joined together” (p.44)

These, Okell says, are the verbs which can belong to two types, having two types of meaning — which is a meaning-based explanation.

(5) “In other cases, verbs that are usually stative are sometimes used transitively, like functive verbs; e.g.

- /mìn/ be tight, tense – make tight, tense
- /ðûw/ be quiet – make quiet, turn down volume

The italics in points (2) to (5) are mine.
MEANING BASE FOR STRUCTURE: A RE-EXAMINATION OF VERBS IN BURMESE

2. MONOSYLLABIC VERBS

Although verbs in Burmese can be either monosyllabic, disyllabic or polysyllabic, monosyllabic verbs are the cores of all other verbs, because disyllabic and polysyllabic verbs (with the exception of ‘tied noun + verb’ compound verbs such as /ŋsoyəʊəʊn/ ‘hno’ she’/ ‘greet’) are merely combinations of monosyllabic verbs. Verbs at the monosyllabic level will therefore be dealt with first.

2.1 ANALYSIS OF MEANING

Okell (1969:43) explains that it is useful for some purposes to divide verbs into two types: those which denote voluntary actions or functions, and those which denote qualities or

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3 The term ‘verbal’ here refers to a word class including verbs and adjectives in the tradition of transformational generative grammar.

4 This term is my own.
states. The second difference in meaning between the two types (which is not explicit in Okell) is the agentive nature of the former and non-agentive nature of the latter. Functive verbs are highly agentive in the sense that they strongly assume an actual agent, a performer, whereas stative verbs are non-agentive in the sense that they do not assume an actual agent or performer, although both types need the formal subject in the sentence construction. The subjects associated with functive verbs play an active (agentive) role, whereas the subjects associated with stative verbs play an inactive (non-agentive) role.

This agentive versus non-agentive component of meaning is not the same as the presence or absence of action. And it is important to establish this component of meaning as one independent characteristic distinguishing the two types because there are verbs which are stative – they still denote actions and the actions denoted by them can be seen. The action takes place by itself and hence the associated (nominal) subject has no role in it. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
/pya'/ & \text{ break off (on one's own accord)} \\
/cá/ & \text{ fall down} \\
/chi/ & \text{ limp} \\
/nwé/ & \text{ be tender and gracious (as a feminine feature)} \\
/có/ & \text{ be gracefully pleasant}
\end{align*}
\]

(The first two verbs are more action-orientated than the remaining three, although they are all stative verbs.) The action denoted by these verbs is understood to happen or take place with no effort on the part of the subject associated with them. The subjects associated with stative verbs are more akin to a topic in a topic-comment construction with a verb 'to be' (e.g. 'we are carpenters') and hence they can be regarded as nominal or topical non-agentive subjects. For functive verbs, however, voluntary action is the most prominent. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
/θwá/ & \text{ go} \\
/la/ & \text{ come} \\
/ne/ & \text{ stay} \\
/thain/ & \text{ sit}
\end{align*}
\]

Since these verbs in the two sets of examples above are all intransitive, the transitive/intransitive criterion cannot distinguish these two sets and the agentive element is therefore required as a separate component of meaning to distinguish the two types.

The third componential difference in meaning between the two types is that there is transitivity and/or intransitivity and/or causativity in the functive verbs whereas there is only intransitivity in the stative verbs. For example:
The fourth difference in meaning is the tendency for application of imperative mood. The tendency to imperative mood is so strong in functive verbs and so weak in stative verbs that the former can function as imperatives when they occur on their own whereas the latter cannot. For example:

\[ /\text{lewa}/ \] can mean ‘go’ in imperative mood on its own

\[ /\text{na’}/ \] does not mean ‘be painful’ in imperative mood on its own.

The fourth difference is in fact a spin-off from the second componential difference in meaning (in the sense that there will be no imperative mood if there is no agent), but it deserves an independent status since it will become relevant to some of the aspects to be explained later. The components of meaning which serve as bases for classifying the two verb types discussed above can be summarised in the following manner in the order of their importance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/\text{ne’}/</td>
<td>live, stay</td>
<td>intransitive and functive verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/\text{yai’}/</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td>transitive and functive verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/\text{thae’}/</td>
<td>kill</td>
<td>functive verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/\text{kan’}/</td>
<td>kick</td>
<td>verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/\text{phya’}/</td>
<td>cut</td>
<td>causative (‘h’) and functive verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/\text{khwe’}/</td>
<td>break</td>
<td>verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/\text{che’}/</td>
<td>crush</td>
<td>verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/\text{hau’}/</td>
<td>be old</td>
<td>all intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/\text{thi’}/</td>
<td>be new</td>
<td>only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/\text{kwae’}/</td>
<td>broken (by one’s own accord)</td>
<td>intransitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/\text{ce’}/</td>
<td>crumble (by one’s own accord)</td>
<td>in stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/\text{na’}/</td>
<td>be tender from cooking</td>
<td>verbs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This aspect is not explicit in Okell although he mentions that all ‘h’ verbs (causative and transitive verbs) belong to the functive type. (Since action-orientated non-agentive intransitive verbs can be changed to (transitive) causative verbs by placing an ‘h’ (aspiration) after their initial consonant, causative verbs can be mentioned as ‘h’ verbs.)
THEIN-TUN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plane of meaning</th>
<th>Type one (active verbs)</th>
<th>Type two (inactive verbs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 functive</td>
<td>1 stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 agentive</td>
<td>2 non-agentive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 combined or separate transitivity</td>
<td>3 intransitivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4 strong imperative mood weak imperative mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The terms under type one and type two can be regarded as end points (not necessarily opposite extremes) on the same plane of meaning. For instance ‘active verb’ is not necessarily the opposite of ‘inactive verb’. The difference between the two is relative. Intransitivity is not necessarily the opposite of the combined status of ‘transitivity’, ‘intransitivity’ and ‘causativity’. The same principle of contrast applies to the ‘agentive’/‘non-agentive’ pair and the ‘strong imperative’/‘weak imperative’ pair as well.

2.2 MEANING AS A BASIC CRITERION

In this section, I will argue that meaning is the only reliable criterion on the basis of which verbs in Burmese should be classified and their structural forms and functions explained. In my attempt to achieve the objective of this section, I will relate my arguments as far as possible to the discussion of Okell’s classification as outlined in §1 (1)-(5) above.

2.2.1 DIFFICULT BORDERLINE CASES

The verbs in §1 (3) above which Okell describes as “difficult cases” can be resolved on the basis of their meaning. Of the four verbs given, /fî/ and /phyî/ are truly stative verbs. Their stative meaning can be specified in terms of the four components: they are inactive, non-agentive, intransitive and the force of imperative mood in them is nil; that is, they cannot function as imperative verbs on their own. The term ‘imperative’ can share both the meaning aspect and the structural aspect, but, as explained earlier, it is used here as a spin-off from the non-agentive component of meaning in which the action takes place virtually of its own accord. This kind of initial classification on the basis of meaning also agrees with the structural formula stated by Okell that stative verbs are attributed in the form of nouns derived with the prefix particle /a/ and follow the noun. For example:
MEANING BASE FOR STRUCTURE: A RE-EXAMINATION OF VERBS IN BURMESE

The meaning of the verb \( \theta' /\theta' \) is pervasive in the sense that it shares both the end points on each of the four planes of meaning (the same as Okell's verbs mentioned in §1 (4), such as \( \text{yi}' /\text{yi}' \) and \( \text{ka}' /\text{ka}' \). It can therefore be structured as both a functive and a stative verb when attributed to a noun. For example:

\[
\begin{align*}
V & \quad N \\
\text{\( \theta' + \theta' \)} & \quad \Rightarrow \\
/\theta' & \quad /\text{sei}'/ \\
\text{know} & \quad \text{mind} \\
\end{align*}
\]

knowing mind, conscious mind
The verb /hou'/ is the most interesting of all the four because it is a perfect example of meaning as the determinant of structure. Being restricted by its own meaning, it belongs neither to the functive type nor to the stative type. It rests exactly halfway between the two end points on each of the four planes of meaning. It cannot function either as a functive verb or a stative verb to attribute nouns and it is thus a dead verb. Its meaning is more akin to the affirmative and negative interjection like 'yes' and 'no' in English (/hou' te/ and /hou' pi/) with very little or no grammatical connection. The morphological or structural make-up used with the verb /hou'/ is only for affirmative and negative expressions. For example:

/hou' te/ yes
/məhou' phù/ no
/hou' pi/ (emphatic) yes, very good, fine
/hou' me/ probably yes, may be true (not 'will be true')

This view is reinforced when /hou'/ is compared with other verbs whose meaning is similar but not identical to /hou'/, that is, /hman/ 'be correct, true' and /si/ 'be genuine, be pure'. Unlike /hou'/, the meaning of /hman/ and /si/ are on the type-2 ends of the four planes of meaning and thus they function freely and naturally as stative verbs. For example:
Moreover, all the verb endings that can go with all stative verbs can go with \( \text{ apósi'}/ \) and \( \text{ apsi'}/ \). In short, as the meaning of \( \text{ apósi'}/ \) is so limited and static, resting exactly at the very centre of the four planes, it is neither a functive nor a stative verb and is structurally dead or non-productive – incapable of forming the N + N(V) construction type.

**2.2.2 Pervasive verbs - both functive and stative verbs**

As with \( \text{ apósi'}/ \) there are verbs whose meaning is pervasive along the four planes and hence their structural make-up attributing nouns can assume both functive and stative forms. Of these pervasive verbs some possess more functive and less stative meaning and vice versa, and some are truly pervasive verbs. In order to demonstrate this sub-classification, I will analyse the verbs in §1 (4), which Okell describes as verbs with both functive and stative meaning.

(a) \( \text{ apósi'}/ \) /shàin/, \( \text{ apósi'}/ \) /she'/ and \( \text{ apósi'}/ \) /yi'/.

These verbs are more functive and less stative. They can naturally assume the V + N functive attributive structure – they are more active, more agentive, and have stronger transitivity, intransitivity and causativity force, and more imperative force. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ apósi'}/ )</td>
<td>( \text{ apósi'}/ )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( /\text{shàin/} \) /khá/ \( /\text{shàin khá/} \)

postpone fee postponement fee
Nonetheless, these verbs cannot assume the N + N (V) stative attributive structure. If it is however possible under certain circumstances to construct N + N (V) structures with them, it is not the verb being attributed to the noun; it is the noun attributed to the verb functioning as a noun. For example:

N

N (V)

$q\delta^1$  +  $\omega\dot{c}$:  $\Rightarrow$  $q\delta^1\omega\dot{c}$:

$\text{/ye}'l$/  $\text{/shain}$/  $\text{/ye}' \text{shain}$/

day   postpone   postponement by day

$q\delta^2$  +  $\omega\dot{c}$:  $\Rightarrow$  $q\delta^2\omega\dot{c}$:

$\text{/hni}'l$/  $\text{/shain}$/  $\text{/hni}' \text{shain}$/

year   postpone   postponement by year

$q\dot{\ddot{\zeta}}$  +  $\omega\ddot{\zeta}$  $\Rightarrow$  $q\dot{\ddot{\zeta}}\omega\ddot{\zeta}$

$\text{/myo}'l$/  $\text{/she}'l$/  $\text{/myo} \text{she}'l$

relation, ancestry   connect   connection by ancestry

$q\ddot{\zeta}$  +  $\omega\ddot{\zeta}$  $\Rightarrow$  $q\ddot{\zeta}\omega\ddot{\zeta}$

$\text{/shwe}'l$/  $\text{/she}'l$/  $\text{/shwe} \text{she}'l$

friend, friendship   connect   connection by friendship
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$/\text{تا}/$ + $\text{ها}/$ =&gt; $/\text{تاها}/$</td>
<td>$/\text{تا}/$ + $\text{ها}/$ =&gt; $/\text{تاها}/$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/\text{تا}/$ /$\text{ها}/$</td>
<td>$/\text{تا}/$ /$\text{ها}/$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop fee</td>
<td>fee for stopping jungle be settled, jungle which is a stop, jungle which is a settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/\text{تا}/$ + $\text{ها}/$ =&gt; $/\text{تاها}/$</td>
<td>$/\text{تا}/$ + $\text{ها}/$ =&gt; $/\text{تاها}/$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/\text{تاها}/$</td>
<td>$/\text{تاها}/$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop order</td>
<td>stopping order, order to stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/\text{تا}/$ + $\text{ها}/$ =&gt; $/\text{تاها}/$</td>
<td>$/\text{تا}/$ + $\text{ها}/$ =&gt; $/\text{تاها}/$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/\text{تاها}/$</td>
<td>$/\text{تاها}/$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place near, opening, stick, outlet to be recalcitrant</td>
<td>chance to be pocket be near, be recalcitrant stuck pocket, pocket stuck on a garment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/\text{تا}/$ + $\text{ها}/$ =&gt; $/\text{تاها}/$</td>
<td>$/\text{تا}/$ + $\text{ها}/$ =&gt; $/\text{تاها}/$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/\text{تاها}/$</td>
<td>$/\text{تاها}/$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place near fee</td>
<td>fee for placing near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/\text{تا}/$ + $\text{ها}/$ =&gt; $/\text{تاها}/$</td>
<td>$/\text{تا}/$ + $\text{ها}/$ =&gt; $/\text{تاها}/$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$/\text{تاها}/$</td>
<td>$/\text{تاها}/$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clear up fee, payment</td>
<td>payment for clearing (something)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The same method of initial meaning analysis followed by structural types can be applied to those verbs which Okell treats as basically stative (and intransitive) verbs mentioned in example five. Of these verbs, /tìn/ is the only functive verb and the remaining verbs are pervasive. /tìn/ therefore is the only verb in the example which cannot assume the N + N (V)\textsuperscript{5} attributive construction. They also classically represent that there is a combined meaning component of ‘transitivity, intransitivity and causativity’ in functive verbs whilst there is only the element of intransitivity in stative verbs. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Functive</th>
<th>Stative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>V</strong></td>
<td><strong>N</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tìn/</td>
<td>/là/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tò/</td>
<td>/θan/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ce/</td>
<td>/θan/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{5} In words such as /mù-tìn/ and /ma’ tin/, the element /tin/ ‘less’ has the meaning opposite to ‘tightening’.

\[\text{surround} \quad \text{payment} \quad \Rightarrow \quad \text{be surrounded} \quad \text{scratch} \quad \text{be surrounded, scratch-mark} \quad \text{be surrounded,} \quad \text{a circle, line in a circle} \]

\[\text{rope} \quad \text{be surrounded} \quad \text{ring rope, rope in a circle} \]
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Functive Stative

V N N N (V) C' C'

3d.) + <Y.{JOJ <Y.{JOJ

Ia! icE! la cE!

mouth be loud loud mouth

make narrow strength ability to decrease/narrow

C' C'

§§

C' C'

§§

<11J2 : + 3d.) <11J2 :<11J2 :

9 + Gao: CC + 07 CC0?

Itol Ishel Itol /bounl Itol /boun tol

make medicine medicine for making drum

be

short short drum

C' 0 C' 0

\(\)8 : + 07 \(\)8 :0':(\)

Itounl Itol Itoun-tol

log be short short log

\(\)8 : + \(\)8 : \(\)8 :\(\)

/log/ /to/ /tou-n-to/

road be short short road

\(\)8 : + \(\)8 : \(\)8 :\(\)

/lan/ /to/ /lan-to/

2.2.3 Summary of the meaning-based argument for monosyllabic nouns

In the examples described above, I have argued for the approach of first classifying monosyllabic nouns in Burmese on the criterion of meaning, and then explaining the differences of their structural functions or structural forms on the basis of meaning. Such an approach can enable the grammarian always to resort to the lexical meaning of the verb and explain the exceptions which s/he may encounter when analysing its structural forms. Although this approach does need a crosscheck from differences in structural forms, the central theme of the approach is that meaning is the final arbiter. This meaning-based approach is applicable to disyllabic and polysyllabic (compound) verbs as well, as can be seen in the following sections.

6 As in /aye' 9au' ta a9e' to 9he' be/ alcohol drink nominaliser life short medicine emphatic particle

Drinking alcohol is medicine for making life short indeed.
3. THE ROLE OF MEANING IN DISYLLABIC AND POLYSYLLABIC COMPOUND VERBS

Since the V + N and N + N(V) constructions are in fact compound nouns where monosyllabic verbs are attributed to nouns, the role of verbs in these construction types is no longer relevant to disyllabic and polysyllabic compound verbs (because for compound verbs, verb structure is the target but not noun structure). Nevertheless, the concept of four planes of meaning is applicable to the classification of syntactic forms of disyllabic and polysyllabic verbs as well. In §2, the issue at point is how to explain the role of monosyllabic verb types in the construction V + N and N + N(V) noun types. But the formation of compound nouns with disyllabic and polysyllabic verbs (e.g. ճղեղ ղակաց /tè kho yeī’ tha/ ‘rest house’ and ճղեղ ղակաց /sà ñau’ shain/ ‘restaurant’ ) is very rare. The construction type that remains to be discussed for disyllabic and polysyllabic compound verbs on a meaning-based criterion therefore falls within the domain of verb construction alone.

3.1 COLLECTIVE MEANING AND SYNTACTIC STRUCTURES

The formation of compound verbs and a meaning-based explanation of the way in which they assume their structural forms (i.e. the way in which they take different verb endings) is fairly straightforward. Okell (1969:25-39) has analysed the formation of compound verbs under eight main categories: ordinary compound, doubled verb, artificial compound, pre-verb compound, compound with bound member, frequentative compound, tied noun compound and multiple compound. On the basis of the collective meaning given, all these eight types of compound verbs mentioned in Okell can be classified under the ‘functive versus stative’ criterion. Once the verbs are compounded, their meaning becomes specific and hence it seems that there are no pervasive compound verbs.

Functive compound verbs can take the three auxiliary verbs ղ ղղ/ ‘dare to’, Ϩ ʂ/ ‘be free to’, and ՂՂ /phyi’/ ‘manage to’ as Okell (1969:43-44) remarks; whereas stative compound verbs cannot take any of these. In the sections that follow I will attempt to demonstrate that all the eight major compound verbs described in Okell can be classified either as functive or stative on the basis of their collective meaning. In these sections it will be clarified that compound verbs with functive collective meaning can take the three auxiliary verbs whereas those with stative collective meaning cannot. In other words, those compound verbs which can take the three auxiliary verbs (ղ ՂՂ Ϩ) are functive verbs and those which cannot are stative.

---

7 Okell also mentions a number of relevant constructions such as pre-verb members, auxiliary members, ambivalent compounds and so on, but these are not discussed here because they cannot be treated as compound verbs in a strict sense.
3.1.1 Ordinary compound verbs

The only stative verbs in this group are:

- /ce na'/ be satisfied
- /pau' kwè/ explode
- /tò te'/ make progress
- /çi ce/ be grand

The rest of the group are functive verbs. For example:

- /she'θwe/ clean up, be clean
- /θán jìn/ clean up, be clean
- /yàun we/ trade
- /θwà la/ travel about

3.1.2 Doubled compound verbs

The only stative verbs in this group are:

- /kàun mun/ be good
- /kin jìn/ be free from
- /shi shain/ be relevant

The rest of the group are functive verbs. For example:

- /pyò sho/ speak
- /çi jù/ look
- /we yu/ buy
- /che' pyou'/ cook
- /yè θà/ write

3.1.3 Artificial compound verbs

Functive verbs in this group are:

- /kho wo/ call, name
- /hña ta/ be considerate
- /ka' θa'/ be recalcitrant
- /sa na/ be compassionate (by comparing oneself with others)
- /twè tò/ think
- /lo là/ favour, be favourably disposed to
The rest of the group are stative verbs. For example:

- /θwe' le'/: be fluent, alert, active
- /myain shain/: be harmonious (as a crowd)
- /myan shan/: be quick

### 3.1.4 Pre-verb Compounds

All the pre-verb compounds given in Okell are functive verbs. For example:

- /pyaun pyə/: say in jest
- /lein pyə/: lie
- /khù sà/: pluck and eat

### 3.1.5 Compounds with Bound Members

The only stative verbs in this group are:

- /pye' sì/: be destroyed
- /shò wà/: be bad
- /lwe ku/: be easy

The rest of the group are functive verbs. For example:

- /tain pin/: consult
- /sò yein/: worry
- /yo ðe/: be respectful
- /khan sà/: enjoy, suffer

### 3.1.6 Frequentative Compound Verbs

The only stative verb in this group is:

- /yò yò ðwà/: become slacker and slacker

The rest of the group are functive verbs. For example:

- /tha' tha' tì/: play again and again
- /co co pò/: keep sending in advance
- /win win pyə/: keep coming in and speaking
- /la la mè/: keep coming and asking
3.1.7 Compound verbs with tied nouns

The only stative verbs in this group are:

\[ \text{Isei' tol} \] /sei' to/ to be short tempered
\[ \text{lu fwinl} \] /u fwin/ be joyful
\[ \text{la na/} \] /a na/ be embarrassed
\[ \text{le'J bb kàunl} \] /θə bɔ kàun/ be good-natured

The rest of the group are functive verbs. For example:

\[ \text{hno' she'/} \] /hno' she'/ greet
\[ \text{nà thaun/} \] /nà thaun/ listen
\[ \text{le pyi'/} \] /le pyi'/ chat

3.1.8 Multiple compound verbs

The only stative verbs in this group are:

\[ \text{hlá pà tìn te/} \] /hlá pà tìn te/ look lovely
\[ \text{sù' so thàin hmàin/} \] /sù' so thàin hmàin/ be damp and dull

The rest of the group are functive verbs. For example:

\[ \text{yo θe lè sà/} \] /yo θe lè sà/ respect and revere
\[ \text{shìn chin sìn sà/} \] /shìn chin sìn sà/ think seriously
\[ \text{yu pó shaun/} \] /θə yu pó shaun/ transport

4. Are stative verbs sometimes adjectives?

Mainly because all stative verbs in Burmese can take all verb endings except /pa/, the politeness marker, Burmese has been treated as a language with no adjectives (Okell 1969, Cornyn and Roop 1968). I have argued in the previous sections that structure (syntactic features) alone is not a sound basis for classifying words. Even if one can accept stative verbs under the general classification of ‘verb’, the fact that stative verbs can function as adjectives has to be recognised. In highly inflectional languages, such as Sanskrit and Pali, and partially inflectional languages such as English, the way in which a word undergoes changes in structural or grammatical function and meaning is very obvious because these changes usually take place with the help of suffixes or internal changes. For example:

*grind* (verb),
*grinder* (-er noun),
*grinding* (present participle which can function as an adjective)
*ground* (past participle).
In most tonal languages which are not inflectional, such as Burmese where the inflectional suffixes serving as grammatical mechanisms (especially for participles) are almost non-existent, similar grammatical functions are accomplished firstly by the original lexical meaning and secondly by the position in the morphological make-up. The adjectival nature and functions of stative verbs in Burmese are therefore subtle, but their existence is fairly obvious. In the sections that follow, I will attempt to establish the following views:

(1) Although one type of words can be assigned to one major class in Burmese, their grammatical function can shift depending on the original lexical meaning and the position in the morphological make-up;

(2) The words which are basically classified as ‘verbs (stative)’ in Burmese are endowed with a number of features which are regarded as adjectival features in other languages.

4.1 Change of grammatical function due to meaning and position in the morphological make-up

It has been proposed that functive verbs can be attributed to a noun in the V + N compound noun structure as in /θau/ ye/ ‘drinking water’ (in §1). It may be within reason to treat these as functive verbs and the label for them in this environment may simply be a matter of terminology. In the formation of nouns in the N + V (functive) structure, however (which (Okell 1969: 90-92) places under “fixed headless NV attributes”), they do not appear to function as verbs. It is more plausible to treat the functive verb in this construction as a head noun, though they are verbs in their original classification. In these N + V constructions such as set out below, it is not the verb which is attributed to the noun, but the noun which is attributed to the verb functioning as a head noun:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{\textit{pē kain}} & : \text{helmsman} \\
\text{\textit{myō sā}} & : \text{town administrator} \\
\text{\textit{lé ne}} & : \text{lawyer} \\
\text{\textit{thəmin che’}} & : \text{cook} \\
\text{\textit{pa’ mət}} & : \text{drummer} \\
\text{\textit{sa pō}} & : \text{letter sender, postman}
\end{align*}
\]

For instance in \textit{ lé ne} ‘lawyer’, it is not \textit{ ne} ‘stay’ qualifying or attributing \textit{ nel} ‘in front’, but the reverse (‘stayer in front, legal representative, advocate, lawyer’), and the same applies to the other examples. The functive verbs in this construction are the counterparts of English -er nouns such as \textit{grinder} from \textit{grind}, \textit{taker} from \textit{take} and so on. These examples demonstrate the fact that words in Burmese can change their classification...
and grammatical function depending on their original lexical meaning and the environment in which they occur.

4.2 Adjectival qualities in stative verbs

There are a number of qualities in stative verbs, which cannot be treated as those of any other word class, but only as those of adjectives. Firstly, in the same way as adverbs can be formed from adjectives in English with the use of the suffix -ly, adverbs in Burmese can be formed from stative verbs (not from functive verbs) by reduplication. For example:

- /myan myan la/ come quickly
- /hnè hné ðwà/ go slowly
- /yò yò lou'/ behave honestly
- /kou' kou' ne/ live humbly

Secondly, in the same way as English adjectives can inflect in degrees such as positive, comparative and superlative, these reduplicated stative verbs in Burmese can be ranked as adjectives in degree by more than the three levels that exist in English. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/pu/</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>/ye pu/</td>
<td>hot water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>/ye pu pu/</td>
<td>somewhat hot water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>/ye kha' pu pu/</td>
<td>considerably hot water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>/ye thei' pu pu/</td>
<td>very hot water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The construction type with stative verb, which Okell (1969: 79) describes as “derived AV noun attributes” such as /myó haun/ ‘old city’, /nwà phyu/ ‘white bull’, and /phàò pìe'/ ‘ruined pagoda’, can be arranged in this order of adjectives in degree. For example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/hàun/</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>/hàun/</td>
<td>old city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>/hàun hàun/</td>
<td>somewhat old city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>/hàun hàun hàun/</td>
<td>considerably old city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>/thei' hàun hàun/</td>
<td>very old city</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

And finally, it is obvious that the greater the number of syllables in multiple compound nouns with stative verbs, the stronger the attributive/adjectival element of the stative verbs.
For example:

\[\text{ဗုဒ္ဓသူများနှင့်ကိုးကွယ်}
\[\text{/phəyà pyè' hnashu/}

two ruined pagodas (the meaning of /pyè'/ 'ruined' becomes more adjectival.)

\[\text{ဗုဒ္ဓသူများနှင့်ကိုးကွယ်}
\[\text{/hsè pyìn lei' tathou'/}

a packet of strong cigars (the meaning of /pyìn/ 'strong' becomes more adjectival.)

\[\text{ဗုဒ္ဓသူများနှင့်ကိုးကွယ်}
\[\text{/sa to pha' ci/}

big royal reader (the meaning of /ci/ 'big' becomes more adjectival.)

\[\text{ဗုဒ္ဓသူများနှင့်ကိုးကွယ်}
\[\text{/sa ou' thu ci/}

big thick book (the meaning of /thu/ 'thick' and /ci/ 'big' become more adjectival and so on.)

5. CONCLUSION

In order to analyse the structure of verbs in Burmese for practical purposes of teaching the language to non-native speakers, there seems to be no better approach than that followed in Okell (1969). This approach should not however be stretched to the extent of treating Burmese as a language with no adjectives and adjectival structures.

Dixon (1991) has demonstrated that the grammar of English can be explained satisfactorily and systematically on the basis of meaning alone, without the need to resort to the model of generative grammar. An analysis of the verb types in Burmese has shown that such a meaning-based approach is the only satisfactory method one can rely upon for explaining finer details of verbs in Burmese.

REFERENCES


THE PHONOLOGY OF THE DUNG DIALECT OF MOKEN

Naw Say Bay

1. INTRODUCTION

Moken is a Malayo-Polynesian language spoken by Sea Gypsies living in the western coastal waters of Burma and Thailand. The people refer to themselves as Moken or Mawken. They are called Selung or Salon by the Malays and Burmese. For further discussion of names see Lewis (1960:1) and Hogan (1972:206-207).

The dialects of Moken spoken off the west coast of Thailand have been studied by Sorat (1981) and Sudarat (1984). They have identified two major dialects in Thai waters which they refer to as the Moken and Moklen dialects. They also agree that Urak Lawoi’ is not to be considered a dialect of Moken, but is a separate language more distantly related.

Sorat (1981) makes a lexicostatistical comparison of word lists taken from some eleven locations. He concludes that two languages are involved, Moken in the north and Urak Lawoi’ in the south, with Moken comprising two dialects: Moken dialect (Victoria Point, Ranong and Rawai) and Moklen dialect (Bangsak, Thai Muang and Tha Chatchai).

Sudarat (1984) makes a comparative study of Moken, Moklen, and Urak Lawoi’, all as spoken in Rawai Village, Phuket. She concludes (p.180) that Moklen and Moken reconstruct as Proto Moken-Moklen and that Urak Lawoi’ is more distantly related.

The Moken dialect situation in the Burmese islands has not yet been the subject of systematic investigation, though dialect names and locations have been suggested by a number of scholars. Walter Grainge White (1922) recognised four dialects of Moken: the Dung dialect spoken in the Mergui area; the Jaet dialect spoken in the area of Lampi Island2 and Bokpyin; the L’be dialect spoken around Victoria Point and Saint Matthew Island; and the Lawta dialect spoken around Lanta Island3 and Phuket in Thailand. (The Lawta dialect he refers to would appear to be not a dialect of Moken but is rather the Urak Lawoi’ language.)

Hogan (1983:1-2) refers to five dialects: the L’be dialect which he says is spoken in an area extending from Tavoy Island southward to the islands off Bokpyin; the Dung dialect which is spoken in the islands off the town of Mergui; the Jade dialect which is spoken in the southern islands as far as Victoria Point and on into Thai waters further south; the Moklen dialect which is spoken on the islands at the mouth of the Takuapa River and south along the

1 I wish to acknowledge with thanks the help of many people in the analysis and writing of this paper (which sometimes bordered on co-authorship) and especially of Austin Hale, David Hogan, and David Thomas, as well as Hermann Janzen, Kent Gordon, and Dorothy Thomas. My main informant and colleague was Pawleik of Dung Island.
2 Lampi Island, also known as Sullivan Island, is called L’be Island in Moken.
3 Lawta is the Moken name for Lanta Island south of Phuket, which is the traditional point of origin of the Urak Lawoi’ people of that area.
coast as far as the northern end of Phuket Island; and the Phuket dialect, spoken in Rawai Village in Phuket Island and on Peepee Island in Krabi Province.

Older Moken people living on Tavoy Island have told me that their ancestors came from the south, from the Jaet area, looking for a better place to make their livelihood. And the similarities between Tavoy and Jaet vowel glides would seem to confirm their account. Tavoy intonation, however, is different from Jaet intonation. Further clues to points of origin may be obtained from a comparison of dialect names with Moken placenames. It is quite possible that these name relationships antedate White’s report by a considerable time span. The Moken names for the dialects spoken in Burmese waters are Dung, Jaet, and L’be. Dung is also the Moken name for two islands, Elphinstone and Ross.4 These islands still constitute the centre of the Dung dialect area, and in this case it seems fairly clear that the dialect name has a geographic origin. If we assume that Jaet and L’be originally also had geographic reference in Moken, we have not far to look. Sa-ii Island is referred to in Moken as Jaet, and Lampi Island is referred to as L’be.

The earliest Moken primer using Pwo Karen script (A primer of the Selong language, 1846) contains a note by the Reverend D.L. Brayton written at Mergui in October 1844 drawing attention to the variety of pronunciations heard.

More recently the French anthropologist Ivanoff has spent some time with the Moken people living on Surin and Phra Thong Islands near Takuapa, where he has had contact also with Moken people who have come down from Burma. He has published a map showing five subgroups of the Moken people: Dung, Jait, Lebi, Niawi and Chadiak (Hogan’s ‘Jade’ group). He does not claim that these subgroups represent different dialects, but rather that they show groupings based on the island areas which are their normal habitat (Ivanoff 1985:173-176).

Hogan has now checked these subgroups with Moken informants in Rawai village on Phuket Island. They all say that they come from the Jadiak group which is based on Saint Matthew’s Island off Victoria Point. Therefore Hogan no longer calls this the Jade dialect, but the Jadiak (rather than Chadiak). His previous listing of a Phuket dialect seems unnecessary as the older people there all speak Jadiak while the younger people speak a version adulterated by a mixture of Urak Lawoi’ and Thai. The informants say that Niawi differs only slightly from Jadiak, and Lebi is slightly different again. They know little about the two northern dialects of Dung and Jait.

On the basis of this information it is considered that we can now give a tentative listing of six dialects of Moken, including Dung, Jait, Lebi, Niawi, Jadiak and Moklen (spoken only in Thailand). The map is based on Ivanoff’s map, modified to show more details of the groups in Thailand.

It is hoped that further research can establish more precisely whether Lebi, Niawi and Jadiak need to be differentiated as three separate dialects. Similarly the precise relationship between Dung and Jait needs more careful study. A preliminary check of Dung and Jait via a 300-word list shows more than 90 per cent cognates and the phonological shifts appear to be regular, involving mainly the front and back vowels.

4 In earlier Moken usage, Dung was the name used specifically to refer to Elphinstone Island, and Ross Island was referred to as Moung. In current Burmese administration usage Elphinstone Island is called Done Paleh Awe and Ross Island is called Done Kama Chaung.
THE PHONOLOGY OF THE DUNG DIALECT OF MOKEN

DUNG Group

JAIT Group

LEBI Group

NIAWI Group

JADIAK Group

MOKLEN Group

Southern JADIAK

MAP: MOKEN DIALECTS
When I first started my research on Moken in 1967, it was with two speakers of the Jait dialect from Mali Island (Tavoy Island). My first visit to the language area was in 1973 and since 1974 I have spent part of every year on Elphinstone Island, where the Dung dialect is spoken (and if the line of reasoning suggested above is valid, where it has been spoken ever since the dialect acquired its present name). A tentative census report\(^5\) in 1972 placed the Moken population in Burmese waters at more than 4,000 people, of which some 500 are speakers of the Dung dialect dealt with in this paper.

Examples in this paper are given in phonetic script. There is a current Burmese-based Orthography. (A paper discussing this orthography is in preparation.) There have been at least two earlier orthographies for the Moken language, both based on the Dung dialect: one Pwo Karen-based and the other Roman-based (Lewis 1960:4ff.); neither one is in current use. According to Lewis (p.4), the Reverend E.A. Stevens was the one who devised the Karen-based script, which W.G. White (1911:19) describes as consisting of Pwo Karen characters with certain additional signs. Lewis reproduces Stevens’ remarks on the script.

The remainder of this paper consists of three sections on word and syllable structure, vowels, and consonants respectively, and of a brief sample text.

2. WORD AND SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

A very brief account of the phonology of the Dung dialect of Moken appeared in an unpublished paper (Hogan 1983) in which a Thai orthography is proposed for Thai dialects of Moken. Other than this, little has been written on Dung Moken phonology.

Dung phonological word structure consists minimally of a major syllable, preceded optionally by either a minor syllable or by a pre-syllable, as has been noted also for the Phuket dialect of Moken (Hogan 1983:12 following Veena 1980). This typically Mon-Khmer word structure is presumably the result of old Mon influence.

Major syllables in the Dung dialect can be either open or closed, and they receive primary word stress. They manifest a larger set of contrasting vowels than either of the other two syllable types, since only in major syllables do vowels contrast for length or tenseness. In fact, contrasts of vowel length are to be found only in closed major syllables, since the vowels of open major syllables both lax and tense are all long.

Minor syllables do not have final consonants. Their vowels are phonetically intermediate in length between the short and long vowels of major syllables, and they receive secondary stress. Minor syllables manifest a system of six contrasting vowel qualities. Neither vowel length nor the tense-lax distinctions are contrastive within minor syllables. The vowel in minor syllables is phonetically slightly longer than the short vowels of major syllables, indicated by a single dot in the examples.

Pre-syllables are unstressed, lack final consonants and manifest only a single vowel, a short, phonetically unstable schwa which is essentially just an open transition between the initial consonant and the first consonant of the next syllable. In faster speech this schwa may be completely dropped.

---

\(^5\) The census report was a personal communication from U Than Tun, who accompanied Major Aye, the officer in charge of census taking in the area from Tavoy Island to Victoria Point in 1972.
Primary word stress thus falls on major syllables, secondary word stress on minor syllables, and pre-syllables are unstressed.

In the written form of closed syllables, stress is predictable by virtue of the fact that only major syllables can be closed, and syllable-final consonants are marked in Burmese writing. With open major syllables, however, it is necessary to mark word boundaries with a space if stress patterns are to be correctly predicted apart from the recognition of lexical items. Minor syllables are distinguished from pre-syllables on the basis of their vowels.

In the following examples secondary stress is indicated by a grave accent (´), and primary stress by an apostrophe (´), preceding the syllable. Pitch contours are represented by lines above the phonetic transcription. It will be seen that pitch contours are predictable for words elicited in isolation, so they have been written only on the first few sets of examples. The primary stress has high pitch, which then falls unless the syllable ends in /h/, in which case the high pitch remains level or slightly rising and there is a somewhat breathy voice quality. (It would be possible to interpret [h] as a suprasegmental prosody of breathiness, but this would have only restricted occurrence.) Some fairly clear Thai loans are marked (T). Interestingly, a large portion of the monosyllabic words appear to be loans from Thai.

The following are examples of words in which a major syllable is preceded by a minor syllable.

[´ka·tœ] /katœ/ spirit
[´da·tœ:] /data/ upon
[´da·tah] /datah/ long
[´ko·let] /kolet/ bark of a tree
[´bu·bun] /bubun/ ridge of a roof

The following are examples of words in which a major syllable is preceded by a pre-syllable. Pre-syllables contrast with minor syllables in that pre-syllables are unstressed and they manifest only the indeterminate short vowel, schwa.

[kœ·man] /kœman/ night
[pœ·de:]: /peje/ tide in
[mœ·lan] /mœlan/ to swallow
[bœ·de:] /beje/ to stand in a group

The following are examples of words consisting of a major syllable not preceded by either a minor syllable or a pre-syllable.

[´ka·n] /ka:n/ work (T)
[´ba:] /ba/ insane (T)
3. CONSONANTS

The set of contrastive consonants differs according to position within the syllable. There are two positions, syllable-initial and syllable-final, and the set of consonants occurring in the former is considerably larger than in the latter. As can be seen in Figure 1, syllable-final position is characterised by a loss of contrast for voicing and aspiration, as well as by a loss of the palatal stop/affricate series and /l/:

Moken consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllable-initial</th>
<th>Syllable-final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$k$</td>
<td>$k$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kh$</td>
<td>$\eta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$c$</td>
<td>$ch$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$j$</td>
<td>$\eta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$th$</td>
<td>$n$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$p$</td>
<td>$ph$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$b$</td>
<td>$m$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$y$</td>
<td>$w$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$l$</td>
<td>$h$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 1:** The consonant systems operative in syllable-initial and syllable-final position. (/rl/ and /d/ are interchangeable in many words.)

The Southern Jadiak dialect (Hogan 1983:11, following Veena 1980:43) has a syllable-initial system which differs from that given for Dung in Figure 1 only in that Southern Jadiak has /ls/, which Dung lacks, and the /rl/ of Dung is not mentioned. It remains to be seen whether any of the Moken dialects spoken in Burmese waters share this /s/ with Southern Jadiak. The syllable-final systems of the two dialects are identical.

In syllable-initial position the following twenty-two different consonants can occur.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/k/</th>
<th>/kaʔae:/</th>
<th>tree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/teʔkan/</td>
<td>mats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kh/</td>
<td>/khaʔdzi:iʔy/</td>
<td>roof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/khoʔlo:iʔ/</td>
<td>sea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>/giʔlen:/</td>
<td>to roll up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/giʔlao:iʔ/</td>
<td>valley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ŋ/</td>
<td>/ŋaʔpoe:/</td>
<td>to jump into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/ŋaʔap:/</td>
<td>to catch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE PHONOLOGY OF THE DUNG DIALECT OF MOKEN

Id ('t̪̂i· 't̪̂om\] Icicom! bird

[p̣̂e·t̪̂ĉ̪an\] /pechan/ banana

[ṃ̂ĉ̪o·t̪̂u:] /ṃ̂ĉ̪hu/ to raise the hands

[d̪̂za·'bu:] /jабu/ bumble bee

[p̣̂o·d̪̂ẑ̪e:] /p̣̂eje/ for the tide to come in

[ṃ̂a·ṇ̂am\] /ṃ̂a·ṇ̂am/ to eat

[ṃ̂a·ni·ẉ̂a:] /ṃ̂a·ṇ̂ı̂n/ to walk

[ke·tam\] /ketam/ black

[t̪̂ô̰la·ṇ̂u:] /t̪̂ô̰la·ṇ̂u/ eggplant

[the:n\] /the:n/ chair

[ṃ̂o·thu·ṇ\] /ṃ̂o·thu·ṇ/ to carry on the head

[da·'ta:] /data/ upon

[d̪̂u·'d̪̂un\] /d̪̂u·'d̪̂un/ rice water

[ṇ̂a·ṃ̂â̰u:] /ṇ̂a·ṃ̂â̰u/ cattle

[p̣̂e·na·p̣̂a:] /penan/ areca nut

[ṃ̂a·p̣̂e·p̣̂a:] /ṃ̂a·p̣̂e·p̣̂a/ to rest

[p̣̂o·l̪̂o·ṇ̂a:] /p̣̂o·l̪̂o·ṇ̂a/ tender (of fruit)

[pha·lo·ṇ\] /phal/ to tease

[phu·ṇ̂e·ṇ\] /phu·ṇ̂e·ṇ/ country

[ba·'ta:] /batan/ at the foot, beginning

[bo:] /bo/ boy

[ṃ̂a·p̣̂e·a·ṇ\] /ṃ̂a·p̣̂e·a·ṇ/ to elope

[t̪̂ô̰ṃ̂a·ṇ\] /t̪̂ô̰ṃ̂a·ṇ/ glass

[ka·'yap\] /kayap/ a kind of sickness

[?o·ya·t\] /?o·ya·t/ trust

[t̪̂o·'l̪̂â̰ṇ\] /t̪̂ô̰l̪̂â̰ṇ/ to help

[?o·ma·u·ṇ\] /?o·ma·u·ṇ/ howling of a dog

[ŵ̰u:] /ŵ̰u/ circle

[t̪̂ô̰ṃ̂a·ŵ̰at\] /t̪̂ô̰ṃ̂a·ŵ̰at/ clothes

[ĥ̰a:] /ĥ̰a/ negative particle

[u·'le·ṇ\] /u·le·ṇ/ cicada

[o·t̪̂a:] /o·t̪̂a/ head

[p̣̂o·r̪̂a:] /p̣̂ô̰a/ knife

[o·r̪̂a:] /o·r̪̂a/ duck

In syllable-final position the following ten consonants can occur.

[d̪̂ok\] /d̪̂ok/ plentiful

[ma·ṇ̂o·k\] /ma·ṇ̂o·k/ chicken
4. VOWELS

As may be seen in Figure 2, there is basically a seven-vowel system, plus length and tenseness contrasts and two centring glides.

\[
\begin{align*}
a & \\
e & o \\
\varepsilon & \circ \\
e & o \\
& \circ \\
\end{align*}
\]

**FIGURE 2: MOKEN VOWELS**

In pre-syllables only a neutral central vowel can occur (see previous examples). In minor syllables there are six vowels that can occur.

/f/ \[\text{tci·tcom·} \] /cicom/ bird

\[\text{bi·toak·} \] /bitoak/ star

\[\text{ke·tam·} \] /ketam/ black

\[\text{pe·tchany} \] /pechan/ banana
THE PHONOLOGY OF THE DUNG DIALECT OF MOKEN

pre-syllable minor syllable major syllable
CV CV CVC (closed) CV (open)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>long</th>
<th>short</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tense</td>
<td>lax</td>
<td>tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>i:</td>
<td>i:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e:</td>
<td>e:</td>
<td>e:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a:</td>
<td>a:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates a contrast which is phonetically marginal.

FIGURE 3: THE VOWEL SYSTEMS OPERATIVE WITHIN EACH SYLLABLE TYPE
(Phonetic length differences, though shown here, are contrastive only within the closed major syllable. Tense vowels are diphthongs in both CVC and CV major syllables.)
In closed major syllables the following seven different long tense vowels and one tense centring diphthong can occur.

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{i}/ & \quad [\text{tʃai}:n] & \quad /\text{ci}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{Chinese} \\
& \quad [\text{tʃa}:\text{ʔai}:n] & \quad /\text{ca}\text{ʔi}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{pungent} \\
& \quad [\text{me}:\text{ʔai}:n] & \quad /\text{me}\text{ʔi}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{thumb} \\
/\text{e}/ & \quad [\text{ke}:\text{ʔoe}:n] & \quad /\text{kete}\text{ʔi}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{to deceive} \\
/\text{e}/ & \quad [\text{ʔo}:\text{ʔa}:n] & \quad /\text{oke}\text{ʔi}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{sea water} \\
& \quad [\text{jo}:\text{ʔae}:n] & \quad /\text{jole}\text{ʔi}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{pearl} \\
/\text{u}/ & \quad [\text{ka}:\text{ʔau}:n] & \quad /\text{ka}\text{ʔu}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{bamboo} \\
& \quad [\text{lo}:\text{ʔeu}:n] & \quad /\text{lo}\text{ʔu}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{spirit poles} \\
/\text{o}/ & \quad [\text{ko}:\text{ʔao}:k] & \quad /\text{kabo}\text{ʔi}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{lazy} \\
& \quad [\text{gi}:\text{ʔao}:n] & \quad /\text{gilo}\text{ʔi}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{valley} \\
/\text{a}/ & \quad [\text{ma}:\text{ʔa}:t] & \quad /\text{ma}\text{ʔi}\text{ː}t/ & \quad \text{to set free} \\
& \quad [\text{ka}:\text{ʔa}:t] & \quad /\text{kato}\text{ʔi}\text{ː}t/ & \quad \text{a kind of tree} \\
/\text{a}/ & \quad [\text{me}:\text{ʔai}:n] & \quad /\text{me}\text{ʔi}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{to walk} \\
/\text{a}/ & \quad [\text{cheam}] & \quad /\text{cha}\text{ʔi}\text{ː}m/ & \quad \text{bruise} \\
\end{align*}
\]

The phoneme /ea/ may vary phonetically between [i:ə], [eː], and [eː], and /oa/ may vary phonetically between [u:ə], [oː] and [ɔ:ə]. /ea/ also occurs in lax closed syllables, and lax /oa/ can occur in open or closed syllables (see Figure 3). In tense /ea/ the tenseness is focused on the first syllable.

In closed major syllables the following seven long lax vowels and two centring diphthongs can occur.

\[
\begin{align*}
/\text{i}/ & \quad [\text{kho}:\text{li}:n] & \quad /\text{kho}\text{ʔi}:n/ & \quad \text{time after time} \\
& \quad [\text{bi}:\text{ʔi}:n] & \quad /\text{bi}:\text{ʔi}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{lip} \\
/\text{e}/ & \quad [\text{na}:\text{ʔe}:n] & \quad /\text{na}\text{ʔe}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{melodious} \\
& \quad [\text{tʃi}:\text{ʔe}:\text{ʔi}] & \quad /\text{tʃi}:\text{ʔe}\text{ʔi}t/ & \quad \text{pumpkin} \\
& \quad [\text{ʔe}:\text{ʔi}] & \quad /\text{ʔe}:\text{ʔi}\text{ː}t/ & \quad \text{chair} \\
/\text{e}/ & \quad [\text{ʔo}:\text{ʔe}:\text{ʔi}] & \quad /\text{ʔo}:\text{ʔe}\text{ʔi}t/ & \quad \text{cicada} \\
/\text{u}/ & \quad [\text{mə}:\text{ʔu}:\text{ʔi}] & \quad /\text{mə}:\text{ʔu}\text{ʔi}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{to carry on the head} \\
& \quad [\text{mə}:\text{ʔu}:\text{ʔi}] & \quad /\text{mə}:\text{ʔu}\text{ʔi}\text{ː}m/ & \quad \text{to comfort (a child)} \\
/\text{o}/ & \quad [\text{kho}:\text{ʔo}:n] & \quad /\text{kho}\text{ʔo}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{sea} \\
& \quad [\text{lu}:\text{ʔo}:n] & \quad /\text{lu}\text{ʔo}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{a small basket} \\
/\text{a}/ & \quad [\text{ba}:\text{ʔe}:\text{ʔo}:n] & \quad /\text{ba}\text{ʔe}\text{ʔo}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{head of a stairway} \\
& \quad [\text{ʔo}:\text{ʔe}:\text{ʔo}:n] & \quad /\text{ʔo}:\text{ʔe}\text{ʔo}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{a green snail shell} \\
/\text{a}/ & \quad [\text{ka}:\text{ʔa}:n] & \quad /\text{ka}\text{ʔa}:n/ & \quad \text{eagle} \\
& \quad [\text{ka}:\text{ʔa}:n] & \quad /\text{ka}\text{ʔa}:n/ & \quad \text{boat} \\
/\text{a}/ & \quad [\text{me}:\text{ʔe}:\text{ʔe}:\text{ʔo}:n] & \quad /\text{me}\text{ʔe}\text{ʔe}\text{ʔo}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{to write (T)} \\
& \quad [\text{ma}:\text{ʔe}:\text{ʔe}:\text{ʔo}:n] & \quad /\text{ma}\text{ʔe}\text{ʔe}\text{ʔo}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{to sew} \\
/\text{a}/ & \quad [\text{ma}:\text{ʔo}:\text{ʔe}:\text{ʔo}:n] & \quad /\text{ma}\text{ʔo}\text{ʔe}\text{ʔo}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{to tempt} \\
& \quad [\text{phə}:\text{ʔo}:\text{ʔo}:n] & \quad /\text{phə}\text{ʔo}\text{ʔo}\text{ː}n/ & \quad \text{tender (of fruit)} \\
\end{align*}
\]
In closed major syllables seven short vowels can occur, as listed below. The distinction between /e/ and /ɛ/ is phonetically very narrow and difficult to hear.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>/mə'phlk/</td>
<td>to turn over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛ/</td>
<td>/mə'nik/</td>
<td>to think</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɡi·'len/</td>
<td>/gilen/</td>
<td>to roll up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɡa·pen/</td>
<td>/mapen/</td>
<td>to rest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'mɛ·'lek/</td>
<td>/melek/</td>
<td>pepper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'o·bek/</td>
<td>/obek/</td>
<td>tadpoles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'bu·'bun/</td>
<td>/bubun/</td>
<td>top of the roof</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/matjun/</td>
<td>/machun/</td>
<td>fighting cocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'bu·'loko/</td>
<td>/bulok/</td>
<td>putrid foul odour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'la·ton/</td>
<td>/laton/</td>
<td>a giant turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'ko·'lun/</td>
<td>/kolun/</td>
<td>slave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'ma·'nok/</td>
<td>/monk/</td>
<td>chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'tɛ·'kan/</td>
<td>/tekan/</td>
<td>mats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'o·'tak/</td>
<td>/otak/</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are also a few cases, mainly involving loan words from Thai, which may possibly point to a marginal tense/lax contrast in short /a/: [lak] 'post' (T), [lJak] 'love' (T), [məlan] 'to swallow', [məlyan] 'to beat', [mənap] 'to submerge', [mənap] 'to count' (T).

In open major syllables seven long tense vowels can occur. These vowels have a tense voice quality and are on-gliding diphthongs, a system reminiscent of Mon-Khmer register complexes which may be the result of Mon-Khmer (Old Mon?) influence. Instrumental study of this 'tenseness' has not been possible. This tenseness and on-gliding has been observed in both open and closed syllables.

These tense diphthongs are either on-glides such as [əI] and [əu] with the tenseness focused on the second segment, or they have equal tenseness on both segments, as in [nə·a:] /nəl/ 'field' (note the tenseness on this Thai loan, found also on some other Thai loans).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vowel</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/əI/</td>
<td>/lə·tɕʰəi:/</td>
<td>beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pʰo·'ɾi:/</td>
<td>/phori:/</td>
<td>rich</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɛI/</td>
<td>/lə·tɕʰæː:/</td>
<td>book</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kə'laː:/</td>
<td>/kəleː/</td>
<td>friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eI/</td>
<td>/məe:/</td>
<td>girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kə'laː:/</td>
<td>/kəleː/</td>
<td>just now, only now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/uI/</td>
<td>/kau:/</td>
<td>a kind of snail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nə'maː:/</td>
<td>/namuː/</td>
<td>cattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oI/</td>
<td>/bəo:/</td>
<td>well (for water) (T)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pə'kao:/</td>
<td>/pəkoː/</td>
<td>forearm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oʔ/</td>
<td>/lo·a:/</td>
<td>sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tʃʰə'mo·aː:/</td>
<td>/chəmoː/</td>
<td>early morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/məkʰo·aː:/</td>
<td>/məkhoː/</td>
<td>to roast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In open major syllables the following seven long lax vowels and one centring diphthong can occur.

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
/l/ & [\text{tchu}'ni:] & /\text{chuni}/ & \text{rainbow} \\
& [\text{ba}'dzi:] & /\text{baji}/ & \text{jacket} \\
/el/ & [\text{ba'dze}:] & /\text{baje}/ & \text{to stand in a group} \\
& [\text{mø'le}:] & /\text{male}/ & \text{to move one's dwelling} \\
/æ/ & [\text{pa'd'ze}:] & /\text{paje}/ & \text{for the tide to come in} \\
& [\text{la'le}:] & /\text{lale}/ & \text{ribs} \\
/u/ & [\text{dzi'bu}:] & /\text{jabu}/ & \text{bumble bee} \\
& [\text{mø'chu}:] & /\text{machu}/ & \text{to raise one's hands} \\
/o/ & [\text{pha'lo}:] & /\text{phalo}/ & \text{to tease} \\
/o/ & [\text{bo}] & /\text{bo}/ & \text{boy} \\
& [\text{khø'bo}:] & /\text{khalo}/ & \text{tears} \\
/a/ & [\text{ba}:] & /\text{ba}/ & \text{mad, insane} \\
& [\text{da'ta}:] & /\text{data}/ & \text{upon} \\
/oa/ & [\text{tøa}] & /\text{toa}/ & \text{body (T)}
\end{array}
\]

The Southern Jadiak dialect has a less ramified system of vowels according to Veena (1980:53) (and summarised in Hogan 1983:13 and Sudarat 1984:16). The tense–lax contrast is relevant only for high vowels in Southern Jadiak (lax /i, i:, u, u:/ versus tense /ɪ, iː, ŭ, uː/). Where Dung still has tongue-height contrasts, though phonetically slight, in the mid vowels (/e, e, o, o/), tongue height varies freely in Southern Jadiak, reducing the system to /e, o/. However, Hogan (pers.comm. 1985) suggests that a reanalysis of the Southern Jadiak dialect may show it to have all the vowels of the Dung dialect.

4. SAMPLE TEXT

Batang muchi thop mökaw pøthaw cwe
beginning in the past there said old people I

neao than ha. Ngøhaung chidea nyu òe
copula yet not called God NPH. MKR.

do take I other side only for a while

Nyu mökën yay kødeaw òe: khanyu je.
CAI Moken said just yes be there IMP

Mëkon òekan paløy pitøh nyu yea.
harpoon fish rayfish behind there only

---

6 Abbreviations used in this text are: NPH.MKR (nominal phrase marker), CAI (changed actor indicator) and IMP (imperative). A fuller and more precise gloss for mëkon 'harpoon' is 'I am going by boat to harpoon'.

---
This story was told by Cakwe, a Moken man of about fifty.)

This story is from long ago in the past, told by the old people. I was not yet born.

God called (to the Moken) “Please take me across to the other side. It won’t take you long”. Then the Moken said, “Yes, just wait there, I’m going to harpoon the rayfish behind there first”. The Moken was afraid that the big body of God would make the boat capsize. Then God waited like that for a long long time, and when he couldn’t wait any longer he threw the book (of Moken writing) into the water and it became a rayfish.

REFERENCES


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